

TRAVELS IN INDIA

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:

BY

SIR THOMAS ROE,

AND

DR JOHN FRYER.

*REPRINTED FROM THE CALCUTTA WEEKLY ENGLISHMAN*

LONDON:

TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1873.



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## ADVERTISEMENT.

The accompanying Travels were reprinted some years ago in "The Calcutta Weekly Englishman," under the care of Mr. TALBOYS WHEELER, and with the approval of the Proprietor, Mr. J. O. B. SAUNDERS. At the same time a few Copies were struck off for separate publication.

By some accident the impression was overlooked, but the Copies are now issued in an octavo form as originally contemplated.

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
SIR THOMAS ROE, KNIGHT.

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CHAPTER I.

OCURRENTS AND OBSERVATIONS IN AND TOUCHING  
THE VOYAGE TO SURAT.

THE fifth of June, we anchored in the roade of *Soldania*. Though the Variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of veering land, yet it deliuereth no other certaintie, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion neere land, but by a much slower: for which I could gine a perspicuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any iudgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magneticall amplitude beeing so difficult to obserue truely by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land vntill the fifth day early in the morning.

*Soldania*, is as I suppose, an Iland in the South and

whereof is the Cape of *Good Hope*, diuided from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a Riuer, which wee discerne vpon the table. The land is fruitfull, bearing short thicke grasse; the maine is diuided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaines couered with snow, and vnaccessible, except it be searched by the Riuer of *Dulce*, which doubtlesse is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Island fise or sixe hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like *Negroes*) with dung of beasts and durt: they haue no other clothing then beasts skinnes wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side; their houses are but one mat, concaued like an Ouer, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they haue no doores to keepe it out.\* They haue left their stealing by trading with vs, and by signes make shew their heart good, they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Island Bulls, Cowes, Antelops, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Feasants, Partridges, Larks, Wildgeese, Ducks, *Passer-flannugos*, and many others. On *Penguin* there is a fowle so called, that goes vpright, his wings without feathers, launging downe like sleeues faced with white: they fly not, but walke in pathes and keep their diuisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bipes implume* which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first reasonable refreshing with Cattell (so that a season be chosen when

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\* These people are the Hottentots.

they are not leane, a Moneth after the Sunne is departed from them Northward) Maugin rootes, Arras, if our Merchants be not deceined; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yeelding Quick-siluer and Vermilion, the stone being spotted all without, with a most pure red colour, equall to any painting, and that will come off vpon Paper, or other fit matter; by the description of *Iohn Acosta* it cannot faile to be the same; it is also very heavy, full of Marquisat and minerall appearances. The Table, or big Rocke so called, by a straight line from the water side, is 13851 foot high; the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The *Dutch* haue fished on *Penguin* for them: the latitude is, thirtie three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie-eight degrees thirtie minutes from the Lisard, the variation doubtfull, whether to the East or West; but my opiion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation beeing in the maine, as appeares evidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F. and after Westerly: if any shipping, hauing time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it. I assure myselfe they shall haue good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leauing some men discouer the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the *Spaniards* on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the *Mooresin Barbary* to *Gago*. These left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing fauouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

*Molalia* is one of the foure Ilands of *Comory*; *Angazesta*, *Iuanny* and *Moyotta* beeing the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except *Angazesia*, which lieth somewhat more North. *Molalia*

is in twelue degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape *Angustine*, the variation being sixteene degrees fortie minutes.

*Angazesia* beares from it by the Compasse North by West, seuen leagues off, the further fiftie-fue most end in eleuen degrees fve minutes, extending itselfe North eleyen degrees sixe minutes, as I obserued within fve leagues thereof bearing South from me; it is the highest land I euer saw, inhabited by *Moors* trading with the *Maine* and the other three *Easterne Ilands* with their Cattel and fruits, for *Callicoes*, or other linnen to couer them. It is gouerned by tenne pette Kings, and is sufficiently fruitfull of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orenge and Limons: they made vs fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoes at *Molalia* where our ships ride. They are held a false and an vnfaithfull people, hauing betraied some of Sir *Iames Lancasters* men long since; but now hauing experience of vs at other Ilands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.\*

*Iuanny* lies from *Molalia* East, and *Mayotta* in the same course, the coast betweene them is euery way bold. These three Ilands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally *Mayotta*, as I was informed by the *Arabs* trading in *Molalia*, and the *Dutch* stop there. The next in goodnesse is *Iuanny*, where liues an old Woman *Sultanneesse* of them all, to whom they repaire for Iustice, both in Ciuill and Criminall causes.

*Molalia* hath in three *Sub-sultans* children of the old Woman, two men one daughter, who gouerne senerall parts of the Iland. The *Sultan* in whose quarter we anchored hath such authoritie, that his subjects dare not fell a Nut vntill leaue obtained: to which end, Captaine *Keeling* sent

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\* This of course is the modern Island of *Johanna*. Ships rarely anchor there now, but in olden time most of the stons used in constructing *Fort William* and *Fort St. George* was brought from this Island.

four boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were receiued by a Gouvernour, or rather an Admirall Commander of the port, lying some foure leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where, hauing obtained leaue to come ashore, we landed some fortie men with Captaine *Newport*: the Gouvernour they found sitting upon a Mat of straw, vnder the side of a Junke which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men: his apparell was a Mantal of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checker worke, the Interpreters were certaine *Mago-dozians* that spake *Arrabique* and broken *Portuguese*. Captaine *Newport* presenting him with a Peece and a Sword blade from Capt. *Keeling*, received a wolcome, and commanded foure Bullocks to be returned in requitall, and with grauitie enough entertained them, giving free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying so much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne Cattle, but professed he had no power to compell our make price for others, but left the trade open to every mans will. He sent for Coco Nuts to giue the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and lime of Burnt Oyster-shels with a kernell of Nut called *Arracca*, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, auoids rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisick; it makes one vnused to it giddie, and, makes a mans spittle red, and in times colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is vsed by all men hourelly. From the Gouvernour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne, the house built of lime and stone, plaistered with mortar or white lime, low and little Rooft, with Rafters of wood couered with leaues, the out-sides walled with Canes; they are kept cleanelly, and their poore household-stuffe still neute, their gardens paled with canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner, a boord was set vpon Tressels covered with a fine new Mat, benches of



stone about it likewise couered, on which they sat: first water was brought to every man in a Cocco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rinds of Cocos. Then was set boyid Rice, and roasted Plantans vpon the Rice, quarters of Henues, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cuscus beaten and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmet wine, and Cocco milke for drinke. I sent a gentleman and my Chaplin to see the *Sultan* himselfe, who liues three miles vp the land from *Fambons* the towne of the Governour, but they found him by chance there: he vsed them courteously, and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainement, only the Gouvernour and all other gaue him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is *Sultan Amar-Adel*, a kinne to *Mahomet*, not vnlike to be descended of such an imposterous race, his clothes not vnlike the Gouvernour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, beeing with leasse grauitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hastie to be drunk with wine carried by the *English*. The other *Vice-Sultan* his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw beeing come downe to our Road with three slaues to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine *Sayers*, that he had vsed the *English* well in his Dominions, he is as well *Xeriffe* as *Sultan*, which is high Priest: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed roague: he offered to trade for Quick-siluer, and beeing asked what quantitie hee would buy, replyed to four or fve Rialls of eight; when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shooes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, obseruing much of the old Law, and at this time beeing the preparation to their *Ramdam* or Lent, vnwilling to drinke wine: they are very jealous to let the Women or *Moachees* to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of their

Priests, who espied one comming to a Village, who so four shut up all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill vs; but by the authoritie of the *Xeriffe* the Priest was appeased, and suffered with more patience. Many of them speke and write the *Arabique* in a faire Character, and some few *Portuguese*, trading to *Mosambique* in Iunkes of fortie Tunnes made of Cocos sowed, instead of Pumes, caucked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualled, and fraughted with that vniuersall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yeerling, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, Arabian sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Orenge, Limons, Limes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollands, or other linnen, Sword-blades, and Rialls of eight, and their fruits for Glasses, Kniues and trifles; whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade Iunke of *Madagascar* with slaues: the Pilote of the Iunke called *Malim Abrinme* spake *Portuguese*, and told me on the South-side of *S. Laurence*, there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos, of the Sea; hee was skilfull in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see; he found fault with many things in my Card at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from *Socatra* from the Maine, and rasing quite out certaine Ilands to the Southward of *Molalia*, affirming there are none such: his countrey lyes from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees tenne minutes North latitude, gouerned by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with Marsill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot end soundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause diuerted him that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I

dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of *Magadoza*, all the Ports are gouerned by *Moorish* petty Kings, even to *Mosambique*: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Silver; that in *Magadoza* the houses roofes were gilt, that they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteeme not: of the Inland hee knew little, onely naming some places or Regions betweene *Magadoza* and *Prester Iohn* as *Odola Mahesa*, *Rehamy* and *Gala*, of which *Odela* and *Gala* are *Chaphares* which signifieth mis-belieures; I know not whether he meanes *Gentiles* or *Christians*, vsing the same promiscuously as wel to *Prester Iohn* as to other *Gentiles*. Of *Prester Iohn*, he knoweth no more, than that hee is a great Prince and a *Capbar*: from *Magadoza* to *Cambaya*, he was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in sight against the *Hope* in a *Portugall* ship, pressed from *Damon*, in which fortie fve were slaie, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of *Dabull* tooke courage on this victorie and surprised *Chaul Damon*, & other the *Portugals* Port Townes, was marching to *Goa*, that the *Portugall* was in great distresse of victuals. I hope to haue stored myselfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, preuented: it were time well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

The Road of *Molalia* lyes in twelue degrees ten minutes, and for the first sixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the ful, wee woond vp North-east the other way but very easily, for the most part riding vpon the Current. The *Magadorians* made some absurdly belecue, that the Current set fiftene dayes one way, and fiftene another, and fiftene dayes still: which because of the first sixe dayes it set South-west, and after wee woond vp North-east, it got the

opinion of a wonder, but the Current sets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and flood that wee neuer woond, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we roade vpon the flood against the Current it running vnder, and the tyde aboue, highing sixteene foote water, and the ebbe winding backe with the Current, so that the supposed chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone ouercoming it aboue: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were set to the Eastward the first day we weighed, vnto the Westward the next, the cause was the Eddies of *Iuanny* one day, and *Angasesia* the other, but being cleere of them it set his due course; that I raised little, and did Westward much.

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of *Magadoxia* in foure degrees of North latitude, foure leagues off sounding, had eighteene fathome of low land, white sandie bankes. Then wee stood off East North-east, the difference of longitude betweene the Maine and *Molalia* in *Mercators* projection, agreeing with our account. And also by course hauing found the longitude of Cape Saint *Augustine* and *Molalia* to be one: I conclude that Saint *Laurence* ought to be laid to the East thirtie nine or thirtie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also set in proportion to the East ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude false in themselues: from *Molalia*, to fall with cape *de Bussas* North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at *Angasesia*, I found none or very little contrary, to all Iournals: our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances and bearings

according to Compasse or Variation : but I obserued the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monson, which I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monson, the settlednesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents which no rule can be giuen.

The two and twentieth, at *Abdalacora* and the high lands of *Socatra*, the windes powered downe with such impetuoussnesse, and the ground so rockie, that I aduise all to forbear to anchor vnder them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night they shall fall so farre to leeward, that they cannot recouer the lland, but must lose company : but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wind from the hills. Wee rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then about the Horizon about twelue at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these winds begun to rage so long as she is vnder the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Ladie of weather in these parts and requires much obseruation.

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor afore *Tamara*, the Kings Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high sandie hill without it East by North in ten fathome water a mile from the Towne : here the *Sultan* sent vs word, the winds were from the hills so forcible that we should hardly ride, but aduised vs to goe to *Baia Delicia*, two leagues to the East where he would mæte vs : it is a uery good road deserring the name of delightfull for the peaccableness thereof in respect of others : it is a Valley of much lower hills ; betweene the water and the raggie Mountaines of *Tamera*, you may bring the two little Homocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the Eastward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in *Tamera* Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, latitude is thirteen degrees five

minutes, the variation eighteen degrees twentie minutes, the ground is white sand, but rockie so that you must coatch or boy your Cables.

*Socatra* is an Iland in the mouth of the Red Sea, called anciently *Dioscuria* or *Dioscorida*, standing it twelue degrees fiftie-five minutes, gouerned by a *Sultan* called *Amar-Ben-Seid* borne in the Isand, the Sonne of the King *Fartaque* in *Arabia Foelix* called *Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid*, who was *Sultan* of *Socatra*, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of *Fartaque*, and his sonne left at *Socatra* (the Kingdome of *Fartaque* lyes from filteeu degrees to eighteene degrees along the Coast of *Arabia*, and to the North to the Mountaines. He is at peace with the *Turke*, (who holds all *Arabia* in Tribute, except this Countrey) on this condition to send five thousand men in ayd of the *Turke*, if he require it, to bee paid by the *Turke*, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about *Dosar*, with whom she dares not meddle, beeing in the *Grand Seigniors* protection. This is the relation of *Amar-Bein-Seid* of *Socatra*. The *Sultan* of *Socatra* met our Fleet with three hundred or there abouts, hauing set vp a Tent at *Baia Delecia* : he rode vpon a Horse, and three of his chief Seruants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the *Turkish* manner, with two Guards, one of Souldiers, which are his Countrymen, and twelue of priuate Guard, hired *Guzerats*, some with *Turkish* Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went ashoare, he receiued him with state and courtesie : he is a subtile man of good vnder standing, as appears by his Gouernment and diuers Answeres ; hee raignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people sit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by who take account of Trade, and receive and pay : his clothes are of *Surat*

Stuffles, after the *Arabs* manner with a *Cassock* of wrought Veluet red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, euery night at-Sun-set they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the *Xeris* throwing water on their heads: their Religion is *Mahometan*: the Kings Towne of *Tamara*, is built of lime and stone whited ouer, battelled and pinuacled, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master *Boughton* borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leaue to see his house, the King sending a *Sheck* with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in *England*, his lower roomes were vsed as Ware-houses, one as a Wardrope, where hung along the wals some changes of Robes, and twentie-fue Bookes of their Law, Religion, Storie, and Saints liues, of which I could obtayne none, but aboue all no man may come to see his Wiues which are three, nor other women, but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their eares full of siluer Rings: in the Church the Priest was at seruice, but seeing Master *Boughton* take out his Watch, he soone finished and came and wondred. There was prouided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and *Cohu*, blacke liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had seene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.

There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from *Tamara*, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sorts. *Arabs* his Countrymen, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how he durst open his mouth in his presence, but approaching kisse his hand. A second sort are of *Slanes*, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and these doe all his

worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Countrey, but not the eldest, called *Bedwines*, the same which other Historians haue called *Iacobits Christains*, that haue long dwelt there; with these he hath had a warre, as the *Arabs* report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to liue quietly, and to breed their children *Mahometans*, which I perceiue they do not, hauing no manner of conuersation with the *Arabs*. The reason why I take them to be the old *Iacobite Christains* mentioned by *Maginas*, *Purchas* and others, is, because Master *Boughton* saw an old Church of theirs in the way to *Tamara* left desolate, the doore shut, but onely tyed, being desirous to enter it, the *Sheck* his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet he aduentured in and found an Altar with Images, and acrossse vpon it, which he brought out, then the *Shecke* told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to haue them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be kind of *Christains*, doubting we would either wish them better, or not suffer them to bee oppressed. The fourth sort are a sauage people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conuersing with none, afraid of all, without houses, and almost as sauage as beasts, and by coniecture, the true ancient Naturals of this Iland.

The Iland is very mowntainous and barren: hauing some Beeues, Goates and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a litle Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of comoditie they haue Aloes, which is the iuyce of a leaf like *Semperuina*, they make a poore cloth of their Wooll for their slaues.

The King had *Sanguis Draconis*, and Indico of *Lahor*, but held it deare: many small Ciuit Cats and Ciuit: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handsome Galley and Iuncke *Surat*, of with Mariners, that serue him to transport his goods for wages by the yeare. The King hath some knowledge of *Prester*



*John*; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, about the *Turke* and *Persian*, giuing faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his slaues diuers *Abbasines*. Hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generalls boat, hee asked if they were the *Psalmes* of *Dauid*? and being answered yea: hee replyed, it was the inuention of the *Deuill*, who did inuent it: for King *Dauid* who before prayed God with his lips and heart in deuotion, but after it was left to sencelesse Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombes, and haue in great reuerence the Monumente of their Saints, whereof there haue been many: But of most account *Serdy Hachim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being slaine one hundred yeares since by the *Portugals* once inhabiting heere, appears to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and haue him in wonderfull reuerence. I neuer went ashore, not knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane vp the most probable reports. If I had gone myselve, and conferred with the King, or could haue spoken with any of his people of vnderstanding I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no opportunity.

I giue my aduice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards bound at *Socatra*: But from *Molalia*, hauing made *Cape Guardafui*, and there rested a conuenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monson, if it be soone in the yeare, shape there course right for *Surat*. If it be objected, that they shall want their vsuall refreshings: I answer, at *Socatra* the victualls is both carrion, and as deare as in *England*, goodness considered, the water farre to fetch and dangerous, so that euery Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At *Cape Guarda-fui* you shall ride at ease, and, without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and fish at pleasure: and though we made no experience

of trade, yet we saw people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayed, might haue been drawne to bring downe cattell : for not farre to the West of that place, Sir *Henry Middleton*, and some other ships had excellent Goates and sheepe for trifles, as both his Iournal, and Master *Barret* of his owne experience haue enformed mee.

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## CHAPTER II.

### HIS JOURNEY TO THE COURT, AND ENTERTAINMENT THERE, AND CUSTOMS THEREOF.

THE six and twentieth of September, I landed, accompanied with the General and principall Merchants : Capitaine Harris was sent to make me a Court of guard, with one hundred shot, and the ships in their best equipage, giuing mee their Ordnance as I passed. (The passages bewixt the Embassador and those of Surat I omit ; their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honorable condition, and ciuill conditions, that euen heere also it would be barsh to the Reader : we will therefore find him remouing from them in his way toward the Court.)

The fifteenth of Nouember, I arriued at Brampore, bein~ by my coniecture two hundred twenty three miles from Surat, and the course wholly East, a miserable and barren Countrey, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batherport, a Village two mile short of Brampore is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw dinners of brasse, but generally too short, and too wide bored. Between that and Brampore I was met by the Cutwall, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours carried before them : he brought mee to the Saralia, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leaue, being a handsome front of stone : but when I entered, I had foure chambers alloted me, like Ouens, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke, in a wall-side ; this

troubled mee, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the Cutwall word I would depart the Towne, scoruing so meane vsage: hee desired me to be content vntill morning. Heere liues Sultan Peruies, the Kings second sonne holding the State and custome of his Father; and the Channa Channa being the greatest subiect of the Mogool, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the Chan gouernes all.

The eighteenth, for many considerations as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne; and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Armie; I went to visite the Prince, and carryed him a Present. I was brought in by the Cutwall: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes setting out to salute him, making a lane of each side: in the inner Court hee sate high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy ouer him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Comming toward him thow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered I came in honour to see the Prince, and was free from the custome of Seruants. So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in right vnder him, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him renerence, and he bowed his body, and so went within it, where stood round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like Slaues; the place was couered ouer-head with a rich Canopie, and vnderneath, all Carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sate aboue as the Mock-Kings doe there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent

of three steppes, vpon which stands his Secretary, to deliuer what is said or giuen briefly. I told him, being an Embasador from the King of England to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replied I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come vp and stand by him. He answered, If the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted. I replied that I must bee excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priuiledge then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held myselve equall: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man euer sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease myselve against a pillar, couered aboue with siluer, that held vp his Canopie. Then I moued him for his fauour for an English Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gaue present order to the Buxy, to draw a Firma both for their coming vp, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for cariages for the Kings Presents, which he gaue in charge to the Cutwall. Then I gaue him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to giue me content, although I might not come vp where he sate, he would go into another place, where I should come vnto him, but one of my Presents was a Case of Bottells, which tooke him vp by the way, and after I had stayed a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to returne to visite him: this night I tooke my feauer.

The sixt of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of Mandoa which stands

on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit fourteene Course : the Castle is faire, and of wonderfull greatnesse.

The two and twentieth, Master Edwards met me, accompanied with Thomas Coryat, who had passed into India on foote five Course to Cytor, an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appeares a Tombe of wonderfull magnificence : there stands aboue one hundred Churches, all of carued stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant : there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious sloaping vp, cut out of the Rocke, hauing foure gates in the ascent, before one arriue at the City gate, which is magnificent : the hill is incompassed at the top about eight Course, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle : I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citie stands in the countrey of one Ranna, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or ruther bought to confesse Tribute. The Citie was wonne by Ebarsha, father to this Mogoll. Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valiant Indian, ouercome by Alexander : so that I take this Citie to haue been one of the ancient Seats of Porus, though Dely much further North be reported to haue been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present Mogoll and his ancestors, descendants of Tamberane, haue brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, hauing dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, vnlesse they would haue nothing remembered of greatnesse beyond their beginnings as if their lfamily and the world were equalls.

The three and twentieth, I arriued at Adsmeeere, two hundred and nine Courses from Brampore, foure hundred and eightene English miles, the Courses being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of Ianuary, I went to Court at foure in the

euening to the Durbar, which is the place where the Mogoll sits out daily, to entertaine straingers, to receiue Petitions and Presents, to give commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuques that comes within the lodgings or retyring rooms of his house : his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons ; they doe iustice one vpon another for offences. Hee comes euery morning to a window called the Iarneo, looking into a plain before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returnes thither, and sits some hours to see the fight of Elephants and wide beasts. Vnder him within a raile attend the men of rancke : from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At after-noone he returnes to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free-stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leaue, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publicly propounded and resolved, and so registred, which if it were worth the curiositie, might he seeme for two shillings : but the common base people knew as much as the Council, and the newes euery day, is the Kings new resolutions, tossed and censured by euery rascal. This course is vchangeable, except sickness or drink preuent it, which must be knowne: for as all his subjects are slaues, so is hee a kind of reciprocall bondage, for hee is tyed to obserue these hours and customes so precisely, that if he were seene one day, and no sufficient reason readred, the people would mutinie ; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must

consent to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Iarneo he sits in Iudgement, never refusing the poorest mans complaint : where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood the execution done by his Elephants, *Illi meruere, sed quid tu vt adesses ?*

At the Durbar I was led right before him : at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall Noble Slaues to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leaue to vse the customes of my Countrey, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reuerence ; entring in the inward raile, another ; and when I came vnder the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery, ouer head ; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most raile vnder him raised from the ground, couered with Canopies of Velute and Silke ; vnder-foot laid with good Carpets : the meaner men representing Gentry, within the first raile : the people without, in a base Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery ; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors ; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I deliuered his Maiesties Letter translated ; and after my Commission, whereon he looked curiously ; after, my Presents, which were well receiued. He asked some questions ; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physitions, and aduising me to keepe my house till I had recouered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more fauour and outward grace, if by the Christians I were not



flattered, then ever was shoven to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoeuer.

The fourteenth, I sent to the Prince Sultan Coranne, his third sonne by birth, but first in favour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he should use me with due respect; for I was enformed he was enemie to all Christians, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receive the same content I had from my father. He is Lord of Surat our chiefe residence, and his fauour important for vs.

The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his businesse, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to pullcome out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a priuciall Officer to meete mee who conducted me into a good room (never before done to any) and entertained me with discourse of our owne businesse halfe an houre, vntill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used me better then his promise. I deliuered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Maiestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Maiesty would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his fauour and protection. He received all in very good part; and after opening of some grievances and iniuries suffered at Surat by vs from his Gouernours, of which for respect to him I had forbourn to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectual Iustice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, deliuered by mee; especially of any command to diamisse vs, which the Gou.

ernovr had falsely coyned, and for which hee should dearely answers. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a Firman for Surat effectually.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a farre off, beckned with his hand, giuing signe I should not stay the ceremony of asking leaue, but come up to him, where he appointed me a place aboue all other men, which I after thought fit to maintaine: I gaue him a small Present; it being the custome, when any body hath businesse, to give somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake, send in, or hold vp their gift; which he excepts, be it but a Rupie, and demands their businesse. The same course he held with mee, haning looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demand-ed what I required of him: I answered Iustice; that on the assurance of his Maiesties Firman sent into England, the King my Master had not only giuen leave to many of his Subjects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the English, seated at Amadanas, iniured by the Governour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted vpon, and kept as prisoners, that at euery Towne new Customes were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all Iustice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was sorry, it should be amended, and presently gaue order for two Firmans, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Gouvernour of Amadauas, to restore money exacted from Master Keridge, and to vse the English with all fauour: the other to release all customes required on any pretence on the way; or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: wishing mee, that if these gaue not speedy remedy, I should renew my complaint against the disobeyer, and

he should be sent for to answer there: and so he dismissed me.

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, given him by Asaph Chan, two miles from Adsmere, but between two mightie Rockes, so defended from the Sunne, that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation cut out of them, and some roomes, the rest of freestone, a handsome little Garden with fine fountaines, two great Tankes, one thirty steps above another; the way to it is inaccessible, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, onely being accompanied with wild Peacocks, Turtles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabite the Rockes hanging euery way ouer it.

The second, the Norose began in the Euening: It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie begins the first new Moone after it which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language Nine dayes, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground in the Durbar Court from the backe whereof, to the place where the King comes out, a square of fiftie-six paces, long, and fortie-three broad was rayled in, and covered ouer with faire Semiaenes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Veluet ioyned together, and sustained with Canes so covered: at the vpper end West, were set out the pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesse of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London; below them another of Sir Thomas Smith, Gouvernour of the East-India Companie: vnder foot it is laid with good Persian Carpets of great largeness, into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle right before the Throne, to receiue his Commands, within this square there

were set out for shew many little houses one of Siluer, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne had at the left side a Pauilion, the supporters whereof were couered with Siluer, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of Pearle, borne vp with foure pillers, and couered with cloth of Gold: about the edge ouer-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, upon which hung downe Pomgranats, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold, but hollow; within that the King sate on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Iewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court had lined them with Veluet, Damaske, and Taffatae ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherein they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were vsed to goe to euery Tent, and there take what pleased them; but now it is changed, the King sitting to receiue what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes abroad at the vsvall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents receiued, aduanceth, some, and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The twelfth, I went to visit the King, and was brought before him, expecting a present which I deliuered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the raile to stand by him, but I beeing not suffered to step vp vpon the rising, ou which the Throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leisure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so diuers pieces, and so vsuitable, that it was rather patched than glórious, as if it seemed to

strius to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate set on a Cupboord her imbroydered Slippers. This Euening was the sonne of Ranna his new Tributory brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground : he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little raille, the King embracing him by the head ; his gift was an Indian voyder full of Siluer, vpon that a carued Siluer dish full of Gold ; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance : Sic transit gloria Mundi.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to prooue the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused ; I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out : Asaph Chan mistrusting I would vtter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England and of the Present I gaue the day before : to some of which I answered ; but at last I said, my Interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Maiestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him ; he answered, willingly : whereat Asaph Chans sonne in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craued audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other : I to enforme him in mine own cause, he to awe him with winking and iogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more than one was

passed in sicknesse, the other in Complements, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant loue and peace between their Maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my countrey-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replied it was true, but it depended yet on so light a hred, on so week conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary Firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weake: that many Curiosities, were to be found in our Countrey of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the Merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, having been heretofore many ways wronged.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Jewels and rich stones. I answered No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with vs; but that we sought to finde such things for his Maiestie, as were rare here, and vnseene, as excellent artifices in painting, caruing, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroideryes, stufes of Gold and Siluer. He said it was very well: but that he desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the Turke would not suffer passage. He replied, that he thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varietie of weather would prooue it. Hee answered; If sixe were put into a ship, one might liue; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it

could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Maiesties satisfaction I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded. I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the League, and for the securitie of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such tearmes, which I forbear to complaine of, hoping by faire meanes to procure amendment. At this word Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter ; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make vnprofitable signes.

The King heret grew suddenly into chollier, pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my Interpreter, to answer : That with what was past I would not trouble his Maiestie, but would seeke Iustice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whose fauour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying, Mio Filio Mio Filio, and called for him ; who come in great feare, humbling himselfe : Asaph Chan trembled and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himself, but I perceiuing the Kings error, made him (by means of a Persian Prince, offering himself to interpret because my Italian spake better Turkish then Persian) and the Prince both vnderstand the mistaking and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Gouvernement, appeale to him for Iustice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his iustification, told the King he had offered me a Firman, and that I had refused it ; demanding the reason : I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of ; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires

of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Scuaiergne to mutuall offices of friendship; and his Subjects to any such conditions, as his Maiesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne Tripartite, his Maiesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the conditions I refused in the Princes Firman, which I recited, and so we fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. Mocrib Chan enterposing, said, he was the Portugals aduocate; speaking slightly of vs, that the King should neuer signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne iust defence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them; the Iesuite and all the Portugals side fell in, in so much that I explained myselfe fully concerning them, and as I offered a conditional peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred for force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were iust, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replied, yes; and I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say: That I came the day before to see his Maiestie, and his greatnesse, and the Ceremonies of this Feast: that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Maiestie to licence me to stand vp by his Throne; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place.



The foureteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to Assaph Chan, lest hee or the Prince might mistake me by the Kings mistakings, that I had complained against them, which as I did not, so it was not yet in my purpose: onely I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on Asaph Chan, by whose mouth I vsed to doe my businesse; but that if he continued his manner of neuer deliuering what I said, but what he pleased; I would find another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in my demands concerning Surat. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to suspect my purpose was to complaine of them: that the error was euident enough, for his part he had euer had the loue of the English and would endeauour to continue it.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, I receiued intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his Seruants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he vsed so good countenance to the English, that for their cause the Portugals were barred the Port of Surat, who brought more profit to the King, as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Iewels, whereas the English came onely to seeke profit, with Cloth, Swords, and Knives of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who could mend it. Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee watchfull, and to study to preserue ourselues in the Kings grace, in which onely wee were safe: but I resolued to take notice of this, and to make prooffe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, and to desire his authoritie to haue one Iones a youth, that was runne away from mee to an Italian, and protected himselfe vnder the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gaue order for his deliuerie, but the Prince who euer waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of his Favorite Zulphec-

harcon with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the Prince word I would no longer forbear opening my cause to the King, moued the King in priuate to send for the youth first, which at the Gusel Chan hee did : and the Prince giuing him countenance, he railed to my face with most virulent malice, desiring the King to saue his life, so the King resolved not to deliuer him to me, but to send him Prisoner to Surat, but the Prince to braue me, begged him for his seruant, the fellow hauing quite renounced his Countrey, the King gaue him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge : so the Prince presently gaue him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horse, and forbade mee to meddle with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his lying and madnesse, and offered to submit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe him Prisoner, he was the Princes seruant, but that before I could giue him any answeere he should make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, Iones made meanes to come to the Gusel Chan, and there asked pardon of the King for his lyes, denying euery word hee had spoken, and to haue been done to protect himselfe from me, whom he had offended, desiring the King to send for me that he might there aske my pardon : the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The five and twentieth, I went to the Guzelcan, where after many protestations of the King, that he neuer beleued him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect him, hauing cast himselfe into his mercy : the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee forgiuennesse, and on his oath swore to the King, that he had in euery particular belyed me, which he professed to doe voluntarie, for that he durst neuer returne to his countrey. The King chid him a little, and told me, he nor

any good man euer beleev'd him : but the Prince grew so angry that moving him with many questions to stand to his first word, which he refusing was bid be gone : and the Prince publikely calling for him again, bad him most basely returne him the one hundred and fiftie Rupias, deliuered him for that he gaue it to maintayne him against me, which seeing he went from, he would haue his money : which the fellow promised but he should haue it presently, and so sent an vnder Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into mine I would not suffer him to come.

The seuen and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King neuer takes any request to heart, except it come accompanied, and will in plaine termes demand it, which advantage the Prince takes, vrging the Portugals bringing of Iewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commoditie.

The nine and twentieth, the Portugals went before the King, with a Present, and a Ballas Rubie, to sell as was reported weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce : they demanded five Lackes of Rupias, but the King offered but one. Asaph Chan is also their Solicitor, to whom they gaue a Present of Stones, they had diuers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Iewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Iesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired ; but it was promised to Asaph Chan before concerning the Portugals credit, here I euer made my judgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made betwene vs and them, for they were sought after by euery bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neighbourhood and advantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is euer more readier then ours to doe harme, because

they are settled so that onely for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or any thing we being not at all respected.

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### CHAPTER III.

OCCURRENTS HAPPENING IN JUNE, JULY, AUGUST 1616, AND  
DIVERSE PASSAGES OF SPEECH AND ACTION, WHENCE THE  
NATURE, ARTS AND DISPOSITION OF THE KING AND HIS  
SUBJECTS MAY BE OBSERVED.

THE twelfth of June, there is a resolution taken that Sultan Coroone shall goe to the Deccan warres, and the day prefixed having consulted all the Bramans. Prince Paruis is called home, whom, (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if hee would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by employing this, he would first fall on him, and after finish the warre. All the Captaines, as Channa Chana, Mahobet Chan, Chan Lohn, refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to command, so well is he beloued: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receive the Armie; the King cannot be remoued from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must hasten me to finish this businesse, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his Minion Zulpheckcarcon, there is no hope to recouer a penny, nor any Iustice against him.

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sones (who was made a Christian in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to go strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King, but he being afraid, refused it: so the King bade his

youngest sonne to go touch the Lyon, who did so with out any harme, whereat the King took occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is neuer like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a sonne borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or enuy, none for loue. He receiued twenty Lecks of Rupies towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally; but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and greatnesse a Chan perswaded the King that the Voyage would bee dangerous, in respect of the Prince Paruis, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without reuenge. The King replyed, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proues himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warre.

Abdala Hassan is Captaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: he entertained me courteously, with few compliments, but much ciuility, wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peecea, most of them with single bullet did hit the market, being a hand-breath in a butt, we had some discourse of our use of weapons, and so I departed.

The thirteenth of Iuly in the morning, I sent Sultan Carrone three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the Portugalls, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies use (the copy is registered.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all businessse passing in publicke) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would reade it himself, and consider it, and that I should receiue answere from Merze Sorocalla.

At night I went to the Durbar to visite the King: So

soone as I came in, he sent Asaph Chan to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke : I replyed according to truth, that there was none, but a young man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pea draw some figures, but very meanly, farre from the arte of Painting. The King replyed, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he would neither doe mee iniury, nor suffer any other ; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoever it was. I replyed, I had no such doubt of his Maiesty, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the Guzell Chan with such toys as he had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deara, or such like in paper. At this answer the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing in his Countrey, I should not buy it nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoever I had a mind to, he would giue me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reuerence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Maiesty, Elephants were of no such use to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to ask any thing, if his Maiestie gaue me but the worth of a Rupie, I would receive it, and esteeme it as a marke of his fauour. He replyed, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would giue mee such things as should be most welcome, and that I should bee cheerefull, for that he was a friend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect vs from any iniury, but desired that I would that night come to the Guzell Chan, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So Asaph Chan wished me to send home to fetch him to his house ; whether if I would go and stay with him vntill the King come abroad, I should be very welcome ; which I pro-

mised. I neuer received so much grace and fauour from the King, as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards me; specially it hapened well that the Iesuit was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

This day a Gentlewoman of Normalls was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch: another Capon thatloued her, killed him; the poore woman was set vp to the arme-pits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three dayes and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damsell yeilded in Pearle, Iewels and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies.

The two and twentieth, I received Letters from Bramport in answeere of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first granted my desire, making his Firman to Barooch most effectually, to receiue our Nation, and to giue them a house neare the Gouvernour, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble then vnder colour therof. Finally that they might buy, sell, and transport any commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, that they should expect to heare no other from him, and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I received with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more ciuility then all the Indies yeilded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to giue me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to vse him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rarenesse of the phrase. The Firman I caused to be sent to Surat, so that Borooch is provided for a good retrait from the Princes iniuries, and the custome giuen, whereby fiftene



hundred pound per annum, will bee saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confess, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only beloved man of the King, and second person in his Dominions; and in all his life so liberall of his purse, and honorable of his word, that he hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Gouvernours make it their profit, which he professeth to scorne that he should abuse the liberty of the Kings Ports.

The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Durbar; the businessse was about a picture I had lately giuen to the King, and was confident that no man in India could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would giue the Painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Rupies. The King replyed, his Painter was a Caeleer, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gaue my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and ment not to make comparison or wagers: if his seruant had done as well, and would not accept of my gift, his Maiesty was most fit to reward him. So with many passages of iests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske me questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in England? what Beere was? how made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the Guzel Qhan, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-men, and shewed me sixe Pictures, fine made by his man, all pasted in one table so like, that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were in arte apparant, but not to

be iudged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gaue him way and content, praising his mans art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replied, I saw his Maiestie needed no Picture from our Countrey; but saith he, what will you giue the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would giue him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagga, which the King took kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referable to my discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replied, a good Sword, a Pistall, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you haue, and let him choose one in requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copiea to shew in England. We are not so vnskilfull, as you esteem vs: so hee pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it vp in a paper, and putting it vp in a little booke of mine, deliuered it, with much ioy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereat I shewed him a Picture I had of his Maiesties, farre inferiour to the worke I now saw, which caused me to iudge of all other by that which he deliuered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? haue not I the best? and haue not I told you, I would giue you what soeuer you desired? I thanked his Maiesty, but that I held it not ciuility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger; he replied, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speak at all times freely, pressing me to aske somewhat: I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Maiesties hands I would receiue as a marke of honour: hee replied, if you desire my

Picture, I will giue you one for yourselfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Maiesty would send the King one, I would gladly carry it, and knew his Maiestie would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Maiestie had em boldened mee, I would desire one for myselfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my Posteritie, as an ensigne of his Maiesties favour. He replied, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall haue it, and so he gaue present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and we were blind-fold dismissed.

The twelfth of August, Gemal-din-vasin, a man of seuentie years, Vice-roy of Patan, and Lord of foure Cities in Bengala, one that hath beene often Embassadour, and of more vnderstanding and courtesie then all his Countrymen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiuer of strangers, not secretly ambitious; he often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did and was receiued with extraordinary familiaritie and kindness, offering me a Lecke of Rupias, and such other courtesies so great, that they bespake their owne refusall. His fauour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfil compliments. And this I must confesse, that from a person reuerent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some Discourse epeaking so plainly of his fellowes in Court, truthes in mine owne experience, I resolued hee was a good natured and right hearted old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their seruitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire wherein hee had serued three Princes in grace and favour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily committed to record, and had composed them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings reuennue and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings vpon great men: that the Gouernment of euery Province

did yearely pay a Rent: as for his Government of Patan onely, he gaue the King eleuen Leckes of Rupias, the Rupias sterling is two shillings two pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authoritie to take what he list, which was esteemed at five thousand horse, the pay of euery one at two hundred Rupias by the yeare, whereof he kept fiteene hundred, and was allowed the Surplusse as dead pay: besides the King gaue him a Pension of one thousand Rupias a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were diners had double his entertainment, and aboute twentie equall.

He prayed the good Prophet Iesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruitfull Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that his courtesie had beene at an end: but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure, Hauar Gemall, a mile out of Towne to feast me in; and ouernight earnestly inuiting me, I promised to come. At midnight he went himselfe and carryed his Tents and all furniture, and fitted vp a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my comming he came to meet me and with extraordinary civilitie carryed me into his roome prepared, where hee had some company and one hundred seruants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirtie. He entertayned me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retyring roomes which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the French Kings and other Christian Princes; wanting no Court-ship. That he was a poore man, slauc to the King, that he desired I should receiue some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a slight Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to seale a friendship which he desired me to accept: that there were many great men able to shew me more courtesie, but they were proud & false wishing me to trust to none, for that if I had businesse to the King of any

weight, either concerning the Portugals or any other, they would neuer deliuer truth {who were my Interpreters, but only what either please themselues or would content in the relation. That therefore I should neuer be rightly understood, nor affect my businesse without abuse, nor never cleerely know my state vntill I had an Englishman that an could speake Persian, and that might deliuer my minde without passing the tougue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any : for that he had conceiued a good opinion of me, and the last night at the Gusse Chan, hauing brought before him the Lewels of Sheck Ferid, Gouvernour of Lahore lately dead, he remembred me of himself, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he deliuered is to Asaph Chan, commanding him to send it, me to weare for his sake with many words of fauour towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and diners banquetting set pefore vs, and the like a little a part for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they holding it a kind of vncleanensse to mingle with vs. Whereat I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite ; so he rose and sate by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals. The substance was made dishes of diners sorts, Raisons, Almonds, Pistaches and Fruit. Dinner ended he play- ed at Chesse, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leaue, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was passed was, but a collation, that I must not depart till I had supped, which I easily granted to.

About an hour after came to visit him the Ambassadour of one of the Decan Kings whom he presented to me, vsing him with civilitie, but in a much inferiour manner, in respect of his fashion toward me : he asked me if

his Maiestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of seruice from from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would send a Gentleman with me to kisse his Maiesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became ciuilitie and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the iourney, who seeming willing he presented to me, and said he would prouide some Toyes of the Country for his Maiestie, and send him in my companie. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning, and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were set diuers dishes of Sallets and meate rost, fryed, boyled, and diuers Rices: he desired to be excused, that it was their manner to eate among themselues, his Countrimen would take it ill, if he eate not with them; so hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced ourselues with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his seruants being very deligent and respectfull. He gaue mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is inuited, fve cases of Sugar Candie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of most fine Sugar white as Snow, about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my Gouernment, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre alreadie obliged me, that I would not refuse his courtesie when I was readie to depart. He replied, he might bee then unfurnished, and therefore desired I would not speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with complements I took my leaus.

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who as soone as I came in, called to his women and reached out a Picture of

himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chaine with one pendant foule Pearle, which he deliuered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reuerence of me, other then such as I would willingly give ; it being the custome whensoever hee bestows any thing, the receiuer kneeles downe and puts his head to the ground, which hath beene exacted of the Ambassadors of Persia. So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the King. I vnderstood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called Sizoda. But I was resoluèd rather to deliuer vp my Present : Hee made signe to giue the King thanks, which I did after my owne custome, whereae some Officers call mee to Sizeda : but the King answered no, no, in Persian ; so with many gracious words sent me, I returned to my place, you may now iudge the Kings liberalitie ; this gift was not worth in all thirtie pound, yet it was five times as good as any he giues in that kind, and held for an especiall fauour, for that all the great men that weare the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is giuen, receiue no other then a meddall of Gold as bigg as sixe pence, with a little Chaine of foure inches, to fasten it on their heads which at their owne proper charge, some set with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearlea.

The nineteenth, Gemal-din-ussin, who inuited me to Hauaz Gemall, being newly made Governour of Sindu, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred servants: hee ate some Banqueting stuffe made in my house by a Moore Cooke, but would not touch such meate as I had prouided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that four or five dishes might be sent to his house such as he would chooe, being all baked meate which he had never seene, and that he would dine on them in priuate, which was

accordingly done, and so offering vs the Town of Sindu, and all other courtesies in his power, he made haste to fill his belly. I gave him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great griefe, and discomfort my Minister Master Hall, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of vnsported life.

The twentieth day, and the night past fell a storme of raine called the Oliphant, vsuall at going out of the raines, but for the greatnesse very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake ouer in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would gine way and drowen all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, insomuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house; my next Neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to fly to the hills side. All men had their horses ready at their doors to saue their liues, so that we were much frightened and sat vp till mid-night for that we had no help, but to fle y ourselves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher than the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, foureteene yeeres past, a terrible experience hauing shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being leuell with our dwelling, and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the top was much higher than my house which stood in the bottome in the course of the water euery ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houres impassible by Horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way, yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the walles of my house, and so weakened it by diuers breaches, in that I feared the fall more than the flood: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce



ley dry or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we euery way afflicted ; fires, smokes, flouds, stormes, heats, dust, flies and no temperate or quiet season.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to Hauaz Iemal and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remouue to Mandoe, a Castle neere Bramport where is no Towne, for that Sultan Paruis being come from the warre in disgrace and being with his traine neere Asmers, the King commanded him to Bengalar excusing himselfe to be seene, and so hauing dispatched him without such incommoditie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, hee intended himselfe to settle Sultan Caronne in the warres of Decan, to which all the chiefest were so contrary, that the King feared to send him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, vntill the other Prince were withdrawne and he established by his owne countenance, comming so neere as Mandoe, which remouue if it proceed will put vs to extreame trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for ourselves and goods, the Castle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleuen a clocke sent mee a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tusks backe, with this message, that he kild it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good cheare. This occasion I addowe that was sent for to the King to bring it, took to tell Asaph Chan, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receiue from his hands the Priuiledges granted by the King. He answered, hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday bee sealed, and that he was loth to see me, vntill he had given me content.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE KING'S BIRTH DAY, AND MANNER OF THE OBSERVATION, WITH OTHER ACCIDENTS IN SEPTEMBER.

THE second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, stuffes of Gold, and Silver, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of every sort a little, which is given to the Bramini. To this solemnitie the King commanded Asaph Chan to send for me, who so doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Messenger mistaking, I went not untill Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espied me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, he having given order. I answered according to the error; but he was extreme angry, and chid Asaph Chan publicquely. He was so rich in Jewels that I must confesse I never saw together so invalluable wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greatest Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elephants, had their chaines, bells, and furniture of Gold and Silver, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or teane Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silk, and Silver. Thus passed about twelue Companies most richly furnished, the first having all the Plates on his head and breast set with Rubies and Emeraulds, being a beast of a wonderful stature and beautie. They all bowed downe before the

King making a reuerence very handsomely and was a shew as worthy as euer I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of euery chiefe Elephant gaue a Present. So with some gracious complements to me, he rose and went in.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Message was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, and if I would not giue it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wiues. I rose and carried it with me: when I came in I found him sitting crosse-legged on a little Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearls, and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extreame rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost couered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drinke froliquely, seuerall wines standing by in great flagons. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and demanded whose it was? I answered, a friend of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would giue it him. I replied, that I esteemd it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loued dearely, and could neuer recouer; but that if his Maiestie would pardon me my fancie, and accept of the other, which was a French Picture, but excellent worke, I would most willingly giue it him. He sent me thanks, but that it was that onely Picture he desired, and loued as well as I, and that if I would giue it him, he would better esteem of it, then the richest Jewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in loue with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Maiestie; I was extreame glad to doe him seruice, and if I could giue him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him seruice, I was ready to present it to him. At which he bowed to me

and replied, it was sufficient that I had given it, that hee confessed hee neuer saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and coniured me to tell him truly, whether euer such a woman liued? I answered, there did one liue that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingnesse very kindly; but seeing I had so freely given him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, onely he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him five Copies, and if I knew my owne I should haue it. I answered, I had freely and willingly given it, and was extreemely glad of his Maiesties acceptance. He replied, that he would not take it, that he loued me the better for louing the remembrance of my friend and knew what an iniury it was to take it from me, by no means hee would not keep it, but onely take Copies, and with his owne hand he would returne it, and his Wives should weare them: for indeed in that art of limning his Painters worke miracles, the other beeing in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birthday, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoeuer his Maiestie commanded; I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made; whether strong or small? I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this Message. That I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or five times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I drinke a little, but it was more strong then euer I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for Raisons, almonds, and sliced Lim-

mons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and he bad me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reuerence for my Present after mine owne manner, though Asaph Chan would haue caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Maiestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all ouer with small Turkies and Rubyes, the Couer of the same set with great Turkies, Rubies, and Emeralds in workes; and a dish sutable to set the Cup vpon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater which are also many, are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made frolike and sent me word, he more esteemed me then euer any Franke; and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Bore sent me a few daies before; how I drest it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land: which his publique, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobiltie.

Then he threw about to those that stood below, two Chardgers of new Rubies, and among vs two Chardgers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Siluer mingled; but I could not scramble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take vp none; then he gaue Shashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musicians and Wayters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Maiestie and all his Lords became the finest men I euer saw, of a thousand humours; but his sonne Asaph Chan, and two old men, and the late King of Candahar, and myselfe forbare. When hee could not hold vp his head, he lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I moued Asaph Chan for dispatch of my priuiledges; assuring him his Maiesty could giue me no Present so acceptable; if he pleased not to dispatch me which I doubted not, if it lay, in his power, but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow moue the King, he desired

mee not to doe so: for the King loued mee, and had giuen order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it me, and doe me all service.

The fourth of September, I found it easie to iudge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seuen moneths I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had so drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we disliked, we might refuse his gouernement. He vtterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I durst not yet leaue him, nor take notice of his falshood. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, engaged vs into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slaue to bribes, which they multiply vpon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I seemed onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and phrase, and sent him a Letter to interpret me, and a Briefe of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left out quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Seale, or to giue me leaue to receiue mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in Persian the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

The eighth, Asaph Chan sent to me that answer. That absolutely, he would procure nothing sealed, that any way concerned the Princes gouernement; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose Firmans were sufficient. And so reuealed that purpose which he had long in practise to make vs wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had iust cause to looke out and was blamelesse if I sought new friends, when he had forsaken me. I resolued to trie the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, hauing sent formerly to his Secretary foure clauses

which I demanded his Firman for our present use at Surat, for the Fleet expected, which his Highness had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his Firman by mee desired and promised ; so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleventh, I received it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different, and one whole branch left out ; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come ashore. Neuer any man had to doe with so much Pride, Conetou- nesse, and falshood. At night, I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretary, to expostulate the businesse, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the Firman not such as I was enformed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in phrase, to my iudgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I vrged the obscurity of some points ; desiring him as he had cleared his Highness meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Gouvernour of Surat,\* which hee granted, principally commanding that the Customer should pay for fiftie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returns them vnto the Factors, to their extreame losse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not crosse him in businesses of his Government wth the King, and I should find him a better friend then I expected : and finally gave me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good successe, the rather because he is no briber, reputed honest, and did vndertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all businesses, that

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\* The " Customer " was a Company's servant, and fourth Member of Council at Surat. His duties were to buy Native merchandize for shipment to England.

we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor any the least iniury ; so I accepted the Fir-man, which vpon translating I found verie effectuall.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, vntill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receiue this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the comming of Sultan Paruis to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands; who had graunted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded, and a command sent, that the Prince should take his iourney right to Bengal, yea although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to obtaine her leaue to see his Sonne. The Kings remooue continued, but whether, no man could certainly resolue.

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## CHAPTER V.

THE BROILES ABOUT ABDALA CHAN, AND CHAN CHANWA;  
SULTAN CABOONES AMBITION, HIS POLICIES TO SUBVERT  
HIS ELDER BROTHER: FIGHT WITH A PORTUGALL CAR-  
RICKS: DISTAST ABOUT THE PRINCE: PERSIAN EMBASSAGE,  
PRESENTS AND ENTERTAINMENT.

THE tenth of October, Abdala Chan the great Governour of Amadauas, being sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencies and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse; yet the Prince Sultan Coronne (whose ambition wrought on every advantage) desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the chiefe Captaines in these Kingdomes) preuailed with him on his word to submit; so that comming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie seruants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeit humiliation, finished the rest in his Palankee, vntill he arrived neere the Court, but one dayes journey behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the Iarruco (the publike sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the feete, barefoot between two Noblemen; he puld his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happiness to behold the Kings face. After reuerencere made, and some fewe questions, the King forgane him caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Vest of Cloth Gold, Turbant, Girdle according to the custome. The Prince who intended to build his honour on the warres of Deccan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander Chan Channa did not prosper in

(which doubtlesse was a practiser with the Decans, from whom he receiued pension;) caused his Father to recall Chan Channa, who refusing to come desired the King not to send Sultan Caronne to that warre, but one of his youngest sonnes about fiftene yeares of age. This Coronne tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to Abdela Chan the Command of the armie vnder him, by displacing Chan Channa.

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of Chan Channa, was desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming Chan Channa in the Gouernment hee held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of favour, and purposed to send a Vest, according to the Ceremoney of reconciliation, to Chan Channa; but before he despatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his, liuing in the Zereglia, of his purpose. Shee, whether false to her friend (wrought by Sultau Caronne) or out of greatnesse of heart, to see the top of her family so dealt with, after so many merits; answered plainly, that shee did not beleue Chan Channa would weare any thing sent from the King, knowing his Maiesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poyson, which hee putting in his bosome (instead of his meuth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body anything that came from his Maiesty. The king offered to weare it himselfe before her an houre, and that shee should write to testifie it; shee replied, hee would trust neither of them both with his life, but if he might liue quietly in his command, would doe his Maiesty true seruice. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and resolved to proceed in the sending of Sultan Caronne, and to countenance his reception, would follow after with another armie.

Chan Channa that discovered the storme, practised the Decans, who were at his seruice, to offer termes of peace

for a season, finding no other way to dissolue this cloud that hung ouer them both, vntill the King and Prince were departed and setled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses bar'd, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them ouer to his sonne with this answer; If he would hane peace or warre, it was in this brest. The Prince aduanced by this fauour, and swelling with pride, resolved (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would hane accepted) to goe on the iourney, answering he would treat of no peace, vntill he were in the field with his Armie; Chan Channa should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

The ambitions of this young Prince are open, the common talke of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the Kingdome. For Sultan Corforonne, the eldest brother, is both extreamey beloued, and honored of all men (almost adored) and very iustly for his Noble parts, and this the King knowes and loves, but thinkes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this younger doth more darken him by ambitious practices, then the other could by vertuous actions.

Thus he nourisheth diuision and emulation between the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the younger (supposing hee can vndoe it at his pleasure) that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by diuision, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a ciuil warre.

The history of this Countrey, for the variety of subiect, and the many practises in the time of Ebarsha, Father of this King, by him then Prince; and these later troubles, were not vnworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and

because the people are esteemed barbarous, few will believe them. Therefore I content myself with the contemplation, but I could deliver as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtil evasions, policies, answers and adages, as I believe, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falsehood in a brother, impudent boldness in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Majesty gives them liberty, either beyond the law of their own condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The Prince Sultan Caronne, Narmabel the deare Queen Aunt to his wife, Asaph Chan his father-in-law, brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlet, father to them both (being they that now governe all and dare attempt any thing) resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince Sultan Corforonne lived, whom the Nobility loved, and whose delivery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poison might end him. Narmabel attempts the King with the false teares of womens bewitching flattery, that Sultan Corforonne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts deposed: the King heares her say it, but would not vnderstand more then shee delivered plainly.

This failing they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke, the Prince, Etiman Dowlet and Asaph Chau, moued the King, that for the safety of Sultan Corforonne, and for his honour, it were fitter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safetie more regarded, then in the hands of a Rashboote Gentile, to whom the King had committed him. Therefore they humbly desired his Majesty, that he might be delivered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleepe.

They thought their own greatnesse such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and bring once in their possession, they would dispute the redeliuery : so the same night Asaph Chan in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corferonne, at the hand of Anna Rah, a Raiah Rashboote, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliuer his charge, with this answere, That he was Sultan Caronnes humble seruant, but that he had receiued the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliuer him, but he should haue patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Maiesty, and leaue it to his pleasure to dispose. This answere cooled all. In the morning Anna Rah came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answere, and added his Maiesty had giuen him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of foure thousand horse, with all which hee would dye at the gate, rather then deliuer his Prince into the hands of his enemies : If his Maiesty required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but he would prouide for his owne innocency. The King replyed, You haue done honestly, faithfully, you haue answered discretely : continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands : I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further ; hold your faith, and let vs see how farre they will prosecute it.

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping hee might forget what passed in wine, tooke no notice of the grant, nor of the refusall, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This I insert to this end, that you may beware scattering your goods in diuers parts, and engaging your stocke and seruants farre into the Countrey : for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few yeares warre will not decide the inueterate malice laid vp on all parts

against a day of vengeance, wherein if Sultan Corforonne preuaile in his right, this Kingdom will be a Sanctuary for Christians, whom he loues and honours, fauouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all couetuousnesse, and discerning the base customes of taking, vsed by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be losers: for he is most earnest in his Superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtile, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassadour from the Shabas King of Persia.

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wild Pigge. I receiued aduice of the arrival of foure shippes safe at the Port of Swally, with Letters from England that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615, with sixe ships losing company of the Rose about the North Cape by foule weather.

The twelfth of Iune 1616, the other five came safely to the Bay of Soldania, where the Lyon homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying——dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispeeded the Swan to Bantam, for effecting the businesse, and set saile for Surat the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their passage the sixth of August, neare the Ilands of Comora, about twelue degrees, fiftie minutes, they had fight of a Carrick burthen fiftene hundred tunne manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for Goa, bearing the Flagge: the Globe fetcht her vp to windward, and after salutations of the Sea, the Carricke commanded her to Lee-ward, and secouded it with five shot thorow her Hull, which she requited with eightene, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet comming vp, demanded satisfaction for the iniury; which was replied to with scorne: so began a fresh fight in few shot, the Commander Benjamin Ioseph was slaine, and the new

established continued it : at the evening shee ranne herselfe ashore among the rockes of Angazesia. The Fleet anchored short of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres : but about midnight shee fired herselfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleuee that not one man was saued, by circumstances very probable : the new Vice-Roy for Goa was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Maiesties remembred salutations, which were with much courtesie receiued : but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which he seemed to reioyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation : but sett off to What hath the King sent me. I answered, Many tokens of his loue and affection : That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Maiestie rich Presents, were to cast Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Maiesty thought it vnnescessary ; but had presented him with his loue, with many curious toyes, which I hoped would giue him content. He vrged mee to some particulars, which I named : he asked me for French Musse or Veluet. I answered, my letters were not arrimed : some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for Doggs : I told him, some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserued for him, at which he reioyed, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a Bone or Dutch Horse, he would accept it better then a Crowne. I replied, I would doe my endeaneour for his Maiesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected : he answered, if I would procure one, he would giue me a Leck of Rupias. I desired his Maiesties Letter for the comming of these Presents without search, and for the good vsage of our people : he replied, the Port was his Sonnes,

but sent for him and publickely gave expresse order for what I would require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispeeded with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should give me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that clause Asaph Chan refused to deliuer. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and agrace to me. The Prince called Asaph Chan to me, and there professed and promised before his Father and all the Court, to give me all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

The fifteenth, I received from Masulipatan, that Capitaine Keeling had taken two Portugall Barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochin, laden with Tinne, the other freighted from Ben-gala, which he carried to Bantam: that Sir Robert Sherley was dismissed with disgrace from Goa, and that he was on his way overland to Masulipatan to seeke passage; vnprobable, and I beleue untrue.

The seuenteenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the Decan Warres by his owne person, and vnder-taking to give answer to the Ambassadors, gives none; but detaines them vntill his approach. But being to depart, he and his partie thought not themselves secure if Sultan Corforonne remained in the hands of Annarab, that in his absence the King might bee reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the iniurie and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings constancie to deliuer vp his sonne into the hands of Asaph Chan, as his Guard vnder Sultan Coronne. They pretend that it will fright Chan Channa, and the Decana, when they shal heare that this Prince is so faoured, who now comes to make warre vpon them, that the King hath deliuered vp his eldest sonne;



in that as it were his whole Kingdome and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

This day he was deliuered v<sup>p</sup> the Souldiers of Anna Rab discharged, and the Souldiers of Asaph Chan planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and diuers women in the Seraglia mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dotage and crueltie, and professe, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of the Kings bloudinesse to his worthiest sonne. The King giues faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promiseth his deliuey, and sends Normabell to appease these enraged Ladies : but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmure, they say the King hath not deliuered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that Corforonne cannot perish without scandall to the father, or reuenge from him ; therefore he must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royal seat. New hopes are spread of his redelinerie, and soone allaid, euery man tels newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince remaynes in the Tygres power, refuseth meate, and requires his father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility sad, the multitude like it selfe, full of tumour and noysee, without head or foot ; onely it rages, but bends itsel<sup>f</sup>e vpon no direct ends. The issue is v<sup>e</sup>ry dangerous, principally for vs : for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one haue right and much more honour, yet he is still a Moore, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to gouerne, which is worse then to be ill : for wee were better beare iniuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

The nineteenth, the Peruaian Ambassadour Mahomet

Rosa Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Musique, but no man of greater qualitie then the ordinary receiuers of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in Coats of cloth of Gold, their Bowes, Quiuers and Targets richly garnished, fortie shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peens, and attenders on baggage; he was carried to rest in a roome within the Kings outward Court till euening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (to which Ceremonie I sent my Secretary to obserue the fashion) when hee approached, hees made at the first raile three Tessilims and one Sizeda, which prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the Shabas his Letter: which the King tooke with a little motion of his bodie, asking onely, How doth my Brother? without any title of Maiesty. And after some few words, he was placed in the seuenth ranke, against the raie by the doore, below so many of the Kings Seruants, on both sides; which in my iudgement was a most inferor place for his Masters Ambassador, but that he well deserued it for doing that reuerence which his Predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation. It is said he had order from the Sophie to giue content, and thereby it is gathered, his Massage is for some aide in money against the Turke, in which kind he often finds liberall succour, though it hee pretended he comes onely to treat a peace for the Decans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to heart, enuying the increase of this Empire. The King according to custome gaue him a hand-some Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe hee made three Tessilims, and one Sizeda or ground courtesie: he brought for Presents, three times, nine Horses of Persia and Arabia, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large,

seven Camels laden with Veluet, two Sutes of Europe Arras, which I suppose was Venetian, Hangings of Veluet with Gold, and not Arras, two Chests of Persian Hangings, one Cabinet rich, foure Muskets, five Clokes, one Camell laden with Persian cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies balast, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the Grape, fourteene Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven Veretian Looking Glasses, but those so faire, so rich, that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presents were not deliuered now; onely a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Horses, trapped in Gold and Silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turquesses, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I caused diligent obseruance to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferiour to that allowed me except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sicknesse was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receiue the Shabas his Letter with thus respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of England his Brothar, the Persian barely Brother without any addition, which was an obseruation of the Iesuite, that vnderstood the Language.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE PRINCES BRAUERIE ; THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOURS  
BEHAUIOUR, THE MANNER, AND EFFECTS OF DRINKING,  
OF THE KING AND HIS NOBLES ; THE KINGS REMOUE, HIS  
SUPER-EXCEEDING POMPE, WEALTH, MAGNIFICENCE  
THEREIN ; PORTUGALL FRAY : RELATIONS OF SULTAN  
COSEORC ONE : PERSIAN NEWES.

THE one and twentieth of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire to haue a certain clause in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse stucke a little, and I perceiued his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagin- ed. Hee demanded then how hee should haue his Presents, or see such toyes as came up, and moued mee to goe with him. I replyed I could not doe so vntill I had delivered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would myselfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such raritie as came to my hands, should be sent after him : he prest me to passe my word, and so I obtayned order for the Firman to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in my Hat, demanded if I would give it him ; I replyed, I would not offer that I had worne, but if he please to command it that or any thing in my power was to serue him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or four of other colours ; hee replyed, if I would give them all, for that hee was to shew his Horses and Seruants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

Abdala Chau in a gallant Equipage both of his person and attendants, in apparell, strange and antike, but in these parts. Alla Soldado presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hills of Siluer, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Gold Veluets, some painted and bossed with Gold and Siluer, which he gave to his Seruants. Against this Muster many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Horses, his Boots imbrothered, and all other ingredients of branery. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily scene inuauable.

This night past, it is reported sixe of the Princes Seruants came to murder Sultan Corsoronne, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an ouerture of all the practice, the truth is uncertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

At euening, I went to the Darbar to visit the King where I met the Persian Ambassador with the first Muster of his Presents; he appeared, rather a Lester or Ingler, then a person of any gravity, running vp and downe and acting all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the Atachikanne, was become aright Stagge) Hee deliuered the Presents with his owne hands; which the King with smiles and cheerful countenance, and many words of contentment receined; his tongue was a great advantage to deliuer his owne business, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiosnesse, that it pleased as much as his gift, euer calling his Maiesty King and Commander of the World (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on euery little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tessilims. When all was deliuered for that day, hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head

as if hee would enter in. The gifts were a faire Quiuer for Bow and Arrowes delicately imbroydered, all sorts of European Fruits artificiall in dishes, many other folding Purses and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needleworke in coloured Silkes, Shooes imbroydered and sticht, great Glasses in-layed in frames, one square piece of Veluet, imbroydered high with Gold in paynes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuffe, which he said was the King and Queene of Venice, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called Arras) of these sixe were giuen, one onely shewed; many other Tricanados of small value. After, the three Nines of Horses and Mules, which were faire ones, the Horses either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I iudged them vnfit for to bee sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and aboue all Subjects, which at first Asaph Chan would haue put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing; but his Highnesse was loth to let the Presents passe without ransacking, and has changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

The two and twentieth, at my coming, I deliuered him two Pluriales, and two Brides of Paradise; he accepted them easily, and my business being moued, and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open, nor to send them vp but by the hands of my Seruants, at last he yeilded and gaue command to the Secretary to despatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to obserue the Ambassadour of Persia, I found him standing in his ranke, and often remoued and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced the tune thereof but gave no present: onely the King commended that hee should be feasted by the Nobles; The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remoue, of which his

Majestic gave some to his Follower, it being daily expected to rise : the Kings Tents were out foure dayes since, I sent to the Secretary for my Firman, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentieth, the King removed to Haus Gemall, and called the Persian Ambassadour, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did on the Birth-day ; the difference onely was, the King gave him for expense twenty thousand Rupias, for which he made innumerable Tessilims and Sixedaes, not rising from the ground a good space, which extremely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no despatch in my business.

The five and twentieth, the King returned at Evening, having been over-night farre gone in Wine ; some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order, demanded who gave it. It was answered the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King, when he would onely doubt it.) The Custome is, that when the King drinks (which is alon) sometime he will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes Teselem, though perhaps the Kings eyes are mystia. The King not remembering his owne command, called the Buxie ; and demanded if he gave the order. He replied, No, (falsly : for he received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) whereat the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand Rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like Sparrowels, so that

every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their staves vpon them. Thus most cruely mangled and bruised, they were carryed out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would haue excused it on the Embassadour; but the King replyed, hee onely had give him a Cup or two. Though drunkenesse be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Gusel-Chan, where the King sits, but the Porters smell his breath: and if he haue but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the oners be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip: for if the King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the Persian Embassadours reward.

The sixe and twentieth, I sent to Sorocolla for the Firman. He sent mee a copy as ambiguous and frandulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause myselfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed.

The eight and twentieth, the Kings day of remooue at hand I sent to Asaph Chan for a warrant for carriages; the Merchants hauing sought all the Towne to remooue their goods to Agra, could find none, so I receined order being enrolled by his Maiesty vpon my offer for twenty Camela, foure Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the Factors needed to their use. But it were an extreame error to omit a passage, either of wonderfull baseness in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned diuers Theeues, among which were some boyes; there was no way to saue their lives, but to sell them for salues: his Maiesty commanded Asaph Chan to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the Cutwall (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answer without any knowledge that



Christians keepe no slaues, that those the King had giuen I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would giue a little money to saue the liues of two children : or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the baseness or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to Asaph Chan, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answer : that I reprehended him for presuming in any case to giue my resolution ; that my owne reply was, if there were any money to saue the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeeme them from the Law ; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charitie I was ready to giue it, but I would not buy them as slaues, onely pay their ransome and free them ; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might giue them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. Asaph Chan replied, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse ; with many prayes accepted the money, desiring mee to send it to the Cutwall, and to vse my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was loth to be coozened, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore aboue money. So I sent a Factor and my Interpreter to the Cutwall, to acquaint him with the communication with Asaph Chan, and to let him know, if at night he would enforme the King, that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Maiesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money ; but to buy them as slaues, though for an houre I would not, they should neuer come nor be manumised by mee, but that I desired his Maiesty to pardon them vpon my redemption,

so I put them to the test of their base offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to bee gained by a King. The Cutwall returned answere, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly advise mee. Some would perswade me this is one of the Mogols signall saucours to choose out such great men, as he will giue occasion to doegood and honourable workes, to redeeme Prisoners, and that the money giues satisfaction to the Plaintiffe robbed, and that those so appointed by the King to ransom others, make Sizeda as for some benefit received. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee giues neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the Durbar to see if his Maiesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliuer my owne offer. The Cutwall made many motions, brought in the Executioner who received some command, but I vnderstood it not but expected my answere.

The first of Nouember, Sultan Corronne took his leaue and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the Durbar, where the Prince brought his Elephants about six hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellows by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth of gold, with Hearne top-feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; Himselfe in cloth of Siluer embroydered with great Pearle and sbining Diamonds like a Firmament. \*The King imbraced him and kissed him, and shewed much affection: at his departure he gaue him a Sword, the Scabberd all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias: a Dagger for forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of the new Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Maiesty my Master) and commanded the English Coachman to driue him to his Tents, into which he ascended and sate in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest Nobles a foot walking by him

to his Tents about foure mile. All the way he threw quarters of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, he reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about one hundred Rupias.

The second, the King remoued to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went so attend him coming to the Pallace, I found him at the Farraco window, and went vp on the Scaffold vnder him; which place not hauing scene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Tressels stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with Feathers, fanning him; hee gave many fauours and receiued many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, rould on a turning Instrument; what was giuen him, a venerable fatte deformed old Matrone hung with Gymbals like an Image pluckt vp at a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were his two principall Wiues, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye now another, sometime I could discerne the full proportion; they were indifferently white, blacke haire smooth vp, but if I had had no other light, their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed, to shew them: when I looked vp they retyred and were so merry that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and wee retyred to the Durbar, and sate on the Carpets attending his coming out: not long after he came and sate about half an houre untill his ladies at their doore were assended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Gold-wyre euery way to looke out, and Canopies ouer of cloath of Silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would hane out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another

a dish of white stuffe like Starch; into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all ouer with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold sutable: another hung on his quiuer with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the Persian Ambassadour) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie vnset, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild; about his necke he caryed a chains of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I neuer saw: at his elbowes armelets set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of severall sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a Ring; his gloves were English, stucke vnder his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeves, vpon a fine Semian as thinne as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes sharpe and turning vp. Thus armed and accomodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new English seruant, who was cloathed as such as any Player, and more gaudy, and had trained foure horses which were trapped and harnished in Gold Veluets. This was the first he euer sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew not but by the couer, which was a Gold Persian Veluet. He got into the end, on each side went two Eunuches, that caried small Maces of Gold, set all ouer with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drine away flies: before him went Drummes, ill Trumpets, and loud musicke, and many Canopies, Quittusols and other strange ensignes of Maiesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with

Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

The Persian Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankecs, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at the ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A foot-man carryed a foot-stoole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were couered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the English Coach, new couered and trimmed rich, which hee had giuen the Queene Normabell, who rode in it: after them a third of this Countrey fashion, which me thought was out of countenance: in it sate his younger sonnes: after followed about twenty Elephants Royall, spare, for his owne ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braued the Sunne. Euery Elephant had diuers flagges of cloath of Silver, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noblemen he suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wiues on their Elephants were carryed like Parakitoes half a mile behind him. When he came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, he stayed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reuerence with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard growne to his middle, a signe of disfaour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and so rode next to him, to the ex-treame applause and joy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gaue him one thousand Rupias to cast to the people, his Gaoler Asaph Chan and all the Monsters yet a foot.

I took horse to auoyd presse and other inconuenience and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended vntill he came neare his Tents. He passed all the way between a guard of Elephants, hauing euery one a Turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet

as big as a great tennis ball, the Gunner behind it ; in number about three hundred, other Elephants of honour that went before and after about six hundred, all which were couered with Veluet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried : in the way ranne diuers foot-men with skinnes of water that made a continuall showre before him : no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I hasted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

They were walled halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with diuers Coynes and Bulwarkes, with high Can-nats of a course stufte made like Arras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Euery post that bare vp these, was headed with a top of brasse. The throng was great : I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Laud sate at the doore : but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the Persian Ambassador and all the Noblemen. Heere first the Persian Ambassador saluted mee with a silent complement only. - In the midst of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, couered ouer with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold vnder it Canopies of Cloath of gold, vnder-foot Carpets. When the King came neare the doore some Noblemen came in, and the Persian Ambassador : wee stood one of the one side, the other of the other, making a little lane : the King entring cast his eye on me, and I made a reuerence ; he laid his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the Persian. I followed at his heeles till he ascended, and euery man cryed good ioy, and fortune, and so tooke our places. He called for water, washed his hands and departed. His women entred some other Port to their quarter : and his sonne I was not. Within this whole raile was about thirty diuisions with Tents. All the Noblemen retired to theirs, which

were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I euer saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautifull Citie, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was vnfitted with carriage, and ashamed of my prouision, but five yeeres allowance could not haue furnished me with one in different sute sortable to others ; and which addes to the greatnesse, euery man hath a double, for that one goes aforeto the next Remone, and is set a day before the King riseth from these. So I returned to my poore house.

The first of Nouember, the Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the King ; his throne being plated ouer with siluer, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the Canopie ouer it square, borne on foure pillars couered with siluer ; his armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was euning when he came abroad. I obserued now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions : he receiued two letters, read them standing before he ascended his Throne. I neuer saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a grauitie, neuer smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men ; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennesse and distraction in his thoughts, vnprovidedly and amazedly answering sutors, or not hearing. If I can indge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conuersation. Normahell in the English Coach the day before visited him, and tooke leaue, shee gaue him a cloak all imbroydered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

The sixt, I receiued a letter from Master Browne, from Amadanas who certified me of a fray begun by the Portu-

gals; five of them setting on an English Boy in Cambaya, and disarming him, vpon rumours whereof Iohn Browne and James Bickeford went to his rescue, and were assailed by seuen of them. One shooting a Pistoll, hurt Iohn Browne in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselues honestly, brauely, like Englishmen, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them vp and downe the Towne like beasts, to the great shame of such villaines, and reputation of our Nation. To reuenge this, the Portugals being arrinen in their Frigats, diuers came ashoaron more English in Towne but the three mentioned. The Governour vnderstood the occasion, and sent the Out-wall with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the Portugals, by commanding vpon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the English: and so deliuered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to Amadanas.

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himselfe of forgetfulnessse, and blamed the Officers formally; but in shew vsed me with more courtesie then ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him, and to take my leave, that I desired his pardon, that I hasted away for that I was to returne to Adsmere, being vnprouided to stay all night. He answered, he sent for me to see me before his going, that I should presently be despatched. Then he sent in an Eunuch, and diuers of his Captaines came smiling, saying the Prince would giue me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should haue ten horse to guard me, and made such a businessse, as if I should haue receiued his best chaine of Pearle. By and by came a Cloath of gold Cloake of his owne once or twice worne, which hee caused to be put on my backe and I made reuerence very vnwillingly. When his Ancestor Tamerlane was represent-



ed at the Theater, the garment would well haue become : but it is heere reputed the highest fauour to give a garment worne by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

The sixteenth, the King gaue order to fire all the Laskar at Adamere, to compell the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the Persian Ambassador (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate ; wee sent to bemone one another, and by his example I began to resolve to buy (for many would sell, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the best hand I could, almost to saue the hire, though the carts were deare, for in three moneths the price was eaten ; necessity inforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of theenes, that from the armie came and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eate, yet I sent anew to Court, and resolued to abide all the inconueniences of a hard stege.

The seuenteenth, I receiued from Goa for truth, that Don Emanuell de Menesses, with about three hundred of those saued ashore from out the Admirall, were arriued poore, robd and rifled by the Inhabitants of Angazefia, who had slaine many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the foure and twentieth of October, not one of the Fleet sent out from Lisbon arriued, to their great wonder. The Gallion of Mosambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Surat, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meet the Ships expected ; she was rich in Gold and other Commodities, but she escaped by means of the Port. Observe the boldness of the Hollanders, to attempt with one ship, and to braue the head of the Indies. I receiued a promise for Camels to remoue.

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was so daily delaied, that I feared to stay. Two Carts I was inforced to buy, and Camels I was constantly promised.

M. Biddolph remained in the Princes Leskar to get money, the King was yet but twelve course from Adsmere. The Iesuite tooke his leaue of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarcitie punished all men. This emptie time offering no discourse of my owne affairs, I shall digresse conueniently to mention the state of Sultan Corforoone, of whose new deliury into the hands of his enemies, euery mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemes meant not to winke at an iniurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of Asaph Chan, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practice of some treachery against him, he took occasion to declare himselfe publicly. Asaph Chan had visited his newe Prisoner, and in his fashion did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and with no reuerence. Some are of opinion, he picket a quarrell, and knowing the braue nature of the Prince, that would not bear indignitie, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to vse some violence, which the guard should suddenly reuenge; or else it should bee declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patienter; onely he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Iaylor. The King called Asaph Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge; he answered two dayes past: his Maiestie replied, what did you with him, he sayes, onely visit him: but the King pressed to know what reuerence and fashion he carried towards him. Asaph Chan found his Maiestie knew what had passed, and confessed he went to see him in affection, and offer his seruice; but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber; which because he had charge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discourtesie for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returnes quicke.

When you were in, what said you, and what did you ? What duty shewed you toward my Sonne ? He stands blanke, and confesseth he did not any reuerence : Where the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to bee his eldest and beloved Heir, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heare of any the least want of reuerence or dutie toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him : that he loued Sultan Coronne well, but he would make the world know, he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and receiued an answer from Spahan that my Letters were dispeeded for Aleppo, that our coming into Persia, was expected, but on conditions to fit the Shabaa, so that it might aduance his designs of diuerting his Silkes from the way of Turkie ; that the Generall of the Grand-signior lay with a mighty army at Argerone sixe dayes march short of Tauris vncertaine, whether to assaile the Citie, or to enter Gorgestan and Gilan (the Countreys of Silke) to win that by conquest which was prheohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the Shabaa was incamped at Salmaa, a Village indifferently seated in the way ; but if in two moneths the armies incounter not, winter approaching, and the wants which attend such multitudes, will dissolve them both, without any honourable action : or if they meete, the Persian though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not aduenture battell, but being light able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on euery side so on the Turkes armie, as he will reake, and waft him without hazard.

## CHAPTER VII.

SIR THOMAS ROES FOLLOWING THE COURT IN THIS PROGRESSE,  
DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGS LESKAE, AND SOME PLACES  
WHICH THEY PASSED : THE KINGS SUPERSTITION, DRINKE  
AND DEALING ABOUT THE PRESENT.

THE first of December, I removed foure course to Ram-  
por, where the King had left the bodies of an hundred  
naked men, slaine in the fields for robbery, and the Carauan  
at midnight departed Adsmere.

The fourth, five course, I ouertooke in the way a Camell  
laden with three hundred mens heads, sent from Candahar,  
by the Gouvernour in Present to the King, that were out  
in rebellion.

The sixth, foure course, where I ouertooke the King at  
a walled Towne called Godah in the best Countrey I saw  
since my landing being a faire Champion, at euery course  
a Village, the soyle fruitfull in Corne, Cotton and Cattell.

The seuenth, the King passed onely from one side of  
the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I  
euer saw in India, for that there were some houses two  
stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne  
to keepe shop in, all couered with tyle. It had beene the  
seat of a Raza Rashboote, before the Conquest of Ecsbarshs,  
and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had  
many excellent workes of hewed stone about it excellently  
cut, many Tankes arched, vaulted, and descents made  
large, and of great depths. By it stood delicate Groue  
of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry,  
with Manges, Ta-nerins, other fruits, diuided with walkes,

and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagoda, and Gentilitiall Idolatary, many Fountaines, Wells, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carued stone curious arched, so that I must confesse, banished Englishman might haue been content to dwell there about: this obseruation is generall, that ruine and destruction eates vp all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in euery place appears the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Leskar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and set vp in foure houres, except some of great men that haue double a prouision; the circuit being little lesse then twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents ioneyd: there are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that euery man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, euery man of qualitie, and euery trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall take vp his ground, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in Europe for greatnesse; only a Musket shot euery way no man approachth the Atasykanha royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Durbar in the Euening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wonderfull delight, and his Barges are remooued on Carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one which are many times a mile or two ouer. At the Larruco in the morning he is seene, but business or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the Guzelohan, when often, the time is preuented by a drowsinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of Bacchus. There is now a great whisper in Court, about a new affinitie of Sultan Corforocous and Asaph Chan, and great hope of his libertie.

I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdome and goodnesse of the King appeares, about the malice of others, and Noomabel fulfill the obseruation, that in all actions of consequence in Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most vertue, and she shewes that they are not incapable of conducting businesse, nor herselfe void of wit and subiltie. It will discover a Noble Prince and excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Soune, a cunning Founouritie, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not vnderstood by any of all these. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among businesse.

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who hauing been at his sports, and his quarry of fowle and filth lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Begger at his feet, a poore silly old man all asht, ragd, and patcht with a young roague attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Countrey abounds, and are held in great reuerence, but for workes of chastisement of their bodies and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or Idolaters. This miserable wretch clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, couered with ashes, his Maiestie talked with about an houre, with such familiaritie and shew of kindness, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger aske, which his sonne dares not doe: he gaue the King a Present, a Cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course grains, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and eate it, which a daintie mouth could scarce haue done. After he tooke the clout, and wrapt it vp, and put in the poore mans bosome, and sent for one hundred Ropias, and with his owne hands powred them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered vp for

him; when his collation of banqueting and drinke came, whatsoeuer he tooke to eate, he brake and gaue the Begger halfe, and after many strange humiliations and charitirising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he tooke him vp in his armes, which no cleanly body durst haue touched, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all vs and me in admiration of such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixet and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and ouer Mountaines torne with bushes, tired with the incommodiousnesse of an impassible way, where many camels perished, many departed for Agra, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by midnight we met, the King rested two dayes, for that the Leskar could not in lesse time recouer their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Couches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, himselfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast climbe vp rockes and passe such straits, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

The twenty fourth of Ianuary, newes arrived at Court, that the Decans would not be frighted out of their Dominion, which Aseph Chan and Normahal had pretended, to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impediments into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fifty thousand horse, resolved to fight, and that Sultan Caronne was yet aduanced no further then Mandoa, afraid both of the enemy and Chan Cnanna. These Counsellors changed their aduice, and declaring to the King that they conceined the Decan, before his passage ouer the last hills, would haue yeilded by the terrour of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to conuert it to a hunting iourney, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an enemy worthy his person. He replied this consideration came too late, his honour was

ingaged seeing he had so farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsells and his purpose, and aduenture the hazard of both. But hee daily dispeeded fresh troopa towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from governments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

The third of February, departing out of the Roade of the Leskar for ease and shade, and resting vnder a tree for the same commodities, came vpon mee Sultan Corsoroone, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding vpon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance; his people desired me to giue him roome, which I did, but attended to see him who called for mee, and with some gentle and famelier questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie hee departed: his person is good, and countenance cheerfull, his beard growne to his girdle; this only I noted, that his questions shewed ignorance of all passages in Court, insomuch hee neuer heard of any Ambassadour nor English.

The sixt at night, we came to a little Tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place vpon the Riuer of Sepra, short of Vgen, the chiefe City of Mulwa, one Course. This place called Caileada, was anciently a Seat of the Gentile Kings of Mandoa, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, hauing once before fallen into the Riuer, and was taken up by the haire of the head, by a slaue that diued; and being come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he drust put his hands on his Soueraignes head, caused them to be strucke off. Not long after sitting alone with his wife in drunkenesse, hee had the same mischance to slip into the water, but so that shee might easily haue saued him, which she did not: and being demanded why, shee replied, shee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

The eleuenth, the King rode to Vgen to speake with a



Deruis or Saint, liuing on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old : I thought this miracle not worth my examination. At noon by a foot-post I received a letter that the Prince, notwithstanding all Firmans and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Presents and goods sent vp, to fulfil his base and greedie desire, and notwithstanding that any gift nor entreaty, or perswasions of Master Terry, to whose charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward Brampore ; yet did he forbear to breake any thing open, but pressed the English to consent, which they refusing by my order, he thought to winne them by vexation ; such is the custome to see all Merchants goods euen before the King, that he may first choose, but I resolved to breake that in our behalfe.

The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could haue knowledge, he sent a post to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had stayed without mention of Presents, and prayed leaue to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse vnciuil vsage, I resolved I was iustificable before all the world, if I vsed the extremitie of complaints that I had practised all meanes to win and purchase fauour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courses will witnesse, and leave me without blame in all successes, though I found it in a ruffer way, seeing I could find no better in the smothered. Briefely I resolved to appeale to justice by complaint, but as clamely and warily as I could, to expresse my whole grieffe, extreame injuries, and long patience. To go to Asaph Chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would prevent my purpose to send to him that I desired to visit the King at the Guzelchand, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if he had heard of the injury : so I practised first to prevent, and auoid preuention.

The prophet, whom the King visited, offered me occasion

and my new Linguist was readie. I rode and met his Majestie on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and preuented mee. My sonne hath taken your goods and my Presents: bee not sad he shall not touch nor open a seale, nor locke; at night I will send him a command to free them, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee hee beganne first. Vpon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to Asaph Chan, I went to the Guzel Chan, resolved to prosecute the complaint of forcing backe our goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of Swat, and all our other grieuances. So soone as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and deliuered by his, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be diminished: I replied, the iniury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was past I must remit to his sonne, but by Asaph Chans mediation I could procure nothing but very good words, which he smoothed on both; so that I was forced to seemes of content, and to seeke an opportunitie in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of Moses, Iesus and Mahomet, and in driuke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome: Christians, Moores, Iewes, he medled not with their faith; they came all in loue, and he would protect them from wrong, they liued vnder his safety, and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkennesse he fell to weeping, and to diuers passions, and so kept vs till midnight.

Iudge all men what trauell I endured, by reason the Factors kept my Presents foure moneths, and sent them euen in the mouth of the Prince, arriued within two dayes

of Brampore, and hereby euery way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lose him to some purpose as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited aduantage, but sent backe the messenger to Master Terry, to stand out and attend the Kings answere, which I would speedily send him. And so resolved to dissemble that hope to repay, when I came, with base flattery worse then the theft, or at least to giue me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no iniury heere to bee so vsed: He beganne to tell mee he had taken diuers things, that please him extremely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a foldinge Glasse, and Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoever I would not giue him, I should receiue backe: I answered, there were few things that I entended not to present him but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soueraigne, which I could not answere, to haue that was freely giuen seized, and not deliuered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Maiesties fauour to protect vs from iniuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or priuate vse, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe with all: he answered, that I should not be sad nor griued, that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbear seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it for hee thought I wished him first serued, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and he were all one; and for any to bring with me to procure his fauour, it was a ceremony, and vnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receiue right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne

me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content: concluding I should not be angry for this freedome; he entended well: I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Maiesties content pleased me: so seeing Master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, Padre you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoeuer you will require of mee, I will grant you.

Then he conuerted himselfe with this cunning vnto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbars case, you will not desire to haue back, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were uery meane and ordinary, for whom came hey! I replied, I entended one for his Majestie, the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I haue, being contented with one? I was forced to yeild. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered, three were sent to his Majesty. The fourth was mine to weare. Then said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse. The next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent to me to vse on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many judgements of them, of the third picture of Venus and a Satyre: he commanded my interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceiued should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: euery man replied according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and

seeing they could judge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me: But bade him aske me what it meant: I answered, an Invention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was New to mee that had not scene it. Then he called Master Terry, to giue his judgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them, onely comming in their company, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send, may be subject to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousy and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliuer my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had neuer seen the Picture, and by ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard vpon me. But, I suppose, he understood the merall to be a scorne of Asiaticques whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not vnlike; who being held by Venus a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captiue. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them vp, and told me he would accept him also as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Solicitor, in many businesses with as many complements, excuses, professions and protectiones as could come from any very Noble or very halfe mind in either extreame. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beastes, and whether they were

sent me to giue to him: I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with vs. He replyed quickly, did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee! I replyed, I thought not of so meane a matter. The sender was an ordinary man in good will to me for Toys, and he thought, I knew not: well said the King; I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Greyhounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will giue you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their liues, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnes, and bones should bee preserved, hee gaue extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, such kind of gestures as all men will witness, he neuer vsed to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedom, nor profession of loue. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Maiesty to deliuer backe the Veluets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent vp among mine by his Maiesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the rauine of the Princes Officers: so hee gaue order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I deliuered a Letter I had ready written contayning my

desire for Priviledges and Iustice otherwise I should returne as a Fayzneane and disgraced to my Soueraigne, and desired some Iustice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead : he replyed he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat, as I should haue no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it for which he gaue instant order. For other places, he would giue me his commands, and euery way shew how much he loued me, and to the end I might returne to my Master with honour. Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behauiour filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable, I answered, I drust not craue, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but whatsoever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loued of my Lord. He replyed, that I thought he asked in jest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he coniuured me to beleue he was my friend and would at conclusion proue so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Maiesty pleased, I thought large Persian Carpets, would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value my Master expected not.

He answered, he would prouide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what he thought was fit, that your King may now respect him : next, hauing Venision of diuers sorts before him, he gaue me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wiues, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to diuers such Mammoakes, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might haue flattered me into content, but the injury was aboue words

though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Maiesties fauour was sufficient to make me any amends. Then, said he, I haue onely one question to aske you which is, I wonder much now I haue seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a mean man before you with five times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferior to the other. I acknowledge, you an Ambassadour, I haue found you a Gentleman in your vsage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out.

I would haue replied, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor your, but I will let you see I esteeme you better than they employed you. At your returne, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie: and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiuer, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England of the richest manner, and I will expect and receiue them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I haue seene, and if you send them mee, I am a King you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully vndertooke, and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternees. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, wee came to Mandoa, into which



the King entered in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the aduice of his Astrologers, so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

The sixth, I came into Mandoa, hauing sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe; it was taken up by one of the Kings Seruants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two miles from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and saue one thousand Rupias, and for Aire very pleasant vpon the edge of the hill.

The eleuenth, at night I went toward the Court, but the King vpon news of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke some water: for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Castle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, I could get none, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departrd some two, three and foure Courses off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of prouisiona. I knew not what to doe: my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a leasse inconuenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, onely I wanted water, so I rode mysele to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by Chan, which was given by the King. I sent to desire him leane to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those ladies that were put vpon me from Surat, and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to liue, to

which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Government, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW-YEARES FEAST: SUSPICIONS OF THE ENGLISH  
TRADE OF DABUL, DISTASTE OF THE PERSIAN, ENGLISH-  
MEN OF WARRE IN THE INDIAN SEAS.

THE twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Knives of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well received, and the King vsed somee with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatseuer came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my lous, and it was his part now to giue me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I perceiued the King instructed in my desire, and gaue present order to an Officer to send for Master Biddolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be received by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet bagge lay before him. I replied, I was as loth to goe emptie handed: so it rested, the King commanded I should come vp and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King Candabar with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife, which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gaue a Jewell and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same vsed the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the vpper end was set the King my Soueraignes Picture,

the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from Persia, a Throne of Gold set alouer with Rubies, Emeralds, and Turqueis, and the old Musieke of singing Whores. This day I dispatched to Surat my aduice of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Gouvernour from whom I received a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowlede, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him that while he liued in authoritie we should neuer suffer any such abuses, but we should liue in all freedom.

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to Asaph Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloues which he returned as vseelesse in this Countrey; the Cap he receiued, and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gaue me great hope and ease) sent a Banian his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master Biddolph to finish it, that the patternes should be sent me home, and that the King would giue me a Coat and money to beare any charges to the Prince. I returned answere, that I had no vse of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money: if his Maiestie were pleased to consider the iniuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands and to giue his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Iustice.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation; for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make vs the pretence of his owne designes, had newly enformed the King, that next yeare,

the English purposed the taking of Surat, and keeping it, of which our owne folly gaue some colour; for lately vpon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by diuers the ioyfull Mariners gaue out, they went to take it. This absurde brauado for a handful of men to passe twelue mile to a walled Towne, able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a Riuer to passe which a few men would desend against a good Armie, gaue iust occasion of scorne and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good provision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother liue to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontentes heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying news that we had taken Goa, and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspition in the King, which though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discouer by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied, but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of vs only preserued our residence.

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new so odious in Court, that it trouble all the great men, it being their owne case, who liuing upon farming Governments in which they vse all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the kings understanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransom themselves from no fault: this made all men enuie my imployment, and avoid me as an Informer.

The five and twentieth of April, I receiued from Dabull road from Cap. Pepwell, that according to aduise hee had stayed the Iuncke bound for Mocha, but weighing the caution giuen by mee to consider well what correspondence

were betweene that Prince and Mezolapatan, in whose Territorie the Solomon was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile, alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton, which courtesie procured him, so good entertainment as the Indies affords seldome, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearly: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which if this kindresse proceeded not for that the Iuncke was yet vnder command, giues me good hope of some Trade in sale yearly at the Port, howeuer the freeing of the Iuncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, prejudiciall to the Company, and deliuer himselfe honestly from the jealousies cast vpon him from Dabul, hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicate, and if that Factorie be not worth supplies to transmit it to Dabul.

The seuen and twentieth by the Foot-post I receiued from Mesolapatan, that the Solomon was got to Sea, and the Hosiander from Bantam arriued, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the Hector and Concord, careening in the Roade of Iacatra, Iaua, in recompence that the Dragon, Cleue and Defence where homeward laden from Bantam. I tooke this occasion to conuey a letter to the Gouverneur of Dabul ouer-land, to apprehend the ouerture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed, but vpon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offers made while their Iuncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie to the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton but now finding, in him a better inclination and a desire to receiue us, and to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie. I required if these motions were

heartly, and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his Firman with such preiledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfil all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, vnder his Seale, and with expedition to send it me to the Court of the great Mogoll whereby I might receiue assurance and encouragement that they entended faith, and on such reception it did vndertake on the behalf of the King of England, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subjects free passage in the seas, from any oppression by our Fleets: and that yearely I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it so required, leaue and establish a residence in his Gouernment. I doubt not, but yearely for feare or love, some good trade by sales may bee made, but for enuementments, it will not be worth it: only I proceed as I would haue wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first settling is the best aduantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a general rule neuer to mend your first estate, often to empaire it, euey mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first scene: after the naturall lenitie of these Barbarians, find all that brings not change, fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bangham, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, aduantages, inconueniences, humours and affections of these Decanics towards vs.

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour, for failing in taking his leaue of me, which he would not send by a seruant but, vttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiuing no content from the King in his business he suddenly tooke leaue, and hauing giuen thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gaue in recompence three thousand Rupias which he

tooke in great scorn; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had giuen him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, euen to slaues, Drinke Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extreme high rates, and sending both Bills made it vp in money. This base vsage and scorn caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Feuer, which hauing done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discoueries desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countrimen in Persia; with some bitterness against the King, which Aganor as freely deliuered, and I seemed as vnwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Knives and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I receiued newes of a great blow giuen the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tauris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a Lion and a Wolfe vased my house, and nightly put vs in alarume, fetching away Sheeppe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high wall with them. I sent to aske leane to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court vpon the noyse, and the beast missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me, that I had long kept, but the Wolfe one of my Seruant killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of Iune, certaine goods of the Iesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisike and necessaries, and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and deliuered the King: which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I obserue as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send, for such is the



custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I received Letters from Amadaur of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa Cassila, and that there was plentie to be bought but deare. That the Unicornes Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gaue him new aduice; many complaints against Surat and others, which I meddle not with. Received from Brampore two Letters, how doubtfull the Debt of Ralph stood, and news of the returne of Spragge from the Leskar of Decan. The Generall Melikamber with much shew of honour, gaue instant order for priuie search in all his Campe, for the Persian fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to Vizeapoores, by testimony that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a Dutch there resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his souldiers which lye within fixe dayes of Brampore. In my opinion, that had bene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

The thirtieth of Iuly, I received from Surat, of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon, that hauing come the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but lesing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at Socatra, and vpon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way they resolued for Surat, hoping by the last yeares good success to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and being forced to anchor in extremities their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after her Cables breaking, she went ashore vpon the Coast Ozie ground within Musket shot. The ship-kept vp right but hauing lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to line by rafters, foure men got a shoare, and the Tydes heauing

her in vpon the Spring, they saued much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of sixtie Tuns was beaten to pieces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of Candahor, came to visit me and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one Iest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corsoroone had his first day of hoped libertie and came to take ayre and pleasure at the Banqueting house by me. The Prince at Brampore had made a Marriage without the Kings consent, and gotton displeasure: besides some practice of his was discovered against his Brothers life, but this as a secret, he was called for to Court. Normabal and Asaph Chan by their Fathers aduice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite ioy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King seated at Asaph Chans. I receiaed from Aleppo and Persia, Passages of the Warre, the Turkes retrait, but no word of our English: onely, that the Captaine of Grinins, had written to practice their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I aduised, to Agra my proceeding in the Armenians businesse backe to Surat, and Brampore of all occurrents. This day Asaph Chan feasted Normabal, the Prince Sultan Corsoroone, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a Wife by his Fathers importunitie, to this will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.

The first of September, was the Kings Birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a uery large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a Pinnacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with Gold thinne: the scales of masse Gold the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the Chaines of Gold large and massie, but strengthened with ailke Cords. Here

attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets until the King came ; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious ! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent ; his head, necke, breast, armes, about the elbowes at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three Rings ; fettered with chaines, or dyalled Diamonds ; Rubies as great as Wal-nuts, some greater ; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed sixe times, and they say was siluer, and that I vnderstood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias, which are almost one thousand pound sterling : after with Gold and Jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee Fibles ; then against Cloth of Gold, Silke, Struffes, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleue for they were in sardles. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be given to the Banian, and all the rest of the Stuffe : but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the siluer is reserved for the poore, and serues the ensuing yeare, the King vsing in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Enterpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruita, Spices, of all sort made in thinne siluer, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate vpon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one Bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner vp. I heard he threw Gold till I

came in, but found it siluer so thinne, that all I had at first being thousands of seuerall pieces had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saued about twenite Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away aboue one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was inuited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and drust not stay to venture my health.

The ninth of September, the King rode to the Riuer of Dare badath, fise course on pleasure, and coming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom he passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called Mombareck, good Newes, or good Successes. I had nothing to giue, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie, which made mee venture vpon a faire Book well bound filleted and gilt, Mercators last Edition of the Maps of the world, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World in which he had so great and rich part. The King looke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answering euerything that came from mee was welcome. Hee asked after the ships arriual, which I told him I daily expected: hee told me hee had some fat wild Hogges sent him from Goa and if I would eate any at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reuerence, and answered anything from his Maiestie was a feast to me: he rode on his Eliphant, and the way was stonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe me, and returne to my house demanding which it was, and praying it: indeed it was one of the best in the Leskar, yet but an Old Church and large Tombe inclosed: iterating his fare-well, he said the way was ill

and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leaue.

The sixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of Marre Bustam the Prince of Candahor, who at my arriuell sent word he durst not see mee, except he asked leaue of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the Durbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I neuer meant to trouble myselfe with a man so vnciuill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners; that the King would be no more angry for his bidding mee welcome to his house, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in civilitie to requite, that I took so in him. His man desired me to stay untill he told his Master my answere, but I would not, and returned: at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbear any speech of my debts.

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his Prigany, and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I deliuered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors, and sureties, and summes distinctly, by Asaph Chan: which done, he called Araddat Chan, the chiefe of his officers of Houshold, and the Cutwall, and gaue them order, but what I vnderstood not; reading the names, hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they receiued finding some dead, some strangers: concerning Rulph, Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his arriuell to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King conuerted to mee, giuing this answere: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at

their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, he spake, of his seruant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seized for the Kings vse : but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be payed : but if hereafter the English would deliuer their goods to his seruants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard ; but if when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a bill to him of all, he would first serue himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them failed, he would pay the money himselfe : this is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I haue often seene, who takes his choice, and deliuers the rest to his Nobilities, his Scriuanoes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price ; a copy of which is giuen the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money ; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had giuen, that Arad Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay : but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a iust and gracious answer, better then in such cases private men can get of great Princes.

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gaue me fine bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for fine more, and so as I wanted ; and a fat Hogge, the fattest I euer saw, sent vp by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a Haddy with this message ; since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of fauour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then he sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his Mulaies, and no man could reade nor vnderstand it, therefore if

I would, I should haue it againe I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned.

The sixe and twentieth, there being a Rais in rebellion in the hills, not past twentie Course from the Laskar, the King lately sent out two Vmbras with horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelue Maancipdares, and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning scornfull messages to the King to send his sonne, for he was no prey for ordinary forces.

The second of October, the Prince entered the Towne, and all the great men in wondrous triumph: the King receiued him as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. Brampore left almost emptie vnder Chan Channa. I had sent to Asaph Chan, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, receiued him foure Course off. I sent also some of my seruants with my iust excuse, which his pride only nodded at.

The fifth, I receiued from Surat newes of our shippes arriuall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique; the rest well who had taken two English Bouers, set out by ( ) who were found in chase of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in; if shée had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble: with these the Companies Letter, in voice, instructions for Persia, and diuers other notes of aduice, that by the reason of the Admiralls absence: they knew not what course to take with the men of Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders about all businesse, as appears in my Letters.

The sixt, I rode to visite the Prince, at his vsuall hour to giue him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, China work. I sent in word; he returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise

when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must haue done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father never denying me accesse; and his Pride is such, as may teach Lucifer: which made me answere roundly, I was not his Slaue, but a free Ambassadour of a King, and that I would neuer more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Iustice; but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse myselfe, and so departed.

At night I went to the King, who received me graciously. I made a reuerence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all fauour, all priuiledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere, and for Iewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had beene way-laid for by the Prince, and such snatching, as I could not auoyd infinite trouble: I knew I could bring them ashoare, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a freind by them. Therefore when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answere of dearnesse, and that I would speake with him alone; he soone understood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moue againe for the debts; and hauing my petition read opened it, and offered it vp; the King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would be enraged that or his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I am answered, Aradake Chan had abso-



lutely refused me Iustice: at which he being by came in, in much feare, calling Asaph Chan, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arruied, and we could not forbear nor endure such delays: so they consulted together, and called the Cutwall, giuing order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and catched some of them, so that now we shall have reason.

I had great thanks of all the Vmreies for protecting the Queens ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who took it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to love our Nation, and would doe them all seruice: but they wondered we could not gouerne our people, but that theeues could come out, without the Kings leane.

At the Kings rising, Asaph Chan carried me with him to his retyring place and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian, to shew the King an houre after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceiue was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and sorts, then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities, desiring his Majesty to order what he would buy, and to giue us liberty for the rest. This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I neuer could expect. I replied, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell: for it was true I had somewhat, but my vnaige last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replied on him, I was willing on his oath to reueale it, which he presently gaue. I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeas'd; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his fauour was so necessary for vs, that I

hoped I might recouer it, by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father-in-law to him, and favorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his advice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should neuer want trouble: the King would vse me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was rauenous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conueyances; bade me obserue the vsage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should haue money in deposite, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicitie all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an opportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reueale it; which hauing receiued his oath, and a ceremony of couenant by crossing thumbez, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the coming vp of the rest; he would take order to giue me Firmans, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me and make him vse me with all grace, and for other businessse it should not be in his power to crosse me, but if he did, he would assigne vs Sayndic, which was in his gouernment, or procure any other Port at my desire, and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also aduised me to giue his sister Normahall some toy; he said he would make the King giue me money; to which I answered, I desire you to conuert it into the well vsage of my countrey-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carried me in to the King, with

the Note translated, who gaue mee all good vsage ; asked if the Arras were a Present : I answered yea, lest it should be seized, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily ; Asaph Chan to take order for a Firman from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew in this he would deale truely, because it was to help himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for hauing himselfe betrayed the Prince.

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## CHAPTER IX.

ASAPH CHAN SEEKETH TO VS FOR HOPE OF GAIN, SO ALSO  
NORMAHAL: MASTER STEELERS ARRIVAL: DANGER TO THE  
PUBLIKE, BY PRIVATE TRADE: STIRRERS ABOUT A FORT.

THE twelfth, according to promise, Asaph Chan carried mee to the Prince, into his priuate roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold chaine, in a China Cup, he vved me indifferently: Asaph Chan perswaded him to alter his course towards vs, telling him hee gained yearly by vs a Lecke of Rupias at his Port; that it appeared we yearly encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Country, of which inconuenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must vse) if for desire of toyes he gaue vs discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him; but if he gaue vs that libertie which was fit, wee would strine to bring all before him, for that I only studyed his content and faour for my particular; that he should receiue mee, when I came to visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him seruice, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moued him for a Firman for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gaue order to Asaph Chan his Secretary, to draw it in euery point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Gouveruour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times haue any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and vnworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan for

a sordid hope only of buying some toys, was so reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, euen to flattery: for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knackes; to which end he desired to send downe a seruant which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get: neither was it ill for vs, for his payment is good, and it will saue us much charge and trouble to sell aboard, especially luggish that spoiles, in cariage, and he obtained leave vnder false colours, and wrote to the Gouvernour in our behalfe, with is manner of kinnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship; his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his vnworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good vse of him. Vpon this occasion I moued for a Firman for Bengala, which he promised, and would neuer before hearken to: and this effect of his greatnesse I found, that hee prosecuted our debtors, as if his owne; and passing by the Cutwal's on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an vnusall fauour; vpon which Grew was imprisoned, and Mucksbu had two dayes libertie only to pay vs; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand Rupias, and the debtors most shifting false knaues in India.

The one and twentieth at this instant, came into me from Asaph Chan, a seruent, in the name of Normahal, that shee had moued the Prince for another Firman, that all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her seruant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged. That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence and because of his delayes; that now hee was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that vpon his honour I should receiue all things consigned to mee; that shee had written such a

command, and charged her seruant to assist our Factors, so that we should haue neuer more cause to complain of Surat. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to vse him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greeedinesse; and gaue him a note on condition to see the Copy of the Firman which was sealed, and I could not without leave, and so he was dispeeded: but you may by this iudge this place how easie it were to raise a stocke: last year, wee were not looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gave it the King; euery one is ready to runne downe to buy: Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices; many great men desiring a letter to send their seruants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought vp aboard, and saue you custome, and carriage and spoile: for which purpose out of this I haue ordered your Factory to sell to the seruants of Normahall and her brother, what soeuer may be spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall saue trouble and you charge, the Prince preuented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne: at the deliuery of which Asaph Chan hath vndertaken the Firman for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges in all his Dominions.

The foure and twentieth, the King departed Mandoa foure Course, and wandering in the hills, left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got waarrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I removed after: forced away by the desolations of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arriued at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leaue, the Leskar diuided

and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare prouisions, sicknesses and all sorts of calamities accompanying so infinite a multitude; yet nothing remoues him from following this monstrous appetite. Here I vnderstood the Kings purpose was vncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat; the latter giuen out; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest: but that howeuer for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing he would linger heere about a moneth, I was aduised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it vpon vncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course: I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recouer vpon daily trauell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

The second of Nouember, arrined Richard Steele and Master Jackson, with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashore, according to my order, which I receiued and gaue quittance for: with him I had conference about his projects which because I would not rashly reiect them, as he had set them afoot, after hauing made him see his fancies, and vnderstand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to be effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enioy the profit, but the Naturalls taught, and our people reiected; neither our commodities vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage ouer-land; and cannot bee deliuered at Agra so cheape as found there: yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to Amadanas, to meete mee there, where by assistance of Mocrib Chan, who only is a friend to new inuentions. I would make offer to the King of their industry, and make prooffe what conditions may be obtained; but in my iudgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these proiectors, who haue their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits: many things

hold well in discourse, and in the theoretique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practise and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant received customes of Kingdomes where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy Riuer, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost: his second of, reducing the Caffilae and Merchants of Lahor and Agra, by the Riuer Indus, that vsed to passe by Candahar into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Iasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none euer practise it. The Riuer is indifferently nauigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls, retournes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the Portugall euer lade or noise such goods but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Iunckes, they gaue a Cartas or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand of Diu, Damon and Ormus, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Labornes neuer bee drawne downe, seeing that Caffila consists most of returning Persians and Arminians that knew the passage from Lasques almost as bad, as from Caudahor, and for that little on the Confines of Sunde not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errours, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third proiect for to ioyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie in vse, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparente, therefore I doubted not some Merchants, might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make ourselues necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, saue export of monies, and finally, for this



yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September : and receiue the proceed of the remaynes of this ioynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport it ouer will be extreme losse. This I opened and vrged the consequence shewed which may to effect it, and recommended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appears. The consequence I will make euident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurate, yet hauing so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that : there are many chances in that Sea, and in the way her returne onely of our owne remaynes, shall require all forbearance ; and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest vpon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arriual. I found him high in his conceits, hauing somewhat forgotten me, Master Karridge and him at warres, which I endeauoured to temper on all parts but for his wife I dealt with him cleerely, she could not stay with our safety, nor his Masters content ; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends hee repayred it not ; that shee should not trauell nor line on the Companies Purse ; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to liue himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies seruice and to send home his Wife, he was welcome : otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Hauing to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife, (you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconuenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded, Abraham, his Father in Law, here to hold fast : I wrote to them the gripings of this Court,

the small hope or reliance from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally, I persuaded his return quietly. To farther this, I wrote to your chief Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were valuable, should bee brought to your use by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might serve; and this inconvenience you bring on yourselves by Liberties unreasonable. But to take tye of his trash to lye upon your hands, upon any condition I did prohibit.

I find by your Letter your strict command in private Trade, as well for your owne Servants as others, wherby I collect, you meane not that he shall have that Libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for above one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pounds, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Servants, some may do all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions: I could instance some gone home two yeeres since, that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other business, and live now at home in pleasure, other that raise their fortune upon your service, from Port to Port, and returne rich and unquestioned. Last yeere a Mariner had sixe and twentie Charles of Indico, others many Pardlee, a third seven thousand Manneda, first penny, in Barroch, Barbets, chosen apart, for hee invested your Monies and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, above one hundred and fiftie pound first penny. These I mention not for spite, but to move you to equalitye, neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you vp, but that an indifferent restraint be exercised upon all.

For the affecting of all these purposes, the sending home

the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I send backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat, hauing altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the Leskar, it being declared that the King will for Guzurat, where I haue appointed Richard Steele, after hauing dispatched other matters, to meete with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my aduice and directions to Captaine Pring, to take an Inuentorie of all the Monies and goods on the two men of Warre, to make it ouer to your stocke and land it, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home whom you will deale with the Owners that sent them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is iust and iustificable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtesy; but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leaue for such barbarous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leaue of all Trade about Surat and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signours reuenge, and we heere must expect could Irons.

The sixth, I went to Asaph Chans, hauing received his Passa, vnto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise, though the sorts fit not the Countrey just as I was informed hereafter, yet their performance with him gaue him such content, that I am confident, I may vse Pharaohs words, The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Seruants: for the price wee talked not, but he vowed such secrecie: and for my sake, who haue shewed this confidence in him, hee will giue more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want: his Sister I haue promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receiue, and some good effects.

PURCHASE OF PRISONERS.

When the Presents arriue, assure you I will not be libe<sup>re</sup>.  
all to your losse, little shall serue. Asaph Chan adu<sup>er</sup>  
isheth mee himselfe, so they came with somewhat to in-  
duce them, as well accepted, bought as giuen : experience  
of others makes mee to approue of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-  
chamber, he rose to Dinner hauing inuited me and my  
people: but he and friends dined without, appointing mee  
a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with  
vs: where I had good cheere and well attended; the re-  
uersion for my seruants.

After dinner, I moued Groos debt, told him the delayes.  
Hee answered, I should not open my lips, he had vnder-  
taken it, that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts  
with a Jeweller; that hee had ordered, as money was  
paid, it should rest in the Cutwalls hand for vs; which  
I found true: and the Cutwall promised to finish it in  
three dayes, desiring mee to send no more to Asaph  
Chan.

I cannot omit a basenesse or fauour, according as you  
will interpret it. The King when his Prisons are full  
of condemned men, some he commands to be executed,  
some he sends to his Vmraes to redeeme at a price: this  
he esteemes as a courtesie to giue meanes to exercise  
charitie, but he takes the money, and so sels the vertue.

About a moneth before our remoue he sent to me, to  
buy three Abassines (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they  
suppose all Christians. I answered, I could not buy men  
as Slaues, as others did, and so had profit for their money,  
but in charity I would giue twenty Rupias a piECE to  
saue their liues, and giue them libertie. The King tooke  
my answere well and bade them to be sent me. They  
expected money, and I was not hastie; hearing no more of  
it, I hoped it had beene forgotten: but his words are  
written Decrees. This night the Officers seeing I sent  
not, delinered the Prisoners into my Procuradors power,

and tooke his Secrete for sixtie Rupias, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaues.

The tenth, I visited Asaph Chan, hauing receiued aduice from Surat of a new Firman, come downe to disarrius all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie: vpon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end: which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to sound the ships bell: yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answere; which when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how vnfit the place for vs, without water or harbourage: yet the i-calousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a Riuer by a Goya for that end, that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surpriae. By this you may iudge, how easie it were to get a Port for ourselves, if you affected it, which I can, neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a Haddey of horse sent downe to see it effected. The disarming of our men, being all that our peopled stomacked, though it was only to leaue their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company, though it were quieter for vs, except they were often more ciuil: yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slavery, nor I stay in the Countrey, that one day the Prince sent a Firman for our good vvaage and grant of Priuiledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answere my residence onger. He replied, at night hee would mooue the King before the Prince, and giue me answer.

The thirteenth, I remiited Asaph Chan: he told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Souereigne, to my Nation and to mee; that hee had ventured the

Princes disfaunour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation: but because he feared the Princes dealing, he gaue me this assurance, that he would take the Prigany of Surat, which the Prince must leaue, being made Governour of Amadanas, Cambaya, and that Territorie: and to giue me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation, the oportunitie was faire to deliuer it: vpon the occasion of which, he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leaue; I should then see what he would say for vs, and so I should beleuee my selfe. At evening I went to the King, it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him; and he busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter, and to assist vs, for that he might better begin that then himselfe. Etimon Dowlet tooke vp both Letters, gaue the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaint to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he would make peace. I answered, his Maiestie knew long since, I offered to be gouerned by him, and referred it to his wisdom, and had expected his pleasure: he replied, hee would vndertake absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas, which he would by answers to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein giue him content in all other his friendly desires. Notwithstanding, I demanded leaue to goe before to Amadanas to meet the Kings Presents and to prepare for my returne. Vpon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complayned that he had no profit by vs, and that he was content to be rid of vs. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King, that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie,

that we were vsed very rudely by the Princes seruants, and that it was not possible for vs to reside without amends ; it were more honourable for his Maiestie to licence vs, then to intreate vs so discourteously, for it would be the end, The Prince replyed very cholerickly, that he had neuer done vs wrong, and had lately giuen me a Firman at his entreatie. He replies. It is true, you gaue a Firman to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it, that he stood surety between both, had vndertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonor of it : that hee ought me nothing nor I him ; he spake for no enda, but for the Kings Honor and Iustice, in that which he said that he did vs no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph had begun it, would neuer pay vs, and his officers continued euery shipping, that if the Prince were weary of vs he might turne vs out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Iustice vpon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gaue me meanes to eate, or who did ? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that liued and followed the King at great charge ; that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money how should I liue and maintayne my selfe.

This deliuered with some heate, the King caught the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gaue him sharpe reprehension : the Prince promised to see me paid all ; that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to haue them opened before him, I absolutely refused it : also I told the King, I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in deliuering his Presents free, after I would giue the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet, who is alway indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter ; at which the

King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan ioyned in this priuate conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion, the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my hands quietly, to giue me such priuiledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents, except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should haue a share, which he did; and then we all agreed vpon that point. The King giuing mee many good words, and two pieces of his Pawne out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leaue to goe to Amadauas, to meet the Presents, and so we parted. At night I set on my iourney, leauing my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie, but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe with one baite vpon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arriued at Amadauas.

The eight of Ianuarie, there was some question about Presents, the Prince asking for them; I answered, they were readie, if hee pleased to receiue his. Then hee demanded, why I brake his seales? I told him, it was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds and great discourtesie to set seales vpon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began: at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings who was sent to obserue the passage and to stickle, and told vs both, the King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a Course out of Towne, vpon the Riuer. So the Prince tooke his Palanke and I a Coach, well attended by seruants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee, that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him: he, as the custome is, denied it, excused himselfe, yet I had not ac-



cused him, but tooke it vpon me, as knowing myselfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate priuately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee, for breaking his word, told mee, the Prince had shamed him : I replied by Laddow, You know I had your consent, this man is witnessse ; he deyned it to vs both ; I replied Though I would not c̄set it vpon him, it was true, for I had witnessse ; Laddow would not returns the answer, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face : and this is vsuall, if any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disauow it. I bore vp as high as I could ; the great men told me it was a great affront, no man durst doe such a thing ; others smiled : I answered, Not so great as the Prince had done me often. Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but priuately stole away, leauing vs all sitting in expectance.

At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home, but was so well attended, I could not but by force : in the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arriued backe at the Kings Court, not hating eate or drunke ; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they used me very respectfully, we sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come, who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe, and entering in, called for me : I found them alone with two or three Capons, and about mid-night the King set on it an angerie countenance, told me I had broken my word, that he would trust me no more; (the Prince had desired him to doe so :) I answered as roundly, I held it fit to giue freely I had done nothing of offence in my owne iudgement ; if

their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must be pardoned; wee had many disputes, at last the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gaue the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that for Normahall: we were about two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to haue a Sute of such; as the sweet Bagge: and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince that he should be my Protector and Procurator, the goods except. Three things more then Presents were there returned mee: for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, was receiued with all fauour, had order for a Firman for the man murdered, a declaration of his reconilement in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe Raa to be my Procurator, and to draw what Firmans so euer I desired. I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee vied with grace, and for a signe of this peace, gaue me a Colth of siluer cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work-men: hee desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night, hee would present them, which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for vs to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King who called for him vp and after a few questions rose. At the Gushel Choes, I presented Master Steele and his Work-men: the King sate in a Hat I gaue him all night, called for Master Paynter, and after much Discourse, gaue him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

The thirteenth, the Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders, Parrats and Cloanes; but were not suffered to come neere the third degee: at last the Prince asked me who they were: I replied, The Hollan-

ders, resident in Surat. Hee demanded if they were our friends: I replyed, they were a Nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places; their businesse I knew not. He said, for being our friends, I should call them vp, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliuer their Present: they were placed by our Merchants without any speech or further conference. Finally, I had all granted I desired, I attend the performance and money and thus I conclude, that without this contestation I had neuer gotten any thing; for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the English, that if he vsed force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost bloud: that I would set my Chop vpon his Masters ship, and send her for England.

The eighteenth, I receiued from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard, at Brampoore, their house and goods seized their lines in question, for drinking with the Cutwall in their house, that one of the Cutwalls men dyed that night; vpon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the Cutwall to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spraggs. What the truth is I know not: Information is come to the King against them: and I went to the Prince, who vnderooke all my causes: but could not speake with him: with same came complaint of a force vsed to the Caffila vpon the way, notwithstanding the Firman sent by the Raia of the Countrey, in both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous vniust people is beyond patience: at the Princes I found the Firman promised, drawne but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, vpon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leaue to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

The one and twentieth, a command to free the English, and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had

his iust reward. The second to Raja Partapshaw, to repay vs all exactions whatsoever, not to take hereafter any dutie vpon the way towards his Port; and in case of failing, that he would deliuer his sonne into my hands; he further ordered the deliery of the Firman for Surat, the Articles by me demanded, and to pay vs all our debts of Surat and to cut it off vpon his Mancipdaries, that had taken that, without delay, he called to account his old Customers, charged the new to vse us as his friends, shewed as much fauour publikely as I could require. I moued expedition; he replied, Tomorrow by nine in the morning all should be deliuered into my hands.

The two and twentieth, I went myselfe to receiue them; and carried the Merchants, with some Pearle, that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons: but he had receiued some vncertaine information of Pearles, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from vs. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, hee replied, the Prince had Mandes of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome: how basely false, and couetous are those of Lewels, you may iudge. I vndertooke reply, that I had procured those from a Gentle woman to satisfie them; if they liked them not, they could not be made better, it was inciuility to be angry with Merchants for their good will but told him I came for my Firmans, and expected them: I was answered, wee had deceiued their hopes, and the Prince would deceiue ours; Firman I should haue none, I had asked leaue to depart, I might come and take leaue when I pleased. I answered, nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their vniustice in an indifferent place; that I would speake with the King, and depend no more of them, for I saw all was couetousnesse and vnworthinesse:

so I rose and parted ; but he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day and I should have content.

And now Reader, we are at a stand.

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**DR. JOHN FRYER'S ACCOUNT  
OF INDIA.**

# DR. JOHN FRYER'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

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## LETTER I.

CONTAINING A TWELVE MONTH'S VOYAGE  
THROUGH DIVERS CLIMATES.

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## CHAPTER I.

TREATS OF EMBARKING AND PASSAGE TILL PAST ST. IAGO.

SIR,—For your singular Favour, in seeing me Aboard ship (which might reasonably be supposed the last kind Office to a departing Friend, considering the various Chances of so long a Voyage as well as the Uncertainty of my Return) I must keep to that Promise, whereby you obliged me to give you an account not only of my Being, but of what Occurrences were worth my Animadversion.

You may remember, It was the 9th of December, in the Year of our Lord 1672, when by virtue of an Order from the Honourable East-India Company, I being received on Board the Unity, we took of each other a long Farewel; the Ship then breaking Ground from Graves-End, to fall down to the Buoy in the Nore.

The London, our Admiral, lay expecting our whole East-India Fleet there, which were Ten in Number; to whom his Majesty, Charles II. was pleased to grant Letters of Mart: Which impowered them to wear the King's Jack,

Ancient and Pennant, and to act as Men of War (the English and French at this time being at open Defiance against the Dutch.)

When they were altogether, their Commands were to go over the Flats; which, notwithstanding the Hazard to Ships of their Burthen, was thought securer now than to venture about the King's Channel, where they might be exposed to the Attempts of the Hollanders: By which means, together with the unsteadiness of the Weather, it was the day after Christmas before we arrived at the Downs; where rode a rich and numerous Fleet of Merchants, with their respective Convoys, designed for their several Places of Traffick, when the Wind should present.

Here, as we ended the Old Year, so we began the New with a desire of prosecuting our intended Voyage: But a South-West Wind prevented our Course, and held us there Three Weeks; when an East Wind made a general delivery and a clear Downs.

Being at Sea, we made easy Sail, that our Ships might have the liberty that Night to single themselves from the Crowd of the other Ships; notwithstanding which Proviso, we had a shrewd Suspicion; for Night hastening on (and in such a swarm of Vessels of greater bulk, not so readily manageable as smaller) we beheld three Lights out of the Poop of a goodly Ship, the same unfortunate signs our Directions bound us to take notice of; which made us conclude the Damage on our side, as indeed it proved by the next Morning-song; for having cast our Eyes abroad to look what Ships we had in company, running over a great many (that had shrowded themselves under our Protection and of Six Men of War more, Captain Munday Commander in chief (whereof Two were Fireships) sent for to meet the East-India Fleet at Sancta Helena, for their better Defence homeward-bound, and to prevent their falling into the Enemies Hands, who had lately possessed themselves of that Island) we at length missed



the *Massenberg*, on whom (it seems) a small *Pink* falling foul, had carried away her Head and Boltsprit, and tis to be feared has disabled her this Voyage; we saw her afterwards make for *Portsmouth*.

Off the Land's End we met with Four English Merchant Ships, Two French Men of War their Convoys, laden from *Cales*, bound for *London*.

In Four Days, from the Downs, we were losing England on our Backs, reckoning the Lizzard the most extreme part South to bear North and By East 14 Leagues; from whence hereafter we were to fetch our Meridian Distance: It lies in the Latitude of 50 deg 10 min. North.

Thus relinquishing the British Seas, we make ourselves Possessors of the Western Ocean for a while: 'Till following our Compass more South, we contend with the troublous Wind and tempestuous Waves for some part of the Bay of *Biscay*, whose Mountain Seas we are to cut through to the Main Atlantick. What makes these Seas in such a constant Turmoil is imputed to the falling in of the whole Force of the Western Ocean into this Sinus without any Impediment, 'till it recoil against its Shores; so that in the calmest Season here are always high swelling Billows.

About the Latitude of 41 the Men of War, that came out with us, determining to make the *Madera* Island, went away more Easterly, and the next day were out of sight.

Two days after we espied one Sail to the Leeward under a main Course, steering very doubtfully; after she had had her full view of us, she made from us too nimble for us to follow; we supposed her to be either an Algerine Pirate, or a Dutch Privateer. We still directed our Course South, and in Twenty four Hours ran One hundred and seventeen Miles by our Log-board for some days together, the Weather not allowing us to observe with the Quadrant; but as soon as we could take the Sun's Altitude,

we found ourselves to be in the Latitude of 36 deg. 2 min. North, Longitude 7 deg. 26 min. West, an hundred Miles in four days more than we judged ourselves to be; which sufficiently proves the little credit to be given to the former way of reckoning.

The following day maintaining the same Course, we past by the Mouth of the Streights of Gibraltar, one of Hercules's Pillars, the farthest Point South of all Europe.

Here we began to drop the rest of our Company, some striking East for the Streights, others West for the Canaries, Virginia, &c.

At Noon our Admiral fired a Gun, and hoisted his Ancient, whereby we understood he saw Land, which we thought to be Porto Porto, bearing off us East. An hour more being hardly run, we in like manner made the Maedra Island, the largest of the whole Atlantick, being South-East some twelve Leagues, too great a distance to take a perfect Landschap, it being only discernible to be Land, and confirmed to be so by this days Observation, which was 33 deg. 17 min, to the Northward of the Equator in Latitude and Longitude from the Lizzard as before, we having neither raised nor depressed it. Where the Trade winds begin to offer themselves, the Mariner relaxes his anxious care of Sailing, and is at more leisure to Repose; he not being so often called upon to shift his Course, or hand his Sails: which has yet this inconvenience, giving him leave now to fall into those Distempers Idleness contracts, viz. the Scurvy, and other ill Habits; unless routed by an Active Commander, either to Sports, or more usefull Employments: Although the perfect knowledge of these Trade-winds (which are more constant within the Tropicks) are of such importance as to make our Modern Navigators perform that in six months, which took up the Pains and Travels of as many Yeares from the first Discoverers, they keeping all along the Shore whereupon they became not only liable to un-

accountable Changes as they met with Land breezes, Headlands, or Contrary Winds, but were many times disappointed either to go on, or return, by the several Accidents they encountered thereupon; which these more experienced and bold Adventurers by standing off to Sea, and study of their Compass by a more accurate Computation of their Way by the Quadrant and Azimuth, and a strict enquiry of the commencing and terminating of these Winds, avoid.

In this short space we have almost out-ran the Northern Winter's Blasts and begin to be sensible of a more vigorous Clime, whose temperate Warmth adds Spirits to our frozen Limbs: Yet in this forward Spring (for such it seemed to us) we cannot escape some Lashes of that cold Nemesis; for Night being come, she sends a Storm of Rain and Hail with an high and bleak Wind, in which appeared the Sailors Deities, Castor and Pollux, or the some it may be gave light to those Fables, they boding fair Weather to Seamen, though never seen but in Storms, looking like a Candle in a dark Lanthorn, of which there were divers here and there above the Sails and Shrowds, being the ignes fatui of the Watery Element; by the Portugals christued *Querpo Santos*, the Bodies of Saints, which by them are esteemed Ominous. But I think I am not too positive in relating them to be a Meteor-like substance exhaled in the Day, and at Night (for except then, they shew not themselves) kindled by the violent Motion of the Air, fixing themselves to those parts of the Ship that are most attractive: For I can witness they usually spent themselves at the Spindles of the Top-mast-heads, or about the Iron-hoops of the Yard arms, and if any went towards them, they shifted always to some Part of the like Nature.

The succeeding Morning had not long withdrawn this black Vail, and brought us tidings of a more serene Day, when we beheld our Frigots that had left us, busking after

us with all the winged speed they could, and about Noon they gained us, keeping on the same Course as we, but missed of their design of touching at the Madera's.

Being blessed with a prosperous Gale, in fifteen Days from England we were to the Southward of the Tropical Circle of Cancer, which lies in 23 deg. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  North, and passeth through Barbary, India, China, and Nova Hispania; we making at Twelve at Noon, Latitude 22 deg 16 min. Longitude 8 deg. West, when we must be 1 deg. 14 min. South of the Tropick.

A Guinea Merchant man bound for the River Gamboa kept us Company hither, but his Voyage requiring a more Easterly Course, was the last Merchant Ship took leave of us.

We holding on still South, the frequent Noise of Thunder, the sultry Rains, quiet Seas in respect of what we had before, were assured tokens of our drawing nigher to that Fountain of Heat, the Sun.

By reason whereof it was familiar to behold, the sportful Fishes greedy of their Prey raise whole Flocks of that Scaly Nation. For those whom Nature has placed in the vast Deep, defenceless of themselves, and innocent to others of a more powerful Greatness, so as many times they become their Prey, she has not altogether left them unprovided; either out of her abhorrence of Idleness, resolving every thing should labour for its Belly, or else out of a peculiar respect towards every individual Species for their Preservation as well as Production; furnishing these with Fins of larger size and double use for swifter conveying them under Water, as also for soaring into the Air when they are too closely pursued. Of these sort we saw good store flying from Bonetos and Albecores, who were hunting them. Some of these flying Fish (for no other Name they have as I can learn) were so put to it, that after often dipping their fishy Wings in the briny Water (without which genuine Artifice they could not use

them) chose rather to make our Ship their Sanctuary, than to yield themselves to the jaws of their devouring Adversaries: By which means you have their more exact Description, they being as large as a River Perch bedeckt with Silver-spangled Scales, and long Fins as before.

Not many days after, two of the lesser Off-spring of the great Leviation, (the Weather being calm, these sort of them else not visible, being of no swift motion) came sailing after us; our Men as eager of them as they of their Prey, hastned their Engines for to take them; which no sooner in the Water, but each of them guided by some half a dozen delicately coloured little Fishes, which for their own safeguard perform the Office of Pilots, (they never offering to satisfy their Hunger on them) who lead them to the Baits; when they turning their Bellies up, seize upon them on their Backs, hook themselves in the Toils, beating the Sea into a Breach, and not without a great many Hands are drawn over the sides of the Ship; which seen by the poor silly little Fishes (as conscious of their Error) they swim to and again, and hardly forsake the Ship; but being within Board, the Ship's Company armed with Hatchets presently divide the Spoil. They are not scaly, and therefore imagined to be a kind of Whale, being finned like them, with a great Fin on their Backs near their Tails, (which dried is used instead of a Slate) of a darkish grey Colour on their Backs, lighter on their Sides, and white under their Bellies; their Snout on the same Plain with their Mouths, but their Mouth within that a great way; the cause why they turn their Bellies when they take their Prey. The Mouth of one of them extended, is two Spans wide, armed within with three Tire of sharp pointed Teeth on both Jaws, so piercing that Needles exceed them not, and of such strength that a Leg or an Arm, Bone and all, is but an easy Morsel; wherefore called Sharks, by the Seamen, on whom they are bold enough to fasten, and dismember if

not shuned when they wash themselves: They are of a rank smell, and not good to eat but by stout Stomachs: of Length they are ten, some times fourteen Feet.

By this time we had got into 17 deg. 19 min. North Latitude, Longitude 9 deg, 10 min. West, when our Men of War thinking to birth themselves before us at St. Iago, (where our Ships were permitted to refresh, being otherwise tied up by Charter-party not to put in any where unless for absolute necessity) made all the Sail on head they could.

Our Commanders were well enough content with their proffer, knowing the danger of many Ships going in there together: The day ensuing plying to the West, we discovered Beunovista bearing full West ten Leagues, but at Noon were within two Leagues of it.

It is one of the Islands of the Gorgades or Cape Verde because situate over against that Promontory on the Land of Negros.

They are said to be Nine in Number. Beunovista, quasi good sight, it deserving that Appellation from four Hills, which raising themselves to an Eminency above their Fellows, yield a fair Prospect at a distance; but approaching nigher it is not unlike the crawling of a Snake, it's various Hills and Vallies fluctuating as it were, seem to borrow that rigging Shape, the two remotest Mountains figuring her Crown and Head.

The succeeding day, South-East of us, we saw the Isle of Maijo, another of the Gorgades, plentiful in nothing more than Salt, whither our Traders in that Commodity often send Ships to fetch it, which is brought down to them in Barrows blown by the Wind they having Sails fitted for that purpose.

In two and twenty days from the Lizzard, early in the Morning we were close under St. Iago, another Island of the same Knot; whose interwoven barren Mountains are as impossibly exprest as Stonehing numbred. Towards

the South-West they are very high and burnt ; but steering to loof about the Bay, we found it empty, and the Men of War missing ; for all that we came to an Anchor about ten a Clock in the Forenoon in the Bay of St. Iago.

The Ground was covered with Corral of all sorts, under which it was Sandy of a duskish Colour. Having discovered three Buoys, our Commander sent his Boat to seize on one, which proved to be the Mark to a special good Anchor of 2400 weight, with a Cable seven Inches Diameter ; the rest of the Fleet shared the other two. The Bay the Ships rode in was smooth Water, the Wind coming from the Shore ; in Figure a Semicircle, in which it might contain four Miles, the weather most Point bearing South-West, and half a Point West, the other Point to which was an Islet, East and by South, and South.

*Of the Island of St. Iago, one of the Cape Verde Islands.*

In the Afternoon I went ashore, which was near two Miles from the Ship, where was a convenient watering place, which emptied its fresh Current into the Salt Sea ; the Beach was sandy, and easy going ashore. Here met us whole Troops of the Natives with their several Wares, some offering us Cocoes, others Oranges and Limes ; some brought Jackanaps's, such green Ones as are commonly seen in England to be sold ; and all at the price of a cleanly Rag, or a Bunch of Ribbons.

Before us in a Valley was a most stately Grove of Cocoes and Oranges (through which ran the Stream our Men filled their Casks with Water) surrounded with a Wall.

The first of which Trees, so much celebrated for its usefulness, deserves as much for the pleasure it affords the Sight. It grows with an upright, tall, and slender Body, the Bark of an Ash colour, loricated ; not sending any Branches forth till it come to its chiefest Summit, where it spreads its shady Branches with some resemblance to our Osmond Royal Fern, but more like the Palm ; and

under these protects its weighty Fruit; which hang very thick round about the Tree, to which it yields but one Stalk, but that fit to support its ponderousness; every Moon produces a fresh Harvest both of Fruit and Boughs; the first being gathered, the others being thrust off when sapless by the young ones: If the Juicy ones be wounded, there distills an heady Liquor, which they preserve in Earthen Pots fitted to receive it, but that spoils their bearing Nuts. Next to the Stalk it bestows a Calix, not differing (only in bigness, and that it is smother) from that of our Acorn; from which proceeds the Rind of a lighter Green under which a fibrous substance presents itself, which might supply them with Utensils, for Ropes and Sails; beneath which appears a spacious brown Shell, proper for many Necessaries, big enough for a Drinking Cup, a Ladle, and many more; serving them for the chief part of their Household stuff: Enclosed in this is a delicious Meat, white in Colour, cloathed with a pithy matter, as our Hasle-nuts, and not inferior to them in Taste; this they chuse for thier ordinary Nourishment. Nor does it afford them a less grateful emulsion, contained in the Nut to the quantity of a Pint, or Pint and half; in colour like Whey, and of that consistency, but in relish far excelling.

When the Meat of the Nut grows rancid, they express an Oyl serviceable for their Lamps.

Thus abundantly has Providence furnished them from this one Root. The figure of the Fruit, take it intire, is oval, and as big as the largest Melons.

On the other Fruits it's needless to insist, as Oranges and the like, being planted nearer home, and therefore not such strangers.

Having observed enough here, we entred a Door which gave us admittance to a Court in the same Valley, whose party Wall made of Mud and Stone, separated it from the Grove.

Here lay at the Foot of the ascending Mountain, in a



careless posture, one Company of their Militia, raised on this occasion, having rested their Arms, as Muskets, and Pikes, with their Colours of White Silk, with a Green Cross athwart, and the Arms of Portugal in the midst of it, against the Wall, but Breast high; which could not have held up the Pikes, had not some adjoining Trees contributed to their aid.

They saluted us with the civility of the Hat, and Conge-  
ed to the ground; those of them that walked about, had Javelins in their hands, and long Swords tied to their Backs.

Labouring to reach the top of the Mountain, which was very steep, some we met on foot, others mounted on Asses, with Jackanaps's behind them, passed us with no small Grandure and Ceremony of the Cap; and which was wonderful, to see them ride these Creatures over Precipices, only Goats and they could clamber on.

At last gaining the highest part, another Wall accosted us, over which a Gate, and upon that a Cross. On the left hand, as soon as we were in, was either a Prison, or a Guard house. Not many Paces from it, on the same side, a Row of Houses, one Story high thatcht with the Branches of the Cocoe, and Windows with wooden Shutters, but no Casements, built with Mud and Stone as all their Buildings were which I saw; the insides visible enough, for the biggest of them had not four, yards Front, and half that, for the greater state, was taken up by the Door: Their Furniture is answerable to the splendour of their Habitations; but because we will not refuse the Courtesy of their Entertainment, see in what a manner they present us with their Viands.

They invite us with an Hubble-bubble (so called from the noise it makes) a long Reed as brown as a Nut with use, inserted the Body of a Cocoe-shell filled with Water, and a nasty Bole just pressing the Water, they ram Tobacco into it uncut, out of which we may suck as long

as we please, but for any thing else tell us as the Poet did,

*Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,  
Quaque Serptano palmito missa bibas.*

Their common Drink being only Water; and their Food as plain, being only the Fruits of the Earth.

But to keep on our way, which here we found easy and plain; on the Right stood another Cross, propped with a four-square Pillar raised on steps, and half a Stone's cast from it, a Chappel, not proud enough to brag of any great elegancy for its Architecture (being but the Rural Seat of one of their Black Padres.) Not much beyond it the Corps de Guard, from whence they supplied their Sentinels, which were placed in a Military Order here and there: Nearer the Water-side, on the brow of the Precipice which overlook' the Haven, in a well-appointed place, were planted half a dozen small Pieces of Ordnance, which spake Thanks for our respect paid when we came to an Anchor; not far from hence another Guard and House regarding the Main, which gave notice to the rest of what Vessels they saw at Sea.

And now we began to think of returning, when we met with some had happened to see the glory of the Day; who told us, our Admiral had sent to the Deputy-Governour, residing here, to be certified about the Anchors; who first claimed those Anchors of our Emissaries with the Majesty essential to that Nation he represented (being a White Portugall) for his Master, being alipped in Port; and then informed them, that they were left there the Afternoon before we came in, by Three great Holland Men of War, who were separated by foulness of Weather, from the Squadron of Admiral Eversdon, who was sent to vex the English Plantations at Virginia: Who at the sight of our Men of War, had put to Sea in great confusion, leaving some of their Crews behind them, who went off in their Shallops, but could not reach their Ships; keeping

therefore the Shores on board, they put in at St. Jago Town, where they now remain: From whence this Morn by fresh Advice he was assured only six Ships were seen to ply to windward; which must be our Fleet striving to regain the Island, which is difficult by reason of the Trade winds, it being beside their Commission to pursue them. Thus being alarm'd to our Ships, that Night we weighed.

In the dusk of the Evening came into this Bay a Sattee of Portugal, laden from Madera with Wine, some of which we purchased, but restored not the Anchors.

The Country without is rocky and mountainous, the Island but small; what Towns it has of note, our small stay would not permit the Enquiry. It is said to be pleasant within the Country; well watered, and furnished with all things necessary for the life of Man; discovered for the King of Portugal, Anno 1440. Well peopled by the Portugals, and a Colony of their Plantation from Guinea. In respect of the Heavenly Bodies, it lies in North Latitude, 15 deg. 25 min. Longitude from the Lizzard 12 deg. 10 min. West, the length of days altering very little.

The People are of a comely Black, their Hair frizled, Tall of stature, cunning and Thievish; they staring one in the Face, and in the mean time cut a Knot from the Shoulder, or steal an Handkerchief out of the Pocket.

Their Speech is broken Portugal, as also is their Habit, imitating therein the Portugals; though few of them so well clad as to hide their Nakedness so, but that either Leggs, Shoulders and Back may bee seen, and in some all. If they get an old Hat with a Bunch of Ribbons, two White Sleeves, a Waistband, or a Coat slasht to hang back to shew their Sleeves, or an old Pair of Long Breeches to their Buttocks; an unsizeable Sword to their Backs, a Javelin in their Hands, without either Hose or Shoes (as if cut out for Sir John Fastaff's Humour) they shall have them strut, and look as big as the greatest Don in Portugal.

The Women are not so handsome as the Men, Blubber-lipp'd, more corpulent, and shorter; notorious also for their Levity. Their Head geer a Clout rowled up like our Water-bearers; their Backs, and Breasts (which were large, and hanging down) bare, as also to their Wasts, from whence a thin Cloath, in fashion of a petticoat, down to their Feet, which are bare likewise. Some of the best of them adorn'd with Bracelets about their Arms and Necks, false Jewels in their Ears, with a kind of Vail from their Head to their Knees, with a Close-bodied Coat with Hanging-sleeves.

By Religion they are Christians of the Romish Church. Their Governour is from Portugal.

Nothing more observable in this little time, but that at Night on Shipboard, we had the sight of De'l Fogo's Flames; it being an Island of Fire, the Smoak of which is also apparent at Noon-day; which is of the same Batch with the rest, we seeing only these Four Island of the Nine belonging to the Gorgades.

## CHAPTER II.

CONTAINS OUR PASSAGE FROM ST. LAGO TO JOHANNA, AND RELATION OF THAT ISLAND.

THUS forsaking these African Islands and being forsaken of all but our own fleet, with a brisk gale we gave our Ship's head to the Eastward of the South; whereby we came nearer to the Coast of Africa; the Northern Monsoons (if I may so say being the Name imposed by the first Observers, *i. e.* Motiones) lasting hither; they (springing from the pressure of the Winter's Snow, Clouds or Vapours lodged on the Artic Mountains, and now beginning to be dissolved) leave us to struggle with those moving with the Sun, between the Tropicks East and West, as those without do North and South, mostly or collaterally to those Cardinal Points. And therefore we are forced to steer more Easterly, either to fetch a Wind to cross the Æquator, or gain a Side-wind from the constant ones to carry us to Brasil. For which cause those Ships bound for St. Helen's from Europe, must come into the Latitude of 28 deg. South, and sometimes to the Cape of Good Hope, before they can bend their Course thither, though in a direct Line it would cut off three quarters of the way.

When we were in four degrees of the Line, and Longitude from St. Iago 7 deg. 22 min. East, (renewing thence our Meridian) we became subject to the most parching Heat of the Torrid Zone; whose Effects were so much the more outrageous, by as much as the Winds shrank upon us from off the Coast of Ginea (which we

drew nigh to) and had left us at a stand, the usual Treatment herabouts, imputed to the scarcity of Mountains on that vast Tract of ground: Inasmuch, that we lay wholly at the mercy of the two unruly Elements, Fire and Water; the one assailing us with flashy Lightnings, and horrid Noises, breaking forth the Airy Region; the other pouring on us whole Streams of unwholesome and dangerous Floods, when they fall in Spouts, (which are frequent here:) Nay the kindest and the softest downfall on our Bodies is productive of Vermin, such as Flies, and Maggots, if our Cloaths be not quickly dried and shifted; (these Seasons the Seamen term the Tornados.)

But above all, when these had played their parts, the scorching sun making towards us with his fiery Face made us almost breath-less: In this remediless Condition we lay till Heaven pitying our languishing under this burning Fever dispatched to our Relief an East South East Wind, which leading us West and by South brought us to the South of the Equinoctial Line, depressing our Longitude to 5 deg. 55 min. East And now we were to the Northward of the Sun four degrees, with whom circling a little East, in nine days time we were in a Perpendicular, whereby our Quadrants became of small use, we not being able to make an Observation for their want of Shade, but by an Astrolabe at Night; The Sun passing over our Heads and we being to the Southward of the Line, the first fair Wind made us out-sail the Northern Polar Star, it not being to be seen in this Horizon.

Steering now by the Crociera, a South Constellation, taking its Name from the Similitude of that Pastoral Staff; as also supplied by the Magellanian Clouds, in number Two, (averred to be such by those that use this way continually) fixed as the North Star; but to me they seem no other than a Galaxia, caused by the Reflection of the Stars.

Being to the Southward of the Sun's Declination, it is obvious to note, a North Sun makes the same time of Day a South Sun does on the contrary side.

An Epidemical Distemper, by the Sea-Chyrurgions termed a Calenture (a malignant Fever with a Frenzy, so that if not watched, they leap into the Sea) raging in the Fleet, many were thrown over-board.

Where the Atlantic (washing the Shores all along from the Streights of Gibraltar) mixes with the Æthiopick Ocean, there the Meridian Compass varies very much, so that the Wind being at South-East and by East, lays out a South and by West way, but corrected by the Magnetick Azimuth (which gives the Sun's Amplitude) it differs two Points and an half, which with Leeway allow'd, makes a South-West Course, which we held on till we were on the Coasts of Brasil, when we were at distance enough to take the Altitude of the Sun, which made 14 deg. 40 m. South Latitude, Longitude 2 deg. 24 min. East.

Being between Brasil and several Islands, as *Trinidado, Ist. de Picos, Sancta Maria, &c.* we met with Winds carried us to the South of the Tropick of Capricorn, which crosseth Æthiopia Inferior, and the midst of Peruviana.

Before we leave this Ecliptick Circle, we must observe at the Equator, the Sun becomes twice Perpendicular; at each Tropick but once; beyond them never; because hence may naturally be collected all the Seasons of the whole Year; unless some accidental Cause, as the Interposition of Mountains, Headlands, Lakes, or such like intervene.

But in his Solar Progress through the twelve Signs, the Sun always carries Rain along with him, its Heat otherwise could not be endured; for which reason, the first Contriver and Former of all things, has ordained the wet Seasons a winter to those inhabit here, and to them as dreadful as our cold Seasons to us (which we shall evidence more experimentally when we come to live among them :) On this account is it, that under the Line two Winters and

two Summers alternately succeed, but not above three quarters of that length as the one at each Tropick, they continuing four Months together; to wit, four Months Winter, as many Summer, and the other four Months moderate or cold Weather, though nearer the Line, the Rule holds not good as to the cool Weather, for that cause more frequently visited with Wet than the Sunshine.

Our Men at length tired with salt Provisions, began to be studious for fresh; Necessity having taught them an Invention, by counterfeiting those formerly mentioned Flying fish, with a white Rag stuffed to hide the Hook, and Feathers pricked in instead of Fins, to catch their Enemies at their own game, and so they did; providing for themselves and us too, Bonetos and Albicores; the latter bigger than the former, in length two Feet, in thickness one, of a brave shining Colour, with spiked Fins; but the other preferred by the Palate, bearing the name of our Jacks; both of them a good Repast at Sea, where it is denied to be curious in our choice.

The Dolphin is extolled beyond these, which they strike with a Figig: They are swift and strait when they swim, and for Composure surpass all others in neatness, as well as for variety of Colours, for which it seems to vie with the Rain-bow, or Juno's darling Bird, the Peacock.

There is another Fish they call a Stone-Bass, which eats better than it looks, it being of a Colour sandy, but has a Relish equal to our Soles.

Hitherto having kept mostly a South-West Course, furthered in it by Gales from the Coast of Ginea, we are now to expect Westerly Winds to carry us to *Cabo da boa esperanza*; near the Latitude of 30 deg. South we had a promising Fresco, but somewhat dulled by too frequent Calms, yet here not so vexatious as before, we going retrograde with the Sun.

It is observable here, that the Sea had a contrary Course with the Wind, presumed to proceed from its blow-



ing so long in one Quarter; and now not altered so long as to be powerful enough to turn the Current of the Waters.

Gaining upon the East with a slow pace, we met with those feathered Harbingers of the Cape, as Pintado Birds, Mangofalcudos, Albatrosses; the first remarkable for their painted Spots of black and white; the last in that they have great Bodies, yet not proportionable to their Wings, which mete out twice their length.

Three Months being near consumed, we were at last accompanied with long lookt for Western Blasts, and now we fly afore the Wind: But by the way take notice a South-West Wind becomes as bleak here, as a North-East in England. So that all the Seasons of the Year being undergone in this time, we may begin to calculate our Ephemeris afresh; and as a fit Platform, Easter Holy-days bring with them such Weather as is essential to Christida.

But bidding Adieu to these Fancies, the Wind that till now seemed to dally, proves in good earnest, and begins a frowning April, driving the trembling Sea on heaps, and on them piling more, till the swelling Surges menace the lowering Skies, leaving a Hollow where they borrowed their Gigantine vastness, as if they were intended to exenterate the Treasures of the Deep. At top of which twas dreadful to behold the angry Surface of the foaming Billows, descending down beneath no less uncomfortable, when the Vans of the next Ships (though groveling with a neighbouring Wave) could not be discerned.

This tossing Condition lasted long, and was taken kindly too, as long as we spooned before the Sea, and kept from running foul of one the other; but when a Fret of Wind rowled the Waves athwart our Quarters, it made our Ship shake, proving the soundness of her Sides, where had she given way never so little, we must have sunk without Bail or Mainprize. Still the Tempest increases, and brings with it Gusts of Rain and dismal darkness

Weather, whereby we were separated from the rest of our Fleet: For all, we put our Lights abroad as did they, yet in the badness of the Night we lost them, and were left alone to shift with the boisterous Winds.

At last the Morn appears, but with the Symptoms of a blowing Day. She had not wafted many Hours, but on the advantage of a rising Wave, we spied a Sail to Leeward with her Fore-top-mast by the Board, which at Noon we knew to be the Cæsar crowding under all its Sails.

In this Encounter we shipped many a perilous Sea, (not without being well-drenched our selves): Such was the force of this Nights Storm, that our Boat, and some of our Men, were not without difficulty restrained from being carried over-board. In this pickle we reeled out this Day, and out-stretching the Cæsar, we made what Sail we durst, and by the next Light had sight of our Fleet, who shortning Sail, we came up with them, to whom we declared the misfortune of the Cæsar, and that it bore South-West; wherefore they lay by, (the Wind slackning) and in half an hour we saw the Hull, and presently after it made up our Company compleat again. ●

Near the middle of this Month we could have made that known Cape, the Cape of Good Hope, being in the Latitude of 36 deg. 14 min. South, and Longitude from St. Iago 37 deg. 10 min. East. But the Dutch having some Forts there, it was thought no good Policy; wherefore veering to the South, the Cape bore East-North-East, some thirty Leagues off us; for heaving our Dipsey-lead we were in soundings eighty Fathom depth, which the Pilots note to be in that distance.

Here we made two Sail to Leeward, and one to Windward who directed her Course with us, but the Wind from the Shore coming East, they Tacked, and she passed without speaking to her: But the Leeward most came up

boldly to us and the *Ann* (we being the nearest and ready to receive them) ; but making them English built by their Galleries, we only shewed them our Colours (which they answered by St. George's Cross) and fired a Gun ; when they brought to, and we bearing up, our Commander went Aboard one of them, the *Johanna*, a Ship of 700 Tuns laden from Bantam, who told us, that five more were in Company with them from the Coasts, but dispersed by Tempests ; the other Ship was the *Bernardiston* ; that which escaped us, the *Rebecca*.

They also inform'd us that, The French had worsted the Flemmings in India, taken and demolished a Fort on the Island Ceilon ; and that they had beat the Moors out of St. Thomas :<sup>\*</sup> That on our side never a Ship was lost, as they heard. So likewise giving them an Account of that we knew, with some Instructions communicated on both sides, we left them to take their Course, which served them for St. Hellens, the Antartick Monsoons favouring them directly thither, and the Squadron under Captain Munday, if they have raised the South Latitude of 28. may be there a little before to expect them.

We kept on South-East, till we had doubled the most Southern Promontory of the Cape, Cape de Angullia, (which Course would lead us to Bantam) when bending to the North, we held on till we came betwixt St. Lawrence or Madagascar, and the Main, reckoned one of the four biggest Islands in the World, viz Sumatra, Java, St. Lawrence, and Britannia. The most traded Empories, here, are St. Augustine on the Island, and Mosambique on the Main ; frequented by the Portugals for Elephants Teeth, Gold, Camphire, and Ambergrece. Why we creep in between

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<sup>\*</sup> The French occupation of the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, about three miles from the Fort of the English Company at Madras, was a circumstance which occasioned much annoyance to the little Madras Government which existed at that time. The French were allies of Charles II. and could not be expelled, whilst their proximity was most disagreeable to the English.

this Island and the Main, Is to borrow from the Land-breezes assistance against the general stated Winds settled for these Months between the Cape and this Island.

The Sea here takes the Name of Oceanus Orientalis, beginning from the Cape till it joyn with the Indian, Red, and Arabian Seas.

Here it was we had a notable Fish stretched its self along our sides for the space of an hour: Some called it a Grampos; but those that pretended skill, would have it a young Whale: It might be in length forty Feet and upward, bolting out of the Water with a great Surf; the Mouth large, but not responsible to so large a Body, the Form whereof was a Pyramid inverted, the Basis of which from Gill to Gill near five Feet in breadth, the Conus terminating with a narrow Snout; where his Mouth opening, he suckt in a huge quantity of Water; and with that same eddy his Prey, which he retains within his Jaws, but spouts the Water out with the same spurting noise our Engines make, and as immense an heighth from an hole in his Neck, opening after the fashion of a Mouth or Slit; at the performance of which Action it contracts itself into an Orbicular Figure, and again dilates its self in its Diastole; The Back is of a dark Gray without Scales, sixteen Feet, over leaping as other Fishes, but in a more Majestick manner, moving but slowly, whereby we had the sight of his Head and Neck first, (all one Rock, and as impenetrable, it being proof against the Prongs of the sharpest Harping-Iron); his whisking Tail last, near which a ridge of Fins, the true mark of Distinction for a Whale: The extreme part of his Tail extended is very broad and finny, which is the Rudder to this great Leviathan, wherewith, and two Fins more proceeding one from each side, he guides himself through his watery Territoria.

May had now began, when making after that glorious Charioteer the Sun, we were once more spirited with milder Weather; the Mariners casting off their wet Cloaths

cared not for any more than would slightly cover them.

We being in sight of five Small Islands off St. Lawrence, for fear of the Tides driving them on shore, some of our Ships anchored; by which lingring we lost two of our Companions for two days; but we steering something West, and lying by a nights to prevent falling on St. Christophers and Juan de Novo, both Low Lands, they had time to reach us: Being becalmed, it was the middle of the Month before we lost sight of St. Lawrence.

The day after we had Meety on our Larboard Bow, bearing North-East 20 Miles, High Land.

At Night we had sight of Mohelia, Johanna, and Meety together.

#### *The History of Johanna.*

The Morning following we came under the Westward part of Johanna, where opposed us a lofty Ridge of Mountains, one of which advanceth its aspiring Head up to the towering Clouds: Over against which lies the Island called Mohelia, at the same distance Calice is from Dover; the better Island of the Two, though not so big, nor quite so Mountainous; it being more plentifully, as 'tis said, stored with Provisions; but not furnished with so safe an Harbour for Ships as Johanna: The only difficulty here being the Weathering the Point, in which, notwithstanding several Ships have been driven off to Sea, not being able to recover the Island again, the Winds descending in desperate Gnsts drive them into the Trade-winds, which here commence again. But our Ships were blest with better success, and came all safe to Anchor under a Lee-shore, which sufficiently protected them from the Winds by the highth of the Mountains. A Blessing not to be passed by without a grateful Commemoration, when half the Fleet were disabled by Distempers acquired by Salt Meats, and a long Voyage without Refreshments;

and must have suffered too for want of Water, had not they met with a seasonable Recruit.

The first care then was to send the Sick Men ashore, which it is incredible to relate how strangely they revived in so short a time, by feeding on Oranges and Fresh Limes, and the very smell of the Earth; for those that were carried from the Ships in Cradles, and looked upon as desperate, in a days time could take up their Beds and walk; only minding to fetch them anights, that the Misty Vapours might not hinder the kind Operation begun on their tainted Mass of Blood, by these Specifick Medicines of Nature's own preparing.

We had Leisure now joined to Security of the Dutch for that no Ships from India can readily return this way into Europe at this time of the Year; and the Hollanders, after having touched at the Cape, usually go first to Batavia, before they coast India; which gave us free leave to dedicate ourselves to all the Pleasure this Place could afford; which for its Excellencies may deserve to be called Happy, as well as any the Ancients bestowed the Name of Fortunate, Macaria or Fœlix on. It lies in 12 deg. South Latitude, Longitude 62 deg. 4 min. It is one of the Islands of Africa though lying in the Eastern Sea; yet because the Coasts of Africa extend themselves to the Line on this North side of the Cape, we must take these Adjacent Isles in the same Account: On the South East lies Meoty, North-West Mohelia, and North-East Comero, all Four Colonies of the Moors or Arabians or at least in subjection to them.

But to return to Johanna; the innermost part we suppose to be fruitful, by what the Verge of it declares; for to be satisfied in that Point would be hardly worth the while, the Mountains requiring more pains to conquer than would quit cost, they being altogether inaccessible, or their Passages unknown to us.

The Relation therefore to be expected, must be of that

lies lowest and nearest the Sea. The Circuit I imagine to be almost an 100 Miles, all along which, it is variously cast into Hills, and furrowed into Vales; as if Nature had plowed them on purpose for encrease, The outward Coat of which is embroidered with Thamarind Palmetto (from the Tree distills a Wine intoxicating, and an Oil medicinable, externally applied to Bruises, Strains, &c.) It yields also some store of Pine apples, Ananas, growing on Shrubs like Artichokes. But above all, there is a Tree famed for being 14 Fathom compass, it resembles most a small Ivy Leaf; the Body seems to be many smaller incorporated into one huge one, of no other use than to be admired, *Hederá formosier albá* unless in opposition to the Heathen, who adore it, they throw the Dead Bodies of their Slaves under it, when justice is executed on them, to expose them for Terrour to others, many Bones of Humane Bodies lying there at this time. There is also a Gourd esteemed of them more for the large Shell than Meat; it will hold a Pailfull, in Figure like a Man's Head, and therefore called a Calabash.

Rivers they have not many, but Rivulets good store; and of such Water, that next our Thames, it is the best, which is justly preferred, (I mean our Thames Water) because it bears a Body beyond others, and therefore kept till the last to be spent, always reserving a stock thereof to serve them home; for though it stinck like Puddle-water when opened first, and have a Scum on it like Oil (which the Coopers affirm they are as cautious to strike with their Adds on the Cask for fear of taking fire, as of Brandy itself) yet let it stand unbunged on the Deck-twenty four hours, it covers its goodness, and is the only Water they rely on in an East India Voyage, and therefore they are careful to save it till the last.

Towns some few they are Masters of, but for Sumptuous Fabricks none will be found here.

Their Chiefest Town bears the Name of the Island, which

is seated along the Strand, under an high Hill ; on one side refreshed with a gentle gliding Stream ; on the other side recreated with a fine Plain, prodigal of its Fertility. The Town itself is to look on, an heap of Ruins, nothing remaining but the Marks of former Industry (probably the Portugals) here being left Walls of an huge thickness, composed of Stone, and cemented with Lime : To every House a Portal, but miserably defaced with Age ; the Planks of their Doors sewed together, their Buildings not exceeding one Story ; against these, Laziness has suggested them to lean their Flaggy Mansions : Flags especially in their Villages (by them called Cajans, being Coe-tree Branches) upheld with some few Sticks, supplying both Sides and Covering to their Cottages. They commonly order their Model, so as to make a Quadrangle with only one Entrance, all the rest being closed outwards without any windows ; in which every House of Note on the Right-hand has a shady Contrivance, like the Walks of our Tennis-Courts, but not so long ; on the upper end of which sits the Master of the Family on a Bed of Rattans, a kind of Cane : Here he, with the Steward of his House, are observed by his Slaves (who stand aloof) to spend the heat of the day.

Among these, but at some remoteness from any of their Dwellings, are two Mosques, or places for Devotion, built after the manner of our Churches (but for magnificence much like their other Structures) with Isles and Naves walled up to the very top ; within them only a place left for entrance at the West end. They are decently Matted on the Floor, though not hung so much as with a Cobweb on the Walls ; which they keep (and in that to be commended) very clean. In the Piatzos (for such their Porches had) stands on the Right-hand a square Stone Cistern, full of Water ; and the whole without any Doors always open. The Nobler of the Two has at the West-end a round Tower, not very high ; to this like wife belongs



a more spacious Yard, filled with Tombs reared Man's heighth, covering them with a falling Ledge a top, leaving open a Port-hole at the North-end, where the Head lies, for a Lamp: To enrich them, they are bestuck with China Ware of good value.

Having given you the Description thus far, I must crave leave for my Error, in not giving it the Style of Regal before now: For it proves to be the Seat of one of their Kings, which I had almost forgot, had not my greedy Eye espied a House more eminently seated, and more decently covered than the rest, but the Materials not much different; only they have allotted him a little more Air to breath forth his swelling Title, King of Johannah Town: Wherefore after a small Enquiry, it was manifest it was the Palace Royal; nor did I much doubt it, after we had gained admission; where did sit the King in state, at the upper end of such a Place as before was taken notice of, on a Cott, or Bed, strewed with a Quilt. On a Bench at each Elbow were placed two of his Nobles by him: We being introduced, instead of Kissing his Majesty's Hand he took us one after another most graciously by the Fist, and by the Mouth of his Interpreter pronounced us heartily welcome, and bad us take our Seats according to our Qualities; which, after we had put our Hats on we did; and the Interpreter with great Respect took his on the Floor crouching in the midst of us. In this manner, without shew of dread or fear of being misconstrued, we talked freely of matters relating to both our States; as he first examining if we had any Gunpowder or Compass-Glasses to spare him? We seconded his Demands with what regarded Provisions for our Voyage; for which License our Captains are obliged to make him Presents of scarlet-cloth, and other Europe Rarities, that they may unmolested buy the Bullocks, Cows, Goats and Hens of his Subjects. Both being at length out of Discourse, or not very well understanding one another, he speaking

Arabick, we as good English as we could ; we had liberty in this interval to survey the Gorgeousness of his Attire. On his Head he wore a large White Turbat, and had as good a White Shirt on his Back ; from his Girdle half way his Legs, a Blue Silk Vest fringed with Purple without Shoes or Stockins to his Feet, which he often pulling up into his Cott or Couch, would smilingly cross them, and with his Nails claw off the Dirt. By him lay a Purple Silk Robe, attended with a Black-guard of some a Dozen Slaves ; compared with whom he looked great, and was a comely well Limb'd Person, though a Woolly-pated Coffery.

His Nobles (because we are not to meet with many of them) pray take them in their best Liveries. On their Crowns they wear Caps of Arabian Needle-work intermixed with divers Colours ; which notwithstanding no bigger than Skull-caps, they move not to the best Man in the Company ; it being their Custon only to Salam, giving a bow with their Hands across their Breasts : Their Bodies clad in White also ; about their Loins Cloth of Arabia, Checquered as our Barbers Aprons, but not so good (*pace tantorum virorum*) over all a thin Robe ; both King and Princes encourage their Beards to their full growth.

Their Priests, one of which attended, are habited in fashion not much different, had not the Colour inclined to Black ; and on their Heads a Leather Coif lined with Fur.

When we took our leaves, we Presented him and his Peers with a few Brass Rings with False Stones, with which they seemed to be well pleased.

What Towns they have of Note we could not learn ; but Towns they have, if not Cities, within the Country. And certain it is, their Chief Governor is an Arabian Lord.

This Johanna Town is about Three quarters of a Mile

in length, and may contain Two hundred Houses ; their streets being no broader than our Allies.

Villages are very thick, and Cottages disperst in every place.

Every Valley makes a delightful Grove, one of which exceeding all the rest, was cooled with to dainty Currents, decked with a continual Spring charming the Senses with the real Sweets of any of the most exquisitely feigned Paradises ; to see Limes grow on Shrubs, Leased and Thorned like our Crabs, Oranges, (of which there is a pleasing sort, though small, not giving place to our China ones) tempting the Sight from a more exalted, and less suspicious Tree. Over which the lofty Coccoes with unparallel'd straitness stretch forth their Boughs, disposed in Ranks, as if ordered by the Skilfullest Planter.

Lower than these, but with a Leaf far broader, stands the Curious Plantan, loading its tender body with a Fruit, whose Clusters emulate the Grapes of Canaan, which burthened two Mens Shoulders ; below which, an odoreferous Plant seizes the Smell ; and winding through its subtile Meanders, revives the Faculties of the Brain : Here the flourishing Papaw (in Taste like our Melons, and as big, but growing on a Tree leased like our Figtree,) Citrons, Limons, and many more, contend to indulge the Taste ; The warbling Birds the Ear ; and all things, as if that general Curse were exempted, strive to gratify the Life of Man.

Neither has nature so played the Wanton here, as to be unmindful of the Ascending Hills, which in other places by chance are productive, hut here they abound, and liberally bestow on the humble Valleys : Notwithstanding the Clime it is situate under, bears the reproach of that uninhabitable Zone ; yet that Apersion is blown off by those admirably tempered Breizes of the Mountains.

The Inhabitants are black, though not so black as at St. Iago, as well Limb'd, and as well Featured ; neither

so tall, nor so proud as they, but more honest: Whether out of fear of Punishment, or natural Integrity, may be left to conjecture: For our Fleet lying as now at an Anchor, some years passed, they filched some slight things from the English; as likewise some Sailors from them; the Grievances on both sides known, and the Parties detected. Our Commanders had their Men slashed publicly on Shore, when they cut the Throats of theirs.

To proceed; They are like the Country they live in, innocent; for as the one produces nothing hurtful, so they have always had the Character of being harmless. They are courteous to Strangers, but above all to the English; punctual in their Words, and as ready to tax for breach of Promise: Lazy above measure, despising all Mechanical Arts; and in them Necessity compels them to employing their Priests; as in building Boats, making Mats. Yet in one thing to be wondered at, for making Old Iron which they covet mightily, into Knives, or Tools, as sharp as Razors; in other things but rudely imitating, but not deserving the name of Artists.

The while we were there, they had a great Vessel on the Stocks, Stocks like the Checks to our Long Boats; the Keel of it was a whole Tree, no otherwise fitted than it grew, only the Branches lopped off. To it, for Stem and Stern, were fastened two others, shorter; on both sides Planks sewed to the Main Timbers, with the Thread of the Cocoe-nut, each Hole stopped with Pitch. Thus had they raised it to the capacity of Thirty Tuns: When it will be finished, at the rate they work, will be hard to guess.

They are Owners of several small Provoes, of the same make, and Canoes, cut out of one intire piece of Weed; poised with Booms to keep them from over-setting; in these they paddle with broad Sticks, not row as we with Oars.

They are very active at Clipping, Running like Jack-

napes up their Coccoe-nut Trees, which they do by twisting a Band to keep close their Feet, as they raise their Bodies by their Arms grasped about the Trees.

They are not solicitious for much to cover them, only a Clout to hide their shame, trust with a String round about their Waists, in which they stick their Knives, in a readiness to cut down their Food from the Trees.

Their Slaves have a dejected Countenance, distinguished by boring their Ears: They sit on Stones, or low Seats, their Arms folded like Monkies.

However, they are not so abject, but that they have the use of Letters and some science in Astrology, but what I can testify: For walking the Country, and almost tired, I stept into an House, where I saw a Man writing with a Pen made of a Cane, in the bottom of a Bowl besmeared over with black; considering a-while, at length I observed he made Arabian Characters, and aimed to draw a Scheme, which when he had done, he poured Water upon, and stirring it round with his Finger, wiped it out again and as he did this, muttered seriously to himself, doing so thrice. I watched what he intended, and found that a Woman lay sick there, and this Charm was her Physick.

Besides this, I have it on report from some that saw their Schools for Education of their Youth, where they teach them to write, and by Bundles of Characters tied together to Ape Printing. What they make their Impression on, I cannot inform you; but Paper is no despicable Commodity among them.

That Arabick is their Speech, is without contradiction; with what purity I am no competent Judge.

The Religion among them is Mahometism; their Priests not so much exercised in Learning, as the Labour of their Hands.

Their Women are fat and short, not so big Breasted as these at St. Iago, better clad than the Men, wearing a coarse Sheet about them from their Breasts below their Knees

about their Heads they wear an Hairlace, or somewhat instead of it, not to tie their Hair up, which is short enough; but it may be, as our Dames in England, to keep the Wrinkles out of their Foreheads: In their Ears Mock-Jewels; about their Necks and Wrists trifling Bracelets of Beads, Glass, or Wire of Brass; about their small of their Legs Brass Chains, and on their Fingers Rings of the same Metal. Seemingly fearful of a White Man, as are their Children, who are much troubled with the Navel-Rupture (*Hernia umbilicalis*), either from the Windiness of their Food, or Ignorance of their Midwives in cutting the Navel string, when they design to make the Boys good measure. The Wives are very obsequious to their Husbands, seldom stirring abroad, doing the Drudgeries of the House.

They dress Fowls very well, but kill them very barbarously pulling first their Feathers off to the Wings, then by degrees raise the Skin, after which Torture they as slowly cut their Throats, till they have finished a short Litany, which is the Priest's Office, if at hand; otherwise the Good-Man of the House says Grace; they butchering their Goats in as Jewish a manner.

Their usual Diet is the Fruits of the Earth, not caring much for Flesh, though they have great store of Pullen, Goats, and Kine; which last but small, and not very good Meat, their Fat cleaving to the roof of the mouth; not so big as our Welsh Beasts, yet have this peculiar, a Bunch of Fat betwixt their Shoulders, which eaten tastes like Marrow.

Their pasture, for want of Agriculture, is rather Beeds than Grass; they have Rice in the Low-lands, and a Pease called Garavance: On the Sand near the Sea grows *semper vivum maximum*, from whose Juice comes Aloes, the best from Succotra: Here grows Cow-Itch in abundance, and all sorts of Saunders, which the Seamen cut for firing to bring aboard. Destitute of Asses, Mules, and Horses, but

that want compensated by a richer Commodity, Amber-greece, for which the Arabian is the greatest Merchant and Sharer.

Fowls for Game they have several, the best of which is the Guinney Hen, Turtle Doves ; Crows with white Breasts, Buzzards, and Bats bodied like and near as big as a Weasel, with large Wings wove upon strong Gristles.

They have a sort of a Jackanape they call a Budgee, the handsomest I ever saw.

Honey and Mullasses they have good store.

Having thus taken a Survey of them, one would think Ambition banished hence, and that Discord should have little countenance from Subjects so alike contemptible. Such is the growth of that Seed, that no Ground comes amiss to it : Here, where neither Care nor Toil is burthensome, are they vexed with continual War by their opposite Neighbour the Mohelian, whom formerly they used to engage on Planks at Sea, casting Stones and Darts ; since by a better Instinct, they have provided themselves of securer Vessels, and as at this time devising greater, they adventure with better force, and in shrewder Battels, beginning to enquire after Swords and Guns, with the first of which the English do supply them : For which, and a former Courtesy of a Vessel sent them to land some Men on the Enemies Coasts, proceeds their more than ordinary love for the English.

How these behave themselves in War, or with what Discipline, is not in me to tell : Some Marks of their Valour many of them bear about them, as the Badges of their greatest Honour, who have their Limbs distorted, or flesh beaten in. What the ground of these Feuds are, we cannot learn ; unless the bad Influence of some malignant Planet, or else that Make-bate of the world, whose greatest business is Contention, should insinuate it into them. The Arabian \*Lords of each do strive to reconcile them : which if they do for a time, it breaks out again in open

War: And probable it is, that these Animosities have rendered them liable to the Subjection they are now in; whose very Islands else, with an united Force of Stones and Arms to bear them, were able to defend them.

Four days being spent in this sweet Wilderness, our Admiral by firing a Gun, and loosing his Fore-top-sail summoned us aboard.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### DECLARES OUR COURSE FROM JOHANNA, TO OUR LANDING AT MECHLAPATAN.

A FRESH Gale and a fair Wind soon set us once more to the Norward of the Equineectial, accompanied with soaking Showers, Thunder, and Cloudy Weather, which, with the continuance of the Winds, did us a kindness; for following the heels of the Sun, we were got within Twelve Degrees of him, when we sailed into the Indian Sea, East North-East, the Maldivè Islands being South-East, the Red Sea West North-West, and the Arabian North by West, without labouring under that irresistible Heat we did before; by reason of which adjunct Heat, the Rains however became intemperate; not but that they mitigated the Heat in actu, tho as to its effects, it proved more virulent, impregnating the Air with a diseased Constitution, whereupon we had many hung down their Heads.

About the third Degree of North-Latitude we lost sight of the Magellanian Clouds and the Crociers, and raised our Northern Polar Director.

Having 8 deg. 53 min. North Latitude, we left the Sun to run his Race to the North; and steering East to raise our Longitude, we fell into a Channel between the Maldivè (a Concatenation of Islands from the Equator hither, and here only parted by this Channel, the rest of them lying scatteredly to the 10th deg. of North Latitude) which makes us lye by a-nights, (signified by One Light out of the Main-Top of our Admiral (which he

always carries at Night), and another out of the middle Lanthorn on the Poop, answered by all the rest with one at the same place), for fear of falling foul of them, the Weather continuing wet, dark, and tempestuous.

After which we shaped our Course East South-East, when the Admiral fired a Gun, spreading St. Georges' Flag in the Mizzen-shrowds for a Consultation, knowing we began to draw near Ceilon, an Island in the East-India, divided from Cape Cory by Ptolomy Comory, by our Modern Authors, by a narrow, swift, and unnavigable Current where the Flemings have nested themselves in the Portugals Castles at Columbo, Point de Gaul, and elsewhere; so that if at all, we are to meet with them hereabouts, they commonly having a Fleet of Ships in these Seas: We out of necessity are forced to make this Land, and were it peaceable Times should sail all along in sight of it, till we came upon the Coast of Cormandel.

Wherefore our Commander returning on board, after assigning every one his Post, to be ready on any surprize, he found a Chearfulness in all to obey him.

Here two Whales, bigger than the former, shewed themselves.

In the dead of the night a lamentable Outcry was caused by some of our Men on the Forecastle, who looking out thought they had seen a Rock, with which these Seas abound, whereupon they cried out, A Breach a Breach, which made the Mates leap out of their Cabins with the same grisly Look as if going to give up their last Accounts: Here was Doomsday in its right Colours, Distraction, Horror, and Amazement had seized on all, one commanding this, another acting quite contrary; the Breach surrounding us, every one expected the fatal stroke, when the Ship should be dashed in pieces. In this Panick Fear, had any had so much heart as to have ventured a Composition for his empty Noddle by looking over-board, he might have discovered the Jig: For at length it was evident that

only a Chorus of Porpoises had taken the Sea in their Dance; which Morris once over, the Seas were quiet, and our Men left to repose themselves with a shorter Nap than they thought themselves like to have.

Five days after our Summer Solstice we had soundings 14 Fathom, and at break of day had sight of Ceilon, when we altered our Course to East North-East; it bore from us North by West 12 Leagues, the out-Land low, but rarely enriched with Woods of Cinamon, from whence only it is brought.

This is the first Shore presented itself in India: The Inland hath a Prospect over the Sea: It lies in North Latitude 6 deg. 3 min. and Longitude from Johanna 87 deg. 10 min. East.

This is the Island where (if true) the Elephants are bred, who transported, exact Homage from all Elephants of other places, and they withal, by prostrating (as it were) their Necks between their Feet, submissively acknowledge it.

At Nights we stood off to Sea to escape the insidious Rocks, adays we made for the land to gain Land Breizes, which are not felt far off at Sea, by reason of the Constancy of the Trade-Winds: They begin about Midnight, and hold till noon, and are by the Portugals named Terrhences; more North they are more strong, and hardly give way to the Sea-Breizes, which sometimes succeed the others twelve hours, but not always on this Coast.

Two Days passed after we made Land, we discovered three Country Junks a-head, and coming up with them we commanded their Skippers on board; examining their Cockets, they produced English Passes, the Masters of two of them being Portugals, the other a Moor, from whom was taken a Packet of Dutch Letters: Their Crew were all Moors (by which Word hereafter must be meant those of the Mahometan Faith), apparell'd all in white, on their Heads white Scull caps, their Complexions tawny:

Their Junks had three Masts, wearing an East-India strip'd Ancient, and might contain an 100 Tuns apiece.

They managed their Sails but awkwardly, and are unskilful in Maritime Affairs; wherefore in any long Voyage they employ Europeans to navigate their Vessels.

Coasting along, some Cattamarans (Logs lashed to that advantage that they waft off all their Goods, only having a Sail in the midst, and Paddles to guide them) made after us, but our Ships having fresh way, we were unwilling to tarry for them; besides, at that instant we espied under the Shore a mighty Vessel, with her Yards and Top-masts lower'd; but they continuing to follow us, the *Anna* lay by for one of them, who affirmed that a Fleet of 24 Sail of Batavians were passed to retake St. Thomas from the French. The East India Merchant and Antelope by this were up with the Vessels under shore, who proved to be a great Junk of the Moors: Over against where she rode, a fair Pagod or Temple of the Gentus, beleaguer'd with a Grove of Trees (excepting that it was open towards the Sea) cast a lustre bright and splendid, the Sun reverberating against its refulgent Spire, which was crown'd with a Globe white as Alabaster, of the same tincture with the whole.

Nearer the Point we descried a Town, in which a Castl, overawing it, and upon the highest Pinnacle Dutch Colours, which high Noon gave us to be Sandralapatan, a Factory of theirs, our Staff having as much as together with the Sun's declination made 11 deg. 50 min. North Latitude, but 10 Leagues to the South of Fort St. George, where our Commanders were to touch first, according to their Charter-Party.

Whereupon we put abroad our Jacks, Ancients, and Penants, and running out all our Guns, it was unanimously consented to fight our way through the Flemish East-Indians, had we not seen a *Musocla* hailing our Admiral, which came off with Advice from the Agent:

This afternoon therefore we lay by, the Admiral calling a Council aboard him; and at night our Mercury was waited on towards the Shore by the Bombaim: All this while we lay in sight of Sandraslapatan, whose Soil is Fat and Opulent, like their Netherlands.

The Water here ran smooth and discoloured: Till once again committing ourselves to the Sea, we ploughed deeper Water North-East, of a Cærulean dye.

The next day we saw a French man of War, and he us, but would not trust us. We knew him to be French by our Intelligeneer, who laid us out his Station, where he had encountred five Batavians, and discomfited them.

This Day's observation made 30 m. to the North of Fort St. George. We were beating now against the Wind (which blows fiercely from the Shore) and a strong Current, which had set us 14 deg. 20 min. North in three days time, when the Junks we compelled with us hither, had the liberty to make the best of their way for the Bay of Bengala; for which the Winds served them well enough, though full in our Teeth who laboured for the Land.

However, in four days time we met with the Freshes off the Shore caused by the Upland Rains: The Sea despising to defile its purer Azure with their Muddy Green. The same Antipathy was held betwixt the lively Fishes and their slimy Brood, they intermixing with such unfriendly Concord; for playing in whole Shoals about the Edges, they would not exceed the Limits the jarring Torrents had won upon each other. So the fierce Tigris, in his swift Career, neglects the scorned Arethusa and she with the like disdain, retaliates his unkindness, nether Stream mixing either Fish or Water. \*

Thus quartering this Sublunary Globe, out of Europe into Africa, from thence crushing on the Coast of Brasil upon the American Seas, till joining with the Ethiopick, we double the Cape of good Hope into Africa again, at last we came in sight of the Asian Shores; and the latter end

of June we cast Anchor in Mechlapatan Road ; which was composed of Shoals and Deeps, where we found three Portugal Ships riding.

Our Fleet expressed their joy by the roaring of the wide-mouth'd Cannon, and the sounding of the chriller Trumpets ; which the English Factory, welcomed by displaying their Flag (being allowed no Ordnance, but what they privily plant for their own security) as being under the Tutelage of the Natives, as also are the Portugals and Flemmings (who each have here their Staples) so in like manner all they have any Commerce with : no Act of Hostility, either on Shore, or in the Road, being tollerated without leave first obtained ; those on Shore being the Pledges forfeited on the breach of Peace.

The firm Land was plain, and nothing elevated beyond the Trees, unless Edificess of the European erection.

## CHAPTER IV.

TAKES UP OUR STAY AT MECHLAPATAN, TO OUR LANDING AT  
FORT ST. GEORGE.

THE next Morning the Second of the Factory (the Chief being at Fort St. George,) visited the Admiral, and ordered the Treasure to be set on Shore.

That if the empty Hollander should be so hardy as to face us, their small hopes of Plunder might abate their Courage; which otherwise might tempt them to attack us with the greater vigour.

The Boat-men that came for it were of a Sun-burnt Black, with long black Hair, tied up in a Clout of Calicut Lawn, girt about the Middle with a Sash; in their Ears Rings of Gold; those that were bare-headed, were shorn all to one Lock, which carelessly twised up (some have foolishly conceited) to be left for Perimel (one of their Prophets) to hold fast by when he should haul them to Heaven; but more truly to preserve them from the Plica Polonica, which attends long Hair not cleanly kept, and to which these People are incident.

Among these, some more modish than the rest, as going in a Garb more Civil, Coiling Calicut about their Heads, Turbat fashion, on their Bodies light Vests, underneath long loose Breeches, and swaddled about the Waist with a Sash; offered their Service for a small Pension, to execute our Affairs on Shore, or wait on us Aboard.

These spake English, and acquainted us, how the French had set fire to four Vessels of the Moora, and made Prize of four more, as they were in this Road not two

Months ago; that they had constrained some Dutch Factories to run on score to supply their wants with Victuals, and other Necessaries; whose Credit by these Emergencies, and their Cash failing, begins to sink; Money being here not only the Nerves and Sinews, but the Life itself of Trade.

Being sent for on Shore by the desire of the Factory, by one of the Country Boats, I was landed at Mechlapatan: These Boats are as large as one of our Ware-Barges, and almost of that Mould, sailing with one Sail like them; but padding with Paddles instead of Spreads, and carry a great Burthen with little trouble; outliving either Ship or English Skiff over the Bar. Which by the rapid motion of the Waves driving the Sands into an Head, makes a noise as deafning as the Cataracts of Nile, and not seldom as difficult a Downfal. Over this the Land shuts us up on both sides, and the stiller Waters contentedly do part their Streams to embrace the Town.

Near which a Fort or Blockade (if it merit to be called so) made of Dirt, hides half a score great Guns; under the command of which several Moors junks ride at Anchor. A Bow-shot from whence the Town itself, environed with a Mud Wall, entrenched with a stinking Morass, and at some time Moated with the Sea, creates a spacious Prospect; it is of Form oblong.

Their Bank Solls, or Custom-House Keys, where they land, are Two; but mean, and shut only with ordinary Gates at Night.

The High-streets are broad, set forth with high and lofty Buildings, the Materials Wood and Plaister, beautified without with folding Windows, made of Weed, and lattised with Raittana, entering into Balconies shaded by large Sheds covered with Tiles: Within a square Court, to which a stately Gate-house makes a Passage, in the middle where of a Tank vaulted, with a flat Roof above and on it Terras Walks are framed; the one to wash in,



in the heat of the day; the other to take the Air in the cool of the day; the whole Fabrick intire within itself, covered atop Taber-like.

The poorer, of which multitudes are intersperst, both in their High-streets and Allies, are thatched, east round as Bee Hives, and walled with Mud; which in the Summers drought often take fire, and lay the alter equal with the ground.

For publick Structures their principal Streets present sundry Mosques, one Custom-house, one Court of Judicature, and that but mean.

For places of resort there three Buzzars, or market-places, crowded both with People and Commodities.

On the North-East a Wooden Bridge, half a mile long, leading to the Bar Town; on the North-West one, a Mile Long tending to the English Garden, and up the country. Each of which have a Gate-house, and a strong Watch at the begining, next the Town: Both these are laid over a Sandy Marsh, where Drovers of People are always thronging.

The Present Incumbents are the Moors, Persians, Gentiles; Sojourners Armenians, (who maintain their Correspondence over Land) Portugals, Dutch and English; and some few French.

For the Story of it, and with it of the Kingdom; the Gentues; the Portugal Idiom, for Gentiles, are the Aborigines, who enjoyed their freedom, till the Moors or Scythian Tartars (whether mediately from Persian, or immediately from that overflow of Tamerlane into these Parts, is not material, since they both pretend to the same Extract, and that will be fitter declared in another place) undermining them, took advantage of their Civil Com-motions. For one Caff or Tribe (by the Chiefe of which they were ruled) classing with another, overturned all; which that we may the better understand.

These Tribes were distinguished by their Occupations,

espousing therefore Vocations as well as Kindred; and thereby, as one was a more honourable Calling than the other, so they stood upon their Nobility in that Employment, never marrying out of it.

As the Head were the Bramines, the Ancient Gymnosophists; out of whom branched their Priests, Physicians, and their Learned Men.

Next in esteem were the Rashwaws, Rashpoots, or Souldiers.

But the most insolent were the Artificers; as the Engravers, Refiners, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, and the like; who behaved themselves not only disrespectfully to their Superiours, but tyrannically to those of a viler Rank; as the Husbandmen and Labourers. Whereupon they jointly conspired their Ruin, and with that their own Slavery; taking the Moors to their assistance, who not only reduced the Usurpers to Composition, which was That they should be accounted the Offscum of the People, and as base as the Holencores (whom they account so, because they Defile themselves by eating any thing, and do all servile Offices) and not be permitted to ride in a Palenkeen at their Festivals or Nuptials, but on Horseback, which they count an high Disgrace; but they also took the Power into their own hand; which though Despotical the Gentus endure, rather than endeavour the recovery of their former Liberty, and to subvert it from a Monarchy into an Aristocracy.

Their King reigning is a Moor, raised to the Throne from the lowest ebb of Fortune.

For it being in the breast of the Regent to appoint his Successor, his Predecessor, on defect of his own Children, raised him; by the practice of Siegmanjassa, his Chief Eunuch (who are made in this Kingdom the prime Ministers of State) partly to strengthen his own Interest by ingratiating with the Heir Apparent, and partly out of gratitude to the Young man's Father, a Great Man, and

of the Bloud-Royal, who, when alive, was the promoter of Siegmanjassa : This same Prince of the Chias, or Sophian Extract, was raked out of the Embers of Oblivion.

Where you must note, That though his Father expired a Blazing Comet in the Court, yet at the death of any Nobleman, his Wealth falls all into the King's hands; whereby this poor Gentleman, for a long time, lived an obscure and miserable Life, no one taking his word for the victuals he put into his Belley : But upon the old King's importunity for one to sway the Scepter after him of his own Line, Siegmanjassa urged him ; and placed him poor and lean as he was, where the King might see him, but not he the King.

At first the King rejected him, as having no promising look ; still Siegmanjassa interceded, and desired his Lord to allow him like a Gentleman, and see to what use he would expend his Money : Which condescended to, a Bra-chmin (who are become the Farmers of the King's Rents) was dispatched to offer him the Loan of Money, which he willingly accepted of, and therewith put himself into an handsome Equipage, both for Apparel and Attendants (which specious Shews recommend here more than profoundness of parts) and withal Fed as well as the best of them. Wherefore after a short time he was again brought into the King's Presence, who now began to have some hopes of him ; and therefore to try him farther, he gave him a constant supply of Money ; and bad Siegmanjassa put him on some laudable enterprize in his Army, of which Siegmanjassa was General ; which he undertook with much Alacrity, and behaved himself with that Gallantry, that at length the Old King sent him a Tipstaff with a Royal Robe, requiring him to come to Court in one of the King's own Palenkeens : At which he was dismay'd, Saying he should never return to his House again.

However, by Siegmanjassa's encouragement he apparelled himself, and rode on the King's Palenkeen : His

Jealousy was grounded on a barbarous Custom of the Eastern Monarchs, who, when any Subject becomes suspected, send them alike honourable Presents with those in Favour, which in their receipt only shall testify to the World the King's Displeasure, though they whom they are designed for, live not to know the cause, being poisoned by them before they can plead for themselves. But he was assured no ill Intentions were towards him when speaking with the King face to face, he declared him his successor to the Crown, which not long after he was established in by the Death of his Master.

His Residence is at Gulconda, the Metropolis, and bearing the Name of the Kingdom, fifteen days journey West from hence.

Under him Siegmanjassa orders the whole Realm, amassing great Treasures (though he himself pays Homage to the Great Mogul) exacting every Man's Estate when he pleases, mulcting them at his own Will, squeezing the common People to perfect Penury : Besides the Reversions of Great Mens Estates, he has large Revenues from his Diamond Mines, which he lets out yearly to those who bid most.

His Expences are inconsiderable, his Subjects in their distinct Provinces maintaining his Soldiers, of whom he has a standing Army of an Hundred thousand Horse and Foot, when all together ; besides Two hundred Elephants in continual readiness, which are provided for by the Farmers of his Revenues.

All that he consumes is on his Voluptuousness, with which he is swallowed up.

The Kingdom of Gulconda extends from 10 deg. North Latitude to 19 deg.  $\frac{1}{2}$  along the Coasts of Coromandel, and up into the Country Three hundred Courses (which is a Mile and a quarter) though in some places thinly inhabited.

The next in Dignity to Siegmanjassa, is the Governor

of Mechlapatan, an Eunuch also, and a Slave to Siegmansassa, who came through the Town while we were here waited on by a Noble Train, besides Soldiers and Followers; having an Elephant led before his Palenkeen, which none presume to do, unless the King honour them therewith; nor to ride on any but Females, unless the Royal Family, who may only mount a Male to ride in State through their Cities. His Substitute here is a Chias Moor, who takes charge of the Stores every Night.

Over the Gentues they keep a strict hand, entrusting them with no Place of Concern, using them as Mechanicks and Servitors, to few of them attributing the Title of Merchants; though in this Town of Moors and Persians there are many Owners of good Trading Vessels.

The Persians have planted themselves here through the Intercourse of Traffick as well as Arms; being all of them at their first coming, low in Condition; but inspired by the Court-Favour, and making one of their own Nation always their Executors, they arrived to Preferment. Nor are any of these so exempted when they grow too rich, to be deplumated by the same hand.

Their way of living is truly Noble, having a Retinue which bespeaks their Greatness as they rise in Fortune or the King's Grace.

*Magnaue est Comitum emulatio quibus primus ad Principem locus, et Principum cui acerrimae plurimi Comites. Hæc dignitas, hæc vireæ, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari; in pace decus, in bello præsidium: Each contending to have the most numerous and handsomest Fellows for Attendance; their Pride at home, and abroad their Safeguard.*

However, for the English Honour be it spoke, none of them surpass the Grandeur of our East-India Company, who not only command, but oblige their utmost Respect none of their Servants shewing themselves in Publick without a Company answerable to theirs, and exceeding

them in Civility of Garb and Manners. When the Chief made his Entry at his Return from the Fort, it was very Pompous, all the Merchants of Esteem going to meet him with loud Indian Musick and Led-Horses: Before his Palenkeen an Horse of State, and two St. George's Banners, with English Trumpeters; after him the Factors on Horseback, and lusty Fellows running by their sides with Arundells, (which are broad Umbrelloes held over their heads,) Soldiers and Spearmen, Two hundred at least, and after these a Row of Palenkeens belonging to English and other Merchants.

At Meals their Domesticks wait on them with Obeisance suitable to great Potentates, enclosing their Tables, which are strewed liberally with Dainties served up in Plate of China; *Nam nulla aconita bibuntur scitibus*, says Juvenal, which crack when poisoned; which whether true or false (since it is so much practised in this Country by way of Revenge) is but a necessary Caution by all means to avoid.

They fan the Air with Peacocks Tails set in huge Silver Handles, and chiefly now, because the busy Flies would cover the Table, were they not beaten off. Abroad standing their heads with broad Targets held over their heads; washing and rubbing them in their Tanks; wanting in no Office may render them acceptable to their Masters.

But not to detract from the Inhabitants, their Solemnities are very Courtly, commonly performed by Night with the noise of Drum, Shawm, and Fife; especially at their Weddings, when the meanest (excepting those protested against) of the Gentus must not be denied his Week's Jollity in a Palenkeen, and a Guard of Targets, Swords, and Javelings, and others bearing the Ensigns denoting the Honour of their Tribe. If any of the subjected Tribes (as they count them) assume the Honour (though the Governor connive) they fall together by the

ears, and drag him shamefully by the Hair of the Head to the place he first set forth.

They are array'd in White Vests, girt with Sashes, small Turbats on their Heads, long Breeches to their Heels; the Gentues barefoot mostly; The Moors and Persians shod with Sandals, and over their Shoulders a Silk Mantle of what colour they fancy.

The English keep their fashion, though clothed in white: The Armenians like the Inhabitants.

The Moors are very grave and haughty in their demeanor, not vouchsafing to return an Answer by a Slave, but by a Deubash, who is the Interpreter. Their chiefest Delight and Pride is to be seen smoking Tobacco cross-legg'd in a great Chair at their doors out of a long Brass Pipe adapted to a large Crystal Hubble-bubble, fixed in a Brass Frame, their Menial Servants surrounding them.

All of this Robe's way of Salute is by lifting their Hand to their Head, except the Armenians, who move their Turbats as we our Hats.

The Moors are, by Nature, plagued with jealousy, cloistering their Wives up, and sequestering them the sight of any besides the Capon that watches them. When they go abroad, they are carried in close Palenkeens which, if a Man offer to unvail it is present death, the meanest of them not permitting their Women to stir out uncovered; of whom they are allowed as many as they can keep.

Their Matches are contrived by their Parents when young; at Seven Years the Son being taken from the Mother, the Sister from the Brother, and not a Father, though Fourescore and ten suffered the Interview of his Daughter; every dwelling having Apartments allotted for this Confinement.

The Gentues observe not that strictness, both Sexes enjoying the open Air. Their Women are manacled with Chains of Silver (or Fetters rather) and hung with Earrings of Gold and Jewels, their Noses stretched with.

weighty Jewels, on their Toes, Rings of Gold, about their Waste a painted Clout, over their Shoulders they cast a Mantle; their Hair tied behind their Head which both in Men and Women is naturally very long); a-top a Coronet of Gold beset with Stones; compleatly bodied and so flexible, that they are excellent Dancers, and good at Feats of Activity: I having seen them hold Nine Gilded Balls in play with their Hands and Feet, and the Muscles of their Arms and Legs, a long time together without letting them fall: They are clearer complexion'd than the men.

As for their dealing in the World, they are well skill'd and will arithmetize the nicest Fractions without the help of Pen or Ink; much gives to Traffic, and intelligent in the way of Merchandize, if not fraudulent; having an accomplishment in the Art of Staining Calicuts here beyond any other place in the East-Indies (for that they are upon washing rather clearer and livelier than at first and this is it that makes this Port so much frequented) which is painted with the Pencil by little Children as well as elder grown, they stretching the Pieces on the ground and sitting upon them run them over with a dexterity and exactness peculiar to themselves.

They are all of them of Disposition timorous, so that Twenty-four English-Men armed kept the Bank Solls against them on a late Demur; and thereupon at the coming in of our Ships they were all packing up to be gone, notwithstanding 200,000 Souls receive here their daily Sustenance: And as Tyrannous when they get the uppermost; an instance whereof the Occasion of this Demur presents: For our Factory protecting one of the English Nation from their Fury, who too incautiously had to deal with some of their Women, they set a De-Boy on the Factory (which is a Prohibition in the King's Name for any one to have anything to do with them till that be taken off) whereby they were debarred Wood and



Water, and all other Necessaries, till they had their Revenge on the Aggressor, which terminated not till Death had expiated the Fact: For having intrapped him by deluding Speeches into their merciless Power, they cut him in pieces before the Factory Gate: Whereupon the English drew out some Field-Pieces, and scowred the Streets, when they fled and left the Bank-Solls to their possession, which were not resigned till the De-Roy was taken off, which was not done till within a little of our Arrival; when the thing being fresh, and thinking us not only able by such a Fleet to demand Satisfaction, but resolved so to do they were all shifting for themselves: According to the true nature of Cowards, who when Peril is far from them, strike all with Lightning; but when it appears on equal terms, presently discover the wonted Paleness of an unsound Virtue.

Of Complexion the Gentues are blacker than the Moors, the Moors than the Persians.

Their executing of Justice in Capital Cases is sudden, either cutting them in pieces (which for Murder is always begun by the next Relation, who must be both Prosecutor and Executioner, and then seconded by the Rabble) or Impaling them on Stakes.

The punishing of their Great Ones, because not in force in our Western Empires, may deserve to be mentioned.

Upon an Offence they are sent by the King's Order, and committed to a place called the Post (from the Punishment inflicted), where the Master of the Post is acquainted with the heinousness of the Crime; which being understood, he heightens by a Drink, which at first they refuse, made of Bung (the Juice of the intoxicating sort of Hemp), and being mingled with Dutry (the deadliest sort of Solarium, or Nightshade) named Post, after a Week's taking, they crave more than ever they nauseated. Adilorum vicem qui degustato Sardonum graminum succo seruntur in morte ridere; making them foolishly mad.

Then are they brought into the Inner Lodgings of the House, in which Folding Doors open upon delicious Gardens, where Apes and Cats, Dogs and Monkeys are their Attendants, with whom they maintain their Dialogues, exercising over them their Humour of an Assassin, Usurper, Miser, or what their Genius led them to, whilst themselves. After this manner are they imprison'd during the King's Pleasure, or he order their Cure, to restore them to their Senses again ; which otherwise, after their Spirits are tired by a restless Appetite of doing, and in the meantime have not a suitable recruit they linger by a lasting Leanness into the Shades, which alive they represented.

As for their Law-Disputes, they are soon ended ; the Governor hearing, and the Cadi or Judge determining every Morning.

Religions of all Inventions are licens'd. The Moors are Mahometans of the Arabian Sect : The Persians as much deluded by Mortis Ali or Hali, accused therefore of Heresy by the Moors. The Natives are Idolaters worshipping many Penates or Household-Gods, yea, the Devil too for fear : Yet they acknowledge but One Supreme God ; and the various Representations or Shapes adored, are but so many different Attributes. After every day's Devotion they dawb their Forheads with Paint, and as Principles of Zeal, abominate eating with any, unless of their own Cast, when they strip and wash themselves before Meals.

They have a due command of their Appetite both as to Time and the Matter they feed on, to wit, Roots, Herbs, Rice, and Cutchery, all manner of Fruits, but nothing that has had Life, or likely to produce Vital Heat, as Eggs, which they will not eat ; but they will drink Milk and boil'd Butter, which they call Ghe.

For their Easements both Men and Women keep a set hour, and go with every one a purifying Pot in their hand (for to take up Water to wash after their occasions) to some Publick Tank or Pond ; the Men apart from the

Women's ; neither of them concerned for Passengers, keeping their back-sides towards them till they have done their Business.

Among them all it is common to make water sitting, as when they evacuate the other way ; and it is a shame for any one to be seen to do otherwise, they sarcastically saying, Such a one pisses like a Dog (which is held unclean) standing.

Their Doctors of Divinity are the Brachmins, who instruct them in their Law, to preserve all Creatures that are beneficial, and teach them the old Pythagorean *Μετεμψύχωσις*, Transmigration of Souls out of one body into another ; as a Tyrant into a Tygre, a Covetous Man or Cruel into a Boar, a fearful Man into an Hare, and so on : If they see a Tree twined about with another (as most Bind-Weeds will), they tell you that in this life, when Human, the Soul got into that Tree was a Debtor to the other, and therefore it is held fast by the other. The Soul of a Good Man is believed to depart into a Cow, wherefore 'tis Sacrilege with them to kill a Cow or a Calf ; but highly peculiar to shoot a Kite, dedicated to the Brachmins, for which Money will hardly pacify.

Their Religious Worship consists most in washing and purifyings ; more of which hereafter.

They marry very young, not knowing their Wives though till at riper years they come to consummate their Hymeneal Rites.

Their Language they call generally Gentus : They write on the Leaf of a Cocoe with a sharp Iron Instrument. The peculiar Name of their Speech is Telinga.

The Mahometans bury their dead ; the Gentues burn them ; and in the Husband's Flames the Wife offers herself a Sacrifice to his Manes, or else she shaves and turns Whore for a Livelibood, none of her Friends looking upon her ; here, not her Husband's acquaintance, thrusting her upon it ; to which end they give her Dutry ; when

half mad she throws herself into the Fire, and they ready with great Logs keep her in his Funeral Fire.

The Armenians are settled here on account of Trade (whose History is reserved for a fitter place) they are Christians of a separate Communion.

The Portugals, of the Romish Church.

The English, of the Orthodox Episcopacy.

The Dutch, most Calvinists.

The Coin current here is a Pagod, 8s. ; Dollar, 4s. 6d. ; Rupee, 2s. 3d. ; Cash, 1d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; a Cash  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Staple Commodities are Calicuts white and painted, Palempores, Carpets, Tea ; Diamonds of both Rocks, the Old and New ; Eseretores, and other Knick-knacks for Ladies, because farfetch'd and dear bought.

Beasts they have, Wild Lions, Leopards, Bears, Boars Tygers, Antelopes, Spotted Dear.

For Service, Oxen, Buffola's, Camels, Asses which they use for burthen, to carry Packs, Water in great Leathern Sacks about the Town for every Family, and any other Slavery : But their Horses, which are small and hot-mettled, they put to no such drudgery, but use them with all the kindness and fair speeches imaginable.

With these (without disparagement to that Image God has stamp'd on that Enchiridion of his Handywork, Man) we might recite the Coolies, Duties, and Palenkeen Boys ; by the very Heathens esteemed a degenerate Offspring of the Holencores ; and in earnest (excepting the Shape) they come nigh to Brutes. These are the Machines they journey by : On the Shoulders of the Coolies they load their Provant, and what Moveables necessary. The Duties march like Furies, with their lighted Muscals in their hands (they are Pots filled with Oyl in an Iron Hoop, like our Beacons, and set on fire by stinking Rags). Ambling after these a great pace, the Palenkeen-Boys support them ; four of them, two at each end of a Bambo, which is a long hollow Cane, thick, light, and strong,

arched in the middle (which is done in Cases while it is growing), where hangs the Palenkeen, as big as an ordinary Couch, broad enough to tumble in; cieled with Silk, and Bosses pendent to raise withal, and others at each Corner, as our Coaches have; underneath it is laced with strong broad Girts, over which a Quilt, Skin of a Tyger, or Hide to lye upon, and round Pillows, of Silk or Velvet, to bolster their Heads. At every Angle turn'd Staves, and over spreading it a Scarlet Coverlet of London Cloath.

A Set of these Bascals, who are eight, in a Weeks' time with this Load shall run down their choicest Horses; and bait them generously, shall stage it a Month together.

For War, Elephants: For to eat, Sheep, poor, fleeced rather with Hair than Wool, their Aspect bewraying as much Goat as Sheep: Goats; Hogs low and black, unclean to the Mahometans: Cows, sacred to the Gentues, as Serapis to the Egyptians; Conies, Hares.

Reptiles, Snakes, Serpents, the Amphibena and other kinds, all which they pretend to charm, carrying them up and down in Baskets to get Money of the People, as well as Strangers; when they strike up on a Reed run through a Coco-Shell, which makes a noise something like our Bag-Pipes, and the subtle Creatures will listen to the Musick, and observe a Motion correspondent to the Tune; a Generation of Vipers that well deserve to be stiled so, knowing when the Charmer charms wisely.

Fowls of all sort belonging to India are plenty, but chiefly tame Geese.

Fishes in abundance, from whence the Town derives its Etymology, Mechlapatan signifying the Fish-Town.

For Corn, they have Rice the Staff of the Land, some Wheat.

Fruits to variety.

The Water they drink they dig for; not that they are without Rivers, but they are brackish. It lies in 15

deg. North Lt. 40 min. From the Lizzard 96 deg. East. By reason of the Multitude of People and ill Site it is unhealthy ; though it agree with the Natives, who live to a good Old Age.

The English for that cause, only at the time of shipping remove to Medapollon, where they have a wholesome Seat Forty Miles more North.

Rain they have none from November to May, all which time the Land-Breezes (which blow one half the day off the Sea, but faintly the other) torment them with a suffocating Heat ; so that the Birds of the Air as they fly, often drop down dead, the Wind coming as hot as the Steam from an Oven, by the reflecting of the Sun upon the Sands, which are hurled about the Marshes. When they feel themselves freest from Sickness, though all Perspiration through the Pores by Sweat is dried up : From the beginning of May they are refreshed with cooling Showers, which at length with the overflowing Sea cause an Inundation ; in which space, the Air growing foggy, Emphyema's and Fluxes are rifest ; and Swarms of Ants, Muskeetoes, Flies, and stinking Chints, Cimices, etc. breed and infest them : This Season we experimented ; which though moderately warm, yet our Bodies broke out into small fiery Pimples (a sign of a prevailing Crasis) augmented by Muskeetoe-Bites, and Chinces raising Blisters on us.

To arm themselves against this Pleague those that live here have fine Calicut Lawn thrown over their Beds, which though white as Snow when put on, shall be in an hour besmeared all over, which might be tolerable, did not their daring Buzzes continually alarm, and sometimes more sensibly provoke, though cloath'd with long Breeches to their Toes, and Muslers on their Hands and Face, and a Servant to keep them from them with a Fan, without which there is no sleeping.

Notwithstanding these provisions, yet there is another

Insect more disturbing than these, and not to be escaped but by this Device, and that is the Ant, which creeps up to all their Quarters, and between their Beds, if the Bed-Posts were not set in Pans of Water to hinder their Progress. Chinces stick among the Cotton, and in rotten Posts, whose bittings wheal most sadly, and if they strive to take a Revēge for that abuse, and chance to squeeze them, they leave stink a enough to choak them.

The Air so bad here, that it agrees with few new Comers; removing Three Miles up the Countrey it is an infallible Cure for the Diseases of this place, provided it be done in time: Where the English have a Garden for Divertisement; where also is a Burial-place graced with Monumenta both of Antique and Modern Workmanship.

Half a Mile beyond, a Dozen of the King's Elephants are stabled. When we came they were feeding out of their Houses on Sugar-Canes fresh gathered and administred by their Keepers. Alighting from our Palenkeens, they loosed one which was Fourteen Feet high, and the Black-clawing his Poll with an Iron Engine, he stooped down for him to get up, and being upon his Back guided him as he lifted. His Body is a Symetrical Deformity (if I may so say); the Hanches and Quarters clapt together seem so many heaps; his Neck short, slapping Ears like Scates, little-Eye'd, a broad Face, from which drops his Proboscis or Trunk, thrusting it out, or shriveling it in as he chuses, through its Hollow he sucks his Liquor, and with two Fingers, as it were, reaches the Fodder, shaking off the dirt against his Thigh, or Vermin, such as Mice, which he abhors, he brings it under to his Mouth, from whence proceed two huge Tusks of Ivory for Defence, not Mastication, for which he is supplied within with others; his Tail is curt: He shuffles an end a great Pace, moving all the Joints of his Legs, though the Motion of his Hinder-Legs imitate Human Progression, having a Patella or Knee-Pan afore, not articulated

behind as other four footed Beasts are. When he stands, his Legs appear so many Columns scollop'd at bottom, being flat-hoof'd.

The She's have their Paps under their Bowels a fore, as Laurentius truly relates.

They are of a Mouse-Colour. With their Trunks they strike a violent Blow, and are taught to sling Iron Links, to the destruction of their Enemies. That they draw their weighty Cannon is certain; but that they engage with smaller on their Back I am no Eye-Witness.

After a Month's Stay here, a Patamar (a Foot-post) from Fort St. George, made us sensible of the Dutch being gone from thence to Ceilon: The Treasure was reshipped, and we, in less than a Week, through contrary Monsoons and Ill Weather (the Sun being in his Zenith, and encountering the Dog-Star over our heads) arrived there.

When sliding by four French Men of War at Anchor under St. Thomas (of whom the Admiral the Brittoon was a Ship of 1200 Tuns, 68 Brass Guns; the second had 5 Brass Guns; the other two were less; and the Platform of the City mounted with Brass Pieces, that slung their Shot an incredible way) we against all probability found the Messenberg there, having ventured alone, and but the day before us came into the Road under our Fort; there also rode two Portugal Junks. The Colours the Fort shewed us, was St. George's Flag; it bore from us one League West, Low-Land: St. Thomas one League and a half South-West, High-Land behind it; North Lat. 12 deg. 30 min. Long. from the Lizard 96 deg. East.



## CHAPTER V

GIVES A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH  
ON THE COAST OF COROMANDEL, CONTINUING TILL WE DOUBLE  
THE CAPE FOR THE COAST OF MALABAR.

I WENT ashore in a *Mussoola*, a Boat wherein ten Men paddle the two aftermost of whom are the Steers-men, using their, Paddles instead of a Rudder: The Boat is not strengthened with Knee-Timber, as ours are; the bended Planks are sowed together with Rope-yarn of the Cocoe, and calked with Dammar, (a sort of Rosin taken out of the Sea) so artificially, that it yields to every Ambitious Surf, otherwise we could not get ashore, the Bar knocking in pieces all that are inflexible: Moving towards the Shore, we left St. Thomas, which lies but Three Miles to the South of Maderas, and Fort St. George; in the midway Maderas River in great Rains opens its Mouth into the Sea; having first saluted the Banks of Fort St. George on the West: Towards the Sea the Sand is cast up into a Rampire, from whence the fluid Artillery discharges itself upon us, and we, on the Shoulders of the Blacks, must force our way through it.

Though we landed wet, the Sand was scalding hot, which made me recollect my steps, and hasten to the Fort. As it looked on the Water, it appeared a Place of good force. The Outwork is walled with Stone a good height, thick enough to blunt a Cannon-bullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Watergate, besides an Halfmoon of Fire-Guns. At both Points are mounted twelve Guns eying the Sea, Maderas, and St. Thomas; under these in

a Line stand Pallisadoes, reaching from the Wall to the Sea; and hedge in at least a Mile of ground. On the South side they have cut a Ditch a sufficient depth and breadth to prevent scaling the Wall, which is a quarter of a Mile in length afore it meets with a third Point or Bastion, facing St. Thomas, and the adjacent Fields; who suffer a Deluge when the Rains descend the Hills. From this Point to the Fourth, where are lodged a Dozen Guns more that grin upon Maderas, runs no Wall, but what the Inhabitants compile for their Gardens and Houses planted all along the River parallel with that, that braces the sea. From the first Point a Curtain is drawn with a Parapet; beneath it are two Gates, and Sally Ports to each for to enter Maderas; over the Gates five Guns run out their Muzzels, and two more within them on the Ground.

Over all these the Fort itself lifts up its Four Turrets, every Point of which is loaded with Ten Guns alike: On the South-East Point is fixed the Standard; the Forms of the Bastions are Square, sending forth Curtains fringed with Battlements from one to the other; in whose Interstitiums whole Culverin are traversed. The Governor's House in the middle overlooks all, slanting diagonally with the Court. Enting the Garrison at the Out-gate towards the Sea, a Path of broad polished Stones spreads the way to pass the Second Guard into the Fort at an humble Gate; opposite to this one more stately fronts the High-street; on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for every day's Duty, are taken Two hundred Men: There being in pay for the Honourable East India Company of English and Portuguez 700, reckoning the Montrosses and Guaners.

The Streets are sweet and clean, ranked with fine Mansions, of no extraordinary Height (because a Garrison-Town) though Beauty, which they conciliate, by the Battlements and Terras Walks on every House, and Rows of Trees before their Doors, whose Italian Porticos make no

ordinary conveyance into their Houses, built with Brick and Stone.

Edifices of common note are none, except a small Chapel the Portugals are admitted to say Mass in.

Take the Town in its exact proportion, and it is Oblong.

The true Possessors of it are the English, instated therein by one of their Naiks, or Prince of the Gentues, 90 years ago, 40 years before their total subjection to the Moors; who likewise have since ratified it by a Patent from Gulconda, only paying 7000 Pagods yearly for Royalties and Customs, that raises the Mony fourfold to the Company; whose Agent here is Sir William Langham, a Gentleman of Indefatigable Industry and Worth. He is Superintendent over all the Factories on the Coast of Coromandel, as far as the Bay of Bengala, and up Huygly River which is one of the Falls of Ganges) *Viz.* Fort St. George, alias Maderas, Pettipolee, Mechlapatan, Gundore, Medapollon, Balisore, Bengala, Huygly, Castle Buzzar, Pattanaw. He has his Mint, and Privilege of Coining; the Country Stamp is only a Fanam, which is 3d. of Gold; and their Cash, twenty of which go to a Fanam. Moreover he has his Justiciaries; to give Sentence, but not on Life and Death to the King's Liege People of England; though over the rest they may. His Personal Guard consists of 8 or 400 Blacks; besides a Band of 1500 Men ready on Summons: He never goes abroad without Fifes, Drums, Trumpets, and a Flag with two Balls in a Red Field; accompanied with his Council and Factors on Horseback, with their Ladies in Palenkeens.

The English here are Protestants, the Portugals Papists, who have their several Orders of Fryers; who, to give them their due, compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, many of the Natives being brought in by them.

The number of English here may amount to Three hundred; of Portugues as many Thousand, who made Fort St. George their Refuga, when they were routed from St.

Thomas by the Moors about ten years past, and have ever since lived under protection of the English.

Thus have you the Limits and Condition of the English Town: Let us now pass the Pale to the Heathen Town, only parted by a wide Parrade, which is used for a Buzzar, or Mercate-place.

#### MADERAS.

Then divides it self into divers Long Streets, and they are chequered by as many transverse. It enjoys some Choultries for Places of Justice; one Exchange, one Pagod, contained in a squaer Stone-wall; wherein are a number of Chappels (if they may be comprehended under that Classis most of them resembling rather Monuments for the Dead, than Places of Devotion for the Living) one for every Tribe; not under one Roof, but distinctly separate, though altogether, they bear the name of one intire Pagoda. The Work is inimitably durable, the biggest closed up with Arches continually shut, as where is supposed to be hid their Mammon of Unrighteousness, (they burying their Estates here when they dye, by the persuasion of their Priests, towards their viaticum for another State) admitting neither Light nor Air, more than what the Lamps, always burning, are by open Funnels above suffered to ventilate: By which Custom they seem to keep alive that Opinion of Plato, in such a Re-volution to return into the World again, after their Transm., according to the Merits of their former living. of a minuter dimension were open, supported by under straight and round Pillars, plain and uniform up to the top, where some Hieroglyphical Portraicture lends its assistance to the Roof, flat, with Stones laid along like Planks upon our Rafters. On the Walls of good Sculpture were obscene Images, where Aretine might have furnished his Fancy for his Postures: The Floor is stoned, they are of no great altitude; stinking most egregiously of the Oyl they waste in their Lamps, and besmear their Beastly

Gods with: Their outsides shew Workmanship and Cost enough, wrought round with monstrous Effigies; so that oleum & operam perders, Pains and Cost to no purpose, may not improperly be applied to them. Their Gates are commonly the highest of the Work, the others concluding in shorter Piles.

Near the outside of the Town the English Golgotha, or Place of Sculls, presents variety of Tombs, Walks and Sepulchres; which latter, as they stand in a Line, are an open Cloyster; but succinctly and precisely a Quadrangone with Hemispherical Apartitions; on each side adorned with Battlements to the abutment of every Angle, who bear up a Coronal Arch, on whose Vertex a Globe is rivited by an Iron Wedge sprouting into a Branch; paved underneath with a great Black Stone, whereon is engraved the Name of the party interred. The Buildings of less note are Low and Decent; the Town is walled with mud, and Bulwarks for Watch-places for the English Peons; only on that side the Sea washes it, and the Fort meets it. On the North are two great Gates of Brick, and one on the West, where they wade over the River to the Washermen's Town.

Its Map renders it a Trapezium by an Oblique Stroke of the River on that Corner, and another next the Sea.

Without the Town grows their Rice, which is nourished by the letting in of the Water to drown it: Round about it is bestrewed with Gardens of the English; where, besides Gourds of all sorts for Stews and Pottage, Herbs for Sallad, and some few Flowers, as jassamin, for beauty and delight; flourish pleasant Tops of Plantains, Coccoes, Guivavaa, a kind of Pear, Jawks; a Coat of Armour over it like an Hedg-hog's, guards its weighty Fruit, Oval without for the length of a Span, within in fashion like Squils parted, Mangos, the delight of India, a Plum, Pomegranets, Bonanocs, which are a sort of Plantain, though less, yet much more grateful, Beetle; which last

must not be slipt by in silence: It rises out of the Ground to twelve or fourteen Feet height, the Body of it green and slender, jointed like a Cane, the Boughs flaggy and spreading, under whose Arms it brings froth from its pregnant Womb (which bursts when her Month is come) a Cluster of Green Nuts, like Wallnuts in Green Shells, but different in the Fruit; which is hard when dried, and looks like a Nutmeg.

The Natives chew it with Chinam (Lime of calcinee Oyster Shells) and Arach, a Convolvulus with a Leaf likt the largest Ivy; for to preserve their Teeth, and correct an unsavoury Breath: If swallowed, it inebriates as much as Tobacco. Thus mixed, it is the only Indian Entertainment, called Pawn.

These Plants set in a Row, make a Grove that might delude the Fanatic Multitude into an Opinion of their being sacred; and were not the Mouth of that Grand Impostor Hermetically sealed up, where Christianity is spread, these would still continue, as it is my Fancy they were of old, and may still be the Laboratories of his Fallacious Oracles; For they masquing the face of Day, beget a solemn reverence, and melancholy habit in them that resort to them; by representing the more inticing Place of Zeal, a Cathedral, with all its Pillars and Pillasters, Walks and Choirs; and so contrived, that whatever way you turn, you have an even Prospect.

But not to run too far out of Maderas before I give you an Account of the People; know they are of the same Nation with Metchlapatan, have the same unbelieving Faith, and under the same Bondage with the Moore, were not that alleviated by the Power of the English, who command as far as their Guns reach: To them therefore the pay Toll, even of Cow-dung (which is their chiefest Firing) a Prerogative the Dutch could never obtain in this Kingdom, and by this means acquire great Estates without fear of being molested. Their only Merchants being

Gentues, forty Moors having hardly Cohabitation with them, though of the Natives 30,000 are employed in this their Monopoly.

The Country is Sandy, yet plentiful in provisions; in all Places Tops of Trees, among one of which, on the top of a withered Stump sate perching a Chamelion, *Græce Χαμιλέων*, clasping with its Claws its rotten Station, filling himself with his Aerial Food, *ex tali satietate facile est parare famem*; a Banquet which most other Creatures else arise an hungred from: But to be confirmed in the truth of what we have only by Tradition, I caused a Black who had a Bow there, to fell him with an Earthen Pellet, which when he had, after a small time he revived, and making a Collar of Straw for his Neck, he carried him to my Lodgings, where I dieted him a Month on the same Provant. That he changes his Colours at a constant time of the Day, is not to be contradicted; but whether he live by the Air alone, I will not stand to it, unless there were a Dearth of Flies in the Countrey; though for my part I never did see him eat any. In Shape he comes nearest a Newt; with his Lungs his Body does agitate itself up to its Neck; he crawls on all Four, and has a Tail longer than his Body, which all together was no more than half a Foot; he has Teeth, and those sharp, which makes me think him an Anti-beel-ubian.

Nine Days spent here, our Ships set sail again for Mechlapatan, leaving us behind them:

In this Interim we have leisure to say something, if not a plenary Panegyrick,

#### OF THE FRENCH TRANSACTIONS IN THE EAST-INDIES.

Of late Years, that stirring King Lewis the XIVth (who was well instructed first by Mazarine, and since having been no bad Proficient under so expert a Master) has made himself to be taken notice of in Europe by his Conquests and Attempts upon Flanders and the Low Countries

by Land; and has also by his Foreign Expeditions, ac-  
 quested the World's admiration, by his speedy Growth in  
 Maritime Power.

Insomuch that at his Infant Entrance upon the Watry  
 Stage he was so audacious to join with the Belgians against  
 his Royal Patron of Britain; having his Ends of those he  
 pretended to succour, his wary Policy taught him another  
 Lesson, that caused him to mediate a Triple Alliance.

About which time enjoying full Coffers, he ruminated on  
 great Designs, as the raising an Army against Spain; to  
 the same intent it was necessary for him to think of the  
 continuing a Supply of Money: He therefore (omitting  
 other ways of enriching his Exchequer) put in a Stock  
 with his Merchant-Adventurers, fitting out a Fleet of  
 Twenty Sail of lusty Ships, to settle a Trade in India,  
 committing them to the Charge and Conduct of a Viceroy;  
 who coming safe about the Cape, touched at St. Lawrence,  
 where they did but little besides burying their Viceroy, and  
 dispatching four Ships into Europe.

In the stead of the Viceroy deceased, the now reigning  
 succeeded. From thence they sailed to Surat, where the  
 Great Mogul endowed them with Immunities of Traffick.

In the mean while a second War betwixt England and  
 Holland was fomented, in the which the French threw off  
 the protecting the Dutch, and sided with his Majesty of  
 England. When neglecting his newly hatch'd Factory  
 at Surat (whether out of its not answering his expectations  
 or his earnestness in prosecuting the Hollanders by Sea as  
 well as by Land, may be known by those that are more  
 intelligent in his affairs at Home,) sense of Honour, obliged  
 his Fleet in the East-Indies to New Adventures; and want  
 of Money, the Merchants at Surat to Trade upon the Cre-  
 dit of the French King.

With fourteen Sail of Ships they roved on the Coasts  
 of Malabar, and at last came to the Island Ceilon, setting  
 upon the Dutch at Trincomalai, and forced it; but being



distitute of Provisions forsook it, after the loss of abundance of their Men, and four of their Ships.

From whence they passed along the Coast of Coromandel, and with Ten Sail came before St. Thomas, demanding Victuals of the Moors; but they denying, they brought their Ships to bear upon the Fort, and landing some small Pieces they stormed it, driving the Moors to the search of new Dwellings.

After they had taken it, they broke up their weather-beaten Vessels, and brought ashore their Ordnance, keeping their Trenches within, and mounting it with the Sea without; they still maintain it maugre all the great Armies the King of Gulconda has sent against it.

Till now the 18th Month of its Siege, and the fourth year of their leaving France, the Dutch of Batavia, in revenge of the Inroads the French have made on their Countrey at home, undertaking to waylay them, that no Sustainance might be brought to them by Sea, came against it with 20 Sail, 15 Men of War, great Ships, some of 72 Brass Guns apiece, well mann'd.

For all that, the Viceroy, who had then been gone out with four Sail, but returning alone, got betwixt them and the Fort with his single Ship in the Night: The Device this; He left his Light upon a Catamaran, so that they thought him at an Anchor without them, when the next Morn he play'd upon them from under the Fort: This Exploit, and the bruit of our Approach, made them withdraw to the Southward for fresh Recruits of Men and Ammunition.

Which gave the French encouragement to sally out upon the Moors (they before being beaten from their Works near the City, had decamped Seven Miles off St. Thomas), and with an handfull of Men pillaged and set fire to their Tents, foraging the Countrey round about, returning loaden with Spoils.

Three days after our Ships departed, the Batavians came

again, and cast Anchor over-against St. Thomas with their Flags flying; in the Afternoon they received some Shot from the French Fort, and the Ships that lay in the Road: The next day all but five weighed, who tarried not many days before they followed the rest to Policat, a Strong-hold of theirs, but 50 Miles North of us: Where we leave them to the landing 700 Men, to join with the Moors by Land, and their Ships to wait upon ours, upon their repair for Fort St. George: And at a distance because too near an Intrusion would but exasperate the enraged Moors to enhance the Price of our Curiosity) we will take a Survey of St. Thomas.

#### OF ST. THOMAS.

It is a City that formerly for Riches, Pride, and Luxury was second to none in India; but since, by the mutability of Fortune, it has abated much of its adored Excellencies.

The Sea on one side greets its Marble Walls, on the other a Chain of Hills intercepts the Violence of the inflaming Heat; one of which, called St. Thomas his Mount, is famous for his Sepulture, (in Honour of whom a Chappel is dedicated, the Head Priest of which was once the Metropolitan Bishop of India), and for a Tree called Arbar Tristis, which withers in the Day, and blossoms in the Night.

About this Mount live a Cast of People, one of whose Legs are as big as an Elephant's; which gives occasion for the divulging it to be a judgment on them, as the Generation of the Assassins and Murtheres of the Blessed Apostle St. Thomas, one of whom I saw at Fort St. George.

Within the Walls seven Churches answer to as many Gates; the Rubbish of whose stupendious Heaps do justify the truth of what is predicated in relation to its pristine State.

The Builders of it were the Portugals.

The Confounders the Moors, who surprized them wallowing in their Wealth and Wantonness.

The present Competitors are the French, who are very unlikely to keep it (not for want of Valour, but for that few and unprovided, are not able long to resist multitudes) the Moors, and thirdly, the Hollanders, whose Interests are to destroy the French in India; Which the French foreseeing, had wisely solicited a Truce with Gulconda, and had hopes of that King's complying, till the Arrival of the Dutch, when they could not be heard. For considering a Kindness extorted not so obliging as that freely offered, and his Honour attained by their Swords being still in their hands, he closed with the Hatred of the Hollanders, for their final Extirpation.

Before which he accomplished, he may chance to find it an hard Task, especially had the French any hopes of Succours: For now they are 600 strong in the Fort and Ships, all stout Fellows, every Soldier fit to be a Commander. Their greatest scarcity will be of Food, with which had not the English privately befriended them, they could not have subsisted hitherto. Though the English, should they have War with France, would find them to be an Annoyance to their Trade: So that were the City again in the hands of the Moors, or even with the Ground, it were better for us.

Here it may be queried, Why Gulconda being a Potent Prince, should permit Garisons to be in the hands of Aliens? To this may be answered, That this of St. Thomas was founded when the Indians were naked and unarm'd. But this satisfies not the Question, since that the Moors having conquered it, they again offered it the Portugals, who slighted the Propositions, unless they would restore them their Guns which they carried away with them. The true reason then is this. That Gulconda, as all the Indian Princes are, is weak at Sea; therefore it is a Maxim among them to commit their Strong-holds on the Sea-Coasts to those they can call their Friends, for not only preventing Invasions at the Charge and Courage of Foreigners; but

they (not being Absolute, but subject to the Authority of the Great Mogul) upon any Defeat, have these Places as sure Asylums of Retreat.

Amidst these Scenes of Affairs, what next offers to our View, is odd in it self, to find an Aptness in these people to improve all Gainful Arts, and not to have advanced one footstep from the false Rudiments either of Religion or Customs of the old World; for they do in my mind more than imitate, pertinaciously holding their Antiquities of Pan, Ceres, and Flora; as may appear by this and other following Farces.

Towards the latter end of August, when their Corn was in the Blade, and they were expecting a plentiful Crop, the Gentues of Maderas held a Feast in Memory of some of their Saints of the Devil's canonizing.

Their Ceremonies were usher'd in with Tumult; in the middle of them were carried their Gods in State, garnished with the Riches of the Orient; they were cut in horrid Shapes; the reason of which, *Divina assimilatio est causa diversitatis in rebus*; though I should allow the diversity of Creatures in all Orders of the World, hath no other aim but to represent the Divinity, by whatsoever Image, yet I cannot imagine such Deformities could ever be invented for that end. Before them went the Brachmins, making a Noise with their loud Musick; after them their dancing Wenches (who always Morning and Evening tumble afore their Gods, which with some Mimical Gesture is all their Dancing) with Ephods of Silk and Gold upon their Breasts: With these in a Ring hand in hand, were the dancing Boys, all naked but a Clout, like the Bacchanalian Youths that used to revel it with Flora's Strumpets through the Streets of Rome.

Thus went they in Procession, till they came to a Pageant, whereon was pictured their Gods; from whence, over a cross Piece of Timber, hung a Cocos Nut, which the Hinds in Yellow Caps, and Clouts about their Wastes

striving to hit with a great Club, are washed by a Shower of Water, by the Brachmins placed on purpose; after a long Trial of their Patience, they suffer one to bear it away in Triumph.

All the time of their Sport, Beetle and Cocoa Nuts are scattered among the People, for which they scramble as earnestly as if they were Medals at Coronations.

On a Pageant over-against the Pagod they had a Set of Dancers handed like Puppits, to the amusing of the Mobile.

Then setting open the Gates of the Pagod, they received all the unsanctified Crew, and shut them in; where how they conclude their Rites, is not to be divulged, Ignorances with them being the Mother of Devotion.

At Tribliator, four Miles North of Maderas, is a Pagod transcending both in respect of Building and Antiquity; there being Characters, the Expounders of the Gentu Language or Holy Writ understand not: To this Mother-Pagod, at certain Seasons of the Year long Pilgrimages are set on foot, at what time there is an innumerable Course, whereat some at the Visitants count it meritorious to be trod to death under a weighty Chariot of Iron made for the carriage of their Deities; and with themselves lay their Wives and Children to undergo the same Self-martyrdom.

In one of their open Pagode or Chappels, stands a Venerable Sir at the upper end, with the Attendants of Lamps and Bats, to whom they pay a world of worship: Who this should be, unless that Periomel, from whose Head the Brachmins, Pallas-like fable their origination, I am yet to seek.

In the way hither are store of Antilopes, not to be taken but by a Decoy made of Green Boughs, wherein a Man hides himself, and walking with this Bush upon his back, gains so near on them, while grazing or browsing rather on Shrubs or Bushes, as to hit one with an arrow, when it

may be run down with Dogs, the rest of the Herd shuning it: They are of a delicates shape and make than a Deer, their Horns not jagged, but turned as an Unicorn's; nor spread into Branches, but straight, and long, and tapering; rooted on the *Osfrontia*, springing up on both sides.

At the end of August one of the Portugal Junks, we found in the Road, set Sail for Achein; where is Gold, and the Island thought by some to be Solomon's Ophir; and the Queen thereof, by whom it is constantly governed, confidently reported to be the Queen of the South, Achein being on the Island Sumatra in the South Seas.

The first of September only seven of our Ten Ships returned from Mechlapatan with their wounded Men and torn Hulks, who had met the Hollanders, and tried their Force; two days after they were dispatched from Mechlapatan, in Pettipolee Bay, where as soon as Day began to peep, a Thicket of Twenty Sail of our Enemies were discovered stemming the flowing Tide at an Anchor. Our fleet might have passed them without giving Battel; but that the undaunted Britains scorned to fly, chusing rather to lye a Battery for them, than cowardly to flinch: Wherefore they braced their Sails to the Masts, and being to Leeward, stayed for the Wind, which favoured the Hollanders; who comming up with our fleet, made as if they would have gone by them; but were intercepted by they headmost of ours; Which perceived by the forwardest of theirs, they sent their Shallops aboard their Admiral for orders, for *vis conflicti expers mole ruit sua* Strength void of Counsel sinks with its proper weight; which was but too truly the fault of our Commanders over-confident of their own Conduct, and lightly regarding the Authority of their General.

When they came back again, they brought their fleet up in a body, and after the Signal given, it thundred and hailed Bullets till Night.

The first that felt the warmth of the Showers, was the

Bombaim ; who, after an hours hot dispute, almost board and board with one of their biggest Ships, bore off hardly able to keep above water, and never came in again, having received 80 Shot in her Hull, and some between Wind and Water, so that in the Hold, there was four Feet and an half Water ; besides innumerable in her Rigging, Masts and Sails, from those that pelted at a distance.

The next Ship that behaved her self stoutly, was the Admiral's ; who lost 34 of her Men by the Scurvey Accidents of Powder 17 of them were slain outright.

But the Three fatal Ships were the Antelope, Captain Golsbery ; the Sampson, Captain Ernig, Beer-Admiral ; and the President, Vice Admiral Captain Hide, whose rigid Fortune saved the drooping honour of the English, which is not less conspicuous in Adversity than in Prosperity. For having sustained the Brunt of the day, they left not off when they were penned in by the Enemy, and deserted by their Friends : For by Five in the Afternoon the London bore away to stop her Leaks, the rest were glad to follow ; and left them to maintain so unequal a Fight. The Vice-Admiral was seen to blow up his Decks several times distributing the Hollanders as Doles to the Fishes, and left not off till Night parted the Fray ; so that what became of them our Ships could give us no account.

Six days since this, a Thousand Men under Dutch Colours, with a dozen Carriages with great Brass Pieces, marched by out of shot of our Leaguers, and fixed their Standard with the Moors in fight of St. Thomas.

The next day was sent from Mechlapatan hither, the Copy of a Letter from Captain Hide, which assured us of his being alive but wounded, his Ships as it is, at the disposal of the Dutch ; as also Captain Ernig's, though he was killed first : That Captain Golsbery sunk his, rather than it should go to Batavia ; that he, and what Men could shift for themselves, were safe.

It may be wondered why the French did not assist us,

they being as much at odds with the Dutch as we; the reality is, they offered their Devoirs, but we must equip their Ships; for which our Commanders pretended lack of Orders as well as Money and Materials: Though the plain truth was, they despised kindness, thinking it beneath them to be beholden to them for their help.

The Factories of the Hollanders on this Coast, are Ceilon, Jaasnapatan, Sandraslapatan, Negapatan, Policat, Mechlapatan.

The Danes have a few, the French less.

In the south Sea, under the Agent of Bantam, the English have Factors at Pegu, Siam, Jambes: The Dutch have Batavia and the Moluccas, from whence Nutmegs, worth more alone than all we have in India; they being as powerful for Men, Riches and Shipping in Batavia, as in Europe; which is grounded on a different Principle from our East India Company, who are for the present Profit, not future Emolument.

These, as they gain ground, secure it by vast Expences raising Forts, and maintaining Souldiers: Ours are for raising Auctions and retrenching Charges; bidding the next Age grow rich as they have done, but not affording them the means.

Our Ships that were left, were now sooner repaired, than fainted, with their Salt Peter and Fine Cloth; and had, leave to make the best of their way for the Malabar Coast in less than a Fortnight's time, when it was determined to keep off to Sea, as well to escape the Hollanders, as the Violence of the Mossoons who, being upon the point of shifting their Quarters, are most dangerous near the Shore.

These Mossoons or Monsoons, are the Winds and Rains customary to all India, varying here only in respect of the Mountains.

Therefore on these Coasts the South Winds blow for Eight Months, four of which are May, June, July, August. Then the Sun is so strong, that it would be uninhabitable,



did not there fall at Night those Vapours which the Sun draws up in the Day and by declining of his exorbitant Heat, leaves them to be condensated at Night; when the Air is more gross, and the Earth is cooled either by thick Mists, or a more palpable Moisture (which you may call pouring Showres) and thereby made fertile, which otherwise would be insupportable and barren.

That which makes this the more plausible is, That the *Asiatick India intra Gangem*, is a *Pene Insula*, and the Seas lie near round the Land.

But about the Sun's retiring to his Southern Tropick, the Winds take their Northern Course, the Rains do cease, and the Sea alters its Current to the South, when by the innate coldness of these Blasts the Clime becomes more habitable, unless where the Sands cause a reflection or heat, as at Mechlapatan; where they keep close all day for three or four months together, (though then the North Wind begins to abate its impetuosity, and the South Winds prevail) repelling the Heat by a course wet cloath, continually hanging before their Chamber-windows; which not only resists the Ambient Air, but by the afflux of Nitrous Particles from within, does cast a Chilness over the Room; without which, the Walls, that for that intent are plastered, would be so hot, you could not abide your Hand on them; the same way they have of cooling their Liquors, by a wet cloth wrapped about their Gurgulet, and Jars, which are Vessels made of a porous kind of Earth; the best of Mœcha, reasonable good from Goa, which are carried with them in this nature where ever they travel.

Before we dismiss this Discourse, it may be noted, That the Rains on this Coast are more intermitting than on the Malabar Coast, so that they can loose hence their Ships for Persia, Mœcha and Juddah, and to the South Seas in those Months they are Wind-bound on the other Coast; for having the Land-Breezes to carry them off to Sea, the Moosons are more favourable.

Concerning the Regularities of these Winds, perhaps some others may give patter Guesses than myself, who, am not conceited enough to dogmatize.

Among the many that be alledged, I am not fond of any, though this have won a little upon my Opinion; That the Sun may be as well the reason why these Winds should observe his Annual Circumrotation,; as that the Ebbings and Flowings of the Sea, by the Moon's meer depression of Air, should be ascribed, to her Monthly Revolutions.

And here one thing may be worthy our Curiosity, That after the Seasons of the Heats and Rains, the Rivers Indus and Ganges are said to swell their Banks, and there by abundantly to encrease the Bordering Countries, where these Rains are less frequent: Whence, it may be, some insight may be had for the Overflows of Egypt, which has set so many Wits on the Tenter-hooks, where it is reported it never rains: But in the Countreys near the supposed Source of Nile, it does to Excess.

But you who have greater Reading and Leisure to digest these Metaphysical Notions, will mightily oblige me to furnish me with your solider arguments.

Among which I would intreat you to consider the Variety of the Loadstone in the Common Chart: For what the incomparably Ingenuous *Des Cartes* has wrote on that Subject acquiesces only, in modest Hypotheticks, not any ways informing the Understanding to a clear Apprehension; but after he has brought it through the Maze of Probabilities, he parts with it at the same Predicament it entered.

Not to deviate any longer, we are now winding about the South-West part of Ceilon; where we have the Tail of the Elephant full in our mouths; a Constellation by the Portugals called *Babo del Elephanto*, known for the breaking up of the Munsoons, which is the last Flory this Season makes, generally concluding with September, which goes out with dismal Storms.

Yet so good is Providence, as to warn us here, when all is obscured, by Water-Snakes, of our too near approach to the Land ; which are as sure Presages on the Indian Coasts, as the Cape-Birds are there.

Here the Mountains running East and West, the Winds are to the East of the South, and to the West of the North ; else quadrating with those on Coromandel ; only here in April and May the Winds are variable, and then they hasten to leave these Coasts for Persia, the Red-Sea, and South-Seas, or those make in that are to return hither ; otherwise they run an hazard of losing their Voyage, when the South to the South-East Wind is fixed, which continues to the latter end of September, or beginning of October ; Then from the North to the North-West sets in again : and this Course is observed mostly on all the Indian Shores, only some few days different in the beginning and ending, which happen to the South, and in Lands commonly earlier than to the North, and break up later when they are more severe, but the Intervals are milder ; the middle Months, clearing up in the day time : but from the first setting to the going out towards the North, the Sun hardly shews his Face, unless a fortnight after the Full Moon in May, and a Fortnight before the *Elephanto*.

On the Coast of Surat from Gemini to Libra.

This happens in the sun's Ecliptick Road.

On the Coast of Coromandel from Taurus to Scorpio.

And thus much may be said in general ; only the Land and Sea-Breezes in particular, on this Coast of Surat and Malabar, when the Rains are over, keep exactly Land-Breezes from Midnight to Midday, and Sea-Breezes from the Noon of Day to the Noon of the Night.

Making Land, we beheld it all a Flame, they burning their Stubble for Soilage, the Forerunner of the ensuing Rain ; notwithstanding a King fisher flew abroad us with the flattering Coaks's of Halcyon days ; but like an unskilful Augur was deservedly reproached with the Ignorance

of her own Destiny, to dye in Captivity; which fatal Necessity made her elect, rather than suffer with whole Flocks of little Birds blown from the Main, who not able to stem the boisterousness of the Winds, were hurried thence to perish in the Sea.

And now we were begirt with Land: the Maldives Islands lying South; Cape Consorin North and by West; the Malabar Islands West, (whose Inhabitants have no relation with those on the Coast); whence is brought great quantities of Ambergreece; Ceilon, &c.

The Land, our Master took for a Malabar Island, proved a mistake; for by a strong Current we were lock'd in between the Island Ceilon, and the North East side of the Cape, within that desperate Canal we before described. Our Error was first corrected by some Fishermen busy at their Nets, who brought aboard plenty of Fishes, all new to us, who never had seen such coloured ones, some gilded like Gold, others with Vermilion, varied by several Intermixtures.

Whilst we were lost in admiration; our Mates found themselves no less at a loss in their accounts, when they understood they were drove 30 Leagues to Leeward of the Cape, by the broken Portuguese spoken by these Men, and that we could not sail much further than Tutticaree, a Portugal Town in time of Yore, where they had a Citadel, and two famous Churches; and before us, which was the *Lars*, a Ketch of the Dutch's (which we chased for hopes of Prize) was sailing to that Port, and presently after anchored: We were then in seven Fathom Water.

This is the place where they drag Pearl.

All along here the Top of Gates is seen above the Clouds, the Ground beneath it Fair, Low, and Sandy.

Tutticaree is now in the hands of the Dutch, running the same Race with Columba, over-against which it lies; we being now in the very Jaws of our Enemies, might have here concluded our Voyage, had their Fleet been nigh us.

The next day we were becalmed, and thereby carried into the midst of the Stream; and although in the Afternoon we had an humming Frisco, it ran with such Violence that we lost more than we gained: This Mistake cost us a Fort-nights time before we could compass the Cape, besides Fears and Jealousies both of our falling into the Torrent, and our Enemies hands.

The Cape lanches into the Sea with Three Points, running into a Campaign several Miles together, till it grows big with Mountains, procreating their prodigious Race 400 Leagues, severing the Coast of Coromandel and Malabar, East and West; Latitude 8 deg. 50 min. North; Longit. 96 deg. East.

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## CHAPTER VI.

VIEWS THE MALABAR AND CARNATICK COASTS UP TO BOMBAIN.

To prevent the mischief of ingulphing again by the Current, we anchored a-nights; when a Pitchy Blackness was interposed betwixt us and the Skies, and not a Star to be seen: The Plebs Squammosa beneath the Surface of the Salt Ocean, gathering their little Fry (which proved to be Pilchards), either by Repercussion of the Saline Bodies of the Waves, which is frequent, or by the more apt Position of their Glittering Scales, through that Medium to refract the hovering Light benighted in the Atmosphere, dispersed a Lustre as bright as Day; insomuch that a small Print might easily be read by it.

Taking advantage of the Land-Breezes and the Tides, we scudded along the Shore, which was Woody, and well stock'd with Trees, the Ground even for many Leagues together; the Mountains peeping up behind a great way in the Country.

Being against Carnopoly, a Portugal Friar boarded us: It is some Miles to the North of Canlam, formerly inhabited by the Portugals, and from them taken by the Dutch, who have built a Castle there, and Lord it over the Natives, so that at Carnapoly the Dutch exact Custom for all the Goods they carry off to Sea, though there live but one Eoy and two Dutchmen. The Portugals have only Five Persons here. The English had also a Factory for Pepper, but they are gone both from hence and Purcat, 20 Miles more North; the Cause we are unacquainted

with, but believe the Dutch will leave nothing unat-tempted, to engross the Spice-Trade; for none has escaped them but this of Pepper. Cinamon, Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs, being wholly theirs; and by the Measures they follow, this also in time must fall into their hands.

Nor indeed are Pretensions wanting, they holding here their Right by Conquest (a fairer Claim than undermin- ing), they boasting they have in a manner subdued the Natives; which is no hard matter, since this Region of Malabar (in which general Name I reckon as far South as the Land's End, and Phalapatan North) is divided into several Petit Signiories, or Arch-Rebels against the Zamerhin of Calicut, only paying some slight Acknow- ledgments of his Supremacy, as their Chief Bishop, and joining with him against the Great Mogul; else striving to supplant each other; having a Government most like Aristocracy of any in the East, each State having a Re- presentative, and he to act according to the Votes of the Nairos Gentry in full Assembly; which as they interfere with one anothers Interests, the weakest have always been ready to call in help: For which reason the Dutch were first permitted to rear Castles to secure the Sea-Coasts; which they have made so good use of, as to bring them under their Yoke; the Great Mogul not discouraging them in the least.

Keeping on our Course we left Cochin to the South- ward, once a famous Mart of the Portugals, since wrested from them, and made impregnable by the Dutch.

At this place we bed adieu to all our bad Weather, though not to the Practices of the Dutch, who had preven- ted the English at Panana also; so that here neither being any Pepper, we had nothing else to do but hoist Sails for Tanore, where we touched the first of November, the Natives having hardly shaken off the fear of the Dutch; For a Boat with Sails of Mats (all their small Boats ma- king them their Sails) came to take a Survey of us, and

made towards us uncertainly ; when after several Fetches to and again, at last they were within Call of us : We saw two Sumbrero's (a Mark for some of Quality) held up in the Boat-stern, and a Man stand up and waved his Hat, which made our Master stretch his Throat to know what he was ; whereupon down went the Sumbrero's held up in the Boat-stern, the Boat cleverly tacked, and the Men tugged stoutly at their Paddles, and we as roundly sent seven Shot after them, and the *London* as many ; but they were more scar'd than hurt ; for after we had mann'd three Boats after them, they returned with their Labour for their Pains, the Boat getting safe from them. At Night another Boat with an Englishman came to ask what Ships we were : Whom when we answered English, he boarded us, and told us our unadvised Salutes were level'd at an English Merchant sent off by the Chief, who notwithstanding he presented two Pistols at the Breasts of the Boatmen, could not beat out of them the suspicion they were possessed with of our being Dutch : Which shews how strangely they are awed by them ; and the rather, they being solicitous Blazers of their own good Fortune upon us, and our Defeat by them ; which they had taken care to publish, to bring us into Disrepute, which commonly waits on Ill Success, before we could come to tell our own Tale.

At our arriving ashore the Natives stocked about us, and gazed upon us as if they would have stared us through ; amidst a Lane of whom we were ushered by a few Portugals to their Chappel, at the Door whereof stood the *Padre* to receive us, and through it to conduct us to his House.

From whence I went to observe the Town, which is miserably poor and straggling, though in the heart of it a double Row of Cottages opened their Shops of Wares, which consisted of Pepper, Turmerick, Ginger, Cassia, Lignum, the lesser Cardamoms, Bunco, i. e. Tobacco, and



Hubble-bubble Canes, the Product of this Coast, as are also Beetle-Nuts the greatest gain from this place to Surat, to be reaped by them.

Amongst whom were Shroffs, or Money-changers. On one side in a square place was their Fish-Market, through which we came into another Lane, at whose end there was a Mosque.

Their Houses are little Hovels or Hogsties, the best of them scarce worthy the Name of a Booth. The English House is in the fashion with the rest, covered all over with Cajans, and seated (which they mightily affect) under Trees. The People are Tawny, not Black. Their Language Malabar.

They are subject to the Zamerhin of Calicut, who sent hither his Delegate to welcome us, and invite us to a Continuance of Trade: He gave our Fleet seven Guns, which were planted near the Water-side; which Compliment was returned by the Fleet. The Nation is distinguished by Three Ranks. The Priests make the first; they come abroad in several distracted Postures, sometimes all naked, plaister'd over with ashes, their Hair plaited like an Horse's Tail; at other times appearing less barbarous, being covered, but as Stoical in their Behaviour.

The second Form is that of the Nobiles, who are all bred Soldiers, and therefore called Nairo's; the one part of them wearing naked Swords rampant in one hand, and a Target made of a Buffola's Hide lacquer'd and curiously painted in the other, with which they defend themselves as assuredly as with an Iron Shield; the rest of them walk with a spiked Lance barbed, as long as a Javelin, and poised at the But end with Lead; at darting of which they are very experts.

The last and lowest are the Artisans and Tillers of the Earth, of which here are no great store, being ever negligent in that they reap the least Benefit by; wherefore their Vassals are commonly employed in that service,

they being Drudges both to their Masters and Prince who here as in all India is sole Proprietor of Lands; allowing the Occupiers no more than a bare Subsistence, and not that when a bad Year fills not the Publick Granaries; drubbing the poor Hinds till their Bones rattle in their Skins, they being forced often to sell their Children for Rice, which is<sup>n</sup> the best here on this Coast of any place else in the whole World.

In Habit they excel not one another; the Peer as well as Peasant rapping only a *Lunga* about his Middle and thence reaching to his Knees. Only their Men of Honour that have deserved it from the Zamerhin, have their Wrists rounded with thick golden Bracelets, illustrated with Precious Stones.

Their Women are nearer white than the Men, of an Olive or Sallow Colour, cloathed as they on Cormandel, stretching their Ears with Gold and Gems.

In Manners the Natives are slovenly enough, if not brutish. In Religion most Heathens, though the Infec-tion of Mahometism is contagious among them.

They have Hospitals here for Cows; and are charitable to Dogs, providing for them abroad, but not suffer them to defile them within Doors; being more merciful to Beasts than Men.

Of Christians here are not an inconsiderable number.

Here are also those Elephant-Legged St. Thameans, which the unbiassed Enquirers will tell you chances to them two ways: By the Venom of a certain Snake, for which the Jangies or Pilgrims furnish them with a Factitious Stone (which we call a Snake-stone) and is a Counter-poyson to all deadly Bites; if it stick, it attracts the Poyson; and put it into Milk, it recovers itself again, leaving its virulency therein, discovered by its Greenness: As also by drinking bad Water (to which, as we to the Air, they attribute all Diseases) when they travel over the Sands, and then lying down when they are hot, till the

Earth at Night is in a cold sweat, which penetrating the rarified Cuticle, fixes the Humours by intercepting their free concourse on that side, not to be remedied by any Panacea of their Esculapian Sectators ; it is not much unlike the *Elephantiasis Arabum*.

Their Coins are of Gold ; a St. Thomas, 10 s. a Fanam, 7 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of which go to a Dollar, or Petacha : These are Gold. Of Copper, a Buserook, 20 of which make a Fanam.

The Country is enticing and beautiful, Woody in the Plain, up the Country Mountainous, where grows the Pepper : It is a Berry that is brought forth by a Bind-weed, wedded to a Tree, which it hugs as affectionately as the Ivy does the Oak ; it is first Green, when dried it is black, and husked white : Long Pepper grows on a Shrub leaved and stalked like our Privet.

Their other Trees and Fruits are common with the rest of India ; Rice is their chief Grain.

Beasts and Fowls, Tame and Wild, are not scarce.

The first Blackamore Pullen I ever saw, were here ; the outward Skin was a perfect Negro, the Bones also being as black as Jet ; under the Skin nothing could be whiter than the Flesh, more tender, or more grateful.

After two Nights cold and disquieted Lodging on the Ground (though under covert of the English House) and an Hellish Consort of Jackalls (a kind of Fox), with the Natives singing and roaring all Night long ; being drunk with *Toddy*, the Wine of the Cocoe : I was desirous to go Aboard ; when, it being Evening, the Sea Breezes began to drive the Waves with a great surf upon the Shore ; in so much that our Men could not carry me to the Pinnace, riding at the Grappling without ; wherefore, hiring a Canoo, the Blacks played the Charon, and I narrowly escaped with my Life (being overset) ; finding by sad Experience, that Cold Nights affect even in these Hot Countries, as sensibly as under the Frozen Bear ; Leaving off to wonder at the Natives quivering after Sun-set,

wrapping themselves in a Comby, or Hair-Cloth, and the better sort with Quilts, and making good Fires : For being well drenched in the Sea, the Wind blowing very high, I was almost nummed to death before I could reach the Ship.

The reason of this Coolness a nights is because the Rains have lately cooled the Air as well as Earth, which also may be ascribed to the Sun's Ecliptick distance, as well as the length of the Nights, which are but little longer than the Days ; but chiefly to the soaking Mists bedewing the Earth after Sun-set.

Tanore lies in 10 deg. 30 min. North Latitude.

Having taken in what Bales of Pepper this Place afforded; we weighed by Two in the Morning, and by Four in the Afternoon Anchored against that Anciently Traded Port of Calicut, in the Latitude of 11 deg. 30 min. North.

#### OF CALICUT.

Ashore the first House facing us was the English ; near it were placed six small Pieces, resounding our Salutes at our Entry. On the back-side lay two great Guns, dismounted, of Brass, all that is extant of the Portugal Town and Castle (which ran out as far into the Sea as our Ships now ride, near four miles) overflowed by Water ; nothing remaining of it but only what is taken upon Chronical.

What is also left of Calicut, is not equivalent to what might be expected from the gleanings of so many Ages of Traffick; unless, as Antiquaries esteem, most of those things are Moth-eaten by Time, which Vermin has been plaguyn pernicious here : For the City that stood upon Stilts, is tripped up, for down it is gone ; and the Temple, whose Marble Pillars durst compare with those of Agrippa's in the Roman Pantheon, is Topsy-turvy. And if any one that comes after me, make you believe it to be not above Four Miles in length, and in that not an House befitting a Christian ; here and there a Mosque, and Burying Places with Tanks : A good long Bazaar with Trash, and Ripe

Fruit; another with Opium, and Spices of this Coast; Changers and Jewellers, unfenced and rude in Building; he tells you but the truth. Indeed it is pleasantly situated under Trees, and it is the Holy See of their Zamerhin or Pope.

The Citizens are urbane, being trained up to Commerce; but the Trade gone to Goa, along with the Portugals; who at their first arrival into this Bay, found more Ships 'by 500 than we did, without either Chart or Compass, who most of them transported their Commodities to the Red Sea, along the Coasts; or to the Gulph of Persia; and thence they were carried over-land to Scanderoon, Aleppo, or Constantinople, unto the Hands of the Venetians from whom we were served with them; and by that means they gained for themselves the Power and Greatness of their State.

Since by the Prosperous Attempts of the Portugals about the Cape of good Hope we are taught to bring them home at a cheaper Rate, whereby these Indian Hugsters begin to decline.

For a long time the Portugals kept in with Calicut, and drew a great resort hither, as well over-land as by Sea; till the Zamerhin, not brooking them as Inmates, ruined their Fortifications, (which occasioned their remove to Goa), and with them the Fame of Calicut.

Their Coin admits no Copper; Silver Tarrs, 28 of which make a Fanam, passing instead thereof.

They have yet a correspondence with Persia, as may appear by their Absees, a Sixteen penny piece of Silver, current among them.

Their Trade in common with India is mostly for Beetle Nuts, and Cocoe Nuts, for Oyl, which latter they dunging with (Bubsho) Fish, the Land-Breezes brought a poisonous Smell on board Ship caused by their putrifying.

Breaking ground hence, the Mountains were grown to that height, that they seemed to be the Partition Walls

betwixt this World and the Sphere of Fire ; for the Sun was a long while after he had gilded the Canopy of Heaven, before he could drive his Steeds over those Olympick Towers with his blazing Orb : Which I take notice of, because the Sun and Stars ascend the Horison to the Meridian directly in the Torrid Zone, and so descend ; whereby there is little or no Twilight, as there is nearer the Poles where they ascend and descend more obliquely.

At Mangalore the Dutch have a Fort, and 6 Miles to the North the French have a Flag flying ; within a League off which a Grey Rock extols its hoary Head eight Fathom above Water, navigable on all sides, justly called by us Sacrifice Island ; in remembrance of a bloody Butchery on some English by the Pirate Malabara, who are the worst Pickeroons on this Coast going in Fleets, and are set out by the Great Men ashore ; the Chief of whom lives at Durmapatan, where we took in fuller and larger Pepper than any yet : They are stronger here in Shipping than the rest ; they housing several junks of Burthen, drawn up on the Banks of the River, not yet lanced since the Rains ; which they always do when they set in, keeping them dry all the Winter with the Thatch of Cajana. Parting from hence, the Mountains above, and the Valleys below were covered with Woods, only now and then Hills of Red Earth were interspersed (which our Dawbers use for Painting) that held on their pace till we were up with Cananore, another Fortress of the Dutch : From whence they spoke Defiance by spending three Shots unregarded by us.

From Durmapatan, five Leagues North, lies Phalapatan ; where I took Boat, and sailed up the River with the Lascars, or Sea-men of the Country ; of whom I shall say no more at present, than, that they are a shame to our Sailors, who can hardly ever work without horrid Oaths and hideous Cursing and Imprecations ; and those Moormen, on the contrary, never set their Hands to do any Labour, but that they sing a Psalm, or Prayer, and

conclude at every joint Application *Allah, Allah,* invoking on the Name of God.

On each side upon the Teaming Banks are homely Villages, a plain Dress becoming Art, the Servant, where her Mistress, Nature, is so coruscant, here being whole Armies of Trees surprisingly beautiful. Besides these Benefits for Delight, there flow no less for Profit; they improving the Commodiousness of the River (which is Sailable round to Durmapatan) by a Free Trade. Six Miles up stands Phalapatan, of Building base: it is overgrown with the Weeds of Mahometism, the Moors planting themselves here; whose King I was so lucky to see out of my Boat, my Lascars entreating me to give them leave to go ashore to provide Victuals in the Bazaar.

His Meen was Patriarchical, his Head gray, his Beard Snowed with Age; his Raiment white in the Eastern Mode. His son and Heir, a Child, followed him; as he passed, the People payed him humble Respect; he was without a Guard, it being needless where Subjects are Loyal-hearted.

The River was full of Aligators, or Crocodiles, which lay basking in the Sun in the Mud on the River's side whom the Natives are fearless of; conceiting the Brachmines have power to lay a Spell upon them, that they do no harm. Which, whether true or false, 'tis certain they seldom do harm in the Water, as the Tigres in the Woods, over whom they fancy their Priests have the same Prevalency.

A Mile more up was Cutty Cony, the fair Palace, as it signifies in Malabar; but though it do in their Language, it would not make the Interpretation good in English, it agreeing but in one particular, that is, the Site. It having the advantage of an Hill, has an easy Prospect over the Water, as broad here as our Thames is; and over the Verdant Meadows, which spread themselves Westward, till Hills of Cardamoms do bound the sight,

running from thence North by East, while they meet with Mount Sephir (all along unchristned Gate) these are the minor Cardamoms, and the best, if not the only in the World : On the East a gravelly Forest with tall benty Grass, offers, besides its taking Look, diversity of Game, as Hares, wild Boars, Tigres, and wild Elephants, which are dreaded by Travellers, they striking all down before them, Trees as well as Animals : The like Terror is conceived by the crashing noise among the Woods made by the Wild Bulls ; for all which, 'tis the practice of the Woodmen to dig deep Pits, and cover them with Soda, laid over with Boughs, to entrap them in their headstrong, and unwary Course. Monkeys with white Buffs, and black shagged Bodies, looking very gravely, are brought from hence.

On the South a Wood of Jamboes, Mangoes, Coccoes ; on the North a Grove of Pepper.

The Place is now resigned to the English, though the Gentiles were unwilling to desert it, it being an Arch-Brachmines Seat, where was a small Pagod standing in the middle of the Yard well endowed, till they had robbed their Gods of their Gold and Silver ; and now they are said to be dumb and sullen because of the English. But without any prejudice to Truth, we may believe the Usurers Faith and theirs to be both under one Lock and Key ; *Quantum numerum habet in arce tantum habet et fidei.*

It is walled about by the English with Mud, except the two round Points towards the Land, whose Foundations and Bastions are of Stone. They have Fourteen small Guns mounted ; here are twenty-two Soldiers, besides Factors : The Air so salubrious, that never any English are remembered to lay their Bones here. The Fort is a Tetragone from Corner to Corner.

Without besides the English there are a select Company of Nairoes, who are stout, ready, and resolute for any



Action: Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, with Falchions by their sides.

By these the Country is inhabited; among whom if a Man fall single, salvage Beasts are more compassionate; but if you have but a Boy with you of their Cast, you may travel secure enough.

Beyond the Outworks live a few Portugals Musteroes or Misteradoes; among whom are Stews and Brothels; the Women of this Coast being the most professedly Lewd of any, being said to instruct the Men to be Patients.

Sixteen Tarrs here make one Fanam; Nine Fanams one Piece of Eight; four Cash are the eighth part of one Rupee.

Outstretching the Malabar Coast, we sailed along by Batticali on the Canatick coasts; and the next Morning, between two Islands we saw sculking Six Malabar Prooes waiting their Booty; but making use of their Oars as well as Sails soon outstripped us.

The Day after we came to an Anchor at Onor, the Land Hilly and Barren, which I went to see; it is in 13 deg. 10 min. North. We passed to it through a narrow Bite, which expatiates into a wide Swallow, and then thrusts us up the River. On the North side a Bow and Arrow Castles overlooks it, while it runs peaceably to the Town. Where we landed, the Dutch had a House, and a new Junk lanch'd, with her Colours furl'd: One end of the Town stands in an hole; over a Rocky Hill stands the other part, upon which the Castle with its Stone Wall faces an Heath a great way, yet looking asquint on the Under-woods. It is built after the exact Rules of Ancient Fortifications, with a Drawbridge, and a Moat round, now a dry Ditch, the Castle without Soldiers, falling to decay. It was built by the Portugals, siezed by the Canarines by the help of the Dutch, between whom and the Portugals, the Town of poor Buildings is divided: Many of the Natives have received the Christian Faith. Though these that

continue in their Paganism are the most impiously Religious of any of the Indians, being too too conversant with the Devil.

The Nairoes have no footing here, nor have the Moors much.

They live in no diffidence of one another, nor Strangers of them, journey among them without a Guide, in Broad Roads, not in By-Paths, as in the Nations properly called the Malabars: They have well-constituted Laws, and observe them obediently.

From hence we came to Mirja in the same Dominions. I went to view the Place; the Boat that carried me was Brigantine built.

At the Entry into the Harbour only a Rock withstands the Washes, but on the Shore huge craggy Mountains are drawn up for a second Onset, all of Black Stone, yet somewhat undermined by the beating of the Sea, where it works its self into a Syrtes; on the other side of which the Fragments of the Town are sheltered. At my Landing, one of their Princes was the first that welcomed me ashore, (who here as well as in Italy scorn not to be Merchants); he was seated under a shady Tree, on a Carpet spread upon the Sand, and his Retinue standing about him; he, it seems, was expecting the Protector of Canara (the Raja being in Minority,) who came anon, with his Lords and Guards, armed with Swords and Gantlets, Partizans adorned with Bells and Feathers, as also were the Horses that carried his Luscarry or Army, with such Trapings as our finest Team-Horses in England wear.

He ventured off to Sea to see our Ships; he was rowed by a Gang of 86 in a great deal of Pomp; His Musick was loud, and with the Kettle-drums made a Noise not unlike that our Coopers make on their Hogsheads driving home their Hoops: He went aboard two or three Ships, who entertained him with their Guns and Cheers of their

Men, presenting him with Scarlet Cloath. He is a Gentile as are his subjects.

Our Lading here was Pepper, Salt-Petre, and Beetle-Nut for Surat.

In our way from Mirza we met with a Man of War Pink, commision'd from the President for the scowring these Seas, which had 22 Guns, and seventy odd Men, the Name, the Revenge.

Near Carwar is the Island Angediva, Fam'd for the Burial of some Hundreds of our Countreymen.

Carwar was the Chief Port of Visiapour on this Coast, but a Grand Traytor to that King, Seva Gi, is now Master of it, and the adjacent Countrey as far as Guzerat; having well nigh forced our Factory, and done other Outrages on us, which would ask our Fleet a longer time to require Satisfaction, if they were able, that they could stay; unless they would lose their Passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and content themselves to winter at the Mauritius, which all Ships that outstay their time are forced to. For the Sun being almost at his Southern Solstice, at his return he leaves a sharp Winter (which we proved,) and adverse Winds in those Seas, they lying without the Tropick, which spurs them on for expedition.

What this Seva Gi is, and the reason of his Usurped Power, a longer Duration in the Countrey must declare, who is every where named with Terror, he carrying all before him like a mighty Torrent.

The Shore is Hilly, and indifferent Woody; near it islets are scattered to and again.

The People partly Moors, partly Gentues, under the King of Visiapour, who was, till this turbulent Seva Gi drove all into a Commotion, a perfect Monarch, hardly paying the Mogul Tribute, when Duccan and Visiapour were united into one Kingdom.

Hence it is Hilly up to Guzerat; though Gates hold on where the Coasts of Guzerat begin, and outstretches them.

Fifteen Leagues to the Northward of Carwar lies Goa, the only place of consequence the Portugals retain of their first Discoveries.

The City lies up the River, out of our sight on Shipboard, though we could discern the River, to be thrwacked with small Craft; without the Bar a great Carrack unrigg'd and on both side the River Magnificent Structures. The Soil Flat, Level, and fit for the Share many Miles together, the Hills keeping a wide distance from them.

About two days after we passed Goa, a Ship with a Portugal Flag at the Main Top-Mast Head weathered our Admiral, and after seeing, what we were, lay by for a Fleet of six more good Ships, one Hoy, and half a dozen Proes, being their Northern Armado; they fitting out one for the South also; the one against the Arabs, the other against the Malabars.

The beginning of December the North West Wind blew bitter cold upon us, and would hardly give the Sun leave to be Master in his own home; though a Cloud in the day time, ever since the Rains cleared up, could hardly vapour betwixt him and the Earth.

At Nights we had hospitable Lights shewed us from the Shore, to mark out the Rocks, which lye very thick along to intrap the unwary Pilot.

In 17 deg. 20 min. North, lies Rajapore, a French Factory now, formerly English.

Twenty Miles to the Northward, Choul, a Fortress of the Portugals, lay fair in sight.

And having the Latitude of 18 deg. 40 min. North, Bombaim opened its self; the Tide being spent, we came to an Anchor without the Bay, not having our Bearings right; and December the Eighth we paid our Homage to the Union-Flag flying on the Fort of Bombaim.

#### THE BAY.

Is indented a vast Circumference, in which it is able to

contain 1000 of the best Ships in Europe, in safe Harbour from Wind and Weather. As we passed up the Bay, two of the Mogul's Men of War, each 300 Tun, with bloody Colours out, rode before Keren-jau. Under the Castle, besides innuzerable little Vessels, as Hoys, Ketches, and the like, lay Three Men of War, with their top Armour out, Waste-Cloath and Penants at every Yard-Arm; to wit, The Revenge, 22 Guns: The May-boon, taken from the Dutch, 220 Tuns: The Hunter, 14 Guns.

The Castle is seated towards the bottom of the Bay, commanding it every way from the Points and Flankiers.

At evening the next day I was sent for on Shore, and received by the Honourable Gerald Aungier, Governor both for the King and Company, and President of all the East Indies.

Thus, after a plenary Anniversary, this voyage was accomplished, and just that Day Twelvemonth you left me Aboard Ship at Gravesend, I set foot on Shore at Bombaim where for this Shipping I remain.

## LETTER II.

### ACCOUNT OF BOMBAIM AND THE PARTS ADJACENT.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### MENTIONS THE ISLAND AND ITS POSSESSORS.

SIR,—By the *Falcon* (in which Ship I am now taking my Passage to Surat) I received at once the News of your good health, and that welcome one of Peace with Holland; the first I embrace as a Friend, the other I congratulate with all good Men.

*Nulla salus Bello, Pacem te poscimus omnes.*

I shall neither apologize for my long Letter, or sending this before you give me your Thoughts of the former; the Distance of Place shall excuse both: And I proceed where you left me last, at Bombaim, and so on till these Ships shall depart for England.

##### BOMBAIM

In East-India is one of the Islands of Salset, parted from that part of the Canarick Coast which lies nearest Duccan, 60 Leagues North of Goa, and as many South of Surat. These Islands are in number seven; viz. Bombaim, Canorein, Trumbay, Elephanto, the Putachoes, Munchumbay, and Kerenjau, with the Rock of Henry Kenry; arising as so many Mountains out of the Sea; which accords to the Fancy of the Natives, who affirm that Nereus has lost these Ialets, with a great deal more of the Low-Lands, from his Trident, the Earth gaining upon the Sea: And as a Remonstrance of their Credulity, they bring for proof the vast Rocks that are many Miles up the Country, bestuck with Oyster-shells and other Trophies of the Sea's having

had once Dominion there, all which they call Conchon, or the Netherlands.

In whose opening Arm, that is, from Choul Point to Bazein, (two famous Cities belonging to the Portugals) some 30 Leagues distance, lye those Spots of Ground, still disputable to which side to incline: For at Low Water most of them are fordable to the Main, or from one to the other; and at Spring-Tides again a great part of them overflowed.

Bombaim is the first that faces Choul, and ventures farthest out into the Sea, making the Mouth of a spacious Bay, from whence it has its Etymology; Bombaim, quasi Boon Bay.

Beyond it lies Canorein, Trumbay, Munchumbay, with their Creeks, making up the North side of the Bay: Between whom and the Main lies Elephanto, Kerenjau, Putachoes, with the great Rock or barren Islet of Henry Kenry: These, with some part of the Main, constitute the South-East side of the Bay; all which together contribute to the most notable and secure Port on the Coasts of India; Ships of the greatest as well as smaller Burthen having quiet Harbour in it; whither if they can, they chuse to betake themselves, if they happen, as oft they do, to lose their Voyages by the Monsoons.

From whence these Pieces of Land receive their general Name of Salset, if it be worth Enquiry, I can only guess, either because it signifies in Canorein a Grauary, as they are to the Portugals North of Goa, and sometimes to Goa itself, as at this time, when their Armado of Rice was all lost, which annually used to furnish them with Provisions of Corn; or else analogically, from the fruitful Peninsula of the same Name, near which Goa itself stands: But whether this be certain or not, the reason of the Denomination of Bombaim is convincing.

To go on then from whence we deviated, it is necessary you should be first acquainted, That after *Vasques de Gama*,

in the year 1547, had laid open these Seas for Traffic to the East Indies; the Portugals to their Honour took for a while sure Footing of what they had industriously so long laboured for, and brought most of the Borderers on the Sea-Coasts under their Subjection; not all India, as they have fondly reported. It suffices then, to avoid a Volume of Discourse, that Bombaim with these Islets continued still in their hands, until the Year 1661, when the Crown of Portugal parted with these, together with the Haven, to His Majesty of Great Britain, as a Portion of the Dowry of Donna Infanta Catherina, Sister to the King of Portugal, and Consort to Charles the Second, late King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. A matter of great Import to the Kingdom, had it been transferred according to Contract, as well in regard to the Protection of our Ships, as for the Profit of the Soil to the English Inhabitants; but most of all for the Awe it might impose upon them who are the Disturbers of our Trade here.

But upon what grounds they refused to surrender, may be understood, if we consider the different Interests, as well as Remoteness of the Portugueze in Europe and East-India. It is confessed they will talk big of their King, and how nearly allied to them, as if they were all Cousin-Germans at least; but for his Commands, if contrary to their Factions, they value no more than if they were merely titular; as may appear by what follows. For notwithstanding the King of England sent a Fleet of Five Royal Ships under the Command of my Lord of Malbery, to waite over a Vice-Roy for them, confirmed so by their own King, and one of their own Nation; and to take possession of these Islands in the name of the King of England; yet they not only positively denied to surrender, but constrained the Vice-Roy to a negation; otherwise to expect never to assume that Dignity, which, by that Act they made him sensible was more in their disposal than the King's.

Whereupon Malbery examining his Commission, was



vexed he was pinched, and knew not how to ease himself; wearied therefore with Delays, he retreated to Swally, and there upon the Sands set the Souldery on Shore (himself not stirring out of the Ship) Five hundred stout Men led by Sir Abraham Shipman, who was designed Generalissimo for the King of England on the Indian Shore: Where, when in Arms, and exercised after the English Training, they seemed formidable to the Moors; wherefore they are entreated by the President for the English Factory at Surat, Sir George Oxendine, that they would repair Aboard; since the Jealousy of the Moors was such, that unless they did, they vowed the Factory a Sacrifice.

Thus bidding adieu to Swally, they at length arrived at Angediva, a Barren unhealthy and uninhabited Island, not far from the Main, and but 12 Leagues to the Southward of Goa.

Where Malbery left them to negotiate the Right of his Master; so much of which at last they were brought to grant, as enforced them to deliver up Bombaim, though they capitulated for that too; parcelling it out into little Islets, made only by the inundations of the Sea: But were glad at length when they saw Malbery resolute, to resign the whole Island, with the Bay, into the hands of the English, upon the Conditions first assented to, that the Royalties should belong to the King of England, but every particular Man's Estate to the Right Owner, and the Liberty of their own Cermonies in Religion, upon their Oath of Allegiance.

In the mean while Sir Abraham, with near 300 of his best Men, rested content without any farther Acquests, leaving their Bones at Angediva; poisoned partly by the noisomeness of the Air, the violence of the Rains, and the little defence against them; but chiefly by their own Intemperance.

Mr. Cook being next to Sir Abraham took up his Commission, who with those Men that were left, was admitted upon Bombaim in the Year 1664, when the Royal Fleet returned.

Where at first landing they found a pretty well Seated but ill Fortified House, four Brass Guns being the whole Defence of the Island; unless a few Chambers housed in small Towers in convenient Places to scowre the Malabars who heretofore have been more insolent than of late; adventuring not only to seize their Cattle, but depopulate whole Villages by their Outrages; either destroying them by Fire and Sword, or compelling to a worse Fate, Eternal and intolerable Slavery.

About the House was a delicate Garden, voiced to be the pleasantest in India, intended rather for wanton Dalliance, Love's Artillery, than to make resistance against an invading Foe: For the Portugals generally forgetting their pristine Vertue, Lust, Riot and Rapine, the ensuing Consequences of a long undisturbed Peace where Wealth abounds, are the only Remarkable Reliques of their Ancient worth; their Courages being so much effeminated that it is a wonder to most how they keep any thing; if it were not that they have lived among mean spirited Neighbours. But to return to this Garden of Eden, or Place of Terrestrial Happiness, it would put the Searchers upon as hard an Inquest, as the other has done its Posterity: The Walks which before were covered with Nature's verdent awning, and lightly pressed by soft Delights, are now open to the Sun, and loaded with the hardy Cannon: The Bowers dedicated to Rest and Ease, are turned into bold Rampires for the watchful Centinel to look out on; every Tree that the Airy Choristers made their Charming Choir, trembles, and is extirpated at the rebounding Echo of the alarming Drum; and those slender Fences only designed to oppose the Sylvian Herd, are thrown down to erect others of a more War-like Force. But all this not in one day.

It was sufficient at first for the English to make preparations for a growing Strength, though at present such as might offend as well as defend.

Whilst things were in this posture upon some Mal-administration of his Office, Cook was ousted, and Sir Gervis Lucas was sent over by the King; who, had he lived, would have made the Portugals perform their Compact, seizing from them the Putachos, who to stop his Mouth, were willing to comply for the Customs of Trumbay.

Upon his decease Captain Gary was impowered by the King; who began to act as Vice-Roy, carrying his Chair of State about with him; but his Majesty finding it expensive to bear out this Man's Pride, and in the casting up Accounts, not available to him, only to the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships, who by their own Adventures made good Improvements; and the East-India Company thereby began to be sensible that their Trade would be impaired in the vending their Commodities at home, and their Ships in India little bettered by the King's Port in India; and above all, they being liable to the Sufferers for the Hostilities committed by his Majesty's Officers on the Indians (who understand no distinction between King and Company) they as freely supplicated for, what his Majesty was as willing to grant, the Island: They holding it, from that time, of his Majesty about four years after the King had possessed it, they defraying all Charges.

In this Exigency on either side, the Martial, as well as Civil Affairs, are wholly devolved on the Merchants; and now how they will manage the Sword as well as the Quill concerns them.

The Old Soldiers are constrained to submit, or disband, which makes them stomach a hard Service under harder Masters: For besides that natural Antipathy betwixt the Subtilty of the one, and Generosity of the other; the stupendious elevation of their Servants on this new acquired Power thrown into their hands, Men, most of them of no Experience or Education, coming young hither, but what they learn from a Luxurious and Griping People,

whose Government quadrates not with a British Militia: It will not be easy to conceive, as well from the incoherence of Dispositions, as the Lordly Government of a Servant, what Grudges or Miscarriages may be produced? For where the Soldiers and Generals have different Interests, and mutual Obligation is interrupted, the course of things must necessarily run-counter: Moreover, where they should be most eminent in Dangers and Assaults, and lead them on to bold Enterprizes; yet if a tenderness to Self-preservation step in between the Publick Honour and Safety, (as it always does, where that bane to Noble Actions, Coveteousness, is concomitant) and which is almost essential to a Merchant, a fear of being laught at for venturing too far; the Case is desperate. For Instance, Our Ten Ships, most of them hired by Merchants, and the Commanders some of them (not to say all, for there were of them as worthy Men as any in the World) Principal Owners, were more willing to shift for themselves, than to hazard a stout and unanimous Resistance: Which had they maintained boldly, as they imprudently gave the first Onset ( By the Hollanders own confession) they had gained a Victory never to be sustained by them, nor for our Fleet sufficiently to have been recompensed; whereas for want of wise Conduct, and a joint Defence, they impressed on themselves and Nation a Blur never to be wiped off. Yet such, by the Constitution of the Company itself, is the present Misfortune, that instant Gain is preferred before Glory or a future emolument; which is the reason, why they are less solicitous for settling by Power, what they must ever be forced to beg, a Trade; and comply with Injuries, than command a Submission, as the Dutch do: But here also being left Tenants at will, they think it enough to leave Business in no worse plight than they found it.

And here might be considered, Whether it were not more for the Publick Welfare, should His Majesty be

pleased to make it a Royal Company, or a National Concern, as the Hollanders is; than to let it be at the will of the Company under the forementioned Circumstances to impose Governours on the Island.

The first of which was Sir George Oxendine, who being President, and therefore more immediately requisite for him to reside at Surat, ordered Mr. Goodyeer, his Deputy, to govern Bombaim; but Sir George not long after finishing his days, together with his Presidency at Surat, Goodyeer hastens thither in hopes to succeed, when gaping for that which included this, he is excluded of both: Upon which account there happened an Interregnum at Bombaim; whereby this Body Politick grew up into Anarchy, and set upon its weak Limbs a Quintuple Head, called Commissioners, who were as followeth, viz. Mr. James Adams, Chairman, (outed in two days) Mr. Sterling, a Scotch Minister, Mr. Cotes, Captain Burgess, Lieutenant Houghton; who upon the just and happy choice of the Honourable Gerald Aungier, were dissolved; and Mr. Matthew Grey nominated Deputy, till the Company sent out Captain Young, who had it not long before Mr. Philip Gyfford was put in; who deserves to be remembered for his great care in raising the Bastions, and in a manner finishing, what always was still but beginning by the rest. He ruled three Years, when the Company thinking their Work to go on too fast, gave the Charge of Deputy-Governour to Captin Shaxton, and an handsome Recruit of Soldiers; which revived the not yet extinguished Feud between the Merchants and the Soldiers: Whereupon Shaxton was kept from it a full year; and in that Interim, the President distasted at the Insolencies of the Mogul's Governour, at Surat, and fearing a second Confusion of Government at Bombaim, together foreseeing Clouds gathering from the Netherlands, not minding so much those of the Season (the Munsoons being about to enter) insomuch, that narrowly escaping a Dangerous Voyage, he

came and took the Government himself in the Year 1671. Where these three Years he has regulated Affairs with that Prudence, that whereas he found a Disaffected and Incongruous Council, he has now knit them into a Bond of at least seeming Friendship ; and does daily study to advance the Company's Interest, and the good and safety of the People under him.

To this the Hollanders are witness ; for the Spring before our Fleet arrived (the same Fleet that we unfortunately engaged) the Dutch attempting to surprize the Islanders, found them and the Fort in so good a Condition, that they were glad to betake themselves to their Boats without any Booty, and the next day hoisted Sails (for, said they, Bombaim been as stark as de Deel) and not without good reason ; for within the Fort were mounted 120 Pieces of Ordnance, and in other convenient Stands 20 more, besides 60 Field-pieces ready in their Carriages upon occasion to attend the Militia and Banderines. To the Fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 Tapazes, or Portugall Firemen : To the Militia out of Portugall musters 600 under English Leaders, all well armed : Of Banderines (that lookt after the Woods of Cocoes) with Clubs and other Weapons, 300. Besides some Thousand more could make a Shew, but not to be relied on, should it come to the push. Moreover in the Road were riding Three Men of War, the best of 30 Guns.

Thus were they provided at our Arrival ; nor were their forces lessened by our coming. Since which a Trench cut of the hard Rock the Fort is founded on, digging to float it with the Sea : And they are devising Horn-works for its better security ; a thing, to speak truly, of greater undertaking and expence than ever to endure accomplishing by the Company ; and without it, will prove a thing of ill contrivance, it being straitened for room to receive sufficient number of Defendants, and worse supplied with Water for Store, or Granaries for Provision for a

Siege. The first Modellers were to blame in not enlarging it to a Tank that stands without the Parade, which they might have done with almost the same Charges.

From whence let us walk the Rounds. At distance enough lies the Town, in which confusedly live the English, Portuguese, Topazes, Gentues, Moors, Cooly Christians, most Fishermen.

It is a full Mile in length, the Houses are low, and Thatched with Oleas of the Cocoe-Trees, all but a few the Portugals left, and some few the Company have built, the Custom-house and Warehouses are Tiled or Plastered, and instead of Glass, use Panes of Oister-shells for their Windows (which as they are cut in Squares, and polished, look gracefully enough.) There is also a reasonable handsome Bazaar.

At the end of the Town looking into the Field, where Cows and Buffaloes graze, the Portugals have a pretty House and Church, with Orchards of Indian Fruit adjoining. The English have only a Burrying-Place, called Mendam's Point, from the first Man's Name there interr'd where are some few Tombs that make a pretty Shew at entering the Haven; but neither Church or Hospital, both which are mightily to be desired.

There are no Fresh Water Rivers, or falling Streams of living Water: The Water drank is usually Rain-water preserved in Tanks, which decaying, they are forced to dig Wells, into which it is strained, hardly leaving its brackish Taste; so that the better sort have it brought from Massegoung, where is only one fresh Spring.

On the backside of the Towns of Bombaim and Maijm, are Woods of Cocoes (under which inhabit the Banderines, those that prune and cultivate them) these Hortoes being the greatest Purchase and Estates on the Island, for some Miles together, till the Sea break in between them: Over against which, up the Bay a Mile, lies Massegoung, a great Fishing Town, peculiarly notable for a Fish called

Bumbelo, the Sustenance of the Poorer sort, who live on them and Batty, a course sort of Rice, and the Wine of the Cocoe, called Toddy. The Ground between this and the great Breach is well ploughed, and bears good Batty. Here the Portugals have another Church and Religious House belonging to the Franciscans.

Beyond it is Parell, where they have another Church, and Demesnes belonging to the Jesuits; to which appertains Siam, manured by Columbeens, Husbandmen, where live the Frasses, or Porters also; each of which Tribes have a Mandadore, or Superintendent, who give an account of them to the English, and being born under the same degree of Slavery, are generally more Tyrannical than a Stranger would be towards them; so that there needs no other Task-master than one of their own Tribe, to keep them in awe by a rigid Subjection.

Under these Uplands the Washes of the Sea produce a Lunary Tribute of Salt, left in Pans or Pits made on purpose at Spring-Tides for the overflowing; and when they are full, are incrustated by the heat fo the Sun. In the middle between Parell, Maijm, Sciam, and Bombaim, is an Hollow, wherein is received a Breach running at three several places, which drowns 40,000 Acres of good Land, yielding nothing else but Samphire; athwart which, from Parell to Maijm, are the Ruins of a Stone Cawsey made by Pennances.

At Maijm the Portugals have another compleat Church and House; the English a pretty Custom-house and Guard-house: The Moors also a Tomb in great Veneration for a Peor, or Prophet, instrumental to the quenching the Flames approaching their Prophet's Tomb at Mecha (though he was here at the same time) by the Fervency of his Prayers.

At Salvemong, the farthest part of this Inlet, the Franciscans enjoy another Church and Convent; this side is all covered with Trees of Cocoes, Jawks, and Mangoes;



in the middle lies Verulee where the English have a Watch.

-On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great Point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar-hill, a Rocky, Woody Mountain, yet sends forth long Grass. A-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared; on its Declivity towards the Sea, the Remains of a stupendous Pagod, near a Tank of Fresh Water, which the Malabars visited it mostly for.

Thus have we completed our Rounds, being in the Circumference Twenty Miles, the Length Eight, taking in Old Woman's Island, which is a little low barren Island, of no other Profit, but to keep the Company's Antelopes, and other Beasts of Delight.

The People that live here are a Mixture of most of the Neighbouring Countries, most of them Fugitives and Vagabonds, no account being here taken of them: Others, perhaps, invited hither (and of them a great number) by the Liberty granted them in their several Religions which here are solemnized with Variety of Fopperies (a Toleration consistent enough with the Rules of Gain), though both Moors and Portugals despise us for it; here licensed out of Policy, as the old Numidians to build up the greatest Empire in the World. Of these, one among another, may be reckoned 60,000 Souls; more by 50,000 than the Portugals ever could. For which Number this Island is not able to find Provisions, it being most of it a Rock above Water, and of that which is overflowed, little hopes to recover it. However, it is well supplied from abroad both with Corn and Meat at reasonable Rates; and there is more Flesh killed for the English alone here in one Month, than in Surat for a Year for all the Moors in that Populous City.

The Government here now is English; the Soldiers have Martial Law: The Freeman, Common; the chief Arbitrator whereof is the President, with his Council at

Surat ; under him is a Justiciary, and Court of Pleas, with a Committee for Regulation of Affairs, and presenting all Complaints.

The President has a large Commission, and is Vice-Regis ; he has a Council here also, and a Guard when he walks or rides abroad, accompanied with a Party of Horse, which are constantly kept in the Stables, either for Pleasure or Service. He has his Chaplains, Physicians, Chyrurgeons, and Domesticks ; his Linguist, and Mint-Master : At Meals he has his Trumpets usher in his Courses, and Soft Musick at the Table : If he move out of his Chamber, the Silver Staves wait on him ; if down Stairs, the Guard receive him ; if he go abroad, the Bandarines and Moors, under two Standards, march before him : He goes some times in his Coach, drawn by large Milk-White Oxen, sometimes on Horseback, other times in Palenkeens, carried by *Cohors*, Musselemen Porters : Always having a Sumbbrero of State carried over him : And those of the English inferior to him, have a suitable Train.

But for all this Gallantry, I reckon they walk but in Charnel houses, the Climate being extremely Unhealthy ; at first thought to be caused by Bubsho, rotten Fish ; but though that be prohibited, yet it continues as Mortal : I rather impute it to the Situation, which causes an Infecundity in the Earth, and a Putridness in the Air, what being produced seldom coming to Maturity, whereby what is eaten is undigested ; whence follows Fluxes, Dropsy, Scurvy, Barbiers (which is an enervating the whole Body, being neither able to use Hands or Feet) Gout, Stone, Malignant and Putrid Fevers, which are Endemial Diseases : Among the worst of these, Fool Rack (Brandy made of Blubber, or Carvil, by the Portugals because it swims always in a Blubber, as if nothing else were in it ; but touch it, and it stings like Nettles ; the latter because failing on the Waves it bears up like a Portugal Carvil :

It is, being taken, a Gelly, and distilled causes those that take it to be Fools), and Foul Women may be reckoned.

To Prevent the latter of which, and to propagate their Colony, the Company have sent out English Women; but they beget a sickly Generation; and as the Dutch well observe, those thrive better that come of an European Father and Indian Mother: Which (not to reflect on what Creatures are sent abroad) may be attributed to their living at large, not debarring themselves Wine and Strong Drink, which immoderately used, inflames the Blood, and spoils the Milk in these Hot Countries, as Aristotle long ago declared. The Natives abhor all heady Liquora, for which reason they prove better Nurses.

Notwithstanding this Mortality to the English, the Country People and naturalized Portugals live to a good Old Age, supposed to be the Reward of their Temperance; indulging themselves neither in Strong Drinks, nor devouring Flesh as we do. But I believe rather we are here, as Exotick Plants brought home to us, not agreeable to the Soil: For to the Lustier and Fresher, and oftentimes the Temperatest, the Clime more unkind; but to Old Men and Women it seems to be more suitable.

Happy certainly then are those, and only those, brought hither in their Nonage, before they have a Gust of our Albion; or next to them, such as intoxicate themselves with Læthe, and remember not their former Condition: When it is expostulated, Is this the reward of an harsh and severe Pupilage? Is this the Elysium after a tedious Wastage? For this, will any thirst, will any contend, will any forsake the Pleasures of his Native Soil, in his Vigorous Age, to bury himself alive here? Were it not more charitable at the first Bubbles of his Infant-Sorrows, to make the next Stream over-swell him? Or else if he must be full grown for Misery, how much more compassionate were it to expose him to an open Combât with the fiercest Duellists in Nature, to spend at once his Spirits, than to

wait a piece-meal'd Consumption? Yet this abroad and unknown, is the ready Choice of those to whom Poverty threatens Contempt at home: What else could urge this wretched Remedy? For these are untrodden Paths for Knowledge, little Improvement being to be expected from Barbarity. Custom and Tradition are only Venerable here; and it is Heresy to be wiser than their Forefathers; which Opinion is both bred and hatch'd by an innate Sloth; so that though we seem nearer the Heavens, yet Bodies here are more Earthy, and the Mind wants that active Fire that always mounts, as if it were extinguish'd by its Antiparistasis: Whereby Society and Communication, the Characteristick of Man is wholly lost. What then is to be expected here, where sordid Thrift is the only Science? After which, notwithstanding there is so general an Inquest, few there be acquire it: For in Five hundred, One hundred survive not; of that One hundred, one Quarter get not Estates; of those that do, it has not been recorded above One in Ten Years has seen his Country: And in this difficulty it would hardly be worth a Sober Man's while, much less an Ingenuous Man's, who should not defile his purer Thoughts, to be wholly taken up with such mean (not to say indirect) Contemplations; however, a necessary Adjunct, Wealth, may prove to buoy him up on the Surface of Repute, lest the Vulgar serve him as Æsop's Frogs did their first rever'd Deity.

Thus much being premised for what concerns the Island its self, it remains to speak of it with relation to the Credit it bears among its Neighbours: The Dutch cast an envious Eye on it, and were it in their hands, would doubtless make it render all it is capable; and in respect of Commerce it seems to offer many Conveniences; the Banyans, liking it better than Surat, living freer, and under milder Taxations, which they put the present President in some hopes of complying with, could he open the way from hence up the Country: but that depending on so many

Intricacies, must be not only a work of Time, but Power to bring to pass; as afterwards may fall more properly in our way to make appear.

Our present Concern, then, is with the Portugal, Seva Gi, and the Mogul: From the first is desired no more than a mutual Friendship; from the second, an Appearance only; from the last, a nearer Commerce: The first and second become necessary for Provisions for the Belly, and Building; the third for the Gross of our Trade: wherefore Offices of Civility must be performed to each of these; but they sometimes interfering, are the occasion of jealousies; these three being so diametrically opposite one to another: For while the Mogul brings his Fleet either to Winter or Recruit in this Bay, Seva takes Offence; on the other hand, the Mogul would soon put a stop to all Business, should he be denied: The Portugal, as in League with neither, thinks it a mean compliance in us to allow either of them Countenance, especially to furnish them with Guns and Weapons to turn upon Christians, which they wisely make an Inquisition Crime.

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## CHAPTER II.

### IS A SURVEY OF THE ISLAND OF CANOREIN NEAR BOMBAIM.

UPON these scores it was not long before I was employed to wait on the Father Superior of the North, a Learned Man, and a Spaniard by Nation, of the Order of the Jesuits.

The President commanded his own Baloon (a Barge of State, of Two and twenty Oars) to attend me and one of the Council, to compliment the Father on the Island of Canorein, parted from Bombaim by a Stream half a Mile broad: Near our Landingplace stood a College, not inferior to the Building, nor much unlike those of our Universities, belonging to the Jesuits here, more commonly called Paulistines, (whose Visitor was now my Patient) who live here very sumptuously, the greatest part of the Island being theirs. Our Entertainment was truly Noble, and becoming the Gravity of the Society. After I had done my Duty, the Fathers accompanied us to the Barge; afore the College-Gate stood a large Cross, thwack'd full of young Blacks singing Vesperß: The Town is large, the Houses tiled; it is called Bandora.

At our department they gave us Seven Guns, which they have planted on the Front of their College for their own Defence, besides they are fitted with good store of Small Arms: Following therein the Advice given by a Statesman to the King of Spain, about the Netherlands; That if the Society of the Loyalists were multiplied, their Convents might serve for Castles.

In the middle of the River we had a pleasant Prospect on both sides; on Bandora side, the College, the Town,

the Church of St. Andrew, a Mile beyond and upon the Hill that pointed to the Sea, the Aquada, Blockhouse, and a Church; on the other side, the Church of Maijm, with other handsome Buildings.

Curiosity led me a second time to visit the Island Canoein, having obtained leave for a longer Stay; nor went I alone, some of the best Quality on the Island being led by the same desire, joining themselves with me: We carried a Train of Servants, Horses, and Palenkeens, which were ferried over before us; and we coming soon after, were met by the Fraternity, and conducted to the Fathers, who detained us till Afternoon by a stately Banquet, shewing us the Civility of the Church and College, diverting us both with Instrumental and Vocal Musick, and very good Wine.

After which we were dismiss'd, and four Mile off Bandora were stopp'd by the Kindness of the Padre-Superior, whose Mandate wherever we came caused them to send his Recarders (a Term of Congratulation, as we say, Our Service) with the Present of the best Fruits and Wines, and whatever we wanted.

Here, not adjoining to any Town, in a sweet Air, stood a Magnificent Rural Church; in the way to which, and indeed all up and down this Island, are pleasant Aldeas, or Country Seats of the Gentry; where they live like Petty Monarchs, all that is born on the Ground being theirs; holding them in a perfect state of Villainage, they being Lords Paramount.

From hence, when we had baited, the same Night we travelled easily to Magatana, using our Fowling-Pieces all the way, being here presented with Rich Game, as Peacocks, Doves, and Pigeons, Chitreles, or Spotted Deer.

When we came to the Town, two several Churches strove to receive us; but having some Acquaintance with the Father of the one, and not with the other, we excused our selves to the latter, and took up with our Friend. As soon

as we came in, the Servitors fetch'd us warm Water to wash our Feet, which was very refreshing, it put me in mind of Lot's Courtesy to the Angels. After this, as a piece of extraordinary Civility, they shewed us the Necessary House ; and it is so in a Country where Fluxes are so common ; and for that reason it is kept as neat as their Lodging Rooms, having Water to wash after you have used a clean Towel hung there for that purpose.

This Night we fared very well. Next Morn before Break of Day we directed our Steps to the anciently fam'd but now ruin'd City of Canorein ; the way to it is so delightful, I thought I had been in England ; fine Arable Pasture, and Coppices ; thus we passed Five Mile to the Foot of the Hill on which the City stands, and had passed half a Mile through a thick Wood, peopled by Apes, Tygers, wild Buffalo's, and Jackalls ; here were some Flocks of Parockets : When we alighted, the Sun began to mount the Horizon over the Hills, and under our Feet, as if he had newly bathed his fiery Coursers, there appeared the Mouth of a Tank, or Aqueduct, out of a Rock, whose steaming Breath was very hot, but water cold : From hence it is thought the whole City to be supplied with water ; for as we ascend, we find such Places, where convenient, filled with Limpid Water, not over matched in India : If it be so, (as I know not how to contradict it) that it should have its Current upwards through the hard Rocks artificially cut, the World cannot parallel so wonderful a Water-course !

From hence the Passage is uneasy and inaccessible for more than two abreast, till we come to the City, all cut out of a Rock ; where is presented Vulcan's Forge, supported by two mighty Colosses, bellied in the middle with two Globes. Next a Temple with a beautiful Frontispiece not unlike the Portuco of St. Paul's West Gate : Within the Porch on each side stand Two Monstrous Giants, where two Lesser and one Great Gate give a noble Entrance ; it can



receive no Light but at the Doors and Windows of the Porch, whereby it looks more solemnly; the Roof is Arched, seeming to be born up by huge Pillars of the same Rock, some Round, some Square, 34 in number. The Cornish Work of Elephants, Horses, Lions; at the upper end it rounds like a Bow; near where stands a great Offertory somewhat Oval, the Body of it without Pillar; they only making a narrow Piatzo about, leaving the Nave open, It may be an 100 Feet in Length, in Height 60 Feet or more.

Beyond this, by the same Mole-like industry, was worked out a Court of Judicature (as those going to shew it will needs give Names) or Place of Audience, 50 Feet square, all bestuck with Imagery, well Engraven according to old Sculpture. On the Side, over against the Door, sate one Superintendent, to whom the Brachmin went with us, paid great Reverence, not speaking of him without a token of worship; whom he called Jougy, or the Holy Man; under this the way being made into handsome Marble Steps, are the King's Stables, not different from the Fashion of our Noblemen's Stables, only at the head of every Stall seems to be a Dormitory, or Place for Devotion, with Images, which gave occasion to doubt if ever for that End; or rather made for an Heathen Seminary of Devotes, and these their Cells or Chappels, and the open Place their Common Hall or School: More aloft stood the King's Palace, large, stately and magnificent, surrounded with lesser of the Nobility.

To see all, would require a Month's time; but that we might see as much as could be in our allotted time, we got upon the highest part of the Mountain, where we feasted our Eyes with innumerable Entrances of these Cony-burrows, but could not see one quarter part. Whose Labour this should be, or for what purpose, is out of memory; but this Place by the Gentiles is much adored: Some contend for Alexander; and as a proof, think they have said enough, when it is received by Tradition, that a great Gap out of

a solid Rock was cut by him to make this an Island : But this is contradictory to the Story delivered of Alexander, That he failed up Indus, and encountered King Porus, of whom some little Remains may be collected, they speaking of that King by the Name of Por in Cambaia where Alexander landed with his Army ; and followed the Course of Indus, directly contrary to this Place, that lying North-East, this South from thence ; nor do we read his stay in India was so long, to atchieve such Acts as these, this Place being not the only Instance of this nature ; but more probable to be an Heathen Fane, or Idolatrous Pagod, from the Superstitious Opinion they still hold of its Sacredness : Wherefore the Potugals, who are now Masters of it, strive to erase the remainder of this Herculean Work, that it may sink into the oblivion of its Founders.

Returning to Magatana, we spent some days in riding about the Country, which we found everywhere provided with Churches.

The Chief City of this Island is Tanaw : In which are Seven Churches and Colleees, the chiefest one of the Paulistines ; the Houses Tiled, but low : Here are made good Stuffs of Silk and Cotton.

There is another great Town called Mein, where is a Castle and some Soldiers, towards the Sea ; over-against Baçein there is another Fort and Aquada.

The Portugals suffer none but Christians here : It has no Rivers, but only Inlets of the Sea ; but good Springs from the Rocks ; the Ground excellently fertile, either of it self, or by the care of the Inhabitants ; that it yields as good Cabbages, Coleworts, and better Rhadishes ever than I yet saw : Besides Garden-Fruit, here are incomparable Water-Melons, and Onions as sweet, and as well tasted as an Apple ; and for the natural growth of the Soil, it is known not only to supply the adjoining Islands, but Goa also. It is more than 20 Miles in Length, and 70 in Circumference.

### CHAPTER III.

A VISIT TO BACEIN, A PORTUGAL CITY IN INDIA; OUR RETURN BY ELEPHANTO, AND THE PUTACHOS, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISLAND BOMBAIN.

THE several Capitaneos of the Portugals are Triennial, which are the Alternate Governments entailed on the Families of the Conquerors, and therefore made Circular; every one in his course having his turn to rule in some Place or other for Three Years, and upon these they can borrow or take up Money as certain as upon their Hereditary Estates, the next Incumbent being Security for the payment: Pursuant to this, a new Governour coming to Choul, his Honour the President sent to congratulate him: and the Admiral of the North coming to Bacein, another was sent on the same Message.

Nor could the hot months be over, before John de Mendos, of a Noble Family, sent for me to Bacein for the cure of his only Daughter, illustriously born, handsome, and on the point of Marriage with the Admiral of the North, though not full Twelve years old.

Leaving Bombain, at this time of the year, we could go either within or without; but the first being related to be pleasantest I chose that way; sailing by Trumbay, where we receive Custom, we might see a comely Church and Aldea: At noon we reached Tanaw; Having gained our Passage over the Flats, we made no stay, but rowed straight to Bacein; every half Mile we were presented with fresh Prospects of delicate Country-Mansions; two of which of special note draw the Eyes of the Beholders; one of John de Melos, three Mile off Tanaw, it standing

high, curiously built, has a Terras Descent with Walks and Gardens half a Mile, till it lead to a spacious Banqueting-house over the Water, with Stone-stairs for landing: Beyond it a Mile, on the side of an Hill, stands Grebondel, a large neat built Town of Martin Alphonso's; and at top of all his House, Fort and Church, of as stately Architecture as India can afford; he being the Richest Don on this side Goa. Here we are Land-locked by the Gut, which is fabled to be made by Alexander; from which we have an open passage to Bacein, it lying bare towards the Sea.

#### BACEM

Is incircled with a round Stone-wall, and has a Gate for every Wind; it is strong enough against the Indians, the City is circular; towards the Market appears a State-house Piatzed, where the Governour convocates the Fidalgos every Morning upon consultation, in which they all stand, a Chair not being permitted the Governour, though Gouty: Towards Evening they meet there to Game.

Within the Walls are six Churches, four Convents, two Colleges, one of the Jesuits, another of the Franciscans. It bears the Name of an Academy; the Students are instructed in the Jesuits College, but live in Town: Where is a Library, with Classes of Historians, Moralists, Expositors, to endure on European Foe: There are upon the out walls of deed in the Fort Forty two great Guns; and no more. It is a College of Polite Structure, in the Portuco is a Copy of Angelos, representing the Resurrection; above Stairs, as well as below, are fine square Cloisters, as all their Collegiate Churches have, on the sides whereof are their Cells; they have a spacious Refectory, and a goodly Church; three parts of the City is devoted to their use.

The Fidalgos (for few Artisans are tolerated within the Walls) have stately Dwellings, Graced with covered Bal-

conies, and large Windows two Stories high, with panes of Oister shell, which is their usual Glazing among them in India, or else Latised. They shew their Greatness by their number of Sumbreeroes and Cofferies, whereby it is dangerous to walk late for fear of falling into the Hands of those Pilfering Abusive Rascals. None but Christians lodge within the City, the Banyans repairing to the Subarbs upon Tattoo. The City is a Mile and half round ; it stands on an Island, separated by a small Channel from the Main, as far off the Island Canorein, as Canorein From Bombaim, and parted after the like nature.

The Land about it plain, and fruitful of Sugar Canes, Rice, and other Grain ; a great part of which has lately been destroyed by the Arabs of Muschat, who put them to a sore fright in Bacein : and this is done often, setting fire to their Villages, and carrying away their Fidalgoes Prisoners, together with their Wives and Families, butchering the Padres, and robbing the Churches without resistance, conceived on a deadly Feud, partly out of revenge of the Portngal Cruelties at Muschat ; but chiefly out of a detestation of each other's Religion ; inasmuch that Quarter is denied on either side : But that on this Pretence. The Portugals striving to possess themselves of Muschat, were put to such straits, that had not their Armado come to their relief, they must have desisted their Enterprize : Upon the arrival whereof the new Recruits gained so much on the Arab Governour, that he yielded up the otherwise invincible Fort of Muschat ; where the Portugals acting all nefarious Outrages, contrary to their Promise, the Arabs re-armed themselves with Courage and fresh Succors, and at length beat them from hence to Ormus in the Gulf of Persia ; from whence also they were routed by the help of the English (w<sup>e</sup> then being at war with them) ; the first blow to their Greatness in these Parts.

To check these Incursions of the Arabs, the Portugals

every Year are at the charge of a lusty Squadron in these Seas, which were those we met on the Coast returning from thence; who were no sooner gone, than the Arabs sent their Fleet to do this Mischief here; which now 'tis done, they are again in quest of them, but they fly as often as these pursue.

And if such be the gasping Strength of the Portugals, to<sup>o</sup> terrify the Potentest Enemies to Christianity in these Parts, what was their flourishing Estate? Whence it may easily be supposed before now all had bowed to the Cross, which yet bend under Heathenism or Mahometism, had they not been prevented by unhappy Pretenders, that (I fear) too much preferred Merchandize and private Picques, before the welfare of Religion: For it is morally probable, that had not the Dutch and we interrupted them, all might have been Christian in these parts of the World.

Having in a Week's time compleated my Business, returning the same way, we steered by the South side of the Bay, purposely to touch at Eliphanto, so called from a monstrous Elephant cut out of the main Rock, bearing a Young one on its Back; not far from it the Effigies of an Horse stuck up to the Belly in the Earth in the Valley; from thence we clambred up the highest Mountain on the Island, on whose Summit was a miraculous Piece hewed out of solid Stone: It is supported with Forty two Corinthian Pillars, being a Square, open on all sides but toward the East; where stands a Statue with three Heads crowned with strange Hieroglyphicks: At the North side in a high Portacco stands an Altar, guarded by Giants, and immured by a Square Wall; all along the Walls are loaded with huge Giants, some with eight hands, making their vanquished Knights stoop for mercy. Before this in a Tank full of water, and beyond that another Place with Images. This seems to be of later date than that of Canorein, though defaced by the Portugals, who have this

Island also ; but no Defence upon it, nor any thing else of Note ; it may be Ten Miles round, inhabited by the Povo, or poor : From hence we sailed to the Putachoes, a Garden of Melons (Putacho being a Melon) were there not wild Rats that hinder their Growth, and so to Bombam.

The Weather now was grown excessive hot, the Earth beginning to gape for Thirst, the Sun being in its Zenith with us ; the South Winds are set in strong, and the Toddy-Trees ferment their Wine over the vessels, the Prodrumi of the ensuing Rains ; which make their first shew at the first Full Moon in May, and continue a Fort-night, in which space it is unhealthy ; till after a Fort-night's fair Weather they set in for all together.

This Season makes the Syddy retreat hither with his Fleet, who from a Lord of Duccan is promoted to be the Mogul's Admiral ; or truer, driven to distress by Seva Gi, undertakes this Employment, in confidence to recover his own Dominion on the Sea-Coast, whilst the Mogul's General at Land is to stop his Proceedings on that side : But Seva Gi possessed of his Country, and bidding for his strong Castle at Dan de Rajapour Bay, which he has been to defend this Summer, derides his Attempts, and is preparing to be install'd Man Raja, or Arch Raja, at his Court at Rairee ; for which an Embassy to keep all right must be dispatch'd.

In the mean while Nature affords us a pleasant Spectacle for this Season, as well as Matter for Admiration ; whereby I know, not why we should deny Reason wholly to Animals ; unless it be Man having so much, they seem comparatively to have none : For here is a Bird (having its Name from the Tree it chuses for its Sanctuary, the Toddy Tree) that is not only exquisitely curious in the artificial Composure of its Nest with Hay, but furnished with Devices and Stratagems to secure its self and young ones from its deadly Enemy the Squirrel ; as likewise from the Injury of the Weather ; which being unable to oppose, it eludes

with this Artifice, contrives the Nest like a Steeple-hive with winding Meanders; before which hangs a Penthouse for the Rain to pass, tying it by so slender a Thread to the Bough of the Tree, that the Squirrel dare not venture his Body, though his Mouth water at the Eggs and Prey within; yet it is strong enough to bear the hanging habitation of the Ingenious Contriver, free from all the Assaults of its Antagonist, and all the Accidents of Gusts and Storms: Hundreds of these Pendulous Nests may be seen on these Trees.

Here is another Tree called Brabb, bodied like a Cocoe, but the Leaves grow round like a Peacock's Tail set upright, of the same substance with the Cocoe, only varying in figure; the Fruit of this is less than the Cocoe, and filled with a Gelly; the Wine from this is preferred new, before the other; there is a Tuft at top, cut off and boil'd eats like Colliflowers: on which Tree these Birds build also.

And now the Rains are set in, all Hostilities and Commerce cease, and every one provides for this time, as the Laborious Ant for the Winter, here being no stirring out to Sea, or travelling in the Country; the best Pastime now being good Fellowship. Thus lies this place afloat, and the Rains and Thunder are violent enough to convince the incredulous of a possibility of a General Duluge. This holds with little intermission till St. Francis's Moon, the first Full Moon in August; when our Europe Ships, if they saved their Passage about the Cape, venture to make in here, by the directions of the yellow Bellies of the formerly mentioned Water-Snakes, who are a warning to them of adventuring too near the Shore, till this open Weather appear.

After this Full Moon, the Banyana, assisted by their Brachmins, go in Procession to the Sea-shore, and offer Cocoe-Nuts to Neptune, that he would restore them their *Mare Pacificum*; when they make Preparations to go to Sea, and about their Business of Trade.



By this opportunity our Ambassadors crossed an Arm of the Sea, and returning from Seva Gi, delivered the President this following Account ; which I the rather insert, because the manner of dealing with these Princes and Great Men may be the better understood by this form a Address.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### A NARRATIVE OF AN EMBASSY TO SEVA GI, AND JOURNEY TO RAIREE, THE COURT OF THE RAJAH.

THE Ambassador having received Instructions, and got all things ready for his Journey, embark'd on a Bombaim Shebar (together with two English Factors, who were appointed by the Honourable the President to accompany him); and about Nine a Clock at Night arrived at Choul, a Portugal City on the Main, into which he could not enter, the Gates being shut up, and Watch set; so that they passed this Night in the Suburbs, in a small Church called St. Sebastians; and the next day about Three in the Afternoon receiving Advice that Seva Gi was returned to Rairee from Chiblone, departed thence to Upper Choul, a Town belonging to the Rajah, about two Miles distant from the Portugal City; and was in former time a great Mart of all sorts of Duccan Commodities; but now totally ruined by the late Wars betwixt the Mogul and Seva Gi, whose Arms have plundered and laid it waste.

The Subidar of this Town being a Person of Quality, who commands the Countries opposite to Bombaim, as Magat-an, Penn, and Tull, he thought good, to give him a Visit, and to present him with a couple of Pamerins; and the rather, because he understood by the Linguist Naran Sinaj, he had some Aversion to our Nation, and might hinder our Proceedings at Court; from which he was willing to take him off by all fair means: He received the Visit kindly, and promised all Courtesy that lay in his Power

to perform ; and after some immaterial Discourse they returned to their Tents.

The Day following they took Boat, and sailed up Choul River, to a Town called Esthemy, six Leagues distance from Choul where they staid till next day ; and set forth six in the Morn from about Esthemy, and about Sun-set pitched their Tent in a Plain, six Miles short of Nishampore, where they stayed about an hour to refresh their Coolies, and then set forward for Nishampore, and at Nine passing by Nishampore, arrived next Morning at Gongouly, a little Village situated on the Bank of a pleasant Rivulet ; from whence in a fair Day may be discerned the Castle of Rairee : The day after they proceeded on their Journey to Rairee, and about Nine of the Clock in the Evening came to Pancharra a Town at the Foot of the Hill, where they understood that Seva Gi was departed thence to Purtaabgur, to visit the Shrine of Bowany, a Pagod of great esteem with him, and celebrated some Ceremonies there in order to his Coronation ; having carried with him several Presents, and among the rest a Lumbrico of pure Gold, weighing about one Maund and a quarter, which is Forty two-Pounds, which he hath dedicated to the said Pagod.

In the interim, understanding they could not be admitted into the Castle till Seva Gi's return, they pitched their Tent in the Plain ; and in order to their more speedy dispatch, make their Business known to their Procurator Narun Gi Pundit, (whose reception was very kind) and delivered him his Honour's Letters ; shewing him the several Presents they brought for the Rajah, and Ministers of State ; of which he highly approved, and promised them to help them to the Rajah's presence, as soon as conveniently he could after his return from Pilgrimage to Purtaabgur : And bade them rest content, that his Endeavours should be totally employed in the Honourable Company's interest, and procuring them a speedy dispatch : For which having rendered him Thanks, he presented him with the

Articles which they brought for the Rajah to sign; translated into Moratty Language; which he said he would peruse, and then give his judgment of them. He then took occasion to discourse with him concerning the Conclusion of a Peace betwixt the Rajah and the Syddy of Banda Rajapore; urging many Arguments to create in him a belief it would be for the Rajah's advantage, but he would not be persuaded it was for his Master's interest to raise a Seige which had cost him so much Blood and Treasure; especially now he hath such hopes of gaining the Place; and therefore told them, it would be in vain to move it to the Rajah, who was resolved to take in the Castle, let it cost him what it will: And to that effect was daily sending down more Ordnance, Ammunition, Men and Money.

Our Ambassador replied, The President had no other Design in making this motion, than that of a good Neighbour; having observed the Miseries each Party endured, and the general obstruction of Trade, occasioned by the War; but since he desired him to desist mentioning it to the Rajah, he should not trouble him therewith; but what was more consistent with our own and his Interest; which was the encouraging Trade and Merchandise in his Country, and opening the ways to Baligaot, that Merchants might with safety bring down their Goods to Port; which would be much to the Rajah's Profit, and increase of his Treasury: And this he recommended to his Prudence to persuade the Rajah thereto; who being a soldier from his Infancy, its possible minded not such concerns.

To which he answered, That he doubted not but it would be effected in a short time; for that the King of Visiapour, who is Owner of those Countries (from whence most sorts of Wares come) being weary of Wars with his Master, had sent several Embassies to conclude a peace with him; which he thought would be made up in two or three Months and then the Ways would be free, and the Merchants have Egress and Regress as Formerly. That the Rajah, after

his Coronation, would act more like a Prince by taking care of his Subjects, and endeavouring the advancement of Commerce in his Dominions; which he could not attend before, being in perpetual War with the Great Mogul, and King of Visiapour. This is the Substance of his Discourse with Narun Gi Pundit who seemed to him to be a Man of Prudence and Esteem with his Master; So after a little sitting he took his leave of him, having first presented him with a Diamond Ring, for which he expressed a liking; and his Eldest Son a Couple of Pamerins, which are fine Mantles.

They continuing under their Tent, found it very hot and incommodious; wherefore they were glad when they heard the Rajah was returned from Purtaabgur, when the Ambassadors solicited Narun Gi Pundit to procure his leave to pass up the Hill into Rairee Castle: The next day they receiv'd order to ascend the Hill into the Castle, the Rajah having appointed an House for them; which they did; leaving Puncharra about Three in the Afternoon, they arrived at the top of that strong Mountain, forsaking the humble Clouds about Sun-set.

It is fortified by Nature more than Art, being of very difficult access, there being but one Avenue to it, which is guarded by two narrow Gates, and fortified by a strong Wall exceeding high, and Bastions thereto: All the other part of the Mountain is a direct Precipice; so that it's impregnable, except the Treachery of some in it betray it. On the Mountain are many strong Buildings, as the Rajah's Court, and Houses of other Ministers, to the number of about 300. It is in length about two Miles and an half, but no pleasant Trees, or any sort of Grain grows thereon. Their House was about a Mile from the Rajah's Palace, into which they retired with no little content.

Four days after their ascent, by the solicitation of Narun Gi Pundit, the Rajah gave them Audience, though busily employed by many other great Affairs, relating to

his Coronation and Marriage. Our Ambassador presented him, and his Son Samba Gi Rajah, with the Particulars appointed for them; which they took well satisfied with them; and the Rajah assured them we might trade securely in all his Countries without the least apprehension of Ill from him, for that the Peace was concluded. Our Ambassador replied, that was our Intent; and to that intent the President had sent him to this Court to procure the same Articles and Privileges we enjoyed in Indostan and Persia, where we traded. He answered, it is well, and referred our Business to Moro Pundit his Peshua, or Chancellour, to examine our Articles, and give an account what they were. He and his son withdrew into their private Apartments, to consult with the Brachmines about the Ceremonie preparatory to his Enstalment; which chiefly consisted in Abstinence and purifying till which be over, he will hear no farther of Business. They likewise departed to their Lodgings.

A day or two after our Ambassador went to Narum Gi Pundit, and took his Advice concerning the presenting of the rest; who told him he might go in Person to Moro Pundit, but to the rest he should send by Naran Sinaij what was intended for them: Declaring likewise if he would have his Work speedily effected, and without any impediment, that it was necessary to be at some more charge to present Officers with Pamerins, who were not in their List of presents; to which he assented, considering the time of the Year was so far spent, and that if he should be forced to stay the whole Rains out at Rairee, the Honourable Company's Charges would be greater than the Additional Presents: He answered that two Pamerins were not enough for Moro Pundit, that we must present him with four; and Peta Gi Pundit, Vocanovica, or Publick Intelligencer, with the Diamond Ring, valued at 125 Rupees.

The Dehir, or Persian Escrivan, with Four Pamerins.



Sam Gi Nayne, Keeper of the Seal with Four.

Ab Gi Pundit Four.

And then he should not doubt of a speedy Conclusion ; otherwise they should raise Objections on purpose to impede the Negotiation. . For every Officer in Court expected something according to their Decree and Charge.

About this time the Rajah, according to the Hindu Custom, was weighed in Gold, and poised about 16,000 Pagods, which Money, together with an 100,000 more is to be distributed among the Brachmines after the day he is enthroned, who in great numbers flock hither from all parts of his Territories.

Being earnest to press on his Errand he came for, the Ambassador sent to Narun Gi Pundit to know what was transacted in the Articles ; but was returned for Answer, The Rajah stopt his Ears to all Affairs, declaring he had granted all the Demands, except those two Articles, expressing, Our Money shall go current in his Dominions, and his on Bombaim ; and that he shall restore whatever Wrecks may happen on his Coasts belonging to the English, and Inhabitants of Bombaim ; The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted, because he forbids not the passing of any manner of Coins ; nor on the other side, can he force his Subjects to take those Monies where-by they shall be Losers ; but if our Coin be as fine an Alloy, and as weighty as the Mogul's and other Princes, he will not prohibit it. To the other he says, that it is against the Laws of Conchon to restore any Ships, Vessels, or Goods, that are driven ashore by Tempest, or otherwise ; and that should he grant us that Privilege, the French, Dutch, and other Merchants, would claim the same Right ; which he could not grant without breaking a Custom that has lasted many Ages : The rest of our Desires he willingly conceded, embracing with much satisfaction our Friendship, promising to himself and Country much Happiness by our Settlement and Trade : Notwithstanding Narun

Gi Pundit did not altogether despair of obtaining, our Wrecks, because we enjoyed the same Privilege in the Mogul, and Duccan Country.

Near a Month after they had been here, Narun Gi Pundit sent word, That to Morrow about Seven or Eight in the Morning, the Rajah Seva Gi intended to ascend his Throne; and he would take it kindly if they came to congratulate him thereon; that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it not being the Custom of the Eastern Parts to appear before a Prince empty-handed. The Ambassador sent him word, according to his Advice he would wait on the Rajah at the prescribed time.

Accordingly next Morning he and his Retinue went to Court, and found the Rajah seated on a Magnificent Throne, and all his Nobles waiting on him in Rich Attire; his Son Samba Gi Rajah, Peshaub, Mera Pundit, and a Brachmin of great Eminence, seated on an Ascent under the Throne; the rest, as well Officers of the Army as others, standing with great Respect. The English made their Obedience at a distance, and Narun Sinai held up the Diamond Ring that was to be presented him: He presently took notice of it, and ordered their coming nearer even to the Foot of the Throne, where being Vested, they were desired to retire; which they did not so soon, but they took notice on each side of the Throne there hung (according to the Moors manner) on heads of Gilded Launces many Emblems of Dominion and Government; as on the Right-hand were two great Fishes Heads of Gold, with very large Teeth: on the Left, several Horses Tails, a Pair of Gold Scales, on a very high Launce's head, equally poised, an Emblem of Justice: and as they returned, at the Palace Gate stood two small Elephants on each side, and two fair Horses with Gold Trappings, Bridles, and Rich Furniture; which made them admire now they brought them up the Hill, the Passage being both difficult and hazardous.

Two days after this, the Rajah was married to a Fourth *This was*  
Wife, without State; and doth every day bestow Alms on *As he was*  
 the Brachmins. *giving them*  
*Food*

Some days after, Narun Gi Pundit sent word the Rajah *He then*  
 had signed their Articles, all but that about Money. Then *he had to*  
 the rest of the Ministers of State signed them, and they *do so*  
 went to receive them of Narun Gi Pundit, who delivered *how a life*  
 them to the Ambassador with Expressions of great Kind- *was*  
 ness for our Nation, and offered on all occasions to be  
 serviceable to the English at the Court of the Rajah.

I will only add one Passage during the Stay of our  
 Ambassador at Rairee: The Diet of this sort of People  
 admits not of great Variety of Cost, their delightfulest  
 Food being only Cutchery, a sort of Pulse and Rice mixed  
 together, and boiled in Butter, with which they grow Fat:  
 But such Victuals could not be long pleasing to our Mer-  
 chants, who had been used to feed on good Flesh: It was  
 therefore signified to the Rajah, That Meat should be  
 provided for them; and to that end a Butcher that served  
 those few Moors that were there, that were able to go to  
 the Charge of Meat, was ordered to supply them with  
 what Goat they should expend (nothing else here being to  
 be gotten for them), which he did accordingly, to the  
 consumption of half a Goat a Day, which he found very  
 profitable for him, and thereupon was taken with a  
 Curiosity to visit his new Customers; to whom, when he  
 came, it was told them, The honest Butcher had made  
 an Adventure up the Hill, though very old, to have the  
 sight of his good Masters, who had taken off of his hands  
 more Flesh in that time they had been there, than he had  
 sold in some Years before; so rare a thing it is to eat  
 Flesh among them; for the Gentiles eat none, and the  
 Moors and Portugals eat it well stew'd, bak'd, or made  
 into Pottage; no Nation eating it roasted so commonly as  
 we do: And in this point I doubt we err in these Hot  
 Countries, where our Spirits being always upon the Flight,

are not so intent on the business of Concoction ; so that those things that are easiest digested, and that create the least trouble to the Stomach, we find by Experience to agree best here.

## CHAPTER V.

### OUR PASSAGE TO SWALLY, AND RELATION OF THE ENGLISH PRESIDENCY AT SURAT.

AFTER the Rains were over, and the North-East Wind had brought in the Cool Season, by Command from the President I was sent to Surat.

In a Week's time we turned it up, sailing by Bacçin, Tarapore, Valentine's-Peak, St. John's, and Daman, the last City Northward on the Continent, belonging to the Portugueze. As also passing by Balsore (the first Town of the Moors Southward of Surat) and eight Ships riding at Surat River's Mouth, we then came to Swally Marine, where were flying the several Colours of the Three Nations. English, French, and Dutch, on Flag-Staffs erected for that purpose, who here land and ship off all Goods, without molestation.

Here we were welcomed by the Deputy-President, Mr. Matthew Grey, an Eminent Merchant, and by the rest of the Council, who took Care for my Entertainment, which here was but rude, the Place admitting of little better Tenements than Booths, stiled by the name of Choultries: Before President Andrews's time they always lodged in Tents; but since, Wooden Houses tiled with Pan-Tiles have been raised in an Inclosure allotted by the Governor. In which Compound are included Warehouses, Stables, and other Out-houses, with as good a Garden as this

Sandy Soil will allow; in which ours exceeds the other two, being far pleasanter seated.

To this place belong two sorts of Vermin, the Fleas and Banyans; the one harbouring in the Sand, fasten upon you as you pass; where 'tis some Pastime to see what Shift the Banyan makes, being bit by them, he dare not kill them, for fear of unhousing a Soul, according to their Notion of Transmigration; but giving them a severe Pinch will put them to shift for themselves in a Nest of Cotton-wool. The other Vermin are the Banyans themselves, that hang like-Horse-leeches, till they have suck'd both *Sanguinem* and *Succum* (I mean Money) from you: As soon as you have set your Foot on Shore, they crowd in the Service, interposing between you and all Civil Respect, as if you had no other Business but to be gull'd; so that unless you have some to make your way through them, they will interrupt your going, and never leave till they have drawn out something for their Advantage. At this time of Shipping they Present the Governor of Surat, to license them to keep a Mart here, which they make the Europeans pay dearly for: Yet such is their Policy, that without these, neither you nor the Natives themselves shall do any Business, though they are worse Brokers than Jews; if they be not the Spawn of them, the Echabites, that would drink no Wine. These generally are the Poorer sort, and set on by the Richer to trade with the Seamen for the meanest things they bring; and notwithstanding they take them at their own rates get well enough in exchange of Goods with them. They are the absolute map of Sordidness, fareing hardly, and professing fairly, to entrap the unwary; enduring servily foul Words, Affronts and Injuries, for a future hope of Gain; expert in all the studied arts of Thriving and Insinuation; so that Lying, Dissembling, Cheating, are their Masterpiece: Their whole desire is to have Money pass through their Fingers, to which a great part is sure to stick: For they well under-

stand the constant turning of Cash amounts both to the Credit and Profit of him that is so occupied; which these Banyans are sensible of, otherwise they would not be so industrious to enslave themselves.

Having viewed the Tombs by the Sea-side, and some more conspicuous at the end of the Plain belonging to the English; others seated behind the Dutch Choultry, partly English, partly Dutch: Marks set to avoid, as well the Sylla and Charibdis of Damkin and Mora, two Nurseries for Stews, as to warn them of the Sands coming into the Hole where the Ships ride at Anchor very securely: we in the Company's Coaches Travelled to Surat Ten Mile, brave Champion ground; but the Coach wherein I was, breaking, we were forced to mount the Indian Hackery, a Two-wheeled Chariot, drawn by swift little Oxen. By Sun-set we entered the Company's Barge, waiting to carry us over the River; where saluted us the dreadful Noise of the Moors Drums and Trumpets, it being customary for them to sound at the Castle every Three hours; but chiefly at Sun-rise and Sun-set I could think of nothing but the last Trump; so that I could persuade myself there was little Musick in it; but they say Time will bring it to be agreeable to the Ears. On the other side the River, other Four wheeled Coaches expected us, and the Moors let us pass the Custom-house without Examination, having Women among us; which was no ordinary point of Civility, they otherwise being strict Examiners, unless the President cross the River, when they forbear also.

The Coach where the Women were, was covered with Cheeks, a sort of hanging Curtain, made with Bents variously Coloured with Lacker, and Chequered with Packthred so artificially, that you may see all without, and your self within unperceived: Ours was open, and guarded by such a Troop as went to apprehend our Saviour dressed after the same manner we find them on old Land-

ships, and led by the same Phanatic Lights we see there Painted.

Our Reception at the English House was Courteous and Welcome, for the Heat of the Day had tired us.

The House the English live in at Surat, is partly the King's Gift, partly hired; Built of Stone and excellent Timber with good Carving, without Representations; very strong, for that each Floor is Half a Yard thick at least, of the best Plastered Cement, which is very weighty, It is contrived after the Moors Buildings, with upper and lower Galleries, or Terras-walks; a neat Oratory, a convenient open Place for Meals. The President has spacious Lodgings, noble Rooms for Counsel and Entertainment, pleasant Tanks, Yards, and a Hummum to Wash in; but no Gardens in the City, or very few, though without they have many, like Wildernesses, overspread with Trees. The English had a neat one, but Seva Gi's coming destroyed it: It is known, as the other Factories are, by their several Flags flying.

Here they live (in Shipping-time) in a continual hurly-burly, the Banyans Presenting themselves from the hour of Ten till Noon; and the Afternoon at Four till Night, as if it were an Exchange in every Row; below stairs, the Packers and Warehouse-keepers, together with Merchants bringing and receiving Musters, make a meer Billingsgate; for if you make not a Noise, they hardly think you intent on what you are doing.

Among the English, the Business is distributed into four offices; the Accomptant, who is next in Dignity to the President, the general Accompts of all India, as well as this place, passing through his hands; he is Quasi Treasurer, signing all things, though the Broker keep the Cash. Next him is the Warehouse-keeper, who Registers all Europe Goods Vended, and receives all Eastern Commodities Bought; under him is the Purser Marine, who gives Account of all Goods Exported and Imported, pays Seamen



their Wages, provides Waggon and Porters, looks after Tackling for Ships, and Ships Stores. Last of all is the Secretary, who models all Consultations, writes all Letters, carries them to the President and Council to be perused and signed: keeps the Company's Seal, which is affixed to all Passes and Commissions; records all Transactions and sends Copies of them to the Company; though none of these, without the President's Approbation, can act or do any thing. The Affairs of India are solely under his Regulation; from him issue out all Orders, by him all Preferment is disposed; by which means the Council are biassed by his Arbitrament.

The whole Mass of the Company's Servants may be comprehended in these Classes, *vis.*, Merchants, Factors, and Writers; some Blewcoat Boys also have been entertained under Notion of Apprentices for Seven Years, which being expired, if they can get Security, they are capable of Employments. The Writers are obliged to serve Five Years for 10 *l.* per Ann. giving in Bond of 500 *l.* for good Behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the fore mentioned Offices: After which they commence Factors, and rise to Preferment and Trust, according to Seniority or Favor, and therefore have a 1000 *l.* Bond exacted from them, and have their Salary augmented to 20 *l.* per Ann. for Three Years, then entering into new Indentures, are made Senior Factors; and lastly Merchants after Three Years more; out of whom are chose Chiefs of Factories, as Places fall, and are allowed 40 *l.* per Ann. during their stay in the Company's service, besides Lodgings and Victuals at the Company's Charges.

These in their several Seigniories behave themselves after the Fundamentals of Surat, and in their respective Factories live in the like Grandeur; from whence they rise successively to be of the Council in Surat, which is the great Council; and if the President do, not contradict are Sworn, and take their place accordingly

which consists of about Five in Number, besides the President, to be constantly Residents.

As for the Presidency, though the Company interpose a deserving Man, yet they keep that Power to themselves none assuming that Dignity till confirmed by them: His salary from the Company is 500*l.* a year; half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction; beside a Bond of 5000*l.* Sterling of good Securities.

The Accountant has 72 *l.* per Annum. Fifty Pound paid here, the other at home: All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the Writers, who have all paid here.

Out of the Council are elected the Deputy-Governor of Bombaim, and Agent of Persia; the first a Place of great Trust, the other of Profit; though by the appointment from the Company, the second of India claims Bombaim and the Secretary of Surat the Agency of Persia, which is connived at and made subject to the will of the President, by the Interest of those whose Lot they are; chusing rather to reside here, where Consignments compensate those Emoluments; so that none of the Council, if noted in England, but makes considerably by his Place, after the rate of Five in the Hundred Commission; and this is the Jacob's Ladder by which they ascend.

It would be too mean to descend to indirect ways which are chiefly managed by the Banyans, the fittest Tools for any deceitful Undertaking; out of whom are made Broakers for the Company, and private Persons, who are allowed Two per Cent. on all Bargains, besides what they squeeze secretly out of the price of things bought; which cannot be well understood for want of knowledge in their Language; which Ignorance is safer, than to hazard being poisoned for prying too nearly into their Actions: Though the Company, to encourage Young men in their Service, maintain a Master to learn them to Write and Read the Language, and an Annuity to be annexed when they

gain a perfection therein, which few attempt, and fewer attain.

To this Factory belongs Twenty Persons in number, reckoning Swally Marine into the Account; a Minister for Divine Service, a Chirurgion, and when the President is here a Guard of English Soldiers, consisting of a double File led by a Serjeant.

The present Deputy has only Forty Moor-men, and a Flag-man carrying St. George his Colours Swallow-tailed in Silk, fastened to a Silver Partisan; with a small Attendance of Horse with Silver Bridles, and Furniture for the Gentlemen of the House, and Coaches for Ladies and Council.

The President besides these has a Noise of Trumpets and is carried himself in a Palenkeen, an Horse of State led before him, a Mirchal (a Fan of Ostriches Feathers) to keep off the Sun, as the Ombrahs of Great Men have, none but the Emperor have a Sumbrero among the Moguls: Besides these, every one according to his Quality has his Menial Servants to wait on him in his Chamber, and follow him out.

The Presidency of Surat is esteemed Superior to all in India, the Agency of Bantam being not long since subordinate to it, but since made independent; tho the South Sea Trade still maintained from hence to Bantam with such Cloath as is vendible there, from thence with Dollars to China for sugar, Tea, Porcelane, Laccared Ware, Quick-silver, Tuthinag and Copper; which with Cowreys, little Sea-Shells, come from Siam and the Philipine Islands; Gold and Elephants Teeth from Sumatra, in exchange of Corn. From Persia, which is still under the Presidency, come Druggs and Carmania Wool; from Moco, Cobor, or Coffee. The Island Factories subject to it, are Amidavad, whence is provided Silks, as Atlases wrought with Gold; Agra, where they fetch Indico, Chuperly, Course Cloath, Siring Chints, Broach Baftas, broad and Narrow; Dimitias,

and other fine Calicuts : Along the Coasts are Bombaim, Rajapore for Salloos ; Carnear for Dungerees, and the weightiest Pepper : Calicut for Spice, Ambergrees, Granats, Opium, with Salt Peter, and no Cloath, though it give the name of Calicut to all in India, it being the first Port from whence they were known to be brought into Europe : All which, after the Europe Ships have unladed at Surat, they go down to fetch ; and bring up time enough before the Caphalas out of the Couuntry come in with their Wares.

The Places about Surat afford variety of Calicuts, but not such vast quantities as are early exported, and moreover not so cheap ; which is the reason at every place the Factors are sent to oversee the Weavers, buying up the Cotton-yarn to employ them all the Rains, when they set on foot their Investments, that they may be ready against the Season for the Ships : Or else the Chief Broker employs Banyans in their stead, who is responsible for their Fidelity.

On these Wheels moves the Traffick of the East, and has succeeded better than any Corporation preceding, or open Trade licensed in the time of Oliver Cromwell ; though how much more to the benefit of England than a Free Commerce, may be guessed by their already being over-stocked with Europe Merchandise, which lowers the Price. What then would a Glut do which certainly must follow, but debase them more, and enhance these ?

But lest the New Company should be exclaimed against as too greedy Monopolizers, they permit Free Traders on their Island Bombaim ; when, to speak truth, they are in a far worse Condition than their Servants ; being tied up without hopes of raising themselves : So that in earnest they find out that to be but a Trick.

However, to confess on the Company's behalf, the Trade (I mean on this Coast) for some years lately passed has hardly ballanced Expences. The employing yearly Forty

SURAT.

Sail of stout Ships to and from all Parts where they trade out and home ; Manning and maintaining their Islands Bombaim, Fort St. George, and St. Helens ; besides large Sums expended to bear out the Port of their Factors ; which notwithstanding by impartial Computation has been found inferior to the Costs of the Hollanders, and therefore more to the profit of the English East-India Company, than theirs, in the few Years they have adventured ; so that I should mightily blame them, should they prove ungrateful to His Majesty, who by his gracious Favour has united them in a Society, whereby they are Competitors, for Riches (though not Strength) with the Noted'st Company in the Universe.

This was granted presently after the Happy Restoration of our Gracious Sovereign, when Order began to dawn, and dispel the dark Chaos of Popular Community : Then was sent out a President, to put their Charter in Force, and establish a Graduation among their Servants, which before was not observed ; only for Orders sake, they did nominate an Agent ; the rest being independent, made no distinction. When as now, after a better Model, they commence according to their standing, and are under a Collegiate manner of Restraint.

The last Agent was Agent Rivinton, who was abolished by the Company's sending out President Wych, who lived not much more than two years : President Andrews took his place ; and he resigning, Sir George Oxendine held it till his Death ; in whose time Seva Gi plunder'd Surat ; but he defended himself and the Merchants so bravely that he had a Collat or Serpaw, a Robe of Honour from Head to Foot offered him from the Great Mogul with an Abatement of Customs to Two and an half per Cent granted to the Company : For which his Masters, as a Token of the high Senae they had of his Valour, presented him a Medal of Gold, with this Device :

*Non minor est virtus quam quærere parva tueri.*

After whose Docease, the Honourable Gerald Aungier

took the Chair, and encounter'd that bold Mountaineer a second time, with a great Applause; when the Governor of the Town and Province durst neither of them shew their Heads.

The Enemies by the help of an Europe Engineer had sprung a Mine to blow up the Castle; but being discovered, were repulsed; for though he had set Fire to the rest of the City, they retained the Castle, and the English their House.

The Extent of the Presidency is larger in its Missions than Residency; in which Limits may be reckoned an hundred Company's Servants continually in the Country; besides the Annual Advenues of Ships, which during their Stay are all under the same Command: Therefore what Irregularities are committed against only the Presidency or Company, in case of Non-Submission, the Persons offending are to be sent home, and dismissed their Employments for Refractoriness; but if an higher Court lay hold of them in case of Murder or any Capital Crime, then they are to be sent to Bombaim, there to have a Legal Trial, according to the Laws of England, as the President is created Governor of his Majesty's Island.

The ill managing of which Penalties formerly, or the Invalidity to inflict them, may be the true Cause of the Unprosperousness of the Ancient Undertakers; who had this Inconveniency still attending, to wit, the incorrigible stubbornness of their own Men, after they had overcome all other Difficulties, occasioned by the Grant of the East to the Portugal, and West-Indies to the Spaniard. Nevertheless this Fairy Gift was the Ground of a long and tedious Quarrel in each of the World's Ends; so that our Ships encountring with their Carracks seldom used to part without the loss of one or both. Nay, the long-liv'd People yet at Swalley remember a notable Skirmish betwixt the English and Portugals there, wherein they

were neatly intrapp'd ; an Ambuscado of ours falling upon them behind in such sort, that they were compelled between them and the Ships in the Road, to resign most of their Lives ; and gave by their Fall a memorable Name to a Point they yet call Bloody Point for this very reason. But since these Sores are fortunately bound up in that Conjugal Tye betwixt our Sacred King and the Sister of Portugal,\* laying all foul Words and Blows aside, let us see how the Affairs stand betwixt them and the Dutch, who followed our Steps, and got in at the Breach we made. They made them more Work, not only beating them out of their South-Sea Trade, but possessed themselves of all their Treasures of Spice, and have ever since kept them, with all their Strong-holds, as far as Goa ; they only enjoying the Gold Trade of Mosambique undisturbed ; the Japaners having banished both their Commerce and Religion.

Wherefore our ships almost alone, were it not for a little the French of late, lade Calicuts for Europe : The Dutch have a Factory here, that vend the Spices they bring from Batavia, and invest part of the Money in course Cloath, to be disposed among their Planters, or sold to the Malayans, and send the rest back in Rupees : So that we singly have the Credit of the Port, and are of most advantage to the Inhabitants, and fill the Custom House with the substantiallest Incomes. But not to defraud the French of their just Commendations, whose Factory is better stor'd with Monsieurs than with Cash, they live well, borrow Money, and make a Shew : Here are French Capuchins, who have a Convent, and live in Esteem.

And here I might conclude, did not the Diamond Trade and other Jewels interpose ; which I could wish for the Company's sake might never be struck out of their

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\* Charles the second married Cathari f Portugal.

Indulgence allowed to their Servants : For it will never amount to Advantage in their hands, because the Jews who are the chief Chapmen in England will blow upon them, unless they come to their Prices, when more than enough is offered them. But in particular hands the Case is otherwise, every one snatching at a Prize, which none is sensible of but the private Buyer : but when they are publickly Invoiced, it will be at their own Wills to make their Bargains. Withal, in the Company's Servants hands, it not only keeps them Honest but they grow Rich without wronging the Company : Whereas should they retract this, not only the Jews would find others to furnish them, as the French and Dutch, with their Encomiendums ; but other Monied Gentlemen in England might be tempted to set up for Interloping, who know not how better to dispose of their Monies on any Bank and by adventuring Large Sums, that do now to my knowledge return them in a Year and a half's time from 50*l* to 70*l* per Cent. advance, and the Factor's good Gainers too ; and all this while no Prejudice done either to Freight or the Company's Trade which if they will not believe, let them experiment to their own Cost. Nor can I say more on this Subject, than both French and Dutch Jewellers coming over Land do understand, who have made good Purchase by buying Jewels here, and carrying them into Europe to be Cut and Set, and returning sell them here to the Ombrabs, among whom were Monsieur Tavernier, and now Monsieur Rezin, Monsieur Jordan.

Thus much may serve for this Year ; by the next I may prepare a farther Account, if I live ; for so long I will be

Yours

J. F.

*From Jan. 15, 1671.*



## LETTER III.

A DESCRIPTION OF SURAT, AND JOURNEY INTO DUCAN.

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### CHAPTER I.

ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE CITY AND PEOPLE OF SURAT IN THE  
EAST INDIES.

SIR,—Going out to see the City of Surat, I passed without any Incivility, the better because I understood not what they said; for though we meet not with Boys so rude as in England, to run after Strangers, yet here are a sort of beld, lusty, and most an end, drunken Beggars, of the Musslemen Cast, that if they see a Christian in good Clothes, Mounted on a stately Horse, with rich Trappings, are presently upon their Punctilio's with God Almighty and interrogate him, Why he suffers him to go a Foot, and in Rags, and this Coffery (Unbeliever) to vaunt it thus? And are hardly restrained from running a Muck (which is to kill whoever they meet, till they be slain themselves) especially if they have been at Hodge, a Pilgrimage to Mecca, and thence to Juddah, where is Mahomet's Tomb; these commonly, like evil Spirits, have their Habitations among the Tombs: Nor can we complain only of this Libertinism, for the Rich Moormen themselves are persecuted by these Rascals.

As for the rest, they are very respectful, unless the Seamen or Soldiers get Drunk, either with Toddy, or Bang (a pleasant intoxicating Seed, mixed with Milk) then are they Monarchs, and it is Madness to oppose them; but leave them to themselves, and they will vent that

Fury, by breathing a Vein or two with their own Swords, sometimes slashing themselves most Barbarously.

The Town has very many noble lofty Houses of the Moor-Merchants, flat at top, and Terassed with Plaster. There is a Parsy, Broker to the King of Bantam, has turned the outside of his Pockets on a sumptuous House, a spacious Fabrick, but ill contrived, as are many of the Banians.\* They, for the most part, affect not stately Buildings, living in humble Cells or Sheds. Glass is dear, and scarcely purchaseable (unless by way of Stambole, or Constantinople, from the Venetians, from whom they have some Panes of Painted Glass in Sash Windows) therefore their Windows, except some few of the highest Note, are usually folding Doors, skreened with Cheeks, or Latisees, Carved in Wood, or Ising-glass, or more commonly Oister-shells. The greatest Commodity here is Air, which is to be admired in the Rich Banyans, how they stew themselves out of a penurious humour, crowding Three or Four Families together into an Hovel, with Goats, Cows, and Calves, all Chamber-fellows, that they are almost poisoned with Vermin and Nastiness; but surely they take delight in it, for they will fresh and fasting besprinkle themselves with the Stale of a Cow, as you behold a good Christian with Holy-water, or a Moorman slabber his Beard with Rosewater: Nay more, they use it as a Potion, or Philter, and bid the Devil do his worst after it; so stupid that notwithstanding Chints, Fleas, and Muskeeto'a, torment them every Minute, dare not presume to scratch where it itches, lest some Relation should be untenanted its miserable abode.

The Habits and Customs of this place are reconcilable with them in the Kingdom of Gulconda, only the Moguls being more absolute, and of a more Puritanical Sect than the Chia's; the Heathens are suppressed in respect

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\* At this period the King of Bantam equipped ships on his own account, and not only sent them to Surat, but also into the Persian Gulf.

of their Barbarous Rites, and reduced to a more civil Garb, being more decently Clothed.

The Moguls, who are Lords here, differ from them of Gulconda in point of their Calif's Succession, the first maintaining the Sect of the Arabs, the others of the Suffean, or Persian.

They have Four Expositors of the Law, to whom they give Credit in matter of Ceremonies, viz.

*Hanoffi ; Shoffi ; Hamaleech ; Maluche.*

Their great scruple is about Eating together among all sorts of these Eastern Nations.

All Musselmen (true Believers) as they call themselves of this Persuasion, Communicate in that point ; only some Punctilio's in respect of Marriage remain yet undecided ; as for an Hanoffi to offer his Daughter to a Shoffi, it is a great shame ; but if the other request first, he may comply without derogation.

They are distinguished, some according to the consanguinity they claim with Mahomet ; as a Siad is a Kin to that Imposture, and therefore only assumes to himself a Green Vest and Pucker<sup>y</sup> (or Turbat) none other being permitted to wear them. A Shiek is a Cousin too, at a distance, into which Relation they admit all new made Proselytes. Meer is somewhat Allied also, and Mussanne. The rest are adopted under the Name of the Province or Kingdom they are Born in, as Mogul the Race of the Tartars, and are esteemed, as the Name imports, White Men ; Patan, Duccan ; or Schisms they have made, as Bilbim, Jemottee, and the lowest of all is Borrah.

These Eat highly of all Flesh Dumpoked, which is Baked with Spice in Butter ; Pullow, a Stew of Rice and Butter, with Flesh, Fowl, or Fish ; Fruits, Achars, or Pickles, and Sweatmeats : If they invite a Christain, they order Dishes apart, and between Meals Entertain with Coho, Tobacco, Pawn, which makes a fragrant

Breath, and gives a rare Vermilion to the Lips ; and as a great Compliment drown you with Rosewater, Scenting themselves with Essence of Sandal and Oranges, very Costly, and exquisitely Extracted. They drink no Wine Publickly, but Privately will be good Fellows, not content with such little Glasses as we drink out of, nor Claret or Rhenish (which they call Vinegar) but Sack and Brandy out of the Bottle they will Tipple, till they are well warmed.

At the First entrance into their Houses, for the greater Respect, they meet at the Portal, and usher Strangers to the place of Entertainment ; where, out of common Courtesy, as well as Religion (when they enter an Holy Place) they pull off their Slippers, and after the usual Salams, seat themselves in Choultries, open to some Tank of purling Water ; commonly spread with Carpets, or Siturungees, and long round Cushions of Velvet to bolster their Back and Sides, which they use when they ride in their Chariots, which are made to sit Cross-legg'd on, not their Legs hanging down as ours ; it being accounted among them no good breeding to let their Legs or Feet be seen whilst sitting : In their Palenkeens, Coaches or swinging Cotts, which they affect for Ease, are laid huge Bolsters of state, and Quilts of Cotton to lie at length, their Ceilings and Posts are Hung with Mechlapatan Pintado's, and adorned with other Gallantry.

They go rich in Attire, with a Poniard, or Catarre, at their Girdle ; as they are Neat in Apparel, they are Grave in their Carriage.

Their Women wear the Breeches, but in a most servile condition ; yet they have their Ornaments of Head, with Bracelets of Pearl, Ear-rings and Nose-rings, to which they hang jewels, mostly set in Silver, because Gold is Nigess, or Unclean.

They are strict observers of the Hours of Prayer when

they strip off all their Gorgeous Habiliments to their Shift, and after Washing Hands and Feet, Prostrate themselves during the time of Devotion, when Rising they Salute their Guardian-Angels according to the Opinion of the Stoicks, who allotted every one his Juno and his Genius ; having made their Orisons, and Purified themselves, they return to Company as before.

They are great Revellers by Night, in the heat of the Day they sleep and dally.

They circumcise the Foreskin of the Male, which is performed by a Barbar, at Eight years of Age ; with Feasting, and carrying the Boy about in pomp, with Musick and great Expressions of Joy. Of the Girls they make small account, they being instructed within doors how to pray.

The *Cazy* or Judge, after the Match is made by the Parents, marries them ; from whence doubtless our Phana-ticks borrowed their Custom of Marrying by a Justice of Peace : This is also a time of Solemnity sometimes kept for several Weeks together with Illuminations in their Houses, their Garments tintured with Saffron, riding triumphantly through the Streets with Trumpets and Kettle Drums ; fetching the Bride from her Kindred, and they sending Banquets, Houshold-stuff, and Slaves their Attendants, with a great Train through their Streets, which is all their Dowry ; But the *Cazy* has a Knack beyond those Couplers of Europe, he can loose the Knot when they plead a Divorce. They have four Wives if they can maintain them, and as many other Women as they please ; she that bears the first Son is reckoned the Chief.

At their Labours they seldom call Midwives, being pretty quick that way, though there are not a few live well by that Profession known by Tufts of Silk on their Shoes or Slippers, all other Women wearing them plain : At the end of their Quarantine, which is Forty days, after the Old Law,

they enter the Hummums to Purify ; and the Child, without much Ceremony, is named by the Parents.

At Funerals, the Mullahs or Priests, make Orations or Sermons, after a Lesson read out of the Alchoran, and lay them North and South, as we do East and West, when they are Inhumed, expecting from that Quarter the appearance of their Prophet. Upon the death of any, in the hearing of the Outcry, which is great among the Women, beating their Breasts, and crying aloud, they neither eat, nor shift their Cloaths, till the Person be interred ; the Relations mourn by keeping on dirty Cloaths, and a neglect of their Apparel ; neither washing nor shaving themselves : It is usual to hire People to lament, and the Widow once a Moon goes to the Grave with her Acquaintance to repeat the doleful Dirge, after which she bestows Holway, a kind of Sacramental Wafer ; and entreats their Prayers for the Soul of the Departed ; and, for that reason, the most store of Graves are in Cross-ways, or High-roads, that the Passengers may be put in mind of that Office : They never Enshrine any in their Moschs, but in the places adjoining them ; where they build Tombs, and leave Stipends for Mullahs to offer Petitions up for them.

The Duty of the Mullahs besides these, is to call from the Steeples of their Moschs every Pore, that is, once in Three hours stopping their Ears with their Fingers : *Allah Eckbar, Allah Eckber Eschndu ela Hale ilallah we Eschedu, Mahmed eweful ; Cuah Flrje ala Selah heic ula Felah, Alla Eckber, Alla Eckber, La Jelah Hallah* : i. e. God is Great, I profess, there is no Deity but God, and confess that Mohomet is the Prophet of God. Their Priests say Prayers five times a-day, and expound the Alchoran once a week, and that on Friday which day they are not to lye with their Women, setting it apart for the service of God.

Here is a Xeriff, who is as it were their Primate, under

him the *Cazys*, or Judges, are the next, then the Inferior Clergy, as the Mullahs, and Scribes, or Teachers of Youth in the Arabick Tongue.

With these, by the favour of the present Moghul, who lived long in that Order, till he came to the Throne, must be numbred the Fakiers or Holy Men, abstracted from the World, and resigned to God, for the Word will bear that Interpretation; on this Pretence are committed sundry Extravagancies, as putting themselves on voluntary Penances. Here is one that has vowed to hang by the Heels, till he get Money enough to build a Mosch to Mahomet, that he may be held a Saint. Another shall travel the Country with an Horn blowed afore him, and an Ox it may be to carry him and his Baggage, besides one to wait on him with a Peacock's Tail; whilst he rattles a great Iron Chain fettered to his Foot, as big as those Elephants are Foot-locked with, some two yards in length, every Link thicker than a Man's Thumb, and a Palm in length; his shaking this speaks his Necessity, which the poor Gentiles dare not deny to relieve; for if they do, he accuses them to the *Cazy*, who desires no better opportunity to fleece them: For they will not stick to swear they blasphemed Mahomet, for which there is no evasion but to deposit, or be cut, and made a Moor.

Most of these are Vagabonds, and are the Pest of the Nation they live in; some of them live in Gardens and retired Places in the Fields, in the same manner as the Seers of old, and the Children of the Prophets did: Their Habit is the main thing that signalizes them more than their Virtue; they profess Poverty, but make all things their own where they come; all the heat of the Day they idle it under some shady Tree, at night they come in Troops, armed with a great Pole, a Mirchal or Peacock's Tail, and a Wallet; more like Plunderers than Beggars; they go into the Market, or to the Shopkeepers and force an Alms, none of them returning without his share: Some

of them pass the bounds of a modest Request, and bawl out in the open Streets for an Hundred Rupees, and nothing less will satisfy these.

They are cloathed with a ragged Mantle, which serves them also for a Mattrass, for which purpose some have Lyons, Tygres or Leopards Skins to lay under them : The Civilest of them wear Flesh colored Vests, somewhat like our Brick-makers Frocks, and almost of that Colour. The Merchants as their Adventures return are bountiful towards them, by which means some of them thrive upon it.

These Field Conventiclers at the hours of Devotion beat a Drum, from them called the Fakiers Drum ; here are of these Strolers about this City enough to make an Army, that they are almost become formidable to the Citizens ; nor is the Governour powerful enough to correct their Insolencies. For lately setting on a Nobleman of the Moors, when his Kindred came to demand Justice, they unanimously rose in defence of the Aggressor, and rescued him from his deserved Punishment.

For all the Governor comes to his Seat attended every Morning with 300 Foot with Fire-Arms, Three Elephants in their Cloathing (which is here also a principal Mark of the Greatness of these Men in place, the more Elephants they keep, they are looked on as more Honourable) Forty Horses mounted, Four and twenty Banners of State ; besides a large Retinue of the *Cazy's*, who is always present to assist him in Law Points. Moreover, he has Loud Trumpets, made as big, and like our Stentoro Phonica, or speaking Trumpet, with Thundring Kettle-Drums ; yet neither the Formality of this Appearance, nor regard due to his Office, is terrible enough to prevail with these to submit to resign the Caitiff, and hardly is his whole Force able to keep them from bare-faced Rebellion.

But though these Outlaws (for as such they ought to be look'd on, while they disown all Subjection) behave themselves thus, the poor Inhabitants that work for their



Bread, are under severer Restraints; for the Governor's Servants being upheld by an uncontroled Licentiousness, on pretence of pressing the Craftsmen from their daily Labour into the Governour's Service, extort continued Fees from them, or else they are sure to be set on work, without any thing for their Pains: Which was but even now made a Publick Grievance, by the Resistance of a sturdy Patan, (who is sprung from a Warlike People, of whom it is said, They never draw their Swords, but Blood must follow): And thus it happen'd; The Patan having employ'd a Taylor at his house, one of the Governor's Men seized him for his Master's Service; but the Patan rushing in to release him, the Soldier ran a young Brother of the Patan's through, naked and unconcerned in the Scuffle; which so enraged the Patan, that forcing the Sword out of the hand of this inhuman Butcher, he kill'd him and two more that came to his Rescue: and going into his house, slew his own Wife, and Sister, and a little Son of his own, that they might not fall a Sacrifice to the Governour's Rage: The wretched Taylor, animated by the Example of the Patan (tho' but a cooly), had murder'd his Wife had she not fled; but laying hold on his Old Father and Mother, he dispatched them; and bolting forth into the Street, set upon what Governor's Men he and the Patan could meet: Tidings whereof striking the Governor's Ears he came with all his Power to beset the exasperated and desperate Men; but though a Thousand Men were up in Arms, and gazing upon the Patan standing with his Sword in his hand at the Entrance of the House, none durst venture to apprehend him; till his Fury abating and Promises given by a Great Man of Favour if he resigned; he attending to his Parley, in the mean while two Men with Guns from atop of the House discharged on him, and wounded him and the Taylor mortally, but not before they had carried this false Great Man with some of his Attendants along with them out of the World:

So that these Curs set to keep the Sheep, are the first that worry them.

Lest therefore all Shew of Justice should be banished now and then, when they have not Money to buy it off, or the Emperor be informed, some Exemplary Punishments are inflicted : Some Instances whereof I shall relate.

The one was of an Armenian, Chawbucked through the City for selling of Wine. The other was of a Goldsmith who had coined Copper Rupees ; first they shaved his Head and Beard, as our Countrymen do Bayliffs when they presume to Arrest in Priviledg'd Places ; then putting a Fool's Cap on his Head, they set him on an Ass, with his Face to the Tail, which is led by an Holencore, and one of their Drums is beat before him, which is an Affront of the highest degree ; thus they lead him up and down the City, where the Boys and Soldiers treat him but scurvily, pelting him all the way he passes : Being brought back to Prison, they cut off his Hand, and let him lye during the Governor's Pleasure. The Third was of a Pack of Thieves that had infested the Roads a long time, and after some whiles Imprisonment the Banyans proffered Money for their Redemption ; but the Great Mogul sending an Express, they were led to Execution ; They were Fifteen, all of a Gang, who used to lurk under Hedges in narrow Lanes and as they found opportunity, by a Device of a Weight tied to a Cotton Bowstring made of Guts, (with which they tew Cotton) of some length, they used to throw it upon Passengers so, that winding it about their Necks, they pulled them from their Beasts and dragging them upon the Ground strangled them, and possessed themselves of what they had : One of these was an Old Man with his two Sons, the youngest not fourteen. This being their Practice, they were sentenced, according to *Lex Talionis*, to be hang'd ; wherefore being delivered to the Catwal, or Sheriff's Men, they led them two Miles with Ropes about their Necks to some wild Date-Trees : In their way thi-

ther, they were chearful, and went singing, and smoaking Tobacco, the Banyans giving them Sweetmeats, they being as jolly as if going to a Wedding; and the Young Lad now ready to be tied up, boasted, That though he were not Fourteen Years of Age, he had killed his Fifteen Men; wherefore the Old Man, as he had been a Leader of these Two, was first made an Example for his Villany, and then the two Striplings were advanced, as all the rest were, half a Foot from the Ground; and then cutting their Legs off that the Blood might flow from them, they left them miserable Spectacles, hanging till they dropped of their own accord.

The following Delinquents being of another kind, we shall see how they fare: The one was of a Rich Merchant of the Moors killing his Wife, and a Child he had by her of Three Years old, upon taking her with her Paramour in Adultery; for which Crime a Pecuniary Mulct excused him: The other was a Boy's sticking a Moor to the Heart with his own Catarre which Fact was so far from being accused as a Fault, that the Boy came off with Commendation; though there is nothing more frequently committed among them, than unnatural Sin.

There is another thing above all the rest an unpardonable Offence; for a Banyan or Rich Broker to grow Wealthy without Protection of some Great Person; for it is so mighty a Disquiet to the Governor, that he can never be at ease till he have seen the bottom of this Mischief; which is always cured by Transfusion of Treasure out of the Banyans into the Governor's Coffers: Which makes them become humble Suiters for the Umbrage of any of Quality, to skreen them from this Violence.

The next in the Executive Power is the Catwal, the Governor of the Night, as the other two Great Officers rule the Day; or nearer our Constitution, the Sheriff of the City; For after the Keys are carried to the Governor, it is the Catwal's Business with a Guard of near Two hundred





Men, to scower the Streets and Brothels of Idle Companions to take an account of all People late out, to discover Fires and House-breakers, and to carry all lewd Persons to Prison, which is solely committed to his charge: So that all Night long he is heard by his Drums and Trumpets, shouting and hallowing of his Crew in their Perambulation through all parts of the City; with Lights and Flambeaus, with some few of his Companions in Coaches or Palenkeens: Moreover, he siezes all Debtors, and secures them, and has the care of Punishing and Executing all Offenders.

This is a Place of great Trust, but neither so Honourable or Profitable as the Shawbunder's is; who is King of the Port, or Chief Customer, though something abated by the Moguls too fondly in a Religious Vanity granting Immunity to the Musslemen lately, which is no small detriment.

The Custom-house has a good Front, where the Chief Customer appears certain hours to chop, that is, to mark Goods outward-bound, and clear those received in: Upon any suspicion of default he has a Black-Guard that by a Chawbuck, a great Whip, extorts Confession: There is another hangs up at the daily Waiters, or Meerbar's Choultry, by the Landing-place, as a terror to make them pay Cæsar his due; the Punishment, if detected, being only Corporal, not Confiscation of Goods: This Place is filled with Publicans, Waiters and Porters, who are always at the Receipt of Custom, but are a little too tardy sometimes in the delivery of Goods, making the Merchant dance attendance, till a right understanding be created betwixt the Shawbunder and them, which commonly follows when the Fist is mollified.

Over-against the Custom-house is a stately Entrance into the Mint, which is a large Town of Offices within itself; hither repair all Shroffs or Bankers, for the proof of Silver, which in this place is the most refined and

purest from alloy, in the World; as is also their Gold: Their lowest Coyne is of Copper.

Between these two is a crowded Bazaar of all those who come to sell and buy Cloath; being disengaged here, we pass the High-Streets, with shops on each side, not like ours in Europe, being more like Pedlers Stalls; We crossed several Buzzars, which yielded sustenance to the many Mouths we encountred.

Piercing through the City to the Walls which are building to surround it, and a Ditch accompanying it, (though but shallow, yet the Wall is high, and of good well-baked brick) at length we came in sight of the Castle, having a large Pomarium.

They say it has been standing ever since Tamberlane was here; who they give out to be its Founder: It may be so, for it is old, yet bears 30 or 40 stout Pieces of Ordnance, fronts the River, and is Moated by it; to which they pass a Draw-bridge, but admit no Stranger: It is Manned by 300 Luscarries or Soldiers, armed with Gun, Sword and Buckler, has a peculiar Governor independent from him of the Town or Province, being as it were confined to it, not presuming, on forfeiture of his Head, on any account to pass out of a Garden by the Bridge, it being his furthest Walk.

Up and down the City are Remains of Seva Gi's fury, the Ruins being not yet repaired; of whom they stand in hourly fear, having their Sores still fresh in their Memory: To prevent whose Rage, they are collecting an Hundred thousand Rupees till their Walls be finished, when we shall see how they will defend them; having 700 Men allotted for that Office, besides Europe Gunners at every Gate, which are Six in number, beside 36 Bastions with half a dozen great Guns apiece: Upon the top they have piled spiked Timber to annoy the Scalers.

Every Gate is barbed with Iron Spikes to break the

rushing in of the Elephants; these also are under a distinct Command.

The Governor of the Town has an Army of 1500 Men in pay, with Matchlocks, Swords and Javelins; Two hundred Horse, with Quivers full of Arrows at the Bow of their Saddles, Lances at their Right Stirrup, and Swords of an unweildy bulk, with Bucklers hanging over their Shoulders; their Bows are curiously and strongly made with Horn, and, for that reason, better in Dry than Wet Weather.

Among the many Mosches to and again, only two are famous with long Spires by the Wall, where is a stately Dwelling for the Xeriff.

They have Three other Places for Strangers called Caravan Serawes, or Inns, intended by the Donors gratis, but since perverted, and let out to Foreigners.

Near the Governor's Stables were Forty Camels housed, ready for War, and half a dozen Elephants.

These Stables, are rather Sheds, or Booths of Hair-cloth, to remove on occasion, than any Building fixed for that purpose; and were it not for the manner of treating their Horses, not worth the mentioning: They have no Racks, but feed as Nature intended them, from the Ground, if they get Hay; for their Corn it is usually Garavance, a sort of Pease which they put into an Hair Bag, and by a String (clapping their Mouths into it) fastened behind their Ears, is kept from the Ground; out of this they have their daily Allowance; beside Butter, Sugar and Jaggaree or Mulasso's made into Paste, with the Meal of Garavance, which fattens all their Beasts of War, and makes them slick and fine; they cover them very warm with a kind of Felt or Flockwork, two or three double, and tye them by all their Feet stretched out at length: in which posture they always stand: when they make their Beds, they sift the Dung they make, after it is dried in the Sun, and make a soft lying for them of it;



they court them with all the gentleness and kind Speeches imaginable, seldom or never speaking to, or using them harshly. Every Horse has one Man wholly employed about his Service, and pretends to no other business; so that good horses are chargeable to purchase, they are also chargeable in keeping.

The Governor, about this time, taking occasion to quarrel with the Dutch, offering several Abuses both of Body and Purse, the Commodore was resolved no longer to endure it, and, therefore, had sent for their Fleet, and, in the mean time, threatened to remove the Factory to Gogo, a Port over-against Swally which with Diu Point makes Swally Hole: To prevent which a Decoy was put upon all Feringi's, that we could not go out of the Gates of the City, but by especial Commission from the Governor.

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## CHAPTER II.

SHEWS THE TOMBS, OUTWALKS, CEREMONIES, AND AUSTERI-  
TIES OF THE GENTILES, WITH THE SHIPS AND  
RIVER ABOUT SUBAT.

HAVING obtained Leave of the Governor, we went out of the Walls by Broach Gate (they taking Names from the chief Places they lead to), where, as at every Gate, stands a Chocky, or Watch to receive Toll for the Emperor; and which is a shame, a Raspoor also for the Raspoors, otherwise they would infest the Villages adjacent, and drive away the Cattel; for all which it is unsafe to be far out of the Town late at Night, unless well guarded. This way was all strewed with Moor-men's Tombs, and one of especial Note of a Persian Ambassador, who returning from England with Sir Anthony Shirley, is reported to poyson himself here, rather than answer some ill Management of his Office to his Master; Not far from whence, on a small Hill on the left hand of the Road, lies Tom Coriat, our English Fakier (as they name him), together with an Armenian Christian, known by their Graves lying East and West: He was so confident of his Perfection in the Indostan Tongue, that he ventured to play the Orator in it before the Great Mogul. In his return from him he was killed with Kindness by the English Merchants, which laid his rambling Brains at Rest.

From hence we passed over to the Dutch Tombs, many and handsome, most of them Pargetted. Adjoining to which the Armenians have a Garden, where on a Terras (Forty Yards in Length, and Five in Breadth) are reared several Monuments Coffin-Fashion, with a place to burn Incense at the Head, like the Moors, only over it a Cross:

One of more Eminency had an Arch over it at the upper-end.

Thence we took a Round, though the Inclosures are contiguous, to the English Tombs, short of which the Portugals have a Burial-Place.

The Ground the English Dead are inhumed in, is stocked not with so many Tombs as the Dutch ; though in one of Sir George Oxendine's it excels the Proudest.

The French have a separate Place to deposit their Dead, over against the English, with only one single Tomb, and that a small one.

In every place up and down the Fields are Tombs of Musslemen: A Mile from the City, buried like Diogenes with their Heels upwards, stand a Row of Sepulchres of the Muttany, or Bureta's Pilgrims, with the Soles of their Feet imprinted on the middle; some under a Four square, others Round rising Tombs, by the side of a Tank, on an ascending Mount.

A Mile and a half further is Pulparra, a Town separated for the Banyans to exercise their Funeral and Festival Rites. This is a Seminary of their Heathen Doctors or Brachmins, many of whom were in the River doing their Devotions, which consists in Washing and Praying.

The Elder sate in a Row, where the Men and Women came down together to wash, having Lungies about their Wastes only, which before they put on, they select a Brachmin of their proper Cast to hold their Vest; which they shift so cleverly, that the quickest Eye can discover nothing more than decent. At their coming up out of the Water they bestow their Largess of Rice or Doll (an Indian Bean) and the Brachmin his Benediction, by impressing a Mark answerable to their Casts on their Forheads; which is the way they live, purely on Benevolence.

Here they have Two Pagods remaining, but defaced by the Moors: One of them, however, still shows a Crust of Plaster, with Images Antick enough, but of excellent

durance and splendour, like Alabaster, made of a white Loam calcined, and then called Arras ; which they powder and steep in Water Three or Four Years before it be fit for their purpose ; the longer the better.

Here are many Monuments of their misled Zeal ; the most dreadful to remember, is an extraordinary one erected by the River-side where they Burn their Dead, in Honour of a Woman who Burnt herself with her dead Husband. Several Corps were Flaming in their Funeral Piles ; which after the Fire has satisfied itself with, they cast the Ashes up into the Air, and some upon the Water ; that every Element may have a share. Some of the Devoutest desire to expire in this Water, giving in charge to their Relations to lay them up to the Chia in it at the Article of Death.

Those whose Zeal transport them no farther than to die at home are immediately Washed by the next of Kin, and bound up in a Sheet ; as many as go with him, carry him by turns on a Colt-staff ; and the rest run almost naked and shaved, crying after him, Bam, Bam, making all the haste they can to Pulparra to Burn him ; which Fire is often very costly, being maintain'd with Wood of Aloes ; sometimes they expend some Thousands of Rupees. The Relations exclude themselves from all Society till the time of Mourning be over ; the Women crying, O Si, O Si, beating their Breasts violently, and expostulating the reason of their Departure, as if he had not a kind Wife, loving Children, good Possessions, and the like : In the time of this Mourning they bestow largely to redeem Creatures appointed to Die, to excuse Oxen and Buffola's from Labour, feeding them at their own Charges, besides purchasing Milch Kine, and giving them to poor People, inviting them to Funeral Feasts, with other Largesses to the Brachmins.

Here are out-acted all the boasted Austerities I ever heard of ; I saw a Fakier of the Gentus, whose Nails by

neglect were grown as long as my Fingers, some piercing though the Flesh. Another grave Old Man had a Turbat of his own Hair (which they all Covet) Sun-burnt towards the ends, Grey nearer the roots, Plaited like the Polonian Plica, but not so diseased, above Four Yards in Length.

Others with their Arms Dislocated so, that the *διάρθρωσις*, of the Joints is Inverted, and the head of the Bone lies in the pit or valley of the Arm; in which Case they are defrauded of their Nourishment, and hang as useless Appendices to the Body; that unless relieved by Charity, they are helpless in all Offices to themselves.

Others Fixing their Eyes upon Heaven, their Heads hanging over their Shoulders, are incapable of removing it from the Posture they are in, being accustomed to that uninterrupted Rest, having contracted and stiffned the Tendons of the Muscles and Ligaments of the Neck, that both those belonging to the Gullet, or the motion of the Head, are unserviceable; insomuch that no Aliment, not Liquid, can pass, and that too with much difficulty.

Others by continual Abstinence bring themselves into a strange Emaciated habit of Body, that they seem only walking Skelitons.

All of them go Naked (some plump young lusty Fellows) except their privities and bedawb themselves over with Ashes; who with their pleited Hair about their Heads, look like so many Mægara's; these wait on the others. The Ancientest of them addict themselves to Reading, they live Six or Eight together, as they please; lie upon the Ground or a Matt, some of them in all Seasons abide in the open Air.

At another time a Gentu Fakier was enjoined for Forty days to endure the Purgatory of five Fires; there being a great resort by reason of a Festivity solemnized all that while; when I came early in the Morning (invited by the novelty and incredibility of the thing) he was Seated on a four-square Stage or Altar, with three Ascents, some Two Feet high, and as many Feet square, ready to shew:

While he was in a musing posture, other Fakiers (whose Duty it is daily to salute the Sun at his Height, Rising, and Setting, with their Musick of long hollow Canes) blew them for an hour, or Ghong ; after which he fell to his Mattins, which he continued till the Sun began to be warm ; then rising he Blessed himself with Holy Water, and threw himself along on the lowest square, still muttering to himself on his Knees, he at length, with one Leg bowed upright between his Thighs, rises on the other, telling his Beads (which both Moormen and Gentus wear) which he had in his hands a quarter longer, and stands, like a Goose, unmoved all the time ; then casting himself down, he exercised himself, as Wrestlers do here, very briskly, but guarding the position of his Leg, which he kept so fixed as if it had grown in that nature, as well when he rose as grovelled on the ground ; acting thus a quarter more, it had the same operation as the Stork's Bill used for a Suppository, for it brought him to a Stool ; he taking his Purifying-pot in his hand ; marched on one side, where he tarried not long before he returning took up his Beads he had left ; and in this Interim four Fires being kindled (any of them able to roast an Ox) at each Corner of the upper and least Square, he having finished some Fopperies with his Pot, Scœvola-like with his own hands he increased the Flames by adding combustible Stuff as Incense to it ; when removing from his Neck a Collar of great Wooden Beads, he made a Coronet of them for his Head ; then bowing his Head in the middle of the Flames, as it were to worship, holding the other Beads in his hands, with his Head encircled between his Arms, his Face opposite to the Sun, which is the fifth Fire, he mounted his Body with his Feet bolt upright, and so continued standing on his Head the space of three hours very steddily, that is, from Nine till Twelve ; after which he seats himself on his Breech cross-legg'd after their way of sitting, and remains so without either eating or drinking all the rest of the

Day, the Fires still nourished, and he sweating (being one of a good Athletick Habit, and of a Middle Age) as if basted in his own Grease.

This is imagined to be an Imposture; but if it be, it would make a Man disbelieve his own Eyes: Others more rationally impute the Heat from the Fires to be allayed by that overpowering one of the Sun; which I cannot wholly incline to since we daily when abroad roast our Meat by Fires made in a clear Day without any shelter: But I rather conceive Custom has inured his Body to it; for the very Mountebank Tricks declare it a Practice; and the other I think as feasible as to eat Fire, tread on Hot Irons, (which is here used,) or for Cooks to thrust their hands into scalding Water without Injury.

Another Devote had made a Vow not to lye down in Sixteen Years, but to keep on his Feet all that while; this came accompanied with two others under the same Oath, the one had passed Five, the other Three Years; all Three of them had their Legs swoln as big as their Bodies, with filthy running Ulcers, exposed to view for the greater Applause: Standing, they leaned on Pillows hung in a String from the Banyan Tree, and had a Pompous Attendance of such ragged Fakiers their Admirers, with Musick, Flags, and Mirchals: The Eldest having undergone the compleat Term, to crown all, was intounded in the same standing Posture Nine Days without any sort of Food; and lest any Pretext of that kind might lessen his Undertaking, he caused a Bank of Earth to be heaped on the Mouth of his Cave, whereon was to be sown a certain Grain which ears in Nine Days, which accordingly being done, eared before his being taken thence. I saw him presently after his Resurrection, in great State raised on a Throue under a Canopy, before which was a Fire made in the Pit he had been, where he put his Hands, being anointed with Oyl, untouch'd by the Flames: Which whether this may discover the

Cheat of both this and the other, that such an Uction may be to resist Fire, Naturalists have not agreed in; and therefore I judge this rather a Delusion, I having not been present at this Experiment: But that this is none I am assured, That the Banyans gave him Divine Honours, and saluted him prostrate, offering before him Rice, and throwing Incense into the Fire: He had a Red Trident in his hand, and is enroled one of the Heroes or Demi-Gods in their Superstitious Kalender.

From this place of Pulparra to Surat, a Row of Trees on each hand shade the way, it being constantly filled with all sorts of people either for Worship or Pleasure.

The only thing of Grandeur extant of the Devotion of the Ancient Heathens, is a great Tank without the Walls of Surat, a Mile in Circumference, walled all about with descending Stone Steps: In the middle an High Place of the Heathens: Many sumptuous Mausoleums are erected near its Brink, with Aqueducts to convey Water, with which were it filled, the best Ship that swims in the Sea might ride in it: It looks now more like a Circus or Gym-naseum, able enough to contain as many as such Spectacles would delight. In their great Solemnities it is usual for them to set it around, with Lamps to the Number of two or three Lecques, which is so many Hundred thousand in our Account.

The Citizens by the King's Favour have good store of Gardens neighbouring Surat; the biggest of all is the Queen's, though some Private Men have neater, where we often go to take the Air, and feast in pleasant Choultries or Summer-Houses, spread after the Moors manner with Carpets, refreshed with various Figures of the Rising Water, out of several Spouts from square Tanks Pargetted. All the time of our durance here Water is sprinkled, to mitigate the Fieriness of the Sun.

Here are Grottoes descending also under Ground by ~~large Arches~~ and Stone Steps shaded by Trees on each



hand, till it come to the deep Well at bottom, from whence by Leathern Bags drawn upon Wheels by Oxen, the Water is carried up, and in Gutters streams about the Gardens.

In these by the help of a Brachmin skilled in Simples I have found the Silk Cotton-tree, distinguished by us from the Vulgar beneficial one, by its being a Tree, the other a Shrub; it is most like a Maple in Leaf and Branch, only the Bark is not furrowed; it brings forth between three Leaves, first a Bud or Button, then a white Flower, last of all Seed about which the Cotton grows, in three distinct Cells answering the three Leaves.

As also the Plant of which Bang is made; it grows as our Hemp, the Juice of whose Seed ground in a Bowl like Mustard-seed, and mixed with any other Liquor, is that they equivocate with their Prophet instead of the Grape; and that which follows agrees to what Mr. Ray notes out of *L O B* in *Ado*; *Lacustris aqua cui cannabis intabuerit tantopere viro nocet, ut epotant presentissimo sitientibus veneno*; this with Dutry (as has been said) is the inebriating Confection of the Post.

Here he discovered to me his beloved Alluh, the Bark of a Tree, the present remedy against all manner of Fluxes.

Though these People delight much in Gardens, yet are they but rude, compared to ours of Europe; they make a noble Entrance, a Banqueting-house in the middle eyeing the four Quarters of the Garden, beset with Trees like Wildernesses in every Quarter, or else planted with Potatoes, Yawms, Berenjaws, both hot Plants, and their Coolers, as Pompkins, Cucumbers, Gourds, and such like; they are only divided by Gravelly Walks and Water-courses; not curiously adorned with Flowers; Bismalvas and some Wall-flowers or Stock-Gillyflowers being the height of what they aim at; Only the Culga, so famed for the Silk, in imitation of its Paint, I take it for our Anarillis; and

Λεπιδεομαλάχη or the Tree Mallow, which is red as Scarlet in the Morning, and at Noon faints into a pale Colour, and towards the Evening is pure white; some few *Lysimachias*, which besides their several sorts of Jessamins, is all the choice: Roses would grow here if they would but cultivate them.

A Mile from the City grows the humble Sensitive Plant common in the Fields; Eastward of Surat, two Courses, i. e., a League, we pitched our Tent under a Tree that besides its Leafs, the Branches bear its own Roots, therefore called by the Portugals, *Arbor de Rais*: For the Adoration the Banyans pay it, the Banyan Tree (by whom it is held as sacred as the Oak to our Old Druids; who paint it daily, and make Offerings of Rice, and pray to it: It has Leafs like an Ivy, and is the same with that at Johanna, only that was incorporated into one Body, and this by often taking Root is capable of overspreading a whole Field, so that it is said there are of them able to shade an Army of 30,000 Horse and Men singly; however it is possible to be so contrived if it be lookt after to make a Wood alone of itself.

The Hedges and Lanes are chiefly set with two sorts of Bushes called by us Milk-Trees, because of a succulent Juice like Spurge, white, and of the consistency of the best Milk; but if it comes near the Skin or Eyes it is not so benign, according to the Experience of the Famous Verulam, [*Nat. Hist. Cent. 7. Exp. 39. Omnem succum lactisimilem ex plantis incisicis acrem esse,*] and my observation here; for if by chance it stick upon any part of the Body, it frets like an Escarotick; and I have seen an unskilful Horse, rushing through it, both blind himself and Rider, both their Heads being swoln to an extraordinary bigness. I believe it to be a kind of Tithymal, *quod tenerum lac non secus ac Manna esoundit*; the first sort of which has broader and jucier Leafs, and has four or five together; not jagged, but somewhat oval, a Finger's length, and half as

broad; one only thick Stalk arises from the Root, and several Branches proceed from thence; they are all Green and Tender, springing up a Man's height, full of Prickles as our Carduus, of whose Milk inspissated is made Euphorbium. The other grows up into the Body of a Tree, and is Woody; above which it sends forth several tender smooth Stalks, which sprout out into Boughs seeming almost naked, because its Leafs are small, and come out at its Joints, sometimes singly; it is most like a Privet, very quick of Growth, and each of them make good Fences. The Goats despise it not, feeding, though very cautiously, on the Leafs and Branches of the latter, when the Heats have parched up the Grass and other Plants.

Before we leave the pleasant Fields for the dusty stinking Town, Sugar-Canes and Tobacco would deserve our Remark, which are both plentifully thriving here; had not these been already the Subject of other Pens.

The next diverting Prospect must be that of the River; it glides by the Town in swift Tides, and at Spring-Tides (which it would always do, were they industrious to keep it in its Banks) it bears ships of 1000 Tun Burthen up to Surat Walls; but they unlade first, because of the Sands, occasioned by their Sloth. They lye very thick a Mile together, and scattering down to the River's Mouth, reckoning more than an Hundred Sail of good Ships, besides small Vessels: For all which they were beholden to the Poverty of some English Shipwrights, the first of whom received the deserved Reward of his Officiousness (being *Scutica dignus*) from the Moors, who apprehending him stealing Customs, Chawbucked him handsomly.

The Dutch never permit the Natives to be taught any Eminent Art whereby they may become their Competitors: Nor is it, I think, better Policy to instruct them in any beneficial Science, as that of Navigation, no more than one would an Adversary how to use his Weapons; which these, had they equal Courage to their other Advantages

of Strength and Nature, might easily thereby turn the Points of their Weapons upon us.

But for all these great Preparations, as yet they dare not venture out without Europe Passes, or Pilots; though some of their Ships carry 30 or 40 Pieces of Cannon, more for Shew than Service. Besides these Merchant-Men, here are Three or Four Men of War as big as Third Rate Ships: The other are Frigats fit to Row or Sail, made with Prows instead of Beaks, more useful in Rivers and Creeks, than in the Main. The Emperor also has four great Ships in Pay always, to carry Pilgrims to Mæcha on free Cost, and bring them back from Hodge, where they prove a Crew of sanctified Varlets.

The Heir of Bantams is now here to take his Passage thither in one of them, with his Retinue, which are some of the Pengrims or Lords of the country, his Uncle and others, which were about Twenty, with their Wives: He was first at Bombaim, where he was entertained like a Prince, for the Obligation the Company have to their Trade there, he having been disobedient to the King his Father, and has not yet shewed any kindness to the English, siding rather with the Dutch Interest to undermine the Old King, and settle them in the Pepper-trade, which afterwards will not be in his Power to redeem out of their hands: Here little notice is taken of him, they all being in miserable poor Habits, and he of little Credit, being a Giddyhead, were it not for the English Captain that brought him, a Confident of the Old King's, who furnishes him with Money but sparingly, he being indiscreet in his Expences. He is of the Java Extraction, short of Stature, broad-fac'd, little Eyes, and less Beard, a mere Boy; the rest wear their Beards like the Chinese, which is comparatively like a Cat's; their Heads shaved, covered only with Skull-Caps of Knit-Work, their Upper-Garments loose like a Frock: When they appear before him, they prostrate themselves along, then rising up with Respect

sit crouching on their Heels : Their Women were covered with dark Blue Sheets.

The Old King had retired from the Cares of Government, and committed all to this his Son ; but the Pengrims soon tired with his exorbitant Sway, made Intercession for the Old King's reassuming his Authority ; whereupon this Voyage was framed as an Expedient to settle his Mad Temper, being intrusted to the sober Conduct of the King's Brother.

These Vessels that are for this Voyage are huge unshapen things, and bear both the Name and Model of their old Junks : They return usually very Rich, and are at their Arrival adorned most abundantly with Streamers. Their way of Salutes are with Even, as ours with Odd Guns.

The Seamen and Soldiers differ only in a Vowel, the one being pronounced with an u, the other with an a ; as Luscar is a Soldier ; Lascar, a Seamen. The Captain is called Nucquedah, the Boatswain Tindal.

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## CHAPTER III.

OF THEIR SOLEMNITIES, SPORTS AND PASTIMES; THEIR MARRIAGES; OF THE PARSEYS, THEIR STRENGTH BY LAND AND SEA, THEIR ABUNDANT WEALTH, AND FITNESS FOR TRADE.

AND now having entertained you thus far, I shall continue to you the Circumstantial or Accidental Shews, together with their Sports and Exercises.

The first depends on the New Moon, when, all Malice apart, the Moors embrace one another, and at the sight thereof make a Jubilee, by firing of Guns, blowing of Trumpets, Feasting and Praying very devoutly.

The next is the Day of the Week observed for the Great Mogul's Advancement to the Throne; which is not so generally kept, only by the Soldiers and Officers.

But that which affects them all, is at the end of their Ramazan or Lent, which is always the first new Moon in November; which as it is observed with the greatest Strictness, not swallowing their Spittle all the Day of its Continuance, so is it celebrated when it concludes with the highest Expression of Joy and Solemnity.

The Governor goes in Procession, and bestows his Largess in his Passage to the Chief Place of Devotion, liberally scattering Rupees as Kings do Medals at their Coronations, waited on by all the Gallants of the Town: His Son first leading a Body of Horse of the Cavalry of the City; himself beginning the first File on the Left hand, the place of highest Honour, it was as deep as the Street would admit, observing no Rank: After whom fol-

lowed the Cazy, with Green Banners, with a Band of Foot of 100 Men; then the Customer with his Men and Colours, both carried in Palenkeens; whom followed the Mulahs and Merchants, without any distinction, some in Coaches, others in Palenkeens, with their large Troops of Servitors: Then five Elephants in Armour, with Banners supported by those that were in their Seats, capable of a dozen Sitters; they manage them by one Rider sitting near his Neck, with an Iron Instrument a Cubit in length, the Point bended downwards as long as a Finger, ascribed by Livy to the Invention of that famous Leader's Brother, Asdrubal, who seeing these Creatures of great Terror to the Enemy, but if taking an heedless Course were as liable to damage Friend as Foe, found out this Remedy; delivering a Graver to their Masters with an Hammer, ordered them to strike it with their main strength on the Juncture where their Head was fastened to their Neck, if they were unruly, whereby the great Bulk fell to the Ground. *Magister fabrile scalprum, cum malleo inter aures positum, ipsa in compage qua jungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat,* But afterwards they learned by striking on the Vertebra's of the Neck, to rule them; which Custom I see here maintained. After these came a Dozen Leopards on State-Hackeries with their Keepers, who train them up to hunting. At convenient distances the Trumpets sounded, and Camels of War with Patereroes on their Saddles, marched with a Pace laborious to the Guiders, giving them a Disease not much different from a Gonorrhœa. Here nothing was seen but Banners and Streamers, nor heard but Kettle-Drums and Trumpets; after which followed the Governor in the middle of a Troop of Soldiers, all in Coats of Mail and Headpieces, armed at all Points, both themselves and Horses; himself mounted on a little She-Elephant, with all the Trappings and Accoutrements of State. *Et admorem antiquum quopubere filii jam*

in virili toga, comitabantur triumphantem patrem, quod etiam ex Livio appareat de Paulo loquente. Two or three Striplings (his own Children) rode smiling with him, who were very White respectively; the Governor himself being a Mogul, which is as much as Suffet in Arabic, from whence the Persian Emperor is called Suffee, and this, Mogul, as being derived from the same Parent; as also are all those descended from them. In this State he rode to a Place set apart for this Day's Solemnity, out of the Walls, to the Queen's Garden-Gate, before which it stands, where after Prayers he receives the Compliments of the Grandees, and returns to Feast.

At this time the Walls of the City, and Towers of the Castle, wanted not their Adornments, being bestuck with bloody Ensigns, and smoking with Guns of Jubilee, as well as tooting with their Trumpets, and beating with their Drums; as the Jews on their Sabbaths, or their solemn Feast days were wont.

The New Moon before the New Year (which commences at the Vernal Equinox) is the Moors *Ede*, when the Governor in no less Pomp than before, goes to sacrifice a Ram or He-Goat, in remembrance of that offered for Isaac (by them called *Ishaub*); the like does every one in his own House, that is able to purchase one, and sprinkle their Blood on the sides of their Doors.

About this time the Moors solemnize the Exequies of Hosseen Goussen, a time of ten days Mourning for two Unfortunate Champions of theirs, who perished by Thirst in the Deserts, fighting against the Christians: Wherefore every Corner of the Street is supplied with Jars of Water; and they run up and down like Furies in quest of these two Brethren, laying about with Swords, Clubs, and Staves, crying with that earnestness upon their Names, and dancing in such Antick Dances as resemble the Pyrrhical Saltation. *Hæc Celebratio non omnino dissimilis ei generi exerceri solita a juvenibus armatis Lacedæ-*



monia cum Patris Achillis rogum celebraret; that a sober Man could make no other judgment on them, than that they were distracted. This is done through the Streets, where if two Companies encounter, they seldom part without bloody Noses; which Occasion being given like Esau's Intentions on the Day of his Father's Lamentation, to revenge himself on his Brother Jacob, has been the Cause why the Mogul has restrained it for the prevention of Ontrages; but yet his Mandate is not so valid to make them forsake it here: After Sun-set they eat, and fall to singing the Psalms of Doud, or David, in the most consonant Tone I have heard.

The last Day they prepare a couple of Coffins, and have a Man or two on Horseback all bestuck like our Man in the Almanack, with Arrows; these ride reeling, and ready to drop off their Horses for Faintness, till they come to the River, where they put the Coffins afloat with a loud Cry, and then returning, repeat with great Veneration their Names, and after this trim their Beards, wash and shift their Cloaths, (all this while worn negligently, as Mourners) and return to their more beastly Vomit of Luxury, than this of more than Manly Fury.

This Religious Bigot of an Emperor, Aureu Zeeb, seeks not to suppress it utterly, but to reduce the Celebration, to preserve their Memories by a pious Respect, suitable to the Gravity of the Moors: For, says he, hereby Opportunity is offered to the Cophers (Unbelievers) to think Musslemeu favor the Lewd Worship of the Heathens; which is not only a Scandal to the Mahometan Religion but an Encouragement to the Enemies thereof to persist in their own, whilst such Licentiousness is connived at in that which should be set as a Pattern for them to imitate: For even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several Taxes or Poils, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins, making them pay a Gold Rupee an Head, and the inferior

Tribes proportionable ; which has made some Rajahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal Countries, and Bombaim ; though should they make a joint Resistance they are a thousand to one more than the Moguls can with an unanimous Contiguance fairly muster.

On an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon, the Moors are in a lamentable Plight, making a great Noise with Pots and Pans, and other noisy Instruments ; not omitting their Prayers, fancying them prevalent to deliver them from their Travel. When the Heathens, instructed by their Brachmins, by a better Philosophy, declare to them the Day before the two great Luminaries are obscured by the Interposition of the Moon's, or Earth's Globe, that they may Fast, Wash, and Purify themselves for Twenty-four Hours before the Eclipse happens, and all the time of its lasting ; after which is past they feast and bestow their Benevolence freely on the Brachmins, holding them for this their profound Knowledge, in mighty Admiration.

And though the Jollity and Pomp of the Heathens is much allayed by the Puritanism and unlimited Power of the Moors, insomuch that they are wholly forbidden to Burn their Wives with the Husbands ; yet must not the Indians be totally denied their Feasts, and chiefly that of their public Nuptials, which comes in twice a Year ; as the Atticks in their *γασπιλις* in January and October so these in the Months Fulgannau and Puxu, in January and March ; to enjoy which times of Festivity, the Governor expects large Gratuities which they collect as every one can afford ; All which times they make Processions, and appear, (especially the Children and young Folks) in rich Dresses of Gold and Silver, Mitres on their Heads, and weighty Sashes about their Middles, bedawbed and stained all over with Saffron Colour ; the Married Felks riding on Horseback, Palenkeens, and Coaches, splendidly adorned, drawn by Oxen, Goats, and Elks, Painted over with Saffron, their Horns tipped with Silver ; Musick, Steam-

ers, and Banners going before them, the Women Singing Epithalamiums, the Men following, and a great Attendance with Pageants, Mirchals, and Kitsola, giving Pawn and Coco-Nuts frankly, as they pass.

The Ceremonies after Washing and Cleansing, conclude by their Sitting Two Hours Tied by the Neck, while the Priest Prays, the Woman being then Manacled with Gold or Silver Shackles about her Wrists and Ankles a white Sheet being held over them Unvailed, a Coco-Nut exchanged to confirm the Bargain, and Corn scattered upon them; all Emblems of the Matrimonial Bands, Chastity and a firm resolution to comply with one anothers Fortunes: and then dismisses them by sprinkling Water on the Married Couple, that they my Increase and Multiply. The Women are never Married more than once, the Men are under no such Obligation.

The first New Moon in October, is the Banyans *Dually*, a great Day of Celebration to the Pagan Deities, when they are very kind-hearted, presenting their Masters with Gifts, as knowing they shall be no Losers, and Entertain one another with mutual Mirth and Banquetting.

The next Moon their Women flock to the Sacred Wells where, they say, it is not difficult to persuade them to be kind, supposing their Pollutions not to remain after their Washing in these Holy Waters.

March begins with a Licentious Week of Sports and Rejoycing, whersin they are not wanting for Lascivious Discourse, nor are they to be offended at any Jest or Waggery. And to shew their Beneficence at the beginning of the Rains, they Treat the Ants and Flies with Sweatmeats and Waters, studiously setting Honey, Syrups, or any thing that may entice them to their own death, out of their way; allowing them Sugar, or any other dried Confects for their Repast, instead of them.

They are constant Benefactors to the Dogs, which are many, the Bitches littering in the Streets; but avoid

touching them, as they would an Holencore, whom if their Garments chance to brush, they bid them home, Shift, and Wash.

And now we enter upon the Agonalia, first of the Moors: They love to outdo one another in Feats of Activity, as Riding full speed, and to stop with a Jerk, or motion of the Body, their Horses being well managed; Tilting and Greeding, that is, Casting of Darts, both for Utility and Recreation; Shooting with Bows and Arrows, which is near at hand, not far off, as we at Rovers; Running on Foot, which belongs to the Pattamars, the only Foot-ports of this Country, who Run so many Courses every Morning, or else Dance so many hours to a Tune called the Pata-mars Tune, when they labour as much as a Lancashire Man does at Roger of Coverly, or the Tarantula of their Hornpipe; these wear Feathers in their Turbats.

The Wrestlers Anoint with Oil, and are Naked, only a Belt about their Wastes, in which they weary one another only by pure Strength and Luctation, not by Skill or Circumvention; these two last use Opium to make them perform things beyond their strength; and it is incredible to think how far these will Travel before the virtue of it be worked off.

Hunting of Tigers is sometimes a Pastime, at others a Tragy Comedy; for besetting a Wood where Tigers lurk, with Men and Horses, and putting a Set of their loud Musick to strike up in the middle of it; they rouse at the unaccustomed Noize, and rushing forth seize the first in their way, if not Shot or Launced, to prevent them: Wild Bulls and Buffola's are as dangerous, nor is the Boar less fierce than any of them.

Antilopes are set upon by Leopards on this wise; they carry the Leopards on Hackeries, both for less suspicion, and to give them the advantage of their Spring; which if they lose, they follow not their Prey, being for a surprize; wherefore the Hackeries wheel about at a distance, till

they come near enough to apprehend them, they feeding fearless of the Hackeries; then with three or four Leaps, after a small Chace, seize them, and easily become their Masters.

The Great Men have Persian Greyhounds, which they Cloathe in Cold Weather, and some few Hawks; a Colum may be Hunted with a Greyhound, as we do Bustards, being a great Fowl and long in Rising.

Buffola's animated by their Keepers, fight with great fury; their Horns, being reversed, are useless; but they knock Foreheads, with a force adequate to such great Engines, till they are all of a gore, and follow their blow with such vigour, that the strength of their Backs exert themselves into their Natural Parts, which they brandish as if stimulated to Venery; the stronger will hardly permit the weaker to go back to return with his force, but pressing on him, endeavours to bear him down: thus foiling one another, they are a long time before they will yield.

Persian Rams set together in this manner, are not parted without a bloody Catastrophe which are kept on purpose for the sport of their Great Men; as likewise are Elephants, who engage at the Will of their Masters.

Here are no Gladiators, but at Cudgels they will play as at Back sword, till they warm one another.

The chief Pleasure of the Gentiles, or Banyans, is to Cheat one another, conceiving therein the highest Felicity, though it be Cuckolding, which they are expert at. They will play at Chess, or Tables; but their utmost Fewds are determined by the dint of the Tongue, to scold lustily, and to pull one anothers Puckeries, or Turbats off, being proverbially termed a Banyan Fight.

Nevertheless they are implacable till a secret and sure Revenge fall upon their Adversary, either by maliciously plotting against their Life, by clancular Dealings, or

Estate, by unlawful and unjust Extortions : Then you shall have then with this Prayer in their Mouths.

————— Pulchra Laverna

Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri ;  
Noctem peccatis aut fraudibus adjice nubem.

Example is more than Precept, and the Youth have no other Education besides their Parents, more than some mean Pedagogue's who teaches the Children first their Letters or Cyphers on the Ground, by writing on the Dust with their Fingers, which is their Primer; where when they are perfect, they are allowed a Board plastered over, which with Cotton they wipe out when full, as we do from Slates or Table-Books; when they arrive to Paper, they are presumed to be their Crasts-masters, and to earn it.

The Moors, who are by Nature slothful, will not take pains; being proud, scorn to be taught; and jealous of the Baseness of Mankind, dare not trust their Children under tuition, whereby few of their Great Men or Merchants can read, but keep a Scrivan of the Gentues: On which account it is the Banyans make all Bargains, and transact all Money-business; and though you hear, see, and understand them, yet you shall be choused, they looking you in the face; for as a piece of Superstition, they must put their Hands under a Ramerin, or Mantle, when by their Fingers they instruct one another, and by that flight often contradict their Tongues; Such a subtle Generation is this, and so fitly squared a Place is Surat to exercise their Genius in.

In February the Bussorah Ships, and in August the Juddah Fleet from the Red Sea, each of which, beside our Europe Ships, export vast quantities of Indigo, Cotton, Cotton-Yarn, and Silks; and send them to the Caphalay, waiting on them over-land; so that returning, they are forced to ballast their Ships with Dates, Persian and Arabian Drugs; and freight with Horses from each Place:

But the main is brought back in Gold, Silver and Pearl, which does in a manner center here : For though it circulates all the World over, yet here it is hoarded, Regis ad exemplum, both by King and People, he having Tanks thereof unsealed for many Ages, and the Gentiles hide it for Eternity. So that though it be not of the growth of this Country, yet the innate Thrift of the Gentiles, and the small occasion of Foreign Expenses, and this humour of laying up their Talent in a Napkin, buries the greatest part of the Treasure of the World in India : There being a far greater urgency for Cloathing, than that of Superfluity ; which is the Spice-Trade of the South Seas, which only pays for what it carries off here, all the rest loading their Beasts without the Money returned in their Sacks Mouths; and for all that the Hollanders return Money from hence, yet it is swallowed up again by the Trade of the Bay, and a great deal more consumed there for their fine Cloath.

This Year the Bussorah Fleet brought the Bussa of that Place hither, who is now encamped on a pleasant Green by the River's side ; the Great Mogul condescending to have the Title of Sanctuary to the Distressed inserted among his other Aiery ones, as King of the World where-ever the Sun shines, being the Inscription on his Rupees in Persian Characters (the Court Language.)

Dergs han so casud chubaders moncir  
Pandshaw Aureng zeeb Allam Geir.

For which sake he dispatched Five hundred Horsemen, and Three hundred Camels, to receive the Bassa, his Family and Retinue, ashore ; who being Governor in Mesopotamia for the Grand Seignor, grew powerful, and was therefore suspected ; which drew the Forces of the Sultan his Master upon him ; but knowing the Sea open, he sued to the Mogul for Protection, who promised not only to receive him, but imploy him honourably ; and as a

Testimony of his sincere Intentions, has sent these to attend him to Court.

The Trade of Jewellers is no small addition to the Profit of this Town, which I shall not now specify, intending to treat of them apart, both for yours and my own satisfaction, together with a general Collection of Coins and Weights, as time and opportunity shall make me better acquainted: In the meantime, telling you what I saw at the House of an Hindu that wrought in Coral, where was to be wondered the Tools he worked with, more than his Art, because we see it surpassed in Europe: but with far more invention of Instruments: Here Hands and Feet being all the Vice, and the other Tools unshapen bits of Iron. From whence I went the same day to a Moorman that cuts all sorts of Stones, except Diamonds, with a certain Wheel made of Lacre and Stone ground and incorporated, only to be had at Cochin, and there the Name is known.

They cut Diamonds with a Mill turned by Men, the String reaching, in manner of our Cutlers Wheels, to lesser that are in a flat Press, where under Steel-wheels the Diamonds are fastened; and with its own Bort are worn into what Cut the Artist pleases: These are sold most in the Country, they coming short of the Fringies in Fancy; wherefore they are sent rough into Europe, where they are both set and cut to more advantage.

A Banyan that seemingly is not worth a Gosbeek (the lowest Coin they have) shall pull out of his Fuckery some thousand Pounds-worth of these for sale; When all the Wariness in the World is required, and so I dismiss them.

This City is very nasty by their want of Privies, and their making every Door a Dunghill; yet never had they any Plague, the Heats evaporating, and the Rains washing this Filth away.

The Diseases reign according to the Seasons; the North blowing, Bodies are rendered firm, solid and active by es-



hausting the Serous Humours, *ad Hyp.* 17. *Aph. Lib.* 3; for which cause Dry Weather is more healthy than Moist, it hastening Digestion, and facilitating Excretion, when no Fevers that are treacherous root themselves in a deep Putrefaction. About the Variable Months, they are miserably afflicted with Coughs and Catarrhs, Tumors of the Mouth and Throat, Rheumatisms, and intermitting Fevers; Also Small Pox invades the Youth, as in all India, so here: In the extreme Heats, Cholera Morbus, Inflammations of the Eyes by Dust and the fiery Temper of the Air; in the Rains, Fluxes Appoplexies, and all Distempers of the Brain, as well as Stomach; to correct which, the Natives eat Hing, a sort of liquid *Asa Fetida*, whereby they smell odiously. For all Lethargick Fits they use Garlick and Ginger, given in Oyl or But-

To Cup they use Ventosoes, without Scarifications. They have good Escaroticks and Verficatories, made by a certain Nut, the same they chop or mark their Calicuts black with instead of Ink.

They apply Cauteries most unmercifully in a Mordishen, called so by the Portugals being a Vomiting with a Looseness; the like is done in a Calenture.

Physick here is now as in former days, open to all Pretenders; here being no Bars of Authority, or formal Graduation, Examination or Proof of their Proficiency; but every one ventures, and every one suffers; and those that are most skilled, have it by Tradition, or former Experience descending in their Families; not considering either alteration of Tempers or Seasons, but what succeeded well to one, they apply to all.

In Fevers, their Method is to prescribe Coolers, till they have extinguished the Vital Heat; and if the Patients are so robust to conquer the Remedies used to quench the Flame of the Acute Disease, yet are they left labouring under Chronical ones, as Dropsy, Jaundice, and

Ill Habits, a long while before they recover their Pristine Heat.

They are unskill'd in Anatomy, even those of the Moors who follow the Arabians, thinking it unlawful to dissect Human Bodies ; whereupon Phlebotomy is not understood, they being ignorant how the Veins lye ; but they will worry themselves Martyrs to death by Leeches, clapping on an hundred at once, which they know not how to pull off, till they have filled themselves, and drop of their own accord.

Chirurgery is in as bad a plight, Amputation being a horrid thing : Yet I confess it is strange to see, that what Nature will effect on such Bodies, Intemperance has not debauch'd.

Pharmacy is in no better condition ; Apothecaries here being no more than Perfumers or Druggists, at best ; for he that has the boldness to practise, makes up his own Medicines, which are generally such Draughts, that if their own Energy work not, yet the very Weight must force an Operation.

They pretend to understand the Pulse, but the Urine they will not look on.

I have seen a Barber undertake the Cure of a Bloody Flux, by pretending the Guts were displaced, and laying the Patient on his Back, and gently tickling his Reins, thrust on each side the Abdomen with all his strength ; then placing a Pot filled with dried Earth, like that of Samos, upon his Navel, he made it fast by a Ligature ; and on some Bodies thus treated he had gained Credit, but this died. Prosper Alpinus mentions something like this among the Egyptians.

Here they will submit to Spells and Charms, and the Advice of Old Women.

Here is a Brachmin Doctor who has raised a good Fortune ; they pretend to no Fees, but make them pay in their Physick ; and think it Honour enough if you favour them with the Title of your Physician only.

This Brachmin comes every day, and 'feels every Man's Pulse in the Factory, and is often made use of for a Powder for Agues, which works as infallibly as the Peruvian Bark ; it is a Preparation of Natural Cinnaber. Midwifry is in esteem among the Rich and Lazy only ; the Poorer, while they are labouring or planting, go aside as if to do their needs, deliver themselves, wash the Child, and lay it in a Clout or Hammock, and return to work again.

The Mixture of Casts or Tribes of all India are distinguished by the different Modes of their binding their Turbats ; which cannot be found out presently, there being such variety of Observation.

Amidst which it is time to return, to see what Grace we are in\*among this divided Multitude : Our Usage by the Pharmaund (or Charter) granted successively from their Emperors, is kind enough, but the better, because our Naval Power curbs them ; otherwise they being prone to be imperious, would subjugate us, as they do all others that are harness'd with the Apron-strings of Trade : Supposing us then to bear the Face of Ministers of Statc, as well as the sly Visage of Mechanicks, they depose something of their Ferity, and treat with us in a more favourable Stile ; giving us the Preference before others here resident, and look on us with the same Aspect as they do on their great Ombrahs.

In Town there are many private Merchants that bear a Port equal to our Europe Companies, being only Vockeels or Factors for money'd Men up the Country, that drive as great a Trade as the Company, yet dare not assume that Liberty allowed us : We fortify our Houses, have Bundees or Docks for our Vessels, to which belong Yards for Seamen, Soldiers and Stores : To that which belongs to the Dutch is a sweet Garden, shored up with Timber from the incroaching River, with Arbors and Beds after the Europe Mode.

Among the Rarities of our own House I saw an Uni-

cornu's Horn, not that of the Rhinoceros, of which Cups are made and proffered for Sale here, and are relied on to discover Poyson, if poured into them.

— Quod Reges Indorum protinus aureis  
Orbibus includunt, et vina liquantia potant,  
Actum nec morbos tuti sentire seruntur,  
Nec quos inter mensas occultabant venena.

As also two Skins of Sabæan Asses, highly valued among the Eastern Princes both for their Swiftness and Beautifulnes, being streaked with a dark Grey upon a White Ground, upon the Back direct in other Parts waving towards their length : As also pigeons tumbling in the Air, attributed to the Indisposition of their Brain ; but to me it appears a voluntary Action, they not falling at all upon it, but after three or four Turns would fly, and repeat it as often as they listed, without any interruption in their Course, and when they seemed to direct themselves to any place, without any Inclination to it, as an Irregularity, but rather out of Affectation ; which notwithstanding cannot be taught any, but only those of this kind ; no more than any other besides Carriers, (which were here with blubber'd Noses, and of a Brown Colour) to carry Letters ; Others walked on the Ground, with their Breasts bearing out, and the Feathers of their Tails spreading like Turkeys, bridling their Heads so that they were even with their Rumps ; this also is a peculiar Species, and not Artificial ; they propagate their own kind, and are of a pied Colour.

From Siam are brought hither little Champore Cocks with ruffed Feet, well armed with Spurs, which have a strutting Gate with them, the truest mettled in the World ; they are generally White, with an Eye of Yellow. Here were Milk-White Turtles from Bussorah, Cockatoos and Newries from Bantam, as also a Cassawar that digests Iron.

From Amidavad small Birds, who, besides that they are

spotted with White and Red no bigger than Measles, the principal Chorister beginning, the rest in Consort, Fifty in a Cage, make an admirable Chorus.

And also for Vermin, the strongest huge Rats, as big as our Pigs, which burrow under the Houses, and are bold enough to venture on Poultry, and make them their Prey: A Mongoose is akin to a Ferret: Squirrels delicately streaked White and Black, run about the House, and on top of Terrasses. Musk-Rats of the same Colour, short-footed, but a Span in length, their Bodies no thicker than a Mouse; they infest the Houses and Water-Jars with their Scent; from which last all Care is taken to preserve them. Guiana, a Creature like a Crocodile, which Robbers use to lay hold on by their Tails when they clamber Houses.

For Insects, Centipedes, Scorpions, and vast Spiders; these lye perdue, and often set upon People unawares; for the ,Venom of the two former, they have Oyl made of each; the first is the worst, and often deadly; the other works off after a burning Fit of Four and twenty hours. Abroad in the Fields and Rivers are poisonous Snakes; and here was lately a Woman, as she went to fetch Water at the River, devoured by an Aligator or Crocodile, though the Brachmins pretend to Charm them that they shall do no Mischief in this their Sacred River; and this was given out to be a Judgment not otherwise to be expiated.

And now the Dutch Fleet being arrived at the River's Mouth (after having demolished the City St. Thomas, near Fort St. George, the French yielding on Discretion), they restored us the Prisoners taken in the Engagement, having treated them very civilly: And the Governor was forced to go from Surat to Swally (to the Dutch Commodore, removed thither) to intreat an Agreement; the Clamours of the Merchants being instant, the Bussorah Fleet was in jeopardy, which they threatened to seize;

but on his Appearance, and Assurance of Satisfaction, all was salv'd. Lest, therefore, this should be judged too mean a Compliance, he paid a Visit with all his Pomp to our Deputy-President, still at Swally, though the Europe Ships were gone, others from the South-Seas being expected.

Thus repassing the River after this Great Man, in order to repair aboard Ship, I beheld whole Drovers, of all Sexes and Ages, coming to wash in the River, which is done twice a day; and the Finest Dames of the Gentus disdain'd not to carry Water on their heads, with sometimes two or three Earthen Pots over one another for Household service; the like do all the Women of the Gentiles.

On this side the Water are People of another Off-spring than those we have yet mentioned; these be call'd Parseys, who were made free Denizens by the Indians before the Moors were Masters, and have continued to Inhabit where they first set Footing, not being known above Forty Miles along the Sea-coast, nor above Twenty Mile Inland. It is likely these upon the overflow of the Scythians and their Irruption into Persia, were driven from thence as Fugitives to seek fresh Habitations; which, those furnished with Boats from the Persian Gulf, might easily escape thither; where they complying with some Propositions, as not to Kill any Beasts or living Creatures, and Conform to many of the Gentus Ceremonies, were Entertained and allowed to live among them.

Since the Moors have Subdu'd the Country, they think themselves not oblig'd by the former Capitulation, they Feeding on both Fish and Flesh; and for that reason were in hopes of exemption from the present Pool, pretending their Law agreeable to the Moors, but that would not free them from the Tax. These drink Wine, and are of the Race of the Ancient Persians.

They Worship the Sun, and keep at Nunsarry, a Delubrium, where is always a Fire (first kindled by the Sun)

kept alive as the Holy Vestal Nuns were wont ; they Adore all the Elements, and if, at any time, they go a Voyage, will not exonerate in the Sea, or on the Water, but have Jarrs on purpose ; if their Houses be on fire, they quench them not with Water, rather chusing to load them with Dust or Sand.

These Bury not their Dead, but expose them in round Tombs made on purpose, (open on top, and walled high around, in distinct Apartitions) to the Vultures and ravenous Fowls to Entomb them ; and to that end, in the middle of this Enclosure is a Well for the filth to drain away ; the next of Kin, after the Body is put in, Watch aloof, to know what Part these Birds of Prey lay hold on, and from thence make their report of the future Bliss, or ill State of the Deceased.

These are somewhat Whiter, and, I think, Nastier than the Gentues ; and Live, as they do, all of a Family together ; as if the Father be Living, then all the Sons that are Married, and Men grown, with their Wives and Children, house it with the Father, and have a Portion of his stock ; if he die, or be absent, the Eldest Brother has the Respect of the Father shewn, and so successively they all Rising up at his Appearance, and Sit not till he be Seated.

These are rather Husbandmen than Merchants, not caring to stir abroad ; they supply the Marine with Carts drawn by Oxen, the Ships with Wood and Water ; the latter of which is excellent, drawn out of a Well at old Swally where, and at others, the Women put me in mind of Jacob's Well, and the Custom of old for them to draw Water, which though here it is fetch'd up by Oxen, yet elsewhere the Women draw in Jarrs or Earthen Pots. The Moors have it brought on Buffola's Backs, or else on Oxen ; which here also they use, as all over India, instead of Packhorses, their greatest Caphala's consisting of them, Horses being only for War or Pleasure, and the

best of them Foreigners, and of great prices; so that 300*l.* is but an easy Rate for a good Persian or Arab.

Here are brought up large gallant Milk-White Oxen with Circling Horns, artificially Modelled in Cases, which they Tip with Silver, Gold, or Brass, and make them shine like Jet; putting a Rope through their Nostrils, and an Headstal on them of London Cloath, surrounding their Necks with Collars for Bells, Feeding them delicately as their Horses; and one of these fitted for a Coach, will Sell for 30 or 40*l.* The other Oxen are Little, but all have a Bunch on their Neck: and how they become Oxen is on this manner. This kind of restraint upon Nature is exercised on no Brutes but these, they never offering to deprive their Horses of their Stones or Tails, which they always suffer to grow; a Bobtailed Nag, or Gelding, being as rare here, as a Crop-eared Horse, which never was seen.

A Buffola is of a Dun Colour, and are all as big as their largest Oxen; they love to wallow in the Mire like an Hog; there are of them Wild, which are very Fierce and Mischievous, Trampling a Man to Death, or Moiling him to Pieces with their Fore-heads; their Horns are carelessly turned with Knobs around, being usually so ordered, or rather disordered (for they retain no certain Form) that they lie too much over their Heads to do any harm with them. Their Flesh is reckon'd Hotter and Coarser than Beef, which is the most common Sustenance of the Moors; as their Milk and boiled Butter is of the Gentues; for did they not boil their Butter, it would be Rank, but after it has passed the Fire, they keep it in Duppers the year round: On which Dr. N. G. in his Account of the Rarities of the Royal Society, has sufficiently enlarged.

Here in the Marshes are brought up great store of Cattle of all sorts; and though there lie store of Aligators



to and again. they are seldome known to Prey either on them or their Young; so that what stir they make of Charming them, is but a pious Fraud of the Brachmins, they being a lazy sort of Amphibious Creature, feeding on Grass as well as Fish, and I question whether ever their Appetite stand towards Flesh.

The Mutton here is not much inferior to the Mutton of England, for the Pallat, though as to its Wool, there is no compare. Cows Butter sometimes will be hard in the Cold Season, and look yellow, but they arrive not to the making of Cheese, unless it be soft Cheese, which pickled, our Seamen keep a good while, as they do their Achars.

Here grow Carrots, Turnips, Rhadishes, Cabbage rarely, though Coleworts frequently; Melons of all sorts, and Betes: Wheat as good as the world affords; Rice, Barly, Millet, and Nuchanny; Pease and Beans; Oyle Trees, and Rape for Lamp Oyle; (only Wax Candles for the Rich, by reason of the warmth being to be used.)

Herbs for Salading are Purslain, Sorrel, Lettice, Parsley, Tarentine, Mint, and Sog, a sort of Spinach.

Here Asparagus flourish, as do Limes, Pomegranates, Genitins; Grapes in abundance; but the Moors suffer no Wine to be made.

Fish, Oisters, Soles, and Indian Mackerel, the River yields very good, and the Pools and Lakes store of Wild Fowl; peculiarly Brand Geese, Column, and Serass, a Species of the former, in the cold Weather they shunning the Northern rigid Blasts, come yearly hither from Mount Caucasus what is worth taking notice of, is their Aspera Arteria, wound up in a Case on both sides their Breast-bone in manner of a Trumpet, such as our Waits use; when it is single it is a Serass; when double a Column, making a greater Noise than a Bittern, being heard a great while before they can be seen flying in Armies in the Air.

As we came nearer Swally, Groves of Brabb-Trees

present themselves ; from whence the Parseys draw Wine a-kin to Toddy ; which after the Sun is up, contracts an Eagerness with an heady Quality ; so that these places are seldom free from Soldiers and Seamen of the Moors, which sometimes meeting with ours, there happen bloody Frays, especially if the Quarrel be about Strumpets, who here ply for their Fares : The like disputes are sometimes among the Europeans themselves, and then they make sport for the Parseys upon the Trees, who have the diversion of the Combatants ; as Boxing among the English ; Snicker-Sneeing among the Dutch ; ripping one anothers Bellies open with short Knives ; Duelling with Rapiers among the French ; Sword and Dagger among the Portugals.

Coming to the Marine, beside the Dutch Fleet and English Ships, were Four Arabs with Red Colours, like Streamers, Riding in the Hole. These are true Rovers both by Sea and Land ; they are constantly upon the Plunder with the Portugals, but care not to engage where nothing is to be gotten but Blows, wasting those Places that lie most open on the Sea-coast and Unguarded.

These have lately fitted themselves with good stout Ships at Surat, their own Country supplying them with no Materials for Building ; the non-payment whereof, according to the Contract with the Governor, at present has put a stop to their increase that way in Shipping ; and has kindled matter for farther alarming the Merchants : For the Governor, for his security, has seized the Iman's Vockeel, nor intends he to enlarge him till the uttermost Gosbeek be paid.

On this Pretence they begin to interrupt the Merchants on the Seas, seising their Vessels, and furnishing themselves at cheaper Rates.

Nor does their late Enterprize over the Portugals make them less formidable ; so that if they be not checked by

these Knights of Lisbon, they will infect this Ocean, no less than the Moors of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoly, do the Narrow Seas in the Mediterranean, especially the Gulf of Peraia, in whose Mouth they are conveniently seated, and villainously inclined; in which it concerns them to omit no Diligence.

Having staid here since the close of the Rains, all the Cold Season, and beginning of the variable Winds, which are sent hither to qualify the Heats before the fall of the Rains (they blowing very high) I left the most frequented Port in India, and the only one on this Coast the Mogul has.

It is a Corporation exempt from any Jurisdiction but the Emperor's; though it be but the second City of the Province, and within this last Century, by the concurrence of the Europeans, advanced from a Fishing Town to be so great an Empory.

Ro Neal, a Mile beyond it on Swally side, was once before it now abandoned to Seamen and Washermen: The Customers then paid half to the Portugals, who once a-year came with their Provoes and received their Levies; since this is become of more note, it is better looked after by the Mogul, than that was by the Emperor of Cambaia.

( It has for its Maintenance the Incomes of Thirty six Villages: over which the Governor sometimes presides, sometimes not, being in the Jaggea or Diocess of another; who fail not once a-year to send to reap the profit, which is received by the Hands of the Desie or Farmer, who squeezes the Countryman, as much as the Governor does the Citizen: Corn being distributed among them for so much Earth as they Till, which at the time of Harvest is not carried home, before the Desie hath taken Three parts, leaving no more for their pains, and to sow the Land again, than One.

The Business of the Customs, as we have already said,

is ordered by the Chief Customer, who has Chöckies in all Inland Parts to receive Toll, and is responsible to none, only the Emperor.

To govern the Province, Mahmud Emir Cann is entrusted, the Son of Emir Jemla, who established Aurenzeeb in his Throne.

His Metropolis is at Amidavad, the Chief City of Guzrate: Who notwithstanding he has vast Forces, Wealth and Territories, is not able to quell the Coolies from pilfing, Seva Gi from plundering, and the Outlawed Raspoos from dispoiling, wherever they please to descend in Companies from the Mountains, or Troops out of the Desert of Sinda: Though none of these, nor all joined together, can cope with him in a pitched Field, but only by Thievery and Surprize: Wherefore when any Caphala or Treasure passes, they hire Soldiers to guard it, otherwise they are liable to be made a Prey.

Were these Difficulties removed, Surat, as if Nature had designed her both by Sea and Land the Seat of Traffick, would have nothing to hinder her from being the compleatest Mistress thereof in the whole World: If the Disposition of the People be considered, what Masters they are of this Faculty, of Buying at small, and Vending at great Rates, both Native and Exotick Wares! The sordid Penury of the Banyans that live poorly and meanly, yet worth a King's Exchequer; and notwithstanding the Governor often finds occasion to fleece them, yet by the quickness of Merchandise passing through this City, they recruit on a suddain.

The commodiousness of the River serving to bring Goods in from Europe, Asia, Africa and America; the long continued Current from the Inland parts through the vast Wildernesses of huge Woods and Forests, wafts great Rafts of Timber for Shipping, and Building; and Damar for Pitch, the finest sented Bitumen (if it be not a Gum or Rosin) I ever met with.

And if the King's Fleet be but ordinary, considering so great a Monarch and these Advantages, it is because he minds it not ; he contenting himself in the enjoyment of the Continent, and styles the Christian Lions of the Sea ; saying that God has allotted that Unstable Element for their Rule.

They have not only Cair-Yarn made of the Cocoe for Cordage, but good Flax and Hemp ; and Iron from the Mountains of the South: So that it may be concluded, for the Benefit of an Harbour, for the Dispositions of the Natives, for a convenient Supply (or more truly Abundance) of all things, for a due employment of them ; but above all, for the Commodities Exported, and the Riches Imported, Surat cannot be fellowed in India.

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## CHAPTER IV

BRINGS ME WITH A NEW DEPUTY-GOVERNOR FROM SUBAT TO BOMBAY, AND SENDS ME TO THE MOGUL'S GENERAL AT JENRAH.

THE Fourth of April 1675, arriving at Bombaim with Mr. Gyfford, he was reinstated Deputy-Governor of that Island; Captain Shaxton in this interim having his Sword demanded from him by the Governor, and had been under Confinement; being bound to answer an Indictment, wherein he was accused of Abetting the Mutinous Soldiers.

For whose Trial, after a long endeavour to bring him to acknowledgment, was erected a select Court of Judicature, and an Attorney ordered to impeach him, who with some borrowed Rhetorick endeavoured to make him appear a Secoud Catiline; but he cleared himself so handsomely of all Objections (being sick at that time the Stirs were, and having no reference to him, their Complaints being of another nature, as the taking Money for more than could be passed current again, and other like pretended Exactions) that they had no more to answer, than that it should be referred to the Company; before whom he must personally appear, and therefore was ordered home, but was prevented by Death at the end of his Voyage: Otherwise he would have made it plain, Envy had, underhand worked, what she durst not attempt boldly on a Man of Honour; and for no other Reason, than that he understood himself as a Soldier, and in that point would be known.

By this Man's Misfortune might have been seen the dislike that the Company's Servants bear towards any of equal poise with themselves, and not of that Rank; for

thereby they count they are injured, having others put over their heads, as 'tis termed ; but if by chance they convince them of their Folly, it becomes a Crime unpardonable: The first ground of this Quarrel being upon unnecessary Appendices to the Fort, as Pallisadoes in Mud, so contrived, that they were rather a means to take than defend it, which afterwards were all washed away by the Rains ; to these some Despight being added (he being a Man sharp, in his Jest, and blunt in Counsel) it never ended, till it proved as fatal as Remus's leaping over his Brother Romulus his Ditch, cast for a Trench about Old Rome.

Few days had been spent afore a Sea-Tortoise was brought to the Fort, in Length Six Feet, the content of his Hut near two Bushels, reckoning only that part with which his Back is shielded, being an huge Shell of a brown Colour ; never to be made transparent as those come from the South-Seas are, not easily to be crackt by any weight ; for Experiment, I and two more got upon it, and the Tortoise unconcerned carried us : Its Head is loricated with Scales, the Neck reaching as far as the Hut, soft and undefensible ; the Fins are four, placed instead of Legs, by which it crawls as well as swims ; the Belly is covered with a Breast-plate called the Callapee, soft and whitish in respect of the Back-piece or Callipet ; its Tail is short and wreathed like a Serpent's ; altogether it is as lovely as a Toad : It sighs like a Woman, and weeps like a Child ; being taken and turned on its back, it is shiftless.

I caused it to be opened, and examined its Heart which (contrary to the Opinion of the Vulgar) is but One, they affirming it to be Three, grounded on this Mistake ; the Auricles being larger than in other Creatures, equalling almost the Ventricles and whole Body of the Heart, which is bigger in proportion than belongs to such an Animal, being as large as an Ox's ; which might be the reason of its Pusillanimity : The Veins and Arteries were filled with Currents of cold black Blood : It participates more of

Flesh than Fish, of a viviparous than oviparous Offspring, yet lays imperfect Eggs without a Crust (only covered with a Membrane, being most Yolk) buried by it in the Sands, to receive from the Sun's heat the perfection of their Hatching (as the Eggs of Egypt from Furnaces, or others from Dunghills): It spawns them as Fish do, in huge quantities, as much at one time as will more than fill a Seaman's Bonnet (every one being as big as an Hen's Egg.) By them aboard Ship they are ordered like buttered Eggs of a Fowl, though near akin to a Serpent's, hanging together as those do.

For this end they come ashore, and when pursued, cast up with their Claws a Cloud of Sand to blind their Enemies when overtaken some are so big, four men can hardly turn them.

It is supposed they feed on the Grass or Oaz on Land, or at the bottom of the Ocean; and from the Fable of the Three Hearts, springs the Conceit of its Tripartite Community, of Fish, and Flesh, and Fowl; the outward Covering being Shelly, the inner Meat Carnous, its way of preserving its kind being by Eggs, as the Feathered Fowl do: To me it seems (though the Flesh be highly extolled for the taste and colour of Veal) neither Fish, nor Fleah, nor good Red Herring.

About this time the President put in execution a Project for the advancing the Island Bombaim; wherefore an Envoy was sent to explore the Passage through Seva Gi's Country into the Confines of Duccan; but returned with a fruitless Account, only making farther work for me.

One of the Mogul's Generals over Seventeen thousand Horse, and Three thousand Foot, and Governor of Jeneah (the Chief City of that Kingdom) having occasion for one of my Function, on St. George's Day, I was commanded by the Honourable Gerald Aungier, with only Oral Instructions, to embarque on a Bombaim Boat of Twelve Oars and a Steer's-man, waited on by two of the Governor's



Servants, four Moor Peons, a Portugeeze, my own Servants, a Brachmin for Linguist, an Horse-keeper, eight Coolies to my Palenkeen, a dozen Frasses for Lumber, and one Horse.

Thus equipped, I left Bombaim about Three in the Afternoon, and the same Night about Nine Anchored on this side Tanaw, where in our passage were visible a great way off, on the tops of the Mountains, several Fortresses of Seva Gi's, only defensible by Nature, needing no other Artillery but Stones, which they tumble down upon their Foes, carrying as certain destruction with them as Bullets where they alight : The next morning, with only sending my Servant ashore to acquaint the Rendero, I quitted the Pass ; and a Mile beyond the City deserted Baccin River on the left, and took our Course up a spacious Navigabl; River, which makes the Island of Baccin, the Banks of which are low and fruitful ; on both sides are placed stately Aldes, and Dwellings of the Portugal Fidalgos ; till on the Right, within a Mile or more of Gullean, they yield possession to the Neighbouring Seva Gi, at which City (the Key this way into that Rebels Country) Wind and Tide favouring us, we landed at about Nine in the Morning, and were civilly treated by the Customer in his Choultry, till the Havalдар could be acquainted of my arrival ; who immediately ordered me a great Mosch for my reception, whence I sent the Brachmin to complement him, and deliver the Presidents Letter. Who understanding my Business, desired the favour of me to visit him, and there should attend on me some of his Friends that were diseased ; I easily condescended, thinking to procure my Dispatch with more speed ; which succeeded alike, I receiving his Chitty or Pass, with two Guides to direct us through the Country.

Early, therefore, the next Morning, I left the most Glorious Ruins the Mahometans in Duccan ever had occasion to deplore : For this City, once the chief Empory, excelled

not only in Trade, but the general consequent, Sumptuousness, if the Reliques of the stately Fabricks may add Credit to such a belief : which Reliques, notwithstanding the Fury of the Portugals, afterward of the Mogul, since of Seva Gi, and now lately again of the Mogul, (whose Flames were hardly extinguished at my being here, and the Governor and People on that score being prepared more for Flight than Defence at present) are still the extant Marks of its pristine Height : The remaining Buildings having many Stories of square facing Stones, and the Mosques, which are numerous, of the same, abating little of their ancient Lustre, being all watered with delicate Tanks ; about which are costly Tombs with their distinct Chappels or Mosques, where formerly the Mullahs had fat Pensions to pray for the departed Souls, which is maintained by them as efficacious ; wherefore they cover Funerals in the most conspicuous Places, which the Pleasant Summer houses hanging over here, cause these Places to be ; the unemploy'd People of the Town daily wasting their time in these inviting Varieties ; which is the only thing pleads for their continuance, Seva Gi as a Gentu being otherwise inclinable to raze them ; yet purposely to pervert them from the use of the Donors, and Intention of the Founders, orders them to be converted into Granaries, especially those within the City.

The Houses the present Inhabitants kennel in are mean, the People beggarly, by reason of these Hostile Incursions.

By Twelve at Noon having journey'd over Rocky, Barren, and Parched Ways, I came to Intwally, Three Course, or Seven Mile and an half ; the Season of the Year (the Heats being now most violent) as well as the Time of the Day not permitting us any longer to endure their Extremity, I never staid for License, but shaded my self under a Wooden Mosque, the only Structure standing in the Town, it suffering the same Fate with Gullean, and was

then reaking in its Ashes, the Moguls Army laying waste all in their Road, both Villages, Fodder, and Corn ; and for their Cattel they drive them along with them, and take them, their Wives and Children for Slaves ; so that none escape, except those that can fly fastest, or hide themselves in the Woods, which they also set on fire, to leave them destitute of those Recesses. This Gom or Town stood in a large Grove of Mangoes, on the Bank of a deep Creek, which though at this time fordable, yet I believe the Rains may swell into a Torrent.

Having refreshed my self and Coolies, I hired an Ox, they complaining they had too much Burthen, travelling more advisedly by Moonshine, (through a better Soil, and more exchange, as Arable Ground, Heaths, Forests, and Woods, some of which were on Fire two or three Miles together) from Six till Twelve, when we took up our Rest at a poor Village called Moobar, six Course from Intwally : This place was not able to afford us an House or Shed, but we were forced to creep into one of their Cottages, half finished, they thatching it with Bents shelving from the Ridge down to the Bottom on both sides, no bigger than a Man might carry.

I kept the Coolies to their Watch, notwithstanding their hard Days labour, as well to keep Tigres and Wild Beasts from us, as Thieves and Robbers : The day following I staid here till Four in the Afternoon to avoid the Soultriness of the Weather, which I could hardly do where I was lodged, there being no Air ; which caused me to remove out of the Town at Sun rise to the left of two pitiful Tanks belonging thereto ; they being all here ignorant Idolators, and Husbandmen, every one chusing his own God ; no Family being without some Pan Dæmon, or Incubus ; which they paint with hideous Forms, bedaub with stinking Oil, and offer the Fruits of the Earth to : Most Abominably Superstitious, that an ill Augury shall detain them idle a whole day, though, they and their

Household must starve, if they work not; such as an Hare crossing the Way, or a Crow on the Left hand. They have no publick Pagod, or Place of Worship, besides these Tanks, where they wash and burn their Dead, giving me a Nosegay of one of their Carcases, before I got my Breakfast, as I lay to repose under a Tree; which made me range for Game, and disperse my Servants for Provant, being otherwise likely to go without; they living upon Batty, or Seeds or Grass, eating neither Fish nor Flesh, neither indeed have they any, unless by chance; for after my Purveyors had made diligent search, with much ado they purchased one Hen, tho several Villages were in sight, and all of them greedy enough to take Money, had they had Provisions. It is all Plowed Land hereabouts, but Seva Gi commonly reaps the Harvest, leaving hardly so much to the Tillers as will keep Life and soul together.

And now going to set out, I began by the murmurings of the Coolies to understand that the Guides, being jealous of falling into the Enemy's hands, had a design to lead us about; (but every one besides the Cauns Peons being Strangers, and they fearful to discover themselves, we were persuaded to resign ourselves to their Conduct) over Hilly, but none of the worst ways; two or three Miles together they are all burnt, bearing nothing but withered Benty-Grass, which burning afore the Rains, benefits the Ground much; and are now out of distrust the Moguls should Forrage their Army here.

Below this, we passed over a fine Meadow chequered with Purling Brooks, and Three Villages, much about an equal distance one from another: And now the broken Ribs of these lofty Mountains seen so far off at Sea all along from Cape Comory, as if founded for an Ascent unto the Skies, begin to be discovered by our near approach; when Night interposing her black Vail between our Eyes and them, they became vested with a more

benighted Darkness than hung over us; which served as a sable Cloud to direct us to Dehir, by Eleven a Clock at Night, nine Course from our last Stage, seated at the end of a large Plain, at the foot of that Chain of Hills supposed to cross the Taurus, trending through the Continent North and South, as that does East and West; it is by most Geographers concluded to be Mount Sephir, here called the Gaot.

We found them all in Arms, not suffering their Women to stir out of the Town Unguarded to fetch Water, being accustomed to continual Alarms; which cautiousness obliged them to usher me into the Market-place, by a small Party which lighted on me in their Rounds; when I sent my Gulleon Peon, one of our Guides, with his Masters Chitty, or Pass, to the Governor, who received it kindly, and gave me leave to be my own Quarter master (little Complements being expected from Soldiers.)

My Company, as well as my self, being Tired, and now stiff with a little Rest allowed them till the return of the Peon, we were not willing to be at more pains to seek for a better Inn, than what a Fakier had taken up before us; but we roused a Lion, who had just been lain asleep with Bang, who opened with such a Clamour, that I was afraid it would have brought all the Watch about us, had they not been in the same tune, calling on one another, as Children when the Light is out, do for fear; beating their Drums, and sounding their Trumpets (Shriller than the Moors, and more Tuneable) all Night long; by which means, and my Quarrelsome Inmate, I could compose myself to no Quiet; though for the latter, at length I thought of an Expedient, plying him with Arack till his tongue resolved its self in Silence, which was much more grateful than his Bawling.

The next Morning when Day had cleared our Eyesight I saw the Idol, this Drunken Priest Adored, hard by me;

it was thick and short, Carved in Stone, of a Monstrous Visage, whisking his Tail over his Head ; the upper Parts to the Waste, were Painted with Red ; it insulted over another ugly Creature it trod on ; it was of a Sooty Colour, and Swam in streams of Oil ; yet it called in a great many Devotes, who came to pay their Salams.

I sent to the Havaldar, to know when he would Pass us up the Gaot ; word was brought he was not awake, having been up all Night ; in the interim therefore, I Walked about the Town which is Crowded with People, but miserably Poor, and of no Note, were it not that Seva Gi Stables his choicest Horses here for the conveniency of this Plain to supply them with Hay and Corn, which causes them to have the greater Force, and makes it the Residence of an Havaldar, who is a kind of petty General : Changing the Town for the open Fields, I was led to a Grove of Mangoes and Tamarinds, at the end of which, was a Mosque, and a great many Tombs of excellent Stone, Demolished ; one of which they remember with Respect, by the Name of Melech-Bury, a great Warrior ; however, that which pleased me most of all, was a sudden surprize, when they brought me to the wrong side of a pretty Square Tank, or Well, with a Wall of Stone, Breast high ; where expecting to find it covered with Water, looking down five Fathom deep, I saw a cluster of Women, very Handsome, waiting the distilling of the Water from its dewy sides ; which they catch in Jarrs, and constantly carrying it away, leave it only weeping : It is cut of a firm Black Marble Rock up almost to the Top, with broad Steps to go down.

Now we could not only see their Forts, but hear also the Watch men from their Garisons aloft, some five hundred, some more, some fewer Men, to and again among the Hills, the main strength of this Prince consisting in these ; coming back I found my troublesome Comrade very Merry, and packing up his Householdstuff, his Bang

bowl, and Hubble Bubble to go along with me, before I had gotten leave from the Havaldar, who had newly sent word he was ready to receive me.

I made him not tarry long, following the Messenger, who brought me into the middle of a ragged Regiment, distinguishable from the Mogul's on that score, but more peculiarly by their Hair appearing on both Ears under their Puckeries ; their Weapons are much alike, (thugh to me they give more cause of Laughter, than Terror considering the awkwardness of their wearing them) notwithstanding they are the Instruments of Death.

When I came before the Governor, I found him in State, though under an Hovel ; where were many Brachmins with Accompts Books, writing at some distance ; nearer, his Privy-Council, with whom he seemed to Advise : I was placed on his Left hand, and desired my Interpreter to acquaint him my Errand, withal intreating his Favour for my secure passing the Hill : He made it a piece of difficulty, and told me I must return to Bimly for Orders, to whose Havaldar he was accountable, not to him of Gulleon ; which was within half a days journey from whence I set forth. Hearing this I bore my self as sedately as I could, having been informed of the advantage they take of a disturbed Countenance ; and sweetened him with his own Authority being sufficient, telling him of his Master's Kindness to the English, and their Friendship towards him ; which worked him to a yielding Temper ; yet he scrupled, my Canister, or Trunk, might be lined with Pearl, my Horse sold to the Enemy, hoping to suck some what out of me ; I replying, What I had brought were at his liberty to search, and that I went only on an amicable account to Cure a Sick Person, and should be as ready to serve him, if required, his Fury was quite pawled ; but perceiving an hungry look to hang on them all, and suspecting lest they should serve me some Dog-trick, I made a small Present, and he signing the Pass, dismissed

me with a Bundle of Pawn, the usual Ceremony at Parting.

Being clear, I could not so readily shake off my Fakier, he would march with me; when we were not gone above two Course, or three Miles, the Liquor working out by his Walking, he began to grow weary, and called out for the Horse, which I had caused the Portugueze to Mount, which he took in such dudging, seeing himself on Foot, and him on Horseback, that he turned Tail, and went back again to his Vomit, without bidding adieu.

And now our mighty Task began to try our Feet, as well as weary our Eyes: I not caring to hazard myself longer in my Palenkeen, alighted, and though I thought it a work impossible to conquer, I put the best face on it I could, tarrying till they were all together, the better to cheer them. The Coolies providing themselves with Staves, distrusted not only their own Legs, but the Ground they went on, it having forsaken many a tall Tree around us; some holding by the mouldering Earth with half their Roots bare, others half buried in Pits they never grew in, lay expecting their quondam Neigtours downfall.

The busy Apes, the Forlorn hope of these declining Woods, deeming no place safe where they beheld us, made strange Levaltoes with their hanging Brats from one Bough to another, Chattering an Invasion; but these saw us presently exalted beyond their Bowers, and feared us from above, as much as we to salute them below: Thus far was passable enough, when the Sun levelled himself unto our Steps, and we looked for Day beneath us. Here I made a second pause, and promised them Nectar in the Skies; this proved but a faint Cordial to the Frasses, who sailed afore they got a quarter up; for whom after I have provided (the Moon assisting us with a less parching Light) I found my Hands as necessary to Clamber as my Feet, Travelling on all Four; the Stones were laid step by step, but in a little order; and now so steep, that it



differed little from Perpendicular, only by the winding of the Mountain; and so Narrow, that Two Men could not pass abreast; where chiefly were laid trees and Timber to make work for the Army, should they attempt this Way; which sorely increased our trouble, being the first Adventurers, beside the danger we incurred of being Assaulted from above, they not yet knowing who we were. To look down made my Brains turn round; over my Head pendulous Rocks threatened to Entomb me.

We had not gone long thus, before the Cry came, the Ox was fallen; 'twas well he chose not the place where I was in, for the least lapse had irrecoverably whirled him to the bottom: Arguments were too weak to persuade the Coolies to go back to him to help him; I therefore proceeded to Threats, which made Two of them return to his Aid: I confess the sense of their hard Labour urged me to pity; the Anguish of which extorted Tears from some, unseasonable at this time to take notice of to them; we had only this Comfort, the Even was Calm and Serene, and we were mounted beyond the humble Mists, which we could discern fluctuating against the impenetrable Promontories; which may be the reason sometimes (they say) Men and Oxen are hurled down the Precipice by sudden Gusts, when they are exalted to the Clouds, and they break with too great an Impetuosity: For all this Light we seemed Obscured, the splendour of the Moon being shaded by the sides of the Mountains, which appeared here all Marble.

The Horse (being a Turkey one) made the best shift of all, and was more forward than convenient, pelting us with great Stones his Hoofs had removed, which caused us to retard his haste, and leave him to come last.

About Nine a Clock at Night the Moon shone over our Heads, more joyful at her presence, than her feignedly beloved Endimion: An hour after we came tired to the Brow, through a narrow Cavern cut out of the main Rock;

here being no Guard, the noise of the Army being over, I was the second Man Trampled on the Top, half an hour after the Palenkeen came, and all the rest within two hours more: Here I was as good as my word, and distributed Arack among them, which made them, for all their tedious Tug, run amain to the next Town Oppagaot, where, early in the Morning, I crowded under an Old Shed.

This Gur or Hill is reckoned four Course up (every Course being a Mile and half): From whence is beheld the World beneath all furled with Clouds, the Carulean Ocean terminating the Horizon, the adjacent Islands bordering on the Main, the Mountains fenced with horrible Gulphs, till strange Vertigoes prejudicate Fancy, not daring longer to be made a Spectator: The bandying *Eccho* still persecutes with terrible repeated Sounds, meeting fresh Objects to reundulate it, though at the greater distance, being yet enclosed with Mountains, which they maintain as Fortresses; and I can give no reason why they do not this Entry also unless because it is so contrived that Ten Men may keep down Ten thousand.

Here is a sensible alteration of the Air: The Dawn of the Morning, and latter part of the Night, 'twas sharp, cold, and piercing; so that all I gathered about me would scarce keep me warm; and all the Day there were fine cool Breezes, though below we were almost choaked with sultry Heats: The Reason whereof I judge to be, because the High Mountains reverberate the flowing Particles of the Atmosphere; as we see the Rocks do Water more strongly, by how much more force the Waves assail them; so here the Air (which is thicker below) driven against these Hills breaks off in Flurries, which seeking to retire into their own Ocean, mitigate the violence of the Heat in their passage, by fanning as it were the Air; by which means, and the Sun's rarifying the Misty Vapours, they are left pure, and fall at Night in more limpid Dews to

cool and refresh the Earth : To which Sense sings Lucan,

*Fulminibus propior terra succenditur aër,  
Imaque telluris ventos tractusque cornuscos  
Flammaram accipiant : Nubes excedit Olympus.*

Moreover, Bogs and Fens are rarely found to soil the Air, or pen in the Heat for want of ventilation.

This is a sad Starving Town ; to it belongs a Subidar, or Customer ; who blown up with the confidence of half a dozen Bill men, thought to have compell'd me to stay till the Governor of the Castle should examine my Cocket, which he had sent him by the Havalдар : I ordered him to send it with one of the Gulean Peons ; but he made Answer, the Governor having been up all Night, was not then at leisure. While we were talking, a Drove of Combies (Hinds) passed with provisions on their Heads for the Castle ; and I having staid till Three in the Afternoon, not getting any other Answer, I commanded the Coolies to march, though the Subidar prohibited and kept them from following them with my Men and Arms, as Carbines and Blunderbusses ; and the Governor not coming as he told my Peons they would, by Four, I dismissed the Gulean Peons, they daring to go no further ; and if there were farther occasion for a Pass, to bring it after me ; thereby frustrating their Intention, which was to retard me, whereby to make their Booty of me.

They durst no more than curse, for all I departed without leave, taking my Course into a deep Valley, which winded and turned like a River, and I believe is one in the Rains : Half way we met another Caphala of Oxen laden with Provisions, hardly escaping the Mogul's Army, which they told us was not far afore us : My Coolies more jealous of the Villany of Seva Gi's People than my self, made haste, and by Ten at Night arrived at Aumbegaum, Ten Course.

From whence Mucklis Caun's Men had driven all away with a Party of his Horse, only one Fakier, who had set up his Standard in a Shop in the Bazaar, next to whom

I shrowded my self under one of the same Stalls : Before Five in the Morning, for fear of farther Interruption, I posted hence, up Hill and down Hill, not having Rice for my People to eat (all being fled) we came to a neat Stone Well of good Water ; hard by which was an excellent Fig-tree, on whose Fruit, yet Green, my Indians fed heartily, and trouped by three or four wretched Towns, up another Mountain, not altogether so bad as the first, yet on the account of their wanting their wonted Food, it went hard with the Coolies, to foot it to Beelseer, two Course short of Jeneah, where we baited ; it being high time, they having gone near Fifty Miles without eating more than a few squashy Figs : They unloaded at Noon under a Row of spreading Mangos, on the side of a Brook ; and provided themselves with Victuals in an adjacent Village, liable to continual pillaging on both sides ; but being reduced to the Condition of having little or nothing to lose, it is the better born.

• Hence it is plain to Jeneah, the Hills keeping their distance from its Invincible Gur : The length of whose Bottom fills most of the space from this Place to the City, which is the Frontier of the Mogul's Territory this way ; and has been, for many Years, the Seat of War to the South, which is the signification of Duccan.

I sent the Governor's Peon to acquaint him of my approach (I not arriving till Sun-set) when he met me with others that were appointed at a Garden short of the Town, with the Governor's Complement ; and conducted me to a Palace in a Compleat Garden, adorned with Cypress Trees (not usual in India) Hummums Tanks, Choultries and Walks, with Water-Courses : When I was asleep, the Nabob or Governor sent me a Service in Plate covered with Embroidered Velvet over Noble Surpooses or Covers, ushered with two Silver Staves, and a Trumpet sounding afore it ; which Course was observed as long as I remained there.

The last day of April, being Friday, and the next after my arrival, he sent to excuse himself, because it was his day of Devotion ; when, after a Princely manner, he rides on an Elephant to the Mosque ; and thence divertises himself in some place of Delight within his Seraglio till high Night.

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## CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCES ME INTO THE NAROB'S PRESENCE; MY BUSINESS WITH HIM; A PROSPECT OF THE GUR—(SEVA GI'S BIRTH-PLACE); THE ARMY AND COUNTRY OF DUCCAN; OF THE PASS TANAW, AND BENEFIT THEREOF, WERE IT IN THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH.

It was the first of May therefore before I waited on him: when he ordered a Guard of Horse to attend me to the Castle, which was large, but rude, and the Wall of raw Brick; serving as well to secure Cattle as Men from the Enemy.

His own Apartments in the middle encompassed a verdent Quadrangle of Trees and Plants; in whole chief Choultry were assembled all his Great Men on his Right hand, he being enclosed in a Seat of State, bolstered up with Embroidered Cushions, smocking out of a Silver Hubble bubble; afore whom lay a rich Sword and Buckler, with a Crescent Moon instead of Bosses, his Page bearing his Bow and Arrows, much after the Turkish manner, as Busbequius reports of the Grand Segnior, *Sedebat in Solio humili instrato; juxta autem arcus & sagittæ.* All the Floor was spread with a soft Bed, over all a fine white Calicut; the Pedestals were Massy Silver, where I put off my Shooes, and after Respect paid, delivered the President's Letter, and was received immediately next to him on his Left hand, all that side being kept void for my entertainment: The result of this Visit was, after he had acquainted me who were to be my Patients, to tell me I must be patient till a good day

presented, and then I should be called again; it remaining a Custom still in the East to defer important Affairs till a Lucky Day, *totis hærentia fastis*. I only intreated he would be mindful that the Rains were at hand, falling earlier here than in the Low Countries.

Our Discourse being ended, a Couple of Singing-men began thei Songs of Praise, which they pride themselves in, not being content with moderate Flattery; a thing odious to a generous Spirit, accounting those that do it, servile; and those that admit it, imprudent to be deluded by Fawning Knaves: But here are not only those that profess it for Lucre, but it is the general strife who may impose most obsequiously. *Adulandi certamen est & unum amicorum omnium officium, quis blandissimè fallat*; as Seneca observes in the corruption of his age de Bene. Cap. XXX.

Such as appear before him make a Salam or Bow before they ascend the Choultry, when if he allows them Conference, leaving their Slippers below, they mount the Buchanna, where they bow, by first putting their Hands to their Heads, then to their Feet, which Salute they call Pervenau, used to Cauns or Dukes. Above their Head, cross their Breast to the Foot is Pharmau, only for Kings the most familiar is a Bow with the Head: If they are permitted to sit in his Presence, those only of Consular Dignity have liberty to sit (as they call it ease) cross Legged: but an European, before he is accustomed, will not be reconciled to that Term: Others of inferior Rank kneel, sitting on their Heels, to which Posture, though I was not tied, I was thankful when he sent me a Bundle of Pawn, and had leave to make use of my Legs; being led out, as I was conducted in, by Two Virgers, and a large Train following, with a Master of Ceremonies accompanying.

In my passage through the Castle they seemed rather Encamped than Fortified: wherefore if Sevç Gi brings

any Power, they betake themselves to speedy Flight, or retire to the Body of the Army under Badur Caun, Generalissimo in these Marches ; being ill provided to endure a Siege, and more able to defend themselves, joined to an Host of Forty thousand Horse always at Pergom, three Days Journey hence.

Curiosity invited many Spectators, and Courtesy some of Quality to be my Harbingers at my Lodgings ; which at my return I found pestered, as I had the Streets all the way I came : They were very Civil, making no Intrusion before they had requested leave ; and then interrogating the State of Europe, the Government, Policy, and Learning ; nodding a satisfaction in the account I gave them : Nor were they less communicative in their relations, of those Occurrences which wheeled in their Sphere, being highly concerned to shew they had Book-men as well as Sword-men.

A good Day coming, the Governor sent for me to Visit his Lady in the Haram, which was opposite to a Chamber he sate in, accompanied only with one pretty Wanton boy, his Only Son by this Woman : upon which account he had the greater kindness for her : An Old Gentlewoman with a Tiffany Vail, made many trips, being, I suppose the Governant of the Women's Quarters : at last I was called and admitted with my Linguist.

At our being ready to enter, she Clapped with her Hands to give Notice ; when we were led through a long dark Entry, with Dormitories on both sides, the Doors of which Creeked in our passage (but I was cautious of being too Circumspect) till we came to an airy Choultry ; where was placed a Bed hung with Silk Curtains ; to which being brought, I was Commanded to place my self close by it, from whence I might conveniently Discourse and Feel her Pulse, putting my Hand under the Curtains. It was agreed among them to impose upon me ; wherefore at first they gave me a Slaves Hand, whom I declared



to be Sound and Free from any Disease, nothing contradicting the true Tenor and Rythme of Pulsation ; when they began to be more ingenuous, telling me, it was done to try me : Then was given me another Hand, which demonstrated a weak languid Constitution ; and collecting the Signs and Symptoms, I feared not to give Sentence ; which met with their Approbation, and so I was sent back the same way I came.

The Caun had been acquainted with what had passed, and seemed pleased : whereupon I must visit the Haram again the next day to Bleed another of his Wives, he being tolerated Four, though he keeps more than Three hundred Concubines.

And now the Curtain was extended athwart the Choultry, and an Arm held forth at an hole, but this was a slight fence for such Animals, who leaning too hard as they peeped, pulled it down, and discovered the whole Bevy, fluttering like so many Birds when a Net is cast over them ; yet none of them sought to escape, but feigning a shamefacedness, continued looking through the wide Lattice of their Fingers : The Lady I had by the Arm was a Plump Russet Dame, summoning the remainder of her Blood to enliven her Cheeks ( for among the darkest Blacks, the Passions of Fear, Anger, or Joy, are discernible enough in the Face) and she bearing a command, caused it to be hung up again : pouring upon her extravasated Blood a Golden shower of Pagods, which I made my Man fish for.

In this Interview they appeared to me not altogether unemployed, there lying pared Mangoes, and other Fruits for Confection, and Achars, or Pickles ; some Samplers of good Housewifry in Needle-works ; and no indecent decorum in managing their Cloystered way of living, making it agreeable to the choice of Custom rather than Restraint.

And a Man would guess no less, to see the number of

Spies upon them, of Toothless Old Women, and Beardless Eunuchs, that they are incontinent in their Desires, for which reason they debar them the sight of anything Male, but their Lord; they Waiting, as well to hand them Necessaries, as Wood, Water, Meat, and the like, taking them at the Door, as to prevent unlawful Intruders.

These have their Singing Wenches; exercise their Ears and Noses with weighty Jewels, as the Gipsy of Old did her Hair and Neck. And are Cloathed like the Men, only they go in their Hair within, and abroad with Vails.

Gaining by these steps a nearer intimacy with the Nabob, he cut me new Business out every day; he advised me of the intention of the Governor of the Castle on the Hill, to commit his Brother to my Care; and I in a private Conference, according to my Instructions, propounded the Commodity might arise from an intercourse of Commerce between this place and Bombaim, from thence to Bussorah, Persia, and Mœcha, for to provide the Army with Horses; in return of whom might be exchanged the same Goods procurable at Surat and better Cheap, should they succeed in their Conquests over the Low Countries; which is not a matter of such impossibility should they earnestly set upon it, considering the Avenues are open: But by that proceeding, it would take away a powerful obstacle to the maintaining so vast an Army as is always in Duccan, whereby a main Body of the Soldiery would be out of pay; which is absolutely against the Generals interest, and therefore he would never consent: This I soon saw was the main Argument, though he coloured it with pretext, that 'twas a work of more pains to reduce Seva, than was represented, in respect of his Situation, being impowered not only to make Excursions, but to bid them Defiance.

Whereupon I told him, If the latter was not feasible, it was in vain to propose anything in relation to the former, for that all Access was stopped if the Low Lands

were not cleared; the Havalgars being unconscionable in their Customs, and without doubt would interrupt who might be serviceable to their Enemies, or bring prejudice to their Prince; whereas were the Ways free, it would enrich his Pageah beyond the Bunder at Surat, and tis the English to a perpetual Truce, who were known in these Parts addicted to Traffick, and Friends to Peace: He asked further, how far we desired to extend this Liberty? I replied, beyond the Portugal Dominions, which would front the Island of Bombaim about Tull; otherwise we must be at the charge of double Custom, to them as well as the Mogul. He said all this had been moved to Badur Cann, but those to whose hands the Presents for him had been entrusted, had defrauded him of them, on whom nothing was to be wrought without liberal Piscashes, he bearing it as high as the King himself, and at this juncture he was an unfit Mediator to him, having lately had some jarre with him (the Governor of Foneah undervaluing his Authority in an Expedition, not long enough ago to be thoroughly forgot); however did the President immediately apply himself to him, he was inclinable enough to let him Settle Factories; when I gave him to understand, without a mutual Benefit on both sides, was not the present Design; but for the esteem we bore to Men of Honour, and that made account of their Words it was wished the Moguls were possessed of those Parts which was never to be cultivated, either with good Manners, or Profit, whilst Perfidy reigned there.

This being the substance of our Discourse, after he had related the Business to his Council (he replied) he would intimate what might be effected in it, to the President, in answer to his Letter.

At night it was dismally Tempestuous, Killing Two of the Watch on Duty, and carrying a Tower of the Hill at one Clap; below, it brake one Man's Arm, the Prologue to the Rains.

The Day after the Nabob's Brother, of the Castle, was received kindly here, bringing a noble Train, and Pircash to bespeak his Welcome ; he was Lodged in a Palace adjoining that where I was.

The Eleventh of May I went abroad to a Garden left by a common Strumpet, in which was a noble Tomb built in remembrance of her, with a Well belonging to a lovely Spring, which by Aqueducts supplied the City with Water.

Who when she died, like *Flora Fair*

Did make the Common-wealth her Heir.

Hence we went to a ruined Palace, where Auren Zeeb, the present Emperor, was hospitably received in his Father's Reign, and lived a pretended Fakier.

Cotton in its season is Planted all hereabouts: The Fields produce Wheat in abundance, and other Grain; but are often served as the Philistine's were by Sampson, the Foxes from the Mountains with. Fire-brands consuming them: which made us bethink of retiring, they descending sometimes in Parties to Prey on Stragglers, that often Troopers are sent home disrobed and dismounted to be laugh't at for their Misfortune.

Having tarried now till the Rains had made their first onset Fourteen days together, with horrid Thunder; at the end thereof I set apart a day to take notice of the adjacent Rarities; among which is a City called Dungeness, of like Antiquity and Work-manship, as Canorein, cut out of a Mountainous Rock, with a Temple and other spacious Halls, by no means inferior to it both for Water and other Refreshments, and much more entire; Time having not dealt so cruelly with it, but the Lines of its ruined Beauty are still legible, though in old Characters; however it is left a desolate Habitation for Batts and Wasps; to disturb which it is dangerous, being overgrown and desperately revengeful, following their Aggressors till they have Whealed them into Contrition for their unadvised Provocation: To be out of the Noise of these buzzing

Hornets, and to secure ourselves from the surprize of any disturbed Idolater, who might bellow the report of our being here, we hasted to the safer Plain, and ended the rest of the day in a pleasant Garden, on the brink of the River which glides hence to Surat.

The Governor of the Gur hearing I was preparing for to return to Bombaim, requested before my departure to accept of my choice, either to ascend the Gur, or else to meet him at his Garden below, being the prescribed Limits of his Walk : I signified my readiness to comply with the former, wherefore he sent Four Palenkeens, his Kinsman, an Ingenuous Mogul, and his Brother to attend me.

(We Travelled Two Miles before we came to the Foot of it, where is a Garrison, or Fortified Town, walled with strong Chockies, or Watches, and a Troop of Five hundred Horse, and as many Camels of War ; here are great Stacks of Hay and Corn, all their Drovers or Beasts being sheltered here anights. Seva Gi has distressed this often, and put them to the rout ; but that, whose Top we are endeavouring to gain, is inaccessible, unless by Seven winding Gates, which are very strong and able to clear one another as they rise, the Way being lined with Murtherers, and they themselves defended with good Pieces of Ordnance : The last is a Piece of excellent Work and Strength, and the place filled with Soldiers.)

Hence it is painful Riding, and requires a strong Back to keep State in a Palenkeen, it being carried almost bolt upright, over Slippery Marble steps, cut out of the shining Rock, as smooth as Glass, and reflecting the Sun-beams as much : After we had mounted near a Hundred Stairs, we were received into the Neck of the Castle, which is colared about with a Wall, rather to keep them from falling down, than needful to prevent Assailants ; from whence an easy Ascent leads to a Level, which is the Circus to train the Infantry ; where are conspicuous Tombs of their former Kings, being firmly built, and a Mosque of polished

Marble, which on Festivals only they repair unto : No Houses here are able to resist the Storms of Wind, or the Sun's Heat, for which conveniency they have made the Eastern side of the Hill most Inhabited, it serving instead of a Bank ; where they live in little low Huts, the Governor's not exceeding in height, (though a pretty neat Dwelling, fenced with Trees, no where else to be found) who had expected me Two whole Hours ; but being impatient of delay, and the Sun growing too hot, he betook himself to his Haram, having ordered his Kinsman (whose Civil Department met with his Commands) to Entertain me ; he is but Poor (so that he threatens the Nabob to turn Fakier) yet Generous, of a free open Temper, neither Jealous nor Lazy, as the Moors most are ; but applying himself to several Handicrafts, which he has learned of the Europeans ; he is learned too in the Persian and Arabick Languages, though not to Vain-glory ; being so Humble, Facetious, and Merry, that nothing but Spight and Envy can disagree with him : His Name is Nishambeak ; such another I have not met with, so general a lover of Franks ; which he specified in an especial manner to me, receiving me in an Airy Banqueting house, Embellished and Adorned on purpose ; and notwithstanding the Governor's Son was to pay his Compliments, would not suffer me to give him Place, but diverted me with several Interludes of Morisco Dancing. That which took most with them I perceived, was a Jester, or Mimick, the Ancient Salt at public Banquets.

Having feasted the Fancy, he contends to cloy the Stomach with loads of Viands stowed in Plate, serving me with his own Hands, his Friends and he being content to feed on the desire they had to satisfy me, not being to be courted to fall to till I had done ; they served me with variety of Stews and Baked Meats, but offered me Sherbet only for Drink ; I had provided against this chance by filling my Metarrah with Beveridge, which passed for

Water, being drunk out of a Leather Bottle Tipped with Silver, for Travel.

After Dinner they made their loud Musick proclaim my going to the Governor (whereat flocked all the Gur) and after formal Salutes, present him with a Glass of Chymical Spirits. As the Parthians were wont not to receive Visits without a Gift ; So here the like Custom prevails.

I was placed close by him, he like an Hermit, having the Court brought to him, admired the Splendour as well as the Novelty of our Europe Dress ; asking my Servant if I lay in them, because it is their fashion not to undress to go to Bed, but lye in the same Clothes they wear in the day ; he made me declare the use of my Rapier, at first not apprehending it so serviceable as their Broad Two-handed Swords ; 'twas a Question out of my road, yet I made him understand our Custom in War was to appear all armed Cap-a-pee, where their Broad Swords would find a rebate ; whereas these Sharp-pointed Weapons would pierce the junctures of the Harness, or the Pleats of a Coat of Mail (they denying a Stab to be more mortal than a Slash.) He was very inquisitive about our Military Discipline ; and heard it with pleasure. He called all his Male Children about him, who sat at his Feet, and gave me an History of their Maladies ; as most here did that durst speak, there being an infinite number of Captains and Grave Fellows : The Old Men mended their Eyes with Spectacles, the young marred theirs with staring.

The Choultry was hung with Green and Red Velvet checkered ; his Pawn Boxes were large, and of Massy Gold ; his Retinue grave, his Carriage affable ; he gave me a Bow-Ring off his Thumb, of Cashmire (of equal value as Vertue, being a Charm against Thunder) and the liberty to take a Round about the Castle, never before granted any not lifted in his service : A Portuguez Mes-tizo, Chief Gunner of the Castle, was very officious, though I was entrusted to the charge of his prime Eunuch.

(The first Object busied me, was a Place Seva Gi's Men had attempted to scale, by me esteemed a desperate Design, and very improbable; yet two Men got up, and a Stone casually tumbling, deterred their Accomplices, leaving them a Sacrifice to the Governor and Women, who being left alone to the defence of the Castle (all the Men deserting on the approach of a vast Army of Seva Gi's) hurled them down the Mountain for their rash Adventure; confirming to me by a great Stone let fall, the unavoidableness of their destruction; it running with that force where-ever it came, that it beat all afore, till it rested in the middle of the Valley.

It is stored with Granaries hewed out of Stone, I suppose for Religion's sake at first, being too delicately engraved for the present use; though there be several Tanks filled with Butter of 400 years standing, prized by the Gentiles as high as Gold, prevalent in Old Achea, and Sore Eyes, one of which was opened for my sake, and a Present made me of its black stinking and viscid Balsom: There are other Tanks or Cisterns for Water, which look nastily, Green, Yellow, and Red, being distilled in the Rains, and in the Heats evaporated to a Consistency; in some of these Gurs the Water is so bad, that they use Onions to correct its unsavoriness. (Garlick indeed with us is called the Countryman's Treacle).

They have Provisions for a Seven Years Siege for a Thousand Families, but no other Ammunition than Stones, excepting two unshapen Sakers of Two and twenty Foot long, with a narrow Bore of Brass of Gentu Mould, at each end, one on huge winding Carriages; one of which at random killed a Rajah some four Months ago, when Seva was encamped about Feneah flinging a Bullet two Course off; which Shot caused a Bonfire of a couple of his Ladies, beside other Domesticks, one of each sort to attend him in another World, as his Chief Physician, Barber, Washerman, Horse-keeper, and the like, to the number of



Twenty odd; a thing as customary at the death of any great Rajah, as 'tis for the Wife of every Gentue of note at the death of her Husband.

By this fatal Instrument of Mortality stood the remaining part of the Tower the Thunder had cleft in twain: Near where a Dutch Apostate has a wretched Dwelling, enjoying a Pair of Wives, the miserable Tools who induced him to this lamentable Condition, that he is despised and slighted by them all; few those of that endure Circumcision meeting with better fortune.

Having taken my full view, and returning to give the Governor Thanks for this freedom, I met him as he came from Prayers through a Lane of Soldiers, followed by a Crowd of his Domesticks, when taking my leave, he ordered my release, being ushered with the same State down as I came up, leaving him Prisoner in his strong Hold.

Hence might be beheld many Dens and Caverns, fondly believed to be carved and cut out of the Rocks by some Divine Power; having no account of their original. Indeed they are miraculous; And I am apt to judge, the pious Zeal of former Ages, when undisturbed in their Tranquility, thinking the greatest labour too little to express their love to a Deity, set them upon such employments, more than that they could promise to themselves any security from these Places; which though the Passages to them be difficult, yet they are generally unprovided of Human Necessaries; This Hill being only independent, whereby it stands out against all the opposite Forts of Seva Gi, many of whom in a still Night may be heard by Voice, but more by Trumpets.

Here are a Thousand Sword-men in pay, no Horse or Elephant being able to climb it: It was never fairly taken, the Governor is one of approved Fidelity; the Mogul having not the like Fort in all his Kingdoms, and is of main concern to the Frontiers: putting a stop to Seva Gi's progress, otherwise likely to overrun Duccan. His name

is Hagress Caun, originally a Brachmin, now a strict Musleman ; some years past Governor of the City, when oppressing the Poor, their Cries reaching the King's Ears, he was translated hither, in consideration of his good Service ; where he receives a liberal Pension, and is at no Expense, which agrees well enough with his covetous Humour : which Humour of his, Seva Gi being informed of, left no means unattempted to gain the Surrender of his Trust ; promising Mountains of Gold in exchange of this, which he scrupled not to receive ; appointing a day for the delivery of it to Seva Gi, if he sent 7000 to take possession ; who keeping touch, met with the same measure he had meant to others, they being all surprised by an Ambuscado from Badur Caun, whom the Governour had advertised of all the Transactions.

That which makes Seva Gi so intent on this more than the forementioned Advantages, is, because it was his Birth-place.

What makes it more famous, it was anciently the Seat Royal of the Duccan Kings, under whom Seva Gi's Father was Keeper ; but Aurenceob in his Conquest of this Kingdom (after he had fled hither for protection) had it surrendered unto him : It is reckoned two Course and an half in height ; is surrounded, though a good way off, with Hills, all but towards the North, where it seems to stand Captain of the Mountains.

The Moguls I perceive are inclinable to the like Credulity the Gentues are, pointing out a Mount where undoubtedly Solomon gave Audit to the two Women claiming the same Child, and pronounced Judgment in favour of the true Mother ; and it still bears the name of Tocta Schelimon, Solomon's Throne ; I brought Night with me to Feneah, being too well guarded to suspect any Attempt ; though notable enough by the multitudes of Oily Flambeana.

This Day gave me occasion to take notice of the sneak-

ing Officiousness of the Banyans, who pressed on my Heels, and where-ever I went, waited like Lacquies.

The New Moon brought the Soldiers to their several Standards, against the Governor's House, by their Salam to refresh his Memory of their Pay, being Fourteen Months behind-hand. Pay, says Tacitus, is the cause of Soldiers, and Money is the Cause of Pay; which is not wanting to the Muster-masters, who abuse the common Troopers in retarding it; to the end, that having run into debt, they might compound for half their Wages in ready Money; for all which they leave not often their Side, for they are sure of something with ease; whereas Seva Gi is a kind of Free-booter, whose Maxim is, No Plunder, no Pay; which comes with pain and hazard: Yet it is common for him to have Moors in his Army; for the Liberty of their Country is not stood so much upon, as Whose Salt they eat (their own Phrase); so that you may see Gentues in the Mogul's Army, as well as Moguls among the Gentues: For the most part of the Body of the Cavalry consists of Moguls, the Infantry of Gentues, with Match-Lock Muskets.

In order to this Convention every Petty Officer brings the number of his Men and Horse along with him, who first salute him, and he the Governor, owning none else, for their Commander, though they fall off under such an Ensign as they are ordered to march with: They are taught little more than the Grand Paw, and to make a Salam: They ride in wide Saddles as our War Saddles, but hold with the Calves of their Legs, not fasten themselves to their Saddles by their Thighs, as we do; by which slight they raise themselves to mow down their Enemies, and will cast a Spear, and take it up from the Ground on full speed: They stop with a jerk, not taking their Horse, up by degrees, which they laugh at us for, as well as our riding with our Feet at length: They have no Spurs to their Heels, but in their Bridle-bit is one to stop the

most untamed Horse, or bore his Mouth through, pointing out of a Circle upon their Tongues.

They have other excellent Qualities; as he that runs fastest, is the best Soldier: Besides, their Arms are kept so bright, they are afraid to handle them for fear of soiling them: Their Leaders are good Carpet Knights, loving their Buchannos better than the Field.

The old Roman Discipline takes place, *viz.*, Commanders of Tens, so of Hundreds, thence to Legions; and accordingly receive their Salary, making their own Terms with those under them: The Governor distributing to the Officers, and they to the Soldiers, every one having their Snipe; that never was more truly verified that Proverb, Half the King's Cheese goes away in Parings.

The Grandees of the Army appear with their Furniture of Silver and Gold, on Persian, Arab, or Turkish Steeds; the rest rarely get any other than the Race of the Country which are Fiery and Mettlesome, but very Flashy, probably because they pinch Their Bellies to put into their Own.

And now the Rains began to urge me to take my Leave of the Cawn of Feneah, which I did in a full Assembly convoked for the purpose; where I was informed Two hundred of Seva Gi's Men had pursued me almost to Ambegaum, with a resolution to have carried me back, but durst come no further, for the Report of the Army being in Motion; wherefore the Naibob advised me to take another way, and a select Guard of his should attend me to the utmost Extent of his Territories; after which he dismissed me very honourably, with a Letter to the President, which is not sealed on the Paper, but in a Neat Bag of Cloath of Gold or Silver.

This Naibob Mucklis Cawn lives not in that Splendor the Governor of Surat does, though he have ten times the Salary, being liable to the daily Assaults of Seva Gi; but he exceeds in Command, being Absolute, without any

Dependance on the General; which causes an Emulation on either side, and the more, because the Mogul has lately heaped new Honours on Badur Caun, doubling his Stipend, and giving him the Title of Foster Brother, his Mother nursing the King: But this Governor, to equalize him in Wealth, keeps but half the allotted Number in Pay, and lives sparingly, which makes him take Sanctuary with regret sometimes under Badur Caun, he being always upon the Forlorn Hope.

This Cheat is practised all over the Realm, notwithstanding here are Publick Notaries placed immediately by the Mogul, to give Notice of all Transactions; which they are sure to represent in favour of the Governors where they reside, being Fee'd by them, as well as Paid by the Emperor; so that if a Defeat happen, it is extenuated; if a Victory, it is magnified to the height: Those in this Office are called Vocanoveces.

The Government of this Place is as in all other Cities of the Moguls. The Walls are broken down, but the Gates are still remaining: With the City's Safeguard Trade is fled, though it be commodiously seated, and furnished with course Chints, fine Lawn, and plenty of Cotton-Grounds; but the Plowmen and Weavers have followed the Merchants, a Rich one not being to be heard of in seven or eight days journey from hence.

The Buzzars therefore consist chiefly of Provisions, which they compel the Country to bring in, and sometimes take them by Force, by reason of the general Poverty reigning among them.

Wherefore the 22d of May I left them, and took my Way by Nunny Gaet, or the Little Hill in respect of the other, which we saw mounted a prodigious height above us: Hither I came by twelve a Clock a Noon, a far shorter and easier Way than the other: It is ten Course from Feneab, wherein we travelled between a Couple of Seva Gi's Castles; and overlooking the Gaet, is a third

very like Feneah Gur, which hailed us; I sent one to answer them, but kept on my Course till I came to the Gaot, where I was constrained to bestow more time than I was willing, 300 Oxen laden with Salt (which is as precious up the Country, as to be proverbially preferred to Bread, they saying, Whose Salt they eat, as we, Whose Bread) stopping the Gap; but when a little Intreaty, after an hour's standing still in the Sun, I got them, by sending my Peons, to desist below, till we had widen'd the Pass above; after which it is feasible, being supplied at fit distances with charitable Cisterns of good Water, and towards the bottom adorned with beautiful Woods, delighting as well as refreshing us with the Shade: By Sunset I was in the Plain, where an honest Subidar that took off his Liquor, let me pass without trouble, being more like a Scout than Set-Watch.

Nor do I believe the Mogul's Army dare venture to advance between these Streights, which are so well maintain'd; but farther North the Hills seem to stoop more to the Plain, and it may be that Way they may pass; though this Way be tolerable for Caphalla's and Merchants who have their Passports.

We reckon to have measured this Day Fifteen Course, most in the Heat of the Day, to the side of a poor Village called Wefnura, where we rested under a Tree, the Coolies being unprovided for; nor could they purchase any thing here, the Inhabitants being hared out of their Wits, mistrusting even their own Countrymen as well as Strangers, living as it were wildly, betaking themselves to the Thickets and Wildernesses among the Hills upon the approach of any new Face; for my Horse by chance breaking loose, set a whole Gom or Town upon the hoof, they thinking Auren Zeeb's Luscarry at hand; thus unhappily live these, a Prey to every one.

The Clouds had spread themselves over the Tops of the Hills, that they seemed to make a *Ne plus ultra*, or the Worlds-End.

The next Day at Twelve a Clock at Noon we struck into our old Road at Moorbar, from whence before we were misguided; we packed Hence by Five in the Afternoon, and left our Burnt Wood on the Right-hand, but enterd another made us better Sport, deluding us with false Flashes, that you would have thought t Trees on a Flame, and presently, as if untouch'd by Fire, they retained their wonted Verdure. The Coolies beheld the Sight with Horror and Amazement, and were consulting to set me down, and shift for themselves; whereof being informed, I cut two or three with my Sword, and by breathing a Vein, let Shitan (the Devil) out, who was crept into their Fancies, and led them as they do a startling Jade to smell to what their Wall-Eyes represented amiss; where we found an Host of Flies, the Subject both of our Fear and Wonder, which the sultry Heat and Moisture had generated into Being, the certain Prodromus of the ensuing Rain, which follow'd us from the Hills.

This gave my Thoughts the Contemplation of that Miraculous Bush crowned with Innocent Flames, that gave to Moses so pleasant and awful a Prospect; the Fire that consumes every thing, seeming rather to dress than offend it.

Thus we came to Barsta, a despicable Country Town, Seven Course more; it is in possession of the Combies, who are not strong enough to aid their Herds against the devouring Jaws of the Wild Beasts, a young Buffola being seiz'd the Night before, out of the Tabernacle they lodged me in; wherefore they cautioned me to keep Fires all Night, lest the Horse might lose one of his Quarters, or our Oxen might serve them for a Supper; I added to the Fires a strict Watch, whose mutual answering each other in an high Tone, was deafen'd by the Roarings of Tigres, Cries of Jackals, and Yellings of Balocs, or overgrown Wolves: At Cock-crow (the Lions Charm) we parted hence, and observed the Sheds here were round

thatch'd, and lined with broad Leaves of Take (the Timber Ships are built with), in fashion of a Bee-hive: These Combies are the Wood-men. About Seven we overtook our deep Creek, and being somewhat swelled by the Rains, we followed its Current till we found it passable; about Eleven, we returned to Gullean.

The Hardship these poor Combies undergo was obvious to the sense of the very Coolies, who often in this Journey would reflect on their own Happiness under the English Government; those being all so harass'd, that they dare not Till the Ground, never expecting to reap what they sow, or remain in their Houses, but seek lurking-Places in Deserts and Caverns, being naked to the Violence of the Plunderer, and therefore both unsafe and uncomfortable Journeying for Travellers. I took up my Station where I was before, and sent my Man to the Havaldar to complain of the Treachery of the Guides; he professed he was asham'd, but a new Governor being since put over his Head, with the Command of a Party of Horse, he was incapable of punishing them; yet for what further Courtesy he was able to do he was ready, and to that end sent to the Subidar for his License for a Boat, which now are all pluck'd up and housed ashore, the Rains more than approaching, so that it was troublesome procuring one; but by their joint Power it was at last achieved; which a cross-grain'd Brachmin, supported by an outlaw'd Portugal, contradicted in despite of both, seizing it by Force with Three Files of Soldadoes.

For which cause I was tied to the Comfort of croaking Frogs, making so hideous a Noise, that I took little Rest this Night: When Day broke I could hardly believe my Eyes, for Bulk, for Ears, for Sound, exceeding ours incredibly; and to raise the Wonder, this Night was the first of the Rains, before which none were heard.

Walking the Quarters of my Lodgings, a more delightful, and as unusual a Prospect attracted my Animadver-



sion ; a great Tree full of stringy red Flowers, set in open Calices upon a long Stalk, like budding Grapea ; which before the Sun had collected much force, I saw begin to fall in showers upon the Ground ; desiring to handle one Bough, I observed them fixed ; still they upon the Tree dropped till all was shedded, and the Ground strewed with them, which a Brachmin carefully gathered up to reserve for a Physical use ; but more truly out of Superstition, paying Rent for the Privilege : This Wonder is renewed daily, they Blossoming in the Night, and contrary almost to all other Plants, are disgusted with the Sunbeams, drooping in the day ; which is like the Arbor Tristis at St. Thomas his Mount, only the Flowers of that are White and Sweet, and this Red and indifferently Scented ; the Leaves of the Tree resemble those of a Walnut ; in the Country Nomenclature it is called Nure ; of what Virtue I cannot learn.

Discharging here my Oxen, which I hired of a Gentue who though they will not Kill their Meat, make no Conscience to Work them to Death, allowing them hardly Food to keep them alive.

Neither are they less Inhuman toward their Sick ; a Woman being brought to die among the Tombs in my sight ; pretended to be done to avoid the Governor's troubling the Family (where she lived a Dancing Wench) for Money ; they making themselves Heirs to their Estates when they die. Not for that purpose, as Herodotus presumes ; the Egyptians brought not their Sick to Physicians, but laid them in the Streets and Publick Passages, that the People passing by might be consulted for their cure.

Every Third Hour I had the din of a Man of God of the Moors permitted to come hither to call them to Prayers ; as he cried aloud he stopped his Ears with his Fingers, that he might emit his Voice with the more strength, and less disturbance to himself ; experience thereby directing us to hear our own Sounds the better ;

and some Anatomists tell us, Nature has framed a Cartilaginous passage from the hollow of the Drum of the Ear, to the process of the outward part of the cuneal Bone reaching to the Palat, which being open may possibly divert the Noise; but whether this do help, or is understood by them, yet this they do Practise; and this Afternoon their Sanctum Sanctorum was open, the Priest entering in Barefoot and Prostrating himself on the Mats spread on the Floor, whither I must not have gone, could his Authority have kept me out; the Walls were white and clean, but plain, only the Commandments, wrote in Arabick in the West-end, were hung on a Table over an Arched Place, where the Priest Expounds on an Ascent of Seven Steps, railed at top with Stone very handsomely: It is supported within with Four substantial Pillars of Timber well carved, the Roof all Wood, with a square Hole over the Pulpit: Underneath are fine cool Vaults, and Stone Stairs to descend to a deep Tank, where this Priest was following the Occupation of making such Paper as they use; which after he had steeped Cotton Rags in Water, he by beating brought it into the form of Paper; and cutting them, or alicing the Mass into Sheets, was pasting them up on the Stone-sides of the Mosque, next the Sun to dry; after which they are polished and glazed, and so made fit for their use.

In the Evening I saw the reason of our stay this day; a Pragmatical Portugal fled to this Place, for designing the death of a Fidalgo in the front of 40 Men marching to the Governor's; his Name Pedro Pylvio, a Rich Lout, no Gentleman: Besides these he keeps as a Guard to his body, he has a Bloody Leash of Cofferies employed to be revenged on his Antagonist at Baccin; here he acts without Controle, and is about to accept of Pay under Seva Gi, he being courted there-to, because he is a bold desperate Fellow, the fitter Instrument to ruin his Nation.

In the mean time here arriving a Bombaim Boat, she

was presently disburthened of her Lading, and I Embarked, and the 26th of May came abreast of Tanaw, the Pass here being another main Impediment to the intended Trade up the Country with the Moors; which had we in our possession, according to the Contract with Portugal, we might the easier make Seva Gi comply; and more than that, find Lordships for Englishmen, where they might live contentedly, and not be beholden to Foreign Supplies for Provisions: By Three the next Morning I anchored against the Bunder at Bombaim, and Landed presently after Travally-Beat, delivering my Letter from the Cann to the President.

Here rode an Europe Ship called the *Fleece*; which lost her Passage last Year, coming too late out of England; and about Noon the *Rainbow* arrived, they being both forced to put in at Bombass, an Island of the Portugals on the Coast of Melinda, which produces excellent Ivory, and other Miracles, from whence they sailed together; till just on this Shore a Storm separated them, the *Fleece* gaining this Port; the *Rainbow* fell first in with Surat, and to Day came to an Anchor here.

Thus if I have been too prolix in this Narrative, I must beg your pardon for endeavouring to satisfy you on two Scores, which none but one of my Profession must pretend to; the one relating to the Women, and the other to their Fortified Gurs or Castles; and if it find your Acceptance, it is all the Aim I have, and my Pains is thereby sufficiently rewarded.

Bombaim, 1675. }  
 Sept. 22. }

## LETTER IV.

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### CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING OUR SHIPPING FOR CARWAR; OF THE FACTORY THERE; THE UNSETTLED CONDITION OF THE PLACE; AND OUR COMING TO GOA.

SIR,—The pleasure you express on the Receipt of Mine, makes me continue your Invited Trouble, as truly not enjoying any thing till I know your Sentiments; and therefore is it, next the quieting your Concern for my Life in so unhealthy a Place, I let you know Bombaim is my Station no longer than the President resides there: From whence you may perceive I have had Opportunities to expatiate.

And now the Rains are over, and Friendship concluded as well between particular Factions, as the Dutch; the President esteemed no Enemies so formidable as still to exact his Presence on this Island; wherefore constituting Mr. Philip Gyffard in his Place, he took Shipping in the Fleece, for Surat, accompanied by the Rainbow, New London, and East-India Merchant, English Ships, the Bombaim Merchant, and other Country Ships.

After some time, Curiosity more than Business tempted me to go with the Chief of Carwar, that I might see Goa. In our Passage at Serapatan, to the South of Dan de Rajapore, a Strong Castle of Seva Gi's defended a deep Bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 Small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral wearing a White Flag aloft.

Arriving at Carwar, and the Chief going ashore, he was met on the River by the Governor with two Barges; and landing, was welcomed by the Ordnance of the English House.

Carwar, what remains of it, is under the New Conquest of Seva Gi, being lately, with Anchola, Pundit, Cuderah and Semissar, brought under (though all of them very Strong Places): At which time the English were moulding a Fortification, or House of Defence, for their own safety, when by the Assistance of a Small Pink they defended themselves from all Hostile Mischances; and though their Town was wholly laid in Ashes, yet they built this their stately Mansion Four-square, guarded by Two Bulwarks at the Commanding Corners of the House: In the meanwhile, Seva Gi made himself Master of Carwar Castle, together with the rest, the Inhabitants flying to the Woods and Hills for shelter: Thus it continues not without daily disturbance from these Sylvans and Mountaineers, the commiserated Subjects of Visiapour, who often make an Head and fall upon them; by which means the Government is unsetled, and the Governors shift from Place to Place.

Our House stands on a delicate Mead (on the Ground of \* \* \* \* Cutteen Esq; a Cornish Gentleman, who had it by grant from the King of Visiapour, being impowered by a Claim of his Countrymen to the Right of Trading to the East-Indies, but long since left off) Seated on an Arm of the River, surveying a pleasant Island stored with Game: The Castle is nearer the Hills, and higher up the Streams; about a League off the Sea the Hills guard the Plain till they make a Bank against the Ocean.

(Seva in his Government imitates the Moors in this, appointing a distinct Governor here for Town and Castle, and over all these a Commander with a Flying Army, who is Superintendent: Into Places of Trust and Authority he puts only Brachmins, or their Substitutes, viz. Pundits, (a mean cast) for Physicians; Sfosdars or Centurions,

Subidars, Havaldars, Civil Governors, Generals or Fighting Bishops; of whom truly may be said, *Privata cuique stimulatō vile decus publicum*. They are neither for Publick Good or Common Honesty, but their own private Interest only: They refuse no Base Offices for their own Commodity, inviting Merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of Customs; always in a Corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's Dues: So that Trade is unlikely to settle where he hath any thing to do; notwithstanding his Country lies all along on the Sea-shore, and no Goods can be transported without his Permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do.

It is a General Calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the Complaints of the poor People that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the Slavery of *Seva Gi*: The *Desies* have Land imposed upon them at double the former Rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard Conditions (if Monied Men) they are carried to Prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is: They have now in Limbo several Brachmins, whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red-hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish, (though according to their Law it is forbidden to strike a Brachmin.) This is the accustomed Sawce all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governours, when removed from their Offices, to squeeze their ill-got Estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employ'd again: And after this fashion, the *Desies* deal with the *Combies*; so that the Great Fish prey on the Little, as well by Land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage.

However, under the King of *Visiapour*, the Taxations were much milder, and they lived with far greater com-

fort ; but since the Death of the late King, his Son being in Minority, and the Kingdom left to a Protector, the Nobles, who held their Provinces as Feudatories or rather Vassals of him, begin to withdraw their Duty ; Bullull Caun, General under the Protector Cowis Caun, an Hobsy, or Arabian Coffery (they being preferred here to Chief Employments, which they enter on by the Name of Sid-dies) having but the other day set upon the Protector and assassinated him ; who was so terrible to Seva Gi's Men, that to render him the more dreadful, they speak of his Hobsies after this manner, That with their Swords they are able to cut down Man and Horse : That greater Com-motions than yet have happened, are to be expected in this Kingdom ; not only Seva Gi, but the Mogul at this time bidding for the Kingdom.

Bullul Caun is a good Soldier, and a Patan ; yet as much envied by the Duccan Princes, as Cowis Caun was by him ; whereupon it behoves him to be watchful of their Motions, to which Vigilancy adding Expedition, he yet keeps them from joining Forces : Where leaving him on his Guard, I will present you with a small Taste of the Condition of the People about us, which fell out the Day before I set out for Goa, being desirous to be present at the Natal.

Early in the Morning came Delvi's Men, 500 in Com-pany ; whereupon Seva Gi's Men being but 100 Foot, and 25 Horse, retired into the Castle ; miserable Souls for Soldiers on both sides ; they look'd like our old Britains, half naked, and as fierce, where all lies open before them : They had a loud Noise of Musick, and a tumultuous Throng of People, and thus they marched on without any Order, till they encamped near our House : Their Leader was a Man of good Presence, but a Rogue, an Hindu by Birth, a Soldier by Education ; making this his Maxims *Ibi Fas ubi maxima Merces* : There is the greatest Right where is the best Pay.

At Noon, by the Hurly-burly of all Ranks of men, Women, and Children, with what little Substance they had, flying under our Guns for Succour, we were given to understand Seva Gi's Men were in Motion (whom they dread more than the other) ; but, on appearance of the Desy's Grob, they retreated again : This Desy is one that was Rendoer of all this Country, under the King of Visiapour, and had 1,000 Men under him (of whom Delvi was Chief) ; but being entrapped by his Subtilties, whom he least suspected (being raised by him) he was forced to subscribe to the Power of Seva ; of whom Delvi not having his Ends, he turns about, and does promise to set his former Master in Possession once more. At Night, we had Letters (for you must know both Parties Salam to us, being in so strong an House, else we should be liable to their Fury), That Sevi Gi's Party of Horse, whilst Delvi had passed the River, seized his Baggage which was left guarded by 60 Men, whereof he having Notices soon overtakes them, and causes them to surrender their Booty driving them to the Castle, with the loss of two of their Horses and one Cavaleiro slain : Under these Circumstances, these Folks are left to struggle, without hope of Relief from Visiapour, they being all to pieces there.

The next Morning, in the Company's Baloon of 16 Oars, with seven Peons, two English Soldiers, two Factors, and, myself, having a Competency of Arms and Ammunitions with a small Piece a head, we set Sail for Goa. We had not gone far down the River, before we met two Boats full of Men for a Supply to Seva Gi. Near Sun-set, we reached in Oyster-Rock, on which we landed, and fed plentifully, being in their prime this cold Season ; our Bargemen would frequently dive 9 or 10 Minutes, and rise with great Lumps of Oysters clodded together, as big as a Man could well carry. The next Morn, we put into



the River Sal, half way to Goa: At Three in the Afternoon, we entered the Mouth of Goa River, where, in convenient Places, stand four Forts and a Block-house, not only impassable by Water, but impregnable by Land; as the Dutch proved them twelve Years together, having a Fleet riding constantly before them, and for that time, while the Moonsoons permitted, making continual Assaults, but with little Success: On the left, stored with Brass Pieces, stands the Agoada, or the King's Aquaduct, running from the Top of the highest Hill to the Water side, where, for a considerable Space, is a Platform of their chiefest Ordnance; facing this is the Fort and Monastery of Nos Signior de Cabo, a pleasant as well as strong Citadel: Beyond this, in a wide but dangerous Bay (so that what Boats come in must pass the Channel under the Muzzles of the Guns) stands Marmagoun, defending that Island and Bay: By the Bar is Roys Magi on the Left, and Gasper de Dios on the Right: Before Sunset, we came to Captain Gary's House at Pangeim, over the Bar a Mile; a Seate by reason of the Healthiness of the Air chosen by the Fidalgoes, who have beautified it with their Summer-houses; the Viceroy having a Palace here, where he retires in the Heats and time of Shipping: Betu on the other side enjoys the same good Fortune.

The Eve to the Eve of the Natal, or Christmas, we came up the River, adorned all along with stately Churches and Palaces, the Water circling with its Stream several Islets, and half-way up to the City passes under a Bridge of 36 Arches of Stone; and from thence runs a Causeway of Stone two Miles in length, admitting the Flood only by two Sluices, into Weirs or Dams made of Fish and Salt, and ends with three Arches more: A little beyond which is depainted on a Church, a Story of a Ship brought from Cape Bon Esperanzo, hither in one Night and fixed where the Church is now built, and by that

means helping them with Timber for the Roof, and two Crosses set up as far as the Ship was in length ; whether true or false, I ask no questions, for fear of the Inquisition, which here is a terrible Tribunal. At Noon we came in view of Goa, not without the sight of a many Baloons passing to and again very swiftly, it being the greatest Pastime they have to Row against one another ; more bewitched with such outward Gallantry, than prompted on to more Beneficial Charges ; their Europe Ships lying there neglected till they rot for want of Cargo, Three great Carracks being ready to drop in Pieces ; notwithstanding they have small Trading Ships in the River, and against the City, beside a Carrack under the Agoada, which the send home this Year.

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CHAPTER II.—TAKES A VIEW OF GOA ; MAKES A VOYAGE TO VINGULA ; ENGAGES WITH THE MALABARS, AND RETURNS UP TO CAERWAR.

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THE City of Goa looks well at a small distance, not being to be seen far by reason of the adjacent Hills and windings of the River ; it is Ten Miles up the River, stands upon Seven Hills, every where Colleges, Churches, and glorious Structures ; it has Gates to it, and a Wall ; it is Modelled but rudely, many Houses disgracing it with their Ruins, the Streets interfering most confusedly : We were directed to a Tavern against the See, the Habitation of the Archbishop of the Order of St. Bernard ; which the Clergy here mightily stomach, especially the Jesuits, who bend not to his Authority, having a Provost of their own, going in as great State as the Archbishop ; he appears abroad in a Sedan, and has Eight Clerico's on Foot Bare-headed, walking on each side, beside other Attendance : The Cathedral is not often excelled by ours at home for the bigness of the Pile ; the Architecture but Plain, though very Neat ; the Altar and side Chappels filled with Images

of delicate Sculpture of our Blessed Saviour and the Virgin Mother, Gilded all over with Gold.

From thence we were brought to the College of the Dominicans, the Seat of the Inquisidor, who is always one of this Order; a magnificent Front to the Street, ascending by many steps, being a huge Fabrick; the Church surpassed the Cathedral, the Pillars from top to bottom being overlaid with a Golden Wash, and on the Walls the Martyrology of their Order: In the Sacristan were Massy Silver Candlesticks, and other Vessels very Rich; the Dormitories elegantly contrived in upper and lower Walks, and the whole without Compare to others that fell in our Ken: *Erasm Vincii opibus Parathalassium tot candelabra argentea, tot status aurea, Baptisteria, &c.* The Habit is a white Vesture with a Crotchet under a black Gown, or Cowl, like Nuns. Their College was well replenished with Devotees, and commanded a blessed Prospect.

The Paulistines enjoy the biggest of all the Monasteries at St. Roch; in it is a Library, an Hospital, and an Apothecary's Shop well furnished with Medicines, where Gasper Antonio, a Florentine, a Lay-Brother of the Order, the Author of the Goa Stones, brings them in 50,000 Xerephias, by that invention Annually; he is an Old Man, and almost Blind, being of great Esteem for his long practice in Physick, and therefore applied to by the most Eminent of all Ranks and Orders in this City; it is built like a Cross, and shews like a Seraglio on the Water.

We paid a Visit to the Domo of Bon Fesu, the Church an admirable Piece, the Repository of St. Xaverius, the Indian Apostle, where is a famous Tomb in Honour of him, who first spread the Gospel as far as China, and sealed it with his Martyrdom near Two hundred Years ago, leaving his Body a Miraculous Relick of his better part, it still retaining its vivid Colour and Freshness, and therefore exposed once a Year to publick view, on the Vespers of his Festival.

St. Paul's was the first Monastery of the Jesuits in Goa from whence they receive the Name of Paulistins; it is the Seat therefore of their Provost, who is Independent, and Rules *suo Jure*.

The Jesuits are Clad in Black Gowns with a Collar and Rings, with high round Caps flat at top, Shoes but no Stockings, as few indeed, either Clergy or Laity, have here; (*Por Amor de Frisco*).

Of all Orders when they die they are Inhumed in the Habit of the Order they belong to, without Coffins.

The Policy, as well as the Trade, of this place, is mostly devolved from private Persons on the Paulistins.

We went to the Convent of St. Austin's, Inhabited by that Order, who, when they go out, wear Black Gowns (girt about with a Leathern Girdle) like our Bachelors of Arts, with Black Hoods; within doors White, of the same Fashion with a Scapulary. We saw several Seminaries, or Schools, where the Students dispute in long Cloaks, or Vests.

We saw the Convent, or Church, of the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, with Cords instead of Girdles about their Middles, Sandals instead of Shoes; they wear Grey Broad brimmed Hats, as Countrymen do, as well as Cowls abroad their Habit being borrowed of the Rusticks; they touch not Money, but carry one with them that will, and are Mendicants.

The College of Carmelites is on an high Mount, prospecting the whole City; it is a fine Building; these are Begging Friars too, Eat only Fish, except in Sickness, Cloathed with a coarse Russet Tippet Coat and Vest, girt about with a Cord: In their Hall, where they Repast, at the upper end on the Table, is placed a Death's Head; over their Cells, Sentences denoting each Virtue, which were Wrote in Capital Letters of Gold over the Doors, as Fortitude, Patience, and the like: Here we left many De-

out Old Men on their Knees, Praying Fervently, and Living Piously.

We descended from this lovely spectacle to the Spittle, where we found the Poor faring well from their Benefactors.

The forepart of their Vespers to the Natal, I spent at the King's Hospital; where their Care for the Sick is commendable, an handsome Apothecary's Shop furnishing them with Medicines: The Physicians here are great Bleeders, insomuch that they exceed often Galen's Advice *ad deliquim*, in Fevers; hardly leaving enough to feed the Currents for Circulation; of which Cruelty some complain invidiously after Recovery.

In our return we saw a Nunnery, and the Nuns at their Devotion, a Confessor through the Grates Reading Mass, and performing the Ceremonies to a Couple with Maiden-Crowns on their Heads, ready to be admitted into the Virgin Society.

They had good Faces and excellent Voices; the Nunnery was called St. Monacha; here is another of St. Clara's.

Near the Palace is a Modern, but a compleat Convent of the Theatini, where Captain Gary staid to shew us the Palace, not so Sumptuous as Convenient; passing the Guards we were usher'd into a long Gallery, hung round with the Pictures at length of all the Vice-Roy's that had been in East-India down to the present Vice-Roy: At the upper end, was the Canopy Royal and Chair of State; upon information of our being there, we were introduced the Vice-Roy's Presence; he received us Standing, and after a little Conference, dismissed us. A Proper Man Courteous to Strangers, his Name Lewis Méndosa de Albuquerque, newly created Marquess by the King; in this Room was another Canopy of State, with the Arms of Portugal. Coming into the Court-yard, we saw some Men in Gowns, like our Aldermen, the Emburgadors, or Coun-

cil of the City, going to attend the Vice-Roy to his Devotion at the Church of Misericord, where was to be Presented a Pious Comedy ; but their Representations being too tedious, and the generality making Religion the least of their business, not respecting either God or the King, they made such a rout among the Women, that we were glad to leave and Reimbark for our Lodgings.

At Night, we were alarmed by a paulty Fellow that took our House for his Sanctuary, being forced to it for his own Security ; the Soldiers assuming great license for want of Pay, and the Cofferies for want of Victuals, so that, every one walks the City with his naked Sword in his Hand for his own defence at Evening ; and now within Doors, and in a Private House, we were forced to make our Arms our Pillows.

The next day, we passed the Bar for Vingula ; half way we put ashore to refresh our Men, and, at Ten in the Morn, set out again ; by Twelve, we came close up with a Malabar that had seized a Grob, but we soon made him yield his Prize to engage with us ; which they did briskly for Two hours, striving to board us, casting Stink-pots among us, which broke without any Execution, but so frightened our Rowers, that we were forced to be severe to restrain them ; they plied their Chambers and small Shot and flung Stones, flourishing their Targets and darting Long Launces ; they were well Manned in a Boat ten times as big as our Barge, and at least Sixty fighting Men besides Rowers ; we had none to manage our small Gun, the Gunner running away at Goa after Suts in Brothels : One of the Factors undertaking it, was blown up by a Cartridge of Powder, and quenched his Cloaths a-flame in the Ocean, so that they were fully bent to board us ; but they rising to come in, we all this while having sculked under their Targets, discharged our Blunderbusses which made them sheer off, never to come near us again ; after which we chased them, they flying around us.

The Spectators of this Encounter, were the Dutch Chief and Governor on the Shore, and a Ship of a dozen Guns in the Road. By Three, we came a-shore with slight hurts but cried up mightily by the People, who are continually infested by these Pirates without any Resistance: The Dutch receiv'd us at their Factory very kindly, whose House is handsomely seated a Mile up a Shallow River (except at Spring Tides, when lusty Ships may come up); it is built upon Arches Geometrically, by the present Chief, in the Figure of a Roman T, all of Solid Stones; it is Trenched with a Square Trench, and defended by a Platform of Two Great Guns on every side and Two Great Bulwarks, bearing Smaller Guns at the Two Corners of the House; the Front is Italian Fashion, passing to it over a Draw-Bridge; at Night we walked into the Town, part of it lately destroyed by the Syddy; where was a Buzzar, and a neat Choultry of the Dutch's, and beyond a Garden watered by a Fresh Stream, where we bathed: After Supper, they treated us with the Dancing Wenches, and good Soops of Brandy, and Delf's Beer, till it was late enough.

We went next day to the Governor, who complimented us highly; he is under the Tyrannical Government of Seva Gi, where all Barbarous Customs are exercised; and here it is permitted the Women not only to burn with their dead Husbands, but here are many Monuments raised in honour of them.

Which Custom, if we believe Tertullian, is as old as Dido, on a generous Account; not by constraint, as these are mostly said to be.

The famous Dido, driven a Stranger into another Country, was courted by the King, which one would have thought she should willingly have entertained, rather than to refuse a Second Marriage on so hard Terms, as to burn herself alive, for fear of polluting herself thereby;

which shews that Virgil in his Account of that Lady killing herself for Æneas, was a Fiction more to his own Credit than hers.

At Hubly in this Kingdom are a Cast called Linguits, who are buried upright, whose Wives, when they have a mind to accompany their Husbands into another World, are set in the same Pit with them, covered up to the Shoulders with Mold; who, after Ceremonies performed, have their Necks wrung round, and the Pit filled up with Earth immediately.

Our Factors having Concerns in the Cargo of the Ships in this Road, loaded two Grobs and departed; I leaving them to prosecute their Voyage, I put in at Goa again; and in Captain Gary's Baloon rowed round the Island over against Goa, where the Industry of the Portuguese Ancestry is worthy of our commendation, in securing their Land both from Water and their Enemies, by strong Banks and necessary Block-Houses; Seva Gi possessing all against it, called Norway, famous by Curtians.

Hence I went to the King's Yard, where lay half a Score Galeons fitted for any Expedition; in these the Best Fidalgos think it no scorn to go Commanders, it being the only thing they can serve their Country; in these they are sent out with their Caphalas to convoy them, when they return with Cora either from the North or the South; when every *Cabessoo de Squadron* has Two or three Royal Gallies under him, that wear the Arms of Portugal in their Ancients only, and the Admirante, Vice Admirante and Captain-Major wear the King's Flag aloft as well as astern: The best of these carry no more than Eight or Ten Small Pieces, and the rest fewer: over all these there is a Generalissimo both by Sea and Land, who is John Corea de Saw.

Incited daily by New Wonders, I intended to inviron the Island of Goa; which is circled by High and Strong



Walls, with Flankiers on every winding of the River, besides Four or Five lusty Clock-Houses, commanding the whole Work, a thing of vast Compass and Expence, striking through the heart of the Island; which is altogether near Thirty Miles in Circumference, the Wall parting it in the half: We passed as far as to the Fort of St. Lawrence, which is placed conveniently to command the Mouth of the River from Marmagoun Bay; we endeavoured farther, but Wind and Tide prevented us; wherefore thinking it more facile to enterprise it on the other side, we deferred it till another day: All the Land about Goa is divided into Islets, it lying in the heart of them: Whereupon the next day that lay fair for our Design we came over the Bar, and sailed with a favourable Wind into Marmagoun Bay; on the right part of it were many pretty Caves, or small Bays, in one of whom rode near twenty Grobs, loaden with Cocoa-nuts, Cair, Salt and Salt Fish. Beyond it half a League an Islet of Emanuel Lobos, fortified and maintained in despite of the State, till lately reconciled.

From hence we parted to Old Goa on the main Island of Goa, which, with its various Creeks and Bays, makes up the left side or Cod of the Bay, pointing out in the middle of Nos Segnior de Cabo, it lying short between Marmagoun and the Agoada, which makes the Mouth of the Bay to be reckoned from the Head lands or Out-guards, from Three Leagues over, and Nos Segnior de Cabo a Commodious assistance to them both by its well-placed Ordnance, easily reaching them on either hand; but withal befriending Marmagoun, from which it is the widest, with huge Stakes of Rocks hid under Water, that Vessels of Burthen must either seek out the Channel or Shipwreck themselves, or else force themselves on the Mouth of their Guns; a Fortunate and well-weighed Choice of a Port and Harbour In our course, we saw the bottom of the

Bay meet with the River of St. Lawrence, and a Fleet of 30 Gobs more ready to receive their Lading: the Bay is two, if not three, Leagues deep; the truly Noble Aldeas of the Fidalgoes, the Temples and curiously-wrought Crosses of the Ecclesiasticks, striving on every open Strand and rising Hill to outshine one another, by their Whited Outsides, the Artificial and Delicate Adornments.

At our Landing, the Sea bestowed a kind Murmur on the yielding Sand, and cast us ashore in a Place quadrated more for still Retirement than noisy Commerce: there lying before its Banks Canoofes belonging to Fishermen, and Baloons of Pleasure only; the Segnioros minding nothing less than Merchandizing, and the Pover employing their Fish-hooks, and knitting-needles to get a Livelihood: So that I presume Old Goa need not complain for the loss of Trade, which she never had; nor lament the deprivation of Costly and Spacious Buildings, which she never wanted; but hath them rather as a Country Town (of whom she is the Dame) than City, though she might claim the Title of Mistress: her Soil is Luxurious and Campaign, and abounds with Rich Inhabitants, whose Rural Palaces are immured with Groves and Horton refreahed and cooled with Tanks and Rivulets: but always reserve a graceful Front for the Street, which are broad and cleanly at this time of Festivity, celebrating with Triumphant Arches and most Pompons Pageants: Palenkeens pass as commonly as at Goa itself, the People as urbane, though less pestered with Drunken Comrades as Soldiers, Seamen and Ruffians: the Market place is stored with Provisions, and the Pariah provided with a large Church; but nothing antiquated as I could discover, by which it is easy to judge Old Goa never was deserted, but New Goa hath stoin from hence for the sake of Traffick, for that purpose, the River is more suitable than this Bay; it may measure from one end to the other two Miles.

† Abreast of it on an hanging Hill is a Sumptuous Structure of the Capuchins called Sancto Pilar, the Ascent to it is by a winding Stair-case cut out of the Rock, and Railed with Stone Banisters. This Order is discalceated also, and consanguineous to the Franciscans, differing only in Superiority and Austerity, their Hood is long and tapering, on their Scapular in fashion of a Sugar-loaf ; to both whom are annexed a Lap-Fraternity, which wear the Mantle and Tippet, but not the Vest and Cord, neither are they shaved as the Fathers are: So that all Degrees of them in every Order are comprehended under these Three Classes, viz., Patres, Fathers ; Fratres, Brothers ; Juvenes, Young men: To these also belong the Sisterhood or Sancta Clara.

Thus parted we from the comely Galatsea, and bent our Addresses toward the Courts of the stately Amarillis, whose High-ways were full of Travellers, Country Mansions, Villages, Churches, shady stands, and places to ease the Brawny Shoulders of the wearied Slaves: Half Way is a School, where their Cofferies (which come most from Mosambique or Bombass) are taught to sound on Trumpets and Loud Musick ; a Gang of whom forced their Noise on us along the Fields. A Mile wide of the City we entered a Gate that was strong to which the Wall is contingent, that compasses the better Part of the island together with the City.

From Old Goa, it is three Miles: Within the Wall a fair Road leads to the City ; a little out of the Way is erected an high-wall'd Well, and goes up Steps to a Pai of Gallows, whereon Malefactors are left hanging till they drop into Well, or the Birds prey on them.

By Night, we gain the Out-part of the City, boasting in as large a Ruin of the Moors, as their own numerous standing Fabricks ; lying so in Obloquy of the hated Mahometans, who once made all stood, where the Chris-

tians have now advanced their Sacred Sign: We quartered ourselves this Evening in a Tavern kept by a Chinese, who are White, Platter-fac'd, and Little-eyed, tolerated on account of embracing Christianity; our Baloon met us, and coming round by St. Lawrence was here before us.

Going the next Morning to the Palace-stairs, we saw their Sessions house, the bloody Prison of the Inquisition; and, in a principal Market-place, was raised an Engine a great height, at top like a Gibbet, with a Pulley, with steppings to go upon, as on a Flag staff, for the Strapado, which unhinges a Man's joints; a cruel Torture. Over against these Stairs, is an Island, where they burn (after exposing them to the Multitude) all those condemned by the Inquisitor, which are brought from the Sancto Officio dress'd up in the most horrid Shapes of Imps and Devils, and so delivered to the Executioner. As we rowed by the Powder-Mills, we saw several the Holy Office had branded with the Names of Fetisceroes, or Charmers, or in English, Wizards, released thence to work here; known by a Yellow Cope, Weed, or Garment, like our City poor Pensioners, sleeveless, with an Hole for their Neck only having a Red Cross before and behind. St. Iago, or St. James's Day, is the Day for the *Aucto de Fie*, when a general Gaol-Delivery is made of those unhappily intrapp'd in the Inquisition; at which time, there is a great Cavalcade to the Cathedral, and every Fidalgo appearing there is honoured with being a Patron to some of these poor Wretches; St. James being the Tutelar Saint of this City.

On whom Seva Gi minds them to invoke, having but just now wrested Pundit, the chief Strength of Visiapour from that King: on the surrender of which followed the Conquest of the Low Country beyond Carwar: And, by this means, the Diamond-Trade is intercepted, this being

the greatest Mart for small Diamonds before these Incursions: And not only so, but they are straitened for Butcher's Meat, which used to come down plentifully that way; for these had rather kill a man, than suffer a Beast to be led to the Stall; and not only for Meat but Firing, they being beholden to that Country for Fuel, as well as Timber for Building. These Calamities, besides the Approach of Seva Gi's Army, make no small Distractions, especially having small Recruits of Europe-Men; so that the Padres must not only Pray but Fight, there being in the Convents more than in the Garisons.

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G O A

Is the Metropolis of the Portugals in the East-Indies, and the Residence of a Viceroy, who gives Laws to all Seculars, though he cannot execute them on the Fidalgoes in Capital Crimes, the King reserving the Definitive Sentence in such Cases to himself they are therefore sent home to be tried in Europe, by the established Courts of their Kingdom. The Archbishop is Supreme in Spirituals, or ought to be so. The City is a Rome in India, both for Absoluteness and Fabricks, the chiefest consisting of Churches, and Convents, or Religious Houses; though the Laity have sumptuous ones all of Stone; their Streets are paved, and cleaner than the tops of their Houses, where they do all occasions. They live with a splendid Outside, vaunting in their number of Slaves, walking under a Street of their own Umbrelloes, bare-headed, to avoid giving Distaste in not removing their Hats: They being jealous of their Honour, pardon no Affront; wherefore to ogle a Lady in a Balcony (if a Person of Quality) it is revenged with a *Bocca Mortis*, or to pass by a Fidalgo without due Reverence, is severely chastised; they are carried mostly in Palenkeens, and sometimes on Horseback.

The Clergy affect little of outward State, going out

only *Prater cum Socio*, in Couples; they salute a Father by first kissing the Hem of his Garment, then begging a Benediction.

The Mass of the People are Canorein, though Portuguezed in Speech and Manners; paying great Observance to a White Man, whom, when they meet, they must give him the Way with a Cringe and Civil Salute, for fear of a Stochado.

The Women, both White and Black, are kept recluse, veiled abroad; within doors, the Richer of any Quality are hung with Jewels, and Rosaries of Gold and Silver many times double; Moneloes of Gold about their Arms, Necklaces of Pearl about their Necks, Locketts of Diamonds in their Bodkins for their Hair, Pendants in their Ears; a thin Lungy, or Half-smock reaching to their Waste, shewing their Skin through it; over that, abroad, a close Doublet; over their Lower Parts a Pitticoat or Lungy, their Feet and Legs without Stockins, but very Rich Slippers. Amongst them some are extraordinarily featur'd and completely shap'd, though not of that coruscant Beauty our English Ladies are; and for Mien far beneath them, being nurtured up in a lowly Bashfulness, whereby they are render'd unfit for Conversation, applying themselves wholly to Devotion and Care of the House: They sing, and play on the Lute, make Confections, pickle *Achars*, (the best Mango *Achars* coming from them), and dress Meat exquisitely, not to put the Stomach too much trouble, but such as shall digest presently; Supoes, Potages, and varieties of Stews, in little China Dishes or Plates, which they shift before you are cloy'd and at a common Entertainment alter half a dozen Modes: Their Relishing Bits have not the Fieriness of ours, yet all the pleasure you can desire; and to speak truly, I prefer their ordinary way of ordering Victuals before any others. If a Stranger dine with the Husband, and he consent to have

the Wife come in and sit at Table as our Women do, there is no means of persuading her, but she will be much offended if you taste not of everything they cook. The little Children run up and down the House naked, till they begin to be old enough to be ashamed.

The finest Manchet it may be in the World is made here, and the purest Virgins Wax for Tapers. At Nerule is made the best Arach or Nepa de Goa, with which the English, on this Coast, make that enervating Liquor called *Pasck* (which is Indostan for Five) from Five Ingredients; as the Physicians name their Composition *Diapente*; or from Four things, *Diatesseron*.

The way they gave Notice from the Outguards of what Ships are seen off at Sea, is after they have spread the King's Standard, to elevate so many Baskets on Poles which Sign the next appointed Watch receives, and so successively till it arrive at the City.

On New-Year's Day, *Stilo Veteri*, with Captain Gary in his Balcon of Ten Rowers, and Six Servants, we set sail for Carwar, and had brought half Salset behind us, when the Moon being two Hours high we discovered a Light; and immediately Three Sail making after us, and by the Shore another small Sail intercepting us. Our Men that before would not handle an Oar, fell to it tightly, and two more pursuing us out at Sea, we ran fairly into Cola of Salset, a Finishing Town, where lay several Boats to carry off Mountains of Fish salted on the Beach, the Scent whereof was very noisome; under a miserable Shed we took for our Lodging. The next Morning, we came early to the River Sal, where we found Eight Boats scared in for Protection against the Malabars; where we had this Advice, that Five were roving in fight, and had vowed Revenge for the Injury we did them at Vingula, killing their Captain and three or four of their Chief Men, besides as many more Soldiers, all which they buried at

Anjediva. We staid here, therefore, this Night, and lay in, the open Air by the Rivers' side being sufficiently soaked by the Dew.

Captain Gary, therefore, the next Morn, not willing to hazard himself on a Voyage undertaken only for Pleasure, procured a Pilot Boat to go before us, and make Signs by a White Flag, if the Coasts were clear at every Point; and so we got safe to Carwar River's Mouth, when the Chief having notice of our coming, came on Horseback to welcome us, and accompanied us in the Baloon to the House.

This Captain Gary is he that was the last Governor for the King on the Island Bombaim. He is a Person of a Mercurial Brain, a better Merchant than Soldier, is skilled in most of the Languages of the Country, and is now writing a Piece in Arabick, which he dedicates to the Viceroy, with whom he is in great Esteem. He lived at Achein, and was created a Noble by that Queen; was born a Venetian, but of English Parents, by which means he understands Italian, Portuguese, and Latin perfectly, and is an accomplished Courtier.



## CHAPTER III.

A PILGRIMAGE TO GOCURN, WHERE WAS A GREAT GENTILE SOLEMNITY. A CURSORY DISCOURSE OF THE BORDERING

PRINCES.

As much to the Southward as Goa is to the North, lies Gocurn, whither I took a Pilgrimage with one other of the Factors, Four Peons, and Two Biggereens, or Porters only; we set out all on Foot the Second of February, at the beginning of the Heats at Ten in the Morning, and with wonderful toil clambered up Anchola Hill, a woody Mountain of an extraordinary height, where, resting a little while, we made for the bottom, at which lies an Horse of an Havaldar's Interred under an huge square Stone, and his Effigies Dormant upon it Escutcheon, or Diamond-wife; not much farther, the Wood being on Fire, we were in danger not only of being Smothered, but Roasted (this place not long since the receptacle of Delvi and his Crew, and therefore I suppose purposely Burnt).

*Et neque jam cineres ejectatamque favillam*

*Ferre potest, calidoque involvitur undique fumo.*

But having conquered by our better Angles this lively portraiture of Hell, we were led into an happy Elysium, or Plain, that was bounded by the immense Ocean; and had we been Shades, to have been satisfied with an Aerial Diet, we might have fared well, for nothing else could we purchase, the poor Inhabitants being Fishermen, were

left by the iniquity of Delvi, without either Fish, Boats, Nets, or Rice; and upon that account unlikely to supply us. Night approaching we knew not where to better ourselves than under a Mango-Tree, where our wearied Spirits afforded us not much time for Contemplation, nor our eager Stomachs much Sleep; wherefore, by break of Day, we made for Auchola, where we found the Buzzar half Burnt, and the remaining Shops without Tenants, a bad Cordial to an empty Maw. We sent our Pass to the Governor, and procuring from him another, we hastened to seek our own Provisions.

Seva Gi spared not this Town when he took the Castle, so that, it is almost down or deserted; the Soldiers by that means disfurnishing themselves of all Necessaries, but what they seize by Violence abroad; the Castle is a fine place and of good force, bearing Fifty Brass Guns, the Moors had got out of a Portuguese Shipwreck; it commands as far as the River Gongole, the utmost extent of Seva Gi's Dominions, South. Two or Three Mile out of the Town we met with some Game, and made Prey of it, walking by the Strength of it to Gongole River.

Where we Ferried over and took up our residence this Night at Gongola, the first Town in the Country, which still retains the Name of Canatick, and therefore is properly so called; though we shall show by and by all this Tract of Land we have passed from Guzzerat deserves the same appellation, being originally so.

The people looked Cheerful, and live in Peace under a quiet Government.

—————*Sine militibus usq;*

*Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.*

By the break of the next Dawn, we got to Gocurn, and exchanged our English for Moors' Clothes, yet not so privately; but that we were discovered by some that told our Banyan (who was come to perform a Vow to the Manca

of his dead Father,) that Two Englishmen were come to the Tomasia, a Sight ; whereupon he came to us before we expected, with a Band of Thirty or Forty Men ; but we desired to be concealed and pass for Moguls, that we might see without being taken notice of ; he was conformable thereto, and we went into the Town, which was in a Valley near the Sea ; formerly very splendid, now of more esteem for the Relicks of their Pagods than anything else.

It is a University of the Brahmins, and well Endowed ; here are innumerable but ruinated Pagods ; Two only of any Mark, and they half standing ; they were Large and of good Workmanship in Stone, after their Antique and Hieroglyphical Sculpture ; they had, as all have, a dark Entry, at the farther end, wherein are continually lighted lamps burning before the Duel, or Image, seated there to represent a Glory, or Phosphorus, whither they resort to Worship and Offer Oil, Rice, and Frankincense, at it's Feet, on an Offertory ; some make a great pother of Anointing and Washing it, being lavish both of their Pains and Cost.

At this time, the Brahmins Reap a great Harvest, for this Place is of such repute for its Sanctity and Meritoriousness of a Pilgrimage hither, that all sorts of Idolaters, from the remotest parts of India, come in shoals ; and we found so many, that the Streets were troublesome to crowd through ; with much ado we got into the Buzar, or Fair, only so upon this occasion, long Rows of Sheds being put up on both sides the high Streets, where the Two great Pagods stood, one at each end.

We were carried by the Tide of the People that bore that way out of this place, to a large oblong stone Tank, with Descents to go down all about it ; in the middle a neat Pagod supported on Four Marble Pillars ; here during this Festival at Evenings, are blazing a Lecque of Lamps.

In this all of both Sexes Wash (this Solemnity being called the Fatry, or Washing) and Present Rice and Money to the Brahmins; and the Fish which Swim here frequently receive their Benevolence, being so shame you may catch them with your Hands; to be the death of one of these is held Piaculare.

Those whose Parents or Friends are deceased, the Hair of the Head is an Offering to their departed Ghost on this manner. After the Barber in this Water has shaved the Head and Beard, it is delivered wrapped up to the Brahmin, who brings a Cow and a Calf into the Water, and binding them with Frontlets ceremoniously, they bestow on them, as they are disposed, either for Ornament or Maintainance ever after; imaging their Souls to have their residence in them. From whence they are conducted to the Pagod, which they enter bare-footed, and offer to the Duel; returning, they suite on a Bell hung in the Body of the Church; and going to the Porch, receive their Slippers, washing afterwards at more liberty for the rest of the Festival.

It was a Primitive Custom among the Jews to shave when they had made a Vow, Act. Apost. Chap. 18. v. 18.

Coasting along the Sea-side, we came to the Pomerium of the greatest Pagod, where near the Gate in a Choultry fate more than Forty naked Fongies, or Men united to God, covered with Ashes, and pleited Turbats of their own Hair; two above the rest remarkable, one sitting with his Head hanging over his Shoulders, his Eyes shut, moving neither Hands or Feet, but always set across, his Nails overgrown like Talons:

And now we returned into the Market-place, having obtained leave to seat ourselves by the Chief Captain to see their Duels pass by in Pomp, being to do their Devoirs to a Mother Pagod. At the upper-end of the High-stree were two great moving Pageants drawn on Wheels, two

Stories high, with a Cupule on the top, which was stuck round full of Streamers of Orient Colours; the inferior Stories were painted with deformed Figures of their Saints on every side Portals. In the lowest was placed the Duel, attended by their Chief Priests with a dark Blue Cope over their Shoulder, their under Garments White, and Puggeries on their Heads, a Mussal within, and an Ostagary (a Skreen of Silver and Velvet with Sarcenet Borders) to keep off the Sun.

Thus the Chief Naik with his loud Musick of Horns, Trumpets, and Drums waited on it, and the Brahmins with softer of the Dancing Wenches singing, with Bells at their Wrists and Heels, and their Tamboles or Tabrets. An Ensign of Rod, Swallowtailed, several Chtorieis; little, but Rich Kitfolles (which are the Names of several Counties for Umbrelloes); 500 Men, with Javelins of Brass and Steel, with Bells and Feathers, as many more with Guns under his Command; and the Naik Wherry with like fashioned Ensign of Green, bordered with a Checker of White and Green, followed by 200 in the same order as before; after these followed a Medly of Pots and Pans of Copper or Brass, Men clattering on them, and dancing a good measure. When the Train drew near, it was drawn by a Team of Holy Men, the People rising and clapping their Hands as it passed to the opposite Pagod; a Troop of the Gentry in Cavalcade rode after it, where having paid a Visit, it returned with the like Solemn Procession, and by discharging of Guns the Ceremony ended. There were several other Duels fanned by Women, offering Censers of rich Perfumes with huge Lights; before which People possessed with Familiars ran Cudgelling themselves; others in a different sort of Mummery belaboured themselves, till they could not stand, all striving to outdo others; thus blind and heated were they in their Zela.

To describe every particular *Duel* or *Pagod*, both for the number and difficulty of the Shapes, would be impossible; take therefore only one that had escaped the Fire, and, therefore, highly venerable; 'twas cut out of Excellent Black Marble, the height of a Man, the Body of an Ancient Greek Hero; it had four Heads, and as many Hands, had not two been cut off; it was seated on an *Offertory* in a broken *Pagod*; a Piece of Admirable Work and Antiquity, exceeding, say they, *Benares*, the other Noted University of the Heathens.

Who founded these their Annals, not their Sanscript, deliver not. But certainly Time and the Entry of the Moors ruined them. This, though a Principal University, can boast of no *Bodleian* or *Vartican*; their Libraries being Old Manuscripts of their own Cabalas, or Mysteries understood only by the *Brachmins*.

They live not under a Collegiate Confinement, but in pretty Neat Houses plastered with Cow-dung, which is done afresh as oft as they sweep them, where they abide with their Families, Celibacy being no Injunction to their Divines; excepting one House of the *Sinai* Cast, where is a Reverend Old Man, Head of their Tribe, who professes a Life without the Company of a Woman, and has the Attendance of a great many Young Ashmen, and Grave Brahmins. These live a reserved Life, and spend it wholly in Praying and Abstinence; as the others count their Prayers by Beads, these do it by Cowreys, Fishshells. They wore Red Caps such as those are brought from *Tunis*; and our Seamen wear daily aboard Ship. But the Stricter and more Undeiled Cast is the *Butt*, the reason whereof you will find, in the General Account of *India*.

All Brahmins are distinguished by a Cotton-thread athwart their Body from their Left Shoulder, hanging down under the Right Arm; which Badge, if they violate

it, costs them vast Sums of Money to redeem, besides the undergoing of strict Penances.

They fetch Water for the Duels from the Tank with loud Musick and Dancing Wenches three or four times a day (the Brahmins waiting in course,) and those dancing Wenches and Boys set apart for that Service, dare not dance afore any one else. These Dancers are taken out of the Cast of the Dowlys, who are obliged to devote the Eldest of the Males and Females to that use, having for that reason large Dispensations concerning their Marriage, or the Liberty of getting Children, being common to all. To conclude with these, Whether Religion makes these People Morose, or it be attributed to the Virtue of their Manners; you see in them a carelessness of behaviour towards Strangers, neither regarding the Novelty, nor Gaudiness of their Garb; being here, as it is said, *Roma, Lutetia ac Venetia,*

———*Nemo quicquid miratur.*

From hence we trooped to Tudera, at the Mouth of Mirja River, over a Rocky barren Hill, where the Company's Barge or Baloon met us; and went up in it to Mirja, where our brisk Young Banyan treated us with the Dancing Wenches; his Father dying soon, left him young, and he out of Government, lavishes into Excesses not approved of by that stingy Tribe.

At Mirja stands a Castle, which, though old, is a very fine one, being double Walled and Trenched, with high Turrets on the Bastions. It was surrendered by the Treachery of a Moor Governor, and is now under the subjection of the Canatick Rana; it has a wide Moat about it, but few Guns. The Town has a Bazar, at the end of it a Cemetery for the Moors, with an ample Aqueduct of good Stone.

Being tired, and lying to repose out of the Noise of the Dancers, on the Bank of the River, under a shady Tree, I

was made at by an unsizable Snake, which I hardly escaped, had it not hissed with an unheard-of Noise before me, which rousing me, made me shift its speedly Course, as it angrily gathered up its Body, and darted its self into the Flags on the River-side. These Creatures are dreadful to the Inhabitants, and when I related my Hazard, they wondered I came off so, there being of them big enough to master the largest Animals. After my Danger was over, I was told she had a Nest in that Place, it being lately turned into a Burial-place. Here by the by, might be noted what Pliny writes, to wit, That Snakes are generated out of Human Brains putrifying, &c.

Returning we overtook the Portugal Armado from the South, with Two hundred paddy-Boats with their Convoys, and touched at Angediva, from whence we came to Carwar.

Before I left Mirja I received this Information from the Natives, That the Canatick Country reaches from Gongola to the Zamerhin's Country of the Malabars, along the Sea, and Inland up to the pepper-Mountains of Sunda, and the precinct of Sergi Caun. Bedmure, four days Journey hence, is the Capital City, the Residence of the Rana, the Relict of Sham Shanker Naig, (murdered by his Nobles) Raja of Canora; who now Rules in her Son's Minority, Bassepce Naig, the young Raja, by and with the Authority of one Timi Naig, that from a Toddy-man has by his cunning policy, more than by true prowess and Valour, raised himself to be General and protector. Sergi Caun, a prince of the Kingdom of Visiapour, and he have lately entered into an amicable League and firm Confederacy, who have already Eat together, whereupon it is bruited Timi Naig is about to embrace the Mahometan Faith.

The prime Nobility have the Title of Naiks or Naiga, as those of Malabar, Nairoes.

The Language is Canorein, which to me seems to be the



primitive, from the Malabars up to Surat; the Country short of it, as well as Speech, being Canorein, and those between varying only in Dialect, and the Names of the Country altered, as the Chance of War prevailed.

Here are wild Elephants, some Pepper, and store of Beetle-Nut, and Wild Nutmeg, used to dye withal. The best Pepper in the World is of the Growth of Sunda, known in England by Carwar Pepper, though five Days, Journey distant from thence. This Raja vends his Pepper, as it is the best, at the best rates, finding a Trade up the Country, and therefore is it we have little of it in Europe: he contents himself to live at Sunda, from whence he and his Country receive denomination, being as little Absolute as the rest of the Princes of Visiapour, being Tributary, or rather Feudatory, obliged as well by Allegiance as Purse.

The Raja of Sarampatan must not be slipped by in silence, because his way of fighting differs from his Neighbours; he trains up his Soldiers to be expert at a certain Instrument to seize on the Noses of his Enemies with that slight either in the Field or in their Camps, that a Budget-full of them have been presented to their Lord for a Breakfast; a thing, because it deforms them, so abashing that few care to engage with him; and this he makes use of, because it is against his Religion to kill any thing. He enjoys a vast Territory on the back of the Zamerbin.

Beyond him lies Raja Madaree, possessing all from him as far as the Cape, bordering on them both.

All these are the disjointed Members of Visiapour, neither trusting on another, nor uniting for the common Good of the Kingdom. Since Seva Gi has put all into a Ferment, they know not who to side with, being uncertain of his Intentions; though he tells them, his Compeers the Duccanees, he is their Champion, and that none of them besides himself has the heart to stand up for their

Country; and therefore if he chance now and then to rob them, it is but to reward himself and Soldiers for his and their pains in endeavouring to free them from a more unnatural Slavery.

This makes them begin to Cabal, not brooking the Perfidy of this Man on the one hand, or the Insolence of Bullul Caun, being a Foreigner, on the other; nor to call in the Mogul to their Assistance; though still it is not resolved by a General Consent to be aiding to each other.

(In the meanwhile, Seva taking advantage of their Irresolution, ranges where he lists, quite through Visiapour, as far as Badnagur in Gulconda, with one Detachment led by his Son; with another he flies himself as far as the Walls of Surat, leaving the Main of his Army at Pundit, before Goa. His Son, after he had plundered and burnt Badnagur, having been observed in his Passage thither by Bullul Caun, did no harm in Visiapour; but the Protector being to watch the Conspiracies of the Duccanees, could not be long out, for fear of being intercepted in his Return, and was therefore pressed to retreat to his Post; and Sambu Gi retiring, set upon Hubly Rabay, and other Mart Towns, and ransacked them. And Seva Gi his Father being not wholly disappointed at Surat (which he calls his Treasury) by their shutting their Gates upon him *pro forma*, but give him his usual Piskas; whither on his repeated Excursions being forced to ask leave of the Raja of Ramnagur, to carry his Army (by reason of the Mogul's Forces in the Plain Country) through his Country, over the Hills that reach within Thirty Miles of Surat; and having obtained leave of the Raja of Ramnagur, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Avenues, and in his last Return took it; giving only this Reason, that it was inconvenient for him to trust him with the Door of his Exchequer. The Inhabitants of Ramnagur are the Salvages called Coolies.

Bullul Caun being at the Helm, thought fit, on these unaccountable Pranks, to send to him, to be informed how he durst attempt the Robbery of these Places? O, quoth he to the Messenger, Go tell thy Master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any Great Man of Life or Place, without having advised first with me, (reflecting on his usurping the Protectorship by the Death of Cowis Caun); I did this only to let him know, I, not he, am a Member of Visiapour.

By which, Bullul Caun foreseeing the approaching Storms, was too wary to stay the breaking of them over his Head, but fairly steps forth to prevent them. Wherefore surprizing Sergi Caun and Timi Naig, as they were moving to join with some of the forwardest of the Duccanees, the first fled, not without loss, the other was environed by Bullula Cun's Army, and compelled to stand it out, till the Camels of War, who carry small Petareroes, flew the greatest part of them, and Timi Naig himself was trodden to Death under his Elephants Feet, whereupon an easy Victory ensued, the rest yielding, when their General was slain; who is not much lamented by the Nobles of Canora, whose Greatness he diminished by cutting them off upon small Suspicions, and advancing in their steads inferior Persons to great Employments; confining the Princess-Mother with her Son to a Pension, and that but ordinary. Things now begin to return to the Royal Current, and they confess him a Chastisement for their former Rebellions against their Natural Prince, kowing a perfect Allegiance to the Infant Prince, in whose Name since the Death of Timi Naig, all things are transacted.

These were to have been seconded by Badur Caun, the Mogul's General, who has since appeared twice before Visiapour with a formidable Army, pretending to right the Duccanees, and to call Bullul Caunto an account, but

has been as often repulsed by Bullul Caun and 12,000 of his Patans, who the last time made them leave their Kosanna or Treasure, some Elephants, 1,000 Camels, several Pieces of Ordnance, and cut off the Bassa of Busserah with his Son, whose Heads were put on long Poles on the Walls of the City, and slew of the common Soldiers Four or Five Thousand; not without great damage on their own Party: So that, he must be distressed for all this Rout given, unless the stomachful Duccanees come to an Accommodation (from which they are averse as yet), if, as it is likely, the Mogul sent fresh and more numerous Supplies.

So miserable is that State where the other Members grow too powerful for the Head, as in this constituted Government of Duccan, where the King's Munificence to the Grandees has instated them in Absolute Authority over their Provinces, that they are Potent enough to engage one another, and countermand the King's Commands, unless suitable to their Humours.

By the fundamental Establishment of this Realm, every Lord in course was to come to Court once a Year, and all to pay their Acknowledgment by doing Homage to their Sovereign, where he could demand their Heads, they becoming obnoxious to his Displeasure; but the present disturbances have found matters of excuse to release them from these Injunctions, and furnished Seva Gi in this bustle with encouragement to March up the Gaot again with 15,000 Horse and 30,000 Foot, knowing Bullul Caun neither to be at leisure from his Intestine nor Foreign Broils, to divert him from his wild Enterprises.

## CHAPTER IV.

OF THE KING AND KINGDOM OF VISHAPOUR ; THEIR POLICY AND GOVERNMENT; HOBBIE COFFERIES PREFERRED: THE PRESENT PROTECTOR, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF DUCCAN: THE LIFE, EXPLOITS, AND EXPEDITIONS OF SEVA GI: THE WEALTH, STRENGTH, AND POWERS OF EACH, WITH RESPECT TO THE GREAT MOGUL AS SUPREME.

Of which Incendiary of India, as well as of these Parts, to give you some knowledge, it will be necessary (these Affairs being so interwoven) to look back as far as the time of Ramaraa, about Two hundred and fifty Years ago, sole Monarch of India intra Gangem, and the last Emperor that was a Gentile ; he nourished Three Slaves that were Chias Moors, and advanced them to the principal Employes both of Court and Empire, to wit, Catub Caun, Master of his Hunt; Nisham Maluke, his Chief Treasurer ; Adul Caun, Catwal, or High-Constable ; from these Offices they rose to be Commanders of the greatest Provinces in the Realm, with as Absolute Power and Authority as could be transferred on Subjects, being Kings, only wanting the Appellation. The first of Baynagur, now Gulconda ; the second of Dowlet Abud, and all the Country from Guzerat to Bengal, and great part of Duccan (into which his Successors were crowded till they Annihilated) ; the Last, the other part of Duccan,

with all the Continent on this side the Gates, till it conclude in the Cape of Comora.

Thus were they seated, and by the sequel not minded to be dismounted; wherefore they jointly Combined against their *supine* Master, whilst he too credulously relied on their Fidelity, and ousted him and many of his Heathen Nobles, only such as were befriended by *strone*, *Gurra*, or *Fastnesses* upon the Mountains, who are those that retain the Name of *Rajas* to this day; and who are still notwithstanding so Numerous, that would they stand up unanimously for their ancient Freedom, the Mahomedans could not stand in Competition with their Idolatrous Tribes; but whom God will destroy he makes them infatuated to their own Ruin; for they are so jealous one of another, that without that *inbred Disposition*, it were impossible to keep them under.

After this Conspiracy every one betook himself to his Government, there being no more to possess themselves of; the imprudent King having given all away, even to his Person, which they scrupled not to Violate, Extinguishing the very Lineage, or leaving them so undefenceable, that they are only said to be a petty *Rajaship* in the Plain, and thereby easily prevented to aspire to their Lawful Sovereignty; the Supremacy being established in their own Hands, and shared to their mutual Contents they took upon them without controul the Regal Dignity and Title of *Pedeshaws*, and exercised their Functions very Amicably some Years; and so long they kept themselves safe enough from the *Mogula*, who began to make Inroads into their Country, without any notable Success, till they found means to make them break with *Nisbamshaw*, who maintained the Frontiers against them; for all that, he was beset afore and abandoned behind, he held them play a long while; though by degrees the *Moguls* from without, and the perverse remissness of his own Sect

at home, reduced him to that part of Duccan, the entire Conquest of which the present Auren Zeeb finished (though unhandsomely) he having been Hospitably receiv'd when he came under Colour of a Fakier, and a Banished Man from the Court at Jeneah; where I saw the Ruins of a sumptuous Edifice Nishamshaw Erected for the present Emperor of the Moguls: The Reward which he gratified him with, was the Extirpation of the Royal Race of the Nishamshaws; whose Destruction the remaining Two may at leisure repent, being thereby incapacitated to make Head against the Mogul, maugre all their Forces; when before Nishamshaw alone could withstand, and even Defeat his most puissant Armies; but since his downfall they have enough to do to Guard themselves. The Rajahs (the most Powerful of whom subscribed to his Jurisdiction) beginning to set up for themselves; so that the Two Kings of Visiapour and Gulconda are often less alone to endure the brunt, the Rajah's coming in as they list.

For all that, what is left of Duccan under the King of Visiapour, is still a spacious Kingdom, reaching North to Jeneah, South to Porto Novo, bounded East with Gulconda, West with the Ocean, though unsettled and ill Governed, whereby it is often distressed; but when it comes near to the upshot, Gulconda puts in either as a Mediator, or an Assistant with Men, (for which he pays dear if it be publickly, for then the Mogul turns his Arms on him) or Money he helps him to underhand; though he is mightily awed by the Mogul, suffering the Mogul's Ambassador to reside at Court in quality of a Supervisor; who Lords it without controul, causing his Coin to be stamped with his Master's Inscription, his Subjects Mulcted and Sessed by his Impositions; yet he is sensible should he seize Duccan, Gulconda would lose the stoutest

Bulwark<sup>d</sup> on that side his Kingdom, which hath made him these Forty Years a firm Confederate to Visiapour ; sometimes sending Piscashes of considerable Value to Seva Gi and the Bordering Princes and Rajas to disturb the Mogul's Forces, other-whiles stopping the Mogul's Mouth with a Tribute, as also his Generals with large Presents.

Which are the Reasons the Mogul hath made no farther Progress of late Years, satisfying himself to keep these Kingdoms in the nature of Vassals, though never absolutely Conquered ; frustrated chiefly by the means of the Soldiery and great Ombrabs who live Lazily and in Pay, whereupon they term Duccan, The Bread of the Military Men : Or because that he is never wholly at leisure to prosecute these Wars himself, being always busied in one place or another of more import, as lately against the Patans, and now against the Vsheque Tartars ; besides vast Army always upon the Marches of Persia and Candahar ; so that this huge Empire seldom has its Auxiliary Bands entire : However distracted as they are, this flying Battalion would easily suffice to dispatch these Two Kingdoms one after another, there being ready on the Confines of Duccan never less than Forty thousand Horse, besides Foot. Notwithstanding all these formidable Numbers, while the Generals and Vocanovices consult to deceive the Emperor, on whom he depends for a true state of things, it can never be otherwise but that they must be misrepresented, when the judgment he makes must be by a false Perspective ; whereby it is apparent on what Bases these Kingdoms are supported.

Of the Government of Gulconda something hath been spoken already, it remains therefore to give an account of Duccan ; the substance of which is, that as the former was Modelled according to the Policy of Indostan, with this difference, that Eunuchs wedded to their Master's



Concerns, were promoted from the dregs of Slavery to Empire, so here Cofferies at their first arrival as Slavish, are become as endeared to their Master; who, as they Merit, have the first places of Honour and Trust imposed upon them, with this Proviso, ever to be faithfully obliged to their Lord; in which point their approved Faith has rarely failed, Interest teaching them to be true to him that raised them; they thereby being liable to the envy of those they are purposely set as a Checkmate to; for by their exaltation, the swelling exorbitancy of other Princes is corrected, and they being only at the Will of their Master, are tied to their good Behaviour.

(On the contrary, the Lords of Duccan are Born Princes, assume Honour from their Lands, have as perfect a Right to them as the King to the Kingdom, and descend from Father to Son by Inheritance (though the Commons are as mere Slaves as any where in the East besides, excepting none); whereupon they grow Insolent and Stubborn, and are not so easily Bridled, as where the Rule is Arbitrary, and are only restrained from Raising Men in the King's Name and for his Use; but these make Peace and War, Build Forts, and fall out one with another, and with their Sovereign too at their own Pleasure; and hardly Unite though a common necessity require; nay many times side with the Enemy.

However, when the King gets them in the Toil, they are treated as they deserve; for he makes bold with their Heads, takes their Estates wholly into his Custody and for his own Use, bestowing them on his Creatures, when Forfeited, making them understand, that they are obliged by Fealty to follow his Command, as their shewing themselves at Visiapour in course to pay their Respects demonstrates; which yet so late they have done but

remisly, making a Salam at Four or Five Course distance, and then accompanied in an Hostile manner, as if coming to Besiege the City, more than to perform their Duty : For which they plead the King's Minority, being either Afraid, or too Proud to commit their Persons, or give Homage to the Protector, being an Alien, and a Patan, who hath but lately wrested the Management of Affairs from the hands of Cowis Caun, to whom was intrusted the Safeguard of the King and Kingdom, by the Last Will and Testament of the Deceased King, and (with much ado) at length confirmed by and with the general Consent of the Duccannees ; he being from an Hobsy Caphir made a free Denizen, and Naturalized by the precedent King (who only in this Nation arrive to great Preferments, (being the Frizled Woolly-pated Blacks) under the known stile of Syddies).

He, although an excellent Man of War, submitted himself too often to be overcome with Wine (than which among Musselmen nothing renders them more odious) and upon that score Pretences were found to lay the blame of the Government, and the Loss of the Country, over-run by Seva Gi, upon his Head, together with other Disorders. Though the Patan knew well his Commission was to put a stop to those growing Mischiefs, and had he not been emulous of the other's Charge, was Man enough to have deterred Seva Gi from his Attempts. But Ambition knows no mean, and therefore lets all to the hazard, rather than admit the Commands of a Superior ; wherefore he stands Idle, and studies only how to displace the others which was effected in a small time after his being called back. For he inviting Cowis Caun to a Treat, who suspecting least, when nothing was pretended but Friendship, came with a slender Retinue, and taking off his

Cups freely, fell dead drunk into the merciless Snare of his Enemy, who surprizing his Followers with 12,000 brave Patans, made way into the Royal Castle, where the young King became a Prey, the Caun first a Prisoner, and then a Sacrifice to the Lust of the Usurper.

And this is the sum of the present Tumults of this Kingdom which at this juncture of time, in the face of a mighty Host of the Moguls, and the frequent Incursions of Seva Gi from the Mountains on the other side, the Civil Mutinies and Dissentions within, to prevent ill consequences, calls for a skilful Pilot; for it never, since the primary defection of Adul Caun, was in such danger, from whom to this present King, is transmitted the Stile of

1. *Adul Shaw* : As *Cæsar* to the *Romans*, or *Pharaoh* to the

*Egyptians.*

- |                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 2. <i>Asoph</i>                 | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |
| 3. <i>Bissi Alah</i>            | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |
| 4. <i>Ibrahim</i>               | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |
| 5. <i>Sultan Mahnud</i>         | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |
| 6. <i>Alah</i>                  | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |
| 7. <i>Sultan Socodre Cauder</i> | <i>Adul Shaw.</i> |

Long controverted whether he should reign after his Father Alah Adul Shaw, it being bruited that Alah Adul Shaw was begotten by an Elephant-keeper, when the King's choicest Elephants were forced to be stabled near the Women's Quarters, to hide them from the Mogul's Ambassador (whom they dare not refuse any thing he begs in his Great Master's Name), where one of them found the Conveniency to descend from the Trunk of his Elephant into the Queen's Apartment, and get her a Son when the good Old King was past his Labour, and withal she fixed him upon the Throne: Which some of the Issue

of Sultan Mahmud enquiring into, made their Claim, and upon the expiring of Alah stirred up Factions, with hot Altercations on either side; but were finally quelled by Cowis Caun, who continued Sultan Socodre Caudre Adul Shaw, till he was taken Prisoner and slain by Bullul Caun the Patan, who may do now as he thinks fit, the Young King being scarce Ten Years old. It was thought he intended to have delivered both King and Kingdom to the Mogul; but 'tis believed as long as he can keep both for his own Ends, he will not.

He yet Salams to the King, and carries it fairly, endeavouring to win the Duccanees to a good Opinion of him, which they seem little to regard, unless he would restore the Fort, City, and Royal Person of the King, and divest himself of his Power; all which he holds yet Hero-like maugre all the Practices of his Adversaries; who now, as he hath attained the first Place in the State, we therefore must reckon him the Chief Grandee or Prince of Duccan, immediately next the King.

• *Bullul Caun*, General and Protector.

His Salary is 60 Lecgue of Pagods, 20,000 Horse, 100,000 Foot out of the Kings's Demesnes annually; besides Camels and Elephants equipped for Battel.

*Sergi Caun's*

Country maintains 3,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot, at 15 Lecgue of Pagods per Annum.

*Sunda Raja's*

Pepper-Country is worth 30 L. P. but pays one half into the King's Coffer, and now and then Seva Gi shares with him; it maintains in good Pay 12,000 Foot, and 3,000

*Samba Gi Raja*, Brother to *Seva Gi*.

In Baligaot Can raise 10,000 Horse, and 20,000 Foot Worth 30 L. P. per Annum.

*Ekou Gi Raja*, another of *Seva Gi's* Brothers,  
Who is very solicitous with him to desist from his lewd  
Courses of Robbing and Stealing, and content himself  
with his Purchase; which he derides, and tells him he is  
no slowbelly, to desire to expire lazily on a Bed, rather  
than to meet his final Doom in the Field; and to sit  
down as he does, with 10 L. P. 2,000 Horse, and 8,000

*Syddy Jore.*

Maintained 2,000 Horse, 16,000 Foot, 28 L. P. per annum.

*Rustam Gemma.*

Was worth 30,000 L. P. 10,000 Horse, 20,000 Foot. Both  
these ousted by *Seva Gi*.

*Syddy Massute,*

5,000 Horse, 10,000 Foot, 20 L. P. A Potent and Eminent  
Member of the Realm.

*Sheke Minas in Baliqaot,*

Enjoys large Possessions there, as does the Raja of Canora.  
(*Seva Gi* is reckoned also as a deceased Limb of *Duccan*,  
impostumated and swoln too big for the Body; in some  
respects benefiting, in others discommoding it; beneficial  
by opposing the Mogul's Entry into the Kingdom; but  
prejudicial in being his own Paymaster, rewarding himself  
most unconscionably; all Conchon being little enough for  
him, extending in Length along the Sea-Coasts, 250 Lea-  
gues, that is, from Balfore Hills to the River Gongole;  
where neither is he limited in his extravagant Desires, ex-  
pecting only opportunity to gain further. Inland he hath  
not much, the Gaot seeming to be a Natural Line of Cir-  
cumvallation to the Up-Country, where it is Campaign,  
though below Hilly; so that you ascend to it by Mountains  
piled on one another, over which *Seva Gi* hath total  
Dominion, the *Duccanees* not striving to retake any thing,

for all he hath blocked up their Ports, which may prejudice them for the future ; an irreparable Damage, (Arab Steeds being the Life of their Cavalry) ; they having only Porto Novo beyond Tutticaroe left them free.

Nor has he done this Injury to them alone, but the Mogul hath the same measure up as far as Surat ; so that, he enjoys them wholly, excepting what the Portugals have, and the English at Bombaim ; which are of no Import in respect of Trade, while the Caphalae are hindered to pass those Ways ; of which did he know or consider the Advantage, he might amass greater Treasures than he purchases by pillaging and pilfering, and might come off with the Glorious Name of a Conqueror ; whereas otherwise, following his barbarous Courses of Fire and Sword, he merits no more than to be branded as a Thief : Witness those intolerable Cruelties, Devastations, and Deserts made by him every where in his Range up and down in the Mogul's Territories, as well as in the Duccanean.

'Tis undeniable he hath taken and maintains against the Moguls Sixty odd strong Hills ; but the Cause is, the Moguls are unacquainted with and their Bodies unfit for such barren and uneasy Places ; so that, they rather chuse to desert than defend them : Whereby it is sufficiently evident Seva Gi is unable in the Plain to do anything but Rob, Spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable ; And on that account it is Aurenzeeb calls him his Mountain-Rat, with which the greatest Systems of Monarchy in the World, though continued by an uninterrupted Descent to Imperial Ancestry, have ever been infested, finding it more hard to fight with Mountains than Men.

Thus it falls out here, by the like Chance as most Conquests, that though the major Part have submitted to their Victorious Arms, yet some out of Confidence in

their Strength, Reputation, or Fortitude, have been so daring as to oppose by open Violence or secret Strategem, the acquired Trophies of the Triumphant Party: As the Apennegeni did the Romans, and the Wild People about Taurus and Caucasus the Grecians; the Welsh, the English; the Highlanders, the Switz; and as many as have been encouraged thereto by the inaccessibleness of their Fortresses, or the Discontent of some Great Ones to head them: From whence, though inconsiderable in themselves, it is, that they presume to boast of their never being totally subdued.

Such are the Rajahs of the Mountains, the most eminent among whom is Seva Gi, derived from an Ancient Line of Rajahs, of the Cast of the Bounceloes, a Warlike and Active Offspring: His Grandfather was a Man in Esteem under Nisham Shaw, whose Name was Vangu Gi Rajah; his Father Shaw Gi Rajah was made Commander by the same King of Juneah Gur, where, upon that Rock his first Wife brought forth the Obdurate Seva Gi, his Eldest Son, and Samba Gi, his Second; by another Wife he had a Third Son, called Ekou Gi.

Upon the Downfall of Nisham Shaw, the Father and his other Sons lifted themselves as Pensioners to the King of Visiapour, where the Father was, and the Sons now are advanced to considerable Employments. (Seva Gi could not be won upon, but sought to raise himself by the Ruins of others, setting the lesser Lords at variance with their Prince, in whose Quarrels he always made sure of the upper Ground; wherefore his Father at his Death disinherited him, and instated his youngest Son Ekou Gi in the Rajahship of Benglure; a Starveling Rajahship, since it hath been harass'd by the Troubles of Duccan, where he sits down quietly, whilst this Turbulent young Man works himself into Greatness.

At which the King of Visiapour beginning to cast an Eye, finding him aspiring, and intending to blast him in the Bud, sent a Potent Army against him, conducted by Abdul Caun, an Experienc'd Soldier, yet outwitted by Seva Gi: For he understanding of his having taken the Field, while the Main Body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing Messages, intimating withal, if he would but stop his March, at an appointed Choultry out of sight of each Rendezvouz, he would meet him, and kiss his Feet; begging that he would act the obliging Office of a Peace-maker between him and the King.

Abdul Caun thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his Friends, (whether out of Superstition, at the dying of an Elephant, and other bad pressing Omens, or they doubting the Integrity of Seva Gi, I know not), but they could not prevail: At the Day prefixed therefore he takes with him his Son and a selected Number, which he credited would not be out-equalled by Seva Gi, upon his former Protestations and Hopes of reconcilment; but the Perfidious Man had placed an Ambuscade, and with a smaller Shew in appearance than Abdul brought, waits his coming; who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned Tears, craving Pardon for his Offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his Advocate to procure it: Going to enter the Choultry together, he cries out, like a fearful Man. That his Lord (so he stiled the General) might execute his Pleasure on him, and ease him of his Life; which Abdul Caun surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly unarmed, delivered his Sword and Ponyard to his Page, and bade him enter with Courage; where after some Parley



he slips a Stiletto from under his Coat-sleeve, and then eying his Blow, struck it at his Heart, whereat the Signal was given, and his Men came forth, in which Scuffle Abdul's Son gave Seva Gi a Wound, but was forced to change Habit with a Frass immediately, and venturing through untrodden Paths hardly escaped to the Camp, who thereupon were so discomfitted, that they quickly dispersed themselves, and left the Field open to Seva Gi.

Who, grown proud with this good Fortune, resolves not to return till he had sacked Panala, one of their Wealthiest and Strongest Cities; but finding it a Work not over-facile, they within, though thinly Mann'd, being obstinate, he disbands therefore under pretext of Ill Usage, Seven or Eight Hundred of his Men, who presently took their way to the City, and offer their Service complaining of Seva Gi as an Inhuman Butcherly Fellow, some Marks of which they produced on those suborned for that purpose; The present Occasions urging, and being willing to blind themselves with the Improbability of its being a Cheat, they within admitted them the City, but so as for some time they could not put their Plot in execution, the Citizens watching at Night the Gates with their own Men, and disposing them on the Walls and Out-post: But the Inhabitants taken up with their Delight more than Security, had pester'd the Ditches with Gardens and Trees, whereby on a Set Night, they on the Walls having so contrived it, received their Friends of the Camp under Cover of the Trees, and overpowering the Citizens, opened the Gates, whereupon the Enemy entered, and by this Treachery the City was gained for Seva Gi; which he makes his Retreat, ordering those Trees to be cut down that were so fatal to the former Possessors.

And now he forages the Country, and lays all waste in his Round, till young Abdul was reinforced to revenge his

Father's Death, and to join with another General Rustam Gemma, with whom Seva Gi had been tampering: Such is the Covetous Nature of these people, that Money shall corrupt the most Loyal among them: Which made him when they were ready to give Battel, withdraw his Cavalry, leaving young Abdul and his Men to try it out with Seva Gi; whose Force, though an Handful, fell bravely on, and so gauled Seva Gi, that he wish'd him well off; Abdul crying out wherever he went, Thou Coward Seva, here am I; whereof though Seva had notice, he avoided him, saying, He was a Rash Youth, let somebody else kill him: He made through his Army two or three times in Person, till being tired he was fain to leave off, and speed to Visiapour, to complain of Bustam's Falshood: Upon this, Bustam's Horse disbanded, some choice Friends only going over with him to Seva Gi, advising him to follow his Blow, and set upon Visiapour itself, which he did; and had not Syddy Jore come to its Relief with a vast Recruit, he had not only attacked, but carried it.

Then it was time for Seva to retire to Panala, where being long detained by Syddy Jore's lying before it, at length (as 'twas thought) through the Connivance of the said Syddy, he stole out by Night; and by a false Pharmond takes the Syddy's Town of Rajapour, pretending the Syddy was to surrender it in exchange for Panala.

After which the Syddy resorts to Visiapour to his Master, who bore his Disgust for letting the Traytor go, under a serene Countenance, and dismissed him with Thanks: But having made Bullul Caun Commander in Chief, he dispatches him after the Syddy, who being wary and doubtful of the King's Intentions, had provided to stand to it, putting Bullul Caun to Flight: Whereupon begins another Civil Discord; the King in Person resolves to bid at his Head, which otherwise by the

clandestine Practices of Bullul Caun was hoped to be achieved, as it proved, he doing that by Fraud he could not do by Force: For the Night after both Armies were in view, the Omrahs on the Syddy's side forsook him, and he was slain, and his Head brought to the King, without any more Strokes ought; such deadly Venom bears Secret Malice and Hellish Insinuation. )

This still makes for Seva Gi, for he was not able to cope with him singly; which Impediment thus lopped off to his hand, he seizes at leisure smaller Places, as Dan de Rajapour, whose Prince sueth for Protection to the Mogul, being beaten out of all but his Strong Castle at Dan de Rajapour, environ'd about by the Sea, but within Shot of the Main, which Seva with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The Mogul succouring it by Sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim.

[In this Juncture of Affairs, the King dies, and leaves a Babe to dispute for the Throne; when Seva Gi enlarges himself, flies out as far as Surat, and comes home with Rich Booty; which happened presently after the Emperor of the Moguls was warm in his Seat (by the Overthrow of his Brethren, and the Death of his Father Shaw Juan, by his Interest on Raja Jesseign); who desirous to try it by Kindness he could reclaim this famous Rebel, allures him to Court (Faith being plighted for his Safety), where shortly after, the Outcries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back, which passed the Guards among many other, which were forced to be sent as Piscashes to his Friends, as the manner is when under Confinement: With this Slight he got away (not

without the Mogul's Privity), and 'tis believed will hardly venture to Agra again, unless better guarded.

For this, he made a second Rade on Surat, and now lately has taken the Rajahship of Rhamnagur, though he had first spread himself mere South, even to the Walls of Goa, from whence he slid to the Borders of the Canatick and Sunda Rajah's Country : His Chief Residence is at Rairee, where he bids Defiance to the Emperor, Gulconda, Duccan, Portuguese, and all the World ; magnifying himself in his Strong-Holds : installed Mau Rajah Two Years since, when I sent you a Journal of an English Gentleman's, sent Ambassador to him at that time : His Mother was then alive, to whom he shewed Filial Obedience : He is married to Four Wives, to whom he keeps religiously, being a strict Observer of his Heathen Rites.

He sways by Brachmins : his Soldiers are Hardy Brave Fellows fit for the Mountains : 30,000 Horse is the most he can make Foot innumerable.

Merchants have little Countenance from him : Of the Common People he says, Money is inconvenient for them ; give them Victuals and a Clout, it is enough. They tell their Tale in Moratty ; by Profession they are Gentues ; some few Moors are among them : Dancing Wenches he allows none in his Army : This Barbarian Commander being like the Scythian Ateas, who hearing one sweetly modulating on an Ismean Pipe, swore he had rather hear the neighing of an Horse, or the Clangor of Horns or Trumpets. At sea he is no stronger than his Neighbours ; once he went Admiral of his Fleet of Grobs and Boats, against Dan de Rajapore, but Storms arising dishearten'd him for a second Adventure.

#### *The Kingdom of Visiapour.*

Although it be Hereditary, and not Elective, yet it comes nearest it at present, since the remaining part of

the Duccan Kingdom is dwindled into it, and some more Southern have withdrawn, and the rest at Pleasure only own themselves Members thereof; it must borrow the Composition of these several disagreeing ones to make it bear the Port of a Kingdom.

For when entire, it was of large Extent, taking in the Zamerhin and Malabars; and while the Three Chias Moors represented the Ancient Geron where for the common Safety, if any Part were afflicted, every Member ran to the Succour of the other, as if it were to their peculiar Tranquility; their Counsels one, their Minds one, their Designments one; their Dominions flourished, and every one owned Subjection, and held their Provinces as Vassals to the same Monarch: When that Band was loosed, they were broken with more ease; Duccan is lost already, Visiapour seems declining, Seva Gi's Example putting others on to un-yoak themselves; so that as yet no Tye is strong enough to reduce them to their former Temper.

Whereupon it is clear the Duccanees are a Warlike and Troublesome Nation, apt to dislike Government, proud and Brave, having an Army more splendid than the Mogul's; adorning their Elephantts, Horses and Lances with Silver Bells and Feathers, Gallant and Rich in Apparel and Sumbrero's: The people Swarthy or Olive; of all Religions. The Country Fruitful, Rich, and Campaign, unless it be near the Sea-Coast, where the Mountains are blest with Woods and Cattel, the Valleys with a bountiful Increase of Rice and Coco Nuts, with store of Rivers both Fresh and Salt; though these Hilly People are of a rougher Temper, more Hardy, and less addicted to the soft Vanities of Musick, Cloathing, Pomp, or Stateliness, being all Naked Starved Rascals; Seva Gi's Men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit, having

been accustomed to Fare Hard, Journey Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their Arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and jollity; will rather expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for Seva Gi's Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprizing and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring Spirits.

The Language of Visiapour is peculiar. Cities of Note in this Kingdom, bear commonly the Names of their Grandees: Mart-Towns are Hably, Babag, and Huttany.

The King's Seaports Gullean, Bimly, Blocked up by the Portugal; Rajapour, Dabul, Vingula, Carwar, which is Seva Gi's; the rest are Possessed by the Malabar Rajah's; round to Porto Novo, which only is properly the Kin's whose Revenues are very large, though not computed by common Rumour as the others are.

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## CHAPTER V.

SHews THE PLEASURE AND THE PRODUCT OF THE WOODS: THE PEOPLE BEWITCHED TO IDOLATRY; THE SOTTISHNESS OF THE ATHEIST, I AM SENT FOR TO BOMBAY; AFTER SOME ENDEAVOURS TO GO THITHER, AND SOME TIME SPENT AT GOA, AM FORCED TO WINTER AT CARWAR, AND THEN I RETURN TO SURAT.

THE Exercises here are common with India, only Cock-Fighting; for which Sport they have a Breed of Cocks as big as Turkeys; which they Arm with Razors tied flat under their Claws, and saulched Two Inches instead of Gavelocks, with which they slash one another Mortally; so that the Dispute endures not long, for most the first or second Blow decides it.

For our own Diversion here we had none besides Shooting, in which we spent sometimes a whole Week in the Woods and Rivers sides; for if we expected Flesh, or Fowl, we must take Pains for it; no Bees being to be Bought here, though up the Country from the Moors we could; so that our usual Diet was (besides plenty of Fish) Water-Fowl, Peacocks, Green Pidgeons, spotted Deer, Sabre, Wild Hogs, and sometimes Wild Cows. Going in quest whereof, one of our Soldiers, a Youth, Killed a Tigre-Royal; it was brought home by Thirty or Forty Combies, the Body tied to a long Bamboo, the Tail exten-

ded ; so they brought it to the House, where we saw 'twas Wounded in Three Places, one through the Head with Two Bullets, another through the Body slanting up to the Shoulders, a Third in the Leg ; it was a Tigre of the Biggest and Noblest Kind, Five Feet in Length beside the Tail, Three and an half in Height, it was of a light Yellow, streaked with Black, like a Tabby Cat, the Ears short, with a few Bristles about the Lips ; the Visage Fierce and Majestick, the Teeth gnashing, Two of which she brake against the Stones for anguish, the Shoulders and Fore-legs thick and well set, the Paw as Large as the biggest Fist stretched out, the Claws thick and strong.

The Boy Shot it in the Night from a Chouse, or Estarzo, as it came to Drink, supposing it to have been a Deer ; the first Shot was that under the Shoulder, which made her spring Three times an incredible Height, at the last of which she fell into the Chouse from whence she saw the Flash, where with the English Boy were a Comby and a Comby Boy of Eight Year old, asleep a little on one side ; she pawed the Straw with her feet, while all but the Child asleep fled ; but being wrung by her pain, she soon left the place with an horrible Noise that made the Woods tremble, all which awaked not the Lad, nor had it any Harm.

In this interval, the English Youth Charged again with a couple of Slugs, and tracing the Blood, as she was making at him, discharged through the Brain-pan, at which she was quiet ; but to make sure, he made another shot at her, which he believed was that in the Leg : All this time the Moon was Obscured and Cloudy ; the Comby that had left him and his Son, at length came with a many more, calling Fringi, the term they have for Europe-Men and Franks ; the Boy was walking about, fearing to venture within reach, till at last, laying aside his well-



advised Suspicion, he approaching, found the Terror of the Wood Slain.

Disrobed of its Royal Hide, Two Bones of the Bigness and Figure of a Levator presented themselves to our view, that had no Connexion with the other Bones, but wholly immersed in the Flesh per sysarcasin, in the ends of each Pectoral, and the Three circumducing Muscles, towards the joining of the Shoulder-blades, and the upper Bones of the Fore-feet, commonly called Shoulder-bones; of these there goes a Story handed by Tradition, as that Licking the Right Shoulder it appeases Hunger, the Left it whets it where these Bones lie; but probable enough it is, that Nature added these for its greater Strength; The Eutrails were little variable, but the Heart was mighty, and the Liver (they say) had as many Lobes as that was Years old, which were Six and an half, like to a Foxes.

The Chief, to encourage the Lad, told him, That though he wer a Boy, he had done a Manly Action, and therefore, according, to the Custom of the Country, in presence of all his Admirers, he plucked off his own Coat, which was Venetian Cloath of Silk and Silver, and gave it him. The great Ombrahs always do the like upon any hazardous Atchievements, and if Wounded, throw them their sashes and Pamerins to Bind them up, and Cover them, though never so Rich: Having likewise another Custom among them, to Cloath the Gun with Scarlet that has made any notable Breach, Slain any great Soldier, or done any extraordinary Feat.

It is memorable what is attested, by these Woodmen, of the Tigre, that when he intends to Prey on the Monkies (with which these Woods abound) he uses this Artifice or Stratagem; the Monkies at his first approach give warning by their confused Chattering, and immediately betake themselves to the highest and smallest Twigs of the Trees; when the Tigre seeing them out of his reach, and sensible

of their fright, lies Couchant under the Tree, and then falls a Roaring, at which they trembling let go their hold, and tumbling down he at leisure picks them up to satisfy his Hunger: They are his accustomed Repast, seldom making Man his Meal, and they are judged (as St. Paul's Parbarians did him) guilty of some horrid Crime that such Vengeance overtakes; the Woods and Mountains yielding them variety of other Food. The Tigre is dull Scented, and not long Nimble, Three Leaps Tiring him, otherwise it's probable he would make more havock than he does. The She brings forth but once in Twelve Years, and then but a single Cub; they are Ingendring Three Months, in which time their Fury as well as Lust rages upon one another; thus has Providence suppressed the Growth of this masterless Creature: Besides, if the Proverb be true, the Bitch brings forth but once in her life, or very rarely more.

The most frequent in these Woods are the lesser sort of Tigres, spotted like a Leopard; these are Cruel and Ravenous, but more Fearful than the others are; that Monkies are their Food, the very Ordure declares scattered up and down, where is visible the shagged Coats or Hair of those Creatures.

Many of these Apes fell by our hands, either for being noisy and impertinent, spoiling our Game, or provoking us by their constant pursuing us, being of the largest size, upon which account many came under my Knife; opening them I found and observed their seminary Vessels turgid, their Virge White and Nervous. To Kill one of these the Natives hold Piacular, calling them Half Men saying, once they were Men, but for their Laziness had Tails given them and Hair to cover them: Towards Zeilon they are Deified; at the Straits of Baligaot they pay them Tribute.

Bamboos make the gross of the Woods, which are High, Tapering, Thorny Trees, incumbred from the Roots with abundance of shrubby ones, the Bark Green and jointed with the Wood, the Branches are Tapering and inclining, sending from every joint sprouts of the same form, leafed like long Five-fingered Grass, the Body is thick and strait; their use is for Staffs, Poles, or Rafters for Houses, and Fences; being slit, they are hollow, and serve for Laths.

Those they carry their Palenkeens on, require an exact attendance, Shaping them while Young and Tender, and taking care to keep them growing in that Position; Cut and Pickled they make good Achar: Bamboos are so general, that by way of Excellency they call all Sticks and Canes, Bamboos; the Woods are over-grown with them; for which reason often impassable.

I travelled to the Tops of the Hills for the Cassia Fistula Tree, whose Trunk is but slender, but Tree tall, leafed most like an Ash, with small Veins, and the Cassia hanging down in long Green Canes or Cods, in manner of its Keys between the tender Nodes, by the Natives called Singa.

In the Groves about Carwar grows Cassia Lignum, Xylo-Cassia, or Bastard Cinamon; the Trees are large as a Pear-Tree, a Leaf, of the like bigness, but ribbed like our Plantain, the main Park and Body like other Trees, of no different Smell of Taste till dried, when it bites, and smells Spicy; the Leaf bruised and chewed smells like strong Cinamon, and upon the Tongue is as hot as a Clove; the Bark of the small Branches also when Green alters nothing in Taste from Cinamon, but dried is more alimy, and is very good Cassia Lignum: It bears little long Whitish Flowers of no Smell nor Taste, but the Leafs of the Branch that bear them have a more Aromatick Taste.

The Thamarind Tree has the small Leaf like a Vetch, bears the Fruit in a Pod like a French Bean, wherein is the Pulp, inclosing the Stones and Fibres; it is a great spreading Tree, the Body thick, the Bark rough and brownish, bears its Fruit in March; the Indians feed on it, and grow Fat with it; they have not the Art to preserve it with Sugar, but Salt it up: This is *Siliqua Arabica*, too, but not *Nigra*, as the *Cassia Fistula* is.

Teke by the Portugueze, Sogwan by the Moors, is the firmest Wood they have for Building, and on the account it resists Worms and Putrefaction, the best for that purpose in the World; in Height the Lofty Pine exceeds it not, nor the Sturdy Oak in Bulk and Substance; the knotty Branches which it bears aloft, send forth Green Boughs more pliant, in Form Quadrangular, fed within by a Spongy Marrow or Pith, on which at the Joints hang broad, thin, and porous Leafs, sending from the main Rib some Fibres, winding and spreading like a Fan. This Prince of the Indian Forest was not so attractive, though mightily glorious, but that at the same time I was forced to take notice of the creeping Cow-Itch, raising its self upon the Shrubs and Under-woods, there spending inlascivious Twines its Verdure, leaving nothing but withered Stalks to be the Props of its brindled Offspring, which is small Pod covered with a light and tickling Down; within, it includes in four Cavities, four specked Beans; the fallen Leafs make some appearance of a Nobler Stock, having a Countenance like those of Lawrel; the Root is difficult to find, being mixed among other Trees, like our Which Briony.

Here grows *Nux Vomica* on a Tree of indifferent bigness, in a round Shell as big as an Orange, filled with White Pulp, where the Nuts are lodged.

Near the Sea grow Squills, or Sea-Onions, as also a Species of Sarsaparilla, with which they do great Feats with the Juice of the Leafs in Venereal Cases.

In their Fields, they plant, besides Rice, Nuchery, a small Seed they make Bread of, as also Cusheush, which is Millet, Hemp, and Flax : In the Inclosures Turmerick, which rises with a broad Leaf like our Water Plantain, bearing a broad flaggy Leaf of a Span long, obliquely ribbed till it end in a Spear-Point at top ; it proceeds immediately from the Root by a winding Stalk, which the main Leafs embrace, the other Leafs creeping through it till it rises Six Foot.

Ginger comes up like our Gentian ; they pickle it well, but cannot preserve it with Sugar.

Potatoes are their usual Banquet.

And to give the Soil its due Praise, it obeys in all things the first Commandment, Increase and Multiply.

For these Blessings, as if Men were to lose their Reasons, and sink below Brutes by a base Superstition, they are ready to acknowledge a Stock for a Deity, rather than go without, infatuated by the Delusions of the Devil, being captivated at his Will ; for which cause they not only make oblations to him, but give up their Souls and Bodies to his Devotion : As might about this time have been beheld at an Idol Worship of Priapus, (where the Women prostitute themselves to him.) \*

There are a sort of Jongies, Priests fit for such a Godi among the Linguits of this Country, who practise the, daily ; the Husbands entertain them courteously, wash their Feet, and the whole Family is at his Beck, as long as he stays to do the Wife a Kindness.

Others slash themselves with sharp Knives, and suffer themselves to be rooked by the Muscles of the Back, and hang so some Hours upon a Vow.

Under the Banyan Tree, an Altar with a Dildo in the middle being erected, they offer Rice and Cocoe-Nuts to the Devil, and joining some small Ladders together made of Osiers, do the like ; when the Gomcar or Bayliff of the Town takes a falched Knife for Sacrifice in one Hand, and a Dunghil Cock in the other, and cutting off its Head, fixes it at top of the Ladder, and sprinkling the Blood they all dance, and beat Brass Pots with a great Shout, saying, The Devil must be pacified with Blood, God with Prayers.

Some of these sell themselves to Wickedness, and these must be endued with the Spirit of Fascination, always nourishing a Familiar in their Families, which they keep mostly in the forms of Snakes or Serpents, appearing to them upon their Command ; and undergo fiery Afflictions to have the most hurtful Devil ; and as they wreak their Malice more powerfully, esteem themselves more in favour with their Grand Master : These are the Dregs of the People who are full of Envy and Ill Designs, who glory in their Shame of Incantations and Charms : Such as these are those that out of Fear pray to the Devil and Evil Spirits saying, God will do them no harm.

The better sort acknowledge a God, and live in the Rules of their Tribes abstaining from Flesh, and all things of a Sensitive Being. And these Patronize these more Innocent Rites, such as the Swains asking Advice of their Deities about Increase ; and to that end offer Rice, Oyl, and Cocoe-Nuts in a thick Grove, where they piled an huge Heap of long Jars like Mortivans, about Figures resembling Serpents, before which they present their unbloody Sacrifice by the Priest, the People circling the whole Grove in a Ring, beating on Brass Instruments, and shouting.

In their Hooly, which is at their other Seed-time, ~~observed~~ they cut a whole Tree down to the Roots, and lopped off the under-Branches till it became strait, when leaving the upper Boughs, they shoulder'd it with great Clamours, the Brachmin beginning a Note which they all followed: Thus they brought it into the Pale of their Pagods, before which, easing it down at one end, the foremost made a Salam, and hoisted it with the same Noise again, and about they went three or four times repeating the same; which being finished, the Arch-Brachmin digs an hole, and baptizes it with Holy Water, wherein they fix the Tree, crowning it with Flags aloft, and about the Body up to the Green Boughs they bind Wisps of Straw, to which they put Fire, and look earnestly on the Flame, according to the Ascent of which the Brachmin pronounces his Auguries; then they offer Rice and Flowers, painting their Bodies with the Ashes, departing with a Mace of Flowers carried before them, beating of Drums and a great Noise.

But to be clear, let us consider, that these Underlings of the People that do these Services to the Devil, or are said so to do, may be aspersed: For the Brachmins, and other the Purer Sort, as they account themselves, may defame them only, because shedding of Blood is horrible to them, and therefore Diabolical; Besides, those Diseases that are said to be Devils put into one another, (which as many as I have met with, I have been curiously inquisitive of) their Phœno-menæes or Energies are discaused by Natural Causes, and as often cured by Natural Means; but, on the contrary, it is allowed where they resist them, it is suspicious: And the Devil without doubt cannot easier work on any, than the Weak and Simple (wherefore he chose the Woman, not the Man), and upon that account may probably delude and overawe these

People, that give themselves up to him wholly out of Fear, having not so much Virtue, Fortitude, and Cunning, to resist and check their own Lusts, as the Wiser sort. As for the visible appearance of a Devil or Dæmon (which they say is common among them, by those that see it) I am convinced it may be credible; but in the mean while, Rage and Melancholy Madness, assisted by the Infernal Power, may create great Illusions to a Fancy fitted for such an Operation, and they may think they see things which in reality are not so.

Now as these, by the low and mean Conceptions they have of a Godhead, reach not the great Branch of its Omnipotency and Goodness, whereby it is able to defend them from all Assaults and Wiliness of the Devil, depressing their Understandings, bow under the intolerable Yoak of his Slavery; so there are a sort of sublimated Wits, that will own neither God nor Devil, and put all things upon Chance so long, that the very Notions they framed to themselves, after beating of the Air, fly out of their Giddy Heads in *Fumo*. Let them place themselves under the *Æquator*, where the Sun is at present, and take a Prospect on each hand of the Orderly Course of the Creation; How he passes the *Ecliptick*, and dispenses his erradiations as far as either Pole; How within the *Tropicks*, Intring the first Degree of the *Ram* till he second Degree of *Taurus*, it is Summer; that is, from January till the One and twentieth of March; when the Woods are most denuded of their old Leafs by the parching Heat of the Sun, though new ones succeeding, the Trees keep their perpetual Verdure; yet these lying on the Ground makes this time then the most like Autumn of any till the Rains fall; which while the Sun is over their Heads make their Winter; till which come, it would be unsufferable living here, did not the Variable Winds gather the Clouds to



obscure the Sun : After the Rains, follows their Spring, when by reason of the Remoteness of the Sun, it is most pleasant living.

But what Colour is there for the Ignorance of our Atheistical Young Gallants? Certainly none : Would they abate so much time from living, as to see and consider an admirable and well-countrived Providence, and not to harp too much on Casualty ; which I am confident their own Logicians would hiss at as an Absurdity, to say, That such an exact Progress and Observance ever since the Frame of Nature was instituted, should continue such an unalterable Decorum on these Four great Anniversary Wheels, fitly adapted to every Climate ; or that they first proceeded from a Bundle of Nonsensical Fortuitous Atoms conjoined into an Hodg-Podge of confused Nothings. For the very Matter being Chance, would without doubt produce a rare Stability for the Impressions of any Forms, but what must, be blown out of as idle Chimerae. I could wish, therefore, such bold Disputes being waved, they would confess an All-wise Creator and Preserver of Heaven and Earth. The Atheist is a Mole, being blind at Noon-day ; the Man that adores God, and follows Religion, is the only Master of his Reason.

The Deputy-Governor of Bombaim being sick, the Phœnix-Ketch was ordered to bring me up to that Island : wherefore the 6th of April, 1676, I took my leave of Carwar, which hath no peculiar Commodities or Manufactories of its own Product, but lies conveniently for the Markets of Pepper, Beetle-Nut, or Arrach ; Cloath, as Potkaes, Suffaguzes, from Hubly, six days Journy hence ; Diamonds from Visiapour, ten days Journy : But the Factory decays, by reason of the Embroils of the Countrey, Merchants being out of heart to buy or sell : Here are good Returns to be made from this Port to Persia, and back

again ; as likewise from Mocha, from whence are brought Horses for War.

The Variable Winds kept us six days before we could reach Goa, though but twelve Leagues: At the City all Butchers-Meat is forbidden, except Pork, upon account of the Heats, which afford not much Sustenance for the Cattel; and the approaching Rains, which robs them of that little Flesh they retain, and scours them to mere Carrion: Wherefore the Religion of the Indians has enjoined them the most Healthy Rule to avoid Sickness, the forbidding them to eat Flesh, than which nothing now can be more prejudicial. At this time the Citizens remove mostly to their Aldeas, the Air of Goa being less temperate than the Fields and open Bays.

The Diseases here are Epidemical, unless Plague Veneris be more Endemial, for which at this Season they have a Noble and Familiar Remedy, the Mango (which they have improved in all its kinds to the utmost Perfection) being a Sovereign Medicine; they are the best and largest in India, most like a Pear-Plum, but three times as big, grow on a Tree nearest a Plum-Tree; the Fruit when Green scents like Turpentine, and pickled are the best Archars to provoke an Appetite; when Ripe, the Apples of Hisperides are but Fables to them; for Taste, the Nectarine, Peach, and Apricot fall short; they make them break out, and cleanse the Blood, and Salivate to the height of Mercurial Arcanaes; and afterwards fatten as much as Antimony, or Acorns do Hogs; these and Sarsa being their usual Diet.

Cheruses grow on a Tree whose Branches send forth a Stone first, like a Bean, whose Meat or Kernel when Green tastes like a Walnut, roasted, like a Chesnut; the Fruit follows, large and of a fine Colour, squashy, of a better Relish than smell, the Leaves Oval and Succulent.

The Fruit the English call a Pine-Apple (the Moors, Ananas,) because of the resemblance, cuts within as firm as a Pippin; Seedy if not fully ripe; the Taste inclinable to Tartness, though most excellently qualified by a dulcid Sapor that imposes upon the Imagination and Gustative Faculty, a Fancy, that it relishes of any Fruit a Man likes, and some will swear it: It grows on a thick Stalk like an Artichoke, emitting a Tuft of Leafs upon the Crown; the Leafs akin to a *Carduus Asininus* (as has been partly related already); the Juice will corrode any Iron or Knife, like Limon.

The Eleventh of May, being still Wind-bound, I received a courteous Invitation to return to Carwar; but I could not be diverted till the Full Moon had passed with Rain, Clouds, and Thunder.

When the Current changed, with which were brought innumerable Shoals of dead Fish; the Toddy worked on the tree over the Pots, the accustomed Forerunners of the Rains, but hitherto fallible; which is a wonder even to the Country-People; though our Pilots have observed an unwonted Deviation these two or three Rains together.

The Nineteenth an Express coming from the Chief of Carwar, That a Gentleman there being almost desperate, impertuned my Assistance, and I fearing to Winter here, for Expediteness chose a Baloon, though he had sent Horse and Peons, in case I could not acquire one; and the next day by Two in the Afternoon I returned to Carwar House, though two days after the Winds set in Southward together with the Rain, when the Ketch set sail for Bombaim, with a great Fleet of Grobs to the North. It is the Freshea from the Uplands that kills and sickens the Fish.

And now the Rains invade all India, which puts a stop to all Journying, and Voyaging, as well as Warlike Preparations.

Till St. Francis's Moon in August, when the Earth is discovered, and the Rice begins to ripen, which all this while floated in Water, which it rejoices in; and this is the first Harvest; for it is to be understood this World produces two Harvest; this most natural and un-compell'd, because of the Rain; the other about March, with great pains of bringing Water by Gutters to their sown Fields, which, notwithstanding yields not so plentiful a Crop as the first, which this Year increases vastly; but the misfortune is three quarters of the Land lies unmanured, through the Tyranny of Seva Gi.

October the Seventeenth I had a final Adieu to Carwar, and embark'd in the Berkly-Castle, with Mr. Oxendine, who was called up to succeed Mr. Gyffard, the deceased Deputy-Governor of Bombaim: Coming again to Goa, I lodged at the House of a French Physician in the Camp of St. Thomas, which the City overlooks in the same manner Old Rome did the Martian Vale.

I saw there an unfinished Piece of the St. Thomas Christians, but the Troubles of their Prince called them back before it could, be perfected; others say prevented in it by Thunder and Lightning. The great Traders of this Place for Diamonds are the two Martins, both Jews, yet to carry on their designs permitted to live as Christians, they constantly frequenting Mass, and at Table every Meal during our Stay had Hog's-flesh served up.

We left Goa on the Eve of St. Xeverin's Feast; the Tomb therefore was richly set out; and as Erasmus relates of Thomas & Becket, that nothing could be seen baser than Gold, so truly here Silver was the meanest; Pearls and Precious Stones, as well as Gold, cast forth their Lustre, by the reflection of the Virgin, Flambeaus upon them: From the tops of the Towers belonging to the Jesuits, we beheld Lampe at Night striving to vie with the Stars for

Number and Lustre; which appeared Gloriously on the Water as we Rowed down the River to our Ship.

Being in sight of Bombaim, the Tides horsed us to the North-ward, which insensibly threw us on a Ledge of Rocks running from Old Womans Island, where the Ship Struck; after a Quarter of an Hour she cleared, but with the inconvenience of falling more upon them, not without danger of Bulging; whereupon we Fired several single Pieces of Ordnance to give notice; for the Tide being made, the Water began to Ebb and forsake the Ship, so that she stood wavering without any prop, which way to incline; and though the Wind and Sea were Calm, yet the fear of Over-setting caused a general Consternation; no help appearing, we won on the Captain to spare Hands for the Yawl, wherein Four of us got Ashoar (though she was very Leaky), leaving them in despair of their Ship, her own pressure threatning to break her Back; at Night Boats and Pilots went off to her Relief, and with the Tide of Flood as she Floated, released her to a wonder, being heavy Laden, receiving no damage but in her Sheathing.

I Reimbarked and arrived at Surat the Eleventh of December; where giving you a general Account of all India, you will hear from me next out of Persia.

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## LETTER IV.

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### CHAPTER VI.

IS A SUMMARY REHEARSAL OF THE WHOLE.

EAST-INDIA, when Alexander's Sword had enlarged itself thither, was Inhabited by the Dædali, Mezegi, Melli, Oxydraci, and Gangarides (if History tell truth); which Nations Time has long since worn out of the Indian Annals. Something they do speak of King Pore, but so uncertain, that it is a doubt whether ever he and Alexander waged War, though good Authors do attest it. But it is plain that Two hundred and seventy Years ago, between the Indians and Scythian Tartars, under Tamerlane, there was begun, what after-Emperors completed by the then introduced Forces, a total Conquest; under which the greater part of the Natives rest content with their Subjection.

Indian it's likely took its Name from Indus, whose Mouths are so choaked up by Sands that they cannot speak much in this behalf neither, it being chanced into the Name of Sinda, which imposes at this day a Name to as large a Province as is in all India; the shallow Currents of which River stretching themselves far and near to the River Ganges almost, has given occasion to Geographers to call it a Peninsula. Omitting these Disputes, I shall at present apply myself to give you a faithful Chronography and Account of those things that fell under my Remark;

It is then the largest Country in Asia, which Ptolomy divides into Within and without the River Ganges, being in Length from the Golden Chersonese, now called Comory, 3,600 Miles: In the most Northern part the Day lengthens to Fifteen Hours, but in the Southern it has no more or less than Twelve: The Breadth of it from the widest place to wit Bengal to Candahar, 1,500 Miles; from whence, like a Wedge it lessens into the Cape of Comory. On the West it was formerly bordered by the River Indus; on the North by the dispersed Mountains from Taurus; from the East it is washed with the Oriental Sea, and from the South with the Indian.

It is a Land in all places very fruitful, and enjoys a Temperate Air than would be allowed by the Poet under the Fifth Zone, under which the greatest part of it lies; as often as the Sun visits the Arctic Pole, it brings with it grateful Showers and winds (whose Heat otherwise would be intolerable) by which the Earth is cooled and made Productive; neither in the extremest Heat does it want by the equality of Days and Nights after Sun-set the favourable Dews of the Heavens, when you shall soon perceive a kind Moisture fall to refresh the Earth, and nourish the almost scorch'd up Plants; though these alone are not so powerful to take away the Labour from the industrious Husbandman, who this Season is forced by artificial Channels to assist Nature to produce, otherwise she would fall one short of a threefold Harvest in some places, every year; but every where they have a double Harvest.

As the Sun becomes Twice Vertical to them within the Tropicks, at each Tropick but once, beyond never; so nearer to the Equator the Sun and Stars ascend and descend more directly, but the farther from the Equator the more Obliquely, whereby the dawn of Light here is but short before either the appearance or fall of these Bodies when

as the Twilight is some Hours after Sun-set afore Sun-rise the near either Pole Having promised this, know they begin their Almanac with our Lawyers, or rather when the Sun is in the Equinoctial Line ; but their months being Runary every Third Year bears an Intercalary one, which they clap in August, and count it double: The Names of their Months are—

|                      |   |                   |    |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|----|
| <i>March Falgunu</i> | 1 | <i>Bharapadra</i> | 7  |
| <i>Chaitru</i>       | 2 | <i>Asuinu</i>     | 8  |
| <i>Vaizaque</i>      | 3 | <i>Castica</i>    | 9  |
| <i>Zestha</i>        | 4 | <i>Margassica</i> | 10 |
| <i>Assada</i>        | 5 | <i>Puzu</i>       | 11 |
| <i>Brauna</i>        | 6 | <i>Magu</i>       | 12 |

They distinguish their Time by Weeks, *i. e.*, Seven days; Sunday being observed by the Indians as an Holy Day; agreeable to what is Taught by Philostratus, Dion Cassius, and Justin Martyr.

The Hours of Day and Night have all the Year round the same number, Twelve; not minding their Length or decrease: They have no Watches or Hour-Glasses, but measure Time by the dropping of Water out of a Brass Bason, which holds a Ghong, or less than half an Hour; when they strike once distinctly, to tell them it's the First Ghong, which is renewed at the Second Ghong, for Two, and so Three at the end of it, till they come to Eight; when they strike on the Brass Vessel at their liberty, to give notice the Pore is out, and at last strike One leiturely, to tell them is the First Pore; which is repeated after the same manner for the Second about Midday, when they strike Two, and so at the end of the Third Pore Three, and of the Fourth Four; at the end of which Pores the Priests Ascend their Steeples and are Menitors to them of their Devotion; And as solemnly dividing the Night into so many Pores so that Thirty two Ghongs and Four Pores



make the Day, and as many more the Night ; in all Sixty four Ghongs and Eight Porca.

As our Year is divided by the Seasons of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; to every which we allow a Quarter of a Year : Theirs also agree with their Seasons of Weather, but square not in respect of the Account of the having Four Mogthe for each Season ; but divide the Year into no more than three Parts, viz.—

|                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>New Colla</i>  | <i>The Rains</i>        |
| <i>Ger Colla</i>  | <i>The Cold Season.</i> |
| <i>Deup Colla</i> | <i>The Heats.</i>       |

To every one of which they attribute Eight Constellations ; are skilled in Sun's Course through the Zodiac, have their wandering and fixed Stars, and are exact in the Elipses of the Two Inferior Luminaries.

What has been Experienced in the particular Accounts, I must confirm again in this general one, That the first Full Moon in May brings the Qains when it Rains a Fortnight only, and holds up till the middle of June, in which times, Emyemas, Fluxes, Fevers of all sorts (except Pestilential) Hæmorrhages, rage ; after the Rains are fully settled, it grows healthy. From the settling in of the Rains till the Full Moon in August, it Rains without intermission, after which it clears up for a Fortnight, and with little variation (bating the accidental Causes of its beginning earlier or later) it Rains all September till the Elephant breaks up, the last Rainy Star : After which the Harvest for Rice, when it is gathered : and then just after the Rains they are most Sickly, the Sun exhaling Vapours the Earth grows Muddy and Stinking, though abundantly, Productive : From thence to the latter end of January commences the Cold Season, when their Bodies are Healthier, and a lovely Verdure Cloathes the Earth ; at the latter end of this they reap another Harvest without extraordi-

nary pains ; all this time the Evenings are very sharp, and at Surat I have seen an hoar Frost in the Morning. From February the first, till the Rains set in ; are the Heats, and in March the Leafs fall off the Trees, yet always supplied with fresh, so that the Trees are always Green, though the Grass and Podder are quite burnt up ; and with difficulty by the advantage of aqueducts, a lean Harvest is brought forth : the Peasants Morning Evening draw Water out for Wells by Buffaloes or Oxen ; or else by a thwart Post poised with a sufficient weight at the extremity, laid over one fixed in the Earth the Water is drawn by a Bucket of Goat's Skins ; others have Pans and Buckets of Leather hanging round about a Wheel some always in the water others rising up, and at the same time others pouring out as their Wheel turns round ; and thus are their best Gardens kept alive.

The Mountains here are one continued Ridge, dividing the Two Coasts from each other, and are all along called the Goat ; they run North and South till they cross the Imaus ; are the reason of some difference of the Seasons, both in respect of themselves and Low-Lands : They are plentifully stored with Woods, and Increase of all things except Rivers which are in some Places compensatd by living Springs out of the Rocks, but every where by Water falling in the Rains.

The Rivers are innumerable ; but those of greatest fame are Indus and Ganges, the latter not only for its many Navigable Streams for some Hundreds of Leagues, but for its purity in the esteem of the most religious ; besides all which are great Tanks or Ponds of Rain Water, with deep Wells of extraordinary Coasts and Charges ; some purely for Pomp, and to transmit their Names to Posterity ; others for the good of Travelers, but most for the sake of religion, in which they are

extravagantly profuse, every great City striving to outvie each other; the most admirable whereof are those cut on high Hills and Fortress thereon out of the main Rocks seeming rather the Works of many Ages than one to finish them: At Rajnore are Hot Baths; here are very few other Mineral Water.

The Plain Country is Rich in all things necessary; Pasturage, by reason of the long Summer's Drought, being the only lack; which in the Rains and Cold Season they have Time and Store to provide against. Cocoes grow all along the Sea-side round India, within the Tropicks, and Beetle-Nut is in great Request, not only for that is the Courteous Entertainment or Farewel at all Friendly Interviews, but because wrapped in Pawn-Leaves with Chunam, it exhilarates and makes a kind of pleasant Drunkenness, if much eaten, as the Natives of any fashion are seldom without it in their Mouths; and these are peculiar to the Low-Countries as are Water Melons; other Fruits, as Grapes, Mangoes and the like, are the common Growth of India: Rice thrives best in Watery Places, it swimming always therein till Harvest, when the Water is let out by Drains; all other Corn rejoices better in drier Grounds; Cotton is a Lover of the same, from whence comes all the Wealth to India, *quæ effodiuntur opes*, which are dug for in other Places and laid up here.

Woods are every where, in which sometimes are met Inhabitants not yet mentioned, and for their Solitariness called Men of the Woods, or more truly Satyrs; there are Nereids too, or Men of the Rivers, but die as soon as taken: A couple of the former I saw asleep in the day-time, in the Night they Sport and Eat; they were both in a Parrot-Cage, they had Heads like an Owl, Bodied like a Monkey, without Tails; only the first Finger of the Right Hand was armed with a Claw like a Birds, other-

wise they had Hands, and Feet which they walk upright on, not pronely, as the other Beasts do; they were colour'd like a Fox, of the length of Half a Yard; though they grow bigger till Twelve Years old, when they copulate.

Here are Sandy Deserts near the Gulph of Cambaja, and beyond Bengala, towards Botan and Cochin China, whence they fetch Musk.

Mines besides those of Diamonds, Rubies, Agats Cornelian Granats, Topazes, and Iron, none are discours'd of; which with, what else come to Memory, shall be specified in their proper place. Of Diamond-Mines there are two sorts, the Old and New Rock, the latter the Larger, the other the Best; the first in Duocan, the other in Gulcondae.

Wild Beast frequent here, are the fiercest Tigers in the World, with all their forts: Lions here are some, but feeble and cowardly; Leopards, Balus a sort of Wolf, wild Cats, or Catamountains, Monkeys, wild Dogs, which they say Piss out the Eyes of Venison as they feed in the Woods, and so Venom them with their Urine, that they become their Prey; Squirrels, Jackals, Mungooses, wild Bulls, Elephants, Rhinoceros, Buffaloes, Bears.

For Game, all sorts of Antelopes, Deer, Boar, and Elks. The Fields are stored with Tame of all kinds, but mostly with Kine and Goats.

Fowls of Prey, Eagles, Vultures, Kites, Newries, Crows, which last hath an Enemy, though in Bulk contemptible, yet in Revenge implacable, being no bigger than a Bumble-Bee, yet it never leaves the Crow's Breast till it have left it breathless, making a Vent therein by it, piercing Bill.

For Game, abundance of all sorts: The Bats here are the biggest of any place.

Fishes common to India are not to be numbr'd, some spangled with Gold, Vermilion, and other Colours, not

usual with us; but the best known are Sharks, Whales, Sea-snakes, (the assured Tokens to the Pilots of their approaching the Coasts of India); Pilchards come in Shoals as our Herrings do; Porpoises, Oysters, Crabs, Tortoises, the Sword-fish, Sæpæ, or the Ink-fish of Gesner Spanish Mackerel. The Rivers are well provided (and the Grass too) with Snakes, many of which are venomous, and some big enough to devour a Sow and Piggs, if the Natives may be believed.

Insects (besides Fleas) are large Flies in the Rain, who will be sure to be our Tasters, unless one stand purposely to beat them off with a Mirchal; nor are Ants less vexatious, nothing eatable can be set by but they will be at it; but the greatest Pest is the Mosquito, who not only wheals, but domineers by its continual Hums; the Chints are as venomous, and if squeezed leave a most Poisonous Stench; these breed in the Cotton, and where once they beset an House, they are not easily removed, they being Proof against all Fumes or Remedies used to destroy such-like Vermin; and therefore keep Possession, while the Inhabitants being not able to endure them, must turn out to other Dwellings; and these Plagues are in all their Quarters.

The Inhabitants and Natives of India are divided into Five Sects, to wit:

- I. Gentues; the first Possessors, Aborigines, or Natives.
- II Moguls; the next Invaders or Conquerors by Land.
- III. Portugals; the first Discoverers or Conquerors by Sea.
- IV. Dutch, English, Ec. Strangers; partly by Conquest; partly by Trade.

V. Parsies, by Permission.

The Gentues are again distributed into these Classes;  
The Gymnosophists, Brachmins, or Book-Men.

The Quetories, Rash-roots, or Soldiers.

The Mechant or Mechanicks.

The Labourers, Peasants, Combies, Coolies, Frasses, and Holencores.

#### The *Brachmins*

Are chiefly distinguished by Butts and Sinais; from these two Roots spring the other Branches: The difference was occasioned by a Famine in the Low-Countries, where the latter resided, on which account they were constrained to break their Fast with Fish, or else starve; for which reason they are greatly despised by the purer Butt, having never deviated from his Pythagorean Institution and Primary Abstinence from all living Creatures. Yet notwithstanding, the Sinai keeps his Cotton-String Badge (the Characteristick Note of a Brachmin) under his Left Shoulder as well as the Butt, and has his Disciples.

The Butts addict themselves to the profoundest Mysteries in their Religion, giving themselves over to an exact Regular Life, abstracted from all Worldly Employments, unless such as are for the saving and preserving of Life the Chiefest and Skilfullest Physicians being of their Tribe: these are the Masters of all their Heathen Ceremonies, or Doctors of their Canon Law, every Tribe being instructed by them; they chiefly consist in Washing Abstinence, and other Authorities imposed at their Pleasure.

The Sinais are more bias'd by Secular Offices, out of which are made their fighting Bishops, Desies, or Farmers of the King's Rents, Pundits (Governors of Towns and Provinces), Physicians, Accountants, Scrivans, and Interpreters: Any of these, if they arrive to any smattering in Learning, are admired and highly revered by the Vulgar. Their Cabala's or Pious Secrets are kept in a Language communicated to none but themselves, as are

all the Arcanaes of every Science, written in a peculiar Character ; they are very dogmatical in their Dictates to the People, singing them out in a Lofty Tone, as the Fauns and Birds of old are reported, as the Sybils by Lactantius, the Saliens by Livy, the Druids by Cæsar, the Delphian Enigmates by Herodotus, the Spartan Rites by Eustathius.

God they say is incomparably Good ; in some of their Languages, they hardly have a name for Hell ; their Notions of the World's Creation and the Origin of all things, are mere confused Stories ; their Account of Time is perplexed, and not to be reckoned up. For the Immortality of the Soul, they rely as well on Plato as Pythagoras, (viz.) That it is transmigrated, and in such a Revolution of time they appear in the World again, Princes or Rajahs, according to the Demerits of their former livings or Penalties inflicted on them to purify them, their Soul, not being informed, but inclosed as a Bird in a Cage.

Whence it is that, propped by these Persuasions, the Women freely Sacrifice themselves, in hopes of coming into the World great and famous, after they have passed the Limbo of Transmigration with their Husbauds ; and in the mean while are Canonized and Invoked as Saints by their Kindred and Relations ; their Patriarchs oblige themselves to incredible Abstinence from Food, for many days together refusing any Sustenance, undergoing the strictest Penances.

In Esteem among them are principally Magick and Judicial Astrology, one of the Sectators of which on all accounts are consulted, as well by Moors as Gentues ; Grammar and Rhetorick, some of them being Masters of Persian, Indostan, Arabick, Sanscript (or Holy Language) Portuguese, and all the depending Speeches of Indostan, as Duccany, Moratty, Conchany, and the like ; besides the

Canatick, in which all their Sonnets and Poesies are expressed, being softer and more melting than the others; which is an Argument also of its Antiquity, Indostan, not having a Character to express itself in, on which the later Dialects depend Elocution, Physick, Metaphysicks, are not out of their Element : Their Philosophers maintain an Aristotelian Vacuity ; nor are they quite ignorant of Medicks, though Anatomy is not approved, wherein they lean too much on Tradition, being able to give a very slender account of the Rational Part thereof. In what Perfection Musick stands (as I am no competent Judge) I could never give my Ears the trouble to examine, it seeming loud and barbarous ; yet they observe Time and Measure in their Singing and Dancing, and are mightily delighted with their Tumbling and Noise. They as much dislike our shriller Musick, hardly allowing our Wayts fit to play to Bears, and our Stringed Instruments strike not their hard-to-be-raised Francies ; but our Organs are the Musick of the Spheres with them, charming them to listen as long as they play. Arithmetick being the most profitable Science, is the best understood by them ; to which they have a Natural Propensity, and will in a trice, without the help of Pen or Ink cast up the difficultest Sums, and never pause upon it.

In some Places they write on Cocoe-Leafs dried, and then use an Iron Style ; or else on Paper, when they use a Pen made with a Reed, for which they have a Brass Case, which holds them and the Ink too, always stuck at the Girdles of their Scrivans.

Among these are enrolled the Muttanies, Jougies, or Pilgrims, who lead a Beastly Life, having all things common, and are courted wherever they come ; nor do they ever depart, without leaving a Strain to their Profession : These are covered, the first with a White Sheet, and carry



Perfuming Pots, and Bless all as they pass; the others have a Snapsack, a Mirchal, and a patch'd Coat, rambling up and down as the Fakiers; the first are buried with their Heels upwards and Heads downwards; the others sometimes buried, sometimes burnt.

At the Heel of these may be reckoned the Bengal Juglers, Mountebanks, and Conjurers, as also the Dancing People; these are Vagrants, that travel to delude the Mobile by their Hocus Pocus Tricks (living promiscuously like our Gypsies); among whom I saw one who swallowed Chain, such as our Jacks have, and made it clink in his Stomach; but pulling it out, it was not so pleasant to the Spectators (being mostly Ladies, for whose Diversion he was brought) they puking when it was accompanied with a filthy roapy Slaver.

Others presented a Mock-Creation of a Mango-Tree, arising from the Stone in a short space (which they did in Hugger-Mugger, being very careful to avoid being discovered) with Fruit Green and Ripe; so that a Man must stretch his Fancy to imagine it Witchcraft.

I was promised to see a Fellow that cast up his Tripe by his Mouth, Stomach and all, showing them to the Beholders; but he was excused, having some time allowed him to prepare himself for it: In his stead were brought me two; the first of which, by Suction or drawing of his Breath, so contracted his lower Belly, that it had nothing left to support it, but fell flat to his Loins, the Midriff being forced into the Thorax, and the Muscles of the Abdomen as clearly marked out by the stiff Tendons of the Linea Alba, as by the most accurate Dissection could be made apparent, he moving each Row like living Columns by turns. The *Ætiology* whereof I think to be this; that while all the Contents of the Belly are moved upwards all Respiration is expelled, only the voluntary Motion of the

Animal Spirits acts upon the Nerves (the Mind or Soul commanding them) while the Vital or Natural are compelled to the contrary.

After this I saw another Fellow of a good Habit of Body, that had taught himself by use to depress his Sternum, with the Serratus Posticus Inferior, Sacro lumbus, and Triangular Muscles, so that the Cartilaginous Substance of the Ribs, which Anatomists separate for Dissection of the Thorax, and throw it back over the Face, by this means was crowded in, that it made a notable Cavities as deep as the Spine would suffer; in the meanwhile the Man was almost strangled, as if pressed to death; for under this Constrains neither he nor the former could take their Breath, yet remained so some time: Which may be a visible Instance that divers Urinary may continue a long space, being inured from their Infancy to keep under Water. From the rest of these I observed nothing more excellent than what is performed by our Rope-dancers, for Feats of Activity, or Slight of Hand. These pester every open place in great Cities and Publick Fairs, as they do in Europe.

*The next Rank*

Is of the Soldiers, commonly called Bashpoots, who by their Valour have won unto themselves the Perpetuity of their Arms and the Credit of being called in to the Aid of divers Princes, and are in continual Action under some one State or other bordering upon them; never altering their Vocations, being bred Warriors these aspire; not to great Charges, nor admit Commanders over them, unless of their own Cast; fighting Pell-mell, as every one is inspired from the Pay they receive; their Arms are Sword, Pike, and Buckler. A Soldier that puts on a Crocus-dye, intimates a Resolution either to die or to be Conqueror.

Opium is frequently eaten in great quantities by the Rashpoots, Queteries, and Patans, when they fight, which makes them run upon any Enterprize with a raging Resolution to die or be victorious. Before Engaging, it is usual for them to embrace one another, as if parting for another World; esteeming it happier to be killed in their Vocation, than to submit to the Lust of a Conqueor; their very Women disdaining to own them for their Husbands, when they once turn their Back upon their Enemies: Of one of which Viragoes goes this Story; Her Mate had made an Escape honourable enough for a prudent Retreat, when coming home and craving Meat from his Spouse, after many obloquious Salutes she put this Affront on him, she served him with a Brass Ladle, whereas before his Meals were taken up with one made of Iron; whereof he demanding the Reason, she tartly replied, Lest the sight of Iron should turn your Stomach from your Victuals, as it had done from Fighting.

#### The *Banyan*

Follows the Soldier, though as contrary in Humour, as the Antipodes in the same Meridian are opposite one to another: These have forgot if ever they were Jews, or no, but if any of these People are such, these are most likely; and by a double Right of Jew and Gentile, are a Compound of the greatest Cheat in the World, the fittest therefore to make Brokers and Merchants of: They are devout Proselytes in the Worship of this Countrey, and tenacious of their Rites and Customs; strict Observers of Omens, so that in travelling ten Miles they shall sometimes double the Ground, to avoid encountering a Caphala of Asses, or to take the Hand of a Flock of Goats or Cows grazing: In the Rains they will not ride in a Coach, for fear they should kill the Insects generated in the Cart-Ruts, or stinking Puddles: So foolishly superstitious are

they and precise in Matters of Religion; in cases of Trade they are not so hide-bound, giving their Consciences more Scope, and boggle at no Villany for an Emolument.

*The Poor Artisan*

Can hardly live for these, who will grind their Faces to fill their own Hoards, as much as the Defies do.

*The Peasants*

And Combies, who Till the Land, and dress the Corn, with no remarkable difference from other Nations; they plough with Oxen their Coulters unarmed mostly, Iron being scarce, but they have hard Wood will turn their light Grounds. The Gentues thrash their Corn with a Stick, not a Flail; the Moor men that are Husbandmen tread it out with Oxen (but muzzle their Mouths) which they do in the open Fields, before they carry it home; fixing a Stake in the Earth, and yoking the oxen three, four, or more a breast, fasten them to a turning Pole passing round till all be done.

Cooliea, Frasse, and Holencores, are the Dregs of the People, and are not permitted to have their Funeral Rites or Marriages with the others; so abject, that the others think themselves defiled if they touch or converse with them.

All these are distinguished one from another by the Cut of their Beards or different Painting of their Bodies and Foreheads, as well as winding of their Turbants. A Brachmin paints himself on the Front with a Pythagorean Y between his Eyebrows, descending to his Nose, and gives to every Tribe their peculiar Mark.

The Gentues wear little Beards, and shave them; the Moors great Beards, and trim them only to keep them decent: And since their Barbers are so necessary, as well to give them their distinguishing Shape, as for other Uses, we will let you know they seldom keep Shop, but go

about the City with a Checquered Apron over their Shoulders, and a Mirror in their Hands, which they offer any to see their Face in ; and if any employ them, they are well paid with a Gosbeek, much under a Farthing : When they pluck out a Razor not an Inch long, a Bason of Brass as big as a Coffee-dish, and a piece of Castle-Soap, which they dip into the Bason of Water, and rub about the Lips or Head, with no more Water than it gathers up, and so shave very well ; and for the Head few out-do them, both for Ease and Readiness : They have an Iron Tool also, one end to pick the Ears, another to cut the Nails, both which they do dextrously, clearing the Ears of great quantities of that thick Wax inclosed therein ; they also wash and anoint their Bodies, it being not obsolete here to anoint every day with Sweet Oyls, and the Poor, both Men and Women, with Cocoa Nut Oyl, which being Rank, together with their eating Hing and Garlick, makes them always smell so strong, that it is very offensive passing through Places of Resort, before one be accustomed to them ; they also rub the Hair of their Head with a sweet Powder to get the sweat out, and then bedawb it with stinking Oyl, which they say preserves it : In the Bath of Hummums they have a large Province.

#### *The Moguls*

Are the Invaders of their Liberties and Properties, ruling tyrannically ; yet more tolerable than what they were when first invited either by the Plenty of this Country and Scarcity of their own, which was a means to gain, as well as now to preserve their Conquest ; for they were originally Tartars, coming from Scythia with the Leader Tamerlane, and thence prided themselves to be called Whites, and still do so in scorn of the Indians, who are Blacks ; and it is the Flower of their Emperor's Titles to be called

the Great Mogul, Burrore Mogul Podeshar, who reckons but few Descents from Tamerlane, and is at present Aurea Zeeb; who Governs by this Maxim, To create as many Ombraha, or Nobles, out of the Moguls or Persian Foreigners, as many be fairly entrusted, but always with this Policy, To remove them to remote Charges from that where their Jageah, or Annuity arises; as not thinking it fit to trust them with Forces or Money in their allotted Principalities, lest they should be tempted to unyoke themselves, and slip their Neck from the Servitude imposed on them; for which purpose their Wives and Children are left as Pledges at Court, while they follow the Wars, or are Administering in Cities or Provinces; from whence when they return, they have nothing they can call their own, only what they have Cheated by false Musters and a hard Hand over both Soldiers and People; which many times too, when manifest, they are forced to refund to the King, though not restore to the Oppressed; for all Money, as well as Goods and Lands, are properly his, if he call for them.

Out of these are made Generals of Armies, under whom are Commanders of Hundreds and Thousands, as the Centurions and Legions; from thence to Fifty, Twenty, and Ten.

A Cavalier is Armed with a Poniard at the Right side of his Girdle; a broad Bladed Sword of an unwieldy size (and therefore poised with an heavy Pummel), on his Left side in a Belt; a Bow made of Horn strongly and artificially Gultinated (*Adducto flectere cornua seruo*) and Arrows in a Quiver at the Bow of his Saddle; and a great Lance in his Hand, with a Target hanging cross his Shoulders Bowed.

A Foot Soldier carries a Match-lock Gun, or else a great Lance and Target, and sometimes a Sword; the former are

ranked under the great Ombrahs, or the Chief Commanders of Hozory; the latter have a Standard of their own to repair to.

Munsubdars, or pretty Ombrahs, own the King only for their Leader, and have not above Four or Five Horse under them.

Rousanders are Cavaliers that are Paid by the Day, a considerable Salary, surpassing the Munsubdars, though not so Honourable.

A simple Cavalier under the Ombrahs have some of them Two Horses a piece, as his Lord favours him, and his Pay 30 or 25 Rupees per Month.

Among these may be reckoned the Artillery in which the Friangi's are Lifted; formerly for good Pay, now very ordinary, having not above 30 or 40 Rupees a Month.

For Artillery they have both great Ordnance and small Field Pieces, drawn by Elephants and Oxen, adorned with Streamers, besides Camels that carry Petereros.

The Soldiery are Paid, partly out of the Treasury, and partly out of the Lands allotted for that purpose.

The Husbandman is forced to Build low, and the Doors like entering Ports, otherwise the Soldier would bring his Horse, in as well as himself.

The Moormen domineer over the Indians most unsufferably; and these are of the Turkish or Arabian Sect in matters of Religion, owing Mahomet, and his brother to be his successor: The Chias, or Persian, own Mahomet also, but place the Succession of the Caliphship in the Daughter; and this is a dispute of so high a nature, that they Eat not, neither Communicate one with another.

There are some great Merchants among them, that are bou'd up more by the Authority of their Religion and Cast, than Cunning, the Banyan being forced to flee to them for Patronage: They imitate a noble Pomp, and are

not encountred abroad nisi magna Comitante caterra, without a great Train, using many Odors, in the Hummums, or Balneo's, nor are they without Oils, Perfumes and Essences of Sandal, Cloves, and Oranges, which are in their kind very exquisitely drawn off. They go Rich in Apparel, their Turbats of Gold Damask'd Gold Atlas Coats to their Heels, Silk Alajah, or Cattanees Breeches, Embroidered Sashes and Slippers, Golden Hilted Swords and Poniards, as also Golden Embossed Targtes; Silver and Gold Capparisons for their Horses, which are of Arabia, Persia, or Turkey.

The Moguls Feed high, Entertain much, and Whore not a little.

The Women are comfortable to the Wills of their Husbands, being truly no more than their Chief Slaves; Dressing the Victuals, and Waiting till their Lords have Dined, before they Eat themselves. Every Cast in India refuse to Eat with those of a contrary Tribe or Opinion, as well Gentues, Moors, and Persians, as any other; nor so much as to Dress the Meat in their Vessels, they accounting them Defiled.

#### A Fakier,

Is an Holy Man among the Moors; for all who Profess that Strictness (for such it should be) they esteem them Sacred; and though before apparent Traytors, yet declaring for this kind of life, and wearing a patch'd Coat of a Saffron Colour, with a pretended careless neglect of the World, and no certain Residence, they have Immunity from all Apprehensions, and will dare the Mogul himself to his Face: Of this Order are many the most Dissolute Licentious, and Prophane Persons in the World, committing Sodomy, will be Drunk with Bang, and Curse God and Mahomet; depending on the Toleration the Mogul indulges them with, having been one himself in the time



of the Contest among his Brethren so securing himself in till they had destroyed one another, and made an easy passage for him to the Throne; these People Beg up and down like our Bedlams with an Horn and Bowl, so that they enter an House, take what likes them, even the Woman of the House and when they have plaid their mad Pranks, away they go to repeat them elsewhere. Under this Disguise many pass as Spies up and down, and reap the best Intelligence for the benefit of the Prince that Employs them.

*The Portugals,*

Not to defraud them of their due, might have Subdued India by this time, had not we fallen out with them, and given them the first blow at Ormus; upon which the Dutch fell in and took from them the best of their Conquest, and all their Spice Trade; notwithstanding they have added some Christians to those former; Converted by St. Thomas, but it is a fond report to say all Indian no more than to have Conquered all the Inland Country, where they never pierced, their Possessions being most by the Seaside; yet at this day they bear the Port of a Vice-Roy at Goa who has his Council, and Governs after the Mode of Portugal: His Reign is Triennial, as are all their *Capitaneas*.

*The Dutch,*

Though a Commonwealth in Europe, find it properest to bear the face of a Monarchy here, appointing a General at Batavia, whose Power is extensive over all India: These begin to be taken notice of, and are esteemed as Men of War among these Nations for obliging and fair Means prevail not here, they being of a less Ingenuous Temper than to be won by any other ways than Force; so that a Tyrannical Government in India is as necessary to keep them under, as abstaining from Flesh and Washing their

Bodies, to keep them in Health; wherefore they have wisely Ordained Religious Rites: And this is the reason they have a value for.

*The English,*

Who they see are content with Bombaim, and a peaceable way of Trade; square with the Humour, and meet with the Praise of the Banyans; but command not that Awe by which these People are best taught to understand themselves.

*The Parsies,*

As they are called, are of the old stock of the Persians, Worship the Sun and Adore the Elements; are known only about Surat; where they are famous for what all other Nations deem infamous, the exposing their Dead to the Fowls of the Air: And these coming in by permission are obliged to Conformity with the Heathen Customs, being almost, as the Gibeonites to the Israelities, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water; having been curbed formerly by the Gentiles, and now by the Moors used as perfect Slaves; yet they endure this, that so they may enjoy their Religion, and at benefit, which is tolerated by the Indians more than any where, the liberty of their Children and an indulgence for Poverty.

The Indians are of Stature, Large Boned; their Colour varies according to the diversity of the Region: the Parsies are Straw Coloured, as Hyppocrates witnessed for them; Ethiopians are Black and Frizled; the Indians here are a mixture of these, but long Haired. The heat of the Sun alters our Europe-Men to a dark Brown; such as Sail to and again constantly in these Climates, by going Naked and exposed to the Sun, being almost as Swarthy, as the Natives, with this difference, that by Cloathing the Sunturnd wears off; but contrariwise; it remains indelible on the Indians.

Infants when newly Born have the same Flesh Colour as ours ; but in a few Days by the inbred Humour, and the Sun's Heat, declare their Hew to be of the same with their Parents.

The Women are small, and most are Plump, and are short in respect to the Men ; as to the order which Nature observes in them they are more forward than ours in Europe, and leave off Child-bearing sooner. For the different Positions of their Veins it's a silly Query, they being of the same Species of the rest of the World, bearing their Education, which is agreeable to them, and bear as good a Mean naturally, as ours instructed by the Masters of Behaviour ; they keep their Breasts bound up carefully, and on that account are no more extended than they should be ; they are quick in Labour, and Affectionate to their Children, Bearing them Naked on their Hips a straddle ; are well Proportioned, and for that reason not ashamed to shew the Motion of their Bodies, all their Limbs being visible, yet love to hide what should not be seen : They are Cleanly, as well in their Cookery as in their Bodies ; they suffer the Hair of their Heads to grow in Tresses, which the Rich Embroider with Gold, Coronets, and Rich Jewels ; the Poor Brade with Strings of Jassamin Flowers, and make Necklaces of the same ; the Rich have their Arms and Feet Fettered with Gold and Silver, the meaner with Brass, Glass or Tuthinag ; besides Rings at their Noses, Ears, Toes, and Fingers : Their Attire alters not into new Modes, nor need they a Taylor ; a Lungy being tied loose over their Shoulders Belt-wise, and tucked between their Legs in nature of short Breeches, besides a short Wastecoa, or Ephod to keep up their Breasts being all their Garb ; going constantly without Shoes or Stockings, Shoes being allowed their Midwives only, which are like the Men's, only a few Silk Tufts upon them

for distinction sake. Those that have Buried their Husbands (or rather Burnt them) are rifled of all their Jewels, and Shaved, always wearing a Red Lungy, whereby to be known that they have not undergone the Conflagration; for which cause they are despised, and live more Uncomfortably than the meanest Servant.

The Moors Women are all Cloathed like the Men, and has been said elsewhere, only Vailed when they go abroad; and thus the Indian Women are Habited.

They use no swathing to their Babes, and have very few deformed or Dwarfs among them; are Temperate, and live to a good Old Age, when their Hair also turns from Black to Grey I never saw but one Grey-ey'd, and therefore I suppose them rare (unless they should tincture them with some Fucus, it may be of Antimony, which we read in the Sacred Page the Jews used, especially the Women both to preserve them from Filth, and to procure a graceful Blackness, 2 Kings 9. Jer. 4. Ezek. 23) Nor but one Dwarf, which was a Brachmin, 109 Years old, well limb'd, and of a quick Apprehension, being not Three Foot high, free from the Infirmities of Age.

In general they are melancholy inclined, and love a sedate Life more than Action; and whether that may not add to their Dye, I leave to the Sceptical.

The Indian Wives dress their Husbands Victuals, fetch Water, and grind their Corn with an Hand-Mill, when they sing, chat, and are merry; such prevalency has Custom: They make their Bread as thin as Wafers, bak'd on broad round Plates or Stones, commonly of Rice; the Moors is made of Wheat, thicker and oblong, bestuck with Seeds to correct Wind, and mostly bak'd in in a Furnace, which they stick to the sides, when Dough, as we see Cow-Turds on a Mud-Wall. Boiled Rice, Nishany, Millet, and (in great Scarcity) Grass-Roots, are the com-

mon Food of the ordinary People; which with a Pipe of Tobacco contents them.

*Cities.*

Are many and populous; three more renowned than the rest (Dhilly, Lhor, and Agra), for the residence of the Emperor in one of these for every season of the year. The rest are known either for trade, or the provinces whose names they bear.

Their buildings suit with the country and state of the inhabitants, being mostly contrived for conveniency. The poorer are made of boughs or oleas of the Palmeroes, or leafs of teke, and thatch'd both sides and coverings; the middle sort of the gentues with mud one story; floored with cow-dung, which they do afresh every day, after they have swept and cleaused them. Under which, their household-gods, themselves, their family, and cattle, are all housed, and many times in no distinct partition. They plaster cow-dung before their doors, and so keep them clean, having a little place or two built up a foot square of mud, where they plant calaminth, or (by them called) talce, which they worship every morning, and tend with diligence.

The richer and the moors build with stone and mortar, sometimes with brick, making small show without, but delicately contrived within, with tanks, airy and cool choultries, private recesses for their women, tarass'd atop, and sometimes three or four stories high. Their furniture is moveable, as rich carpets to fit on the floor, and rich cushions behind them, without any chairs within-doors, unless large elbow chairs when they sit at their doors smoking in state.

And in these they spend their lives, and have the length of days here as in other places, they spinning them out

a long while. Whether the cause may be attributed to the air, or temperance in their diet, I know not. Yet this is certain, they are careful what they eat shall be well dressed, that the stomach be neither overcharged, nor have much trouble to concoct.

And since cleanliness is the next in esteem to godliness in human society, I will conclude with their washers, which are women as well as men; they are hired at easy rates, and are the best in the world, as our calicuts transmitted hither declare; they have each a little pit into which the water springs, and near it a great smooth stone, on which they beat their cloaths till clean; and if for family-use, starch them with congee, and so carry them home when dried; if for sale, they lay them a whitening, and after congee or stiffen them, and so deliver them to the packers, labour being to them instead of soap, for were they at much expense therein they could not live, their pay being inconsiderable. And by this small taste of their unweariedness in pains taking, their cheapness of every thing, and their faring hard, all their other craftamen may be valued, who work for nothing, comparatively with our Europeans; though in many things they exceed them for curiosity, as in staining of calicuts, and fine work either in gold or silver.

#### *The Language*

At Court is Persian, that commonly spoke is Indostan (for which they have no proper character, the written language being called Banyyn) which is a mixture of Persian and Sclavonian, as are all the dialects of India: A good argument to me of the peopling the world this way originally from the Scythian Mountains after the deluge; their speech containing many words agreeable

enough to ours in sound, as well as figure; more scraps whereof may be found when we come to Persia.

The last thing observable is the coins, weights, etc. A collection whereof follows.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### COLLECTIONS OF THE COINS, WEIGHTS, AND PRECIOUS STONES.

Usual in those places of trade within the Charter of the Honourable East India Company.

Coins of Surat, Amadavad, Agra, &c., in India.

THERE are divers sorts of coins in gold, seldom used in payments among merchants, some of a greater, others of lesser value; so also in silver; but the rupee is the most ordinary, whereof there are—

RUPEES  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Cazanacc,} \\ \textit{Hundea,} \\ \textit{Magarree,} \\ \textit{Chillannee,} \end{array} \right\}$  All valued at Mamoodoes  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ; the latter is of greater weight but course.

MAMOODOES are current only in Surat, and parts adjacent; they are worth somewhat less than an English shilling, but are so accounted in the Company's Books; and among merchants in the country,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  Mamoodoes is reckoned a Rupee. Yet to change Mamoodoes into Rupees, there is sometimes given 3, sometimes 8 or 10 Mamoodoes on the 100 rupees, according to their plenty or scarcity, or as the governor or banyans please to advance the Cambio, which is called among them Vattaw: In Anno 1663, was given 20 mam. per cent.

PICE, a sort of copper-money current among the poorer sort of people; of these, sometimes 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, to 24, make, or are reckoned to a mamoodoe; therefore



because they rise and fall, the Company's Accounts are kept in Book-rate pice, *viz.*, 32 to the Mam. and 80 pice to the rupee, for that without any reason the rupee is by the accomptant rated at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mam., whereas if it were rated at Mam.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per rupee, then in book-rate the rupee would fall to be 72 pice.

*Weights and Measures of Surat, Agra, &c.,*

The Surat maund was formerly 18 pice to the sear of 40, and made 33*l.* Averdupois. At present it is 40 sear of 20 pice the sear, which is 37*l.*

The maund pucka at Agra is double as much, where is also the maund ecbarry, which is 40 sear, of 30 pice to the sear, whereby indigo, silks, and other fine goods are sold.

By the foresaid maund of 20 pice to the sear, 40 sear to the maund, all sorts of grains are sold, and other goods of weight, whereof 20 maunds make a candy.

Amber and coral, 18 pice weight goes to a sear.

Measures of Surat are only two :

|            |   |         |
|------------|---|---------|
| The Lesser | } | Coveld. |
| and        |   |         |
| Greater    |   |         |

The former of 27 inches English, the latter of 36 inches English. By the first are sold all things (except broad-cloth, velvet, and satin, which are sold per English yard); by the other, the foresaid goods in all other places.

*Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Weights in Surat, viz.*

*Goldsmiths' Weights.*

- 1 Sear is 35 Tolaen.
- 1 Pice is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Tola.
- 1 Tola is 12 Masa.
- 1 Tola is 32 Valls.

*Jewel Weights.*

- 3 Ruttees is 1 Val.
- 1 Tank is 24 Rutt.
- 1 Rupee Oranshaw,  $64\frac{1}{2}$  Rt.
- 1 Miscall is one Tank and  $4$  Ruttees.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Tola is 2 Gudjanas.                                 | 8 Ruttees is 7 Carracks.                           |
| 1 Tola is 96 Ruttees.                                 | 1 Carrack, 4 Grains.                               |
| 1 Tola is 2½ Tanks.                                   | 20 Vassael, 1 Butt.                                |
| 2 Tolas and 19 Valls ; or 83 Valls make 1 Ounce Troy. | 3 Tanks, 1 Tola.<br>1 Mungere, 1 Rutt.<br>11½ Vas. |
| 2 Tol. 6 Val. the Weight of a Cruzado.                |  |
| 2 9 the weight of a dollar.                           | <i>Note.</i> —That 3 grains gold                   |
| 9 9½, the weight of a che-<br>queene.                 | make one carrack, dia-<br>diamond-weight.          |
| 100 Duchra, 1 Rupee, an Ima-<br>ginary coin.          | A Venice ounce is near-<br>est 1 tola ½. And 1     |
| 48 Futtals, 1 pagod, an Ima-<br>ginary coin.          | and ½ Venice ounce,<br>makes 1 ounce troy.         |

*Coins, Weights, and Measures of Rajapore.**Imaginary Coins.**Weights, &c.*

|                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| The Pagod is 3 and ½ Rupees. | The candy is 14 maunds. |
| 48 Fattals is 1 pagod.       | Surat.                  |
| 10 and ½ larees, 1 pagod.    | 4 Maunds Rajapore, 1    |
| Zorphins 2½, 1 old dollar.   | Surat maund.            |
|                              | 56 Sear Rabag, is 40    |
|                              | Suratsear.              |
|                              | 9 Maunds Rabag is 8     |
|                              | maunds Rajapore. And    |
|                              | 8 maunds Raja, is 6     |
|                              | maunds Surat.           |

*Coin and Measure in Rabag.*

|                              |                          |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 48 Rues in Rabag is 1 tucca. | The Guzz is 28 Inches ½. |
| 8½ Tuccas 1 pagod.           | 5 Guzz is 4 yards.       |

*Coins and Weights in Goa.**Coins.**Weights.*

|   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| The old St. Thomas, 16 Tan. 30.<br>rea. | 1 Babarr is 3½ Kintal.            |
| The new St. Thomas, 15 Tan. 15<br>tas.  | 1 Kintal is 4 Arobel or<br>Rovel. |

|                                    |                                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| The pagod, 15 Tan. less 96 bas.    | 1 Arobel is 32 Rotolas.            |
| The Venetian, 18 Tan. 30 res.      | 1 Rotola is 16 ounce or 17. Averd. |
| The Cruzado of Gold, 12 Zeraphins. | 1 Maund is 24 Rotolas.             |
| The Zeraphin, 5 Tongoes.           | 1 Candy is 20 maunds.              |
| The Tango, 5 Vinteens.             | 1 Mark is 8 ounces.                |
| The Vinteen, 15 Basrooks.          | 1 Pipa is 4 Barrels.               |
| Whereof 75 make a Tango.           | 1 Barrel is 6 Almodaes.            |
| And 60 Rees make a Tango.          | 1 Almodais 12 Cannales.            |
|                                    | 24l. Portugal is 26 English.       |

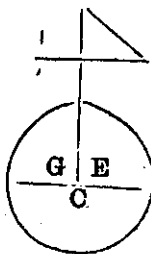
*Coins, Weights, and Measures of Duccan.*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| The maund or barkey of hubly and carwar is 26l. $\frac{1}{2}$ . Averd. | The sugar pagod is 8s. 9d.                               |
| The gunny of pepper in hubly is 12 maunds.                             | The tipkee pagods 4 Rs.                                  |
| The candy in Ellepore is 20 maunds of 26l. $\frac{1}{2}$ per md.       | But in vattaw differs from 100 sungar, to 118, and 123.  |
|  | The asmelob pagod is 1 per cent. less than the sungaree. |

*Coins, and Weights of Bombaim.*

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 3 Larees is one zeraphin.           | The Company's rupee, equal to the Surat, called paxdro. |
| 80 Raizes 1 laree.                  | The latter inferior by 4 pice each.                     |
| 1 Pice is 10 raies.                 |   |
| The raies are imaginary.            |   |
| 16 Bagerookes make 1 pice of Eight. | 28l. is a maund.  |

The Company's mark upon all their goods, bales, and parcels.



15 pice to the sear.  
 The country weight is a Rotola, 27 making a md.  
 A candy is 20 maund.  
 100 Mooras, 154  $\frac{1}{2}$  candies.  
 8 Parras is a candy.  
 12 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  parras is a moora.  
 20 Addalins is a parra.

## Callicut.

*N. B.*—The weights are the same as at Cocheen and Quilom.

The coins are specified in its history, page 55.

Tarrs are the peculiar coin, the rest are common to India.

## Cocheen.

A kental 128 rotulas.

120 rotulas is 112*l.* English, 7 per cent. difference.

The candy 20 maunds; 25*l.* per maund.

## Quilom.

The barbar is 20 maunds; 24*l.* port or 26*l.* English is the maund.

## Fort St. George, Mechlapatan, &amp;c.

*Pagods.*

|            |  |  |  |
|------------|--|--|--|
| Gold of    | $\left. \begin{array}{l} 2 \text{ Matts fine, } 10 \\ \text{Pagods wt is} \\ \text{worth.} \end{array} \right\}$ | 2½   | Is 8 matts, and ½ matts fine. Our English 20 <i>s.</i> is 9 and more. Fanams is 4½ matts fine. |
|            |  | 3  | 3½ 9 Pagods weight make 1 ounce troy.  |
|            |  | 3½   | 4 16 Pagods weight of silver.  |
|            |  | 4  | 4½ is 1 pagod weight of gold,  |
|            |  | 4½   | 5½ ½ Pagod in 1,000 is allowed for loss in mint.   |
|            |  | 5  | 5½ 5 Fanams in 1,000.  |
|            |  | 5½   | 6 8 Pagods is just weight of 1 piece of eight.   |
|            |  | 6  | 6½   |
|            |  | 6½   | 7½   |
|            |  | 7  | 8  |
|            |  | 7½   | 8½   |
|            |  | 7½   | 8½   |
|            |  | 8  | 9½   |
| 8½         | 9½   |  |  |
| And so on. |  | The accounts are kept in pagods and fanams, at 32 fanams to a pagod, and cash, 6 whereof make a fanam. |  |

*Note.*—That a pagod touch is There is likewise a double  
8½ matts fine. current at Porto Nova.

*Note.*—1 pagod is ½ weight of Eight shillings make one  
a dollar. pagod; 32 fanams 1 pa-  
god; every fanam 3d. and  
6 cash a fanam.

*Coins and Weights of Saim, Bantam, &c.*

SIAM.

1,000 Couries is 1 miam.

2 Foads is 1 miam, or mass. *Note.*—1 pecul rracau is a

¼ Miams is 1 pecul. tenth part more than 1

80 Pecul is 1 cattee. hobb Siam.

1 Cattee is 100 rupees.

500 Cattees is 1 hobb, or pe- The pecul is a rupee ¼.  
cul; or nearest 130l. Eng. 4 Mass is 1 pecul.

lish. 15 Pecul is 18½ rupees.

BANTAM.

The Bahar Banda is 100 cattees, and each cattee 6l. is  
600l. neat.

The Baha Malaga is 200 cattees, each cattee 2l. is 400l.

So that 1 cattee banda makes 3 cattees Malaga; and 300  
cattees Malaga make 100 Bahar Banda.

22 Cattees Banda, make 1 Pecul China, of 132l.

4 Pecul and 12 Cattees Malaga, make a Bahar Banda.

66½ Cattees Banda make 1 Bahar Malaga.

All commodities and merchandizes in Macassar, by the  
Banda Datchin, or weight, and from thence, are to be  
reduced to their proper weight.

Pepper is sold by the ganton, of which 225 make a Bahar  
Banda.

The quoin, which is the rice-measure, 40 great Gantons,  
each Ganton weighs 90l. English, which makes the  
quoin 3600l.

A lesser Ganton there is, whereof 20 makes 1 of the greater Tortoise-shell is bought by the Bahar Malaga, which is 200 cattees, weighed by the Banda Datchin.

1 Catee Banda is 4 Catt. China, which is 21 Ounces Averdupois.

1 Catee Malaga,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  China.

In Macassar { The Mass is 2s. 10d. 4.  
4 Cappans is 1 Mass.  
7 Cappans is 1 Dollar of 5s.

#### ACHEEN.

##### COINS.

1152 Cash is 1 Mass, 16 Mass is 1 Tale, 1 Tale is Sear or 18s.

1 Mass is  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee, and 32 Cash is 1 pice.

##### DITTO WEIGHTS.

1 Bahar is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  maunds Surat; 200 Cattees is 1 Bahar.

1 Catee is 29 ounces; 1 Bahar is 360l. English.

1 Catee is 70 tolas Surat.

1 Buncal gold weight, is tolas 3, 18 vals.

20 Buncals is 1 Catee of gold.

*Note.*—That if the following goods from Acheen hold out the following rates, the factor employed is no farther responsible.

Tin for 1 Bahar maunds 10 18 sear.

Pepper, 1 Bahar maunds 9 20

Benzoin, 1 Bahar maunds 9 20

Sapan wood, 1 Bah. maunds 9 00

Dammar, 1 Bahar maunds 9 00

Patch Leaf, 1 Bahar maunds 7 20

#### *Quedah and Jahore.*

##### COINS.

160 Tares is a Mass; 16 Mass is a tale; 1 tale is 40 Rupees, or 4l. 10s., at which rate 1 Mass is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Rupees; and 1 tarr is  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .

DITTO WEIGHTS.

220 cattees is 1 Bahar; 1 Bahar is 10½ maunds Surat; so 1 cattee is 2½ sear. The Buedah Bahar; of tin holds out more than the Acheen Bahar, about 10 sear per Bahar

MALLACCA.

| <i>Coins.</i>           | <i>Weights.</i>             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Cruzado is 6 tangoes. | 1 Bahar is 14 roves.        |
| 1 Tango, 10 vinteens.   | 1 Rove 32 pounds.           |
| 1 Vinteen, 20 lashees.  | The cattee 32 ounces.       |
|                         | 1 Ganto, 2 cannales of Goa. |

MANILLA.

| <i>Coins.</i>                      | <i>Weights.</i>             |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| The royal of Eight is 8 Tominians. | The rove, or aroba, is 26l. |
| 20 Barillioes is 1 tomin.          | The pico is 140l.           |
| 24 Maravidies to the Tomin.        | 100 Cattee is a pecul.      |

MACHAWO.

| <i>Coins.</i>  | <i>Weights.</i>   |
|--|---|
| Formerly the course dollar silver, being in the year 1657, and since, in esteem, was current with them; but since they have coined dollars of their own of an exquisite fineness, and buy our goods with their dollars, and receive them again for what goods we buy; insomuch that all the dollars the king Ferdinando, &c., ships, they brought back again, to their great loss. | 1 Pecul the Datchin weight is 4 maunds Surat.<br>1 Pecul is 100 cattees, which is nearest 132l. Averdupois.<br>1 Cattee is nearest 21 ounces Averdupois.<br>The maunds 27½ Surat sear, of which 40 makes 37l. Averdupois. |

- 1 Cattede is nearest 16 taies.  
 1 Teen is 10 mass.  
 1 Mass in silver is 10 quandreena.  
 1 Quandreen is 10 cash.  
 733 Cash makes one royal.  
 1 Grain English weight is 2 cash.

## BUBBORA.

*Coins.*

The old royal.

*Embraems.*

The laree 5-8 $\frac{1}{2}$  make 1 royal.  
 Abasses turn to loss.

- 5 Fluice is 1 parrow.  
 6 Parrows 1 shabee.  
 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  Shabees 1 abassee.  
 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  Abasseees 1 Royal.  
 2 Mamod 1 Abassee.  
 2 Royals 1 Chequeem.

*Weights.*

The maunds is 24l. or 23  
 sear.

- 1 Muckee 4 maunds Surat.  
 1 Mertigat, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  is a Surat tola.  
 1 Miscal, 12 valls, and  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 ruttee.

The measure lacks little of  
 English yard.

## MACHA.

*Coins.*

- The Royal.  
 The Ebraim 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  is 1 Royal.  
 The Cabeer 80 is 1 Royal.  
 2 Royals accounted a Che-  
 queem.

*Weights.*

- The Bahar 15 Ferasilabs of 30l.  
 The Ferasilab is 10 maunds  
 of that place.  
 The maund is  
 The Ferasilab is 27l. Rotulas  
 80.  
 The Rottula is 15 Vachia.  
 The Vachia is 1 Ounce.  
 The Martat or Catla is 7 $\frac{1}{2}$   
 Ferasilaba.  
 Indico is sold by this weight.



*Weights in Allepa.*

A Quintal 480 pound English.

A Churle 130.

A Rottolo 4.

## PERSIA.

*Coins.*

10 Cosbeagues is 1 Shabee; 4 Shabees is 1 Abasee, or 16*d.*; 50 Abass. 1 Thomand; 3 Shabees is 1 Mam. Surat; 2 Shabees is 1 Mamood. Persia; 6½ Shah or 67½; Cosb. is 1 Rupee. 200 Shabees is 1 Thom. or 3*L.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 2½ Sha. is 1 Larree, or 10*d.*

*Weights.*

1 Maund shaw is 12*L.*½; 1 maund Cannala is 9*L.*¾, being a Wine-weight; 1 maund Taberez is nearest 6*L.* ½; 5 maunds Taberez is 33*L.*

400 Drachms is 1 maund shaw.

200 1 maund Taberez.

300 1 maund Cannah.

2½ Miscals is 1 Surat Tola.

*Measures.*

37½ Inches, 1 Guz for Cloath, &c.

27 Inches 1 Guz for Carpets, Silk, Fine Stuff, &c.

*Coins of Mozambique.*

1 Cruzado is 4 Testoones.

1 Roy of ½ is 5 Testoones.

*Elephant's Teeth.*

Elephant's Teeth of Mozambique are bought per weight, whereof are three sorts, *vis.*

Muya, such are the greatest, free from flaws.

Muyda, which are the lesser, or the great once with flaws. Sara, the least, or worst sort.

The weights by which they are bought, are Baharrs and Frasslees; each Baharr 20 Frasslees, each Frasslee 12l.; and they call the Baharrs Gross.

Of Muayne,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Baharr of 20 Frasslees, makes 1 Baharr gross.

Of Muyda and Muyn they hold equal price, in regard that though the teeth of Muyn be bigger than the other, yet the Muyda giving more weight, they balance account.

Formerly they have been worth 260,270, 280 Cruz, per Baharr gross.

Of Sera, the current price was 150, or 160, and rarely 180 Cruz per Baharr gross.

In Surat, are three distinctions of elephant's teeth. All over 16 sear sell at 40 sear to the maund; from 10 to 16, at 60 sear to the maund; from 10 sear and under, 80 sear allowed to the maund.

#### *Tortoise-shell.*

When one head (as they call it) which is more properly an entire body, weighs 1l.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or 2l.; 'tis worth 30 or 36 Cruz, per Frasslee.

#### DIRECTIONS FOR KNOWLEDGE OF BEZOAR-STONES, &c.

##### BEZOAR.

The monkey Bezoars which are long, are the best; those that are rough prove commonly faulty, breaking with stones in the middle. Others in form of tares, somewhat flat, which break in smaller stones in the middle, are better than the rough ones.

Bezoar is tried sundry ways. As the rubbing chalk upon a paper, then rubbing the stone hard upon the chalk, if it leave an olive-color it is good. Also touch any with a red-hot iron, which you suspect, because their colour is lighter than ordinarily they used to be; and if they fry like resin or wax, they are naught. Sometimes they are

tried by putting them into clear water; and if there arise upon them small white bubbles, they are good; and if none, they are doubtful. The use of the hot iron is esteemed infallible.

#### MOSK.

It is best to buy it in the cod, for so it will be preserved; that which openeth with a bright mosk color is the best, and will yield—per ounce. When taken out of the Cod, if a little being chewed, and rubbed with a knife on clean paper, do look smooth, bright, or yellowish, it is probably good; but if the color be as it were mixed with gravel, it is bad. The goodness is best discerned per cent.

#### AMBERGREECE.

The grey is best; for trial thereof, if a little be chewed, and yield an odoriferous fragor, feeling in substance like Bees-Wax, then it is good, otherwise not.

#### THE NAMES OF PRECIOUS STONES OF THE EAST.

|             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| A Diamond.  | Agat.         |
| Ruby.       | Splen.        |
| Sapphire.   | Jasper.       |
| Emerald.    | Lapis Lazuli. |
| Topaz.      | Opal.         |
| Hyacinth.   | Vermillion.   |
| Amethist.   | Clystropie.   |
| Gurnett.    | Cornelian.    |
| Chrysolite. | Onix.         |
| Turkois.    | Bezoar.       |

#### THE DIAMOND

Is the hardest, and, when cut, the most beautiful of all stones; in knowledge whereof there is great difficulty, having a crust on them before they are cut; therefore caution is to be used in buying them beforehand to make a patern in lead. Their waters are white, brown,

yellow, blue, green, and reddish; whereof take notice, rating them according to their waters. In our climate the perfect white water is most esteemed.

Rough, brute, or uncut stones are in value half the price of cut or polished stones.

Neither the thick nor too thin in substance is best; a thick stone, which is high and narrow table, not making a show answerable to its weight, must be valued at less than that which is well spread, hath its corners perfect, and a pure white water; without spots or foulness, is called a paragon-stone, and in full perfection.

Uncut stones are distinguished into two sorts, thick or pointed, which are called naife-stones and flat stones; the flat stones are to be cut into roses or thin stones, the naife into thick stones, and those rough stones which will bear a good shape, without least diminishing in cutting, are in best esteem.

*The names of rough stones according to their forms and substance—*

A point.

An  $\frac{1}{4}$  point.

A thick stone.

An  $\frac{1}{2}$  ground stone.

A thin stone.

A rose stone, if round, if long, a fossel.

A naife.

The rough diamonds that seem greenest prove of a good water when cut, and those that seem white, when rough, prove often bluish being cut.

Care is to be taken likewise in choice of rough diamonds, to avoid those that have veins, for they will never cut well, seeming as if they were filed with a rough file.

For vending stones of six grains and under to one and a half are best.

For trial of a diamond: take a pointed diamond such as glaziers use, try it on any stone but a diamond, and it will cut the same.

The diamond that is sandy, or hath any foulness in it, or is of a blue, brown, or yellow water, [is not worth half the price of a perfect stone of a white water.

For cutting of diamonds you must never mould any diamond in sand or cuttle-bone, but you must use the second lead to make a patern of, because the first will come somewhat less than the other.

Never cast it off but of the perfect lead; for if any should cast it with tin, it being the lighter metal, you may wrong your judgment thereby, but in lead you will find the experiment to be good, *viz.*

Take the mould of the stone you would buy, which having moulded, cast it off in perfect lead, then make a patern of it; but before you go about to make a patern (of the stone you would cut) weigh the lead, and set down the weight in a piece of paper; then form the piece of lead to what fashion you think best, and most advantageous to the stone; then re-weigh the lead so formed, and setting down the weight, you may find what the stone will lose in cutting. The lead will weigh three times as much as the stone, which is a sure rule; and commonly it loseth one third part in cutting.

To make diamonds to clean: if you see a thick table diamond in a ring, a jewel, or in a collet for a jewel, you must first make it clean, either with a little pumice-stone, or with a few hot ashes, or with a little oyl, and and boil it, which will make it very clean.

#### *Valuation of Diamonds.*

There is a rule accurately to be observed, which is this, a stone of one carrack is worth 10*l.*; to value 2 carr. multiply per 2, which makes 4, and that 4 per 10,

the price of 1 carr., which makes 40*l*. So for 3 carr. 3 times 3 is 9 carr. and 9 times 10*l*. is 90*l*. This for even carracks comes nearest the true value; but for  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a carr., although a stone of 2 carr. be worth 40*l*., yet in this rule and way of reckoning (meaning  $\frac{1}{2}$  a carr., so valued) it is valued at but  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a carr., which is 50*s*. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a carr.; but at  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 50*s*., although a single stone, containing a grain, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  carr., is worth 30*s*. As for example: You would know what a stone of 6 grains is worth; 6 grains is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  carr. 3 times 3 is 9, and 9 times 50*s*. is 22*l*. 10*s*., which is the value of the stone of 6 grains. So of 5 grains, 5 times 5 is 25, and 25 times 12*s*. 6*d*. is 15*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*.

*To make a foil for Diamonds.*

A Foil to be set under a thick table diamond is to be made with Black Ivory and mastick, pick'd and made very clear, with a very little oyl of mastick to incorporate them.

Black Ivory and turpentine heated on the Fire is good; but the former is better.

For a thin table, black ivory scraped very fine is good; for take a little of the said ivory with a little oyl of mastick, and dry the same; or ivory with a little gum; air Water is also very good.

If you sell a thin diamond that hath high bisalls, then you may set it upon full scraped ivory, which graceth the play of the stone.

A rose diamond that is very thick, it's good to set it close upon the ivory, and it will play very well; or black velvet is good under a thin table-diamond, scraped as you do lint.

**THE RUBY.**

There are four sorts of oriental rubies, that which is the hardest, the best, and fairest colour, if it be very fair

and cut diamond-cut, is no less esteemed than a diamond for the weight, (or of the same weight); but it is rare to see such a one.

The second sort of ruby is white, oriental, and hard, which also is of good esteem, if out of a diamond-cut, but not of so high price as the perfect red ruby, but yet if it be in perfection, 'tis very rare, because there are but few of this sort.

The third sort of ruby is called a spinell, which is softer than the former, and is nothing of like esteem; because not so hard, neither hath it the life of the other; nor of such perfect colour; it's naturally somewhat greasy in cutting, because of its softness.

The last sort is called a ballace ruby, which is not in so much esteem as the spinell, because it is not so well coloured. This also is a stone naturally greasy, and will scarce take a polish. This looks like a garnet.

#### SAPHIRE.

There are three sorts, one perfect blue and very hard, which, if cut of a diamond-cut, and without *Calcedone*, is of very good esteem, and worth a good price, if it be in perfection.

The second is perfect white and very hard, which, if without blemish, diamond-cut, is likewise in esteem.

The third called water-sapphires are of small esteem, being not so hard as the other, and commonly of a dead waterish colour: they are of a slender value.

#### CORNELIANS.

Cornelian rings, of pure red colour, without spots.

Steal-stones of the bigness of 6d. or 1s. well coloured are esteemed.

#### TREE-STONES.

Stones with the lively representation or from of a tree thereon are esteemed.

## EMERALD

Is a stone of good account, and, if in perfection, 'twill bear a very good price, especially if it be cut diamond-cut, which is very rare; for naturally they are foul, and softer than the sapphire or ruby.

There is a paler sort but not effected, being base.

## THE TOPAZ

Is a stone very hard, full as hard as the sapphire; some are very yellow, and like the colour of muskadiue, pleasant to look on, which bears a good price if good and without fault. The stones may be burnt white in the fire, and look very well. Another sort are said to be white naturally, which would bear a good price if perfect, and cut of the diamond-cut. There's another sort of them soft, yet show very well, but have not the quickness of the other, and therefore of low esteem; trial of their hardness may be made by a sapphire or such a stone.

## THE HYACINTH

Is a stone yellow and transparent; it's of the hardness of the emerald; these stones are naturally foul, and full of little sands like gold; if they be in perfection, and of a very good colour, they bear a reasonable price.

## THE AMETHIST

Is a stone of three several colours, some of them are of a violet colour, some are of a more oriental colour, therefore called (amethyst oriental) which bears a very good price, few of these being to be found, but are of the pleasantest colour of all stones. Another sort being pale is called the white amethyst, or amethyst of Carthage. This naturally is of a quick or sparkling water, and very good colour, having for the most part a blush of red, which stones in perfection bear a tolerable price.

Agats for hafts of knives, white and well marled, are good.

THE END.

"Englishman" Press.