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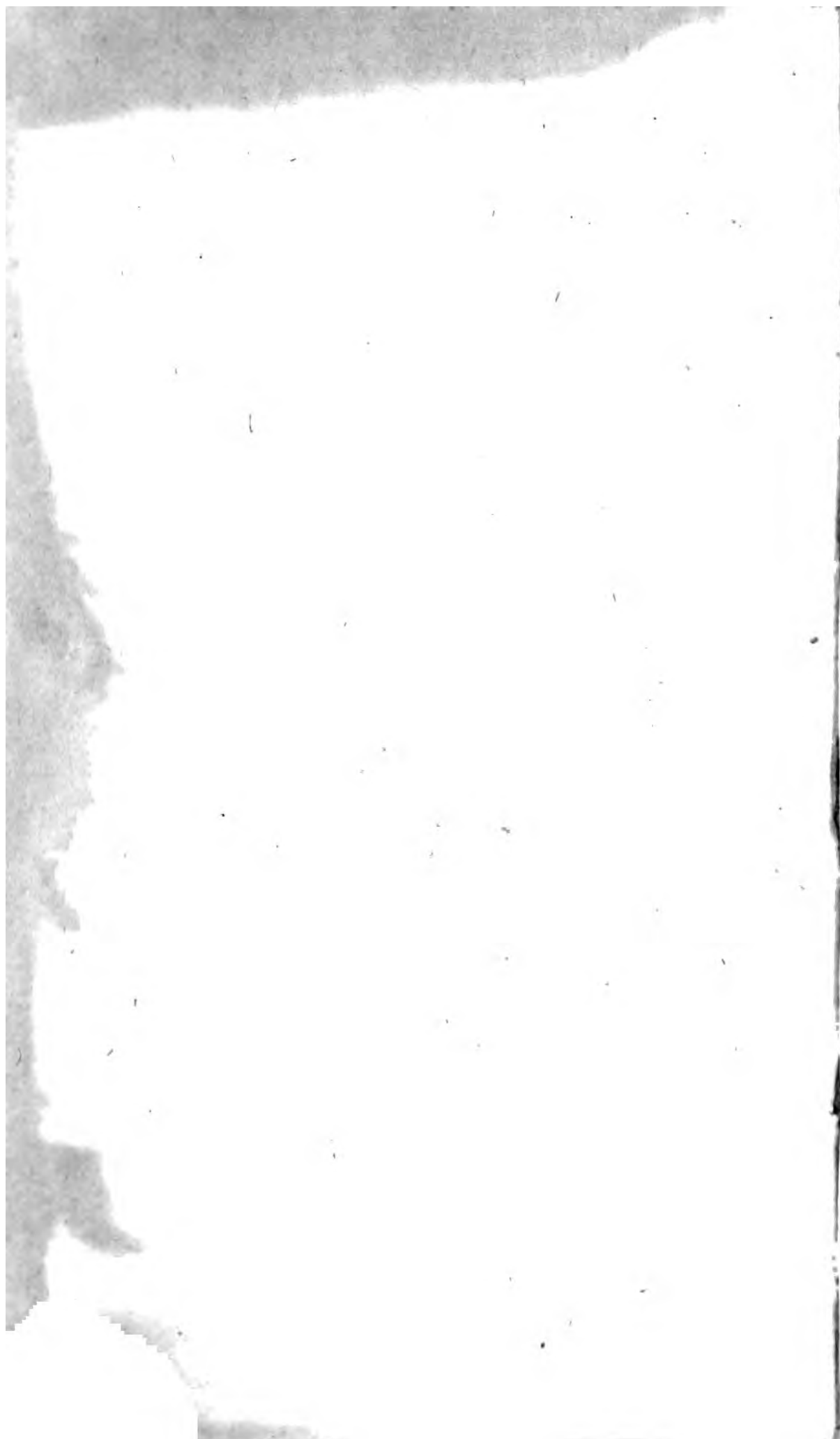
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THE
WORLD displayed;
OR, A
CURIOUS COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES and TRAVELS,

Selected from
The WRITERS of all NATIONS.
In which the
CONJECTURES and INTERPOLATIONS

OF
Several vain *Editors* and *Translators* are
expunged,
Every Relation is made concise and plain,

AND
The DIVISIONS of *Countries* and *Kingdoms* are
clearly and distinctly noted.

Illustrated and Embellished
With Variety of MAPS and PRINTS
By the best HANDS.

V O L. VIII.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, at the *Bible and Sun*,
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; and J. HOEY, jun.
in *Skinner-Row, Dublin*, MDCCLX.

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V A S C O D E G A M A
T O
I N D I A.



C H A P. I.

He sets sail for India, and arrives at St. Helena. His Transactions with the People of that Island. He doubles the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeds to the Bay of Angra de San Blas. He thence steers to a Place to which he gives the Name of the Land of Good People, and afterwards arrives at Cuama.

 WE have already observed, in the introduction to these volumes, that before the reign of *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, several successive princes had made different discoveries on the coast of *Africa*, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*. This last Prince intending to prosecute these discoveries still farther, caused three ships

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to be equipped for that purpose, and gave the command of them to *Vasco de Gama*, a nobleman of great abilities, whom he raised to the rank of Admiral. These ships were the *St. Gabriel*, the Admiral's ship; the *St. Raphael*, under the command of *Paul de Gama*, the Admiral's brother; and the *Berrio*, commanded by *Nicholas Coello*, in all which were no more than 160 men. These ships attended with a bark laden with provisions, sailed from *Belem* on the 8th of *July*, 1497; and after being exposed to continual storms, in which they frequently gave themselves over for lost, entered a large bay, which the men called *Angra de Santa Elena*, or the bay of *St. Helena*, from their first seeing it on that Saint's day.

The inhabitants of this island were blacks, small of stature, and ill favoured. When they spoke, it seemed as if they sighed. They were clothed with the skins of beasts, and concealed what modesty taught them to hide, in wooden cases, that were very well made. Their arms were oaken staves, hardened with fire, and pointed at the end with the horns of beasts. They lived on roots, sea wolves, mews, pigeons, and sea crows, with other beasts and birds. The Admiral immediately ordered search to be made for some river; but without success. However, they met with water the next day, where the Admiral landed, in order to try whether he could get any intelligence of the distance between that place and the *Cape of Good Hope*. The Admiral in his walks, took a man gathering honey, and carried him on board; but

but none of the ships crew understanding him, he was the next day well dressed, and set on shore, which so pleased his countrymen, that the day following about 15 of them came down towards the ships, upon which the Admiral went again on shore, carrying with him gold, pearl, and spices, but finding by the little notice these people took of them, that they were unacquainted with them, he gave them bells, little tin-rings, and counters, with which they seemed highly pleased, and in return supplied their benefactors with plenty of such provisions as the country afforded; but this friendly intercourse was of short duration, for *Fernando Veloso*, a young man being desirous of visiting their towns, went to the houses of the natives, where he was welcomed with great hospitality, and for his entertainment they had dressed a seal, which discomposing his stomach, he rose, and retired with signs of loathing and disgust, while the natives instead of opposing his departure, attended him to the shore; but he suspecting their intentions, no sooner came within hearing of his companions, than he called aloud for help, when some of the *Portuguese* landing, behaved in such a manner, as to terrify the natives, who ran affrighted to the woods. This behaviour made them consider the *Portuguese* as their enemies, and, therefore, soon after returning with their lances in their hands, they suddenly rushed upon *de Gama*, and his officers, who were standing unarmed, and obliged them to retreat on board, after having wounded four of them, among

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whom was the Admiral, who received a wound in his foot, but the *Portuguese* were no sooner on board, than they revenged themselves with their cross-bows.

On the 16th of *November* they weighed, and sailed from *St. Helena* with a south-west wind, and on the 18th in the evening came in sight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which they doubled on the 20th, sounding their trumpets, and engaging in several diversions, as expressions of their joy. As they coasted along the shore, they had the prospect of a very fine country, interspersed with woods and lawns, abounding with numerous herds of large and small cattle, and peopled with blacks, who resembled those of *St. Helena*. *De Gama*, having at length run 70 leagues beyond the cape, arrived at another bay, to which he gave the name of *Angra de San Blas*, near which is a small island, where the ships lay to take in a supply of water. The land about this bay is very fertile, and abounds with elephants and fine oxen, used by the natives instead of horses. There were also a multitude of penguins, and a prodigious number of seals.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared about 90 of the inhabitants, some on the sands, and other on the mountains, upon which the Admiral landed with all his men well armed, and drawing near the shore, threw upon the land little bells, which the negroes took up, and some came so nigh as to receive them out of his own hand; when venturing on shore with his men, he exchanged some red night-caps

caps for ivory bracelets. A few days after, above 200 blacks came down with 12 oxen and four sheep, and on the *Portuguese* going on shore, they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with several voices, which made no disagreeable music. The Admiral striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men danced along with the natives, and thus the day passed in mirth and feasting. Not long after, many more blacks, men and women, came again with cattle, of whom the *Portuguese* bought an ox; but perceiving some young Negroes behind the bushes, with weapons in their hands, the Admiral suspected some treachery, and, therefore, ordered his people to retire to a place of greater security. The blacks then went along the shore, keeping pace with the boats till they came to the place where the *Portuguese* had landed, and then joined themselves in a body, as if they intended to fight; but the Admiral being unwilling to hurt them, withdrew in his boats, only ordering two brass pieces of ordnance to be shot off to frighten them, at which they were so terrified, that they ran away in confusion, leaving their weapons behind; but afterwards sending some of his men on shore to erect a pillar, on which was the king of *Portugal's* arms and a cross, the Negroes pulled it down before their faces.

De Gama left this place on the eighth of *November*, and soon after met with a dreadful storm. On *Christmas-day* they saw land, which for that season they called *Tierra de Natal*.

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After this they came to a river called *De los Reyes*, or, *Of the Kings*, from its being first seen on the day of *Epiphany*. Here *de Gama* left two men to inform themselves of whatever was worthy of notice in the country, and to give him an account of what they had learned at his return. For this purpose he had some malefactors with him, whose punishments were changed for these dangers. Here he dealt for some ivory and provisions, so much to the satisfaction of the blacks, that their King came on board.

On the 11th of *January* again drawing near land, the men went in their boats along the coast to take a view of it, when they saw a great number of men and women, who appeared to be quiet and civil people. The Admiral then sent one of his men who was well versed in the languages of *Africa*, attended by another person, to pay his respects to the King, who received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents. In return the Admiral sent his Majesty a red jacket, a pair of stockings, and a cap of the same colour, with a copper bracelet, which he received with pleasure, and in return promised to give the person who brought this present any thing his country afforded, and invited the gentleman and his companion to his town. *De Gama* having given him leave, this Gentleman, whose name was *Alonzo*, went forward with the King, whose subjects beholding him on the road in his new habit, clapped their hands with signs of joy and admiration. On their entering
the

the town, the King went round it to give the inhabitants an opportunity of beholding his finery, and then taking *Alonzo* to his house, supped with him upon an hen and boiled millet. Here many of the Negroes came to see *Alonzo* and his attendant, and the next day they were sent back with some blacks laden with hens for the Admiral, who returned them thanks, and called the place *The Land-of-Good-People*.

The houses of the town were all of straw, and pretty well furnished; the females were more numerous than the males, for among 20 men there were 40 women. On their arms and legs they wore copper bracelets, and pieces of copper in their hair. Their weapons were long-bows, with arrows and darts pointed with iron, daggers with hilts of pewter and sheaths of ivory. They were so fond of linen, that they gave a large quantity of copper for a shirt, and so tractable, that they brought water to the boats from a river called *Cobio*, a quarter of a mile distant from the place where the *Portuguese* took in water.

Departing from thence on the 15th of *January*, they proceeded along a low coast, full of very large and lofty trees, as far as *Cape Orientes* or the *Cape of Currents*, proceeding 50 leagues beyond *Sofala*, without seeing that city. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which *de Gama* with several of the men, proceeded in their boats * ;

* *This country is now called Cuama.*

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the land was low like the former, and abounded in tall trees, loaden with a variety of fruits, and proceeding farther they found several boats with sails made of palm. The *Portuguese* were encouraged at seeing these people, who understood something of sailing, a circumstance which they had not met with before on all these coasts; the natives came in their boats to the ships without fear or hesitation, and behaved to the *Portuguese* with as much familiarity, as if they had been old acquaintance. They were of a good size, but went naked, with only a piece of linen cloth hanging down before. The Admiral treated them kindly, gave them small bells and other toys, and talked with them by signs; for none on board understood their language. They afterwards returned in their boats with others, bringing provisions, and more of the natives came along the water-side, among whom were some pretty women dressed like the men, each of whom had three holes in her lips, in which were three bits of tin, and these took some of the *Portuguese* with them to make merry at a neighbouring town, where they got their water.

On the third day two persons of rank came in their boats to visit the Admiral. These had their aprons larger than the rest, and one of them wore on his head an handkerchief wrought with silk, and the other a green satin cap. *De Gama* gave them a courteous reception, invited them to eat, and gave them apparel with other things; but they seemed by their looks

to

to set no value on them. However, it appeared from certain signs made by a young man, that they were of a distant country, and had seen as large ships as those they were then in ; and when they were landed, they offered some pieces of callico to sale. *De Gama* rejoiced at these happy tokens, and all on board were elevated with the hopes of soon reaching the treasures of *India*, wherefore the Admiral called this, *The River of Good Signs*, and erected a pillar, on which was carved a crucifix, and under it the arms of *Portugal*. Here they also refitted their ships, and endeavoured to cure the men who were sick of the scurvy.





C H A P. II.

They sail from the River of Good-Signs, and arrive at Mofambique, where they are visited by the Sheik, who, after giving them a kind Reception, upon a Supposition of their being Turks, makes several Attempts to destroy them, for which the Admiral demolishes the Town, and proceeds to Mombassa, where they are also at first treated with great Civility, in order to obtain an Opportunity to revenge the Mischiefs done at Mofambique, on which they proceed to Melinda, where the Admiral is visited by the King. De Gama's Proceedings there, and the most material Events till his Arrival at Calicut.

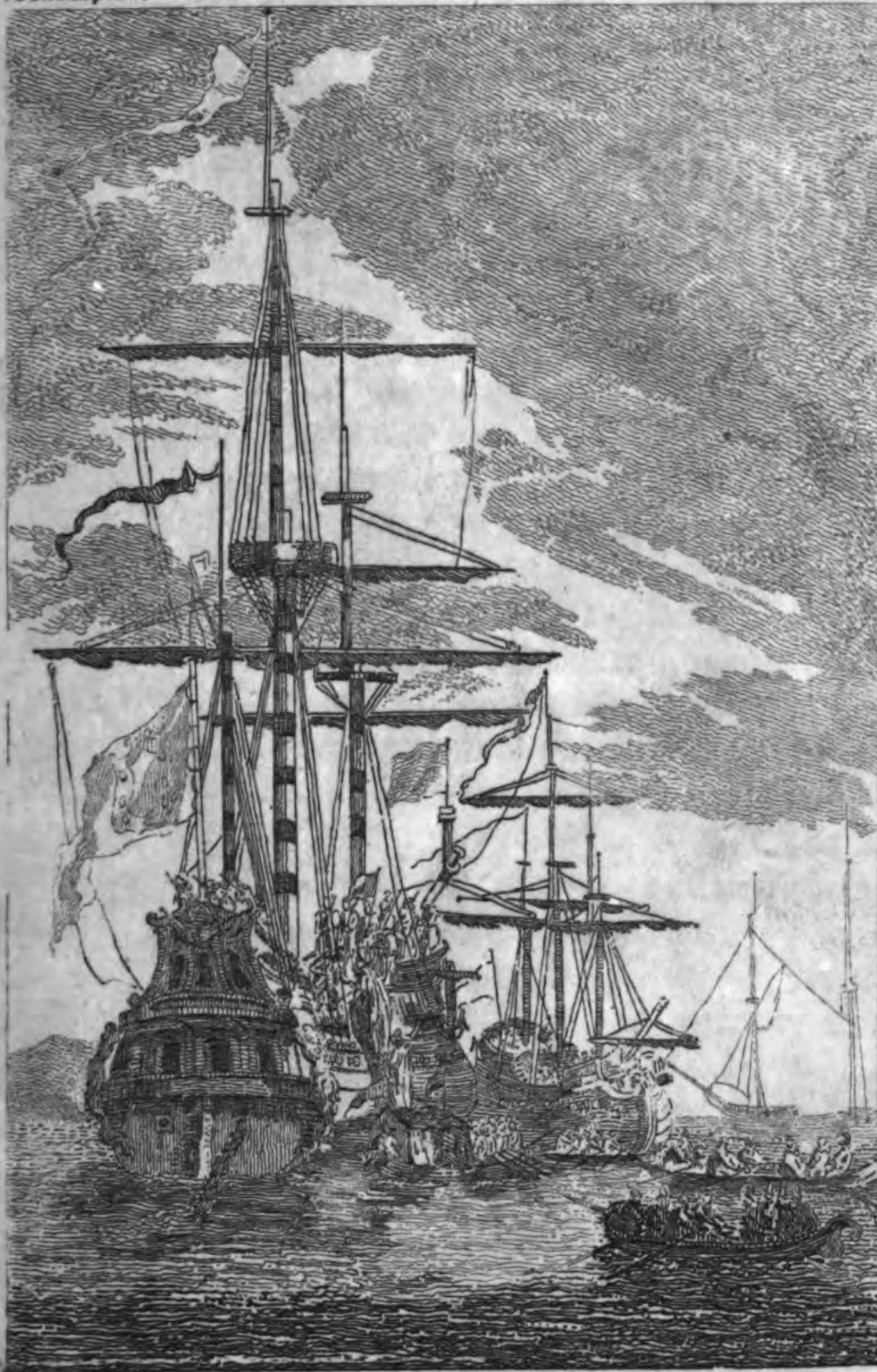
THEY sailed from hence on the 24th of January, and on the 1st of March descried four islands; from one of which came seven or eight small boats that followed the ships, the men calling out and making signs to induce them to stay for them. As soon as they were at anchor, the boats came up with several people of a good stature, and dark complexion, cloathed with striped callico of several colours, which some wore close to their knees, and others on their shoulders like cloaks; their heads being covered with linen turbans wrought with silk and gold. They had swords and daggers like the *Moors*, and brought

brought with them musical instruments called sackbuts. On their coming on board they discoursed in *Arabic*, and the Admiral having ordered an entertainment to be provided for them, they eat and drank heartily, during which he desired to know the name of the island, together with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the exact distance from thence to *India*; to which they replied, that the island was called *Mosambique*, and was subject to the King of *Quiloa*, that there was a town in it full of merchants who traded to *India* for spices, precious stones, and other commodities; they let him know that he had already passed by the country of *Sofala*, which abounded with gold, informed him of the distance from thence to *Calicut*, and offered to steer the ships into the harbour, which was immediately complied with.

The town of *Mosambique* stands in 15° south latitude, and the country, which is rendered unhealthy by its numerous marshes, was inhabited by blacks, who lived in huts made of clay, and thatched with straw; but a great number of ships resorted thither for the convenience of trade, though at this time the power and wealth of the island was chiefly engrossed by the *Arabian* merchants, who used vessels fastened together with wooden pegs, instead of nails, and the sails were of matts made of palm-tree leaves. These *Arabians* made use of the compass; had sea charts that
were

were tolerably accurate, and were furnished with several astronomical instruments.

The Sheik, and the rest of the people taking the *Portuguese* for *Turks* or *Moors*, visited the first ship that entered the harbour, but soon returned, because there were none on board who understood their language; but the rest of the ships having entered the harbour, the Sheik sent them presents and provisions, desiring leave to come on board, and in return *De Gama* sent him red hats, short gowns, coral, brass basons, hawk's bells, and other things, which he made slight of, asking what they were good for, and why the Admiral did not send him scarlet? *De Gama* to prepare against his coming, ordered all the sick men to be kept out of sight, and those that were perfectly well in the rest of the ships to be sent to his, where they were put under arms. The Sheik appeared richly dressed; he was tall, lean, and dressed in a kind of shirt which hung down to his heels, and over it had a kind of loose vest of *Mecca* velvet. On his head he wore a silk cap of various colours trimmed with gold, and at his girdle, a sword and dagger, the hilt of the former set with diamonds, and his feet were covered with silk shoes. He was attended by armed men with drums and ivory trumpets. The Admiral received him at the entrance of the ship, and conducted him with some of his people into the cabin, while the rest remained in the boats. *De Gama* apologized for his not sending him scarlet, by assuring him he had brought none with him. The Sheik
and



*The Sheik or Governor of Mosambique
visits de Gama on board his Ship.*



and his company eat and drank very heartily; asked whether they were *Turks*, which he supposed they were, from the whiteness of their complexion, and desired a sight of their bows, and of the books of their law. The Admiral answered, that he came from the West, and belonged to a great kingdom bordering upon *Turky*; but had no books of their law with them. He shewed him some cross-bows, which were shot off before him, and some armour that greatly raised his admiration. At this meeting *de Gama* had intelligence that the distance from thence to *Calicut* was 900 leagues, and that it was necessary for him to take a pilot from that country, to conduct him thither. Upon this he desired the Sheik to supply him with two pilots, which he readily granted, and returned with them the next day; when the pilots consented to undertake the voyage, upon his giving each of them 30 crowns and a coat, and one of them was to remain constantly on board, while they staid in the harbour.

This harmony was, however, but of short continuance; for the Sheik or Governor, no sooner discovered the *Portuguese* to be *Christians*, than his friendship was converted into aversion, and he began to lay schemes for destroying *de Gama* and seizing the ships. The *Portuguese* were insulted by the populace, and a plot was laid for the Admiral's life, which he had the happiness to discover; one of the pilots made his escape, and some of the people who went on shore, in order to wood and water, were attacked by seven vessels, and would have been

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destroyed, had not their companions in the other boats, come in time to their assistance, and by pouring in a volley of shot made the aggressors fly with the utmost precipitation. However the ships being in want of water, the Admiral entered the harbour of *Mofambique* a second time, and sending the boats, took it away by force, while the *Moors* kept at a distance for fear of the ordnance.

On the 24th of *March* one of the natives braving the fleet from the shore, the Admiral to revenge this insult, and the other injuries he had suffered, manned out the boats, in which he caused some ordnance to be placed, and after driving a body of men from the shore who came to oppose his landing, and taking a few of them prisoners, among whom one of them happened to be a pilot, he destroyed the town with his great guns, and obliged the inhabitants to fly into the country.

De Gama finding that his staying longer here would be attended with great danger, now steered to another island at four miles distance, and from thence failed to *Quiloa*; but being forced by contrary winds and tempestuous weather to return, an *Arabian*, with his son, desired to be carried to *Melinda*, in his way to *Mecca*, from whence he came as a pilot, to which the Admiral readily consented, his brother having seized another pilot at *Mofambique*, the weather no sooner became favourable, than they again put out to sea, and proceeded to *Mombassa*, a city which the pilots observed was chiefly inhabited by Christians.

They

They arrived at that city on the 27th of April; but as the ships lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night, with about 100 men in *Turkish* habits, armed with scimeters and bucklers, and would have boarded them, had they not been prevented by the Admiral's giving orders that no more than four should be admitted. These four seemed by their dress to be above the common rank, and these he obliged to lay aside their arms before they came, excusing his precaution by observing, that he was a stranger to the coast. He, however, entertained them in a very handsome manner, on which they told him that the King being informed of his arrival, had sent them with compliments of congratulation, and promised to load his ships with spices; observing that there were many Christians on the island, which agreeing with the report of the pilots, he readily believed what they told him. The next day the King sent to compliment the Admiral, and made him a present of fruit. These deputies told him there were many Christians in the place, and that they themselves were of that number. They advised him to approach the city, and come to an anchor in the harbour, where the King could more conveniently give the *Portuguese* fresh proofs of his inclination to serve them. The Admiral believing them to be sincere, expressed his acknowledgments, and treating them very kindly, promised to comply with his Majesty's request. He set on shore two of his exiles with presents to the King, who treated them with the utmost hospitality,

and ordered some of the natives to shew them the city. In their way they saw many prisoners in irons, and were carried to the house of two merchants of *India*, who were Christians, after which the King sent them back with samples of corn and spices, bidding them tell the Admiral, that he might have what quantity he pleased for gold, silver, amber, and other commodities, at a less price than any were else.

It was immediately resolved to accept of this offer of spices, and the next morning at flood they prepared to enter the harbour; but the Admiral's ship striking on a shoal, he again cast anchor, upon which, the natives who were on board went into their boat, and at the same instant the two pilots jumped into the sea, and were taken up by the natives, who could not be prevailed upon to return and deliver them. This naturally gave the Admiral a distrust of the King, whose affected civility was only dissimulation; for having heard of what had passed at *Mosambique*, he had resolved to destroy the *Portuguese*, while the ships were in the harbour, and two of the persons whom the Admiral had seized and brought from *Mosambique*, being put to the torture, by dropping hot bacon upon their flesh, confessed that they had plotted the destruction of the ships, and that the pilots had escaped from the fear of its being discovered.

The execution of the project for destroying the *Portuguese*, being thus prevented, the King immediately concerted another scheme for destroying them; but in the night the watch perceiving

ceiving that the cables shook, at first imagined it was caused by some tunny fish, of which there are great numbers in those seas, till several men were found swimming about, and cutting it with their swords, in order that the ship might run a-ground. Others had also got among the tackle of the fore-mast of another ship; but on their being discovered, they plunged into the sea, and swam to some boats, that lay at a distance to receive them. The Admiral being therefore convinced of the treachery of these people, resolved to sail immediately to *Melinda*.

Mombassa, is an island, situated near the continent, from which it is divided by a river that falls into the sea by two mouths. The city which was governed by a King, was very large, and seated upon an high rock. At the entrance of the port was a small low fort, near the water. The houses were built with stone; the cielings wrought in figures, with a composition like plaister of *Paris*, and the streets made a good appearance. The inhabitants were of different complexions, some being much less swarthy than others. They were richly dressed, especially the women, who wore silk gowns, adorned with gold and jewels. A great trade was carried on for various sorts of merchandize, and the harbour was continually full of ships. Here they found plenty of provisions, as millet, rice, cattle, and fowls, which were all very fat, and their sheep, which were very fine, had no tails; from the main-land were also brought ivory-ware, and honey. The

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island was very pleasant, and afforded excellent water. It was full of orchards, and planted with oranges, lemons, citrons, *Indian* figs, and pomegranates.

The Admiral having got clear of the bay, left *Mombassa* on the 13th, and soon after chased two sambucos, or small pinnaces, one of which he took, with 17 men on board, and a considerable quantity of gold and silver, and the same day reached *Melinda*, which is 18 leagues from *Mombassa*, and situated in 3° south-latitude. The city is seated on the plainest part of a rocky coast, and encompassed with palms, and woods of fruit-trees, among which the oranges excel, on account of their size and goodness. The inhabitants had plenty of provisions, as millet, rice, sheep, and poultry, which are very good, and remarkably cheap. The city was large, with handsome streets and houses, built with stone, several stories high, with terraces on the top. The natives of the country were very swarthy; they had curled hair, and were strong, and well proportioned. They wore turbans wrought with silk and gold, and from the waist downwards were cloathed with silk and cotton stuffs, while others wore short cloaks of callico; their swords and daggers were handsomely ornamented; they were left-handed, and being good archers, never went without their bows and arrows. The women were very beautiful, and were richly dressed in the same manner as the men, only they wore veils, which were laced with gold. The strangers who had settled in this
city

city were *Arabians*, and most of the merchants who traded to it, were of *Cambaya* or *Guxerat*, these brought spices, copper, callico, and quick-silver, which they exchanged for gold, amber, ivory, pitch, and wax. The King was a *Mahometan*, and served with much greater state than the sovereigns of the places, these ships had before visited.

De Gama rejoiced at seeing a city that had some resemblance to those of *Protugal*, and anchored within a league of it. But nobody came on board for fear of being made prisoners; for the pinnace the Admiral had just before taken, probably raised the belief of their being pirates. *De Gama* therefore ordered an *Arabian* prisoner who was one of those he had taken in the pinnace, and had promised to get him pilots in this place, to be set on a shelf over against the city, from whence a boat came immediately to fetch him. This man being conducted to the King, he informed him, that the Admiral desired to enter into an alliance with him. The King returned an answer to the Admiral's satisfaction, with a present of three sheep, and a considerable quantity of oranges and sugar canes, which was returned with a present of a hat, three brass basons, some small bells, and two scarves.

The next day *de Gama* proceeded with his ships nearer the city, and anchored by four vessels belonging to the Christians of *India*, where the King sent some persons to visit him, and to let him know, that he himself would visit him the next day.

In the mean time the Christians from the *India* ships, with the King's leave visited *de Gama*. They were well proportioned, and of a brown complexion. They wore long gowns of white callico; their beards were large, and their hair, which was long like that of women, was plaited under their turbans. They had some little knowledge of the *Arabic*, from their trading with the *Arabs*, of whom they advised the Admiral to be upon his guard. On seeing a picture representing the *Virgin Mary* and some of the Apostles, they fell down and worshipped it, for which purpose they afterwards repaired thither every day, ridiculously offering to the picture, pepper and other things.

The next day, in the afternoon, the King of *Melinda* came in a large boat, dressed in a gown of crimson damask, lined with green sattin, with a rich scarf rolled round his head. He sat in a very handsome chair, neatly inlaid with wire, on a silk cushion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimson sattin. Near him stood an old man, who held a very rich sword with a silver scabbard. He was also attended with about 20 of his subjects richly dressed with musicians, who played on sackbuts, and two ivory flutes, eight spans in length, neatly made, with a little hole in the middle, on which they played. *De Gama* went to meet the King in his boat, adorned with flags, and attended by twelve of the principal persons in his three ships. After many salutations, he at the King's desire went into his boat. His majesty viewed him and his men very attentively,
asked

asked him several questions in relation to the country he came from, the name of his King, and the motives which had brought him into those seas. These questions the Admiral answered, after which the king promised him a pilot for *Calicut*, and invited him to take the pleasure his palace afforded. *De Gama* however excused himself; but promised to call there at his return, and at the same time made his majesty a present of all the prisoners he had lately taken, at which he was highly pleased.

The King was afterwards rowed up to the ships, which he beheld with surprise, and was highly delighted with the firing of the ordnance, telling the Admiral, that he never saw any men who pleased him so well as the *Portuguese*, and he wished he had some of them to assist him in his wars. At parting the Admiral allowed two men to accompany him, and had his son, and an ecclesiastic, as hostages for their return. The next day *de Gama*, and one of the Captains of his ships went with armed boats to the shore, to have a nearer view of the city.

On the 21st of *April*, *de Gama* was visited by a person of rank, and as he had not seen anybody from the city for two days before, he began to be uneasy, and to apprehend the King's being offended at his refusing to land, and his suspicions encreased, when he found that this person, who came from the King, brought no pilot with him, of which the King being informed, he immediately sent him a *Gentile* of *Guzerat*. This pilot, *de Faria* observes, was so expert in navigation, that being shewn an astro-

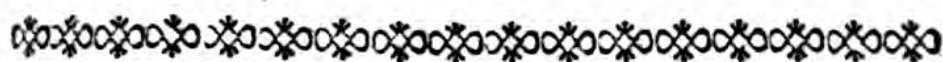
22 DE GAMA'S DISCOVERY *of*

astrolabe, he took little notice of it, as being used to more considerable instruments, and it is said that *de Gama* found a compass, charts, and quadrants, in use upon these coasts.

De Gama set sail from *Melinda* on the 22d of *April*, and resolved now to quit the shores, which he had hitherto coasted, and trust himself in the main ocean, under the conduct of this skilful pilot. In this run he had remarkably good weather, and crossed that great sea of 700 leagues, which lies between *Africa* and the hither peninsula of *India* in 23 days. On the 17th of *May* they saw land, and on the 20th the pilot perceived the mountains of *Calicut*, and immediately informing the Admiral, the latter was so transported with joy, that he made an entertainment for the whole crew, and soon after came to an anchor in an open road two leagues below *Calicut*.



C H A P.



C H A P. III.

De Gama invited to Court. A Description of the Temples near Calicut. De Gama obtains an Audience of the Zamorin, who gives him a favourable Reception, but being afterwards imposed upon by the Intrigues of the Arabian Merchants, treats him with some Severity, and the Admiral is confined; but at length set at Liberty. The most material Transaction, till their leaving Calicut, with some Account of the Manners and Customs of the People.

ON the 20th of *May* the Admiral came to an anchor on the coast of *Malabar*, about two leagues from *Calicut*, and soon after several fishermen in their boats rowed up to the fleet, greatly admiring the ships. They were of a brown complexion and naked, except a small piece of linen which hung before. *De Gama* gave these people a courteous reception, and bought some of their fish, after which they conducted him nearer to *Calicut*, where he cast anchor without the bar, and immediately sent one of his banished men on shore in one of the fishermen's boats, to get intelligence of the place, and to form some knowledge of the manner in which he should be received. The people immediately thronged about this stranger; asked the fishermen many questions, and were greatly surpris'd at his dress, which was so un-
like

like that of the *Arabs* who came from the streights of *Mecca*. They however carried him to the house of two *Moors*, one of whom called *Bontaibo* * could speak *Spanish*, and knowing him to be a *Portuguese*, asked, What brought him thither? and many other questions of the like kind, which being answered, *Bontaibo* said, that he was acquainted with the *Portuguese* at *Tunis*, whence he came; but could not conceive how any *Portuguese* ships could come thither. He then gave the man some refreshments, and went with him to see the Admiral, whom he no sooner saw, than he cried aloud in *Spanish*, " Good luck! good luck! Many
 " rubies, many emeralds! Thou art bound to
 " give God thanks for bringing thee where
 " there are all sorts of spices and precious
 " stones, with all the riches in the world."

The Admiral and those who were with him, were so surpris'd at meeting with one who could speak their language, so far from home, that tears of joy started into their eyes. *De Gama* embraced *Bontaibo*, and making him sit down, seated himself by him, and asked if he was a Christian? and how he came to *Calicut*? *Bontaibo* answered, that he was indeed a Christian, and had been chief contractor for the warlike stores which King *Ferdinand* had purchased at *Tunis*; and that he had arrived at *India* by the way of *Cairo*. He concluded with observing, that as he had on all occasions been a friend to the *Portuguese*, he would now continue to pro-

* *De Faria* calls him *Monzaide*.

mote their designs to the utmost of his power. *De Gama* thanked him heartily, and promised to reward him nobly for whatever service he should do him, declaring, that he was overjoyed at meeting with such a friend, and believed God had sent him thither before him to give success to the voyage. He then asked *Bontaibo* several questions relating to the Sovereign of *Calicut*, to which he replied, that he was a Prince of a very good disposition, and he did not doubt but he would gladly receive the Admiral as Ambassador from a foreign King, especially, if he came to settle a trade, and had brought any merchandize with him, since the King's revenue chiefly arose from the duties on goods: that his Majesty was then at *Panane*, a village situated near the sea, five leagues from *Calicut*, and that he ought immediately to send his Majesty notice of his arrival, which the Admiral did, and dismissed *Bontaibo* with presents.

The Zamorin, or Emperor, being informed by these messengers, that the Admiral had letters to him from the King of *Portugal*, a Christian Prince, he sent to bid him welcome, and at the same time ordered him a pilot to conduct him to *Padarane*, where there was a good harbour for the ships, with orders for the Admiral to go from thence by land to *Calicut*, where he would be ready to receive him. *De Gama* accordingly steered with the ships to *Padarane*, but would not enter too far into the port for fear of treachery. Here an order was sent him from the Cutwal, or officer for foreign affairs, with permission to land whenever he pleased. Upon

which *de Gama* calling a council, let them know that he intended to go and settle a treaty of commerce, and perpetual amity with the Zamorin: to this his brother alledged, that tho' the Zamorin and the natives, as they then imagined, were Christians, yet there were many *Arabs* among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be still more so from the consideration of their coming to interfere in their trade, and therefore, as the success of the voyage depended on his life, he thought it more adviseable to send some other person in his stead, and in this opinion he was seconded by all the rest; but *de Gama* declared, that whatever happened he was resolved to go himself, alledging that it was his Majesty's interest to encourage traders, and that he had nothing to fear, as the inhabitants were Christians; but that in case any accident happened to him, they should give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly homewards, to carry to the King of *Portugal* the news of their having discovered the *Indies*.

The next day *de Gama* set out in his boat, which was furnished with ordnance, attended by 12 of his officers, with flags waving, and trumpets sounding. The Cutwal waited for him on shore, attended by 200 Naires, or gentlemen of the country, and a multitude of people. He was received very politely at his landing, where there were two litters, one for him and the other for the Cutwal, into which having entered, they were carried very swiftly on men's shoulders, all the rest going on foot.

At

At a place called *Capocats*, they rested, and having dined on rice and fruit, they entered some boats, and sailed down the river. *De Gama* and his attendants were afterwards conducted to a large *Indian* temple, built of freestone, and covered with tiles. Over the door hung seven bells, and before it stood a pillar made of wire, as high as the mast of a ship, with a weathercock of the same at the top. At the entrance of this temple, they were met by four men, naked from the girdle upwards, and from thence to the knees covered with callico, and over the shoulder of each were three strings tied under the left arm. They sprinkled the company with a sponge dipped in a fountain, and presented to each, Sanders wood powdered to strew upon their heads, and with this, the *Portuguese* made the sign of the cross on their foreheads. On the walls of this temple were many painted images, some with great teeth sticking above an inch out of their mouths, and others with four arms, and such frightful faces, that the *Portuguese* began to doubt, whether it was a Christian church or not. In the middle was a little round chapel, over which was a tower, built with freestone, with a small wire door, and stone stairs, to which they ascended on the outside by steps. In the wall opposite to this entrance stood an image, which from the darkness of the place, could not be distinctly viewed, and admittance was denied to all, except the priest, who approaching and pointing to the figure, called aloud, *Maria! Maria!* when the *Cutwal* and his attendants

coming before the chapel, fell flat on the ground with their hands before them three times, and then prayed standing, while *de Gama* and the rest who took it for an image of the Virgin fell on their knees and prayed; only one *Juan de Sala* who had some doubt, said as he was kneeling, "If this be the Devil, I worship God," which made *de Gama* and the rest of the *Portuguese* smile.

They now walked in procession towards the palace, followed by a prodigious multitude of people; but at their entering the city, the press was so great, that they were almost stifled, and could scarce move forward, which obliged the Cutwal to take them into a house, where his brother, who was a person of great distinction, met him with several Naires, who were sent by the Zamorin to conduct *de Gama* to court. These were preceded by trumpets and sackbuts, and one of the Naires had a small piece of ordnance which he discharged from time to time. After the coming of the Cutwal's brother, the people fell behind with as much respect, as if the Zamorin had been there in person. They were now attended by at least 3000 men in arms, and *de Gama* was highly pleased with the manner of his reception; for turning to those who were with him, he said, "They little think in *Portugal* what honour is done us here."

An hour before sun-set they arrived at the Zamorin's palace, which was very large, and made an handsome appearance, it being surrounded with a variety of trees, and accom-
dated

dated with delightful gardens, adorned with fountains. At the palace gate they were received by several of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, with gates to each, attended by ten porters, who were obliged to lay about them with their sticks to clear the way, and on their approaching the audience chamber, were met by the King's chief Bramin, a little old man, who embraced *de Gama*, and conducted them all in; but the people pressed so violently to get in with them, in order to see the Zamorin, that several were squeezed to death, and this had like to have been the fate of two of the *Portuguese*, had not the porters laid on unmercifully to make room for them.

The hall into which the *Portuguese* were conducted, was set round with seats, rising one above another in the manner of an amphitheatre; the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with silk tapestry interwoven with gold. The Zamorin, who was of a brown complexion, lusty and advanced in years, lay reclined upon a sofa covered with white silk wrought with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He wore a short coat of fine callico, adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button holes were of gold thread; about his waist was a piece of white callico, which reached to his knees. On his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the same kind, and both his toes and fingers sparkled with diamond rings,

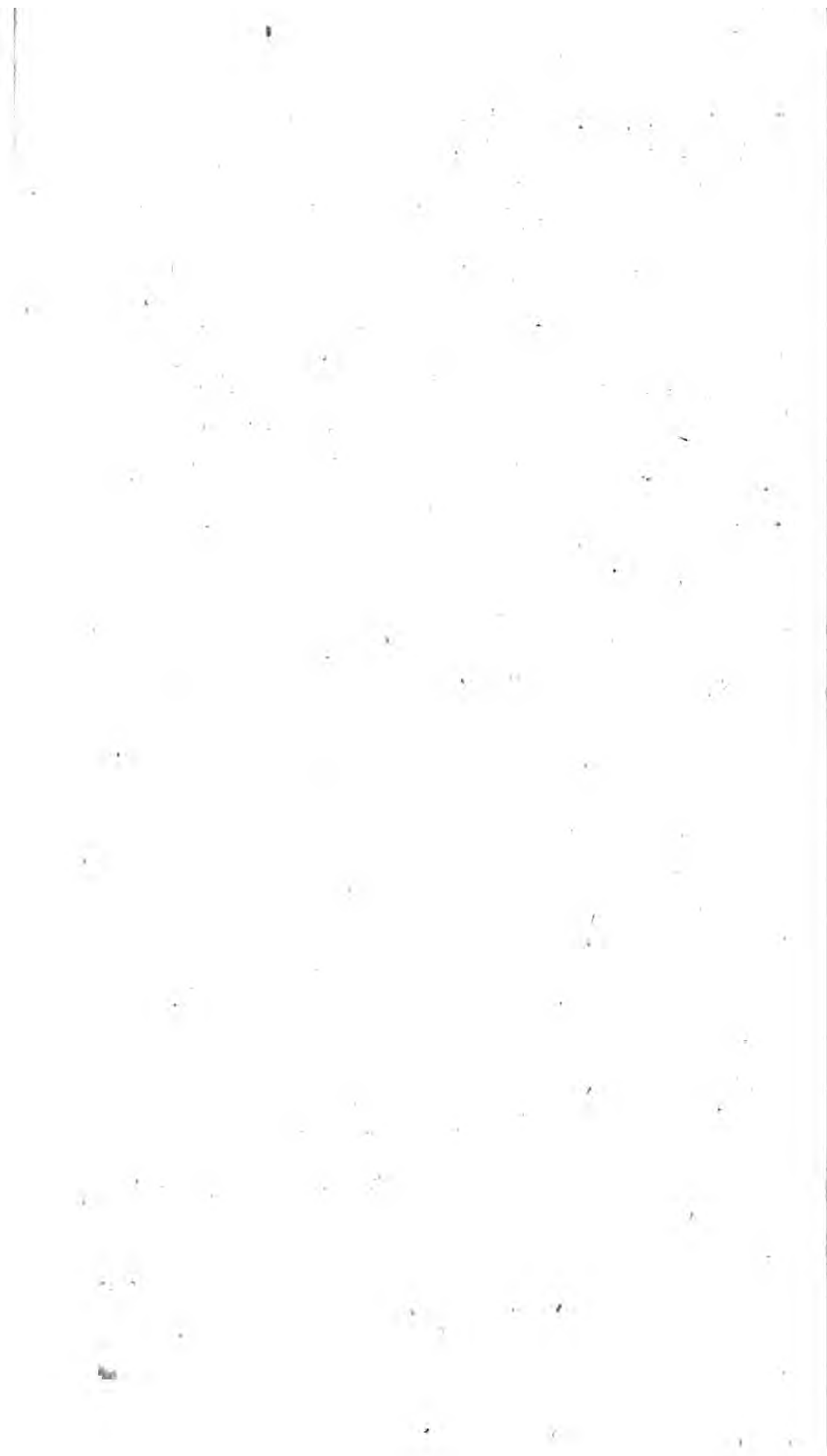
rings. His arms and legs were naked and adorned with gold bracelets, and in short his person was graceful, and his air noble and majestic. Near him stood a gold basin on an high stand, out of which one of his attendants served him with betel, which he chewed with salt and areca, an apple no bigger than an hazel-nut. There was another gold vessel for the King to spit in, and a gold fountain with water to wash his mouth. All present held their left hand before their mouths that their breath might not reach the Zamorin, before whom it is reckoned offensive to spit or sneeze.

On *de Gama's* approaching the Zamorin, he according to the custom of the country, bowed his body three times, with his hands above his head, his Majesty looked on him with complacency; but returned his salute in so slight a manner, that the motion of his head could scarcely be perceived, then making signs to him to advance, he caused him to be seated near him, and the rest entering and bowing in the same manner, he gave orders for their being seated opposite to him, and water to be brought for them to cool their hands, it being very hot though in winter. He then ordered a collation of figs and jakas * to be brought in, and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a spout was brought them, when being informed that the *Malabars* reckoned it

* See the description of this fruit in Dampier's *Voyage round the World*. Chap. IH.



*The Zamorin of Calicut granting -
de Gama Audience.*



indecent to touch the vessel with their lips when drinking, they in compliance with the custom, held it at some distance above their mouths; but not being used to that manner of receiving liquor, it either overcharged their throats, and made them cough, or falling on one side, wet their cloaths, which made diversion for the whole court.

At length the Zamorin ordered *de Gama*, by his interpreter, to lay his business before his officers, who were present, that he might be informed of it from them, upon which the Admiral let him know, that he could not with honour recede from the custom observed by the Christian Princes of *Europe*, which was to hear Embassadors themselves, in the presence of only a few of their Councillors. The Zamorin, said, that he approved that custom, and ordering *de Gama* to be conducted into another apartment, which was like the first, followed with only his interpreter, his chief Bramin, his Betel Server, and the Comptroller of the household. Being seated on a sofa, he asked the Admiral what country he came from, and the occasion of his coming, to which he answered, that he was Embassador from the King of *Portugal*, the greatest Monarch for power and riches in all the west, who having heard that there were Christian Kings in the *Indies*, of whom the King of *Calicut* was reported to be the chief, he had thought fit to send an Embassador to settle a trade and friendship with him, and that the predecessors of the King his master, had for the space of three-score

score years attempted to discover *India* by sea ; but that none of his Captains had till now, been able to accomplish that design. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promised to produce the letters of his King at the next audience, and observed, that he had orders to tell his Majesty, that the King his master was his friend and brother, and hoped, that if his Majesty accepted of his friendship, he would send his Embassador to *Porugal* to confirm it. The Zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an alliance, and then asked several questions, in relation to the King's power ; the distance between *Calicut* and *Portugal*, and how long he had been on his voyage. These questions the Admiral answered. But it being now late, and he chusing to lodge in a house by himself, and not with either the Indians or the Christians, ordered his factor, who was an *Indian*, to go with him, and provide whatever he should have occasion for : He was also accompanied by the Cutwal and his attendants, but there falling a heavy rain, they were forced to shelter themselves at the factor's, who would have lent him a horse ; but as he had no saddle, he chose rather to go on foot to his lodging, whither his men had already carried his baggage.

Thus every thing seemed to offer *de Gama* the fairest prospect for promoting the glory and advantage of his nation, but he was even now on the brink of seeing them ravished from him. Formidable rivals rose up against him.

Maho-

Mahometanism had followed the Tartars to the *Indies*, when they took possession of these vast countries, and was as predominant there as Paganism. The declared hatred that the Musselmans then bore to the Christians, animated them against the Christians; and besides, the *Arabs* carried on a very considerable commerce in the countries of *Mogul* and *Malabar*, to which they came from the coasts of *Africa*, *Arabia*, and *Persia*; being the sole depositaries of the riches of the *Indies*, they brought them to *Europe*, whence they drew immense profits; and the fear of being supplanted, made them conspire the destruction of the *Portuguese*.

The next mornning the Admiral resolving to make the *Zamorin* a present, sent for the *Cutwal* and the factor to see it. It consisted of four pieces of scarlet, six hats, four branches of coral, a parcel of brass, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil, and two of honey. At the sight of these things the Factor and *Cutwal* laughed, saying, that it was not a present fit for the *Zamorin*, and that the poorest Merchant who came to that port gave a better. In short, that if he would make a present it must be in gold. *De Gama* replied, with some resentment, that if he had come there to trade he would have brought gold; but he was no merchant, but an *Embassador*, and that the present was from himself, and not from the King his master, who on hearing of the *Zamorin's* greatness would send him a present worthy his acceptance. They replied, that it might

might be so, but that it was customary for every stranger who came to speak with the Zamorin, to make him a present suitable to his dignity, and absolutely refused to give their consent to its being carried to him.

De Gama being much incensed, told them, that since he could not have their consents, he would go himself and speak to the Zamorin. This they pretended to approve; but said they had a little business in the city, and desired him to stay till they returned, since the Zamorin would not be pleased at his going to the palace without them. *De Gama* promised to wait for them, but they did not return that day.

These officers had indeed been gained over by the *Arabs*, who had received intelligence from the coast of *Africa* of what the *Portuguese* had done there, and that they came only as spies to discover the state of the city of *Calicut*. Upon which they consulted how to destroy the Admiral's credit with the Zamorin, so as to induce him to seize his ships, and destroy all the men. The principal persons among the *Arabs* repaired to the Zamorin, and cautioning him not to be deceived by his new guests, assured him, that he was no Ambassador, but a pirate, who had committed the greatest outrages at *Mosambique*, *Mombassa*, *Melinda*, and other places on the coast of *Africa*, of which they had obtained intelligence from their factors. They also got the Cutwal, who was in great credit with the Zamorin, to second their attempt, by alledging the poorness
of

of the present, as a proof of *de Gama's* being no Embassador. Mean while they went to the Admiral's lodging, under the pretence of giving him their friendly advice, and particularly recommended his making a present, in order to induce him to shew them what he had prepared, that they might have an opportunity of undervaluing it. He accordingly let them see it, when they told him, that the factor and Cutwal had reason to be displeas'd with it, and advis'd him not to send it, lest the Zamorin should think he did it to affront him. *Bontaibo* was of the same mind, and wonder'd how he could be so poorly provided. When *de Gama* being mortified at these speeches, which he thought proceeded from friendship, alledged the same excuse he had made the Cutwal.

This officer and the factor did not come near the Admiral till the next day in the afternoon, and on his resenting their treatment, turned the discourse upon other subjects, and took him with them to court. As the Zamorin's mind had been much changed by the representation that had been made to him, he kept *de Gama* waiting three hours, and when he was admitted, told him with a look of anger, that he had waited for him all the day before. *De Gama* being unwilling to mention the true cause, lest it should introduce the subject of the present, alledged in his excuse, that he had been fatigued with his journey. But the Zamorin, immediately ask'd how it could happen, that if he came Embassador from so great and
rich

rich a Prince, as he said his master was, he brought no present from him, and that he could not tell what to make of an embassy of friendship, without such a necessary credential. *De Gama* made the old apology, adding, that his Majesty might be sure that his Sovereign would send him a noble present, in case he lived to carry back the news of his discovery. The Zamorin then demanded whether his master sent him to discover stones or men, if the latter, added he, why did he send me no present by you. But since, says he, you have brought me none, I hear you have a *St. Mary* in gold, and desire I may have that. *De Gama* a little confounded at this demand, replied, that the image he was told of was not of gold, but wood gilt; but as it had preserved them at sea he desired to be excused from parting with it. To this the Zamorin made no answer, but asked for the letters, one of which was written in *Portuguese*, and the other in *Arabic*. *De Gama* suspecting the integrity of the King's interpreter, desired he might have those who were Christians; but none being to be found, he proposed *Bontaibo* for one, who read the letter aloud, and as it was the Zamorin's interest to encourage the resort of merchants to his dominions, he seemed very well pleased with the letter, and assuming a more friendly countenance, began to enquire about the commodities of *Portugal*, of which *de Gama* immediately gave him an account, adding, that he brought samples of them all to shew his Majesty. He then desired that he would permit

mit him to go on board to send them on shore, and offered to leave four or five of his men behind till his return. The Zamorin replied, there was no necessity for his men's stay, and that he might bring his merchandise on shore, and sell them to the best advantage.

The next day the Cutwal sent *de Gama* a horse, but being without furniture, he desired, that instead of it he might have an open chair, which was sent. In this he set out for *Pandarane* accompanied by several Naires. The *Arabs* now finding the Admiral was going to his ships, and apprehending that he would not come any more on shore, hastened to the Cutwal, who staid behind in *Calicut*, and by a large bribe prevailed on him to pursue *de Gama* and detain him prisoner, that they might have an opportunity of killing him, promising to obtain his pardon of the Zamorin for acting contrary to his orders. The Cutwal therefore set out, and having overtaken *de Gama*, asked him why he was in such haste, and if he was running away; to which he answered, That he was running away from the heat. On their arrival at *Pandarane*, the Admiral demanded a boat to go on board; but the Cutwal earnestly dissuaded him, on account of the distance of the ships, and its being dark, and at the same time gave private orders to the boatmen to keep out of the way; by which means he was obliged to stay all night; but in the morning the Cutwal, instead of bringing a boat, desired him to order his ships nearer to shore. *De Gama*, however, insisted that he

would give no such order, since that would make his brother conclude that he was detained a prisoner, upon which he would return to *Portugal* without him. The Cutwal then replied in an imperious tone, that if he would not do what he demanded, he should not go on board. *De Gama* threatened to complain to the Zamorin, when the Cutwal told him that he might go and make his complaint, but at the same time ordered the doors of his lodging to be kept shut, and several Naires to stand guard with their drawn swords, while others were placed without to oppose the *Portuguese*, in case they should attempt to break them open. Fear however restrained the Cutwal from laying violent hands on the Admiral, and seeing that *de Gama* would not give him an opportunity of boarding the ships, by having them brought close to the shore, he desired that their sails and rudders might be landed, which *de Gama* also absolutely refused.

At that instant one of the Admiral's attendants informed him, that he had met with one of his Captains, who waited for him with his boats, upon which he sent him back with orders privately to inform him of his condition, and to order him to return speedily to the ships to prevent their being surpris'd. But he had scarce put off from shore, when the Cutwal being informed of it, sent several armed boats in pursuit of him, though without effect.

The Cutwal continued to press *De Gama* to write to his brother to bring the ships near the shore, and the day being spent in these disputes, he

he and his men were put into a great yard encompassed with walls, under a stronger guard than before, which made him apprehend his being separated from his attendants the next day. The Cutwal, however, afterwards supped with the Admiral, and wondered as much at seeing how patiently he bore his confinement, as at his resolution in refusing to comply with his demand. The next day he told *de Gama*, that it was the custom for all ships on their arrival at *Calicut* to land both their goods and men, who were not to return on board till all were sold. However, as soon as the merchandize was brought on shore from his ships, he would suffer him to return on board. Though *de Gama* placed no confidence in the Cutwal's words, he told him, that he would send for the merchandize, provided he would furnish boats, for that he knew his brother would not send the ship's boat while he himself was not on board. The Cutwal consented to this proposal, in hopes of getting all the goods into his own possession, upon which *de Gama* dispatched two of his men with a letter, to let him know the terms they had agreed upon, and that, though he was confined, he was otherwise well used, directing him to send part of the cargo on shore, and in case he was afterwards detained, he should think he was kept prisoner by the Zamorin's orders, with a view of gaining time for arming his ships to seize theirs, in which case he advised him to return immediately to *Portugal*, to advise the King and Council to send a strong fleet to rescue his subjects out of

40 DE GAMA'S DISCOVERY of
flavery, and secure the trade of a rich country
so happily discovered.

Paul de Gama immediately sent the goods; but let the Admiral know that he would not return without him, and that if they did not instantly release him, he would force them to it with his ordnance. However, the goods being landed, the Admiral was suffered to go to his ships, but was no sooner on board, than he resolved neither to go on shore, nor to send more goods till those already landed were sold. This vexed the *Arabs*, who now saw him out of their reach, and endeavoured to do him all the mischief in their power, by undervaluing his merchandise.

In the mean time the Admiral sent *Diego Diaz*, his factor, to inform the Zamorin of his reasons for acting in this manner, and of the injuries he had suffered, both from the Cutwal and the *Arabs*. The Zamorin seemed much incensed; promised to punish the offenders, and to send some merchants to purchase the goods. Accordingly, seven or eight *Guzerat* merchants, and a Naire, were sent with the factor, with orders to remain in the factory, and not to suffer any *Arab* to come near it. But the *Guzerats* being privately brought over by the *Arabs*, bought nothing, upon which, the Admiral supposing there were no merchants in the place, sent to desire the Zamorin to give him leave to remove them to *Calicut*, which was granted, and the Cutwal was ordered to have them conveyed thither, and a house provided for them at his Majesty's expence.

expencc. *De Gama*, though he would not land himself, now gave his men liberty, by turns, to see the city, where they were kindly received by the *Indians*, and sold their goods with the utmost freedom. The natives, on the other hand, daily resorted to the ships in boats, either to sell provisions, or out of mere curiosity, and were kindly entertained by the Admiral's order.

Thus matters went on quietly till the 10th of *August*, when the season for returning from the *Indies* being come, *de Gama* sent *Diaz* his factor to the *Zamorin* with a present of scarves, silk, coral, and other things, ordering him to let his Majesty know that he intended to depart, and to desire in case he was disposed to send an Embassador to *Portugal*, that he might be dispatched. He also informed the *Zamorin*, that he designed to leave his factor and secretary at *Calicut*, with the goods that were there, till the arrival of the next fleet from *Europe*, and as a confirmation of his having being in *India*, desired his Majesty would send his master, a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of other spices, which should be paid for out of the first goods that were sold.

Diaz after waiting four days was admitted to the presence of the *Zamorin*, who with a frowning countenance asked him what he wanted. *Diaz* with great tremor delivered his message, and was going to offer the present, when the *Zamorin* refused to see it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor, and then bid him tell the Admiral that if he would go, he

might, but that he should first, according to the custom of the port, pay him 600 sharafins. *Diaz* however, had no sooner returned to the factory, than he was confined there, and proclamation was made through the city, to forbid any persons going on board the fleet upon pain of death. However, *Bontaibo* had the courage to disobey this command, in order to advise the Admiral to be on his guard, and to let him know that the *Arabs* had persuaded the Zamorin that the *Portuguese* were pirates, and came with no other design, but to carry off by force the merchandize brought to the city, and to pry into the strength of the country, in order to return with a fleet sufficient to invade it. This information was confirmed by two *Malabars*, and in the night a Negro servant belonging to *Diaz*, came in a fishing-boat to inform *de Gama* what had happened. But though he was highly incensed, he resolved to wait a little to see the issue. Two days after, four boys came on board, bringing precious stones to sell; but though the Admiral took them for spies, he seemed to be ignorant of what had passed, and suffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring on board others of more consequence. This had the desired effect, for the Zamorin imagining from hence that *de Gama* was ignorant of the imprisonment of his factor and secretary, sent people on board, to amuse him, till he could fit out a fleet, or the ships of *Mecca* should arrive to take him. At length there coming six of the principal *Malabars* with 15 attendants,

ants, he ordered them to be seized, and sent back two of the boatmen, with a letter in the *Malabar* tongue, to the Zamorin's factor, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange.

This letter being shewn to the Zamorin, he ordered his factor to take the prisoners home with him, that he might not seem to know of their seizure, and from thence to send them to the Admiral; but *de Gama* not seeing them arrive as soon as he expected, set sail, and came to an anchor in an open road four leagues below *Calicut*, where having waited three days, he put to sea almost out of sight of land, when a boat with *Malabars* came on board, and told the Admiral, that his people were in the Zamorin's palace, and would be with him the next day. *De Gama* let them know, that they should instantly bring his men, or letters from them, that if they returned without either, he would sink them; and if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of those he had seized. As soon as the boat was departed, he steered towards the shore, and came to an anchor over against *Calicut*.

The next day seven boats made up to the Admiral's ship, in one of which was *Diaz* and *Braga*, whom the *Malabars* put into the ship's boat and then withdrew to some distance, waiting for the Admiral's answer. They brought a letter to the King of *Portugal*, which was written by *Diaz* on a palm-tree leaf, and signed by the Zamorin. It was expressed in these laconic terms: "*Vasco de Gama*, a gentleman
of

“ of thy house, came to my country, of whose
 “ coming I was glad. In my country there
 “ is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and
 “ precious stones. The things which I am
 “ desirous of having out of thy country, are
 “ gold, silver, coral and scarlet.”

De Gama returned no other answer, but that he had sent back the Naires, and would keep the rest till all his merchandize were restored. The next day *Bontaibo* came on board, and told the Admiral, that the Cutwal, by the King's order, had seized all his effects, saying he was a Christian, and had been sent over land by the King of *Portugal*, as a spy. He added, that he knew it was all done at the instigation of the *Arabs*, and not doubting, as they had taken his goods, they would injure his person, he had fled away to avoid their malice. *De Gama* immediately ordered a cabin for him, and told him, that on his arrival at *Portugal*, he should meet with ample amends for the loss of his goods. There afterwards came three *Almadias* with scarves laid over the benches, and those who came in these vessels pretended that they had brought all the merchandize, and desired that the *Malabars* might be delivered up in return; but the Admiral perceiving that this was only an artifice, told them he would carry the *Malabars* to *Portugal* to confirm his discovery, and would soon return to *Calicut*, when the Zamorin should know whether the Christians were pirates, as the *Arabs* had pretended, and at whose instigation he had used them very ill.

Calicut

Calicut is seated in the middle of the coast of *Malabar*, upon an open shore, where there is no shelter for *European* ships, which are forced to ride at anchor in the road; but those of the country being made of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat bottomed, are easily brought on land. Though the city was at that time large, the houses were made of hurdles, except the palaces of the Zamorin and the temples, which were the only buildings of lime and stone; for none else, by their laws, were allowed to be erected with those materials. This city was at that time, the greatest mart in *India*, for all sorts of spices, drugs, precious stones, silks, calicoes, gold, silver, and other rich commodities. The people are Pagans, and pay an implicit obedience to their Bramins or Priests, in secular, as well as in religious affairs. The nobility are prohibited marriage, lest the cares of a family should destroy their martial spirit, yet they are allowed to keep mistresses, provided they are of the same rank with themselves; but if a nobleman is convicted of having any commerce with a woman of inferior rank, he is cut to pieces by his peers. The women of distinction may have any number of gallants, under the same restrictions, and jealousy is a passion utterly unknown to them. The sons of a nobleman does not inherit his father's estate; for as this promiscuous commerce renders it uncertain who is the father, he adopts his sister's son, who is educated at the King's expence, and furnished with proper masters, who instruct him in the
use

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use of arms, which consist of the javelin, scymiter, bow and arrows. They are inured betimes to danger and fatigue; but are not allowed to use their arms in the field of battle, till the Zamorin has distinguished them, by some military honour. They think their blood tainted even by the accidental touch of a commoner, and nothing but the blood of the offender can wash out the stain, whence the common people in the streets are obliged to call aloud, and proclaim their condition, in order to avoid such dangerous accidents. A man of mean birth cannot acquire nobility by the most illustrious actions, and a nobleman cannot forfeit it by the basest crimes. The lower class of people can only marry those of their own profession, and every man is obliged to follow the same business as his father. Instead of paper, they use the leaves of the palm-tree, upon which they record all memorable events, with a sharp-pointed pen, and the leaves being reduced into a regular form, are tied up between two pieces of polished wood.

C H A P.



C H A P. IV.

De Gama leaves Calicut. Meets with several Pirates, and takes a Spy, who pretends to be a Christian. Receives on board an Embassador from the King of Melinda, and returns to Portugal, where public rejoicings are made on Account of his Discoveries.

DE Gama immediately departed; but two days after being becalmed a league from *Calicut*, the Zamorin sent 60 tonies filled with soldiers to take the ships; however, a fresh gale suddenly springing up, the fleet escaped, but was followed by the *Malabars* for about an hour and a half. It was very happy for the *Portuguese* that they arrived at *Calicut* in the beginning of winter, when the King's fleet, which was very numerous, was hauled up; for had it been summer, when his vessels are at sea, their ships might have been easily destroyed.

Notwithstanding this attempt, the Admiral dismissed one of the captives at the first port at which he touched, with a letter to the Zamorin, in which he mentioned the snares that had been laid for him by the *Arabians*, apologized for his carrying away the *Malabars*, and professing the utmost regard for his Majesty, promised to labour to establish such a league between him and the King of *Portugal*, as would redound to their mutual advantage, assuring him that the prisoners he had taken
away

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away, should be well treated, and sent back with the next *Portuguese* fleet to their native country.

De Gama still steering along the coast, entered among certain small islands, from one of which there came several pinnaces with fish and other provisions. The *Portuguese* treated the people kindly, and having given them shirts and other things, with their leaves set up a cross, and named the place *Santa Maria*.

On the 19th of *September*, a week after he left the last-mentioned place, the Admiral anchored at six small islands near the shore, where he took in water, and the people brought him hens, goards, and milk, at the same time they informed him that the country abounded with cinnamon. Some *Portuguese* were sent on shore to learn the truth of this report, who returned with the news that they had seen entire woods of cinnamon trees. Soon after seven ships appeared in sight, belonging to a pirate, named *Timoya*, who infested those seas; but *de Gama* soon obliged him to sheer off, after having taken one of the vessels, which was laden with provisions.

From hence he proceeded to one of the *Anchediva* islands, which are five in number, where the Admiral resolved to careen his ships; but while the first was a-ground, there appeared two brigantines with their drums beating and trumpets sounding, besides five others that were near the shore. These the *Malabars* said were pirates, who under the colour of friendship, plundered all the vessels that came in their way.

way. Upon receiving this intelligence he gave orders for firing upon them, as soon as they were in reach of his guns, and at this unexpected reception, they retreated as fast as possible.

Among the multitudes that crowded to the shore to view the ships, came a person in a small vessel, who seemed to be about 40 years of age, and of a different country; for he had on a sabaco of fine callico, which reached to his heels: on his head he wore a turban that covered part of his face, and at his girdle hung a scymeter. He no sooner landed than he ran up to the Admiral, and then to the other Captains, embracing them as familiarly, as if they had been his intimate acquaintance, and having paid his compliments in the *Italian* tongue, told them he was a Christian born in *Italy*, but that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while on a voyage to *Greece* with his parents, he had suffered a variety of misfortunes, and been hitherto excluded from the hopes of re-visiting his native country. He observed, that he had been forced to enter into the service of a Mahometan Prince named *Sabay*, the sovereign of an island at about twelve leagues distance, called *Goa*; but, that though, he was obliged to comply with the worship of the *Mahometans*, he was still in his heart a Christian. He told the Admiral that he was the prime minister and confident of his sovereign, and that hearing there were certain strange ships at *Calicut*, whose men were cloathed from head to foot,

and spoke a language unknown in the *Indies*, he judged them to be Christians, and besought *Sabay* to give him leave to go and see them; which he had not only granted, but ordered him to tell them, that whatever his country afforded was at their service; he concluded with desiring that he might have a cheese to send to a companion of his on shore, as a token of his being well received. Though this gave the Admiral some suspicion, he ordered him the cheese with two loaves, which the stranger accordingly sent on shore, and continued talking to *de Gama*, asking him a number of questions, that seemed to denote an uncommon curiosity; his being so full of words increased the Admirals jealousy, and his brother asked some of the natives who he was, when they told him, that he was a pirate, and had been on board other ships that had been there before. Upon this the Admiral ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, to make him confess who he was, and the design of his coming; and this having no effect, he had the inhumanity to order him to be hung by the genitals, and hoisted up and let down by a pulley. After the fourth torture he confessed that he was a *Polish Jew*, and that *Sabay* having a design to attack the *Portuguese* ships, had sent him to discover their strength and manner of fighting. The Admiral then ordered him to be confined under the hatches, and cured of the hurt he had suffered, telling him that he did not design to make a slave of him, but would carry him to *Portugal*, to give some account

count of the country to the King, and being used kindly, he was afterwards baptized by the name of *Jasper de Gama*, and became very serviceable to the *Portuguese* on many occasions.

De Gama left this coast on the 5th of *October*, having first ordered the vessel he had taken to be burned. He now steered for *Melinda*; but was exposed to great danger by the length of the passage, occasioned by storms, calms, and contrary winds, by which means the men became so dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy, that there were not above 16 men fit for labour in each ship. This rendered all on board so dispirited, that in spite of *de Gama's* persuasions, the other two Captains resolved to return to *India*; but a fair gale springing up, brought them in 16 days within sight of land, and the next morning they found themselves before the city of *Magadoxo*, which appeared very large and handsome. This city, which is 113 leagues from *Melinda*, is walled round, and being at that time inhabited by *Arabians*, the Admiral, as he steered along the coast, ordered the ordnance to be fired by way of defiance. To prevent their overshooting *Melinda*, the ships came to an anchor every night; but on their arriving at a village of *Moors*, within ten leagues of that city, there appeared eight large boats, filled with soldiers, steering directly towards the ships; but the Admiral firing upon them, they soon tacked about, and fled. At length he arrived at *Melinda*, where he again met with a most friendly reception, and was supplied with refreshments. He staid there

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five days, and then failed, taking with him the Ambassador, the King of *Melinda* had before promised to send to *Portugal*, and as the Admiral had not a sufficient number of men to navigate the three ships, he burned the *St. Raphael*, commanded by his brother.

On the 27th of *February*, *de Gama* reached *Zanjibar*, a pretty large island in 6°. south latitude, near which are two others, *Pemba* and *Monfia*, all of them very fertile, and the natives at that time carried on a good trade with *Mombassa* for *Guzerat* callico; with *Sofala* for gold; and with the island of *Madagascar* for silver. The Prince of *Zanjibar*, though a *Mahometan*, entertained the *Portuguese* with great hospitality, and furnished them with a supply of fruit and fresh provisions. *De Gama* steered from thence along the coast, and passing *Mosambique*, took in wood and water at the island of *San Blas*. On the 26th of *April* he doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and then steered for the island of *St. Jago*, but the two ships being separated by a violent storm, *Nicholas Coello*, who commanded the *Berrio*, being in haste to carry the news of the discovery to the King, steered directly for *Lisbon*, and on the 10th of *July* put into *Cuscais*. The Admiral on his arriving at *St. Jago* left his ship to be fitted up, and hiring a caraval, arrived at *Belem* in *September*, 1499, after a voyage of two years and two months, in which he had lost above half his men.

The King overjoyed at his return, sent a nobleman and several gentlemen to conduct him to court, in the way to which he passed thro' crowds

crowds of spectators, and was received with extraordinary honours. For this service he was honoured with the title of Don, a part of the King's arms was added to his, and an annual pension of 3000 ducats was granted to him. *Nicholas Coello* was made a Fidalgo, and had an appointment of 100 ducats, and, in short, the King himself augmented his own title on account of this new discovery, vainly styling himself Lord of the conquest and navigation of *Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies*. Upon this occasion, public thanksgivings were made throughout the kingdom, for the success of the voyage, to which succeeded feasts and entertainments, and those who had long represented these designs as impracticable, now grew ashamed of their opposition, and became the most zealous in recommending them.





T H E
V O Y A G E
O F
PEDRO ALVAREZ DE CABRAL
T O T H E
E A S T I N D I E S.



C H A P. I.

The Fleet sets sail from Belem, and accidentally discovers the Coast of Brasil. A Description of that Country, and of the Manners of the Inhabitants.

TH E expectations of the *Portuguese* being highly raised, with respect to the hopes of the great profit to be obtained by the discovery of the *Indies*, it was resolved to prosecute these discoveries still farther, and therefore, 13 vessels of different sizes were fitted out, under the command of *Pedro Alvarez de Cabral*, on board of which were 1200 men, eight *Franciscan* fryars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain

chaplain major, who were to begin with preaching to a people who did not understand their language, and, in case that failed, were like the disciples of *Mahomet*, to proceed to the decision of the sword. *Cabral* received from the King the flag of the cross, with the following instructions, That in case the King of *Calicut* readily consented to the settling of a factory, he was secretly to importune him to prohibit the *Arabians* from trading thither, and to promise, on that condition, to import from *Portugal*, not only the same commodities; but much better of the kind, and at a lower price. He was also to touch at *Melinda*, on the coast of *Africa*, in order to land the Ambassador brought from thence by *de Gama*.

The fleet set sail on the 9th of *March*, 1500, and having passed the island of *St. Jago*, the whole fleet was scattered by a storm, and one of the ships having lost most of her rigging, put back to *Lisbon*, when *Cabral* having waited two days for her, proceeded on his voyage, and to avoid the coast of *Guinea*, steered to the south-west; but on the 24th of *April*, to the inexpressible joy and surprise of the Admiral, one of the sailors descried land. The pilots could not persuade themselves that it was a continent, but some great island like *Hispaniola*, which had been a little before discovered by *Columbus*. They, however, cruised for a whole day along the coast, and then hoisting out a boat, went on shore, where they saw an infinite number of naked people; but they were neither black, nor had curled hair like those

those of *Guinea*, which was thought very extraordinary. Those who had landed, soon returned in the boat to give an account of what they had seen, and that there was a good harbour where the ships might come to an anchor. Upon this the fleet drew near to the land, and the commanders sent out the boat again, with orders to endeavour to take some of the men.

Mean while the *Indians* retired to a hill, in order to watch the motions of these strangers, who made so different an appearance from themselves. But when the *Portuguese* were endeavouring to send other boats, a sudden storm drove the ships from their anchors, and obliged them to proceed along the coast, till they at length found another good harbour, which they called *Puerto Seguro*, or *Safe Harbour*, and a boat going on shore, took two *Indians*, whom *de Cabral* ordered to be clothed, gave them looking-glasses, brass rings, and small bells, and then set them on shore. Upon this, a great number of people came forward, singing and dancing, sounding horns of several sorts, and leaping with all the expressions of joy. This encouraged *de Cabral* to go on shore with most of his men, and it being *Easter-day*, they erected an altar under a tree, where they sung mass. The *Indians* drew near in a peaceable manner, and kneeling down after the example of the *Portuguese*, beat their breasts and imitated all the actions of the strangers, after which they were as attentive at a sermon that was preached, as if they had understood it.

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Pedro Álvares Cabral discovering Brazil, lands, & causes Mass to be sung under a Tree.

The Admiral immediately dispatched a ship to *Portugal* with advice of the land he had discovered, which news was highly acceptable at that court, and when the ship was gone, the men walked about all day diverting themselves, and for pieces of paper and bits of cloth, the *Indians* gave them fruit, parrots, and other birds, remarkable for the fineness of their colours. The *Portuguese* went to the towns, and thought the country fruitful and agreeable, well planted with maize, and producing great quantities of cotton; and before their departure, a stone cross was erected, in token of possession, whence the *Portuguese* called that country *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Cross*; but it afterwards changed its name to that of *Brazil*, from the name of the wood brought from thence. The Admiral left two men there out of 20, he had brought from *Portugal*, who were banished, and were to be left in what places he thought fit. These the *Indians* used very well, and one of them learning the language, served a long time for an interpreter.

Brazil is a very extensive country in *South America*, and is not only fertile and pleasant, but so healthful that the natives generally live to a great age. It is watered by many large rivers, and a multitude of delightful streams. The plains are spacious, and afford excellent pasturage; and the whole country is beautifully diversified with hills and dales, woods and plains. The natives were at this time strangers to letters, and bound by no laws, but those of nature; but when engaged in war they chose

chose him for their general who was most distinguished by his bravery. When young they carefully plucked the hair from their faces, and never suffered their beards to grow. Many of the people wore no cloaths, while others covered themselves from the waist to the knees with feathers of various colours, and also adorned their heads in the same manner. The women combed and dressed their hair, while the men were shaved from the forehead to the crown. Those who affected finery, had holes in their ears, nostrils, and lips, to which they hung stones of various colours, and the women adorned themselves with small shells, on which they set a very great value. They were so dexterous in the use of bows and arrows, that they seldom missed their aim, and these arrows being pointed with fish-bone were capable of doing great execution. They lived principally upon hunting. Their boats were made of the barks of trees, and were so large that most of them would contain 30 men, and while some paddled these vessels along, others beat the water in order to frighten the small fish, which swimming up to the surface were caught in large calabashes.

They were very superstitious observers of omens, and fond of forcery, which was practised by a particular set of men, whom they held in high veneration, and consulted on all emergencies. These persons generally carried an arrow, at the end of which was fixed a calabash in the shape of a man's head, within which they kindled the leaves of a certain plant,

plant, which was probably tobacco, and snuffed the smoke up their nostrils till they became intoxicated, and then rolled their eyes, and threw their bodies into various contorsions, which the deluded spectators considered as the effects of divine inspiration, and during this farce they uttered an unconnected jargon, which was reckoned oraculous. This kind of wizards were constantly attended by crowds, who shewed their respect by music, dancing and loud acclamations ; and the most beautiful women, married and unmarried, were given up to their possession.

They lived in wooden huts thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a double or treble row of pallisadoes, and several families, connected by friendship, dwelt under one roof. Each family having such a regard for the other, that they would sacrifice their lives in their defence. However, the husbands turned away their wives for very trifling offences ; and if they found them guilty of adultery, killed them, or sold them for slaves.

They were in general slothful, and spent great part of their time in feasting, singing, and dancing. In these dances they formed a ring ; but instead of moving about, continued upon the same spot, beating the ground with their feet, and keeping time with their songs, which were composed in honour of their own exploits ; and while one set was thus engaged, another supplied them with liquor, which they drank till they could stand no longer.

They

They never engaged in war with a view of enlarging their territories, but to defend their possessions, or revenge an injury or affront; in which cases they chose a council of old men, and elected a general, who visited every house, and in set speeches encouraged the men to behave with bravery: besides their bows and arrows, they used swords, made of very hard wood; and carried on wars by stratagem rather than by open force. It is said, that they immediately eat a part of the prisoners, and that the rest, who were reserved for particular festivals, were in the mean time indulged with plenty of provisions, and even gratified with the use of women: but when the day of rejoicing came, the plumpest of these unhappy prisoners were brought forth, and his mistress tied about his neck the rope by which he was to be led to the slaughter. Being then fastened to a pillar, he was painted with a variety of colours, and adorned with feathers, and between whiles regaled with plenty of meat and drink, while the people feasted in public, danced, drank and sung for three days successively. On the fourth, his arms and legs were untied, and ropes being fastened round his waist, the women and boys pulled him along towards a cave, while others pelted him with oranges; which he in his turn picked up and threw at them with an air of gaiety and unconcern; and when insulted by the spectators, with his going to suffer the punishment due to his crimes, and that he would soon be slain, cut in pieces and eaten:

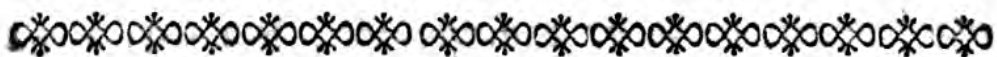
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It was usual to reply, that he had, lived and would die with bravery, and despised their tortures : if they slew him, he had slain their companions : if they feasted on his flesh, he had frequently regaled himself, by eating the bodies of the relations of his murderers, and that he had parents, brothers, or friends, who would revenge his death. On his arrival at the cave, the person who had kept him in custody, painted his body, and adorned his neck with feathers, and then brandished a wooden sword over his head, dancing, singing, or whistling all the time, while the captive attempted to snatch the weapon, but was prevented by the women and boys, who pulling different ways, prevented his moving from the spot on which he stood, till at length the executioner stunned him with several blows, and clove his skull. The women then threw the body on a wood fire, and having singed off the hair, the belly was opened, the entrails taken out, and the body divided into small pieces, on which these barbarians feasted with marks of the highest satisfaction. This was the character given of these people by the writers of that time. A character which is, perhaps, extremely fabulous and unjust, with respect to their being cannibals*.

The constant enemies of these people were a neighbouring nation, who inhabited the woods and mountains, and were of the same savage disposition. Among these last, murder

* See *Vol. III. p. 129---133.*

was the only crime that was punished, and when this was perpetrated, the murderer's relations were obliged to deliver him up to those of the deceased, who put him to death. Thus justice and resentment being both satisfied, the relations of both parties joined in performing the funeral rites, over the two bodies, which they interred with mutual lamentations; but if the assassin escaped, his daughters, sisters, or nearest kinswomen, were delived up as slaves to the relations of the deceased, after which all resentment was buried in oblivion.



C H A P. II.

They meet with several Storms. in one of which four Ships of their Fleet are lost. De Cabral arrives at Quiloa, where he meets with a favourable reception from the King; but being disappointed in his hopes of settling a Trade there, steers to Melinda, and from thence proceeds to Calicut, where he has an interview with the Zamorin, who at length allows him to settle a Factory in the City, which being attacked, and most of the men killed by the Arabs, Cabral burns all the Ships in the Harbour, destroys the City, and sails to Cochin.

AT length leaving the coast of *Brasil*, the fleet steered for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and on the 23d of *May*, met with a violent storm, which was succeeded at night by a calm. On the 28th they had another storm;

storm; but a water-spout appearing to the north east, and a calm ensuing, they not being acquainted with this phenomenon, considered it as a sign of fair weather; but there suddenly rose so dreadful an hurricane, that not having time to furl their sails, four of the ships ran foul of each other, and were dashed to pieces, and every person on board perished, in sight of their friends and companions. Among these was *Bartholomew Diaz*, who had discovered the passage to the *Indies*, by doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*. The other eight ships remained half full of water, and would probably have been sunk, had not their sails been rent in pieces by the tempest, which continued two days, during which all on board expected every moment to follow the fate of their companions. But on the third day the wind abating, they began to hope all was over, when the wind veering from the south-west to the east and north-east, began to blow with greater fury than ever, and the waves to swell as high as mountains. The horrors of this dreadful tempest lasted 20 days together: but at length the winds abating, they found they had passed the *Cape of Good Hope*. During the storm four of the ships separated from the rest: but some days after they all joined company, except one, which put back to *Portugal*; however before its arrival the crew were reduced by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, to six men.

The Admiral fell in with the coast of *Africa* in 27° south latitude, when he descried a plea-

fant country that abounded with cattle, it was shaded with trees, and watered with very fine rivers. But the natives being unwilling to furnish him with provisions, or to have any correspondence with him, he cruized along the coast, till coming in sight of two islands near the continent, he observed two ships at anchor; but the men on board no sooner perceived the *Portuguese* fleet, than slipping their cables, they crowded all their sails, to make their escape. However, in spite of their utmost efforts they were soon taken; but the Admiral being informed that they belonged to a Prince related to the King of *Melinda*, and were come from the gold mines of *Sofala*, he dismissed them without touching the gold and merchandize they had on board.

Being arrived at *Mosambique*, he took in a supply of water and fresh provisions, and having engaged a pilot to steer the fleet to *Quiloa*, continued his voyage in sight of several well cultivated islands, and at length arrived at that city. Being come to an anchor in the port, he sent a message to the King, whose name was *Ibrahim*, to inform that he had letters for him from his *Portuguese* Majesty, containing proffers of alliance and friendship, and that as he himself was forbid to go on shore by the express orders of his Royal Master, he hoped his Majesty would allow him an interview upon the water. *Ibrahim* received his messengers in a very courteous manner, and instantly sent a person to the Admiral with presents, and a promise of meeting him the next day. He accordingly

cordingly appeared upon the water in a vessel richly adorned, attended by a number of persons cloathed in silk and fine cotton, and armed with swords and daggers, the hilts of which were set with diamonds, while the harbour resounded with the music of flutes and trumpets. On the other hand, *Cabral* saluted his Majesty with cannon, and ordering all his officers, who were dressed in the richest manner, to attend him in their boats, proceeded in his own barge to the vessel, in which the King was seated. He then saluted his Majesty with the utmost respect, delivered *Emanuel's* letters, written in *Arabic*, and communicated the particulars of his embassy, which the King received with apparent pleasure, and said, That he should from thenceforward consider *Emanuel* as his brother, and study to promote his interest. It was also agreed, that the Admiral should the next day send a person on shore to confirm this treaty, and every thing seemed to promise an advantageous and lasting alliance, when these agreeable prospects were destroyed by the artful insinuations of the *Arabian* merchants, who represented the *Portuguese* as a parcel of bloodthirsty pirates, who under the cloke of friendship would deprive the King of all his possessions, and with the utmost cruelty ravage his whole country. Upon these insinuations, *Ibrahim* naturally laid aside all thoughts of entering into an alliance with the *Portuguese*, and immediately began to put the city in a posture of defence, which being communicated to *de Cabral* by the King of *Melinda's* brother, who

was at that time at *Quiloa*, he resolved to prosecute his voyage immediately.

The dominions of *Ibrahim* extended near 400 leagues along the coast, and reached from *Cape Corientes*, almost as far as *Mombassa*. This extent of country is very populous and full of towns, and it had a great number of tributary islands on its coasts. The King and all his people were *Mahometans*; though some were intirely black, and others of a tawny complexion, and their drefs resembled that of the *Turks* and *Arabs*. The city of *Quiloa* was a place of great trade for *Sofala* gold, for which there was a great resort of merchants from *Arabia Felix*, and other parts. The ships here as in all the other places on these coasts, were built without nails, and paid with wild frankincense instead of pitch.

The Admiral on his leaving *Quiloa*, steered to *Melinda*. On his coming to an anchor he saluted the city with all his ordnance, and immediately set on shore the Embassador whom *de Gama* had carried to *Portugal*, attended by some of the *Portuguese*, with rich presents and a letter from King *Emanuel*, with which his Majesty was so highly pleased, that the next day he made his public appearance on a fine horse richly caparisoned, the furniture of which, was sent by his *Portuguese* Majesty, and in this manner the King proceeded to the sea-side, where the Admiral, attended by all his officers, waited for him in their boats, and were received by him in the most friendly manner; but notwithstanding his Majesty's pressing solicitations,

licitations, *de Cabral* would make only a very short stay; he however left two exiles, who were ordered, if possible, to travel to that part of *Ethiopia* situated above *Egypt*, where his *Portuguese* Majesty had heard there was a Christian Prince, in order to learn the manners and customs of his people.

On the 7th of *August* *Cabral* left *Melinda*, and crossing the *Indian* sea with a fair wind, arrived at the islands of *Anchediwa*, where, after waiting a few days for the ships of *Mecca* to no purpose, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the 13th of *September* cast anchor within a league of *Calicut*. There soon came many boats to sell him provisions, and afterwards several of the principal *Naries*, with a compliment from the *Zamorin*, expressing his high satisfaction at his arrival, and making extraordinary offers of friendship. Upon this *Cabral* proceeded nearer to the city with his ships, and the next day sent to demand a safe conduct for a messenger, and with him the four *Malabars* whom *de Gama* had carried away. The citizens seeing them return in good health, and dressed in the *Portuguese* fashion were highly pleased, as was also the *Zamorin*; who shewed great signs of satisfaction, tho' he would not immediately admit them to his presence; but gave free leave for every body on board to come on shore. Upon this, the Admiral sent *Alonzo Hurtido* with an interpreter, to inform the King, that he came from *Portugal* with the sole view of settling a trade and friendship with him, and therefore requested hostages, that he might wait on
his

his Majesty in person, for which purpose, he desired the Cutwal, and one of the principal Naires, might be sent on board.

The Zamorin objecting to these, on account of their age and infirmities, proposed to send others, while the *Arabs* endeavoured to prevent his sending any at all; but after three days debate, the Zamorin being dazzled with the prospect of the advantages arising from trade, sent the hostages. Upon this the Admiral resolved to wait on his Majesty on shore, but first ordered *Sancho de Toar*, to whom he left the command, during his absence, to use the hostages well; but not to deliver them to any who came to demand them, though it should be even done in his name.

On the 28th of *December* the Zamorin sent several of the principal Naires, with many servants, and musical instruments to attend the Admiral, who being informed that his Majesty waited for him in a gallery erected near the water side, on purpose to receive him, set out with all possible state, accompanied with the boats belonging to the fleet, and 30 of the principal officers. The hostages were very unwilling to enter the ship till they saw the Admiral landed, apprehending that as soon as they were on board, he would return and detain them. During this dispute, *de Cabral* slept on shore, where many principal Naires waited for him, and was immediately taken up in a chair, and with all his attendants, was carried to the *Serama*, a lodge, or hall hung with tapestry, at the farther end of which sat the

the Zamorin cros-legged on a silk cushion, in a kind of alcove, which resembled a little oratory, over his head hung a cloth of state of crimson velvet.

On his head was a cap of cloth of gold, and at his ears hung jewels composed of diamonds, sapphires and pearls, two of which were larger than walnuts. He had a piece of white callico embroidered with gold about his middle, fastened on with a girdle, and all the rest of his body was naked. His arms from the elbow to the wrist, and his legs from the knees downwards, were loaded with bracelets, set with a prodigious number of precious stones of great value, his fingers and toes were covered with rings, and particularly on his great toe was one, that had a large ruby of a surprising lustre: but all this was nothing when compared with the richness of his girdle, which was covered with precious stones set in gold, and cast a lustre that dazzled every eye. Near the Zamorin stood a chair of state, and his litter all of gold and silver, curiously wrought and adorned with precious stones. There were three golden trumpets and seventeen of silver, whose mouths were also set with stones; besides silver lamps and censers smoking with perfumes. At about six paces from the Zamorin stood his two brothers, who were the next heirs to the Crown, and a little farther several of the Nobles, who all stood before him.

The Admiral, at his entrance, would have gone up to kiss the Zamorin's hand, but being informed that it was not the custom, he desisted,
and

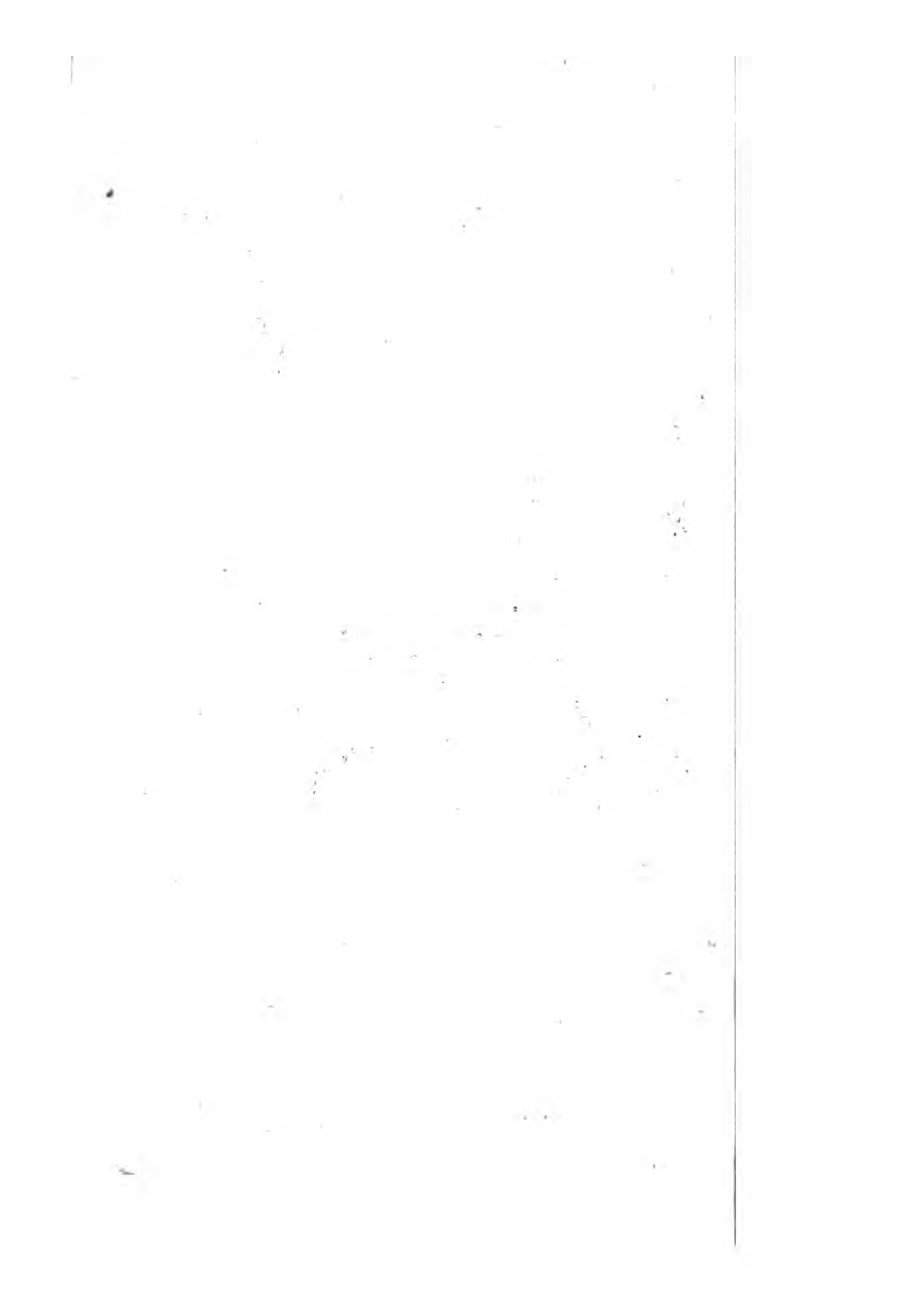
and took his seat in a chair placed near his Majesty, which was the greatest honour that could be done him. He then delivered his letter of credit written in *Arabic*, which the Zamorin having read, the Admiral delivered his message, importing, that the King of *Portugal* was desirous of cultivating a friendship with the Zamorin, and of settling a factory at *Calicut*, which should be supplied with all sorts of *European* goods, and desiring, that either in exchange, or for ready money, his ships might be allowed to lade with spices. The Zamorin seemed pleased with the embassy, and told the Admiral, that his master should be welcome to whatever his city afforded.

While they were talking, the present was brought in, which consisted of a wrought silver basin gilt, a fountain of the same, a silver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of silver, four cushions, two of cloth of gold, and two of crimson velvet, a cloth of state of the same velvet striped, and bound with gold lace, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras.

The audience being ended, the Zamorin told *Cabral*, that he might retire either to his lodgings or his ships; for he was obliged to send for the hostages who were not used to the sea, and he was sure would neither eat nor drink while on board; adding, that if he came the next day to conclude what was begun, they should be sent on board again. This hopeful beginning was in danger of being destroyed by an unreasonable distrust which prevailed on both sides; for the Admiral being come to the
water



De Cabral offers presents to the Zamorin.



water side, a servant belonging to one of the hostages went before in a pinnace, by order of the clerk and comptroller of the Zamorin's household, to let them know that the Admiral was coming aboard, which they no sooner heard, than they leaped into the water, in order to get off in the pinnace; but *Ayres Corea*, leaping into his boat took some of them. The rest however got off, and among them was the Cutwal. The Admiral coming on board, ordered the hostages that were taken to be put under the hatches, to prevent their running away, and sent to the Zamorin to complain of the rest, laying the blame on the clerk and comptroller, and promising to deliver those he detained, as soon as his baggage, and the men he had left to take care of it, were brought on board.

The next day, the Zamorin attended by 1200 men came to the water side, and sent on board the Admiral's men and baggage, with whom went 30 pinnaces to fetch back the hostages; but for fear of being detained, none of them durst venture near enough to receive them. The *Portuguese* also seemed as unwilling to venture in order to deliver them, so that they remained still in custody. However, the next morning *Cabral* resolved to send them on shore in his own boats, and ordered the men to land them at a distance from the pinnaces. But while they were preparing to put off with them, *Araxamenoca*, the eldest of these pledges, and another person suddenly leaped into the water. The former was however taken

ken again; but the other, with five more, made their escape. Upon this *Cabral* ordered *Arax-amenoca* to be closely watched; but no messenger coming to demand him for three days, and the Admiral observing, that he eat nothing all the while, sent him with several weapons belonging to the *Malabars* to the Zamorin, who immediately ordered two of the *Portuguese*, who were still on shore, to be returned.

Three days now elapsed, without hearing from the Zamorin. Upon which the Admiral resolved to send a messenger, to learn if he was inclined to finish the agreement already begun, in which case he proposed to send his chief factor on shore, provided hostages were delivered as before; but every one was so possessed with fear, that *Franffisco Correa* was the only person on board the fleet who would undertake to deliver the message. The King gave *Correa* a very kind reception, said that he should be glad to have the trade settled, and made no difficulty of sending hostages, naming, for that purpose, the two nephews of a rich *Guzerat* merchant, who were immediately sent on board, and an handsome house provided for *Ayres Correa*, the factor, in which he was to lodge his merchandize, and as this factor was unacquainted with the rules observed in trade, and the prices of commodities, the Zamorin ordered the grandfather of the hostages, to whom the house belonged, to instruct him in these particulars. However, the *Guzerat* merchant, favouring the *Arabians*, let them have the goods at their own price, and persuaded

Correa

Correa to give more for the merchandizes of *India*, than they were worth. * Whenever he went to speak to the *Zamorin*, some of the *Arabian* merchants were always present to contradict his measures, and they even prevailed on the Admiral of *Calicut*, to hinder those belonging to the factory from going on board, and to detain any of the ships that should remove nearer the shore.

Cabral being informed of these proceedings, and being apprehensive that he should be attacked by the King's fleet in case he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor and stood out to sea, resolving to consult what was to be done. Upon this the *Zamorin* sent for *Correa*, and learning from him the cause of the Admiral's leaving the harbour, desired that he would send to him to return, and immediately gave orders for frustrating the designs of the *Arabians*; he also removed the *Guzerat* from about *Correa*, and put in his place another person, whose name was *Cosebequin*, who, though a *Turk* himself, was a friend to the *Portuguese*; for the *Turks* who are natives of *India*, are always at variance with those who come from *Cairo*, and the freights of *Mecca*. Farther to prevent the factor from being disturbed by the *Arabian* merchants, and to give him an opportunity of buying and selling to advantage, the *Zamorin* gave him a house by the water-side for ever, which was done by a writing; to which that Prince put his hand and seal, and it was afterwards inclosed in a piece of cloth of gold for the Admiral to carry to *Portugal*. The *Zamo-*

rin also directed, that a flag with the arms of *Portugal*, should be fixed on the top of the building, as a testimony of its being appropriated to the use of his *Portuguese* Majesty, after which they had a pretty good vent for their merchandize, for the natives frequented the factory, and the *Portuguese* walked about in *Calicut*, with as little molestation as they could have done in *Lisbon*.

During these transactions, *de Cabral* was informed, that a large ship of *Ceylon*, with several elephants on board, was bound from *Cochin* to *Cambaya*, and that the commander having refused the *Zamorin* one of those animals, if he would take the vessel, he would not only oblige his Majesty, but forward his own business. The Admiral sent word, that to oblige the *Zamorin*, he would willingly attack the ship, though he was sensible it was a dangerous attempt. He however allotted only one small ship commanded by *Pedro Attaida* for this enterprise, at which the *Zamorin* was struck with astonishment, and waited the event with great impatience. Scarce were the *Portuguese* prepared for the engagement when the ship appeared, upon which *Attaida* instantly bore down upon her, without approaching so near as to give the men on board an opportunity of taking advantage of their darts and their superior numbers, when many being killed by the great guns, they endeavoured to save themselves by flight, and by the favour of the night entered the harbour of *Cananor*; but finding they had not escaped the pursuit
of

of the *Portuguese*, they put again to sea, and the engagement being renewed, they were at length driven into the harbour of *Calicut*. The next day the Zamorin came to the water-side, and was greatly surpris'd at seeing a vessel taken by one, that was not above a sixth part of her bulk, and to shew his approbation was very lavish in his encomiums on the bravery of the *Portuguese*.

The *Arabians* at *Calicut* now joined in a body, and waiting on the Zamorin, represented their concern at finding that he so highly prized these new comers, while he shewed but little esteem for those who had so long given proofs of their fidelity, and so long supported the trade of *Calicut*. They insinuated, that the *Portuguese* could not possibly be any other than pirates, since it evidently appeared to them, that they could not come to *India* for the sake of trade, the profits of which could not be supposed to defray the expences of so many ships and men in a voyage of 5000 leagues. They even affirmed, that their design was to take the city and plunder the country, if they could once get the least footing there, and that they would turn the factory he had given them into a fort, and concluded with threatening to remove to some other city of *Malabar*, in case he continued to give the *Portuguese* such encouragement, and them so little.

The Zamorin assured them of his friendship, and, that he would not forsake them in favour of any strangers: he let them know,

that his reason for sending the Admiral to take the *Cochin* ship, was only to try the valour of his men, and that he only allowed them to trade, like other merchants, in order to bring their money into his country. The *Arabian* merchants, far from being satisfied with these reasons, from thence forward publicly inter-meddled in the affairs of the *Portugese*, and so far opposed them in the buying of spices, that in three months time there were but two ships, that had taken in their full complement, though the Zamorin himself had promised that the whole fleet should be laden with spices in 20 days, and that they should be supplied before the vessels of any other strangers.

The Admiral readily concluded that this could not be done without the knowledge and consent of the Zamorin, and, therefore, sent an officer to complain of these injuries, and that notwithstanding his promise, the *Arabian* ships were supplied with great facility and expedition. Upon this remonstrance, the Zamorin seemed to be greatly surpris'd at the ships being still unladen, and said, that he could not believe that the *Arabians* would dare to disobey his commands, by buying of spices in a clandestine manner, he, therefore, gave the *Portugese* leave to search the ships of the *Arabians*, and to take all the spices they found in them, only paying the just value to the merchants.

As the *Arabians* waited for an opportunity to quarrel with the *Portugese*, they thought this afforded a very good pretence for it. Immediately

mediately one of the principal persons among them began to lade his ship openly, and the better to succeed in his scheme, got some of the *Arabians* and natives whom the factor took for his friends, to persuade him, that if he did not seize these spices, he would never be able to freight the fleet. *Correa* giving credit to this advice, sent to desire the Admiral to take the ship. But he being apprehensive that it would cause the *Arabians* to rise against the factory, was very much against it. *Correa* pressed him again, and *Cabral* declined it a second time; but the factor persisting in his application, and engaging to answer for all damages that should happen on that account, the Admiral at length sent a person to acquaint the Captain, that he must not depart without his permission, but the *Arabian* disregarding his orders, he commanded his officers to man and arm the boats, and tow the vessel back into the harbour. The owner, who was a person of great wealth and influence, being enraged at this proceeding, assembled his friends and adherents, and repairing with them to the palace, informed the Zamorin, that though the *Portuguese* had gotten a much greater quantity of spices and drugs than they, yet they were so far from being contented, that like robbers and pirates, they would needs run away with all. They therefore demanded, that they might be allowed to redress themselves, and to take satisfaction for the injury. The Zamorin who was continually wavering, now intimated that he should not be displeas'd at

any plan of revenge they should execute. Upon which they hastened back to assault the factory.

The house belonging to the *Portuguese* was encompassed with a wall ten feet high, and in it were 70 men, including the friars; but among them all, there were only eight cross bows, besides their swords. The first party of *Arabs* who advanced, were so few, that the *Portuguese* resolved to defend the gates of the factory with their clokes and rapiers, but their numbers increasing very fast, and galling the defendants with their arrows and spears, the *Portuguese*, after having lost five men, with no small difficulty shut the gates, and betook themselves to the walls with their cross bows. *Correa* soon perceived that the enemy amounted to 400 men, among whom were several Naires, and that it was impossible to hold out long, without obtaining assistance from the fleet, upon which he set up a flag on the top of the factory, as a signal of distress. The Admiral being ill, sent to his relief *Sancho de Toar* with all the boats, and a strong detachment of men; but finding the enemy so numerous, he would not venture to land, nor even go too near the shore, for fear the enemy should send out their *Almadias* and *Tonies* to take him. Mean while many of the besieged being wounded with a constant shower of spears and arrows, and seeing the *Arabs* preparing engines to batter down the wall, they resolved to quit the factory by a door that opened to the water-side, in hopes of saving themselves in the boats; but



*The Portuguese Factory at Calicut
attacked by the Natives & Arabian
Merchants.*

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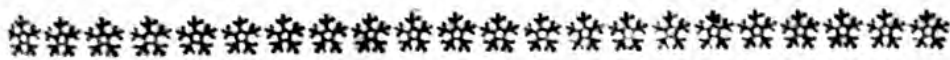
but the enemy pressing them close, and the boats not immediately advancing, only 20 escaped, the greatest part of whom afterwards died of their wounds, the other 50 being either killed upon the spot or taken prisoners. Among the former was *Ayres Correa*; but his son *Antonio*, a boy of about eleven years of age was conveyed to the shore by one of the *Portuguese*, who defended him with great valour; but in spite of all his efforts, the boy must have perished, had not a sailor taken him on his shoulders and swam with him on board, and this boy afterwards acquired great reputation by his bravery. The merchandize seized on this occasion, amounted to 4000 ducats, and of the men who were taken prisoners, four died of their wounds.

Cabral was much concerned at the loss of his men, and finding that the *Zamorin* sent no apology, he resolved to be immediately revenged, in order to prevent that Prince having time to arm his fleet. *Cabral* therefore gave orders for attacking ten large *Arabian* vessels that were in the harbour. The engagement was maintained for some time with great obstinacy on both sides; the *Portuguese* however at last boarded them, killed 600 of the *Arabs*, and obliged those who remained alive to serve as sailors. Finding three elephants in the prizes, he had them killed and salted, to supply the want of other provisions which began to grow scarce: The spices and other goods were then taken out, and the ships burned in sight of crowds of *Arabians* on the shore, and in the
Almadias,

Almadias, who came to succour their friends, but were soon repulsed with loss. Mean while the inhabitants of *Calicut* were so terrified at the sight of the flames, that they ran up and down in the greatest distraction.

This was a severe revenge, and certainly as much as justice could authorize; but the Admiral was not yet satisfied: he ordered his ships to spread along the shore, and advance as near it as possible with their boats before them. At break of day the ordnance began to play upon the town, and did great execution both among the houses and the inhabitants, who crowding to avoid, or to repel the danger, fell thick at every shot. Several of the temples were demolished, with part of his Majesty's palace, and the terror was so universal, that the Zamorin himself fled, and narrowly escaped a bullet from one of the boats, a Naire being killed just behind him.

Towards evening the *Portuguese* put a stop to their cannonading to follow two large ships, which were making into the port; but perceiving the slaughter and devastation made by the *Portuguese*, fled to *Pandarane*, where there were five other vessels at anchor; but *Cabral* not being able to come up with them, pursued his voyage to *Cochin*, in order to settle a factory there, and took two *Arabian* ships in his passage.



C H A P. III.

The Fleet arrives at Cochin, where they load their Ships with Spices, and take two Indian Christians on board: they escape a large Fleet sent from Calicut, and sail to Cananor, where de Cabral repairs his Ships, and taking an Ambassador on board, continues his Voyage back to Lisbon.

C A B R A L arrived before the city of *Cochin* on the 20th of *December*. This city, which stands upon a river, is 19 leagues south of *Calicut*, and has a safe and capacious port; the land about it is low, and divided into many islands. The city was built after the same manner as *Calicut*, and inhabited by Pagans and *Arabs*, who came thither for the sake of trade. Though there was no great plenty of provisions, the country about it being of small extent, and at the same time barren, yet there was plenty of pepper. The king whose name was *Trimumpara*, was tributary to the *Zamorin*, and not being intitled to coin money, was but poor; but the manner in which he heard the *Portuguese* had treated the *Zamorin*, luckily prejudiced him in their favour.

The Admiral having cast anchor, sent an *Indian* convert called *Michael Foghi*, to the King, to inform him of his coming; to let him know what he had done at *Calicut*, and to desire,

desire, that he might be allowed to trade for spices and other commodities, either in exchange for merchandize, or for ready money. This messenger had been one of the sect of the Bramins, called by the *Indians Joques*, who affect the utmost contempt of ease, pleasure, and enjoyment; and attempt to please the deity and excite compassion from the people, by wandering about naked, girt with chains, and suffering voluntary penances. They support themselves by begging, and frequent markets and other public places, where they preach up their religious tenets with great zeal and vehemence. This person was become a convert to the *Christian Faith*, and behaved with great integrity. He returned with a very civil and polite answer from his Majesty, who expressed his joy at the arrival of the *Portuguese*, and immediately dispatched two of his principal Naires as hostages, on condition that he should change them every day, because if they once eat on shipboard, they could never more appear in his presence. The Admiral pleased with this hopeful beginning, appointed *Gonzalo Gil Barbosa* factor, and sent with him a clerk, an interpreter, and four banished men as servants.

His Majesty immediately sent the Register of the city and several nobles to receive the factor and bring him to court; but they here found none of that state and grandeur which they had met with at *Calicut*. The Prince was but meanly clad, and his palace had nothing but bare walls, with seats round them
railed

railed in, and in one of these the Prince himself sat. The factor being introduced offered the Admiral's present, which consisted of a silver washing basin full of saffron, a large silver ewer, filled with rose-water, and some branches of coral. The King received this present with apparent pleasure, returned the Admiral thanks, and after having talked some time with the factor, ordered him and his men to be well lodged. The Admiral would not venture more persons on shore, for fear of being exposed to the same misfortune as at *Calicut*; but the event shewed there was no reason for distrust. By the kind usage the *Portuguese* met with, by the dispatch that was made in lading their ships, and the willingness with which the natives assisted them on all occasions, it plainly appeared, that this Prince was very sincere in his professions of serving them.

The ships being laden, and the Admiral on shore, he was visited by two *Indian* Christians who were brothers, and were desirous of going to *Portugal*, in order to visit *Rome* and *Jerusalem*. They were called the Christians of *St. Thomas*, and *Cabral* asking them, if the place they came from was inhabited only by Christians, and whether they belonged to the *Greek* or *Latin* church? one of them informed him, that the inhabitants were a mixture of Christians, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometan strangers, who were merchants of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, and *Arabia*; that the Christians paid the King tribute, and dwelt in a part of the city by them-

themselves ; where they had a church, in which they had crosses, but no other images, nor no bells. That they had their Pope, under whom were twelve Cardinals, and two Patriarchs, with many Bishops and Archbishops, who all resided in *Armenia*, to which place the Bishops of *Cranganor* went to receive their dignity, and that he himself had been there, in order to be ordained Priest by the Pope, whose jurisdiction extended over *India* and *Catay*. That the two Patriarchs resided in those two provinces, and the Bishops were dispersed in the cities belonging to them. That their Pope was called *Catholicos*, and their tonsure made in the form of a cross. The Admiral readily granted their request, and consented to take them with him to *Portugal*.

There soon after came two messengers from the Kings of *Cananor* and *Coulan*, inviting the Admiral to come and trade in their ports, and promising him spices cheaper than he could have them at *Cochin*. *Cabral* returned them thanks, and excused himself from accepting those invitations, by assuring them, that he had already completed his cargo ; but promised to visit them on his return to *India*.

Soon after 25 large ships, besides a great number of small vessels, appeared on the coast, and the King of *Cochin* being informed of the design of this armament, immediately sent to inform *de Cabral*, that this large fleet was fitted out by the Zamorin of *Calicut*, and had on board 15,000 soldiers to revenge the loss of his capital, and to make him an offer of supply-

supplying him with all the assistance he wanted. *Cabral* returned thanks to the King, and assured him, that he should be able with his small force, to make them repent their errand ; and having prepared his ships for an engagement, sailed directly to meet the enemy ; but a storm arising, and the wind shifting, he was obliged to return.

The next day, which was the 10th of *January* 1501, the Admiral prepared to seek the enemy ; but missing a ship commanded by *Sancho de Toar*, which was the largest next to his own, and the best provided with men, he thought proper to change his resolution, and steer homewards ; but was all that day followed by the *Calicut* fleet, which left him at night. This prevented his returning to *Cochin*, as he had proposed, in order to set on shore the Naires, who were the King's hostages ; and, contrary to the laws of all nations, he carried them away with him ; but after fasting five days, they were at length, by the Admiral's persuasions, reconciled to eating on board.

The fleet was soon after joined by the ship that was missing, and arriving on the coast of *Cananor*, the Admiral received another invitation from the King, in consequence of which, he entered the port of that city on the 15th. The city of *Cananor* is situated 31 leagues to the north of *Cochin*, and is very large. The bay forms a commodious harbour, and the houses are of earth covered with slates ; the adjacent country produces all the necessaries of life, besides plenty of ginger, cardamum,
VOL. VIII. I cassia,

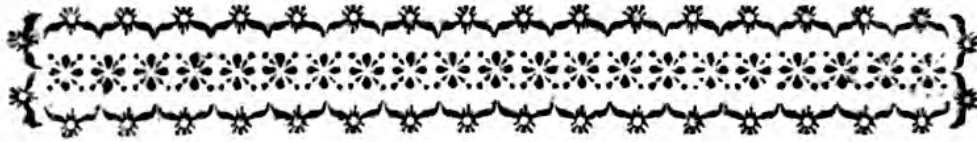
cassia, myrabolans, and tamarinds; but no more pepper than is consumed in the country, and the *Arabians* here carry on a considerable trade. The lakes near the city produce alligators; and here are adders, which are said to so poisonous, as to kill men with their breath. There are bats as large as kites, with a head like that of a fox, and are esteemed good eating. The King, who was one of the three independent Princes of *Malabar*, was a Bramin; but not so rich as either the Zamorin of *Calicut*, or the King of *Coulan*. Here the Admiral took in 400 quintals of cinnamon, and some ginger; but the King supposing that the small quantity of spices he purchased there proceeded from his want of money, and the loss he had suffered, by having his factory at *Calicut* destroyed, sent in a very friendly manner to let him know, that he might have whatever he pleased upon credit. The Admiral thanked his Majesty for this generous offer, which he declined accepting, and to convince the messenger that he stood in no need of this assistance, shewed him a large sum of money, and let him know, that the ships being already completely laden, was the reason of his forbearing to make a larger purchase.

Cabral having, by the King's desire, taken on board an Ambassador to his *Portuguese* Majesty, he weighed from *Cananor*, in order to cross the sea between *India* and *Africa*, in which passage he took a very large and rich merchant ship; but finding she belonged to *Cambaya*, he dismissed her, after having taken
out

out of her a pilot to conduct him through the *Indian* sea, telling the commander, that *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, was at war with none in *India*, but the *Zamorin* of *Calicut*, and the *Arabians* of *Mecca*, from whom he had suffered the greatest indignities.

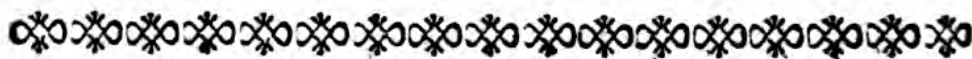
Soon after, the fleet was overtaken by a terrible storm when they were near the *African* coast, in which the ship, commanded by *Sancho de Toar*, was driven in the night upon a bank, where, after the crew and cargo were taken out, and divided among the other ships, she was burnt by the Admiral's order, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; but notwithstanding this precaution, the King of *Mombassa* afterwards found means to recover the great guns. Following their course in this tempest, they passed by *Melinda*, not being able to put in there, nor at any other place upon the coast, till they came to *Mosambique*, where they cast anchor, in order to refit their ships.

Cabral now sent *de Toar* to examine the coast of *Sofala*, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. On the 22d of *May*, he doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and continuing his voyage, arrived at *Lisbon* on the 31st of *July*, 1501.



THE
V O Y A G E
O F
Captain JAMES LANCASTER
T O T H E
E A S T I N D I E S.

The first made on Account of the ENGLISH
EAST INDIA Company.



C H A P. I.

An Account of the Fleet and Officers. They set sail; take a Portuguese Ship on the Coast of Guinea, and arrive in the Bay of Saldanna. The Method they made use of in curing the Scurvy, and to obtain Plenty of Provisions.

IN the year 1600, the merchants of London having raised a joint stock of 72,000*l.* to be employed in ships and merchandize, in order to carry on a trade to the *East Indies*, for which they had obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, they bought and fitted out four large ships, viz. the *Dragon* of 600 tons and 202 men, commanded by Capt. *James Lancaster*, General *; the *Hector* of 300 tons and 108 men, under the command of Capt. *John Middleton*, Vice-Admiral; the *Ascension* of 260 tons and 32 men, in which was *William Brand*, chief Governor; and the *Susan* carrying 84 men, commanded by Capt. *John Hayward*; to which was added, the *Guest*, a ship of 130 tons as a victualler. There were in each of the four ships three merchants, who were to succeed each other in case of death; and the fleet was furnished with provisions for 20 months. There were on board in merchandize and *Spanish* money to the value of 27,000 *l.* and all the rest of the company's stock was laid out in the purchase and equipment of the ships; in providing them with necessaries, and advancing money to the mariners. Queen *Elizabeth* gave them letters of recommendation to several Princes of *India*; and as no great action can well be carried on, without an absolute authority, she granted the General a commission of martial law.

This fleet sailed from *Dartmouth* on the 18th of *April*, 1601, and put into *Torbay*, where the General had sent instructions on board all the ships, for keeping company at sea, and ap-

* *Afterwards Sir James.* This Gentleman was one of the Company to whom the Patent was granted.

pointed the places of rendezvous, in case of separation.

On the 22d of *April* they departed for the *Canaries*, and in the morning of the 5th of *May*, had sight of *Alegranza*, the most northerly of these islands, but being frequently becalmed, and often meeting with contrary winds, it was the 21st of *June*, before they got into two degrees north, where spying a *Portuguese* ship, they chased and took her*. She came from *Lisbon* with two caracks, and three galleons bound for the *East Indies*, from which ships she had been separated at sea. The *English* took out of her 146 butts of wine, 176 jars of oil, 12 barrels of oil, and 55 hogheads of meal, which were equitably distributed among the ships, and was a great help to them during the whole voyage.

On the last of *June* they passed the line, and the 25th of *July*, got into 19° 40' south latitude, where they unloaded the *Guest* victualler, and after taking her masts, sails and yards, broke down her higher buildings for fire wood, and left her floating in the sea. Nine days after they crossed the tropic of *Capricorn*, when many of the men falling sick from their continuing so long under the line, by the first of *August*, all the ships, except the *General's*, were so thin of men, that they had scarce a sufficient number to handle their sails, and the want of hands, became at last so great, that

* Portugal was then subject to the Spaniards, with whom Queen Elizabeth was then at war.

in some of the ships the merchants took their turns at the helm, and like common sailors, went aloft to take in the sails; but at length, a fair wind springing up, they on the 9th of *September* reached *Saldanna*, and the *Hector* came to an anchor. The General sent his boats to assist the other ships in entering the harbour, and even went on board them himself, with a sufficient number of men, to hoist out their boats for them.

The reason why his crew were in better health than those of the other ships, was owing to the General's having brought some bottles of the juice of lemons to sea with him, of which he gave to every person on board, as long as it lasted, three spoonfuls every morning fasting, not suffering them to eat any thing after it till noon.

Mr. *Lancaster* having revived the spirits of the feeble crews in the other ships, by the assistance he had afforded them, went on shore, and meeting with some of the natives, gave them several trifles, as knives and pieces of iron, making signs for them to bring him cows and sheep, which he easily made them understand by speaking in the language of the cattle themselves. He made a noise like the lowing of horned cattle, to shew that he wanted them, and used the sound *baa* for sheep, which the natives easily understood, without an interpreter. Having dismissed the people, well satisfied with their presents and kind usage, he gave orders that every ship's company should bring their sails on land, erect tents for their
sick,

fick. and also raise works for their defence, in case the natives should take any disgust, and make an attempt against them. Mr. *Lancaster* also gave orders, that when the natives came down with cattle, only five or six men appointed for that purpose, should go to deal with them, and that a body of men with muskets and pikes, which were never to be less than 30, should come no nearer the place of sale than 140, or 200 yards; but should always stand drawn up in a rank with their musket on their rests to be ready against all accidents. This prudent order being strictly observed, none could go to speak to any of the natives without leave, which had so happy an effect, that the harmony which now subsisted between them, was not broken during their stay.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which the ships companies bought for pieces of old iron hoops; giving two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of eight inches for a sheep; which so well pleased the natives, that in ten or twelve days, they sold them 1000 sheep, and 42 oxen, and would have supplied them with many more if they had wanted. These oxen were full as big as the *English*, and very fat; many of the sheep were much larger than those of the *English* breed, and the flesh exceeding good, fat and sweet. However, after this trade was over, though the natives often came to visit them, they shewed no inclination to renew it, but when the *English* made signs for more sheep, they pointed to those that had

had been bought, which were kept grazing upon the hills about the tents; it was therefore imagined, that the natives were under some apprehensions of their intending to settle there.

During their stay here, they met with such refreshments, that all the men recovered their health and strength, except four or five, but these added to those who died before their arrival, amounted to 105, and yet the remainder were thought stronger when they left this bay, than at their departure from *England*.



C H A P. II.

They sail from Saldanna, and arrive at St. Mary's Island, in order to recover their Men who are again sick of the Scurvy. They afterwards come to an Anchor in the Bay of Antongil, in the Island of Madagascar, where they land and traffic with the Natives. They afterwards sail by the Island of Roque-Piz; are in Danger from the Rocks, and anchor at the Island of Sombreso, whence they sail to Sumatra, and arrive in the Road of Achen.

TH E General having caused all the tents to be taken down, and received on board a fresh supply of wood and water, put to sea on the 29th of *October*, and on the 26th of *November* fell in with the head-land of the island of *Madagascar*, somewhat to the east of
Cape

Cape *Sebastian*, and continued plying to the eastward till the 15th of *December*, about which time, the men began again to fall sick of the scurvy.

On the 17th day they had sight of the southermost part of *St. Mary's* island, and the next day, having anchored between it and *Madagascar*, they sent their boats ashore to the former island, where they got plenty of lemons and oranges; but while they were riding there, there arose so violent a storm, that three of the ships were driven from their anchors, but at length this tempest abating, after it had continued sixteen hours, the ships returned.

St. Mary's island is high land, and full of woods, the people are black, and the men tall and handsome with curled hair, only they stroke up that on their foreheads, by which means it stands about three inches upright. They go quite naked, except a small covering hanging from the waist, and seem to be extremely brave, yet are easy to converse with. Though their principal food is rice and fish, the *English* could get but a small quantity of the former, for as harvest was at hand, they had nearly consumed their whole stock. They could therefore obtain nothing more than a little goats milk; for they saw only one cow, and that was driven away as soon as the people perceived the *English* were landing. There are two or three watering places on the north part of the island, none of which are very commodious, yet with some trouble water enough may be had. However, as there was so little refresh-





*The English trading with the Natives
of Madagascar.*

refreshment to be obtained, and as the place they rode in was very dangerous, they sailed on the 23d for *Antongil*; on the 25th they entered that bay, and came to an anchor between a small island lying in the bottom of the bay and the main, which was a very safe road; but on landing in this little island, they found a writing laid in the rocks, that five *Dutch* ships had been there about two months before, and that while they rode in that place, they had lost 150 or 200 hundred men by sickness.

Landing the day after in the main island, the people soon repaired to them, and by signs informed them of the five *Dutch* ships, and that they had bought the most part of their provisions. However, they entered into barter with the *English*, to whom they sold hens, rice, oranges, lemons and plantains, but held them up at a high rate. Their market was near a great river, upon which the *English* went in their boats; those appointed to be buyers landing, while the rest staid in the boats at 15 or 20 yards distance, where the natives could not come at them; though they were always ready with their weapons in their hands to take in those who were on shore, whenever it should be necessary. The natives trifled away some days before they would deal with them; for they were very subtle in buying and selling, continually insisting upon having a little more, and if that was once complied with, none would afterwards sell under that price.

The General perceiving this troublesome disposition, ordered measures to be made, which
held

held near a quart, and appointed how many glass beads should be given for every measure. The like order was made with respect to oranges, lemons and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed, nor were they to deal on other terms. The natives, after holding off a little, at length consented, and from this prudent regulation, their dealings became frank, and without any further cavilling or dispute. The *English* bought here 15 tons and a quarter of rice, 40 or 50 bushels of peas and beans, great store of oranges, lemons and plantains, eight cows, and some fow. While they rode in this bay, they joined together a pinnace of 18 tons, brought out of *England* in pieces, and cutting down some of the trees, which grew there in great abundance, sawed them into boards and sheathed her. This vessel was of use in going before their ships, in order to make the proper soundings, to prevent the large vessels running on the rocks and shoals.

In this bay there died out of the *Dragon*, the master's mate, the chaplain, and the surgeon, with ten common men; and out of the *Hector* the master and two others, all of whom were carried off by the flux, supposed to be occasioned by the water they drank on shore. Unfortunately as the master's mate of the *Dragon* was carrying to land, in order to be interred, the Captain of the *Ascension* took his boat to attend the ceremony, and as it is the custom at sea, to discharge some pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer; the
gunner

gunner fired three guns, and the bullets being in them, one struck the *Ascension's* boat, and killed both the Captain and Boatswain's mate, who thus by going to see the burial of another, were both buried there themselves.

On the 6th of *March* the ships left this bay, and on the 16th fell in with an island, called *Roque-Piz*, in $10^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude. Here the General sent his boat in search of a proper road, but she mostly found deep water where ships could not ride in safety. In coasting this island, they found that it had a beautiful appearance; it was exceeding full of cocoa-nut trees, and the breezes that blew from the shore, were as fragrant, as if they had proceeded from a garden of flowers. As the boats approached the land, they saw abundance of fish, and the fowls came flying about them in such multitudes, that the sailors killed many of them with their oars, and these were found to be the fattest and best they had tasted in all their voyage.

After being several times in danger of running upon the rocks, they on the 9th of *May*, had sight of the islands of *Nicobar*, and bearing in, anchored on the south side under a small island that lies near the shore. Here they met with few refreshments, except fresh water, and some cocoa-nuts. The people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold at least 20 men, bringing gums to sell instead of amber, by which several on board were deceived. They also brought hens and cocoa-

nuts, but set so high a price upon them, that few were bought.

Having staid here ten days, they set sail on the 20th in the morning for *Sumatra*, but were hindered by the currents and the wind, which blew hard at south south-west. By thus beating up and down, the ships became leaky, which obliged them to steer to the island of *Sombrero*, 10 or 12 leagues to the northward of *Nicobar*, the people of these islands have only a covering round their waist. They have a tawny complexion, and paint their faces of several colours. They are well limbed; but so fearful, that none of them would venture on board the ships, or even the boats.

Leaving *Sombrero* on the 29th of *May*, they on the 6th of *June*, anchored in the road of *Achen*, in the island of *Sumatra*, about two miles from the city, where they found 16 or 18 sail of several nations, some of *Bengola*, and others of *Calicut*, *Guzerat*, *Pegu*, and *Catay*. There soon came on board two *Holland* merchants, who had been left to learn the manners and language of the country, by whom they were informed, that they would be very welcome to the King, who was desirous of entertaining strangers, and that the Queen of *England* was renowned in these parts, for the great victory she had obtained over the King of *Spain*.



C H A P. III.

The General lands : Goes in great State to Court, where he delivers the Queen's Letter to the King of Achen, who gives him a favourable Reception. A Treaty of Amity approved of. The English taken under the King's Protection, and all their Demands granted. The General discovers the Designs of the Portuguese Ambassador against him, and at length sails from Achen.

THE same day in which the ships came to an anchor in the road of *Achen*, Mr. *James Lancaster* sent Captain *Middleton* with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the King, and inform him, that he was sent from the General of those ships, who had a message and letter from the most illustrious Queen of *England*, to the most worthy King of *Achen* and *Sumatra*. He was also to desire to know if it was his Majesty's royal pleasure, to give the General audience, with a safe conduct for himself and his people, in order to deliver his letter and message.

Captain *Middleton* was very kindly entertained by the King,* who readily granted his

* *This was the old King of Achen mentioned in Beaulieu's voyage, and grandfather of the cruel and avaricious Prince, who reigned when he was there.*

request, and asked him many questions; after which he caused a banquet to be prepared for him, and at his departure, give him a robe and callico turban wrought with gold, as a special mark of his favour. He sent word that the General should stay one day on board his ships to rest himself after the fatigues of his voyage, and the next land to receive an audience, and that he might venture on shore with as much security, as if he were in the kingdom of the Queen his mistress.

On the day fixed, the General landed with about 30 attendants, and on his going on shore, was met by the *Dutch* merchants, who, as it had been agreed, conducted him to their house; for he would take no house of his own till he had spoken with the King. Soon after a nobleman coming, saluted the General, and having declared, that he came from his Majesty, demanded the Queen's letter: but the General refused to give it him, saying, it was the privilege of Ambassadors in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the Prince's themselves, and not to any who represented their persons. The nobleman then desired to see the superscription, which he copied, and having looked earnestly at the seal, he with great courtesy took his leave, to make a report of what had passed.

Soon after the King sent six large elephants, with many trumpets, drums, and streamers, and a considerable number of people, to accompany the General to court. The largest of the elephants was about 13 or 14 feet high,
and

and had a small castle like a coach upon his back, covered with a crimson velvet, in the middle of which was a great gold bason, covered with a piece of silk richly embroidered, and into this cup was put the Queen's letter. The General was mounted upon another of the elephants; some of his attendants rode, and others went on foot; but on his coming to the gate of the palace, he was stopped by a nobleman, till he went in to know the King's farther pleasure, but soon returning, he desired the General to enter.

On his being admitted into the King's presence, he paid him his respects after the manner of the country; declaring, that he was sent from the most mighty Queen of *England* to congratulate his Highness, and enter into a treaty of peace and amity with him. As he was going on with his discourse, the King interrupted him, saying, "I am sure you are
 " weary with the long voyage you have taken,
 " and would have you sit down to refresh your-
 " self, you are very welcome, and shall have
 " whatever you can in reason demand for your
 " mistress's sake; for she is worthy of all
 " kindness, since fame speaks her to be a Prin-
 " cefs of noble dispositions."

Upon this, the General delivered the Queen's letter, which his Majesty readily received, and then delivered it to a nobleman who stood by. The General next offered the present, which was a silver bason with a fountain in the middle, the whole weighing 205 ounces, a large silver cup, a rich looking glass, a head piece,

on which was a plume of feathers, a case of very handsome daggers, a rich embroidered belt, and a fan of feathers. These were all received by a nobleman, only the King took the fan into his own hand, and seeming most pleased with that, caused one of his women to fan him with it.

The General then seating himself cross-legged on the ground, according to the custom of the country, a very great banquet was served up: all the dishes of which were either of pure gold, or of another metal much esteemed at *Achen*, called tambaick, which is a mixture of gold and brass. During this entertainment, the King as he sat in a gallery about a fathom from the ground, drank several times to the General in arrack; but Mr. *Lancaster* perceiving its strength, after the first draught drank either water alone, or mixed with the arrack. The feast being over, his Majesty sent for some girls to come and dance, and his women to play to them on music. These women were richly dressed, and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This was esteemed an extraordinary favour, as they were not usually seen by any, but such as the King would greatly honour. The King then gave the General a fine white robe of callico, richly embroidered with gold, a very handsome *Turky* leather belt, and two crosses, which are a kind of daggers, all which a nobleman put on for him in the King's presence. In this manner he was dismissed, and a person sent with him to make choice of a house in the city, where the General should think

think most convenient. But he declined this favour, and rather chose to return on board the ship.

The next time the General went to court, he had a long conference with the King about the Queen's letter, with which his Majesty seemed much pleased. He professed that he was very desirous of entering into a league with the Queen of *England*; observed, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had given two of his nobles orders to confer with him on that subject, and promised, that whatever her Majesty had requested, should be granted.

With this satisfactory answer, the General after another banquet departed, and the next day sent to the noblemen the King had mentioned, to know the time they would chuse for the conference: one of them was the Chief Priest of *Achen*, a man who well deserved the high esteem, which both the King and the people had for him; for he was a person of great wisdom and temperance: the other was one of the ancient nobility, a person of much gravity, but not so fit for transacting business as the Priest. The parties having met at the time appointed, the conference was held in *Arabic*, which both the priest and nobleman understood; and on this occasion, a *Jew*, whom the General brought from *England*, and who spoke that language perfectly, served as interpreter. Several demands being made relating to the privileges of the merchants, the Priest asked him what reasons he had to offer, to induce the King to grant them. Upon which

which the General alledged the Queen's affection and friendship; her worthiness in protecting others against the King of *Spain*; the common enemy in those parts. Her not suffering any Prince to exceed her in kindness; that her forces had gained many victories over the *Spaniards*, and hindered the attempts of the *Portuguese* in that part of the world, and that the Grand Signior had already entered into a league with her Majesty. The General next laid down reasons drawn from the advantages arising from commerce. He alledged, that the King could not avoid being sensible of the benefits which trade procured for all countries, and the increase it produced in the revenues of the several Princes, by the customs laid on commodities: that Sovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their subjects, which was augmented by commerce: that the more kindly strangers were entertained, the more trade flourished, and consequently the Prince became more rich. That with regard to *Achen* in particular, the port lay well for the trade of *Bengala*, *Java*, the *Moluccos* and *China*, which countries having a vent for their merchandize, would not fail to resort thither with them. That as by this means the King's power would increase, the trade of the *Portuguese*, and their great strength in the *Indies*, would gradually diminish. That in case his Majesty should want any artificers, he might have them from *England*, only satisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them free liberty to return when they thought fit. That any other
necessary

necessary which his country afforded should be at the King's service, presuming that his Majesty would not demand any thing, to which the Queen could not with pleasure consent, or that should be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or her leagues with Christian Princes. The General farther demanded that his Majesty would cause immediate proclamation, that none of his people should abuse any of the *English*; but that they should be allowed to carry on their business peaceably, and this last request was so effectually complied with, that though the King's subjects were strictly forbid walking by night, yet the *English* might go about, both by night and in the day without interruption, only, if any of them were found abroad at unlawful hours, they were brought home to the General's house, and there delivered up.

The conference being ended, the High Priest desired the General to let him have a memorandum in writing of his reasons, and the privileges he demanded in the Queen's name, telling him, that within a few days he should have his Majesty's answer. After this, some discourse passed relating to the affairs of Christendom, and then they broke up for that time.

The General having taken care to send a copy of his demands to these Commissaries, the next time he went to court, finding the King, engaged at a cock fighting, which was one of his Majesty's chief diversions, he sent his interpreter, to desire his Majesty to be mindful of the business, about which he had conferred with his nobles. Upon this, the King calling
the

the General, told him, that he would willingly enter in a peace with her Majesty, and that, as for the articles he had set down in writing, they should all be drawn up fair by one of his secretaries, and authorized by himself; and accordingly within five or six days they were delivered to the General, by the King's own hand, with many expressions of kindness.

The substance of the articles were first, That the *English* should have free liberty and trade. Secondly, That their goods should be custom free, whether imported or exported, and that they should be assisted with the vessels of *Achen* to save their ships, commodities, and men from being wrecked, in case of danger. Thirdly, That they should have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects to whom they pleased. Fourthly, That all bargains should be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the subjects of *Achen*. Fifthly, That they should have authority to execute justice on their own men. Sixthly, That they should have justice against the natives for injuries done them. Seventhly, That their goods should not be stopped, nor prices set on them; and eighthly, That they should be allowed liberty of conscience.

This league of peace and amity being settled, the merchants attempted to provide pepper for lading the ships; but found there was little to be had, on account of the last year's sterility. However, being informed by some of the natives, that at a port called *Priaman*, about 150 leagues from thence, they might lade one of their
small

small ships, Mr. *Lancaster* sent the *Susan* thither, and appointed Mr. *Henry Middleton*, Captain and chief merchant of that vessel.

The General was not a little concerned, that Captain *John Davis*, the principal pilot, had told the merchants before their leaving *London*, that pepper was to be had here for four rials of eight, the hundred weight: whereas it cost them almost twenty; and on this account he was perplexed how to lade the ships, so as to save his own credit, preserve the esteem of the company by which he was employed, and keep up the reputation of his country, considering how disgraceful it would appear in the eyes of the neighbouring nations, if they should return empty from the *Indies*. Besides the *Portuguese* Ambassador watched every step they took, though he was no ways acceptable to the King: for having the last time of his being at court, asked leave to settle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under the pretence of securing the merchant's goods from fire, the King asked him, if his master had a daughter to give his son, that he was so careful of the preservation of his country, and added, that he need not be at the charge of building a fort, since he had a proper house within land, about two leagues from the city, which he would spare him, for the use of his factory, where they might dwell without fear, either of enemies or fire, for he would protect them. The King was much displeas'd at the insolence of the demand, and the Ambassador went from court much dissatisfied.

Soon

Soon after an *Indian* came to the General's house to sell poultry, and as this *Indian* belonged to the *Portuguese* Captain, who came with a cargo of rice from the port of *Bengala*, and laying in the Ambassador's house, the General suspected that the *Indian* was only sent as a spy. However, he gave orders that he should be well used, and that they should always buy his hens, and give him a handsome price for them. At last the General took occasion to talk with him, asked whence he came, and to what country he belonged, adding, "that such an agreeable young man deserved a better employment than buying and selling of hens." Sir, answered the *Indian*, "I serve this *Portuguese* Captain, but though I was free-born, I am neither bound nor free: for I have been with him so long, that now he partly reckons me his own; and those of his nation are so powerful, that we cannot contend with them. Then said the General if you have any value for your liberty, which you well deserve, what would you do for him who should give it you, and save you the trouble of pleading with your master for it? Sir, replied the *Indian*, freedom is as precious as life, and that I would freely venture for him who should do me the favour: put me therefore upon any service, and I will soon make good my words. Well, said the General, you urge me to prove whether you mean sincerely or not, I ask you then, what the Ambassador says of me, and my ships, and what are his designs? Sir, "says

“ says the *Indian*, he has a spy on board all
 “ your ships, a *Chinese*, who continually keeps
 “ company with your people, so that he has
 “ a draught not only of your ships, and their
 “ bulk; but of every piece of ordnance be-
 “ longing to each; how they are placed, and
 “ what number of hands there are on board.
 “ He finds your ships strong, but your men
 “ sick and weak, and that with a small force
 “ they might be taken by surprise, he there-
 “ fore designs in a few days to send his
 “ draughts to *Malacca*, in order to obtain a
 “ force sufficient to attempt them.”

The General laughed heartily at this news, saying, “ The Ambassador is not such a fool
 “ as you represent him, for he knows very
 “ well, that I care but little for all the
 “ forces he can muster in these parts. But go,
 “ be here once or twice a day, and tell me
 “ whether the Ambassador proceeds in his de-
 “ sign, and when the messengers are to de-
 “ part with these draughts, and though it
 “ will be but of little service to me to know
 “ it, I will give you your liberty.”

The *Indian* went away highly satisfied, as was visible by his countenance, and the quickness of his pace, and by his means the General learned whatever the Ambassador did in the day, either the same night or the next morning, and he behaved with such caution, that neither any of the Ambassador’s family, nor the *English* themselves knew what he came about.

The next day the General was sent for to court, where his Majesty discoursed with him about an Embassy sent to him by the King of *Siam*, relating to the conquest of *Malacca*, and the forces he would assist him with by sea, if he undertook that service. This proposal the General seconded with many reasons, and took occasion to mention how insolently the *Portuguese* Ambassador behaved, and that he only came as a spy to discover the strength of the kingdom. The King replied, that he knew them to be his enemies; but wondered how he came to know it. The General answered, That the Ambassador had planted spies about him to observe all his actions, and to pry into his designs, and had gotten a draught of his ships, in order to send it to *Malacca*, and procure a force from thence to attack them by surprise. At this the King smiled, observing, that he need not fear any danger from that quarter, since all the strength they were able to muster at *Malacca* could not do him any harm; to which the General replied, that he did not fear any attempts they could make against him; but that such intelligence would make them keep within their ports, and prevent his being able to come at them, and therefore intreated his Majesty to detain two of the Ambassador's servants, who, within three days were to set out for another port, in order to avoid being intercepted, and were there to hire a bark to sail with this intelligence to *Malacca*. This the King promised, and the General took his leave.

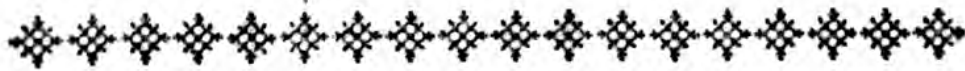
The

The Ambaffador's fervants accordingly departed with the draughts, and their master's letters, to a port about 25 leagues from *Achen*, where having agreed for their paffage they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, they were followed by a frigate, which caufed them to lower their fails, that the officer might fee their lading. As foon as he was on board, he perceived the two *Portuguefe*, asked them whence they came, and whither they were going; to which they answered, That they came from *Achen*, and belonged to the *Portuguefe* Ambaffador; but the officer told them, that they had robbed their mafter, and therefore, he would fend them back to him to anfwer for themfelves. In the confufion which arofe upon this occafion, they loft their draughts and letters, their trunks alfo were broke open, and they went bound to *Achen*, to be delivered to the Ambaffador in cafe they belonged to him.

The General had intelligence of all that paffed, and the *Indian* came daily to fell his fowls, with his mafter's confent. By this time, the fummer was pretty well over, and it being now *September*, it was time for the General to put to fea. But at this very time he heard, that the Ambaffador had obtained his difpatch from the King to be gone. Upon which, going to court he fent his interpreter to defire the honour of an audience, which being granted, the King demanded his errand, when the General replied, That it had pleafed his Highnefs to do him many favours, which had em-

boldened him to request one kindness more. The King asked him what it was, and whether there were more *Portuguese* going to *Malacca*, to hinder his measures? The General replied, that there were, and that the Ambassador having obtained his Majesty's dispatch, was determined to depart within five days, and that he begged of his Majesty to detain him ten. To which the King replied, that he would, provided he would bring him a *Portuguese* maiden when he returned.

With this answer the General took his leave, and three ships being ready, the Captain of a *Dutch* vessel who was in the road, desired he might bear the General company, and take a part in this adventure. His ship was about 200 tons, and it was agreed, that he should have an eighth of what should be taken. Mean while the *Ascension* was to stay behind to compleat her lading, of which she had above three parts on board.



C H A P. IV.

Mr. Lancaster takes a rich Portuguese Prize, and returns to Achen: Leaves that Port; touches at Priaman, and arrives at Bantam, where he meets with a brisk trade. He orders the Hector to leave him; proceeds to St. Helena, and arrives in the Downs.

AFTER Mr. Lancaster's departure, the Portuguese Ambassador appeared very eager to be gone; but the King deferred signing his passport for 24 days after the General's putting to sea, and then expressed his wonder that he should be in such haste, since the *English* commander was at sea, observing, that as he was stronger than the Ambassador he might do him a mischief, if he should meet with him. But he replying, that he depended upon the swiftness of his frigate, and that he defied all the force of the *English*, the King seemed reconciled to his departure, and gave him his dispatch.

On the 3d of *October*, cruising near the streights of *Malacca*, the *Hector* observed a sail, upon which directions were given to spread themselves out a mile and a half, that she might not pass them in the dark. The ship at length fell in with the *Hector*, and after a short engagement, she was taken. This ship came from *St. Thomas's* in the bay of *Bengal*, and was bound for *Malacca*; she was of 900

tons burden, and had above 600 persons, men, women and children on board. In five or six days they had entirely unladed her cargo, consisting of 950 packs of calicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice and other goods. After which a storm arising, they returned the ship to her Commander, sent all her men on board, and then left her riding at anchor.

On the 24th of *October* they again cast anchor in the port of *Achen*, when the General went on shore, and found all the merchants highly satisfied with the entertainment they had received from the King during his absence. The General therefore to express his gratitude, chose such of the prize goods as he thought would be most agreeable to his Majesty, and presented them at his first going to court. The King received the present, welcomed the General, and seemed to rejoice at his good success against the *Portuguese*; but jestingly told him, he had forgot the most important business he had requested from him, which was the fair *Portuguese* maiden; but the General replied, That he met with none who deserved that honour. The General afterwards commanded the merchants, to put on board the *Ascension* all the spices they had bought in his absence, which were scarcely sufficient to compleat her lading, and there was no more to be expected till the next year; he resolved therefore to sail to *Bantam*, where he was told, that he would meet with a good sale for his commodities, and plenty of pepper much cheaper than at
Achen.

Achen. But before his departure, he went to court, and had a long conference with the King, who delivered him a letter for the Queen written in *Arabic*, with a present to her Majesty of three rich pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring set with a very fine ruby. He also made the General a present of another ruby ring. On his taking leave, the King asked him, if the *English* had the *Psalms of David* amongst them, to which he answered that they had, and sung them daily. Then said the King, I and these nobles about me will sing a psalm to God for your prosperity, which being ended, the King asked him to sing another psalm, though it were in his own language, and there being twelve in company, they immediately complied with his request. This done, the General took his leave, when the King said, He hoped God would bless them all in their voyage, and conduct them safe to their own country, adding, if hereafter your ships return to this port, you shall find the same good usage you have hitherto experienced.

On the ninth of *November* they left *Achen**, and after keeping company ten days, the Admiral dispatched his letters for *England* by the *Ascension*, she steering her course towards the *Cape of Good Hope*, and they for *Bantam*, in search of the *Susan*, which had orders to lade

* See a very particular description of the whole island of *Sumatra* in general, and of *Achen* in particular, in *Commodore Beaulieu's Voyage*.

at *Priaman*. Continuing their course, they passed the line the third time, and reached *Priaman* on the 26th of *November*, where the *Susan* had purchased about 600 bahors of pepper, and 66 of cloves, Their pepper cost them less than at *Achen*, though none grows near the port; it being brought from a place called *Manangacabo*, at eight or ten leagues distance in the country.

Priaman produces no other commodity but gold dust washed out of the sands of the rivers that fall from the mountains. It is a good place of refreshment, and is very healthful, for though it lies within 15 minutes of the line, the air is extremely good.

The General having taken in provisions, and ordered the Captain of the *Susan* to compleat her lading with pepper as soon as possible, and then to depart for *England*, sailed on the 4th of *December* towards *Bantam*. On the 15th, he entered the streights of *Sunda*, and coming to an anchor under an island, called *Pulo Pansa*; the next morning he made the road of *Bantam*. On the 17th the General sent Captain *Middleton*, to inform the King, that he was come by order of the Queen of *England*, and had both a message and a letter from her, requiring his Majesty's safe conduct, for that he might land and deliver it.

The King answered, that he was very glad of his coming, and sent a nobleman back with the Captain to welcome the General, and accompany him on his landing. Being arrived at court, he found the King, who was a child

child of ten or eleven years of age, sitting with sixteen or eighteen noblemen about him. When Mr. *Lancaster* paying his respects, the King welcomed him, and after some discourse, he delivered the Queen's letter into his Majesty's hand, with a present of plate and other things, which the King received with apparent pleasure, and referred the General to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour and a half on different subjects, that nobleman invited him to land his men, assuring him, that they might buy and sell without molestation, and with as much safety as if they were in their own country. He was then allowed liberty to chuse a house, and within two days the merchants brought goods on shore, and began to sell; but one of the King's nobles coming to inform the General, that the King must be allowed to furnish himself before his subjects, he immediately agreed that he should, and the King being served, the merchants again went forwards with their sales with such dispatch, that in five weeks time they sold more goods than would pay for the lading of both the ships, and brought from thence 276 bags of pepper, each of which contained 62 pounds, and cost five rials and a half of eight, besides anchorage and the King's custom. The anchorage for both ships amounting to 1500 rials of eight, and the custom was one rial of eight upon every bag.

As fast as they bought their pepper they sent it on board, so that by the 10th of *February*

bruary 1603, their ships were compleatly laden, and ready to depart. In the mean time Captain *Middleton* of the *Hector* fell sick on board, upon which the General went to visit him, but though he found him walking about, he died early the next morning.

The General now ordered the pinnace, which held about 40 tons, to be laden with commodities, and putting in her twelve men with some merchants, sent her to trade and settle a factory at the *Moluccas*, against the return of the next ships from *England*. He also left eight men and three factors at *Bantam*, appointing Mr. *Storkey* the principal person amongst them, to sell such goods as he left behind, and to provide lading for the ships against the next return. Then going to court to take leave of the King, he received a letter and present for Queen *Elizabeth*, which consisted of some bezoar stones, with one for himself, together with a fine *Java* dagger.

On the 20th of *February* they set sail for *England*, and after suffering by several violent storms, the sea on the 3d of *May* beat with such violence on the *Dragon's* quarter, that it shook the iron work of the rudder with such force, that the next morning it broke quite off from the stern and sunk. The terror and apprehensions of the men were now at the greatest height, the most experienced mariners being at a loss how to proceed; for in this tempestuous sea, the ship drove up and down like a wreck, which way soever the wind carried her, so that she was sometimes within three or four leagues

leagues of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and was then driven by a contrary wind to almost 40° southward, into the hail and snow, where they suffered greatly by the cold, which rendered their case still more deplorable, yet all this while the *Hector* industriously kept her company; but after trying several expedients, they found that unless they could make a new rudder, and hang it, they must perish in these seas. This they were at a loss how to perform in so dangerous a part of the ocean, the ship being of 7 or 800 tons burden; but necessity obliging them to try all possible means, the General ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-mast, and though they had lost most of the irons which fastened it, they proceeded with the work, and one of the men dived down the side of the ship to search what irons were left behind, when he found only two whole and one broken.

The rudder being finished, and having a fair day they fastened it on, and proceeded homewards, but within three or four hours, the sea took it off again, and they had much ado to save it, with the loss of another of their irons, so that now having only two to hang it by, the men despaired of succeeding, and desired to quit the ship and go in the *Hector*; but this the General opposed, and going into his cabin wrote a letter to *England* to be carried by the *Hector* which he ordered to depart, and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. This letter being delivered, the General expected the *Hector* would have
left

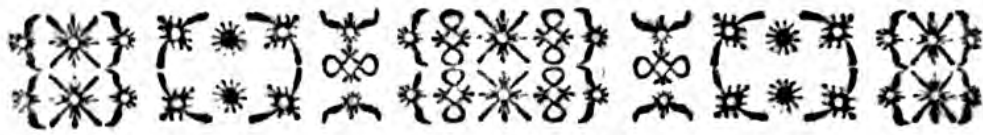
left him in the night; but he found her within sight in the morning, and she still kept two or three leagues from him, for the Master, who was an honest worthy man, loved the General and was loath to leave him in such distress. However, the people on board now found it necessary to exert themselves, the carpenter mended the rudder again, and within two or three days the weather beginning to be somewhat fair, and the sea smooth, they made a signal to the *Hector*, who came up, and the Master bringing with him the best swimmers he had in his ship, helped them to hang the rudder again so firmly, that they were in hopes of at length getting into a port.

Being sensible that they had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope* by the height they were in to the northward, they sailed directly for the island of *St. Helena*, which to their great joy they reached on the 16th of *June*, and cast anchor in twelve fathoms water, opposite a small chapel which the *Portuguese* had built there long before. On their landing they found many writings, by which they were informed that the Carracks had departed but eight days before. Here they found wild goats; but they were very hard to be caught: the General therefore appointed four of the best marksmen he had to go into the middle of the island with four men to attend on each, to carry the goats that were killed to the rendezvous, and every day there went 20 men to fetch them to the ships, who took care not to make any noise that might frighten the animals,
and

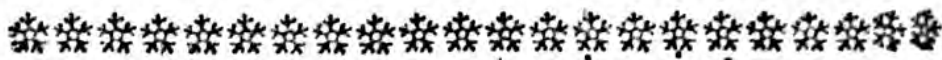
and by this means the ships were plentifully supplied. While they staid there they repaired their ships, and all their sick recovered by the refreshments they received on shore, of which they had great need, since they had been continually beating the sea for three months without seeing land.

On the 5th of *July* they set sail from this island steering north west, and on the 11th of *September* 1603, compleated their voyage, by arriving safe in the *Downs*.





T H E
E X P E D I T I O N
O F
Commodore BEAULIEU
T O T H E
E A S T I N D I E S.



C H A P. I.

The Commodore sails from Honfleur Road, and casts Anchor at Cape Sierra Leona. A Description of the Country, and the Manners of the Inhabitants. He reaches Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope. An Account of the Country, and of some remarkable Letters found there. The Author lands in a small Island, and afterwards sails to St. Augustine's Bay, in the Island of Madagascar.

TH E author, M. *Beaulieu*, bore the most distinguished character, both for his integrity and abilities. When the *French*, in the year 1616, first formed the design of trading to the *East Indies*, this gentleman, who had before

fore failed to the river *Gambia*, on the coast of *Africa*, was promoted to that command, though he had no other recommendation than his merit. Of this expedition, he has written the following account, which was first published in *Thevenot's* collection. As this performance has been universally esteemed, and gives a very just idea of trade, we shall give an abstract of it in the author's own manner.

On the 2d of *October*, 1619, I failed from *Honfleur* road with three ships; the *Montmorancy*, of 450 tons, 162 men, 22 guns, and 20 padereroes; the *Hope*, of 400 tons, 117 men, 26 guns, and 20 padereroes, and an advice boat, called the *Hermitage*, of 75 tons, 30 men, 8 guns, and 8 padereroes: all victualled for two years and a half. On the 17th we came in sight of *Madera*, which tho' it lies very high, the weather was so foggy, that we could scarce discern it. As the *Montmorancy* was deep laden, and embarrassed with an unwieldy rudder, which two or three men were scarcely able to manage, we resolved to make the best of our way to *Cape Sierra Leona*, in order to have a new one made, or to alter the old one.

On the 1st of *November*, we made the coast of *Africa*, between the river *Senegal* and *Cape Verd*, and the next day, about 8 in the morning, doubled that cape, which lies very low, and coasted along the shore, in order to get into *Rufisco* road, but the wind being contrary, prevented us.

On the 15th, having resolved to send the advice boat to the *Idol* islands to purchase provi-

sions, I furnished the boat with cassade, and knives, which were proper commodities for those islands, and reinforced its complement with Captain *Soyer*, and six soldiers, ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the pinnace, not to treat with the natives without hostages, nor to stay there above three days at most; but with all possible expedition to rejoin us at *Tagrin*.

On the 19th, we descried the *Idol* islands, in 9°. 30'. north latitude. They are covered with wood, and except *Tagrin*, are the highest land between *Cape Verd* and *Cape Sierra Leona*. The largest, and most southern of these islands, is called *Great Idol*, which affords water and several sort of fowls; but its inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without hostages. The *Lesser Idol* also affords water. Besides these two, there are other smaller islands; but they are so inconsiderable as not to be distinguished by any name: those given to these two, are taken from a river of the same name on the continent, the mouth of which lies opposite to them, at the distance of about three or four leagues. The natives, who are Negroes, are Idolaters, great hunters, and feed upon the flesh of elephants.

On the 23d of *November*, we arrived at *Cape Sierra Leona*, which lies in 8 degrees north latitude, and cast anchor at *Tagrin*. On the 28th, I caused the rudder to be taken on shore, where having posted a strong guard, and fortified the place with felled trees, I set the carpenters to work upon it, and then walking a little farther

up

up into the country, found at the bottom of the creek, a small brook of sweet and clear water, the banks of which, towards the sea, were adorned with great numbers of citron-trees, willows, and pretty thick woods. I also found some plains fit for pasture, though the soil is nothing but stone, and iron coloured rock. The natives live in houses, that are much better built than those at *Cape Verd*: they are Negroes, and worship little frightful images, and small lumps of black earth, which I understood to be the nests of ants. To these they offer fruits, and also the heads of monkeys, baboons, and other beasts. The place where we lay, was the third creek from *Cape Sierra Leona*, and is conveniently situated for taking in water, wood, citrons, oranges, and hoops for water casks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. We had very good rice, in exchange for equal quantities of salt. The country, however, affords no flesh, but fowls, which are very scarce; but all the creeks are well stored with several sorts of fish.

On the 3d of *December*, two Negroes came on board, one of whom was armed with a bow, arrows, a sword, and a knife: the other, who was the interpreter, told me, that he who was thus armed was sent by the King to acquaint me, that the *Portuguese* up the river had murdered the Captain and whole crew of a *Saint Maloes* bark: that the King was sorry such a thing should happen near his territories, and that if I chose to resent it, he would furnish me with Negroes, to conduct me to the

place where the *Portuguese* had lodged the bark. On my first hearing this news, I suspected that the *Portuguese* had contrived the message to induce me to send a detachment of the land guard, to give them an opportunity of carrying off the rudder and water casks that were landed; but upon second thoughts, calling to mind the humour of the *Portuguese* in that country, and the weakness of the *St. Maloes* ship, I concluded the account not improbable, and thought my slighting such intelligence might lessen the reputation of the *French* in that country. I therefore resolved to send a detachment; but to carry on this affair with more security, I caused the rudder to be brought aboard; for the carpenter's work being finished, there wanted only iron-work, which might be done on board, by setting up a forge in the ship. Having secured the principal avenues to the place where we lay, I sent our sloop up the river, with an addition of ten men to her complement, together with Captain *Pile's* bark, manned with his own men, and the *Hope's* long-boat, with 20 men and four padereroes, all under the command of M. *Monteurier*; but on the 8th of *December* in the afternoon, they returned, and M. *Monteurier* reported that he had been 10 or 12 leagues up the river, where finding it grew narrow and rocky, and having no commission to venture the loss of the bark, he returned without meeting any *Portuguese*, or seeing their vessels.

After we left this coast, the weather was various, as usual in these seas. On the 6th of *January* we crossed the equinoctial line, and performed

performed the usual custom of the *French*, of throwing sea-water upon those who had never passed it.

On the 3d of *February*, being becalmed, we saw two great fish, with long beaks, or horns, which seemed to be of that sort that are known to pierce ships. I could scarce have credited the story of their penetrating through ships, if the Governor of *Dieppe* had not shewn me a piece of the beak of such a fish, found in the side of a vessel belonging to *Dieppe*, laid up to be caulked after an *East India* voyage. The Captain of which had found something strike against his ship, as she sailed from the coast of *Brazil* to the cape, but did not know what it was till that discovery. This piece of the beak resembled the tooth of a sea-horse, only it was straight all along, and of the colour of ivory. It was an inch and an half diameter, it had run five inches into the wood, and was broke off where the lining joined the timber, probably by the struggling of the fish to recover its liberty. Those I saw on this occasion seemed of the smallest sort, one of them that came just under us, appeared to be ten feet long, besides its beak. It was a fleshy fish, though not so big in proportion to its length as a porpoise. Its colour was a dark blue, and its fins and tail, which were very large, appeared in the sea of a bright azure. It had a pretty high hump upon its back, resembling that of an *Indian* sea-calf, which sometimes rises above the water. Its head was not unlike that of a porpoise, only it was longer, and instead of a snout, had this
horn

tridges, and all sorts of fowl; with other animals that were unknown to me.

The *Table* bay lies in 34° south latitude. It enjoys a very wholesome air; and sometimes you may treat here with the natives for beef and mutton. There are more rain and wind in the bay than on shore, for the high mountains stop the clouds and vapours, which being driven by the wind, fall in the bay. The height of the *Table* mountain from the sea side to the top, is 1350 feet perpendicular. *Table* bay is however a very secure road to anchor in.

Some of our men going ashore, happened to light upon a great stone, with two small packs of pitched canvas, underneath which we afterwards found some *Dutch* letters. We discovered first a piece of pitched canvas, then a plate of lead wrapped round the packet, under that two pieces of fresh cloth, then a piece of red frieze all wrapped round a bag of coarse linen, in which were the letters safe and dry. They contained an account of several ships that had passed that way, and particularly of an *English* advice-boat, that was gone to *Great Britain* to acquaint the *East India* Company, with the injurious treatment they had received from the *Dutch*. They also gave notice to all ships that passed that way, to take care of the natives, who had murdered several of the crew, and likewise advise that the *Dutch* had besieged *Bantam* with 35 ships, and that the *English* were forced to abandon it for want of provisions.

On

On the 3d of *April* we weighed anchor, and being becalmed about two leagues from the bay, were driven, by the current from the south upon a little island, within a league of which we cast anchor in 20 fathoms water; but the waves made us roll so prodigiously, that every thing in the ship cracked. This island is almost round, and about a league in circumference. It consists of nothing but sand and some bushes, under which the penguins hatch their eggs. A great many adders also live in it, as well as camelions and lizards. Upon its rocks, by the sea side, we saw a great number of sea bears, which bleat like sheep: some of them are very large, and have a skin as thick as a wolf's, with very soft hair; both these and the penguins taste very rank of oil. These bears have two paws before, and two fins behind; they live upon fish, but cannot stay long under water without taking air, and in the night time they retire to the rocks.

While I was ashore, there was such a storm from the south east, that I could not reach the ships till the next day, and was forced to stay all night upon the island. On the 7th it thundred and lightned violently; the next day the westerly winds began to blow, and there was so thick a fog that we could not see from one end of the ship to the other, when having given a signal for the other ships to follow me by the sound of trumpets and drums, I returned to *Table bay*.

On

On the 12th of *April* we weighed anchor again; but having little wind, it was the 14th before we doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*. On the 16th, we had a violent storm from the north-east at the full moon, which we foresaw the night before; for under the wind there appeared a great blackish cloud, in the midst of which we saw what the *Portuguese* call the Ox's Eye, which is generally esteemed the forerunner of a great storm. The sea swelled prodigiously, and the storm was indeed very violent, though the air was so clear, that in the night time we saw the rising and setting of the stars. By this storm the ships were separated; but on the 17th, when the wind abated and became southerly, I perceived our two ships about a league before, and found to my great surprise, that none of us had suffered the least damage. On the first of *May* I parted with the *Hope*, commanded by Capt. *Grave*, whom I sent to *Bantam*, and on the 18th cast anchor in *St. Augustine's bay* in the island of *Madagascar*.



C H A P. 'II.

A Relation of what passed between Commodore Beaulieu and the Negroes in the Bay of St. Augustine in the Island of Madagascar. A Description of the Comoro Islands, and their Inhabitants, with what passed during his stay at the Island of Nangafija, and an Account of the Arabian shipping.

ON the day after our casting anchor in St. Augustine's bay, I went with two long boats and 15 musketeers, to take a view of the river. When upon our approaching the shore, we observed nine or ten Negroes upon a sandy point, who made a signal for us to come to them: upon which we went on shore, and notwithstanding our being armed, they joined and talked with us above an hour, letting us know by their language and signs, that they were well pleased with us, and would visit us next day on board. They were very curious in observing what we had about us, and one of them, who seemed to be a leading man, spying a silver whistle with a chain to it, which my mate had about him, very earnestly begged for it. Upon which, I ordered the mate to shew it him; they all liked it extremely, and the chief person amongst them offered to give an ox for it, but I made him understand that we could not sell it, and if any of them would

come on board, I would shew them what they would like as well.

Immediately the principal persons, and three others embarked with us, making signs that the same number of our men might be left ashore, to which I consented. In the mean time, at one cast of the net, we drew up a prodigious number of small fish, resembling herrings, both in form and taste; but I could make no material remarks, upon the river, except that it was very large and rapid. The natives are the handsomest Negroes I ever saw: they are tall and well shaped, feed well, and are neither flat nose nor have thick lips. Their teeth are white, even and small, and they rub them every minute with a small piece of wood. They are very curious in their hair, which is long, frizzled, and made up in wreaths at the top. They wear a cotton cloth, woven of two or three colours round their waist, the rest of the body being naked. He who appeared the principal person, had a large plate of bone or ivory, perfectly white upon his forehead, a large copper ring at his ears, and about his neck, a collar of rassade, besides glass beads of several colours, and a necklace of fine yellow amber, which he highly esteemed. The rest had ornaments which corresponded with his, except the plate on his forehead. The men are circumcised, and though this institution has been long established among them, I imagine they received it from the *Mahometans* upon the coast of *Ethiopia*, who have long traded with this country. Some of our men told me, they
left

left their women about have a league off in the woods, who were very agreeable, and cloathed from their breasts to their knees, with a party coloured cloth of cotton, having their ears pierced in many places, with a number of ear-rings and bracelets hanging to them. On the men's coming on board the ship, they were astonished at its size, and greatly pleased with the sound of the trumpets and drums. I made them a present of some enamelled rings, and others of pearl and false amber, and discoursed with them till supper was ready. Mean while they were seized with the sea sickness, upon which they would go upon deck, and lie down upon a sail, when one of them not being so sick as the rest, did nothing all night but banter his companions, and imitated every word the men upon the watch said to each other. In short, these are the most merry Negroes I ever saw; they have a lively imagination, and readily apprehended the signs we made to them.

The next morning, by break of day, I found them upon their legs and much better. I then shewed them such little things as I thought they would like, as coral, yellow amber, raffles of all colours, of which they liked the red, blue and green, but not the white; a copper basin, tin vessels, cloth of several colours, knives, razors, and combs, all which they seemed to be well pleased with, and desired the gift of them; but when I spoke of their horned cattle, they always came back to the silver whistle and chain.

Finding I could making nothing of them, I ordered them to be set on shore, and several of our men going with them, carried some of the above goods, to try what they could do with the other natives, when one of them offered a large fat ox, with bunches upon his shoulders, like those on the back of a camel, in exchange for a copper basin; but he who bore the ivory plate on his forehead speaking to him, he returned the basin, and wanted the silver whistle and chain. In short, I found they resolved to deal for nothing but silver chains.

The next day, hearing that the natives were come down to the shore with their cattle, I sent our men to them with chains of steel and copper, and with toys of latten, jet, and some things in imitation of pearl, with orders to conceal the silver chain, and not to exchange it, till they had tried if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that metal. However, they let me know that they would deal for nothing but silver chains, and would give no more than one cow, for as much as would go round the neck of the tallest of them, and meet with the two ends at his navel. When being unwilling to part with the silver chain, and at the same time, being in want of their cattle, I resolved to have a chain made of pewter by a goldsmith we had on board, and for that end melted a plate; for on my offering them silver and pewter spoons in a heap together, they chose the pewter ones, because they were brightest, and also when I offered

ferred them a large silver basin, silver cups and even a gold chain, they would give me nothing for them; but still wanted the chain that was along with the whistle.

The next day they came aboard without hostages, bringing some hens and capons, a pretty deal of milk, some peas, and horn-spoons made after their fashions. These men were fond of our red rassade; but we had very little of it. However, we exchanged what we had at a pretty good rate, for they gave a large fowl for every string of it. These persons lodged all night on board, and were not sick as the others were. They fed heartily, eat a great deal of broiled flesh, and three times as much bread as any of our men. The peas they sold us were white, and as large as a musket ball, and the best I ever tasted. They eat them raw, and next to their milk, I believe, they are their best food.

On the 26th, I sent the pewter chain and some red rassade on shore; but they soon perceived that the chain was not the right. However, they exchanged fowls for half a string of rassade, javelins and darts for the same quantity, and a weather for a whole string. These javelins and darts were well made, for the natives work very prettily in iron and copper, and in my opinion, their iron, of which they have great plenty, is as good as any in *Spain*. They sold us a small quantity of rice at a very high price; but though I shewed them some red coral, crystal, and other toys, they did not like them.

On the 27th, they brought down as many cattle as covered a quarter of a league, still demanding the silver chain for an ox, the red rassade for their sheep and pullets, and the blue for their milk. Upon which I demanded three oxen and a sheep for the silver chain, when their King or Governor, as I marketed in my long boat, sent for me to come ashore, in order to shew him the chain. This, I however declined, and let him know, that if he would condescend to come on board, he should be very safe, and I would send some of my men on shore as hostages. After some deliberation he came on board, when I was sorry that I had no proper present to make him. However, having four strings of red rassade in my hand, and observing that he looked at them with some attention, I made him a present of them, though I thought them beneath his acceptance. He however accepted them with pleasure, and in return made me a present of a sheep. I had a great mind to have given him half the silver chain, which was five foot and a half long, and weighed three ounces and an half; but considering, that if I was prodigal of this admired curiosity, I should have nothing to purchase horned cattle, or else should be obliged to rob the mates of their silver whistles, I deferred doing it. But some time after, the King, reflecting upon the chain, sent me one of the stateliest oxen I ever saw, which we bought for half of it; we had, however, a great deal of trouble in bringing the beast on board, for though it received in its head

two pistol shot, one harquebuss, and one musket shot, we were forced to give him several blows on the head with an ax, and then to drown him before we could get him on board.

These oxen are short and thick, they have small heads, short necks, and each of them has a large lump of fat upon the joining of the neck to the shoulder, which at a distance appears like a burthen tied upon that part. Their sheep, as to their head and wool, resemble those of *Barbary*; but their ears hang down like a hound's, and their tail contains ten or twelve pounds of pure fat. Their fowls are also large, fat, and well tasted.

On the 28th I went to see a little island in the mouth of the river, whence I returned to the place of barter, where the natives waited for us, with a great number of cattle. I, this day, bargained to double the advantage I had done the day before; but having allowed some of my men to go on shore, to trade for themselves; the natives, some time after, suddenly demanded four strings of red rasiade for a sheep, though they had just before sold me several for two apiece, upon which I called all my men into the boat where I always traded. This was however, no sooner done, than the Governor of the natives appeared in a passion, and ordered all the natives to retire, when fearing lest our mutual friendship should be thus broken, I made a signal to speak with him, upon which he came down to the shore, and I landing, made him a present of a cutlas with a silver hilt, assuring him, that I was his friend,

friend, and earnestly desired that I and my men might live in perfect friendship with him and his people. The Governor was highly satisfied, and the Negroes sent forth loud acclamations of joy, when causing the trumpets to sound, and the drums to beat, I ordered a party of the men to come on shore, and shake hands with the natives. Mean while, the Governor made me sit down by him, and admiring the trumpets and drums, offered me an ox for each of them. But I told him I could not part with them. After this, we sold the rest of our silver chains, for two heifers each, and a string of coral beads for an ox, and then returned on board, letting the natives know that we should be gone in four or five days. The next day one of our officers went on shore, and sold four ounces of a silver chain for six fat oxen, which I caused to be salted.

On the first of *June* I went with twelve men in our little skiff, in order to reach the mountains, rowing up a small creek, but finding it surrounded with bushes and steep rocks, we rowed about half a league up an arm of the river to the southward, where I landed, and having walked up a third part of the mountain, I perceived that the other arm of the river to the northward was still larger. On the sea side, and for two leagues up the river, there are thick woods, and beyond them very pleasant fields. All the 15 days I staid upon this island, I observed but one cloud, and yet the heat is far from being excessive, it being tempered by the land breezes from the sun setting

ting till 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning, and by the sea gales which blow from that time till sun setting. I found the air of the bay very healthy, we not having one sick man on board. The mountains are a dry rock, the surface of which looks as if it were burnt, and the low country is covered with an infinite number of bushes and shrubs; there are the greatest quantity of tamarind trees I ever saw, and also ebony and aloe trees. We saw in the hands of the savages some small cucumbers, that seemed better than ours, and which they eat like pears, they had likewise a great number of goards, some beans and peas, a little rice, and some citrons.

Having refitted our ships, and furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, wood and water, we set sail from *Madagascar*, and on the 9th of *June*, came in sight of *Terra Firma*, between *Sofala* and *Mozambic*, and having passed by two small islands, saw a high and sandy coast, with a woody country behind it; and further to the west, a low land covered with large trees, that appeared as if they were planted in the sea.

On the 13th we came in sight of one of the islands of *Comoro*, which is very high, and as conspicuous as *Madera*. The next day we observed another island, called *Majotta*, which is not so high as the former, and abounds with provisions and fruit. This last island is inhabited all along the shore, and is cool, moist, and covered with verdure. The tide carried us westward along the coast, to a point, where we came in sight of a ship, upon which I sent out our long-boat with 10 musketeers, who brought
me

me word that it was a vessel of 40 tons, bound from *Mecca*, and that the Captain taking us for *Dutch* ships, had run all the goods on shore. The Captain of this vessel shewed me two letters, one from an *English* Commader, called *Martin*, and another from Captain *Banner*, to inform their countrymen, that they had taken in several refreshments at that place, especially fruit: that they had found no water, and that linen cloth and paper were proper commodities for that place; adding, that care ought to be taken, not to disoblige the inhabitants, who, though they appeared friendly, were able to do them a great deal of mischief. The road being surrounded with rocks, the *Arabian* master advised me, not to attempt landing without fetching a pilot from the shore, and accordingly I sent my boat along with him, and in the afternoon he returned with two of the inhabitants, who before sun set brought our ship safe to an anchor. I then sent the *Arabian* master back to his own ship with full assurances of the innocence of our designs, and the friendly disposition of the *French*, together with a letter to the same purpose, addressed in *Spanish* to the King of the island.

On the 17th, the King sent some of his chief favourites to assure us of his friendship, and readiness to supply us with whatever the country afforded. Upon this I sent him a present of a silver hilted hanger, a couple of very handsome knives, a ream of paper, and a looking glass, which he received with pleasure, and in return, sent me a young kid and some fruit.

I at the same time desired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then on shore, to buy me some provisions, promising to send such commodities as were proper to be given in exchange. Upon this, the Captain sent me word, that the inhabitants of the island were of such a particular humour, that they would not conclude a bargain of the value of half a rial in a day's time, and would not buy a yard of cloth, without calling all their relations and neighbours to fix the price they should give for it. I was also informed, that a *Portuguese* Carrack having been cast away upon that island, about three years before, the inhabitants were so overstocked with rials, that they set no value upon them.

The next day having observed a couple of ships belonging to that country, I had the Captains brought on board, when they informed me, that they came from the island of *Majotta*; that they were laden with rice and dried fish, and were bound for *Monbaze*. The next day they supplied me with as much rice, peas, and hung beef, as would serve us for four months; of which I was very glad, as I could buy nothing of the inhabitants without an infinite loss of time. Besides, I began to suspect their honesty, for the day before, when we were founding in order to come to an anchor, some of them made a signal for us to come over a place where we observed a long ridge of rocks; whence I presumed that the advantage they had made by the shipwreck of the *Portuguese* Carrack, had tempted them to wish us the same fate.

Finding

Finding that the water was brackish, we weighed anchor on the 21st by break of day, when the *Arabian* Captain understanding that I designed to double Cape *Comorin*, advised me to stop for six weeks at the island of *Socotora*, to avoid the usual storms upon the coast of *Malabar*.

The above island, which was called *Nangasija*, extends about 15 or 16 leagues from north to south, and is about three or four leagues in breadth. We could observe no other anchorage but that where our ship rode, which was on the north-north-west point: that road is however dangerous, and hard to be found by strangers. The island itself affords a pleasant prospect, especially to the northward. From that side the mountains rise gradually, and are covered with trees; and below, upon a clear sandy creek along the shore, there are a great number of houses sheltered with groves of cocoa, orange, and citron trees. Their oranges are very small, but sweet and delicious, resembling both in shape and taste those of *China*. The inhabitants are Negroes, but are neither so handsome, nor so well shaped as those of *Madagascar*. They are all zealous *Mahometans*, and are marked with a hot iron upon their temples, and the middle of their foreheads.

The island is governed by 15 petty Kings, among whom the King of the place where we anchored is the strongest. These Kings make war upon one another, and sell the prisoners they take upon these occasions, to the *Portu-
guese*

guese and other nations. We saw no arms among them, but a few that belonged to the King, which were some fuzees and pistols, that were presented him some time ago by the *English*, and which he greatly valued. They behave with great civility and respect to strangers, except when they see them stand upright and make water, for then they ridicule them with prodigious shouting.

The *Arabian* ships, which are called pengays, are strangely built, for the planks are neither nailed nor caulked, but sewed together with a sort of thread made of the rind of the cocoa tree, and tarred or pitched above the seams, whence they are so leaky, that five or six men are constantly employed in heaving out the water. Besides, they always sail right before the trade winds, for the *Arabians* will not venture to set their side to the windward. They have no decks, and carry about 50 or 60 tons.





C H A P. III.

The Author prosecutes his Voyage for the Cape of Guardafu. A Description of that Coast and the Country about it. His arrival on the Coast of Malabar, where he takes a Moorish ship. He doubles Cape Comorin, and arrives at Ticow in the island of Sumatra. The Transactions during his stay in that Port. With a Description of the Country, and its Produce.

EIGHT days after our leaving the islands of *Comro*, we crossed the equinoctial, and on the first of *July*, the wind being very high, we sailed 55 leagues in 24 hours, [though most of our sails were furled, which let me know that upon that coast, the currents run with great rapidity before the wind.

On the 4th of *July* we cast anchor near *Cape Orpin*; but these high winds continued without intermission, till the 3d of *August*, during which time, I could neither send our boats on shore, nor hoist up a sail. However, I now resolved to stand for *Cape Guardafu*, in order to examine our tackling, to take in fresh water, and to receive directions from the natives, about our coasting on to *Socotora*, where none of us had ever been. With this view, I ordered our long-boat to be fitted out and supplied with provisions for 3 days, directing the men to make land,
and

and to learn of the natives where we might take in fresh water.

They returned on the 12th, and reported, that they had coasted along the shore to the eastward of the place where we rode, under steep mountains on the tops of which they saw persons in mean *Arabian* habits, who threw so many stones at them, that they were obliged to keep at a greater distance; for notwithstanding all the signs of peace and friendship they could make, the natives seemed to intimate by their swords and assagays, that if they came on shore they would cut their throats. They then steered to a part of the coast opposite to the place where we lay at anchor, where some of them getting through an opening up the precipice, found a wide champain country, which extended as far as the eye could reach, without any trees, except some withered bushes burnt up by the sun. They also observed two or three of the natives, who, on their approach, fled farther into the country. They lay that night under the precipice, and the next day steering two or three leagues to the westward, observed some of the natives on the shore, who on the boats offering to approach them, ran up the hill. After they had doubled the Cape, they found a bay three leagues broad, which extended a great way within land, but was very shallow. They there found two of the natives employed in fishing, who instantly fled. Our men then landed, and saw many of the inhabitants, who notwithstanding their holding a white
O 2 standard,

standard, fled from them crying aloud, *Illa Alla illa la Mohammed resulala*, which is the Mahometan confession of faith. After they had reembarked, they observed the natives peep out again ; but could find no opportunity of treating with them either by friendship or force.

On the 17th we weighed, and two days after came to an anchor within the Cape *Guardafu*, in nine fathoms water. On the 19th in the morning, I sent one boat's crew in quest of a spring of fresh water on the south, and another to coast along the shore to the north westward (which extends to the mouth of the *Red Sea*) either to find water, or to speak to some of the inhabitants ; and at the same time I sent my little skiff to try what conveniency we could have for fishing ; but she soon returned without success. Those sent in quest of water to the southward informed me, that they had travelled four or five leagues into the country, which was desert, dry, and unsufferably hot. The other boat's crew reported, that having sailed about three leagues, they came to a place which appeared pretty green, and going on shore met with ten or twelve Negroes, whom they asked for water, when one of them demanded a piece of cotton cloth belonging to one of the seamen, as a reward for the discovery, and having obtained it, shewed him some ditches and wells.

On the 22d about noon we came to an anchor about four leagues from Cape *Guardafu*, over against some bushes and greens which
are

are not common upon that coast, and having sent 30 men on shore they found great plenty of water, after digging only a foot deep. This water was at first sweet, but after we had filled a barrel or two it became salt, so that we were obliged to dig in above 70 places in order to obtain 22 tons of fresh water.

Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12° north latitude, the needle varying $17^{\circ} 45'$. It rises to a precipice, and is the highest land upon all this coast, which is a barren desert tract of country, so scorched by the sun, that I question whether there is a hotter place on any part of the globe.

On the 27th we weighed anchor, and having sailed about 12 hours, fell in with great tides running out of the *Red Sea*, and a few hours after observed the sea very much troubled, and stained with red spots, which some took for flats; but we could discover no such thing by sounding. The next day a consultation of the pilots being called, it was resolved, that we should run seven or eight days backwards and forwards in the *Red Sea*, for fear the wind we then had should carry us too soon on the coast of *Malabar*.

At the entrance of the *Red Sea*, and along the coast of the *Cassines* or *Guardefines*, there is a prodigious quantity of fish, especially thornbacks, some of which are as long as a boat, and proportionably thick; but some of our men striking at them with a grapple, it pierced their skin no more than if it had been iron. This part of the coast of *Arabia* is sandy, and

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in some places low ; but in the inland parts
there are very high mountains, that were
covered with fogs all the time we were there.

The calm obliging me to stay in the mouth
of the *Red Sea* till the 10th of *September*, I
began to apprehend our being too late to
double *Cape Comorin*, and for that reason stood
north-east, till we fell in with the south-west
winds.

On the 26th we came in sight of the coast
of *Malabar*, which is very high and moun-
tainous. Two days after, seeing a ship two
leagues to the windward of us, I sent *M.*
Monteurier with 23 men in the long boat, or-
dering them not to board the ship ; but to com-
mand the Captain to send his pilots and purser
on board us, and to let him know, that I de-
signed him no harm ; but only to be informed
if it was not too late to double *Cape Comorin*.
Some time after I perceived our long boat
board the ship, and after that a boat come off
and make towards us. As we were all this
time becalmed, and the boat advanced but
slowly, I sent our skiff to know what news
they brought, which I was in pain to hear ;
and upon its return, I found that the people
in the boat were five of our men, three of
whom were dangerously wounded, and these
coming on board gave the following account.
That upon their approach to the ship, which
was a large one, *M. Monteurier* ordered them
to lower their sails, which they not obeying,
he fired at them two brass guns and a volley
of

of musket shot, upon which they struck, and told him he might board them if he pleased; upon this they entered the quarter deck, and having killed all the men abaft, thought themselves entirely masters of the ship, when suddenly, 60 or 80 men started up in the fore-castle, and with hangers and shields in their hands, rushed upon our men, and obliged them to retire to the boat, but that was so belayed, that they were unable to disengage her, by which means most of our men were killed with pick-axes, arrows, and hand-granades, which were thrown into the boat, and the rest being forced to leap into the sea, one of them swam to the *Arabs* boat, and having cut the cable, saved himself and the other four men, without staying for the rest, who were in all probability drowned.

The next morning I made all the sail I could to come up with the ship, and having boarded her, found only 15 poor old wretches with white beards reaching down to their girdles, who throwing themselves at my feet, raised my compassion rather than revenge, and besides, the five men who were saved unanimously assured me, that they did not see them in the engagement. These poor men told me, that the ship having carried a cargo of pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her return to *Panama* near *Calicut*, to which place she belonged. They were poor people coming from *Mecca*, to beg upon that coast. That the owners of the ship, who were 80 in number, had gone off the night before in our boat with all the gold and silver,

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silver, and as the boat was already overladen,
had left them behind.

Upon the whole, I considered that these poor wretches were intirely innocent, and that the avarice and cruelty of our men occasioned their death, since the *Moors* had struck, and had no design of injuring them till our people fell upon them. For these reasons I spared the old men. I found on board the ship a great quantity of dates, wine, salt, two puncheons of opium, some hundred weight of coral, cotton cloth of small value, knives, and rose-water.

On the 2d of *October* we were off *Cape Comorin*, whence we stood for *Ticow*, and on the 11th of *November* came in sight of land in 1° 40' north latitude; but the frequency of the calms, and the sickness of the men retarded us greatly; for the pinnace had not above two or three hands fit for business; in my ship there were not above 18 capable of doing duty, and besides two of our surgeons were dead. I now descried several ships of that country under sail, and to engage them to steer towards us, put out a white antient; but finding that this had no effect, I sent my skiff to speak with one that stood between us and the shore, where she endeavoured to run aground; but the skiff coming up with her, removed the apprehensions of the men, and I agreed to give 35 pieces of eight for a pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*. They belonged to *Priaman*, a town about eight or ten leagues to the southward of *Ticow*, which they told our
people

people lay beyond some islands a head of us. Having passed these islands, we came in sight of an high promontory of the main land, which had two banks, on the last of which we should certainly have run foul, if one of our men had not seen it from the main-top-mast; for we could not see it upon deck, and our pilot had given us no notice of it. Having weathered this dangerous place, we saw another a head of us, upon which we steered between these two, sounding all the way, and the night overtaking us, we drop'd anchor between them. This shore lies off a place called *Pageman*, which produces a great deal of pepper. There is here a large creek, at the bottom of which is a low country covered with woods: but we could perceive in the inland parts a high mountain pointing like a pike. Having weathered the point of this creek, we descried the three islands of *Ticorw*, and at last having spent two months upon a voyage that is commonly performed in eight days, landed at *Ticorw* on the first of *December*, having lost since the 2d of *October* 25 men, and if the calm had continued only 15 days longer, I believe I should have lost all the men in my ship.

Having cast anchor, we sent our skiff ashore, which brought us one *Pedro*, who had been interpreter to the *English* factory in that place. From this interpreter I learned, that though the country produced a great deal of pepper, we should not be allowed to buy it without a licence from the King of *Achen*, who was sovereign of all that coast. He also informed me, that

that the *Hope* had touched upon the coast about 20 leagues off in the latter end of *July*, and that her long boat was sent with 15 men to this place to take in fresh provisions: that a *Dutch* ship in the road fired upon the boat; but upon complaint being made, they excused themselves by saying, they took them to be *English*. That the 15 men having met with a kind reception, and taken in what provisions they wanted, they departed in search of the *Hope*; but not being able to meet with her, returned to this place, where seven of them died in *October*: Four went in a *Dutch* ship for *Achen*; three in another *Dutch* ship for *Bantam*, and one continued in the country, where he earned his bread by gathering of pepper.

I was much concerned at hearing that Captain *Grave* had been so inconsiderate as to send his long boat so far from him, especially on my being informed that among the 15 men he had lost, there were two principal commissaries and a pilot. Upon farther enquiry, I was informed that the *Hope* had cast anchor at a large island about 20 leagues to the westward of that place. That she had not suffered shipwreck, since the vessels of that country which go to and fro, had never discovered any wreck, and that the two commissaries before their death were of opinion, that the ship had been driven from her anchors by storm, and not being able to make her former station, had made the best of her way to *Bantam*, expecting that I, according to my promise, would touch at this place, and take up her men.

On .

On the second of *December*, being allowed to go on shore, I carried some presents along with me, without which one must not expect to be made welcome in this country. Upon my landing, the Governor and principal officers gave me an honourable reception, and having told them my country and business, they let me know, that I was at liberty to buy up what provisions I wanted, provided I paid for them in rials and knives, and no other commodity. As for pepper, and other things produced in the country, they could not dispose of them without a licence from the King; but if I would sail to *Achen*, and obtain his Majesty's leave to erect a factory there among them, they should be glad to deal with us. I then desired permission to hire a house in the city for the accommodation of my sick men, and to remain on shore to buy up provisions; to which they replied, That they could not answer for the safety of the men on shore, on account of there being many rogues about the town; but if I pleased, I might leave two men for a few days to buy up provisions.

However, the Governor having sent me a buffalo and some fruit, I went to return him thanks, and by virtue of some presents, obtained his permission to hire a house, in which I lodged 43 sick men, with three surgeons, a priest, and three men to attend them. In the mean while I had several presents sent me of fruit and young kids, particularly from the governor of *Priaman*, who earnestly pressed me to make him a visit. Upon which I returned

turned him my thanks, with some presents, and promised to wait upon him the first opportunity.

On the 10th, there arrived three gallies belonging to the King of *Achen*, with an elephant and 300 men in each, and the inhabitants of *Ticow* informed me, that they expected a farther reinforcement of men and elephants, in order to carry on a war against a Prince who had revolted from the King of *Achen*. When considering that I had 50 men at *Ticow*, and 50 at an island with the water-casks, besides eight or ten who were always out with the skiff, so that I had but few left on board, though I had frequently 80 or 100 of the natives in the ship, some by way of visit, and others to sell provisions; I ordered the hatches to be nailed down, and a rail to be run between the main-mast and fore-mast, fortified by two great padereroes mounted on wheels, and five more upon the bittacle. I also caused a guard to be placed upon the deck, and two musketeers, with as many halberdeers, to stand at a door in the rail, which I never suffered to be opened, but when I received a visit in my cabbin.

On the 13th I went ashore, and finding my men recovering slowly, waited upon the Governor, to ask leave for them to stay 15 days longer, which he readily granted; but he intreated me to go to *Achen* to obtain a licence from that King, for erecting a *French* factory there. He also advised me not be to jealous of the inhabitants, or to fear any injury from
them,

them, which it seems I did, since I had made a fortification in my ship, and mounted more guns than before. To which I replied, That my coming so carelessly on shore, and leaving 50 sick persons in their hands, was a sufficient proof the confidence I put in the natives. That the design of the barrier in my ship, was only to keep those I did not know, from running into my cabin, that I might be able to put some distinction between an Orankay or nobleman, and a fisherman, and that I had not mounted so many pieces of cannon, if I had not heard that two *Dutch* ships were expected, of whom I had reason to be jealous. Upon this he told me, that I had much more reason to mistrust the *Dutch* than them; however, that if I pleased, he would forbid the natives going on board; but I assured him they should be always welcome, and that I did not at all mistrust them.

Ticow lies in 20° south latitude. The inland country is very high; but towards the shore it is low, covered with woods, and watered with several small rivers, which render it marshy. It is chequered with several pleasant meadows, well stored with buffaloes and oxen, that may be purchased for four or five rials apiece. It affords plenty of rice, poultry, ducks, and several sorts of fruit, as durions, ananas, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, water melons, mangoes, cucumbers, and potatoes. The riches of the country consist in pepper, which it produces in great plenty, and is much more esteemed than that of *Bantam*. The

city of *Ticow* lies about half a league from the sea side, opposite to a little island where the ships ride: it is but a mean place, for the city and suburbs together do not contain 800 houses, which are built with reeds, and are neither strong nor convenient. The country however is very populous, especially at the foot of the mountains, where the pepper grows.

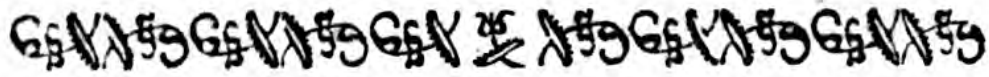
The King of *Ticow* is subject to the King of *Achen*, who appoints a new Governor every three years, and without him, the King of *Ticow* can do nothing of importance, whence foreigners have more business with the Governor than with the King, and the very natives pay him more respect. The inhabitants of the city are *Malayans* and their's is the only language spoken all along that coast. However, the inland parts are possessed by the natives, who disown the King of *Achen's* authority, have a peculiar language, and King of their own. These are idolaters; they have rich gold mines, which they do not know how to manage; for they only gather the gold out of some small shallow ditches, and out of the trenches made by the floods. This gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the inhabitants near the coast, for pepper, salt, iron, cotton, red cloth, and *Surat* pearls, on which they set a high value; but among the *Malayans*, gold is as dear as in *Europe*, and at *Achen* it is still dearer.

The *Malayans* are of an olive complexion, and being *Mahometans*, their women are all
kept

kept up, and not suffered to appear in the streets; but the people are so dishonest, that in the night time a man cannot sleep in safety. From *July* to *October* the air is very unhealthy, and the people are subject to fevers, which seldom admit of a cure; so that if it were not for their pepper, no body would venture to come near them. They gather their pepper chiefly in *December*, *January* and *February*. No trade can be carried on at this place without a licence from the King of *Achen*; but if you have that, neither the King nor the Governor of *Ticow* can disturb you. For want of it, I could neither sell any commodities, nor buy any pepper, except about 8000 pounds weight that was brought me by night from *Priaman*, at a reasonable price.

The commodities of *Surat* go off very well, as do also those of *Masulipatan*; rials are current enough; but the money of *Achen* does not pass: It consists of small pieces of gold from the mine, which the people weigh with scales; they sell their pepper by bahars, a weight containing 115 pounds averdupois, and the King of *Achen* has 15 *per cent.* of all that is sold; that is, seven and a half for the export of the pepper, and seven and a half for the import of the rials, or commodities given in exchange for it. Besides the above-mentioned impost, for every hundred bahars, 25 rials are paid to the King of *Ticow*, and an inconsiderable allowance to ten or twelve persons more. It is particularly necessary to obtain the friendship of the Governor, and to have a watchful

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eye over all the *Malayans*, who are apt to wet
the pepper, or to mix among it sand and little
stones.



C H A P. IV.

The Author sails along the Coast of this Island to
Achen. He obtains an Audience of the King.
A particular Account of the state of the Country;
the Character of the King and his Subjects.
The Difficulties the Author met with there in
purchasing Pepper, and his Proceedings till he
sails for Queda.

ON the first of *January* 1621, having
brought our sick on board who were
pretty well recovered, I weighed anchor, and
steered for *Achen*. On the 14th we were off
Barros, one of the most considerable places on
that coast belonging to the King of *Achen*,
where no person can trade without the King's
permission. This place is half way between
Ticoow and *Achen*, and affords plenty of *Benja-*
min, which serves the natives instead of money.
The country is pleasant, abounding in several
sorts of wines and fruit, but bears no pep-
per. It however affords plenty of camphire.
Rials will scarcely pass there; but the *Surat*,
or coast commodities, go off very well. Both
the inhabitants of the coast, and the *Dutch* and
English, buy up their camphire in order to carry
it to *Surat* and the Streights of *Sunda*.

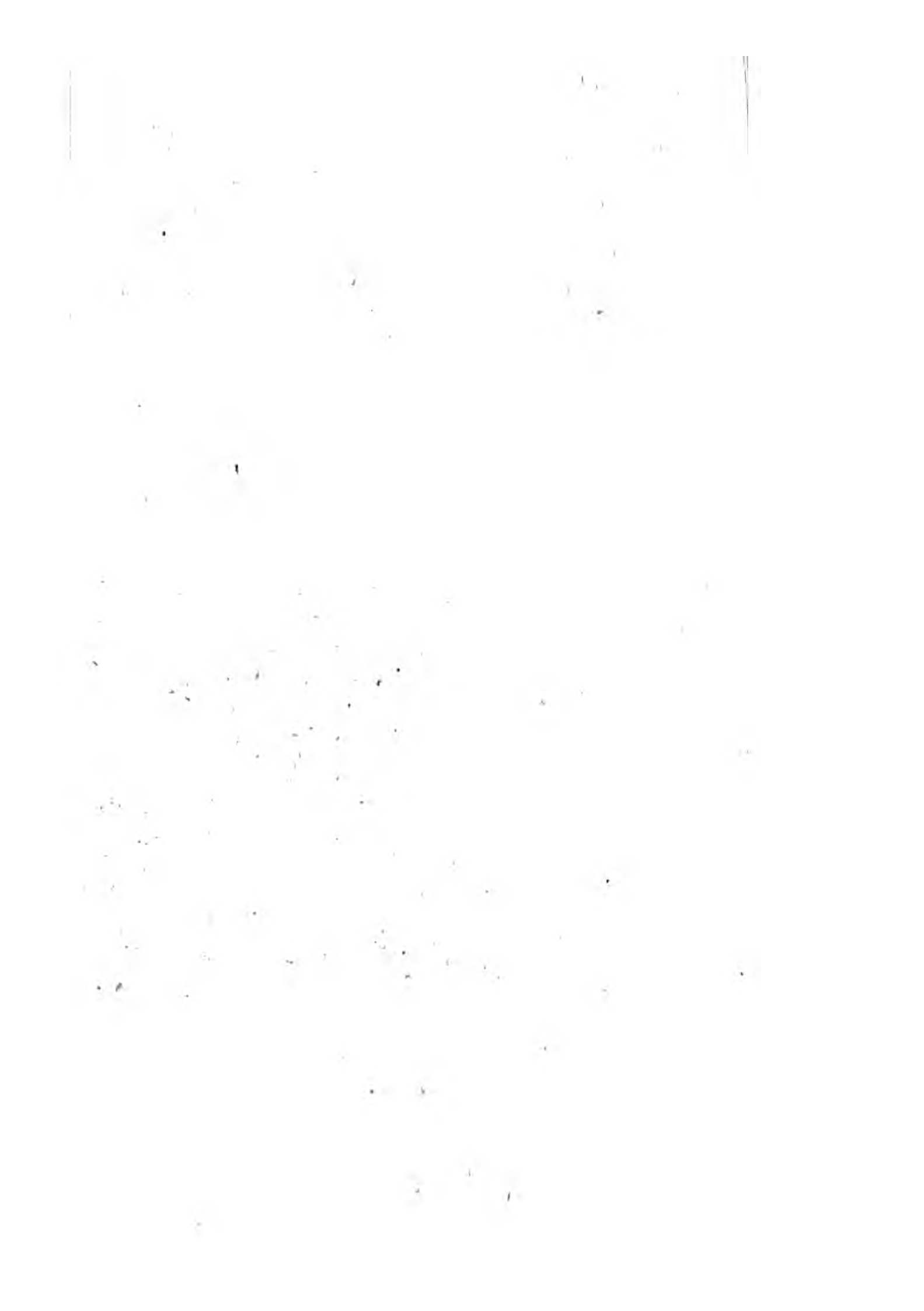
On

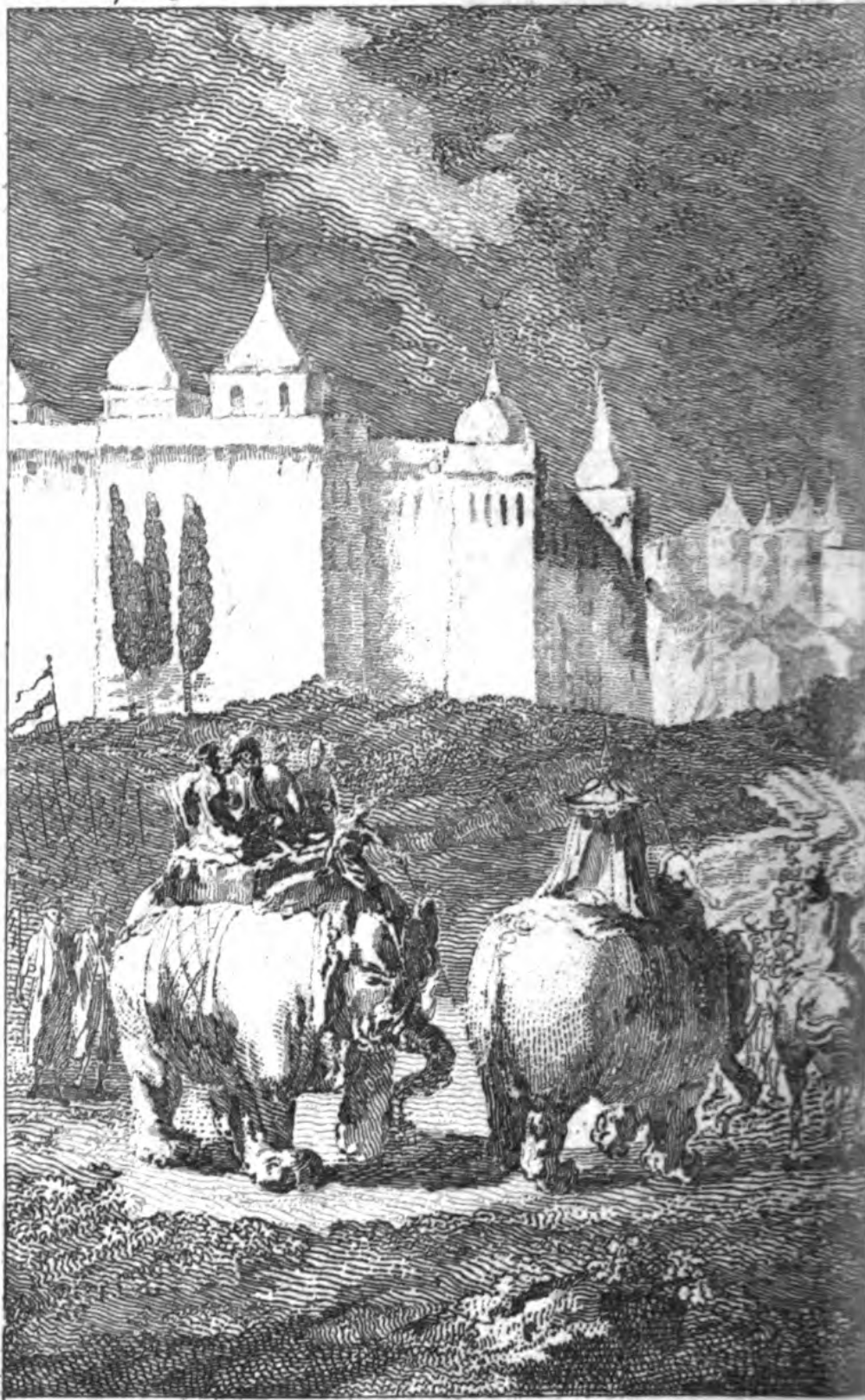
On the 13th of *February* we came to an anchor just by an *English* ship of 600 tons, and immediately a boat came off from shore with several of the King's officers, carrying a chappe, a dagger with a gold handle and scabbard, which as it belongs to the King, is to shew that the person who bears it has his commission. After a profound silence, he who carried the chappe welcomed me in the King's name, and ordered me to come immediately on shore. I accordingly got ready; but before I could come off was obliged to pay the officer's dues; these amounted to above 80 rials, besides a great looking-glass for the Eunuch, another for one of his friends, and some small ones for his principal officers. This done, I went on shore, where the Captain of the *English* ship invited me very kindly to dinner, and to lodge at his house; and having accepted his invitation to dinner, I was very handsomely entertained. The *English* Captain complained heavily of the King, that he would not let him have his pepper under 54 rials the bahar, though 30 rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that I could not speak with the King that day, and that he had sent his chappe twice for an emerald I wore on my finger, and would not be satisfied with my promise of bringing it the next day, I returned on board.

On the 7th of *February*, I prepared the present I designed for the King of *Achen*, and resolving to oblige him as much as possible, took a letter which I had drawn up, and having addressed

it *To the most Illustrious King of Achen*, sealed it with red wax, with the impression of the arms of *France*. That my present might not be unworthy of the Prince in whose name I designed to present it, I set apart the following particulars. The complete armour of an horseman engraved and gilt; a *German* hanger, with a carved and gilt hilt, to which hung a pistol; six muskets, the barrels of which were partly engraved and partly gilt, the butt-ends enriched with mother of pearl; two heads of pikes enamelled and gilt; a very large looking-glass, which was broken; but I pretended to have received it intire, and that I durst not neglect delivering it, having received the King's orders for that purpose; two large flasks of excellent rose-water, and two pieces of crimson camblet watered.

The Captain of the *Surat* vessel came to see it, and told me, that a present of such magnificence was more fit for his Master the Great Mogul, than for the King of *Achen*. The King's Officers also came to my house to take an inventory of the present I designed to make; but let me know, that they thought it not considerable enough for their Prince, who was a great Sovereign, and had but few equals in the *Indies*. I replied, that I was acquainted with the grandeur of the King of *Achen*, and at the same time knew the value of the present, which did not come from a private man, but from a powerful prince, and merited a reception from any Prince whatever.





*Commodore Beaulieu conducted to the
Court of the King of Achen.*

On the 8th, I was conducted to an audience of the King by the Sabandar and four of the principal Orankays, in the following manner. Upon a great elephant sat one of the principal Orankays in a covered pulpit, who sent me a large silver dish covered with a cloth embroidered with gold and silk of several colours, in which I put the letter, and then returned it to him. By his command one of the Orankays, the Sabandar, another person and I, rode upon another elephant. The procession began with six trumpets, six drums, and six hautboys, which sounded till we arrived at the castle. Then followed 14 or 15 men, each carrying a piece of my present covered with yellow cloth, without which nothing could be presented to the King. Then followed two Orankays riding upon *Arabian* horses, before the elephant that carried the letter, and then came the elephant on which I was placed, followed by three Sabandars, and all the officers of the Albandeque on foot. On our arrival at the castle we alighted, and when we had entered the outer gate all the men were obliged to retire. We then passed two other gates, and I was ordered to pull off my shoes, without which ceremony I could not have audience of the King. Some time after the royal chappe was brought, and being put into my hands, I raised it above my head, and redelivered it to him who brought it. I was then ordered to follow it, being only accompanied by a Sabandar, and an Orankay.

We

We waited some time at the King's chamber door, which was covered with plates of silver; and at last an Eunuch came out, and told the Sabandar, That though the King was more indisposed than usual, yet as I was so near, he would bring me in. Upon which I was led into the chamber by two men, each of them taking me by the hand, and set upon a *Turky* carpet with my legs across, according to the custom of the country: when the two men retiring, I saluted the King in the usual form, that is by joining my hands, and lifting them up to my forehead, at the same time bowing my head. The custom does not oblige one to take off one's hat; but I being unused to appear before persons of his quality with my hat on, chose to put it off. The King sat upon a place about two feet higher than me, and informed me by the Sabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of *France* for the present he had sent him, which was more valuable to him, than ten bahars of gold. He then opened the letter, and gave it me to interpret to the Sabandar, who understood a little *Portuguese*. But his knowledge of that language was so very imperfect, and the style of the letter so different from that used among them, that I could not make him understand it, for the very first words, *Most Illustrious*, put him to a stand. Upon which I turned it to *Dearest Brother*, with which the King was much pleased, saying, that he knew the Christian Princes used to usher in their letters by such expressions. At length finding that I could not make the
Sabandar

Sabandar understand every word, I repeated the substance of the letter in short, that his Most Christian Majesty desired his Mightiness to grant me a free and undisturbed traffick in his territories, and in like manner promised to protect his High Mightiness's subjects, if any of them should happen to come into his kingdom. That he desired nothing more than that a commerce between his subjects and those of *Achen* should bring him to the knowledge of so great a Prince, and that he had sent him a present of arms, in the making of which his subjects excelled.

This done, the King informed me by the Sabandar, that I was both welcome and safe in his territories: that as to trade, the *English* and *Dutch* had used to have pepper in his kingdom at an easy rate; but as they had shewed such ingratitude, as to make war upon the King of *Bantam*, who had condescended to give them a kind reception, he had caused all the pepper plants to be cut down, for fear they should prove the occasion of trouble to him, by which means the price of pepper was raised to 64 rials the bahar, and that even at that price, he did not much care to let them have it, as he knew they would do any thing in order to ingross the trade of the *Indies* to themselves.

I replied, that the insolence of the *Dutch* in offering to dethrone Kings who had shewn them civilities, would be a surprizing piece of news in *France*: that I was struck with amasement to find a people who pretended to nothing

thing but carrying on a fair trade, and whom the King of *France* had long protected against the *Spaniards*, should on this side of the world slight us, and use all means to do us an injury, and that as I had no commission to use any manner of violence, or to fortify any place; but only to buy and sell in a fair way, I ought not be ranked with a nation whose very conversation I avoided.

Upon this the King ordered some fallad to be given me in a large gold vessel, and also a suit of his own cloaths that were brought in a silver dish, and which he ordered me to put on. Having retired to the next chamber, and put on these cloaths above my own, I returned to his Majesty, who told me the arms my master had sent him, would be very serviceable to him in the siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his view, and asked me if I would accompany him thither. To this I replied, that I should place my supreme happiness in doing him any service. He then put several questions to me about the age and the power of the King my master, and on my telling him that he was in peace with all the world, and in particular with the Grand Seignior, he said he would enter into a strict alliance with the King of *France*. This done, I was mounted upon an elephant, and conducted home.

On the 11th, being called to speak with the King, he shewed me two pike heads I had presented him with, and which above the carved work, were at first covered with enamel; but the King having given them

to

to one of his own goldsmiths to be carved and gilt, the paint went off as soon as the goldsmith put them in the fire. The King therefore wanted to know, if I could think of any body who was capable of restoring them, to the same condition they were in before. I told him I knew of none, upon which he cruelly ordered that the poor fellow who had put them into the fire, should have his hands cut off.

The King then told me, that he heard I had a goldsmith on board, and desired me to order him to enamel a large gold ring of his, that weighed above an ounce, which he delivered to me.

This Prince was very curious in all lapidary and goldsmith's works, for he had above 300 goldsmiths that were daily employed in working for him; and he shewed me a great number of stones, both set and unset, which were for the most part bored at the ends; several necklaces and chains of large emeralds; garments embroidered with jewels; large vessels of gold, covered with jewels, many swords, hangers and daggers, with both the hilts and scabbards set with precious stones; and a vast number of gold clasps to put upon his robes; and he let me know that six days would not be sufficient for taking a view of all his jewels and precious stones. Whether he told me this out of ostentation or not, I cannot determine; but the greatest part of what I saw were rather stones of shew than value, though he shewed me some that were very rich, particularly three diamonds

diamonds that might weigh from 15 to 20 carats each; two very large rubies, and an emerald he got in the conquest of *Pera*, which was one of the most beautiful stones I ever saw. On my leaving the King I set the goldsmith to work, and was sorry I had one on board, being afraid that if the King liked his performance, he would delay us on his account.

On the 19th the King sent a Sabandar to invite me to dinner. When I came, I found his Majesty in a square hall, the floor of which was covered with a *Turkey* carpet, upon which he made me sit down, and after some *fallad* was given me, in a large gold dish, the cover of which was all over set with emeralds, he asked me some questions about the grandeur and power of the Christian Princes. There then came in about 30 women, each carrying a large silver dish, which they set on the carpet, each dish being covered with a cloth of gold and silk, with jewels trailing upon the ground. These women having stood for some time, the King ordered dinner to be set before me, upon which they uncovered the dishes, each of them as big as a large basin, and together with the lid about two feet and a half deep: out of each of these dishes they drew six gold plates filled with meat, pastry, and dried sweet meats, so that in less than a minute I was surrounded with gold dishes, some containing water, others sauces, and one, which was very large, was full of rice; among the rest were two dishes of *temback*, which they esteem more than gold. It is made of rice, and the
King

King ordering me to eat of it, I found it very good, for its taste resembles our march-pane. Afterwards an Eunuch, by the King's order, brought me some drink in a gold cup set in a large gold basin, upon which I drank to his Majesty's better health, and thought to have tossed off the whole; but the liquor was so very strong and fiery, that I found it impossible; when the King told me, that as I had drank to his health I should drink it all, and that if he were to drink the King of *France's* health, he would not leave a drop of it; but at my desire it was exchanged to a weaker sort. I was very much pressed to eat and drink; but being at last tired with sitting cross legged, I desired the Sabandar, to press me to eat no more. Upon which the King ordered all the dishes to be removed, and bid me once more drink his health; this being done, they brought a very fine carpet, the ground of which was gold, and this was spread on the floor between the King and me.

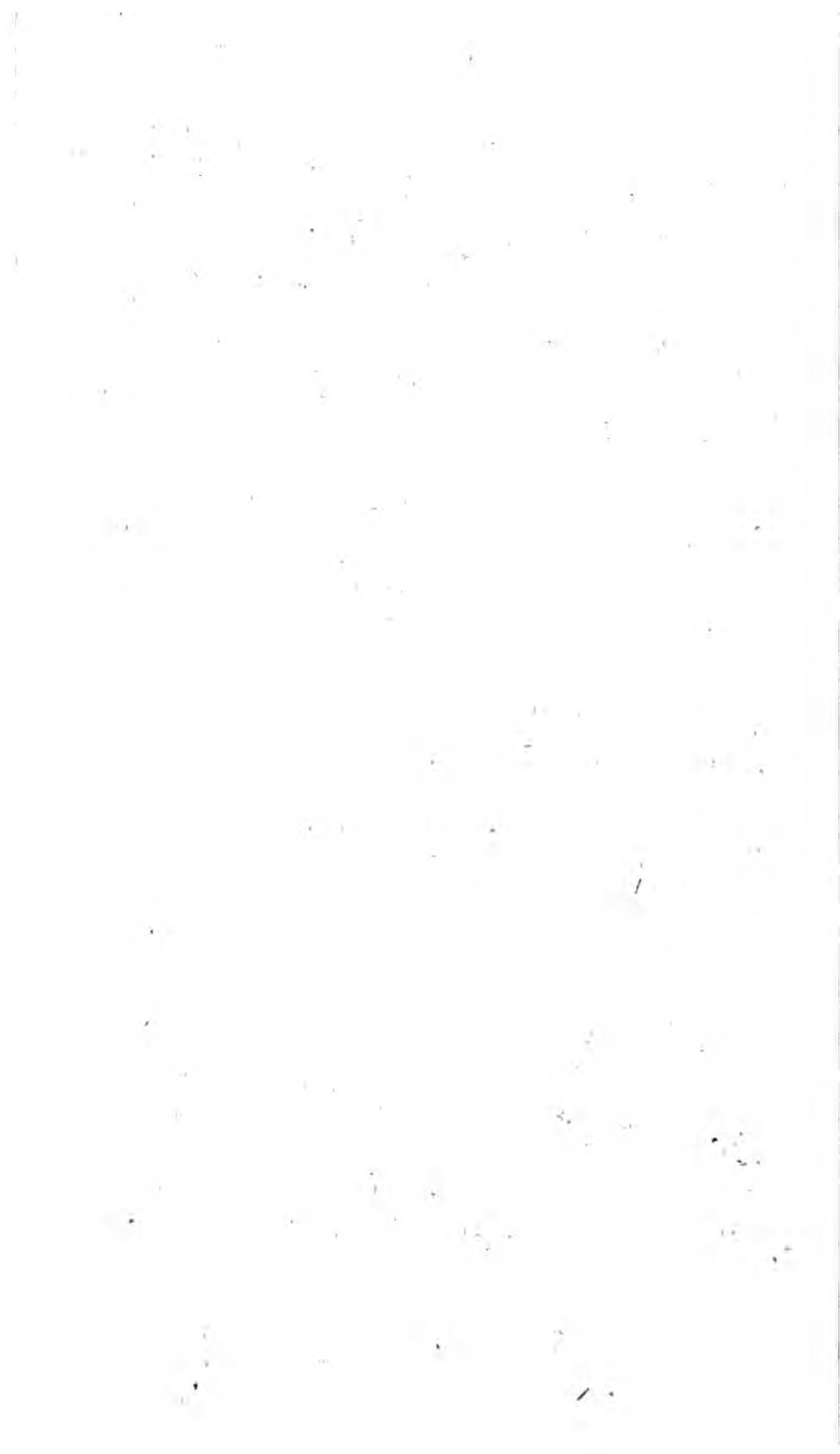
Then came 15 or 20 women, who ranged themselves by the side of the wall, and each of them having a little drum, sung the King's conquests, making their voices answer their drums. There afterwards came in at a small door two little girls very oddly dressed; but very handsome, and fairer than any I ever saw in so hot a country. Upon their heads they wore a kind of hat made of gold spangles, which glittered extremely, together with a sort of plume about a foot and a half high made of the same spangles. This hat was

placed on the side of the head. They had large pendants hanging at their ears, formed of gold spangles, that reached to their shoulders. Their necks were covered with gold necklaces, and over their shoulders was a kind of jacket of cloth of gold curiously wrought, under which was a waistcoat of cloth of gold mixed with red silk. They had a broad girdle made of gold spangles, from which hung behind a piece of cloth of gold, and under it they had breeches made of the same stuff, that reached no lower than the knees, where hung several gold bells. Their arms and legs were naked; but from the wrist to the elbow, and from the ankle to the calf of the leg, they were adorned with gold bracelets set with jewels. Each of them had a sword at her girdle, the hilts and scabbards of which were covered with jewels, and in her hand a large gold fan, with several bells about it.

These young beauties, thus adorned, advanced upon the carpet with great gravity, and falling upon their knees before the king, paid him their respects, by joining their hands and lifting them up above their heads; they then began to dance with one knee upon the ground, making several motions with their body and arms, after which they danced upright with great agility, sometimes putting their hands to their swords, at others, making as if they shot with a bow, and at others again acting as if they had a shield and hanger in their hands. They danced with a very good grace, and I am persuaded that had a *French* dancing master seen them, he would have owned that their performance
did



*The King of Achen entertains
Commodore Beaulieu.*



did not deserve the name of Barbarous. After they had danced about half an hour, they again kneeled before his Majesty and retired.

At length it growing late, the King, at my desire, suffered me to go, after his having first made me a present of two hundred pieces of gold of his coin, called masses, worth about ten pence a piece. The Sabandar then conducted me home by water, and assured me he never saw the King shew such respect to any stranger, especially in suffering his women to dance before me; for during the entertainment, the whole company shut their eyes, it being a capital crime for them to look upon the King's women, though I indeed looked at them very earnestly all the while, for I presumed they were not brought thither to make me shut my eyes.

On the 19th of *February* an Orankay and two Sabandars came on board in the King's name, to demand two swords, one of which I had promised him. I immediately gave them both my swords, desiring them to acquaint his Majesty that I had no more, and as it was unusual in *France* to go abroad without a sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again, which he did the next day, with a present of a dagger made after the fashion of the country. The person who brought it said, the King liked one of them extremely, because it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and if the other had not bowed, I had never seen it again.

As nobody dared to sell me a grain of pepper till the King had sold his; I at length waited

upon his Majesty, with some presents, in order to obtain leave to buy pepper of his subjects: for he always sold his for half as much more as others did. I found him at a cock-fighting, and laying very high wagers with his Orankays. Upon my entrance, he made me a present of a dagger, which had the value of about five or six livres of gold about the handle; but I found him so intent upon his betts, that it was not proper for me to mention my affair at that time. I could not help taking notice of one instance of his avarice and readiness to sacrifice every thing to his cruel and fordid disposition. One of the company pitched upon a middle sized cock, offering to bet upon his head against any other of what size soever. Upon which an Orankay, who had some of the King's cocks in keeping, presented a very large one, and upon this the King betted very high, when the little cock beating the great one, the King lost his money. This raising his resentment, he asked the Orankay, how it came to pass that the little cock had more strength than the great one, when the Orankay answering, with all possible humility, that he could not conceive how it was. The King replied, he could conceive it very easily; that it proceeded from the cock's being ill fed, and that he had given the cock's rice to his whores, or else eat it himself. This said, he ordered his right hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in execution.

The next day the Sabandar came to my house, and informed me, that the King, from
his

his particular affection to me, would let me have his pepper at 48 rials the bahar; though private persons would have sold it, if they dared, for 32 rials; and on my begging to be allowed to take in my lading at *Ticow*, had the assurance to propose my giving him 4000 rials, and making the King a present of 20,000, for a licence to settle a factory at *Ticow* for two years.

Some time after the Sabandar and an Eunuch came to let me know, that the King wanted to speak with me. In obedience to his commands I went, and found him much out of humour, and giving orders for tormenting five or six women; and to my great mortification, I was obliged to stay while these poor creatures were tortured with the utmost cruelty, for three hours in his presence, his wrath increasing in proportion to their torments; but at last, an end was put to their tortures, he ordering their hands and legs to be cut off, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The occasion of this inhuman execution was as follows:

On the preceding night, when there were five or six of his women in a room adjoining to his, one of them gave a hideous shriek, upon which the King inquiring what was the matter, was at first told by them all, that there was nothing in it, but after many threats, she that had cried out confessed, that somebody came in the night, and pricked her in the thigh with a dagger, through the reeds upon which she lay, and that her crying out awaked the

rest; but the others did not agree in their answers, some saying that they heard a noise, and others that they heard nothing. However, the dagger was found, but nobody would own it. After all, the King having asked them who it was that came with the dagger, and why they did not tell him the truth at first, and being unable to obtain an answer, suspected there was a design against his life, carried on by his own mother, who, he imagined, had alarmed these women, that their outcry might induce him to come out of his chamber, which would have afforded a favourable opportunity to the assassins. He therefore thought of extorting a true confession of the affair, by putting all the women to the torture; but their resolution, courage and constancy, were invincible; for notwithstanding the King's frequent offers of pardon, in case they would discover the plot, and the repeated intreaties, both of the Cady of *Achen*, and the whole court, who begged of them to be kind to themselves, they did not shrink or relent. One of them, being very old, and swooning away from time to time, the King took compassion on her, and ordered her to be put to death, upon which she assumed a gay countenance, and thanked his Majesty for his mercy, wishing that he might be rewarded for this favour, with a long and happy life of 1000 years. In a word, all of them continued undaunted to the last gasp, and even after their hands and legs were cut off, one of them had the courage to say, that for the space of ten years, they had longed for this happy hour,
that

that delivered them from the drugery of the castle. When the execution was over, the King asked me what I thought of it; but tho' the spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I dissembled, and answered, that without the execution of justice no kingdom could subsist.

The King then told me in a long discourse, that if the last night's affair had been passed over with impunity his very life had been in danger: that his Orankays were foolish and unthinking men who charged him with cruelty, without considering that it was their wickedness that drew upon them the anger of God, who made use of him as an instrument to punish them. That they had no occasion to complain of him who suffered them to possess their wives, their children, slaves, and competent estates; who maintained their religion, and preserved them from the captivity of neighbouring Kings, and the robberies of strangers: that in former times *Achen* was a nest of murderers and robbers, in which the weaker were oppressed by the stronger, and no man was safe, all of them being obliged to keep off the robbers, with arms by day, and to barricado themselves in their houses by night; whereas at present they had no occasion either for arms in the day, or doors to their houses at night. That his nobles hated him because he suppressed extortion, massacres, and robberies; that they longed to set up Kings at pleasure, and murder them when disobliged: that his mother was in the same interest, and wanted to make away with
him,

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him, in order to prefer another who had countenanced their insolence.

This speech he uttered with such vehemence and passion in his looks, that all his courtiers threw themselves upon the ground imploring his mercy, and even the Cady, a man above 80 years of age, for whom every body had the highest veneration, and who could boast of the noblest descent in *Achen*, followed their example. In fine, though this cruel Prince could obtain no discovery by all his tortures, yet he not only imprisoned his own mother, but put her upon the rack. Five of the principal Lords whom he suspected of favouring her, he put to death; barbarously murdered his own nephew, the King of *Johor's* son, under the pretence that his mother intended to raise that young Prince to the throne; and caused the son of the King of *Bantam*, and the son of the King of *Pam*, both of whom were his cousins, to be put to death. This monster has not left one of the Royal Family, but his own son, who has been thrice banished the court; but begins now to be restored to favour, and is only safe, from his being more cruel than even his father, and his being universally hated. In short, this inhuman Sovereign, has extirpated all the ancient nobility, and raised a new set of them. A day did not pass while I was at *Achen*, without the execution of one, and sometimes several of his people.

The avarice of this Prince was so extraordinary, that no representations or presents could get the better of it; for though he at
last

last gave me a licence to buy pepper of his subjects, in return for my making him a present of an enamelled ring; the first person who consented to sell me any, was instantly laid in irons. Being at last sensible, that unless I took some of the King, I should never be able to purchase a grain in the city. I bought 300 bahars at his own price; and was afterwards, to my great amazement, obliged to pay a duty of seven *per cent.* for the very pepper I had bought of his Majesty.

I afterwards bargained with a person who was a great doctor in the law of *Mahomet*, and bore the character of a prophet: but when he had weighed about 1200 bahars, I began to perceive some black sand among the pepper. He pleaded in excuse, that some of his domestics had mixed sand with it, without his knowledge; but though I might have complained to the King of *Achen*, who cuts off the hands and feet of those who are found guilty of this fraud, yet considering the high character he bore, I was willing to overlook it, and continued having more weighed till I observed the pepper wet.

Wearied out with the continual impositions of this tyrannical Prince, and by the low arts of his subjects, I resolved to depart, and on the 27th of *June* he sent me his letter to the King of *France*, which was brought to my house with great pomp; it being carried upon a large elephant by one of the principal Orankay's, attended by a number of officers of rank. Before the elephant went four drums and four trumpets,

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trumpets, and four large umbrellos furrounded
it. But all this splendor was at my cost, for
I was obliged to satisfy not only the principal
Orankay who brought the letter, but all who
accompanied him. The letter was carried in
a silver bason in a red velvet bag with gold
strings, and was written in the *Achen* language
in letters of gold, upon very smooth paper,
with several gildings and colourings round it.



C H A P. V.

The Author sails to Pulo Lanchahay. A Description of that Island; the trade of the Inhabitants, and a particular account of the Pepper Plant. A succinēt History of the reduction of Queda by the King of Achen.

ON the 24th of *July* we set sail, but met with such calms, that it was the 7th of *August* before we made *Pulo Lanchabay*, though it is but four days sail by the trade winds.

The day after my arrival the Governor of the island came on board, and told me, that he would not suffer me to trade with the inhabitants without a licence from the King of *Queda*, which he did not doubt but I might have, if I assisted him with some artillery. On the 12th the Governor having left his own son with one of the principal men of the island for hostages, went in person with two of my men to inform his Majesty of my arrival. The
King

King of *Queda* had then retired three days journey up into the country for fear of the King of *Achen's* army: however some days after I received a letter from the *Sieur D'Espine* one of the persons who went along with the Governor, to inform me that there was but little pepper in the island, and to my great mortification, I found this intelligence but too true; for we were come too late for the last year's crop, and too early for this. However on the second of *December*, the *Sieur D'Espine* sent me word, that the King had caused all the pepper to be gathered in, in order to buy some cannon of me, if I were disposed to sell them.

Upon this advice, I sent orders to *Sieur D'Espine* to inform himself particularly of what quantity of pepper might be expected in that place, and if it was under 100 bahars, to return immediately, without giving himself any farther trouble about it; but if it was above that number, to solicit the King to send a person with full powers to treat with me. The *Sieur D'Espine* returned on the 9th, and reported that his Majesty having a great mind to some of my cannon, would give me twice as much pepper for them as I had asked, if I would stay till the season for gathering it, or if I had a mind to establish a factory there, he would furnish it every year with 2000 bahars, and exclude all other nations from trading in his territories. The King also sent me a letter, empowering me to trade freely with the natives, and to desire two of my cannon, for 30 bahars
of

of pepper, which he said was all he had. In the mean time my purser was detained at *Perleys*, about seven or eight leagues from this island, from the opinion that I would come and settle a factory there, but understanding that the channel between this island and *Perleys* was embarrassed with shelves and flats, and finding that my ship did not answer the helm as she used to do, I chose to continue where I was, and threatened to set sail with the hostages I had on board, if they would not return me my man.

On the first of *October* my purser returned, and I delivered them my two hostages. He reported that the King had only 20 bahars of pepper, and desired to pay the other ten in rials, at the rate of 20 rials a bahar: that the country was very poor, and rice extremely dear; and upon the arrival of every vessel, the people fled into the country, thinking they belonged to the King of *Achen*.

Though I had resolved not to let him have any cannon, I thought fit to amuse him with fair words, till I had taken in fresh water, and with that view, I sent back the purser to acquaint him, that I was very much disposed to deal with him; but could not bring my ship to *Perleys*, because my rudder was out of order; and that to shew my willingness to oblige him, I was ready to send one of my cannon on shore, provided he gave me two hostages to insure the delivery of 20 bahars of pepper within eight days. With this offer he was so pleased, that
he

he sent me word there was no occasion for giving hostages, or landing the piece of cannon, till the pepper was got ready, which would be in six or seven days. I here caused to be cut down a main-top-mast, a mizen-mast, and a bowsprit, which I could not have elsewhere. If I could have staid till *January*, I might have loaded my ship with pepper at a quarter of the price it cost me at *Achen*, and besides at that time the trade winds coming east would have stood fair for my returning directly to *France*; but my men were so few and so discouraged, that I could not think of waiting.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants *Pulo Lanchabay*, and by the natives of *Achen*, *Pulo Lada*, or the island of *Pepper*; lies in $6^{\circ}. 15'$ north latitude. It is about 15 or 20 leagues in circumference, and is in some places mountainous. In the middle of the country there are two high mountains separated from each other by a very narrow valley, and at the foot of these mountains is a plain which extends three or four leagues in length. In this plain the pepper is produced; but the island is only inhabited by about 100 persons, and is far from being cultivated so well as it might be. The soil of this plain is very proper for all sorts of drugs, fruit, rice, and cattle, it is also enriched with excellent pasturage, and many springs and rivers. The rest of the island is covered with very thick woods, in which, especially upon the mountains, there are some trees perfectly straight, of an incredible height, and proportionable thickness. The shore on the

south side is frequently intersected with arms of the sea, leaving small islands and rocks covered with woods. On the north there is a large island at about the distance of a league, and on the east it has a bay covered with a little island, in this bay ships of 200 tons may ride in safety, and be sheltered from the winds. In a word, there is very safe anchorage all round the island; and every part of it affords excellent fresh water. From the beginning of *July* to the end of *October* the winds are westerly, when it rains very much, and the climate, as in other places of the same latitude, is unhealthy. At present this island produces annually 500,000 pounds weight of excellent large and dry pepper, which is preferable to that of any other place in the *Indies*. It is subject to the King of *Queda*, and the *Portuguese* who reside at *Malacca* come there every year to trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*.

The pepper plants grow in a fat soil, and are planted at the root of trees, round which they creep and twist like hops. They produce no fruit till the third year, after which they bear for the three following years, six or seven pounds weight of pepper. In the three next years they decrease one third, both in the quantity and size of the pepper, and thus continue decreasing for four or five years longer. For the first three years the ground about them must be kept very clean, which requires a great deal of pains on account of the moisture of the climate. When the plant begins to
bear,

bear, the branches of the tree through which it creeps must be lopped off, lest they intercept the rays of the sun, which this plant stands most in need of. When the clusters of the fruit are formed, care must also be taken to support them with poles, lest the branches should be drawn down by the weight of the fruit. They should also be planted at a convenient distance from each other, that a person may get round them with a ladder, in order to prune them after the fruit is gathered; for otherwise they would grow too high, and by that means bear the less fruit.

This plant has commonly a white flower in *April*, which knots in *June*; in *August* the fruit is large, and green, when the natives use it for sallad, or make it into a rich pickle by steeping it in vinegar. In *October* it is red; in *November* it begins to grow black, and in *December* it is all over black, and consequently ripe. This is generally the case, though in some places it is ripe sooner or later than in others. The fruit being ripe, they cut off the clusters and dry them in the sun, till the grain falls off the stalk, which notwithstanding the excessive heat, it does not do in less than fifteen days, during which it must be turned from side to side, and covered up every night. Some of the grains neither change red nor black, but continue white, and these are made use of in medicine, and sold for double the price of the other. Of late years, the inhabitants observing that foreigners want these for the same use, have found out a way of whitening the others, by

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taking them while they are yet red and washing
off the red skin with water and sand, so that
nothing remains but the heart of the pepper,
which is white.

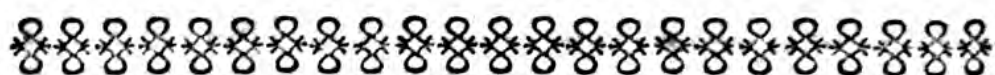
Thus the cultivation of pepper requires a
great number of hands ; but they are now
much wanted both in this island and the coun-
try of *Queda*, which three or four years before
were laid desolate by the King of *Achen*, so
that the King of *Queda* is now obliged to put
himself under the protection of the King of
Siam. The inhabitants are *Malayans*, but not
so crafty and dishonest as those of *Achen*: their
habits are much the same, but not so rich ;
they are very zealous *Mahometans*, and in their
customs and way of living, differ but little
from the inhabitants of *Achen*.

Queda has a marshy soil, and many brooks
that run into a considerable river, in which
there are a great number of large croco-
diles. The country was formerly well
peopled, and abounded with all sorts of pro-
visions, especially rice and cattle. It was re-
sorted to by merchants from *Pegu*, *Araacan*,
Bengal, *Jerselin*, the coast of *Coromandel*, and
Surat, by the *Portuguese*, who resided at *Ma-
lacca*, and even by the merchants of *Achen*.
The customs and imposts at this place were
very moderate, till the father of the present
King, who was a perfidious and cruel tyrant,
ascended the throne : but about three years ago
he was carried into captivity by the King of
Achen. It is remarkable, that about four years
before it was subdued, two thirds of the in-
habitants,

habitants, amounting to about 40,000, were carried off by a plague: the following year a murrain seized upon the cattle, and not only carried off all the King's elephants, but even seven eighths of their other cattle, and the third year there was such a scarcity of rice and all manner of fruit, that the people suffered a terrible famine. The next year the King of *Achen*, who always lies in wait to plunder his neighbours, took advantage of their distress, and laid siege to the city of *Queda*, which held out three months, and then the King with his family and retinue, consisting of 120 men, retired to his palace which he had fortified, and where he was reduced to the last extremity; but having continued there about two months, the King of *Achen's* officers persuaded him to surrender, by alledging that their master admired him for his valour, and if he trusted to his clemency, would certainly reinstate him in his throne. This siege was carried on with great vigour by the *Achen* army, so that they fought even in winter when up to the middle in water; for the King had sent them word, he would cut them all to pieces, if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*. At last having demolished the city and castle, they carried that unhappy Prince and his family, with about 7000 of the inhabitants to *Achen*.

The King of *Achen* gave the captive Sovereign a tolerable reception, till he had drained him and his friends of all they had, after which he had the cruelty to put to death, not only him and his children; but the principal

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men among the other captives, confining the
rest to a remote part of the city, where most
of them died for want, and the poor remain-
der, amounting to about 500, work at present
in small huts, one half of the week, to obtain
a pitiful subsistence, and the other half in
building the King of *Achen's* houses, and ma-
nuring his grounds. The present King of
Queda was shut up with his father in *Queda*
castle ; but finding his unhappy parent was in-
clined to surrender, and to carry all his children
and treasures to *Achen*, in order to procure a
better reception, he privately made his escape.



C H A P. VI.

*The Author returns to Achen. The reception he
met with. He sails to Ticow, where he is at
last permitted to trade. A Description of the
Island of Sumatra in general, and of the Govern-
ment and Laws of Achen, with the manner in
which the present King ascended the Throne.
The Author sails for Europe, and arrives at
Havre de Grace.*

ON the 12th of *October* I weighed anchor
and stood for the road of *Achen*, when
the currents carried me upon the islands of
Botton, at about the distance of five leagues,
where I was obliged to drop an anchor in order
to

to keep clear of a rock. These islands are three in number, besides many small ones. They are inhabited, and covered with woods, in which there are some trees fit for the masts of ships. They afford good anchorage all round them, and the largest has good fresh water in a sandy creek.

The next day we came in sight of *Sumatra*, and on the 27th were within two leagues of the island of *Puloway*, which I designed to double, in order to cast anchor on the west side of the road of *Achen*, whence I might easily put to sea, in case I should be used ill by the King; but the currents were so strong, and the winds blew so hard from the west and west-north-west, that I was obliged to put into a small creek, and that very evening a vessel came up to me with a commission from the King to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. For it seems the King had heard of a ship cruising upon his coast fifteen days before I came to an anchor in that place. This messenger informed me, that a small *French* ship had arrived in the road of *Achen* about eight days before: he happened to know me to be the person who had before been at *Achen*; and on his asking me, whence I came, I ordered my interpreter to tell him, that at my leaving *Achen* I was bound for *Bantam*; but having lost two of my masts by a storm, was forced to put into an island to refit, the name of which I intended to conceal, as I knew the King would be displeas'd at my going thither without his
leave;

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leave; but my interpreter immediately told him
I had been at the island of *Pulo Lanchabay*.

The next day I was visited by a vessel, in
which was an *Achen* man with whom I was
acquainted, who told me there was a small
French vessel in the road, and some *Frenchmen*
who said they belonged to me, adding as a
secret, that they were detained by the King of
Achen against their inclinations.

In the mean time I sent my long-boat on
shore for fresh provisions; but the people would
sell none, alledging, that the King had pro-
hibited their vending them without his com-
mand. As I took the *French* ship in the road
of *Achen* to be our advice boat, I was appre-
hensive that the King might stop it, to pre-
vent their having an interview with me, I
therefore weighed anchor and stood for the
road of *Achen*; but the wind being contrary
and very high, I was forced to come to an
anchor at the point of a large bay, whence I
sent by land one of the men whom I had re-
deemed, in a *Moor's* habit to carry a letter to
the *French* vessel in the road of *Achen*, promising
him his freedom, if he brought me an answer
in two days; for we were then but four leagues
distance from *Achen*, and he being set on shore
in the night, was ordered to reach that city
before it was light.

The next day a large ship with *English* colours
made up to us, put out her long-boat, and
brought on board M. *Du Parr*, one of the
men belonging to the *Hope*. This was a ship
of 600 tons and 32 guns, and had on board
M. *Grave*

M. *Grave* the Captain of the *Hope*, who was very ill; but not finding me at *Achen*, was going to *Batavia* to see if he could get a passage to *France*. M. *Du Parr* gave me the following account of Captain *Grave's* proceedings.

After the *Hope* parted from me, she came to an anchor at a long island about 20 leagues from *Ticow*, to which place the Captain sent the long-boat; but twelve hours after its departure Mr. *Grave* himself stood for the same port to set on shore M. *Talier*, the first Commissary, who was then ill; but the winds and currents being contrary, they not only lost the men in the long-boat, but all they had on board grew sick, except the Captain and five or six more. While they were in this unhappy condition, they met with a *Dutch* ship of 1200 tons, called the *Leyden*, commanded by *William Schouten*, upon which Captain *Grave* went to desire their assistance; but was no sooner on board the *Leyden*, than the *Dutch* Captain sent 60 men in two long-boats to board our ship, this they did without opposition, and not only plundered the vessel, but used our sick men most barbarously, turning them out of their hammocks, and throwing them upon the deck.

In the mean while the *Dutch* Captain told M. *Grave* that his ship was a good prize, and if they met with me they would serve me in the same manner. A few days after they met with another *Dutch* ship that had many sick on board, and was going to set them on shore on the isle of *Nassau*, when Captain *Grave* desired that

that his men might also be landed at the same place, to which they consented; but behaved with such cruelty as shewed they had neither humanity, religion, nor conscience; for they threw the sick men, like so many logs of wood, out of the ship into the boat, and some they dragged with a rope through the water, particularly one, who expired immediately upon the rocks on the shore.

In the mean time the Commissary of the *Leyden* became sensible of his crime, and told Captain *Grave* he was mistaken, for upon a review of his Commission, he found he had no authority to take any *French* ship, and that he was at liberty to return to his own vessel. Captain *Grave*, however, considering that he stood in need of his assistance, answered with great complaisance, that the Commissary was not the first who had been mistaken in matters of as great consequence, and desired that he might have some of the *Dutch* seamen to man his ship. To this the Commissary consented; upon condition that he should forget what was passed, and give a writing to that purpose under his hand, which being done, Captain *Grave* received this reinforcement, and returned on board the *Hope*; but the *Dutch* seamen threatened every day to throw him and his crew overboard, which they would certainly have done, if the other *Dutch* ship called the *Horn*, had not been in company. They sometime after fell in with three *Dutch* ships, upon the coast of *Sumatra*, one of which having a flag upon its mast like an Admiral's ship,
Captain

Captain *Grave* went on board her, which he had no sooner done, than the Admiral's ship fired upon his, to make the men take down their *French* colours, and the Captain sent back his boat, with orders to take them down.

They now all sailed for *Jacatra*, where they arrived in *December*, when Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the *Dutch* Admiral, and desired he would assist him with some seamen to conduct his ship to *Bantam*, to which the Admiral agreed, provided he would there buy up all the pepper he could get at two rials a sack, and distribute two thirds of it to the *Dutch* and *English* in that road. The Captain, considering his miserable situation, was obliged to submit, and sign an obligation to buy fifteen thousand sacks of pepper, 5000 of which were to be given to the *Dutch*, and 5000 to the *English*. At this time the pinnace I had sent in quest of him came to *Jacatra*; but the bargain being struck before her arrival, Captain *Grave* was obliged to go to *Bantam*, and arrived there at the end of *January*, where the King gave him a favourable reception, but would sell him no pepper under four rials a sack.

In the mean time the *Dutch*, contrary to their promise, sent armed barks up and down *Bantam* road, in pursuit of the *Javanese*, within cannon shot of their walls, and always returned on board the *Hope*, in order to make the people of *Bantam* believe that the *French* gave shelter to their mortal enemies. But this the King of *Bantam* resented no otherwise than by keeping the pepper at the first price, upon
which

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which Captain *Grave* resolved to take it, and
when he had got his lading to return to *France*.
He offered part of what he had got to the
Dutch; but they refused to have it at that
price. The *English* however took 150 bags
without ever paying him, which occasion-
ing his wanting money to pay the King of
Bantam, he refused to let him have any more,
unless he would take all he had bargained for.

At length the Commissary of the *St. Malo's*
company at *Bantam* supplied him with as much
as would complete his lading, taking the *Her-
mitage* advice-boat, which I had sent to him,
as a pledge for 1500 rials in part of payment.
This done, Mr. *Grave* resolved to return di-
rectly for *France*; but he was ordered by three
ships that lay just by him to go to *Jacatra*;
he accordingly went thither, and was there
commanded to unlade two thirds of his cargo,
and though he shewed letters under the *Dutch*
President's hand, importing, that they would
not stand to the first bargain, yet they arrested the
Captain on shore, made seven or eight of their
ships ride at anchor round the *Hope*, and began
to unlade the pepper themselves, though none
of Captain *Grave's* crew put their hands to it.
In the mean time Captain *Grave* entered a pro-
test against the injustice of the *Dutch*; declaring,
that all the damages issuing from that action,
should be placed to their account. Soon after
a proa was seen in a very dark night to come
from the place where the *Dutch* ships lay at
anchor, and to make up to the stern of the
Hope, near which it continued some time, and
then

then putting off, one of the men cried in the *Malayan* tongue, that the *Hope* was on fire. Immediately the *Dutch* ships were seen under sail, they having weighed anchor before, which was a certain proof that they knew of the design. Mean while the *French* seamen, finding the fire too far advanced to be extinguished, came off in the long-boat. The next morning Captain *Grave* sent six proas to save something in the ship, but the *Dutch* kept them off, extinguished the flames, got all the pepper and artillery out of her, placed them in their own magazines, and sold the hulk by beat of drum.

After this Captain *Grave* hearing that I was at *Achen*, set out for that city in the pinnace belonging to the *French* Commissary at *Bantam*, and the rest of the men came in another bark; but as soon as he arrived there, the bark and all that were in her were stopt by the King of *Achen*, when Captain *Grave* being taken ill, and not meeting with me there, took the opportunity of embarking for *Batavia* in the *English* ship above-mentioned.

Having heard this melancholly account of our affairs, I sent a boat for Captain *Grave*, received him on board, and some days after weighed, and making the road of *Achen*, came to an anchor among five other ships that were in that road, in order to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my men, if he would not do it voluntarily.

Immediately upon our arrival, the King sent an Eunuch on board to welcome me, and desire me to come on shore. To which I answered,

That I could not trust myself on land, since the King had imprisoned my men like robbers, and seized upon the sorry remains of a burnt ship, contrary to what might have been expected, after the services offered him by the King of *France*, and by me in particular. The Eunuch replied, that the King took them for *Portuguese* who had ravaged his coasts, and as soon as he was undeceived, had set them at liberty, and returned them their money. That he had, it is true, hindered them from going on board the *English* and *Dutch* ships, for fear they should come to any harm from their mortal enemies, designing to put them into the hands of the first *French* Captain that should arrive in that place. To which I answered, that the *French* were easily distinguished from the *Portuguese*, and that though I understood he had returned them some rials, yet he had detained the value of 2500 rials he took from them, in jewels, coral, bezoar, musk and other things. The Eunuch told me, the King would certainly return them. However, I let him know, that I was firmly resolved not to go on shore, till all my men were on board, after which I would come and receive his commands.

A demand was now made of the duties of the King's *Chappe*, besides 400 rials for anchorage to be paid to the King, and 200 for the officers of the *Alfandegue*, a late imposition, laid upon all ships that should come into that road; but I told them I did not come to traffic, and therefore would not pay a farthing. Some-
time

time after the *Chappe* returned, and brought all my men on board; when pursuant to my promise, I went on shore, and waited upon the King, who complained heavily of my not coming to see him sooner, and told me that the *Dutch* and *English* had spread false reports, in order to exclude the *French* from the trade of *Achen*: that the men he had imprisoned were represented to him as robbers and pirates; but that he no sooner understood they belonged to me, than he set them at liberty. That he was afraid the King of *France* might have taken it ill, if he had put his subjects into the hands of the *Dutch*, who were their mortal enemies, and that he only waited for the arrival of a *French* ship, in which he might send them home. But after all, on my thanking him for sending the men on board, he told me, he had only sent them to visit me, for they being shipwrecked and lost men, belonged to him, into whose port they came. This, I suppose, he said to prevent my asking for what he had taken from them.

I was resolved to strive once more to obtain a licence for trading at *Ticow*, and for that purpose, offered a diamond to the Orankay to engage him to procure it for me: when he told me that I might obtain the licence, provided I made a present of a fine diamond to the King, who was then extremely fond of jewels. Upon this, I shewed him a rough diamond, weighing 12 grains, which I designed for the King, and a cut diamond of five grains for himself; but the next day he informed me, that he had

shewn them to his Majesty, and that the *English* having very lately presented him with large ones, he did not value mine. However, if I could find any that were extraordinary beautiful, I might certainly obtain my request. Upon this I bought off a *Portuguese*, who was lately returned from *Masulipatan*, two diamonds, one weighing 18 grains, cut lozenge wise, and very handsomely set, which cost me 550 rials, and another of nine grains, that cost me 120 rials; and then I desired *Quylin*, a goldsmith, who was now my interpreter, and who used to speak very boldly to the King, to let him know that I had some jewels, which I desired to shew his Majesty. After some time, the King sent for me in order to see my diamonds, when I shewed him the large one, which having looked at, he asked me the price of it, and I told him it was at his service, if he would allow me to buy 300 bahars of pepper at *Ticow*. To which he answered, That if the *Dutch* would give him 30,000 rials for that privilege he would not grant it them, but he would give me a licence to stay 20 days at *Ticow*, if I would make him a present of another diamond like that; but I let him know that I had none such, nor could possibly find any. He then desired me to give him a piece of cannon in the room of it. But I begged his pardon, and desired to be excused. However, finding him bent upon having the gun, I at last agreed to let him have it. When calling for the *Orankay Laxamene*, the King ordered him to give me a commission for trading at *Ticow*.

I, how-

I, however, frequently asked for my commission to no purpose, and at last complained of him to the King, who bid me give him a diamond; when I found that the Orankay *Laxamane* could do nothing, the King dispatching all his commissions himself, and that the design of turning me over to him, was to extort from me another diamond for the King's use. On this discovery, I gave him one that weighed about six grains, and at last, after many delays, received from the King's own hand a letter empowering me to trade at *Ticow* for 20 days.

On the 16th of *December* we weighed anchor, and arrived in the road of *Ticow*, on the last day of the year. On the first of *January*, 1622, I shewed the inhabitants of that town the King of *Achen's* letter, and in this place I bought above 400 bahars of pepper, which cost me about 25 rials the bahar, including the charges of the commission, and the presents I made at *Achen*.

The island of *Sumatra* extends 11 degrees in length from the point of *Achen*, in 5°. 30'. north latitude, to the streight of *Sunda*, in 5°. 30'. south latitude, so that it is about 620 miles long, and generally about 210 in breadth. The coast for the most part lies low, though there are very high mountains within the country. Its vallies afford excellent pasturage, produce great quantities of rice, and many kinds of fruit. It is watered by fine rivers, some of which are very large, and an infinite number of brooks, by which means the land is rendered very moist, and in some places marshy, and

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this island being under the equinoctial, is sub-
ject to frequent rains.

The air is unhealthy for strangers, especially near the equinoctial, and during the wet season, which lasts from *June* to *October*, when the westerly winds, mixed with rain and sudden tempests, blow upon the coast: these are interrupted by calms, which occasion pestilential fevers, that carry off strangers in two or three days, or at least terminate in obstinate swellings and dropies; but the city of *Achen*, which is situated on the north point, is more temperate; it stands upon a large river, about half a league from the sea, in the midst of a valley that is six leagues broad. The soil is very proper for all sorts of grain and fruit; the inhabitants, however, sow nothing but rice, which, with cocoas, is their principal food.

The island bears very large trees, that retain their verdure all the year round; the fruit-trees are very numerous; these bear in their proper seasons, and there is not a month in the year without some ripe fruit. The natives have abundance of buffaloes, which are employed in manuring the ground, and in drawing or carrying. Their horses are of a small breed. They have great numbers of goats; but their sheep are of little value. The peasants breed up great numbers of hens and ducks, in order to sell their eggs: they are fond of hunting, and have an infinite number of wild boars; but they are neither so large nor so furious as those in *France*. However, their deer are larger than ours. They have
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few roe bucks and hares; but at the foot of the mountains there are numbers of wild elephants, and upon those that are uninhabited, there many rhinoceroses, wild buffaloes, tygers, wild cats, civet cats, monkeys, adders, large lizards, and in some rivers poisonous crocodiles.

The best half of this island is possessed by the King of *Achen*, and that part of the coast that faces the streights of *Sunda* is subject to the King of *Bantam*. The inhabitants of the coast are *Malayans*, but the inland parts of the island are inhabited by aborigines, who speak a different language from the *Malayans*, and have several petty Kings. The richest and most powerful of whom, is one who resides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, he possessing all the places where gold is found.

As to the produce of the several kingdoms and provinces, *Andrigri* produces a considerable quantity of pepper; but it is very small. Gold is cheaper there than in any other country possessed by the *Malayans*; *Jamby* produces a great deal of much better pepper than that of *Andrigri*. The *English* and *Dutch* have a factory there, as well as the *Portuguese* at *Malacca*. The kingdom of *Polimban*, abounds in rice and cattle, and affords but little pepper. This is a pleasant country towards the shore, which is in the possession of the King of *Bantam*.

As for the dominions of the King of *Achen*, the territories belonging to his principal city, are so badly cultivated as not to maintain the inhabitants, whence a great part of the rice comes

comes from abroad. In former times it produced a great deal of pepper; but one of the Kings observing that they minded nothing else, and neglected the manuring of the ground necessary for producing rice, caused all the pepper plants to be cut down, whence it does not annually produce above 500 bahars. At the distance of six leagues from *Achen*, there is an high mountain, which furnishes great quantities of sulphur. This mountain, with the island of *Puloway*, in the road of *Achen*, in a manner supplies all the *Indies* with sulphur for the making of gun-powder. The territory of *Pedir* is so very fertile in rice, that it is called the Grainery of *Achen*. It also produces a large quantity of silk, part of which is wove by the natives into stuffs, that are esteemed over all *Sumatra*, and the rest sold to the inhabitants of the coast of *Coromandel*. At *Dely* there is a fountain of oil, which is said to be inextinguishable when once set on fire. With this oil, the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portuguese* galeons near *Malacca*. *Daya* abounds in rice and cattle. *Cinquele* annually produces a large quantity of camphire, which the inhabitants of *Surat*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, purchase for 15 or 16 rials the cotti, or 28 ounces. *Passaman* stands at the foot of a very high mountain, and produces excellent large pepper, and seven leagues from the place is *Ticow*, which is still more fertile in this valuable drug. *Priaman* is well peopled, and plentifully furnished with all sorts of provisions; it drives a large gold trade with the inhabitants
of

of *Manimcabo*: the *Dutch* had a factory there for a long time; but were at last expelled by the King of *Achen*. *Padung* has little pepper; but deals much in gold, and has a fine river, where large ships may come up and ride in safety. All these places are well peopled and cultivated, and from their distance from the tyrannical court of *Achen*, some of the inhabitants became rich, and live happily.

The inhabitants of *Achen* are more vicious than those of *Ticow*, and other places along the coast. They are proud, envious, and treacherous; despise their neighbours, and think all other nations but themselves barbarians. They are very expensive in their cloaths, and would be so in their houses and slaves, if they were not prevented by the King. They speak well in their own language, and have orators among them: these are very fond of similies, and are happy in applying them. They also compose poems and songs; they apply themselves to writing, and the *Arabian* arithmetic, which differs but little from ours. Some of them are good mechanics, especially in the building of galleys. They are very dexterous in all sorts of iron work, though they do not work with the same facility as the *Europeans*. They also work well in wood and copper, and some of them are skilled in making artillery.

Since this King's accession to the throne, the subjects of *Achen* have obtained the reputation of being the best soldiers in *India*; for they have inured themselves to fatigue, and are excellent pioneers, as appears from the sieges of

Queda

Queda and *Dely*, for though the latter was a place of great strength, fortified by the assistance of the *Portuguese*, and defended by a person of great valour and reputation, yet the King of *Achen* took it in six weeks time, by cutting trenches, and making gradual advances. They live very soberly, and for the most part upon rice, to which the richer sort add a small quantity of fish, and a few herbs, and he must be a very great Lord, who eats in a day's time, one fowl boiled or broiled upon the coals. It is a common saying among them, that if there were 2000 Christians in that country, all their beef and fowls would soon be consumed.

They pretend to be very strict *Mahometans*; but are great hypocrites, especially in the respect they shew to the King, whom they would gladly see hanged. If they suspect, though without reason, that any one has a dislike to them, they endeavour to prevent his doing them an injury, by forming an accusation, against him before his Majesty, and the frequency of these accusations occasions his being so cruel; as they make him believe that there are more conspiracies against him, than there really are. In short, it is common for one brother to accuse another, or the son the father, and if, upon this account, they are charged with inhumanity and want of conscience, they reply, that God is far from them, but the King of *Achen* is near at hand.

Agreeably to the law of *Mahomet*, they marry as many women as they are able to maintain, one of whom is intitled to the preference, and her

her children esteemed the lawful heirs ; but though they suffer their slaves and concubines to go abroad, their wives are confined at home. If a man marries a young woman, he commonly pays a sum of money for her to her relations, and allows her a jointure out of his estate ; and if she has a fortune of her own, she lodges it in the hands of her husband, and takes his note for it, which intitles her to recover it, in case of a separation ; or, if the husband dies first, this note, together with the jointure stipulated in the contract of marriage, must be first satisfied out of the goods of the deceased, even to the prejudice of all other creditors ; but if the woman dies first, the husband is intitled to all she brought him. The husband and wife may separate whenever they please, provided it be by their mutual consent ; for the consent of one party is not sufficient.

Though usury is prohibited at *Achen*, they are allowed to borrow money at 12 *per cent. per ann.* without pledges. If the debtor refuses to pay, he is cited before a court of justice, where if the debt be proved, he is condemned to pay it in a short time, and if it is not paid at the time limited, he is cited to appear a second time, when he must either pay it in court, or have his hands tied behind with a wythe, and as nobody dares to untie him, he continues in this posture, and is obliged to appear before the court whenever it fits, till the debt is discharged. But if the Judge perceives, that he appears daily, and is unable to pay the debt, he delivers him up to the creditor, to serve him as a slave ; the creditor then takes him home,
sells

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sells him, or does with him what he pleases, so
he does not take away his life.

This court sits every morning, except on *Fridays*, and one of the richest Orankays presides in it. There is also a criminal court, in which several of the principal Orankays preside by turns, where cognizance is taken of all quarrels, robberies, murders, &c. committed in the city. Any criminal may be stopped or taken up, by a child of four or five years of age; for whenever hands are laid upon him, he durst not make the least opposition; but stands like a statue, and suffers his hands to be tied, in order to be tried before the court, where the sentence is immediately put in execution. I have seen tall, lazy fellows dragged in this manner by little children, and sentenced to be lashed with a wythe over their shoulders, for stealing to the value of a farthing; and after the execution, neither the criminal nor informer dare complain. I heard a man tried for peeping through a hedge to see his neighbour's wife bathing herself, for which he was sentenced to receive 30 lashes upon his shoulders; but after the sentence was pronounced, the criminal publicly capitulated with the executioner, and gave him 20 maes in open court, in consideration of his being whipped with his cloaths on. It is indeed very common, to bargain with the executioner for mitigating the punishment: for never a day passes, without the King's ordering a nose, eye, ear, hand, foot, or testicle to be cut off from some one or other: upon which occasion, the executioner gets money for doing his business

ness handsomely, and with little pain; and if the criminal does not come up to the price, and pay him upon the spot, he will mangle him in a most unhuman manner. After the criminal has thus suffered, whether by the King's command, or the sentence of the Judge, all the ignominy of his crime is wiped off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with impunity.

There is another court, in which the Cadi or Chief Priest presides, and takes cognizance of all the infringements of religion. There is also a court for determining disputes among merchants, whether natives or foreigners. In this court an exact account is kept of all the customs, gifts, fines, and commodities belonging to the King, with a list of all the persons who buy of his Majesty, pay the duty, or make him presents. Besides these, there are four officers, called *Pangoulo-w Cavalo*, who take cognizance of things done in the night-time, as not paying the duty, robberies, &c. each of which has a quarter of the city under his jurisdiction. Every Orankay has a province or country district, in which he gives orders and administers justice.

Before the reign of the present King's grandfather, the Orankays having never been oppressed by their Sovereigns, nor pillaged by other nations, were very rich in lands and houses, as well as in gold and silver. The city was six times larger than at present; the streets were crowded with people, and no city in *India* had so flourishing a trade; for no customs were required, but that of the Chappe, and merchants might unload and take in a fresh lading within

fifteen days. The Orankays then lived in large stately houses with cannon at their gates, and had a great number of slaves, both to serve and guard them. They dressed magnificently, had pompous retinues, and were much respected by the people. This grandeur and authority, not only lessened the power of the King, but was often fatal to his person, so that the Sovereign seldom enjoyed his crown above two years, and, if he did, he had no more than the title.

In this situation, things continued till the extinction of the ancient Royal Line, which happened about 40 years ago, when the Orankays met in order to chuse a King; but every one endeavouring to obtain that dignity, it was resolved to decide the dispute by the sword. While they were in this ferment, the Cadi by his authority and remonstrances, persuaded them to listen to an expedient, that would remove all their jealousies, which was to set the crown upon the head of a certain Orankay, who during these divisions, had endeavoured to obtain nothing for himself or family, which was one of the noblest in *Achen*; but lived peaceably with the reputation of being a wise experienced man, he being then 70 years of age. The Orankays accepted the proposal, as it did not remove their respective pretensions, since he was only intitled to a preference, on account of his age and prudence; but after all, the old nobleman desired to be excused, alledging that he had for some time retired from the affairs of the world, and wished for nothing more than to pass the remainder of his life in peace.

Upon





*The Orankays of Achen force an Old
Man of their Body to accept the crown.*

Upon this the Orankays fell together by the ears; but at last finding that every thing ran into confusion, they endeavoured to threaten the old Orankay into an acceptance of the crown; but both their threats and intreaties were equally ineffectual.

At last they all came in a body to his house. The Cadi carrying the crown, and one of the Orankays a naked sword, when they represented to the old Nobleman, that they could not possibly find any other remedy for their present calamity, but that of making him King: That as they had frequently importuned him to accept of the crown, they now came once more to make him the last offer, and if he still refused to accept it, they were determined to cut him off immediately, to prevent their insisting any longer on an useless expedient. The old Orankay finding himself in this dilemma, told them, that though he had firmly resolved to finish his days without interfering in the disturbances of public affairs, yet since nothing but his mounting the throne could prevent a pernicious war, he would accept their offer, upon condition that they should respect him as a father, and he should treat them as his children. They all thanked him, and having promised not only to honour him as their parent, but to respect him as their sovereign, instantly invested him with the royal dignity.

After his coronation he took possession of the castle, and inviting all the Orankays to a feast, upon an appointed day, made such vast preparations for their entertainment, that the

Orankays were filled with admiration. When the festival arrived, the Orankays were drawn up in order in a court near the King's apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into an hall; but as they entered it, were immediately seized and dragged into another court behind the building, where the King had caused a deep ditch to be dug, upon the brink of which their throats were cut, and then their bodies were thrown into it. In the mean time the music played, and nothing but songs and mirth were heard in the hall. These murders were carried on with such success, that 1100 were cut off before those in the rear could perceive any thing of the matter, when the small remainder slipped softly out of the castle, without distinctly knowing what foundation they had for distrust, till the next day, when all the principal Orankays were missing.

The inhuman monster having thus cut off all he suspected, and secured himself in the castle with a good body of guards, he published a declaration, that this great execution was necessary for the safety of his own person and the state; that as in former times the Orankays had made and dethroned Kings at pleasure, and extinguished the antient line, so when they were on the point of cutting one another's throats, they could find no other remedy but that of forcing him to be king in order to serve him as they had done the rest; but that since he was King, he did not chuse to be exposed to the inconstant humours of the Orankays, who after they had massacred him, would have re-
lapsed

relapsed into their former animosities, and have made the people suffer by their quarrels: In short, that his design was to preserve the general peace, to reign in equity, and to execute severe justice upon all offenders.

Finding that after this declaration, nobody came to pay him the usual respects at the castle, he demolished all the houses of the Orankays he had cause to be murdered, and lodged their cannon, arms, and effects in the castle, prohibited building with stone, or the Orankays having cannon or intrenchments, and ordered that all the houses should be but one story high, and their walls be made of matts, as they are at this day. He conferred the quality of Orankay upon his favourites, allowing them part of the lands which had delonged to those who had been executed, and put to death all who shewed any dislike to his conduct, so that in the first year of his reign 20,000 persons were executed, and in the second, several thousands more.

This Prince reduced the city almost to the condition it is now in. He used the *Arabian* merchants very ill; but was extremely civil to the *English* and *Dutch*, who settled there during his reign. He educated the present King, who was his daughter's son, and died in the year 1603, aged ninety-five, leaving two sons, who were advanced in years; to the eldest of whom he left the kingdom of *Achen*, and all his territories along the coast of *Sumatra* to the westward; and to the other, the kingdom of *Pedir*, with the territories upon the east coast. These

Princes being of a meek disposition, an infinite number of disorders were committed at *Achen* for want of a severe execution of justice. The King of *Achen* happening to give some slight rebuke to his nephew the present King, whom he entertained at his court, that Prince fled to his uncle the King of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind reception; when the King of *Achen* desiring his brother to send back his nephew to him, he made answer, that he would not offer violence to a young Prince, whom their father had recommended to their care. Upon this the two brothers declared war against each other, when the forces of *Pedir* were commanded by the nephew; and in this war above 60,000 men were slain. But though the nephew had frequently the advantage, yet as the forces of *Achen* were most numerous, those of *Pedir* at last refused to march, upon which their King was obliged to deliver up his nephew to the King of *Achen*, who immediately laid him in irons.

In the mean while the *Portuguese* made a descent upon *Achen*, and carried a turf fort at the entrance of the river. At this juncture the young Prince desiring his uncle to let him fight against the *Portuguese* he released him; and the royal youth behaved with such bravery in two or three battles with the *Portuguese*, that he acquired great reputation. His mother, an active, ambitious woman, now formed a design of making him King of *Achen*, and furnished him with large sums of money, to be distributed among the principal Orankays. With this view,
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he was very familiar in his conversation : Whatever he had he shared among his friends ; refused nothing that was asked of him, and, in a word, shewed himself liberal to the Orankays, affable to the rich, the companion of those who professed arms, and extremely courteous to the common people. At this time the King of *Achen* died suddenly, when the Prince got into the castle ; made great promises to the Officers ; advanced a large sum to the Governor of the castle ; bribed the guards ; distributed money among the principal Orankays, and threatened the Cadi, who scrupled to crown him. In short, he managed his intrigues with such success, that he was proclaimed King that very night, to the great joy of the people, who had conceived extraordinary hopes from his liberality and courtesy, as well as his valour.

As *Pedir* is but 12 miles from *Achen*, the King of that place was soon informed of his brother's death, and came the next day to receive the investiture of his patrimony ; but on his approaching the castle with a small retinue, he fell into the hands of his nephew, who forgetting his former favours, kept him a month prisoner in the castle, and then pretending to send him to a more agreeable retreat at a distance from the city, caused his throat to be cut by the way. Those who had set the crown upon his head, were not better used ; for he began with the Governor of the castle, who had taken most of his money, and ended with those who had received the least. People soon found that he was intirely changed ; for instead
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of being humane, he was cruel ; instead of his former liberality, he displayed an extreme avarice ; and that meekness and affability, for which he was before distinguished, was changed into an austere and inexorable temper. In short, he has shed more blood than his grandfather did in his whole reign. He has in a manner depopulated the whole territory of *Achen*, and drained not only the natives, but the foreigners who reside there, of all their money. It is true, he has endeavoured to re-people the city from his conquests, or more properly ravages ; for having ruined the kingdoms of *Jor*, *Debly*, *Paban*, *Queda*, and *Pera*, he transported from thence to *Achen*, about 22,000 persons ; but as he did not allow them a grain of rice for their support, they died of hunger in the streets, so that at present there are scarce 1500 of them left.

He has 3000 women whom he keeps partly for a guard, and partly for other uses. They seldom leave the castle ; they have a market of their own, and traffick with each other for such things as are their own manufacture. They are ranged under several Captains ; have their civil judges and night officers as well as the city ; but none are allowed to enter their apartments, except the King's Eunuchs, who are said to be about 500 in number. The King has also many wives and concubines, and 20 of his wives are the lawful daughters of the Kings he has pillaged ; the last wife he obtained by this means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is said to be very handsome ; but from her he has contracted

tracted a disease that is likely to carry him off, unless the vigour of his constitution, for he is now in his prime, be able to overcome it. By all these wives he has only one son, who is 18 years of age. Some time ago his father gave him the kingdom of *Pedir*; but he behaved with such cruelty and licentiousness, that the King called him home, and had him tormented with great severity: Since which time he is always confined in the castle, except when he goes to the Mosque, and then he has a pompous retinue.

The King places his greatest strength in his elephants, which amount to 900; they are bred to tread fire under their feet, to be unmoved at the firing of the artillery, and to salute his Majesty when they pass by his apartments, by bending their knees and raising their trunks three times. There never was a prince in *Achen* who had such dexterity in managing these animals; for he will stand upright upon their backs while they run full speed. For my part, I had rather walk ten stages on foot, than ride four leagues upon an elephant. The King has also about 200 horses, all of which, as well as the elephants, have rich and magnificent trappings.

The King of *Achen* is stronger by sea than any of his neighbours: For he has about 100 large galleys, a third part of which are much bigger than those of *Europe*; I saw the keel of an ordinary one that was all of one piece, and 120 feet long. They are handsomely built, but are broader and higher than they ought to be. Their rigging is too weak for their bulk,
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and their oars are too short, they being only poles with a piece of wood fixed at one end of them: They commonly mount three large pieces of cannon, some of which will carry a ball of 40 pounds. They have besides several falconets planted before and abaft. The largest galleys commonly carry fix or eight hundred men. These galleys are divided among the principal Orankays, who are obliged to fit them out for sea; to take care of them when they return, and to repair them at their own expence.

The King's wars are not very chargeable to him, for at his command all his subjects march at their own expence, and carrying provisions with them for three months. The King gives them arms, a register of which is kept, and they are obliged to restore them at their return. Their wives, children, and parents, if they have any, are answerable for their behaviour, for if they give way before the enemy, not only they themselves, but their innocent relations pay for it. By this means the King has brought them to be good soldiers, and the terror of their neighbours. If they continue above three months in the field, he is at the expence of rice for their support.

From the above account it is plain, that the King cannot fail of being rich, for in war he is only at the expence of arms, powder, lead, and rice, which is very inconsiderable, and in peace he spends yet less; for as to the maintenance of his family, he has more flesh, fowl, fish, rice, oils, sugar, and herbs, paid him by his subjects than are consumed in the castle, and
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the surplus is sold in the market for his advantage. Besides, he allows his servants nothing but rice, and if they eat any thing else, they must purchase it by their own labour and industry. He parcels out large hereditary estates among his subjects, whom he obliges to furnish him with a certain quantity of rice every year, whether the crop be good or bad, and calculates the produce of his land with such exactness, that the farmers must not be idle if they maintain themselves and pay him, who never bates them a single grain. The rice he puts into his magazines, and keeps it till the latter end of autumn, when it fetches a double price; but if it is a plentiful year at *Achen*, he sends it to some neighbouring country where it is scarce.

He has great herds of cattle kept by his slaves; but his elephants cost him nothing, for he gives them only the trunks of banana trees, which being cut down, a sprout springs up the next year, that bears fruit. His fighting cocks cost him nothing, for the Orankays take more care of them than of their own children. He is at no expence for his own nor his women's cloaths, for on one certain day of the year, all that have any office or place at *Achen*, are obliged to make him a present of one or more garments, according to the income of their places, or else of stuffs for cloathing the women, when every one strives to outdo each other in the magnificence of his present; for if the King does not like the garment or stuffs, he returns them back, and the officer
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that gave them is sure to be turned out of his post, unless he quickly accommodates the matter by means of a large sum of money, or if he is a rich man, he will be charged with some maladministration in his office, and perhaps put to death.

He causes many houses to be built of rough stone, which in that country are thought inimitable, though they fall infinitely short of what we have in *Europe*, and these houses being built by his slaves cost him little. These slaves work four days in eight for their own livelihood; for the King pays nothing for their maintenance. They are mostly employed in cutting wood, making of mortar, labouring in the quarries, and in building. There are three or four overseers of their work, who are maintained by the slaves, for those who understand any trade are excused from working for the King; but they pay a duty of about 5 *d.* a day.

The King is heir to all his subjects, who die without male issue, and if they leave any daughters unmarried, he puts them into the castle, which occasions his women being so numerous. He also has the estates of those whom he every day puts to death; and to prevent their alienating their estates or goods, he takes them by surprize, and has their wives, children, slaves, cattle, money, and all their moveables lodged in the castle, before they know their sentence. He is also heir to all foreigners that die within his territories; for as soon as a foreigner sickens, the King's officers take

take possession of his house, and upon his death remove his effects to the castle, and very often his servants, friends, and slaves, are put upon the rack to discover where his gold, silver, and jewels are deposited. But the *English* and *Dutch* having factories here, are exempted from this law, as we were while we staid here.

On the first of *February* we weighed anchor, in order to return home, having now 75 men on board, all in good health, and provisions for nine months. On the 22d of *June* we came to an anchor at *St. Helena*, where many of our men being sick, we sent them on shore. This is a very convenient place of refreshment, on account of the temperature of the air; the facility of coming at good water; the plenty of young kids and hogs; the conveniency of fishing in the road and upon the shore; the abundance of oranges and citrons, and the several herbs that are excellent remedies against the scurvy.

On the 16th of *July* we perceived the island of *Ascension* in 8°. south latitude, at about 12 leagues distance. It is very high, and being nothing but a hard rock, has neither wood, fresh water, nor any herbs upon it, yet it affords some hogs, and many fowls, and in the road there are turtle, and abundance of fish. After we had crossed the equinoctial, we had such calms and drizzling rains, that most of the men were seized with dropfies and tumours that proved very fatal.

On the 6th of *August*, when these calms and rains still continued, there suddenly came a whirlwind that lasted for two minutes, tore all our sails, and carried the main-top-sail quite off. The next day we saw some swallows and butterflies, which let us know that we were near land. On the 13th we saw an island to the north in 16°. latitude, which we knew to be *St. Nicholas*, one of the *Cape de Verd* islands. On the 16th we made the island of *St. Vincent*, cast anchor in five fathom water, and the next day sent our sick men, who were very numerous, on shore, where they recovered apace.

The usual anchorage of this island lies in 17°. 20'. north latitude. It affords at this season of the year great plenty of large turtle, and here we met with an herb which in some measure resembles spinach, but is infinitely better; we used it both in salad and soup; and this, as well as the flesh of the turtle, cured our men of dropfies in eight days. It is also well stocked with young kids, which are difficult to be caught without dogs. To the eastward, under a high mountain, there are vast quantities of purslain; but we saw no fruit except wild figs, which were spoiled by the worms. The island is also furnished with a considerable quantity of wild pines, which is the only wood it produces. The water of the island is generally brackish; but upon the south-west part of the bay, near the place of anchorage, there is a small spring, which

which if cleaned and dug deep, would afford pretty good water. There is very good fishing along the rocks, and especially at a small rock at the entrance of the bay, where, in two hours time, seven or eight men may catch fish enough to furnish a meal for 200. In short, it is not inferior to *St. Helena*, as a place of refreshment, excepting only that its water is not so good. However, it is all over accessible, and furnished with pleasant walks. This island is about nine leagues in circumference, and has several fine bays; but that towards the island of *St. Anthony*, is the best road for ships that can be imagined; for we rode in five fathoms water, and an excellent sandy ground; but though we travelled over most part of the island we saw neither men nor horses.

We left *St. Vincent* on the 15th of *September*, after which we had several violent storms. On the 12th of *October*, we descryed the *Azores*; but it was the 17th before we could weather them. On the 19th, we had a violent storm from the north-west that broke our mizen-mast, and obliged us to bring our main-top-mast upon the deck; and on the third of *November*, we perceived the *Lizard* point in *England*, and on the first of *December* arrived safe at *Havre de Grace*, after a voyage of 38 months.

Thus our author ends his voyage, which, notwithstanding his losing the *Hope*, and the
advice

advice boat, proved a saving one, and would doubtless have been highly advantageous to the company, if the *Hope* had not been lost, since at the time of her being burnt, her cargo was worth 75 or 80,000 *l.* sterling.

The End of the Eighth Volume.



