



**DELHI UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**

(U)
DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Cl. No. U8:43:L3

Encl

Date of release for loan

Ac. No. 149435

This book should be returned on or before 6/11/56 stamped below. An overdue charge of Six nP. will be charged for each day the book is kept overtime.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES
BY
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

GENERAL EDITOR: N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S.

To the Hon^{ble} Board of Directors for affairs of the
R^{oyal} Hon^{ble} United Company of British Merch^{ants} Trading to
the East Indies
H^{on}^{ble} Sir

It is now fourteen months since I rec^d the hon^{ble}
L^{et}ter to send you a Remonstrance and Petition relating to
some Services I had done for the Hon^{ble} Company in Persia
when their Factory of Gombroon was attacked by the Koolowcher
also of some Losses I sustained in my voyage to & from
Hajing with my Ship to protect your Factory. The particulars
of which and some other Occurrences I R^{es}pectfully shew^d to in
the R^{em}onstrance And my affairs calling in to Holland
soon after I put in my Petition and am but lately arriv^d here.
I begg your Hon^{ble} will please consider my Request and give me
a favorable & speedy answer because my Stay is but very short
at London yet I am with much Oblige

Y^{our} honors most Devoted and
most humble Servant
London July the 30th
1725
A. Hamilton

Fac-simile of the only known letter of Alexander Hamilton

(Reproduced by permission of the Secretary of State for India)

A NEW ACCOUNT
of the
EAST INDIES

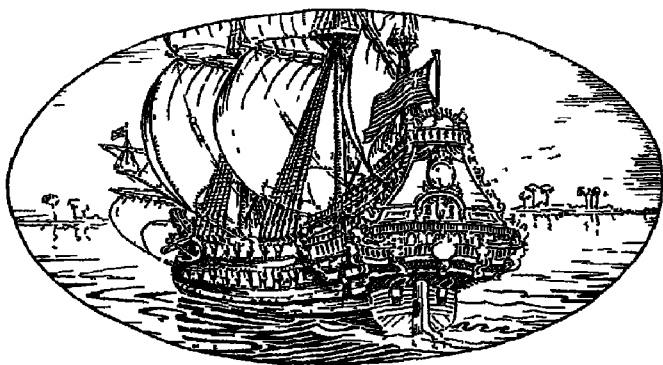
BY
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

With numerous Maps & Illustrations

Now edited
with *Introduction* and *Notes*
by
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.
President of the Hakluyt Society

In Two Volumes

VOL. I.



1930

THE ARGONAUT PRESS
EMPIRE HOUSE, 175 PICCADILLY
LONDON

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THE importance of Hamilton's account of his experiences in the East (1688-1723) is shown by the fact that one can scarcely find a modern work dealing with the history or geography of Asia for that period which does not contain references to his book; and it may appear strange that, since the reprint of 1744, no attempt should have been made (save in one general collection of voyages published early in the last century) to place so valuable a work at the disposal of a wider circle of readers. Possibly the explanation is that, until the recent revival of interest in the old travellers, the two eighteenth-century editions sufficed to meet the demand; while the length and complexity of the work have deterred modern editors from attempting to deal with it. Whatever the reason, the result has been that the original edition has advanced rapidly in price and copies are now rarely to be met with.

Though this alone would justify the issue of a new edition, a still better reason is afforded by the need for a critical examination of Hamilton's statements, which have been accepted rather too readily by modern historians. As will be seen from the notes appended to the present volumes, his memory was not infrequently at fault; while at times his prejudices and a certain recklessness of statement led him to distort the facts. It is important, moreover, to discriminate between what actually came under his personal observation (in regard to this he is generally trustworthy) and what he merely heard from others or deduced from imperfect evidence. But even after allowing for these drawbacks, his work remains one of high value as a source of information; while its raciness, and the numerous anecdotes interspersed in the text, render it exceedingly attractive reading.

As regards the present issue, the text adopted is that of the first edition (1727), and the only alterations that have been made are in the case of obvious misprints, such as transposed letters. All the original illustrations have been reproduced, though in some cases on a reduced scale. Such notes as have been found necessary have been placed at the end of each

volume, where they will not interfere with the reader's enjoyment of the actual text.

The duty of introducing the narrative was undertaken in the first instance by the late Sir Albert Gray, K.C.B. He was, however, hampered by ill-health and many pre-occupations, and at the time of his death in 1928 he had made little progress with his task beyond reading through the work, noting points for investigations, and jotting down impressions. It is much to be regretted that Sir Albert was not able to complete the undertaking, for his wide knowledge and shrewd judgment made him an excellent editor.

I have been most happily compensated, however, for this loss, by the consent of Sir William Foster to undertake the work. It would have been impossible to procure the services of anyone more suitable, and it is unnecessary for me to list the enormous amount of difficult research work on Indian subjects that has already flowed from Sir William's pen.

N. M. PENZER

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xiii
HAMILTON'S DEDICATION	3
HIS PREFACE	5
CHAPTER	
• I Gives a traditional Account of the first settling of <i>Europeans</i> at the Cape of <i>Good-hope</i> , with some historical Remarks on the maritim Countries between the said Cape and Cape <i>Guardafoy</i> , with the inhabited Islands of that Coast	13
II Gives a short Description of the Islands in the <i>Ethiopian</i> Seas, with some remarkable Passages historical and accidental	20
III Gives a Description of <i>Zeyla's</i> Sea-coast, and of a Part of <i>Ethiopia</i> , <i>Zuakin</i> and <i>Upper Egypt</i>	24
IV Gives a short Description of the Coast of <i>Arabia</i> the <i>Happy</i> , from Mount <i>Sinai</i> to <i>Mocha</i> ; with some Observations on the Religion, Customs and Laws, as they are now established	30
V Gives a Description of the <i>Immaum</i> of <i>Mocha's</i> Country, particularly of <i>Mocha</i> its Situation, Laws, Customs and Commerce; with some historical Observations	33
VI Contains a Description of <i>Aden</i> , with some historical Remarks about the <i>Turkish</i> Expedition from thence into <i>India</i> ; Also an Account of the Sea-coast of <i>Arabia petrea</i> , as far as <i>Muskat</i> and <i>Bassora</i> ; with a particular Account of an <i>English</i> Ship lost on the Island of <i>Maceira</i>	39
• VII Treats of the Kingdom and City of <i>Muskat</i> , and of their religious and civil Customs; with some historical Account of their Wars and Oeconomy. And a small Account of the Sea-coast of <i>Arabia deserta</i> , as far as <i>Bassora</i>	43
VIII Gives an Account of <i>Bassora</i> City, and that Part of <i>Arabia deserta</i> , with Remarks on its Government and Commerce, and some Occurrences, both ancient and modern, that have happened to it; with some Account of the famous River of <i>Euphrates</i>	51
IX Gives a Description of the Sea-coast of <i>Persia</i> , from <i>Euphrates</i> to <i>Gombroon</i> , with the Places of Commerce on the <i>Persian</i> Side of the Gulf	58
X Is a Continuation of Observations on the Empire of <i>Persia</i> , giving an Account of its Magnitude, the Reduction of <i>Ormuz</i> to the Obedience of <i>Persia</i> by the Assistance of the <i>English</i> : Also of the late Revolution by <i>Meriweys</i>	64
XI Treats of the <i>Mogul's</i> Dominions on the River <i>Indus</i> , particularly of the ancient Kingdom of <i>Sindy</i> its Product and Commerce, Religion and Customs of the Inhabitants; with a Description of the River <i>Indus</i>	71
HEI	b

CHAPTER	PAGE
XII Gives an Account of the ancient Kingdom of <i>Guzerat</i> , now a Province annex to the <i>Mogul's</i> Dominions, its Situation, Product, Manners and Religion, with some Account of the Pirates that inhabit Part of it; and some Observations on <i>Diu</i> , a <i>Portuguese</i> City on an Island pertaining to <i>Guzerat</i>	79
XIII Gives an Account of the Cities of <i>Cambay</i> , <i>Baroach</i> and <i>Surat</i> ; with several Occurrences that happened to them	86
XIV Is a Continuation of my Observations of the Religions and Customs used in <i>Surat</i> and the adjacent Country	93
XV Gives an Account of the famous <i>Aurengzeb's</i> Birth, his Politicks and Actions in obtaining the Empire, and of his long and prosperous Reign	98
XVI Treats of the Cities and Towns on the Sea-coast belonging to the Crown of <i>Portugal</i> , from <i>Damaan</i> to <i>Bombay</i>	104
XVII Gives a Description of <i>Bombay</i> , with some historical Remarks on its Wars, Government and Trade, till <i>Anno</i> 1687. when the Foundation of a War was laid, which proved the Ruin of the then <i>English East-india</i> Company	106
XVIII Continues the Observations on the Affairs of <i>Bombay</i> , with the Articles exhibited by Mr <i>Child</i> , in order to embroil the Company's Affairs with the <i>Mogul</i> and his Subjects	116
XIX Gives an Account of the War of <i>Bombay</i> , between the <i>Mogul</i> and the <i>English East-india</i> Company, with <i>Aurengzeb's</i> Letters of Advice to the Governor of <i>Bombay</i> , on granting them a Peace and new Indulgences in Trade	125
XX Gives an Account of what is remarkable on some Islands, and of the Sea-coast, as far as <i>Goa</i>	136
XXI Gives an Account of <i>Goa</i> its Situation, Trade, Religion and Churches, with the Fortifications about it, the Limits of the <i>Portuguese</i> Dominions there, as far South as <i>Cabo de Rama</i>	140
XXII Gives an Account of <i>Sundah Rajah's</i> Dominions, the Product, Religion and Customs of his Country, with Observations on his War with the <i>English East-india</i> Company in <i>Anno</i> 1718	147
XXIII Gives a Description of <i>Canara</i> , shewing its Fertility, Product, Government, Religion, Customs, and Temper of its Inhabitants	156
XXIV Treats of the <i>Malabars</i> their Forces and Families, Religion, Laws and Customs, Product of their Country, and their Commerce; with some miscellaneous Observations on their Customs and Wars	160
XXV Observations on the <i>Samorin</i> and his Country, their Religion, Laws and Customs, Product of the Country, and its Commerce; an Account of their War with the <i>Dutch</i> , begun in <i>Anno</i> 1708. and the Consequences of it	171

CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXVI Gives an Account of <i>Cochin</i> its Government and Strength, its ancient and present State, its Product and Commerce; with some Account of the <i>Jews</i> inhabiting there	179
XXVII Treats of the Island of <i>Ceylon</i> or <i>Zeloan</i> its Product and Commerce, Religion and Customs, the <i>Portuguese</i> Pride and Folly the Cause of its falling into the <i>Dutch</i> Company's Hands; with other historical Remarks and Observations, both ancient and modern	187
XXVIII Treats of the Countries on the Sea-coast, from <i>Adam's</i> Bridge at <i>Zeloan</i> to Fort St. <i>George</i> ; with an Account of St. <i>Thomas's</i> Martyrdom, according to the <i>Portuguese</i> Legend	192
XXIX Gives a short Description of Fort St. <i>George</i> its first Settlement and Rise, its Situation and Sterility, and some Remarks on its Government, and the Actions of some of its Governors	198
XXX Gives an Account of the Coast of <i>Chormondel</i> , from Fort St. <i>George</i> to <i>Ganjam</i> , the easternmost Town in the ancient Kingdom of <i>Golcondah</i> ; with Observations on their <i>Pagan</i> Worship, and some Occurrences that happened to the <i>English</i> Factory at <i>Vizagapatam</i> , while I was there	204
XXXI Treats of the Sea-coast and some inland Countries in the ancient Kingdom of <i>Orixa</i> , by the Natives called <i>Oria</i> ; with an Account of the famous Temple of <i>Jagarynat</i>	209
XXXII Is an Account of the maritim Towns on the Coast of <i>Orixa</i> , which terminates at <i>Ballasore</i> : Also of inland Places thro' which I travelled	215
NOTES	221

ILLUSTRATIONS

A letter from Hamilton to the East India Company (see p. xxxiii)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
The Effegie of the God Gunnies	136
Hook-Swinging	153
The Temple of Jaggerenatt	211
Jaggerynatt's Coach	213

MAPS

	PAGE
A General Mapp of the Sea Coasts of Africa from the Cape of Good hope to Cape Guardafoy with the Inhabited Islands in those Seas	
also	
A Mapp of the Coasts of Zeyla, Ethiopia, Zuakin and Upper Egypt	13
A Mapp of Arabia Petrea and Arabia Deserta from Cassin to Boserah	.
also	
A Mapp of the Sea Coast of Persia from Boserah to the River Indus	39
A General Map of India Intra Ganges	86

FULLER TITLES OF WORKS CITED

- ANDERSON, DR JOHN. *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*. London, 1890.
- ANDERSON, REV. PHILIP. *The English in Western India*. Bombay, 1854.
- BADGER, REV. G. P. *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*. Hakluyt Society, 1871.
- BARBOSA, DUARTE. *The Book of*. Edited by M. L. Dames. Two vols. Hakluyt Society, 1918, 1921.
- BERNIER, FRANÇOIS. *The Travels of*. Translated by Archibald Constable. London, 1891.
- BIDDULPH, COL. JOHN. *The Pirates of Malabar*. London, 1907.
- BOWREY, THOMAS. *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79*. Edited by Sir Richard Temple, C.B., C.I.E. Hakluyt Society, 1905.
- CRAWFURD, JOHN. *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries*. London, 1856.
- *History of the Indian Archipelago*. Three vols. Edinburgh, 1820.
- DAMPIER, WILLIAM. *Voyages of*. Edited by John Masefield. Two vols. London, 1906.
- DANVERS, F. C. *Report on the India Office Records*. London, 1888.
- *The Portuguese in India*. Two vols. London, 1894.
- DA ORTA, GARCIA. *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*. Translated by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B. London, 1903.
- DE LA LOUBÈRE, M. *Description du Royaume de Siam*. Two vols. Amsterdam, 1713.
- DOWNING, CLEMENT. *History of the Indian Wars*. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. London, 1924.
- English Factories in India, 1618-69*. Calendared by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Thirteen vols. Oxford, 1906-27.
- FRYER, JOHN. *A New Account of East India and Persia*. Edited by William Crooke, C.I.E. Three vols. Hakluyt Society, 1909-15.
- HALL, D. G. E. *Early English Intercourse with Burma*. London, 1928.
- HARVEY, G. E. *History of Burma*. London, 1925.
- Hedges' Diary*. Edited by Sir Henry Yule, K.C.B. Three vols. Hakluyt Society, 1887-89.
- HERBERT, THOMAS. *Travels in Persia*. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. London, 1929.
- Hobson-Jobson*. By Sir Henry Yule, K.C.B., and A. C. Burnell, C.I.E. Second edition. Edited by W. Crooke, C.I.E. London, 1903.
- INSH, G. P. *Papers relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, 1696-1707*. Edinburgh, 1924.

- LEGUAT, FRANÇOIS. *The Voyage of*. Edited by Capt. P. Oliver. Two vols. Hakluyt Society, 1891.
- Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, 1602-17*. Six vols. London, 1896-1902.
- LOCKYER, CHARLES. *An Account of the Trade in India*. London, 1711.
- LOGAN, WILLIAM. *Malabar*. Three vols. Madras, 1887.
- LONGRIGG, S. H. *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*. Oxford, 1925.
- LOVE, COL. H. D. *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Four vols. London, 1913.
- MADROLLE, C. *Les Premiers Voyages Français à la Chine*. Paris, 1901.
- MANRIQUE, SEBASTIEN. *The Travels of*. Edited by Lieut.-Col. C. E. Luard, C.I.E., and Father Hosten. Two vols. Hakluyt Society, 1927.
- MANUGGI, NICCOLAO. *Storia do Mogor*. Translated by William Irvine. Four vols. London, 1907-08.
- MASTER, SIR STREYNESHAM. *The Diaries of, 1675-80*. Edited by Sir Richard Temple, C.B., C.I.E. Two vols. London, 1911.
- MILBURN, WILLIAM. *Oriental Commerce*. Two vols. London, 1813.
- MORSE, H. B. *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*. Five vols. Oxford, 1926-29.
- MUNDY, PETER. *The Travels of*. Edited by Sir Richard Temple, C.B., C.I.E. Five vols. Hakluyt Society, 1907-25.
- OVINGTON, REV. JOHN. *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*. Edited by H. G. Rawlinson. London, 1929.
- PALLEGOUX, MGR. *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*. Two vols. Paris, 1854.
- PYRARD DE LAVAL. *The Voyages of*. Edited by Sir Albert Gray, K.C.B. Three vols. Hakluyt Society, 1887-90.
- ROE, SIR THOMAS. *The Embassy of — to India*. Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Second edition. London, 1926.
- STRACHEY, RAY and OLIVER. *Keigwin's Rebellion*. Oxford, 1916.
- [TACHARD, FATHER G.] *A Relation of the Voyage to Siam in 1685*. London, 1688.
- TAVERNIER, JEAN-BAPTISTE. *Travels in India*. Translated by V. Ball and edited by W. Crooke, C.I.E. Two vols. London, 1925.
- TERRY, REV. EDWARD. *A Voyage to East India*. London, 1777.
- VALENTIJN, F. *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*. Five vols. Dort and Amsterdam, 1724-26.
- WILSON, C. R. *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. Four vols. London and Calcutta, 1895-1917.
- WRIGHT, ARNOLD. *Annesley of Surat*. London, 1918.

INTRODUCTION

Of the early life of our author we know nothing more than he has chosen to tell us in his preface. That he was born in Scotland may be taken for granted; but when, and where, and of what parentage, are questions which we ask in vain. The name is a common one, and in the absence of any indication of the locality in which to search, only a lucky accident could enable us to obtain information on these points. He seems to have made good use of such opportunities as were open to him in the matter of schooling; but we infer that at an early age poverty forced him to seek his own living. His adoption of the seafaring profession he ascribes to "a rambling mind and a fortune too narrow to travel like a gentleman": and he further tells us that he was very young when he began his studies "at Neptune's school," and that before he "came to be a Master of Arts in that university" he had made voyages to most of the maritime kingdoms of Europe, to Barbary, and to Jamaica; finally going in 1688 (the first date that emerges) to the East Indies. By that time, we imagine, he must have been at least twenty-one years of age (probably a little older), and fully qualified to take charge of the navigation of a ship.

Hamilton himself, whose cue it was to say as little as possible about his private affairs (though fortunately he did not always keep to his resolve), leaves us entirely in the dark as to the way in which he managed to reach India. However, years afterwards, his purchase of a vessel which had been the property of an interloper led the Surat factors to report the transaction to their employers (*O.C.* 8693), and in so doing they alluded to him as "Captain Alexander Hamilton, a Scotchman that came out a supernumerary sailer in Your Worships service on the *Shewsbury* to Bombay." The log of that vessel has not been preserved; but from other sources we learn that she left the Thames about the end of April 1688 and reached Bombay on 5 November following (*O.C.* 5659)—a memorable date in English history, for on that day William of Orange landed at Torbay. Evidently Hamilton had been taken on board at his own request (possibly at the last moment) as an extra hand, willing to serve without pay. The captains of Indiamen were glad to have some surplus sailors, for it was a melancholy certainty that disease would soon carry off part of the crew; while our Scotch adventurer was only anxious to get out to the East by any means, and was all the freer to leave the ship on arrival since he had not been regularly enlisted.

Almost invariably we find Hamilton spoken of as an 'interloper'; but this is hardly an accurate description, for the term connotes in fact one who interfered in the Company's direct trade between Europe and Asia, whereas our author's sphere of action was the local trade in the East. This trade the Company had abandoned to its servants; but it was shared also by a number of private individuals, known as 'free merchants,' who were chiefly discharged factors or seamen who had contrived to remain in India for the purpose. The Company made no serious attempt to interfere with the activities of the latter class, so long as they were registered locally and refrained from leaguering themselves with the detested interlopers and from encroaching in other ways upon the Company's preserves. Had Hamilton really been an interloper (in any but a technical sense), he would not have been engaged by the Bombay government, as narrated later, to command their local forces; nor would he have dared, after his return to England, to apply to the Directors for a home appointment.

Another prevalent misconception is that he was merely a sea-captain. As a matter of fact, although he generally navigated the ship he was in, his business, while in the East, was mainly that of a merchant or supercargo. It is true that, as he tells us (vol. i, p. 133), Indian traders eagerly sought the services of British commanders "and allowed them very handsom salaries and indulgences"; but the money to be earned in this way was nothing to that which could be made by hiring or purchasing a vessel and carrying one's own (or other merchants') goods from port to port. Ovington tells us (p. 228) that among the Company's servants at Surat "persons of credit and esteem, but of small fortunes, may borrow from the Bannians money for China at 25 per cent., and that only to be paid upon the safe arrival of the ship; which if it miscarries in the voyage, they are exempt from all damage"; while, as regards the profits of such ventures, he says that cent. per cent. was quite usual on goods brought from China to Surat. We know that Joseph Collet, when President at Bencoolen in 1714, was making £2000 a year by private trading (*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, vol. vi, p. 36); and the fortunes carried home by such men as Thomas Pitt and James Macrae (the latter a Scotsman of as obscure an origin as Hamilton's) show what lucrative opportunities offered themselves to men of ability and enterprise. At the same time it is well to remember that the risks were many and great. Shipwreck, enemy action, local disturbances, even an unfortunate choice of goods or markets, might at any time involve the merchant in disaster, especially if he had not the prestige and security of a post in the Company's service to fall back upon. Certainly a high percentage of the traders in

Hamilton's position made little more than a bare living; and of those who survived the effects of the climate comparatively few succeeded in carrying back to their native country enough money to enable them to spend the rest of their days in comfort.

Hamilton reached Bombay at an unfortunate moment, for he found all trade at a standstill and the little English community under the shadow of a cloud that threatened to overwhelm them. The desultory warfare that had been going on for some years on the other side of India between the British and the Mughal authorities had now spread to the western coast. In order to secure redress for injuries received at Surat and elsewhere, Sir John Child, who had been invested by the Company with supreme authority and the title of General, had seized all the Indian ships he could find and was holding them as hostages; while the Governor of Surat had retaliated by imprisoning the English factors at that port and confiscating their goods. Early in 1689 Child, by an ill-advised move, brought a third party into the dispute. Coming across a convoy of rice destined for the Sidi of Janjira, who was in command of a Mughal force acting against the Marāṭhas, he confiscated it as being enemy's property. The incensed Sidi promptly landed an army on the island of Bombay, drove Child's weak forces into the settlement, and commenced a close siege. Being destitute of artillery, the attackers could make no impression on the walls; while, since the sea was open, they were unable to starve out the garrison. However, the Sidi, having begun the enterprise, could not abandon it without loss of prestige, and so for many months the siege went on. The strain told heavily upon the defenders, while at the same time the suspension of commerce inflicted a great loss upon both the Company and the private traders. On the other side, the Indian merchants and officials at Surat were also anxious for an accommodation which would restore the old relations; and at length, after months of negotiation, a reconciliation was effected. In February 1690 the Emperor Aurangzeb issued a *farmān* (edict) in lofty terms, pardoning the English for their aggression on condition that they made restitution, accepting a sum of money in compensation for the mischief they had wrought, and ordering the dismissal of Child, as the person chiefly responsible. The arrangement, however, was not entirely one-sided, for a fresh Governor of Surat was appointed, who was ordered to compensate the English for the seizure of their goods and to investigate and redress the principal abuses of which they complained.

Child himself, worn out by the anxieties of the struggle, had died on 4 February 1690, and was thus spared the full knowledge of his humiliation.

For the unsuccessful issue of the war he was largely blamed by his subordinates, with whom (as Ovington tells us) he was already unpopular on account of his efforts to economize at their expense for the Company's benefit. Hamilton, though he could have had but little actual contact with that high and mighty official, shared in the general antipathy, and was doubtless further embittered by the fact that the war had had an adverse influence upon his own fortunes at a critical moment. His reflections upon the General's character and conduct are caustic in the extreme; and it has been unfortunate for Child's fame that most historians have taken their cue from our author. No doubt Child's actions were often blameworthy; yet it is scarcely conceivable that a man so trusted by the Company and so constantly supported by its leading spirit, Sir Josiah Child, could have been merely the incompetent blaggart depicted in Hamilton's pages.

While hostilities lasted, all men of British birth available were pressed into the defence of Bombay. Our young Scotsman obtained the command of a small vessel, and in three or four months brought in nine prizes (vol. i, p. 128). But the pay was poor and plunder was not allowed; so it was doubtless with relief that he hailed the withdrawal of the Sidi's force from the island in June 1690. It would appear that he thereupon repaired to Surat, where the chances of employment were greater than at Bombay; for he mentions (vol. i, p. 98) that in 1690 he was at Swally (the port of Surat). It was of course requisite that he should begin by gaining experience in a subordinate position; and so we find him two or three years later engaged in a voyage to China in the service of George Bowcher (a dismissed factor, who had set up as a private trader at Surat), in a vessel commanded by Bowcher's son-in-law, George Yeoman. This explains his statement (vol. ii, p. 130) that he was at Amoy in 1693; while, since he also mentions (vol. i, p. 149) that in 1692 he was at Kārwar, it may be presumed that the ship called there on her outward voyage. While at that port he incurred the displeasure of the Company's factors by enticing away a fellow-countryman named Fleming, who had been of much service to them as gunner and surgeon; and on their complaint to Bombay, an order was despatched to the Surat factors to send Hamilton to headquarters. It was, however, no easy matter at any time to make that determined Scot do anything that did not please him; and so the order was never carried out, though some attempts were made later to enforce it.

After his return from China, Hamilton in 1694 undertook a voyage to Achin in a vessel belonging to a Muhammadan merchant of Surat—presumably his first independent venture. And this he did in defiance of an

order issued by Sir John Goldsborough (the then General), interdicting British mariners from sailing in country ships and requiring them to repair to Bombay. He appears to have called at Malacca, for in 1696 he drew up a list of "enormities acted" there by Thomas Newman, commander of the *Armenian Merchant*, in July 1694¹.

In the next year (1695) Hamilton went to Johore with a suitable cargo (vol. ii, p. 51). He had already learnt the advisability of taking a strong line, if he wished to be respected; and when a Muhammadan merchant and his son sought refuge aboard his ship, he replied to the Sultan's demand for their surrender by driving the royal messenger overboard and threatening to bombard the palace. This so intimidated the despotic tyrant that the bold captain was allowed to transact his business in peace.

He returned to Surat in time to become involved with the other Britons there in the troubles caused by the capture of an Indian ship by a European pirate. On receipt of the news, in the middle of September 1695, there was an outburst of popular fury, and the Governor seized all the factors and seamen (to the number of about fifty) and confined them in chains in the English factory, in order to force the President (Samuel Annesley) to make compensation for the piracy. This he naturally refused to do, alleging that the offenders were not proved to be of British nationality. An appeal was made to the imperial court, and after a time, thanks to the mediation of the Wazir, Asad Khān, Aurangzeb was induced to give orders (Dec. 1695) for the release of the prisoners, contingent upon the three European nations at Surat—English, French, and Dutch—undertaking to send ships to bring in the pirates or in the alternative to pay the damages sustained by the owner of the captured vessel. The required bonds were duly signed, but still the local authorities continued their harsh treatment of their captives; and it was rumoured among the latter that the real cause of their continued detention was that the Governor was holding out for a bribe but that the President was unwilling to dip his hands into the Company's treasury for such a purpose. The imprisoned seamen grew impatient, and Hamilton, in his impetuous way, played an active part in schemes for violent action. He had managed to induce the Indian authorities to take off his chains and permit him to reside under guard in the house of John Vaux, a strong opponent of Annesley; and with the backing of his host he now circulated for signature a paper threatening the President that, unless he found means to end the deadlock, the sailors

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14253, f. 59. The other facts given above are mostly taken from a Surat letter of 31 May 1696, in *Factory Records: Bombay*, vol. xxiii (India Office).

would arm themselves and break through their guards. Action of this description would have brought down vengeance on all the English, and so Annesley and his Council took immediate steps to avert it. On 6 March 1696 Hamilton was summoned to the Council table and interrogated. 'The President first demanded why he absented from prayers and table. He said he always eat with Mr. Vauxe. The President asked him why so, and whether the President had forbid him the Right Honourable Company's table. He said: No, but he had done worse: he had brought six moneths imprisonment on him by hindering him from employments before the troubles. The President asked him why he went not downe to Bombay. He said he had no busyness there: if the General or President would shew him the King's order for it, he would go thither: he had suffered enough there already and would do so no more. He used several rude expressions; upon which the President bid him retire, which he did." However, Hamilton's associates were not so daring as he, and Annesley managed to persuade them to await the result of the efforts he was making for their liberation. After some further delay an imperial order for that purpose reached the factory on 27 June 1696, and thereupon the prisoners were set at liberty¹.

The friendship formed between our author and John Vaux, who, having been discharged from the Company's service, had remained at Surat as a private merchant, resulted in plans for a voyage to be made by the former in the service of the latter. This scheme was nearly wrecked at the outset by the intervention of the Governor, prompted by Annesley, who had not forgiven Hamilton for the trouble he had caused and was still desirous of sending him a prisoner to Bombay, as previously ordered. The account of the incident given in Vaux's journal (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14253, f. 72) may be quoted, though it is provokingly incomplete: "October the 5th 1696. Captain Alexander Hamilton being going in the *Grayhound* sloop in my servis and by leave of the Mearbar² carried his chest of cloathes on board, Mr. Annesley sent the Companies broker to tell the Governor hee was the Companies servant and owed them a greate deale of money; besides, if hee lett him goe, hee would cary away Mr. Vaux too, and then whoe should answer for the coronoma?³ The Governor

¹ I. O. Records: O.C. 6226, 6227, 6324, 6379; *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. v, and *Miscellaneous*, vol. v; Surat letter to Bombay, 31 May 1696, in *Factory Records, Bombay*, vol. xxiii. Also Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14253, f. 59.

² *Mīrbahr*, harbour-master.

³ *Qarār-nāma*, the bond given by the English regarding the piracies.

sent Annesley word to knowe what should be don with him; whoe replyed hee would have him put in irons and sent on board the Companies ship *Emrald* at Swalle Hoole. Said Hamilton said to the Governors officers first cut his head off and then send his body to Bombay. Hee, hearing that, ordered him to be sent to the Coottwalls¹, unless hee could gett security to bee forthcoming when hee shall call him to justice; and sent to me to know if I would [be] bound for his appearance. I made answer yess, provided Mr. Annesley shall be made to give in his accompts and prove his debt before the justice. Mr. Annesley, hearing that, sent word to the Governor it was not for any debt he owed, but that Sir John Gayer had a mind to speake with him. Then the Governor sent againe to me to become bound for his appearance; which I did, and gave a writing under my hand and seale to be security for one month from the 4th instant." Presumably thereupon Hamilton was allowed to make the voyage, which was probably only a short one.

In 1697, as he tells us (vol. ii, p. 130), Hamilton made a second venture to Amoy, but of this we have no particulars. Nor do we know what he was doing in the following year. In 1699, however, he once more comes into view, though again our only information is derived from his own statements (vol. i, p. 72). According to these, he arrived at Lāharībandar, the port of Sind, some time in that year, bringing a cargo worth over £10,000, and having, on his way from the coast of Malabar, repulsed an attack made upon his ship by three Indian pirate vessels. He found himself obliged to carry up his goods to Tatta; and this he did in January 1700, successfully running the gauntlet of an attack by Balūchī robbers. At Tatta he was received with much respect, and there he remained three months, disposing of his goods and laying in a return cargo.

Of his experiences in 1700, on a third voyage to China, he has given us a fuller account (vol. ii, p. 136). His employers seem to have been a syndicate headed by Sir Nicholas Waite, who was President at Surat for the New East India Company; and Waite, for the greater security of the venture, persuaded Commodore Littleton, who was in command of a squadron of royal warships sent out to suppress the piracy which was causing such dire harm to English trade, to allow one of these, the *Harwich*, to go with Hamilton's vessel—the *Footisay* or *Futtisaw* (probably *Fathīshāh*)—under pretence of looking for pirates said to be infesting the Straits of Malacca. Apparently it had been agreed that the syndicate should defray any extra expense thus caused, for we find Hamilton making

¹ *Kotwāl*, magistrate.

various payments on the account of the man-of-war. Near Achin the two ships were parted by a storm; but they met again at Malacca, and proceeded in company to Amoy, where they arrived on 12 August 1700. There they found four English ships (three from England and one from Bombay). At first the *Harwich* was refused admission to the inner harbour, and was obliged to go to an island near by for careening; but, after referring the question to higher authority, the Governor permitted her to be brought into the harbour and laid ashore on an island opposite to the town. Then disaster supervened. The repairs having been completed, an attempt was made to haul the vessel off; but her youthful captain "chanced to be a little inebriated," the tide was running swiftly, and the result was that she "sat fast on the rocks" and became a total wreck¹. The question next arose how to repatriate the ship's company, numbering nearly two hundred. The captains of the East Indiamen thought that this was solely Hamilton's affair, seeing that he had brought the *Harwich* there. Hamilton thought not. He willingly enrolled a large number of the men in his own ship, but he considered that the other captains should share in the task; and finding them recalcitrant, he obtained an order from the Chinese authorities forcing them to do so. They protested, but were obliged to submit. Hamilton himself showed great generosity in providing for the wants of the shipwrecked mariners and in lending money to their officers. His liberality in this respect met with a poor response, for, according to his own account, both the Admiralty and Captain Cock meanly evaded making any sort of repayment.

We next hear of him in 1702, when, as we learn from vol. ii, p. 55, he arrived at Achin from Surat in May, in a ship well armed, as the seas were dangerous owing to the war with France and the depredations of European pirates. On arrival the overbearing attitude of the Shāhbandar in regard to custom dues provoked a breach; whereupon Hamilton induced three English ships lying in the port to leave and join him in an active blockade. Some skirmishing followed, and our bold captain landed with his men and spiked the guns of a small fort on the shore. The blockade soon produced a popular demand for an accommodation; with the result that the authorities capitulated and allowed trade to be resumed on the old terms. Hamilton himself proceeded to Johore (he was there in July: O.C. 8027) and thence to Malacca, arriving about the beginning of August

¹ The loss was investigated by a court-martial, held aboard the *Barfleur* in the Downs, under the presidency of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, on 29 September 1701, when Capt. Cock and his officers were acquitted of blame (Public Record Office: Ad. 1/5262).

(vol. ii, p. 49). There he found the survivors of the Scottish East India Company's vessel *Speedwell*, which, like the *Harwich*, had been wrecked after careening. Hamilton, who was on his way back to Surat, took the sailors on board his own ships (for he had now a second under his command). Further, he and the three remaining officers of the *Speedwell* devised a plan by which he was to return later with his "great ship," and carry them to Scotland with such cargo as they could procure at Malacca in the meantime. The scheme came to nothing, owing to the opposition of the chief supercargo, who was absent when it was formed; but it is curious to find Hamilton contemplating such a procedure. It looks as though he had either already acquired a competency by his trading, or else was despairing of so doing, and was beginning to wish himself back in his native land. If he had any money to take home, the scheme would certainly offer great advantages, for he would have sailed direct to a Scottish port and under the flag of the Scottish Company. We may note in passing that the facts he gives concerning the *Speedwell* and the *Worcester* are valuable contributions to the history of that ill-fated association, the "Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies."

In 1702 also Hamilton hired the *Albemarle*, a ship belonging to the New East India Company, for a trading voyage from Surat to the Malabar Coast and back (vol. i, p. 165); but whether this was before or after the Achin venture cannot be determined. The following year he made his fourth voyage to China, in a ship of 40 guns, manned by a crew of over 150 (vol. ii, p. 119). After calling at Badagara, on the Malabar Coast, where he had an interview with the local Rāja (vol. i, p. 169), he made his way to Johore (vol. ii, p. 52). At that place he found an old friend installed as Sultan. The latter gave him a warm welcome, and would have made him a present of the island of Singapore, but he refused the gift, deeming it to be "of no use to a private person, tho' a proper place for a Company to settle a colony on, lying in the center of trade and being accommodated with good rivers and safe harbours." Resuming his voyage for Amoy, he in August met with a typhoon that dismasted his vessel and forced him to bear up for Macao (vol. ii, p. 117). Refitting as well as he could at the Taipa anchorage, he determined to alter his destination to Canton, and thither he accordingly proceeded. At that port he was unmercifully fleeced by the officials and (as he asserts) by the merchants with whom he was obliged to deal; and when he departed (in January 1704) he vowed vengeance on the latter. After a visit to Macao, to procure fresh masts, he made for Johore, where he found a Chinese junk with a cargo

(as he declares) containing some goods out of which he had been cheated at Canton. With the connivance of his friend the Sultan, he seized this merchandise, sending the owners word that he would forgive the rest of the debt, provided they used the English fairly in future; if not, he would take measures to recover the balance due to him (vol. ii, p. 125).

This action put out of the question any return to Chinese waters; and so Hamilton's next voyage (1704) was from Surat to Java, in the *Vintaghurry*, with a cargo belonging to Sir John Gayer and certain other Englishmen in the Company's service (*Factory Records, China*, vol. vii). He was at Batavia in May or June (*ibid.* p. 1069) and at Samarang in July and August (text, vol. ii, p. 71). At the latter port he bought a vessel, but what he did with it he does not say. From Samarang he returned to Batavia and thence went back to Surat, calling at Goa on the way (vol. ii, p. 75). During his first stay at Batavia the Company's ship *Kent* arrived on its way to China, under the command of Edward Harrison, who was afterwards (1711-17) President at Madras. From an abstract of the diary kept by Harrison and the other supercargoes (*Factory Records, China*, vol. vii, p. 1020) we learn that they were much alarmed on hearing from Hamilton of his action at Johore, for they naturally feared that on reaching Canton they would meet with reprisals. They accordingly wrote to Bombay, complaining of Hamilton's high-handed proceedings and suggesting that he and the owners of his ship should be required to indemnify the Company against any loss that might result. As a matter of fact, their alarm proved groundless. It is true that on reaching Macao, they received a visit from the merchant concerned (Linqua); but he showed no disposition to retaliate upon them the injury he had received, and was easily satisfied by promises of assistance in securing redress. To quote from the abstract of the supercargoes' diary already noted, he "mentioned the affair of the junk plundered at Jehore, and stated that it belonged to his house and that Hamilton's pretence of their having dealt unfairly by him was false, they having written proof that they had ended all matters to his satisfaction. He added that Hamilton had attacked his junk under English colors and had plundered her to the amount of about 11,000 tales, and that, if this were known to the Mandarins, they would with avidity seize the opportunity to pick a quarrel, in order to extort a sum of money from the ships of this season; but that the favor the Company had shown him, and the hope that they would do him justice upon Hamilton, had made him resolve to be quiet and say nothing on the subject. Of this the supercargoes assured him he need not fear, and offered their assistance in arranging the evidence against Hamilton for the Company's inspection, and to transmit

copies to the Presidencies in India, that he might be called to account on his arrival at any of those ports."

On quitting Canton, the supercargoes left behind a letter detailing their experiences for the benefit of later comers, and particularly mentioning the extortions to which they had been forced to submit. They related the affair of the plundered junk, and "added that they had no doubt but that Hamilton met with 'hardships,' considering that his ship was 700 tons burthen and his stock only 4000 *l.*; but that, with a stock proportioned to his ship, they 'would have been no more than usuall, and very supportable'." This change of tone shows that the supercargoes, having themselves undergone the skinning process at which the Chinese officials were so adept, were disposed to feel that Hamilton had had some excuse for the revenge he had taken. They could not, however, withdraw their offer of assistance to the aggrieved merchant, and so they carried home a letter addressed by him to the Company, complaining of Hamilton's action. "The papers relating to this affair," the abstract adds, "were arranged by Capt. Harrison and signed by the supercargoes of all the ships then at Canton; copies of which were sent to Surat and Fort St. George, the originals being reserved for the perusal of the Company."

The Directors, though they received the documents in the autumn of 1705, took no action until 29 March following, when the Committee of Correspondence was desired to inquire into the allegations and advise as to what should be done. Nothing further appears on the Court Minutes, and presumably the question was quietly shelved. The only answer likely to be satisfactory to the complainant was an assurance that the Company would pay his claim, and this they were not prepared to do. Nor did the supercargoes' letters to Madras and Bombay produce any definite action. At the former place the Governor (Thomas Pitt) replied to Capt. Harrison that he would be sure to make representations to Surat on the subject (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 96); but whether he did so or not, nothing seems to have resulted. The complaint addressed to Bombay reached that place on 20 May 1705, by which time Hamilton had started on a fresh voyage. The matter was debated in Council two days later and was then dismissed with a resolution to consider it again "if said Alexander Hamilton casually come into this port." It was, however, placed upon record that neither the Governor (Waite) nor "any gentleman now upon this island" had had any concern in the said voyage.

Presumably the venture to Java had not been a great success, for Hamilton never went that way again and his references to the Dutch monopoly are tinged with bitterness. Instead, his next voyage was to

Bengal, a country he had not yet visited. Early in July 1705 he anchored off Calcutta with three ships—the *Vintaghurry* already mentioned, which was now commanded by Capt. Richard Franks, the *Buckhurst*, under Capt. Vanhuise (apparently a Dutchman), and the *St George* (*Bengal Consultations*, 5 July). The last-named vessel, commanded by John Symons, had reached Madras from Pegu on 18 April, while the other two had arrived there at the end of May; all three left together for Bengal on 14 June (*Madras Consultations*, s.d.). It was necessary for the Calcutta authorities to keep a sharp watch on country ships, lest goods belonging to Indian merchants should escape duty under pretence that they were English-owned, and the Mughal officials should thereby be offended. So on his arrival Hamilton was called before the Council and interrogated. The *Vintaghurry*, he said, he had hired from "Venidass Temidass, a black merchant att Surratt"; and for her and the *St George* he produced passes granted at Madras. The *Buckhurst*, he declared, was his own property and needed no pass, seeing that she was an English bottom, brought out "on the interloping accompt" in 1698, and had recently been bought by him from her present commander¹. The *St George* he also held to be his, "one third part of her being originally his property, [and?] he having paid debts due from her in Madras to the amount of pagodas 4,300, [which] is much more then she can be sold for." Her lading consisted of a quantity of redwood belonging to a Madras merchant and some coir which was Hamilton's own property. The *Vintaghurry* had silks and raw cotton on his account, together with some other goods ventured by Surat merchants; while the *Buckhurst's* cargo was similarly composed partly of cotton belonging to him and partly of freight goods. The Council, after considering this statement, resolved to allow the *Buckhurst* and the *St George* to remain where they were, and to issue customs passes for such goods in all three ships as were the property of British subjects; the *Vintaghurry*, however, as being Indian-owned, was ordered to the other side of the river or to Hügli. Hamilton chose the

¹ A fuller account of the transaction is given in a letter from Surat to the Company of 30 June 1705 (*O.C.* 8693). This states that Edward Say, the original supercargo of the *Buckhurst*, had died at Cochin about six months earlier; after which her captain (Vanhuise) sold her to Hamilton. The bargain was not for cash, but for a payment of about 30,000 rupees at the end of six months; while Vanhuise covenanted, under a penalty of 6000 rupees, to put the vessel into fit condition to make a voyage to England. This—so the Surat factors declared—he was in no position to do; and they opined that in all probability Hamilton, after having had the advantage of using the ship in his voyage to Bengal, would sue Vanhuise for the 6000 rupees. That he would get sufficient lading at Calcutta for his three vessels they considered unlikely, seeing that he had but a small stock.

former alternative; but on 22 July, after repeated applications from him, the Council decided to extend its protection to that vessel also, on his giving security to prove that he had hired her and to make good any losses that might result from the resentment of the Mughal authorities.

The remaining months of 1705 were spent in selling and buying goods. In August a quarrel occurred between Capt. Symons and Hamilton, who wrote to the Council charging his subordinate with breach of orders (*Consultations*, 28 August). No action seems to have been taken on this; but when on 7 December the *St George* sailed for Surat, she had a different commander (Capt. Brennock) and one of her owners was Ralph Sheldon. The *Vintaghurry* followed on 9 January 1706; but the date of the departure of the *Buckhurst* is not recorded. Probably Hamilton proceeded in her to Surat, calling at Cochin on the way.

In 1706 his objective was again Calcutta. The Madras Consultations record that on 1 June he arrived there from Surat, in command of the *Buckhurst* and accompanied by the *Vintaghurry* (still under Capt. Franks), and that eight days later both vessels sailed for Bengal. They reached Calcutta on 27 June, and found there the *Francis* (under Charles Lott), which is noted in the Consultations as belonging to Hamilton. Her last port had been Cochin, and she arrived at Fort William a month before her consorts. Some account of Hamilton's stay will be found on p. 9 of vol. ii, and from this we gather that he was by no means pleased at the treatment he received from the authorities. The Consultations show that he departed in the *Vintaghurry* on 19 December; but when the other two ships sailed is not recorded.

During 1707 Hamilton sustained considerable loss from the destruction by the natives of the English settlement at Banjarmasin, in Borneo. Two ships belonging to private merchants were burnt, and in one of these he was "pretty deeply concerned" (vol. ii, p. 78). Of his own movements during the year he tells us only (vol. i, p. 169) that he was at Cochin and whilst there paid a visit at Mâyēli (Mahé) to the local Rāja, from whom he tried unsuccessfully to buy a ship, just completed. The Madras records show that he had also called at Kārwär, and that he reached Fort St George, in a vessel called the *Jemy* or *Jemmy*, on 1 September 1707. After staying for a week, he sailed for Bengal.

At Madras he found himself compelled to make a heavy payment. Apparently he was still in control of the *St George* and had sent her ahead of him from Surat to Bengal. She reached Madras on 19 May 1707; and ten days later a certain John Maxwell applied to the Council for leave to attach her in satisfaction of his claims against Hamilton. The story, as

(presumably the name he had bestowed upon the Dutch vessel he had bought); and on 12 April we find him petitioning the Council for a payment from the estate of his old opponent Maxwell. Hamilton had induced the Cochin authorities to transmit to Madras a copy of an account current in their possession, and on the strength of this he claimed to be reimbursed 4443 rupees overpaid, together with interest from 28 August 1707. His claim was investigated, and on 14 May the majority of the Council decided against him. Two days later he sailed for Johore. Of his proceedings there we have no account.

The scene now changes to Mokha, in the Red Sea, where, as appears from p. 28 of vol. i, he arrived some time in 1712. Here again we have but a bare reference to his movements; while the following year is a complete blank. In 1714 he was again at Mokha for at least four months (vol. i, p. 27)—apparently also at Gombroon (vol. ii, p. 101); and he was at Cochin in that year (vol. i, p. 175). Possibly he was again in the Persian Gulf in 1715, for on p. 168 of vol. ii he gives the prices then current at Kung; but our next certain trace of him is in 1716, when he was once more at Mokha. A letter quoted in the notes shows that he was there, in the *Morning Star*, on 15 April; and he himself refers (vol. i, p. 35) to his being still in the port at the beginning of June. Of one incident of his stay he gives a lively account. The Deputy Governor owed him a considerable sum, the payment of which he endeavoured to evade; but he little knew the kind of man with whom he had to deal. Hamilton inveigled him to his house, and there threatened to throw him from the roof unless he settled the matter at once. The terrified official immediately complied with the demand; and the affair made such a sensation in the town that Hamilton experienced no further difficulty in getting every penny that was due to him. On his way back to Surat he seems to have called at Gombroon (Bandar Abbās) in Persia (vol. i, p. 66), as was often done on such a trip.

On the return voyage to Surat, while coasting along Kāthiāwār, the *Morning Star* was attacked by a squadron of the local pirates, consisting of eight vessels (the largest being twice the size of Hamilton's ship) with over two thousand men. Two determined attempts were made to board her, each of which was repulsed with great slaughter. Hamilton himself had his thigh pierced by a lance; some of his lascars deserted to the enemy, and out of the small remainder seven were killed and as many wounded; while the vessel herself was set on fire in three places. Notwithstanding this desperate state of affairs, Hamilton managed to extricate his ship and get her safely to Bombay (25 March 1717) and thence to Surat (vol. i, p. 80; *Factory Records, Misc.*, vol. vii, p. 33; *Bombay Consultations*, 25 March 1717).

This noteworthy incident had an interesting sequel. The Marāthas of the western seaboard had long given trouble by their constant attacks on English shipping, and in the spring of 1717 the new President of Bombay, Charles Boone, sent a strong naval force down the coast to attack one of their strongholds. The enterprise failed dismally, and on his return the commodore was removed from his post. Looking round for a successor, Boone and his Council found no one so fit as the bold trading captain who had so smartly defeated the Sanganian pirates; and on 10 June 1717 Hamilton was appointed to the command of the Company's marine force at Bombay, at a salary of eighty rupees a month and the usual allowances—a proud position for one who had come out as a penniless sailor. In reporting their action to the Directors on 7 December following, the President and Council said: "Captain Alexander Hamilton being an experienced mariner and by his late conduct and behaviour acquired a good reputation in these parts, we have made choice of him to command your vessells of warr, and we have no reason to doubt but he will acquit himself as becomes an honest man" (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. vii, p. 51).

His abilities were soon put to the test, for early in July came news that the factory at Kārwar was beleaguered by the forces of the Sonda Rāja. The season of the year forbade the immediate despatch of an expedition to its relief; but towards the end of August some vessels were sent down the coast with a detachment of soldiers, and on 8 September Hamilton, hoisting his broad pennant in the *Britannia*, sailed for the scene of action with a strong squadron. The actual relief of the factory, which stood a short distance inland, was the duty of the military force, and on 13 September a landing was attempted. This was disastrously repulsed, with the result that an appeal had to be made to Bombay for reinforcements. These arriving, a second attempt was made about the middle of November, but with equal lack of success, the soldiers being driven back to the boats in great disorder. Hamilton did what he could to cover with his artillery both the landing and the withdrawal; and after rescuing the remaining soldiers, he and his sailors went on shore, in the teeth of the enemy, and brought on board the arms thrown away by the military in their flight. A period of waiting ensued, during which the besieged factors came to terms with the Rāja, thus obviating the need for further fighting¹. With his usual pugnacity Hamilton had quarrelled with the head of the factory, George

¹ A first-hand account of the expedition to Kārwar will be found in Downing's *History of the Indian Wars*, pp. 18-22.

Taylor, and on his return to Bombay handed in a fierce indictment of him (28 January 1718). Consideration of this was deferred until Taylor's arrival, when his conduct before and during the siege was investigated. It was then decided that, although he had been guilty of rashness in provoking the Rāja, he had done nothing afterwards that was seriously blameworthy; while Hamilton's charges were brushed aside as due to a "pique" between the two (*Bombay Consultations*, 28 January, 16 and 17 April 1718).

By this time Hamilton was no longer in the Company's service. A short experience had sufficed to disgust him with his task, and he preferred to return to his former life of freedom. On 31 January 1718 he requested the Council's permission to resign his post "and proceed on a voyage to Cambodia"; and it was agreed that he should be discharged on the following day. He then resumed the command of his ship the *Morning Star*, which had been hired by the Government for the Kārswār expedition; and in her he first of all accompanied President Boone on a visit to Surat (February). His chief object in so doing seems to have been to settle a claim he had upon Michael Grey, supercargo of the *Severn*; this, after some difficulty, was effected by the mediation of the President. Hamilton did not accompany the latter on his return voyage to Bombay in March, and we may presume that he was occupied in preparing for his own venture to the eastwards.

His destination was Siam¹, and his ship was again the *Morning Star*, the cargo of which had been provided by himself and a number of associates. Of the events of the voyage some account will be found at pp. 201 of vol. i and 98 of vol. ii, though with a wrong date (1719 in place of 1718). On arriving at Ayuthia (the capital), Hamilton found that Captain John Powney had recently been there, in command of a vessel in which Collet, the Madras President, was interested. Our author, in his usual trenchant tone, declares that Collet had sent Powney as his "ambassador," with the result that a treaty concluded in London by a Siamese envoy had been annulled and a fresh one substituted, granting special benefits to the President in matters of trade. We are not told what authority Collet could have possessed to override an agreement made by his sovereign; and as a matter of fact the London treaty is a myth. What really happened seems to be that Powney made a bargain with the Siamese authorities in regard to the duties to be paid by vessels coming from Madras, and that in this he

¹ Downing (p. 27) says that Hamilton went to China, as supercargo of a vessel commanded by Thomas Boone, brother of the President. This, however, is wrong. Boone's ship was the *William*, which left Bombay on 7 April 1718.

obtained specially favourable terms, because there was a desire to procure reciprocity for Siamese ships trading on the Coromandel Coast. Naturally enough, he made no terms for any competitors arriving from Bengal or the Bombay side; and, seeing that there was practically no Siamese trade to those parts, the port officials felt that they had a free hand in such cases. Consequently Hamilton was told on arrival that he must pay 8 per cent. customs, besides measurage dues, and that any return cargo must be bought from the royal officers, in accordance with the monopoly then in force. On these terms he found it impossible to trade with profit; and after a delay of five months, he departed (Dec. 1718) in high dudgeon, convinced that his troubles were due to Collet and Powney and vowing vengeance. Before leaving, he addressed a letter to the Madras President, complaining in violent terms of the treatment he had received and hinting an intention, should an opportunity offer, of forcing Powney or the Siamese to make redress. Powney, on receiving a copy of this letter from the President, addressed a protest to the latter, vindicating his proceedings and expressing an apprehension that the irate captain would seize his ship, should they meet on the high seas. This protest, together with an extract from Hamilton's letter, was duly recorded on the Madras Consultations (2 April 1719)¹; but no action was or could be taken, though, according to our author, Collet stigmatized him publicly as a "rank pirate"—as indeed he would have been, had he carried out his threats. The matter was reported to the Court of Directors, who replied on 24 February 1721, censuring in effect both sides: "We have perused the 27th paragraph of your letter by the *Queen* and the consultations of the 2d. of April, relating to Capt. Powney's complaint against Capt. Hamilton for threatening to seize him wherever he could catch him, as appears by Capt. Hamilton's letter to the then President. We can never bear the thoughts that any people trading under our protection shall use such insulting language towards their superiours or pretend to be their own judges, on pain of being sent home. Our design is that all our covenant servants and others trading under our protection should have equal freedom and liberty of trade in all their country voyages. We say that if any shall be found to endeavour to prevail with the natives of any part of India whatsoever to put harder terms upon others trading under the like protection than are allow'd to our people in general, such offender or offenders be sent home; and that you give publick notice of this our order to all the traders at Madras and our other settlements, that they may know and avoid the

¹ Printed by Mrs Penny at p. 94 of her *Fort St George, Madras*.

danger of this. We shall give the like notice both to Bengall and Bombay." To this eminently fair pronouncement the Madras Council replied on 3 February 1722 (*Coast and Bay Abstracts*, s.d.), thanking the Directors for "the free trade allow'd" and assuring them that "Capt. Hamilton's affair" had been "accommodated."

The result of the Siam venture, we are told, was a loss of over £3000. It nearly cost Hamilton his life in addition. Some rash words he had used were held to be derogatory to the Siamese monarch, and he was arrested and brought to trial. Of the proceedings he gives (vol. ii, p. 99) an entertaining account. They seem to have been conducted with the utmost fairness; and when the case broke down for lack of evidence, the presiding judge was the first to congratulate the defendant on his acquittal.

In the letter to Collet already mentioned Hamilton declared his intention of being at Siam Bar again about the beginning of May 1719. This, however, was probably mere bluff; we have no evidence of his having done anything of the sort, and it was certainly unlikely that he would repeat the voyage, in view of the loss already sustained. As to his movements in 1720, we know that he was at Bombay in May, for on the 5th of that month he was called as a witness in an inquiry into the conduct of Lawrence Parker, a member of the Council; and we are also told that he was one of those who assisted at an examination of a scheme for damming the "great breach"—an inlet of the sea which was always causing trouble (*Bombay Consultations*, 5 and 24 May, quoted in Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. II). In the same year he made a voyage to Cambodia, spending some time at "Ponteamass" on that coast, and going thence to Malacca.

His voyages in 1721 seem to have been confined to the Persian Gulf. From *Factory Records, Persia*, vol. xiv, we learn that he reached Gombroon from Surat in the *Morning Star*¹ on 8 February and left on his return voyage early in March. On 31 May he was back again, and departed for Basra on 17 July. Of his experiences at the latter place he gives some account on p. 55 of vol. i. On his way back he may have called at Muskat, for (*ibid.* p. 48) he mentions an incident that occurred during a visit to that port. He reached Gombroon again on 1 November, and remained there nearly three months, during which period he rendered a notable service to the Company's factors. In December a large body of Balūchī raiders entered the town and endeavoured to loot the English factory. There, however, they found Hamilton with a body of sailors from his own and a small

¹ Described as being of 250 tons burden, with twelve guns.

country ship; and they received so hot a welcome that they did not venture upon a second attempt, but went off to try whether the Dutch factory would prove an easier prey. In this again they were disappointed, and had to content themselves with plundering and burning the town itself (vol. i, pp. 68, 69).

The *Morning Star* sailed from Gombroon on 21 January 1722, reached Bombay on 8 February, and proceeded to Surat twelve days later (*Bombay Consultations*, s.d.). There, we infer, she was sold by Hamilton, for when she next appears in the records, viz. on 15 April 1723, she had been on a voyage to Batavia and Malacca under the command of Charles Gray. How her late owner occupied himself during the intervening period we cannot learn. Probably he was winding up his affairs preparatory to departure for England. When this took place, and in what ship he sailed, he has not vouchsafed to inform us; but if we are to accept literally the statement in his preface that he spent over thirty-five years in the East, the date must have been towards the end of 1723 or early in 1724. He mentions (vol. i, p. 167) that he was at Tellicherry in 1723, and possibly this was an incident of the homeward voyage.

Our next glimpse of Hamilton is obtained from the Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. From these we learn that on 10 June 1724 a "remonstrance and petition" from him, "wherein is contained an account of severall services he had done the Company at divers times and places, and of the loss he sustained by staying so long at Gombroon in defence of the factory when attackt by the Ballowches, that he arrived too late at Surat market for the sale of his goods, and praying a consideration for both," was read and referred to the Committee of Correspondence, with instructions to "examine the true state of the case, as it shall appear to them, with their opinion on the whole." This, apparently, the Committee failed to do, for there is no record of any report by them. In the same year, Hamilton tells us (vol. ii, p. 142), his affairs necessitated a visit to Holland. It is possible that he had remitted home part of his savings through some Dutch friends, and that the journey was in connection with that matter; but this of course is pure conjecture.

By 30 July 1725 he was back in London and again approached the Directors. His actual letter on this occasion is preserved at the India Office (*Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. xvi, No. 92) and has been reproduced in facsimile as the frontispiece of the present work. In it, as will be seen, he refers to his previous application and requests a speedy answer, as his stay in London is to be very short. The letter is closed with a seal in which is depicted a sun over a sunflower, with the punning motto

Tibi soli. The Directors referred the matter on the same day to the Committee of Correspondence for report; and once again that body ignored the instruction. It may be of some significance in this connection to mention that at the time of the first application Edward Harrison was Chairman of the Directors, while when the second was submitted he was still on the Court and was a member of the Committee of Correspondence. Now, Harrison had been one of the captains of Indiamen with whom Hamilton came into collision at Amoy in 1700, and he may have represented to his colleagues that the applicant had rendered evil services, as well as good, to the Company.

Hamilton now, we may presume, returned to his native Scotland, intending to settle down after his long and adventurous career. The probabilities seem to point to Edinburgh or its neighbourhood as his place of residence. Wherever it was that he took up his abode, his long experience of the East and the many tales he had to tell of its wonders must have made him a notable figure; and it is not surprising to learn that, as he tells us in his preface, his "particular friends and acquaintances" urged him to place on record his "observations and remarks." This congenial task absorbed his energies during the "nights of two long winters" (presumably those of 1725-26 and 1726-27); and when the work was finished, although he was "proffered a good round sum" for it, he made a present of the manuscript to a friend, with leave to print it "for his own benefit and advantage." This he did to show that he was "no mercenary scribler" and because, although he had not made a fortune in the East, he had brought home sufficient for his needs (vol. i, p. 10). We note with interest that he contemplated the possibility, should the work be received with favour, of his preparing another, containing "additions, appendixes, or supplements"; and it is to be regretted that he never carried out this idea.

As the title-page indicates, the work was issued at Edinburgh in 1727, in two volumes. It is stated to have been "printed by John Mosman, one of His Majesty's printers, and sold at the King's Printing-house in Craig's Close"; but no publisher's name is given. A note inserted after the list of contents informs us that "the publisher, proprietor of this book," has duly entered it at "Stationers-hall, London"; and on inquiry there, I learnt that it was registered by Hamilton himself (on 22 November 1727).

Nineteen illustrations were included. Of these eight were rough charts of the coasts described, based upon existing maps with some additions and corrections made by Hamilton himself (vol. i, p. 8); they were all engraved by Robert Mylne, a Scotsman who had prepared a number of plates for a work on Scotch antiquities, published at Edinburgh in 1710. Of the re-

maining illustrations five were also the work of Mylne, while six bear no engraver's name. I conjecture that these six were made from Hamilton's rough sketches, to which he refers apologetically in his preface, and that the others were based on native drawings which he had brought home; the latter may have been handed to Mylne at the same time as the maps, and the remainder engraved later.

What success the work attained we do not know; but apparently it was received with sufficient favour to warrant the issue, seventeen years later, of a London edition. This was a mere reprint, omitting the dedication (the Duke of Hamilton having died in the interim) and providing a list of the plates; and that Hamilton had anything to do with it is unlikely, for he was probably dead by 1744. The publishers were C. Hitch, of Paternoster Row, and Andrew Millar, of the Strand; and we may safely assume that the latter was the moving figure in the enterprise. Having come from Edinburgh only two years after the first publication of the work, he would naturally be aware of it; and that he was in touch with the original producer is shown by the fact that the plates of the first edition were used likewise for the second. It is interesting to think that Hamilton's name is thus linked with those of Dr Johnson, Henry Fielding, and the poet Thomson, all of whom found a publisher in Millar. It was of him that Johnson made the oft-quoted remark (alluding to his generosity to his clients): "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature."

Since 1744 the only re-appearance of our author has been in John Pinkerton's *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages*, published in 1808-14, where a reprint of the text, without notes, occupies a considerable portion of vol. viii.

Of the rest of Hamilton's career little has been discovered. The *Dictionary of National Biography* accepts, as relating to him, the announcement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732 (p. 1030) of the death, on 7 October in that year, of a "Capt. Alexander Hamilton," of whom no particulars are given. But that our author was alive at least a year later is shown by the following entry in the Court Minutes of the East India Company on 22 June 1733: "Petition of Captain Alexander Hamilton being read, praying to succeed Captain Tovey, order'd that the same be referr'd to the Committee of Shipping to examine and make report." Captain Zachary Tovey, it may be explained, was the Company's Surveyor of Shipping, and had resigned eight days before. The minutes of the Committee of Shipping have unfortunately been destroyed, and the same fate appears to have overtaken Hamilton's letter; while the only further reference to the matter in the Directors' minutes informs us that on 6 July

1733 Captain Thomas Rogers was appointed to the desired post. Why Hamilton should have wished for it we can only conjecture, for he must have been approaching the age of seventy, and he seems to have had no lack of means; but possibly he was still sufficiently active to find idleness irksome.

This is the last trace we have of him; and here our lengthy prelude must come to an end, save for a few words upon the work by which he is chiefly remembered. In view of the author's varied and adventurous career, most readers will heartily wish that he had given us a detailed narrative of his experiences rather than a geographical disquisition on the places he had visited. To adopt such a course, however, would have been to go against the spirit of the times, which demanded that a book should have an instructive tendency. Even a narrative of travel was usually cast in the mould of an elaborate description of the countries visited, the personal experiences of the traveller being decorously kept in the background. That Hamilton was nervous of criticism is clear from his preface; and evidently he was resolved to give no opening for a charge of self-advertisement. He therefore threw his observations into the form of a general account of the ports on the sea-coasts of Africa and Asia, from the Cape of Good Hope to China, together with the Malay Archipelago and Japan; and ostensibly his sole object was to give information, derived from his own experience, which would be of service both to merchants and to mariners. His modesty carried him so far that he deliberately suppressed the facts that he was himself the hero of the great fight between the *Morning Star* and eight Sanganian pirate vessels, and that it was he who commanded the Company's naval forces in the expedition for the relief of the Kārwär factory. However, from time to time his vivid recollections—often accompanied by a sense of grievance—prove too strong for him and he launches out into a narrative of his actual experiences while at the place he is describing. These passages provide the best reading in the book; and from them emerges a vivid picture of the author himself. That he had many faults he would have frankly admitted. He was hot-tempered and domineering, inclined to ride roughshod over everyone who stood in his way. He was also a man of strong prejudices, and, when these came into play, he could be grossly unfair. He detested all ecclesiastics, especially those of the Roman Church, of whom he could believe nothing that was otherwise than discreditable. He disliked the East India Company and most of its servants, with whose interests his own had naturally come frequently into collision. The Dutch and their methods he regarded with intense disapproval; while for the Spaniards and the Portuguese he felt

only contempt. For the natives of the countries he visited he occasionally had a good word; but his attitude towards them was at best one of tolerance, and he did not hesitate to bully or coerce them when he thought it advisable. But these defects were trivial in comparison with his good qualities. In his own sphere he can have had few rivals. We may be sure that he was a shrewd hand at a bargain, and misfortune rather than lack of skill was the cause of his making but a moderate fortune. A consummate seaman, he never suffered shipwreck in any of his voyages, though some of them were to places unfamiliar to English navigators and his pages abound with instances of disaster in those ill-charted seas. Although he never sought a fight, he never shirked one; while his resource and energy were equal to any emergency in which he found himself. He could be a good friend, as well as a determined enemy, and he was generous of his money in cases of distress. We may wager, too, that he was a jovial companion at board, with a fund of anecdotes of which he has given us only samples, told often with a rich vein of humour. Altogether, he is an outstanding example of the British adventurer at his best—shrewd, capable, cool, taking the hard knocks of fortune with equanimity, enjoying to the full a life of rich possibilities, and making the best of such luck as came his way. None of the travellers of the period engages our sympathies to the same extent, and we close the record of his career with the feeling that we have been in contact with a man of sterling character, to whom no small amount of gratitude is due for a vivacious account of the scenes and incidents in which he played so notable a part.

The work ranges over so wide a field that recourse has necessarily been had to many scholars for assistance. Amongst others, I am indebted to the Siamese Minister in London (H.S.H. Prince Varnvaidya) for help on the subject of the author's references to the religion of Siam; Professors D. G. E. Hall and G. H. Luce and the Rev. R. Halliday spent much time and trouble upon my queries relating to Burma; the Rev. A. C. Moule, Dr H. B. Morse, and Mr L. S. Hopkins, I.S.O., assisted on several points regarding China; Dr C. Otto Blagden rendered like help on Malayan subjects; while Mr C. A. Storey, the Librarian of the India Office, made many useful suggestions and interpretations. To all these gentlemen I tender my sincere thanks.

W. F

A NEW
ACCOUNT
OF THE
East Indies,

BEING THE
OBSERVATIONS and REMARKS

Of Capt. ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Who spent his Time there

From the Year 1688. to 1723. Trading
and Travelling, by Sea and Land, to
most of the Countries and Islands of
COMMERCE and NAVIGATION, be-
tween the Cape of *Good-hope*, and the
Island of *Japon*.

VOLUME I.



EDINBURGH,

Printed by *John Mosman* One of His MAJESTY'S Printers, and sold at the King's Printing-house in *Craig's Close*. MDCCXXVII.



To his Grace

J A M E S

*Duke of Hamilton, Chatlerault and Brandon,
Marquis of Clydsdale, Earl of Arran, Lanerk
and Cambridge, Lord Avon, Polmount,
Machanschyer, and Innerdale, and Baron of
Dutton, Knight of the most noble Order of the
Thistle.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE known some Scriblers, or Authors, dedicate their Works to great Men who they hardly knew any more of than their illustrious Names; but my Ambition or Presumption has a juster Plea in claiming your Grace's Patronage, since you have been pleased to honour me with several Instances of your Favour; therefore, I humbly presume to lay these cursory Observations that I made in my Travels to the *East Indies*, at your Grace's Feet; and if they find Acceptance, I shall not much mind the Censure of Criticks, or Satyrists: For I am perswaded, that the very Name of so illustrious a Patron will be sufficient to protect and defend me.

If I had thought, while I was in *India*, of making my Observations or Remarks publick, and, to have had the Honour of presenting them to so noble a Patron, I had certainly been more careful and curious in my Collections, and of keeping Memorandums to have made this Work more complete: But it must now appear, to some Disadvantage, (for want of those Ornaments) in its native simple Dress, as it came posting through a weak and treacherous Memory with little Elegancy.

I have seen the elaborate Works of several ingenious Pens, who had travelled thro' many Countries, in Maps, that I have travelled to by Sea and Land; they may have many Advantages to recommend their Works that I want; yet, few (if any) ever had the living Acquaintances that I have had, to inform or instruct them in many Particulars relating to the ancient, or present State of their Countries, whose vernacular Languages can best illustrate their Histories, some of which I understood.

All that have travelled in those Countries before me, have omitted some Things worthy of Observation, and have remarked some Things impertinent enough; and, as I take the Liberty to censure them, I expect the same Treatment from those that may travel after me, and for the very same Fault.

Those Five, or Six and thirty Years that I spent in the *East Indies*, strolling from Place to Place, gave me Opportunities to know some topographical, historical, and theogonol Parts of this Work, from the Natives, of their respective Countries, who may be presumed to be better acquainted with their own Traditions and Customs, than Strangers, who are often at a Loss for want of Language.

I will not apologize (as many do) for my Weakness or Unfitness for this Undertaking, for I assure your Grace, if I had not thought my self pretty well qualified for it, I had never set about it.

And, as my Travels have been most along the Sea-coasts, I have described the Harbours, Rivers, and Dangers on them, pretty punctually. I hope those Remarks may be useful to some of my Fraternity, who may have Occasion to go into those Seas; and tho' they may get better Pilots than I, yet they cannot be the worse of my Remarks.

I will not trouble your Grace with Encomiums, either on your self, or your illustrious Ancestors, for your Names and Characters are so well known all over *Europe*, and in some Parts farther off, by distinguishing Marks, that it would be but Presumption in me to offer to add any Thing to them; but please to accept of my best Wishes for the Welfare of your Grace, and your illustrious Family and Kindred; and that the Almighty may protect and direct you in a virtuous Life, and make you a peculiar Favourite in the Court of Heaven, shall always be the sincere Prayer of,

My Lord,

*Your Grace's most devoted,
and most affectionate
humble Servant,*

ALEX. HAMILTON.

THE PREFACE

A BOOK without a Preface, now a Days, is as unfashionable as a Lady to pretend to be drest *a-la-mode* without a Hoop, or a nice Beau without a Snuff-box: Therefore I am resolved to be in the Fashion at any Rate, if I do appear a little awkward in my Performance, and I will make no other Apology, but the Thread-bare one, (that many Scriblers have done before me) that it was at the Request, and by the Perswasions of some particular Friends and Acquaintances, that I commit these *Observations and Remarks* to Writing.

I know, such a Miscellany as this must be, will hardly find Favour with every Body, however, if it please my Friends, I shall not be very solicitous about what others may say of it, or me; and, if there are any notable Errors, or Mistakes in the Work, (which is more than I know of, if there is) yet take all the Piece together, without Vanity, I presume, you will find it more particular, correct and extensive, than any of this Kind, at least. of any that ever I saw; and, if any Things are mentioned or advanced. that may seem dubious or fabulous, the best Way that I know, how to cure your Scruples or Doubts, is, to take a Trip to those Countries from whence they come, and inform your selves better than I have done and when ye return to *Britain*, and convict, or convince me of my Mistakes I will readily acknowledge them, and beg Pardon.

But I'll neither do the one nor the other, if I am arraign'd before the Tribunal of Map-travellers, or who have only the Sanction of other Men Journals, or Memoirs to qualify them Judges; and, altho' some amuse the World with large and florid Descriptions of Countries that they never saw and of Customs they never saw used, yet, since their Stock of Knowledge is all on Tick, the want of being Eye and Ear-witnesses very much depreciate their Accounts; besides, common Experience teacheth us, that Time alter Religions, Customs, Commerce, Oeconomy, &c. in all Countries; therefore, as these Observations are the most modern, consequently they are the nearer related to the Times we live in.

I knew a reverend Gentleman, *in anno* 1690. who came to *Bombay* in *India*, Chaplain of the Ship *Benjamin*, the Ship was sent on a Voyage to *Atcheen*, and the Streights of *Mallacca*, while the Chaplain stay'd at *Bombay* and *Surat*, employed in his ministerial Duties, and, in making his ingenious Observations and Remarks, which he published when he returned to *England*, for which he received a great deal of Applause, and many Encomiums from some of his Reverend Brethren, and a particu-

Compliment from the Governors of the Church; yet I know, that his greatest Travels were in Maps, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries, any Way remote from the aforementioned Places, was the Accounts he gathered from common Report; and, perhaps, those Reports came successively to him by Second or Third Hands; for, to my certain Knowledge, there were none then at *Surat* or *Bombay* that could furnish him with any tolerable Accounts of some Countries that he describes, particularly of the Growth and Nature of Tea, and shews its Bush very prettily among his Cuts; which Accounts are not easily procured, even in *China*, much less at *Bombay*.

The Taste of those Times relished all he presented with a very good Gusto, and the reverend Traveller received almost as ample Rewards and Praises for his personal Travels to *Surat* by Sea, and over the rest of *India* by Maps, as Sir *Francis Drake* had for his Tour round the World; so, that if this Age has retained any Relish for personal Travels, and new Observations of *India*, these have as good a Right to claim a favourable Reception as any that ever came to *Britain* before them.

The reverend Traveller, nor any that had made Trips to *India* before him, could not well be acquainted with many Occurrences that have come within the Reach of my Observations; and I can perceive several Things worth noticing, they have neglected or leapt over, either for want of Curiosity, Language, or some other Impediments, so that if any of them are found in this, I presume they will not be unacceptable.

But, after all, I am not so vain, or so ill acquainted with the World, to think, that I shall go Scot-free, without Censure, tho' my Observations had been much nicer, and this Work much more perfect than it is, since so great a Man as Bishop *Burnet* has been so severely lashed by one that could know no more of his Affairs or Negotiations, than he knows of mine, or of many Countries that I have been in.

And many a hard Lash, and scurrilous Name the right reverend Father has gotten for writing so favourably of himself, and his own Conduct in his Management of various important Affairs, among Politicians, and Statesmen; yet I am obliged to follow his Example in some particular Cases, where I had Occasion to act on the Stage of the Eastern World, tho' I am not ignorant of the great Odds that the Bishop had of me, both in Education and Capacity; yet when I consider, that the Sun is placed in a much higher Orb than the Moon, and his Splendor much brighter, and his Influences much more beneficent, nevertheless she has some very useful Qualities, that gains her some Admirers as well as he, tho' not so numerous.

I also follow the right reverend Father in giving some People Characters, whom I praise or censure according to my own Experience, or Acquaintance with their Candor or Malversation in the Course of their Affairs with my self or others, or by good Information of their Conduct and Abilities, which Maxim I am not afraid to follow through all my Observations, if I should be called before the arbitrary Tribunal of Criticks or Censurers.

My Task in compiling this had been much lighter, and my Performance perhaps had been better, if Gazetts, and other useful publick Papers were used in those Countries where I travelled, or if I could have read their different Histories in their various vernacular Languages, then the general Accounts of their Laws, Religions, Politicks, &c. material Observations, had been much fuller and exacter than now they are, but such Helps could not be had. Indeed, as to their Laws, their Kings or Princes being all arbitrary, the Law is lodged in their Breasts, who make and repeal when they please; but, for the Ease of the Populace, they have national Customs and Courts to manage distributive Justice, and that runs in a pretty even Chanel, when it is not interrupted by the Prince's Order, or stopt by Bribes, to those Governors or Judges who have the Distribution of them; and this is not more in Use among the black *Indians* than among the white.

Their Religions are a Complex of Mysteries, Church-policy, and Superstition, and they are all safely locked up in their Temples, as being too holy to be exposed to the Vulgar, and they seldom appear abroad, but in a Language generally unknown to the Populace; and the Priests are both Authors and Interpreters of the sacred Dreams, and, in most Parts, the Priests have the Keeping of the Keys of their Histories too; and when they come abroad, it may easily be observed, that a *Levite* had been trimming or tampering with them, for they are generally grosly bedaub'd with Hyperboles and Fables, and a little God often brought in to father their Inventions, Affirmations, or Notions.

So that what Knowledge I have acquired or gathered, is from the much Converse I had with the Natives of the respective Countries I travelled in, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with the Religions, Laws, and Customs of their Neighbours.

One great Misfortune that attends us *European* Travellers in *India*, is the Want of Knowledge of their Languages, and they being so numerous that one intire Century would be too short a Time to learn them all: could not find one in Ten thousand that could speak intelligible *English*, tho', along the Sea-coasts, the *Portuguese* have left a Vestige of the

Language, tho' much corrupted, yet it is the Language that most *Europeans* learn first, to qualify them for a general Converse with one another, as well as with the different Inhabitants of *India*.

And we *Britains*, who either go voluntarily, or are sent to *Neptune's* Schools in our Youth, to learn Politeness and Eloquence, very rarely meet with *Apollo's* bright Sons or Disciples to instruct us in the Knowledge of Languages, or of the State of all Nations, but of that one we are born in, and that but imperfectly too. That may be one Reason, among many, why we appear so simple and awkward in dressing up the Observations we make of foreign Countries, that we travel in; but I dare say, no Body will, or can be so ill-natured as to be offended, when he sees a Plowman take out his Mistris to dance a Minuet *a-la-mode*, because his Performances are not exactly squared with a Dancing-master's Rules and Figures, which Reflection makes me hope, that this my Virgin Essay will be civilly treated by the unprejudiced Lovers of Travels.

And now, to animadvert a little on the Subjects of my Travels. The geographical, cosmographical or topographical Parts of my Observations have, most of their Places, been settled by others, tho', I think, some of them are a little out of their true Positions, and some I have corrected in the annexed Maps, according to my own Observations; and those Maps will shew the Places and their Names in a much casier and clearer Light than if I had mark'd them down in Margines; and, since most of the Continents and Islands ly pretty near the *Æquator*, the Errors in Longitude are not very great, if at all material.

The theologal and moral Parts may, without Doubt, deserve some serious Thoughts or Attention, because every Body is, or ought to be concerned in those Speculations, since they shew some Parts of their Religions and Customs, and, comparing them with the inestimable Blessings that we enjoy by revealed Religion and rational Laws, may afford us no small Satisfaction, when rightly considered, and that their wild Notions of a Deity, overclouded with Superstition and Folly, deserve our Pity and Charity; and that our Duty towards God and our Neighbour is, by the *Holy Scriptures*, set before us in the brightest Light, while theirs is to be groped out by the dark Glimmerings of very fallible Reason; yet, for all these Disadvantages, I have known many of them practise very much Holiness in their Lives by the Help of Morality, so that some Animadversions on our Advantages, compared with their Disadvantages, may be, in some Measure, both useful and delightful to all thinking Men, except the *Atheist*, whose Numbers, I hope, are very few among us, and I never met with one in *India*.

What relates to Navigation, in describing the Seas, and Dangers lying in them, and the Sea-coasts, with the Dangers and Harbours on them, is purely calculated for the Use of my Fraternity, who may have Occasion to navigate in those Seas, or on those Coasts, but to others, who have no Call that Way, they are almost useless.

The Commerce on the Continent and the Islands, with the Account of their Productions, Fertility or Sterility, are merely designed for the Assistance of Strangers, Merchants or Seamen, who may hereafter attempt a Trade with the Inhabitants of them: And I am perswaded, that there are several Places, both on the Continent and among the Islands, that ly now neglected by *Europeans*, that might produce a good advantageous Trade, if Factories were settled, and Commerce cultivated with the Inhabitants, and would yield much better Profits than many of the old Factories do at present, some of which, I know, carry on but a very faint Trade for their respective Companies, that can hardly defray their little Charges: But indolent People are generally wedded to their old Customs, or their crazy Habitations, without considering what Changes Time makes, in Bodies politick as well as natural, which Distemper is a Lethargy in Trade, and in all other Branches of Industry, which I can point out in Particulars, if Need were.

Now, as our dear Friends and Allies have engrossed all the *Moluccos* or Spice Islands, I can give but a superficial historical Account of them; and, as they were acquired by bloody and barbarous Industry, they keep and govern them with arbitrary Violence. A poor *Britain* dares not approach them, lest they meet with the Fate that some of our Country-men met with there formerly: And even an *English* Seaman cannot be employed in that Company's Service, for fear of making Observations in Navigation, and Remarks on Trade, that may (some Time or other, but God knows when) prove detrimental to their Commerce. What I could learn of those Islands were some cursory Accounts from some of my Fraternity, when a Bottle or two had opened their Breasts.

Yet I could have enlarged these Observations, and made my Book look much bigger than it is; but, as I hate Prolixity myself, I treat my Reader with what Brevity I can, in every Part, except it be where the Subject cannot bear too narrow a Contraction in its Illustration.

I understand but little of the Use of the Pencil, for which Reason I do not exhibit many Cuts or Figures that might deserve a Place in the Book. and those that are placed, are not taken by Rule, or from any certain Position, but according to the Ideas of them that my Memory present to me, yet I am in Hopes, that they will please some, and offend none

Language, tho' much corrupted, yet it is the Language that most *Europeans* learn first, to qualify them for a general Converse with one another, as well as with the different Inhabitants of *India*.

And we *Britains*, who either go voluntarily, or are sent to *Neptune's* Schools in our Youth, to learn Politeness and Eloquence, very rarely meet with *Apollo's* bright Sons or Disciples to instruct us in the Knowledge of Languages, or of the State of all Nations, but of that one we are born in, and that but imperfectly too. That may be one Reason, among many, why we appear so simple and aukward in dressing up the Observations we make of foreign Countries, that we travel in; but I dare say, no Body will, or can be so ill-natured as to be offended, when he sees a Plowman take out his Mistris to dance a Minuet *a-la-mode*, because his Performances are not exactly squared with a Dancing-master's Rules and Figures, which Reflection makes me hope, that this my Virgin Essay will be civilly treated by the unprejudiced Lovers of Travels.

And now, to animadvert a little on the Subjects of my Travels. The geographical, cosmographical or topographical Parts of my Observations have, most of their Places, been settled by others, tho', I think, some of them are a little out of their true Positions, and some I have corrected in the annexed Maps, according to my own Observations; and those Maps will shew the Places and their Names in a much easier and clearer Light than if I had mark'd them down in Margines; and, since most of the Continents and Islands ly pretty near the *Æquator*, the Errors in Longitude are not very great, if at all material.

The theogonical and moral Parts may, without Doubt, deserve some serious Thoughts or Attention, because every Body is, or ought to be concerned in those Speculations, since they shew some Parts of their Religions and Customs, and, comparing them with the inestimable Blessings that we enjoy by revealed Religion and rational Laws, may afford us no small Satisfaction, when rightly considered, and that their wild Notions of a Deity, overclouded with Superstition and Folly, deserve our Pity and Charity; and that our Duty towards God and our Neighbour is, by the *Holy Scriptures*, set before us in the brightest Light, while theirs is to be groped out by the dark Glimmerings of very fallible Reason; yet, for all these Disadvantages, I have known many of them practise very much Holiness in their Lives by the Help of Morality, so that some Animadversions on our Advantages, compared with their Disadvantages, may be, in some Measure, both useful and delightful to all thinking Men, except the *Atheist*, whose Numbers, I hope, are very few among us, and I never met with one in *India*.

What relates to Navigation, in describing the Seas, and Dangers lying in them, and the Sea-coasts, with the Dangers and Harbours on them, is purely calculated for the Use of my Fraternity, who may have Occasion to navigate in those Seas, or on those Coasts, but to others, who have no Call that Way, they are almost useless.

The Commerce on the Continent and the Islands, with the Account of their Productions, Fertility or Sterility, are merely designed for the Assistance of Strangers, Merchants or Seamen, who may hereafter attempt a Trade with the Inhabitants of them: And I am perswaded, that there are several Places, both on the Continent and among the Islands, that ly now neglected by *Europeans*, that might produce a good advantageous Trade, if Factories were settled, and Commerce cultivated with the Inhabitants, and would yield much better Profits than many of the old Factories do at present, some of which, I know, carry on but a very faint Trade for their respective Companies, that can hardly defray their little Charges: But indolent People are generally wedded to their old Customs, or their crazy Habitations, without considering what Changes Time makes, in Bodies politick as well as natural, which Distemper is a Lethargy in Trade, and in all other Branches of Industry, which I can point out in Particulars, if Need were.

Now, as our dear Friends and Allies have engrossed all the *Moluccos* or Spice Islands, I can give but a superficial historical Account of them; and, as they were acquired by bloody and barbarous Industry, they keep and govern them with arbitrary Violence. A poor *Britain* dares not approach them, lest they meet with the Fate that some of our Country-men met with there formerly: And even an *English* Seaman cannot be employed in that Company's Service, for fear of making Observations in Navigation, and Remarks on Trade, that may (some Time or other, but God knows when) prove detrimental to their Commerce. What I could learn of those Islands were some cursory Accounts from some of my Fraternity, when a Bottle or two had opened their Breasts.

Yet I could have enlarged these Observations, and made my Book look much bigger than it is; but, as I hate Prolixity myself, I treat my Reader with what Brevity I can, in every Part, except it be where the Subject cannot bear too narrow a Contraction in its Illustration.

I understand but little of the Use of the Pencil, for which Reason I do not exhibit many Cuts or Figures that might deserve a Place in the Book and those that are placed, are not taken by Rule, or from any certain Position, but according to the Ideas of them that my Memory present to me, yet I am in Hopes, that they will please some, and offend none

THE PREFACE

and I give them a Place here, because I have not seen them inserted in the books of former Authors, nor in the Memoirs of Travellers.

But, before I end this Preface or Prologue, I will tell my Reader, who perhaps is unacquainted with me, who I am, and who I am not. First then, I am one who went very young to travel, not for Want, for there ever was, and is enough of that in my own Country; but having a rambling Mind, and a Fortune too narrow to allow me to travel like a Gentleman, applied myself to the Study of nautical Affairs at *Neptune's* School, and, in Process of Time, I came to be a Master of Arts in that University. My younger Days I spent in visiting most of the maritim Kingdoms of *Europe*, and some Parts of *Barbary*. Then my Curiosity led me to *Jamaica*, and then to the *East-indies*, where I spent between five and six and thirty Years, still learning my Trade, and how to get Money, and, meeting with some Encouragement, I set up for myself, and took some Apprentices, and, according to my Abilities, I taught them, and gave them Encouragement. Now, one would think, that in so long a Time in *India*, I might have made a great Deal of Money as well as Observations and Remarks; but *Fortunatus* will not lodge in every House there with honest and industrious Men more than in *Europe*; yet, after many Strugglings with adverse Fortune, and heavy Oppressions, I have brought back a Charm that can keep out the meager Devil (*Poverty*) from entering into my House, and so I have got holy *Agur's* Wish in *Prov.* xxx. 8. and I have learned a pretty good Lesson from *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, Chap. iv. Ver. 11. which I am resolved to follow as long as I live.

And now I'll tell you who I am not. I assure you I am no mercenary Scribler, for, altho' I was proffered a good round Sum for a Copy of these following Observations, I refused it, and have made a Present of them to a particular Friend, and, if he thinks them worth the printing, he may print them for his own Benefit and Advantage; and, if he has good Luck in putting them off, perhaps I may make some Additions, Appendixes or Supplements to those Observations already made.

Moreover, I left *England* before King *William* came into it as King, which I look on as a singular Providence, considering the Revolutions and Wars that soon followed King *James's* Abdication, for being then young and thoughtless, and having but little Experience of the Affairs of a politick World, a fair Tale plausibly told, with a little smooth Perswasion, might have drawn me into a wrong Way of thinking, or might have led me away (by taking Part with a wrong Faction) to an untimely End, or, at least, have given me Time enough to make Observations on the Miseries of a penurious Life, as I see many now in *Holland* do at this

Time, who are plentifully fed with the Bread of Affliction, and their Heat quenched with the Waters of Sorrow, and the Tears of Repentance.

Now, as these Observations have been mostly from the Store-house of my Memory, and are the Amusements or Lucubrations of the Nights of two long Winters, I have even let my Thoughts take their Places, as they came out of my little Magazine, without studying to put them in Rank and File, according to nice Rules and Forms. So in the same Order I leave them to my Reader, with the old Proverb to accompany them, *that the Proof of the Pudding is in eating it*; so, according to your Taste or Appetite, you may either condemn or commend.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE *EAST INDIES*

CHAPTER I

Giveth a traditional Account of the first settling of Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope, with some historical Remarks on the maritim Countries between the said Cape and Cape Guardafoy, with the inhabited Islands of that Coast.

THE first Europeans that settled at *Cabo de bona Esperanza*, or, in *English*, the Cape of Good Hope, were the *English*, in Queen Elizabeth's Time; but the Natives were so unsociable and indocile, that they thought fit to leave it. A few Years after they had left it, the *English East-india* Company considering what Importance a Port would be of to their Shipping, both in their outward and homeward bound Passages to and from *India*, were resolved to make another Trial for a Settlement there, and, in order to accomplish their Design, obtained a Reprieve for three condemned Malefactors, to be carried thither in order to learn the Language, to serve for Interpreters, and to inspect, as far as they could, into the Manners and Customs of the native *Hottentots*, and of the Product and Commerce of the Country.

After they had been there three Ycars, without being able to learn any of their Language, or to teach any of the Natives a Word of *English*, a Ship was ordered, in her Passage from *India*, to call there, to know what was become of these three Persons, and arriving there, found them all alive, but very tired with their Manner of living, in so much that they fell on their Knees, and, with Tears in their Eyes, beseeched the Captain of the Ship to carry them back to *England*, to receive the Punishment due to their Crimes, rather than be left among the very Dregs of human Nature, who had neither Religion nor Laws, except what every Master of a Family prescribed, and allowed those under his Authority to observe and obey.

Some Years after the Experiment was made on the aforesaid Criminals, an *English* Ship coming there for Water and Provisions, in their Way homeward to *England*, the Captain had the Curiosity to detain a Youth that came on board his Ship, and, being ready to sail, carried him to *England*, where he staid some Years, clothed well after the *English* Fashion,

and kept at School to learn to speak and read *English*; and, when the *East-india* Company thought him well enough qualified to serve for an Interpreter, they sent him back to his own Country, very well clothed. Assoon as he appeared ashore among his Friends and Relations, he pulled off his *English* Apparel, and put on his Country Habit, which is a Sheep's Skin about his Shoulders. The Sheeps Guts seive both Sexes for Bracelets, and the Tallow, mixt with Soot, is their *Pomatum*, with which they bedaub their woolly Heads, Faces and the rest of their Bodies. And when they come on board of our Shipping to traffick their Fowls, Roots and Herbs, with our Needles, Scizers, Knives, &c. Toys, they go first to the Cook-room, and look out for some Grease to anoint their nasty Carcases, and scrape the Bottoms of the Kettles for Soot, to beautify their Skins.

Notwithstanding that they are so brutal and indocile, they know the Value of Liberty, and will by no Means be Slaves, at least to any *Europe* Nations; and, in their Dispositions, are not cruel, tho' revengeful. They are not superstitious, for what Adoration they pay, is to the Sun, and that but seldom. The Country is mountainous. The Hills are stored with Deer and Sheep, black Cattle, Lions, Tigers, and other voracious Animals. The Vallies produce good Wheat and Legumen, Grapes in Abundance, and many other excellent Fruits, Ostriches, and good Fowl both wild and tame: And the Sea and Rivers good Store of Fishes, besides the Manatee, or Sea-cow.

The *English* despairing of settling a Colony there, left it, and settled at St. *Helena*, a very high mountainous Island, lying between the Coast of *Guinea* and *America*, about 620 Leagues North-west half West from the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the *Dutch East-india* Company settled a Colony at Cape *bona Esperanza*, by the Assistance of some *French* Refugees, who have penetrated near 300 *English* Miles into the Land, and manure the Ground to very good Purpose, it yielding them Wines and Wheat in Abundance. The *Dutch* Company has a strong Fort, and a Town on the South Side of a Bay, that serves for a good Road for Shipping in all Winds, except those that blow between the North and West. The *English* call'd generally there, in their Way to and from *India*, in former Times, for Refreshments; but of late the white *Hottentots* will not permit the poor *Britons* to carry on board their Ships any Cattle, Sheep or Fowls with Life in them, for the Support or Relief of their dear Friends and Allies, notwithstanding the conscientious Prices we would willingly bestow for their Edibles. The black *Hottentots* would shew the *English* much more Humanity, if the white did not restrain them; and so I leave them, and proceed to the Eastward.

From Cape *Bona Esperanza* to *Natal*, is a dangerous Sea-coast, and little frequented, whether by the Unsociableness of the *Hottentots* the Inhabitants, or that the Country produces nothing worth the Merchants adventuring thither for, I know not; but to *Natal* I have known some *English* Vessels go from *India*, for Elephants Teeth, and did make pretty good Voyages; but they were Two Years and an Half in performing a Voyage. The Country is fertil, but unwholsom. The Woods are thick set with several Sorts of Trees, and stored with Elephants, Lions, Leopards, Bears, Wolves, Deer and Foxes; the Rivers with Fish, Manatees and Crocodiles. Here lived, in Anno 1718. a penitent Pirate, who sequestered himself from his abominable Community, and retired out of Harm's Way.

There is no Commerce on the Coast between *Natal* and *Delagoa*, I believe, for the same Reason that I gave for the Unfrequentedness of the Coast between the Cape of *Good-hope* and *Natal*; and I believe, the first communicative Commerce, either to *Natal* or *Delagoa*, with the *English*, came by Accident; for about the Year 1683. an *English* Ship, called the *Johanna*, was lost somewhere about *Delagoa*. The Natives, who were reputed great Barbarians, shew'd the shipwrack'd Men much more Civility and Humanity than some Nations that I know, who pretend much Religion and Politeness, for they accommodated their Guests with whatever they wanted of the Product of their Country, at very easy Rates, and assisted what they could, to save Part of the damaged Cargo, receiving very moderate Rewards for their Labour and Pains. Their Language was by Signs; and for a few Glass-beads, Knives, Scizers, Needles, Thread and small Looking-glasses, which they are very fond of, they hired themselves to carry many portable Things (that were saved from the Shipwrack) to a neighbouring Country, and procured others, who also served them for Guides towards the Cape of *Good-hope*, and provided Eatables for their Masters, all the while they were under their Conduct; and having carried them about 200 Miles on their Way, by Land, they provided new Guides and Porters for them, for some of the aforesaid Trifles, who conducted them, and provided for them, as the others had done, for 7 or 800 Miles farther, which they travelled in 40 Days, and so delivered their Charge to others, who conducted and provided for them, till they arrived at the Cape; and some of the *English* falling sick on the Way, they carried the Sick in Hammocks, till they either recovered or died, and out of 80 Men there were but 3 or 4 died; but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape, I have forgotten. This Account I had from one of the Travellers. He told me, that the natural Fertility of those Countries he travelled thro', made the Inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile and simple. Their Rivers

are abundantly stored with good Fish and Water-fowl, besides Manatees, or Sea-cows and Crocodiles; their Woods with large Trees, wild Cattle and Deer, Elephants, Rhinoceroses, Lions, Tigers, Wolves and Foxes for Game; also many Sorts of winged Fowl and Birds, besides Ostriches. They have some Notions of a Deity, whom they worship with Dancing and Feasting, for they are generally very much inclined to Mirth, an Instance whereof I'll venture to relate, on the Account I had from a Master of a Ship, who went thither to trade in *Anno* 1718. *viz.* When they had got their Ship secured in a River, the Natives assembled in good Numbers to traffick, near the Place where the Ship lay: An arch *Indian* Youth, who was a very good Drummer, carried his Drum ashore, and in a Thicket pretty near the Assembly, beat his Drum very briskly, on which the Young of both Sexes fell a skipping, and a little after the Adult and Old followed their Example, so that none stood idle Spectators; but the Old beginning to tire, some went to the Drummer, and presented him with Eggs, Fowl and Fruits, and intreated him to leave off, which assoon as he did, they all sat down again on the Ground, well heated.

I saw several Rhinoceroses Horns brought thence to *Bombay*, much longer than ever I saw in *India* or *China*, and one was three Horns growing from one Root; the longest was about 18 Inches, the second about 12. and the third about 8. but smaller, in Proportion, than what is in *India*, and much sharper about the Point. The Master of the forenamed Ship brought also a black Fowl, as big in the Body as a large Duck. It had a long, straight, thick, but pointed Bill, and hollow Eyes, its Legs about 12 or 14 Inches long, but thick and strong; it was very voracious after Flesh or Fish, and was an excellent Frog and Rat-catcher. Assoon as he caught any living Game, he tossed it up about two Yards high, and caught it on the Point of his Bill, and so repeted his Tossings till the Animal died, and then greedily devoured it.

Between *Delagoa* and *Mosambique* is a dangerous Sea-coast, it formerly was known by the Names of *Suffola* and *Guama*, but now by the *Portugueze*, who know that Country best, it is called *Sena*. It finds Dominions for many different Princes, for they are contented with small Territories. The Inhabitants are all *Negroes*, and almost all Barbarians, except a few that the *Portugueze* have converted to Popery; and they, by their Conversion, are generally less humane to *European* Strangers than the Barbarians.

Sena abounds in Elephants Teeth and low Gold, of 18 or 19 *Carects* Fineness; but the People having Plenty of all Things convenient for them, are very supine. They have large strong Bodies and Limbs, and are very bold in War. They'll have Commerce with none but the *Portugueze*, who

keep a few Priests along the Sea-coasts, that overaw the silly Natives, and get their Teeth and Gold for Trifles, and send what they get to *Mosambique*.

I have heard a *Portuguese* say, who went from *Mosambique* thither, that, carrying some small Glass-beads of divers Colours for Traffick, the Natives made a Hole in some clay Ground, which would hold as many Beads as they wanted, and taking the Beads out of the Hole, filled it up with Gold-dust. He also told me, that for some coarse chequer'd Cloth, called *Cambaya Lungies*, made of Cotton-yarn, the Natives would bring Elephants Teeth, and measure the Length of a Tooth by the Cloth, and bartered the Tooth for so much Cloth as it measured: But the *Portuguese* Relations are hardly to be credited, for if Gold and Teeth were so easily purchased, how can they be so miserably poor, as they are, every where in their Colonies, all over *India*?

I rather believe, that this was the *Ophir* or *Tarshish* of the *Jews*, whither *Solomon* sent his Ships out of the *Red Sea*, than *Sumatra*, where they could not possibly go and return in three Years along the Sea-coasts, which might easily be effected to *Sena*.

Mosambique is an Island belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, it is well fortified both by Art and Nature, but is very unwholsom, in so much, that when any *Reynol*, or *European Portuguese* in the King of *Portugal*'s Service in *India*, commits any capital Crime, instead of punishing him according to their national or martial Laws, they are banished to *Mosambique*, for as many Years as the Viceroy of *Goa* and his Council shall order, and very few ever return from their Exile, for 5 or 6 Years is a long Life there. It also serves for a refreshing Place for the *Portuguese* Ships, that are bound from *Europe* to *India*, where they generally stay about 30 Days to recruit their Soldiers and Sea-men, (not with fresh Numbers, but fresh Victuals and Whores) who, by their Inactivity and Laziness at Sea, contract the Scurvy and Dropsy, which the acid Fruits and nourishing Roots soon dispel. Their Ships are generally at Sea the whole Month of *August*, between *Mosambique* and *Goa*.

The Inhabitants of *Mosambique*, as well as those on the Continent, are all *Negroes*, of a large Size, handsom, and very well limb'd, and make good Slaves. The King's Ships, as well as private Traders, bring good Store of them to *India*, both Sexes being in high Esteem with the *Indian Portuguese*, both having Services, proper to their Sex, allotted them. Assoon as the Boys can speak a little *Portuguese*, they are baptized, and so become very zealous Catholics, fit to execute any base Design their ghostly Fathers shall think fit to put them on; and after Baptism, they

have a little Crucifix, or a Saint of Brass or Ivory, hung about their Necks, which they are as fond of, as a Monkey is of a young Kitten to play with.

And some that have the good Fortune to be young and docile, and fall into the Hands of a zealous superstitious Master, are brought up to Letters, and in the End come to be Priests. I have known many Coal-black Priests about *Goa*.

The Country of *Quiloa* lies between *Mosambique* and *Mombass*, its Sea-coast is dangerous, which admits of no Trade but in Boats. The Distance between *Mosambique* and *Mombass* is about 225 Leagues.

Mombass is also an Island that lies near the Continent, slightly fortified by Art, but very well by Nature; it belonged to the *Portugueze* for near 200 Years, but in *Anno* 1698. the *Muskat Arabs* took it with very little Trouble, and put about 20 *Portugueze* to the Sword, that were there to defend it, and the Conquerors found a Booty of about 200 Tuns of Teeth, which was worth in *India*, about 125000 *L. Sterl.* The Elephants of this Country are very large, and so are the Men, who are all Barbarians, except those who were near Neighbours to the *Portugueze*, who, for Conveniency, were baptized, and became good Catholics; and since the *Arabians* are become their Neighbours, they are turned very zealous Mussulmen, which Religion pleases their Stupidity better, being better adapted to their Humours, and dear Custom of Polygamy and Concubinage.

Patta is now in the Hands of the *Muskat Arabs*, and affords good Store of Teeth and Slaves for *Muskat*. Formerly the *English*, *Portugueze*, and *Moors* from *India*, had a small, but advantageous Trade thither, which the *Arabs* envied them of, and sent a Colony about the Year 1692. and settled there, prohibiting Commerce with all other Nations. The inland Countries are inhabited by Barbarians, but on the Sea-coasts of *Magadoxa*, *Zeyla* and *Yeman* to *Cape Guardafoy*, which stretches about 330 Leagues North Eastward. The Religion, by Law established, is *Mahometan*, yet every Country retains some Fragments of their ancient Customs and Ceremonies, with the Traditions of their Fathers. The *Arabians* from *Mocha*, and other Parts of *Arabia* the *Happy*, who reckon themselves *Mahomet's* best Disciples, and who have travelled much to teach and confirm them in their Religion and Philology, declare them to be the greatest Schismatics and obdurate Hereticks that profess the *Mahometan* Religion.

Magadoxa, or, as the *Portugueze* call it, *Magadocia*, is a pretty large City, about 2 or 3 Miles from the Sea, from whence it has a very fine Aspect, being adorn'd with many high Steeples and Mosques. There are several Reasons why Merchants do not frequent it on account of Traffick; one

is, that a Reef of Rocks lies all along the Shore, about a Mile more or less from the sandy Strand, between which and the Rocks it is pretty smooth, and two or three Fathoms Water; but there is no River to secure Vessels when a strong Sea Wind bloweth. The second Impediment is, that Violence and Robberies are so much practised and countenanced, that common Faith is not to be relied on: And I'll give a very tragical Instance of their Barbarity, *viz.* In Anno 1700. the *English* new *East-india* Company sent out a Ship called the *Albemarle*, commanded by Captain *William Beawes*. Being bound for *Surat*, he had the Misfortune to meet the Easterly Monsoons or Trade-winds, sooner than he expected. In the Chanel between *Madagascar* and the Coast of *Ethiopia*, those Easterly Monsoons always bring strong Currents with them from the Eastward, which check'd him over to the Coast of *Magadoxa*, but that being a dangerous Shore, he stood over to the Island of *Johanna*, and was forced to harbour his Ship on the South-west Side of that Island, till the Easterly Monsoons were blown over, and in the Month of *March* he ventured to put to Sea, which was too soon, because the Currents still ran strong to the Westward, and he standing over to the *Ethiopian* Coast, fell in again with *Magadoxa*; which, by the handsom Figure it made from the Sea, made him believe it to be some Place of Commerce, and being curious to know if it was so or no, sent his Yole ashore, with his Purser and four Seamen, to bring Information, and gave them strict Orders to be on their Guard, and only one Person to go ashore at a Time. When the Boat got over the Rocks, they anchored close to the Beech, and the Natives came from the Town, driving Store of Cattle and Sheep before them for Sale. The Purser, being young, and unexperienced, forgot his Orders, and went ashore himself with three of his Crew, leaving one only to stay in the Boat, and those that went ashore, were so silly, as to leave their Fire-arms in the Boat, and by the feigned Civilities that the Natives shew'd them, they heedlessly mingled themselves with the Natives, who, finding so unexpected an Opportunity hurl'd them away to the Town; and the Boat-keeper, neither hearing nor seeing what was done to his Comrades, suffered some Natives to come into the Boat, who seized him also, and haled the Boat a good Way up on the Land.

Those on board the Ship, saw, by their Prospectives, what was acted ashore, and sent their other Boats, well mann'd, to try if they could ransom the Captives, but in four Days fruitless Endeavours, they could never bring the Natives to a Parley, and so the Ship was obliged to leave them to repent of their Folly; but it never came to our Knowledge in *India* what became of them, or what their Fate was.

Yet on the Coasts of *Zeyla* and *Yeman*, which both terminate at Cape *Guardafoy*, the Natives will bring off Sheep, Goats, Hens, Fish and Fruits to sell to Shipping that sometimes ly becalm'd on their Sea, near the Shore. The People are tall, meagre and large bon'd, very swarthy, but not quite black in their Complexions; they are treacherous, cruel, and avaricious in their Temper; their Habit is a Pair of Breeches to their Ancles, or a Piece of coarse Cloth about their Loyns, and a Gown open before, and without Sleeves, called a *Camlin*; it is made of Camels Hair, or of their Sheeps Wooll, that is fully as hard and coarse as Hogs Hair. On their Heads they wear a Turbant of coarse Calico, and then they are equipped. Their Sheep are all white, with jet black Heads, and small Ears, their Bodies large, and their Flesh delicate, their Tails as broad as their Buttocks, and about 6 or 8 Inches long; so they are in the Shape of a Pillow wanting Corners, and from the lower End of that Bundle, comes a small Tail about 6 Inches long, almost like a Pig's.

And now having travelled along the Shore of the Continent, from the Cape of *Good-hope* to Cape *Guardafoy*, I'll survey the Islands that lie in the *Ethiopian* Sea; but as they afford nothing for Commerce, but Slaves and Provisions, they are little minded by Merchants: So beginning with the Westmost, I'll bring them in Order to the Eastward.

CHAPTER II

Giving a short Description of the Islands in the Ethiopian Seas, with some remarkable Passages historical and accidental.

MADAGASCAR, or, as the *Portuguese* christned it, *St. Laurence*, is one of the largest Islands in the known World, and affords most Part of the Requisites of human Life: It produces very large Cattle, whose Flesh is excellent, especially their large Humps that grow between their Neck and Shoulders. They have also Goats and Deer plenty enough, and when the *Portuguese* first sailed along the Coasts of this Island, they left a Brood of Hogs, that has mightily increased. They also christned many Rivers and Capelands that are not now frequented, but only known by their Names, and serve for Nests to Pirates. The *French* made a Settlement on the East Side of it, and called it *Port Dauphin*; but finding that the Commerce there would not bear the Expence of the Colony, they left it again.

The *English* formerly drove a Trade for Slaves on the West Side of the

Island, particularly at St. *Augustine's* Bay, and at new and old *Messalige*, but now they are afraid of the Pirates, tho' some venture their Necks in going to trade with them. There have been several Squadrons of *British* Men of War sent to cruize on the Pirates, but have had very ill Success in finding them out; but one *Scots* Ship commanded by one *Millar*, did the Publick more Service in destroying them, than all the chargeable Squadrons that have been sent in Quest of them; for, with a Cargo of strong Ale and Brandy, which he carried to sell them, in *Anno* 1704. he killed above 500 of them by carousing, tho' they took his Ship and Cargo as a Present from him, and his Men entred, most of them, into the Society of the Pirates.

It was reported in *India*, that Commodore *Littleton* had some of that Gang on board the *Anglesey* at *Madagascar*, but, for some valuable Reasons, he let them go again; and because they found Difficulty in cleaning the Bottoms of their large Ships, he generously assisted them with large Blocks and Tackle-falls for careening them. Whether those Reports were true or false, I will not undertake to determine, but I saw a Pirate at *Bengal*, in the *French* Company's Service, that affirmed it.

Madagascar is invironed with Islands and dangerous Sholes, both of Rocks and Sand. St. *Mary's*, on the East Side, is the Place where the Pirates first chose for their *Asylum*, having a good Harbour to secure them from the Weather, tho' in going in there are some Difficulties, but hearing that Squadrons of *English* Ships were come in Quest of them, they removed to the main Island for more Security, and there they have made themselves free Denizons by Marriage: And I am of Opinion, that it will be no easy Matter to dispossess them. In *Anno* 1722. Mr. *Matthews* went in Quest of them, but found they had deserted the Island of St. *Mary's*, leaving behind them some Marks of their Robberies, for in some Places they found Pepper a Foot thick, lying on the Ground in the open Air. The Commodore aforesaid went with his Squadron over to the main Island, but the Pirates had carried their Ships into Rivers or Creeks, out of Danger of the Men of War, and to offer to burn them with their Boats, would have been impracticable, since they could have easily distressed the Boats Crews out of the Woods. The Commodore had some Discourse with some of them, but they stood on their Guard, ready to defend themselves, if any Violence had been offered them.

I have heard it reported by some who had frequented *Madagascar* for Trade, that the Natives that live far from the Sea, are of a tawny Complexion, and have long Hair on their Heads, whereas those that are born near the Sea, are very black, and their Hair like Lamb-wooll. What

Religion they profess, I know not, and the Pirates are but scurvy School-masters to teach them Morals.

There are many Islands and Sholes lying to the Eastward of *Madagascar*. *St. Apolloni* is uninhabited; *Domascarenhas* is inhabited by the *French*, but formerly by the *English*, and was called by them, *The English Forest*. *Mariti* was formerly inhabited by the *Dutch*, but in *Anno* 1703. they had Orders to leave it, and repair to *Batavia*, and the *Dutch* Company sent Shipping for their Transportation. *Diego Rais*, which is the next Island to *Mariti*, was made a *French* Settlement, but finding it barren, they left it in 3 Years, all the rest were always uninhabited, as well to the Eastward as the Northward, and but 3 or 4 to the Westward, who ly in the Chanel between *Quiloea* and *Madagascar*.

Comora is the Westmost of the inhabited Islands, and affords nothing but a scrimp Maintenance for a Parcel of poor miserable Creatures. *Johanna* is within Sight of *Comora*, and is a plentiful Island in Cattle, Goats, Fowls and Fish, with good Lemons and Oranges, so that most Part of the *English* Shipping bound to *Mocha*, *Persia* and *Surat*, usually call'd there for Refreshments, till the Pirates began to frequent it. There are two memorable Accidents fell out at that Island, to the *English East-india* Company's Shipping. One was in the Year 1690 or 91. to Captain *Burton* in the *Herbert*, a Ship of 800 Tons, mounted 56 Guns. He was attacked by three *French* Ships, each gunn'd and mann'd as well as he. On their Approach, he cut his Cables, and put to Sea, about 2 after Noon they began an hot Engagement, which lasted till 8 in the Night, that the *Herbert* blew up, and all her Men lost, but 6 or 7 that were in the Pinnace, some whereof I saw afterwards at *Muskat*. The other was lately, in *Anno* 1720. when two of our *East-india* Ships were watering there, with an *Ostend* Ship in their Company; they agreed to stand by one another in case of Assaults, or engaging with the common Enemy, but when two Pirates drew near, the *Greenwich* and *Ostender* weighed, and stood to Sea, and left the *Cassandra* to shift for her self, who was obliged to engage the smallest Pirate (being a Ship of 24 Guns, *Dutch*-built) in the Bay, and soon after they began, the *Cassandra* went aground on some Rocks, and the Pirate striving to board her, was also taken up by some Rocks, not above 20 Yards from the *Cassandra*. The Pirate's Head lay towards the *Cassandra*'s Broadside, and they pelted one another furiously, many falling on both Sides, but the Pirates, finding too hot Work on their Decks, were forced to quit them, and run down into the Hold for Shelter. Captain *Mackraw*, who commanded the *Cassandra*, seeing the other Pirate approach near him, and manning all his Boats to reinforce his Comrade, thought it a

good Time for him, and who else could get ashore, to embrace the Opportunity, and accordingly they got into their Boats, and saved their Lives. The Inhabitants shewed much Humanity to the Distressed, and carried them above a Dozen of Miles up in the Country, for Fear the Pirates, in their mad Fury, should have murdered the poor Men that escaped from their Ship. The Pirates, soon after they had Possession of the *Cassandra*, got her afloat again, she having received little or no Damage; they also got their own Ship off, but she was very much shattered, and disabled in her Masts.

Captain *Mackraw*, being a Gentleman that was well versed in Conversation with Men of any Temper, ventured on board the Pirates, and they were so much taken with his Address, that they made him a Present of that Ship which he had so bravely battered, to carry him and his Crew to *India*; in the mean while, the *Greenwich* came to *Bombay* in *September*, who brought the Account of the Loss of the *Cassandra*, and in *November*, Captain *Mackraw* arrived himself with his new Ship, and his Ship's Company all in Rags, but were soon equipp'd by the Benevolence and Generosity of the Governor Mr. *Boone*, who was a Gentleman of as much Honour and good Sense, as any that ever sat in that Chair.

Mohilla is but a little distant from *Johanna*, pretty well inhabited, but the People not so well civilized as *Johanna*; and the Kings of these neighbouring Islands have continual War. The *Johanna* Men, by the Assistance of Commodore *Littleton*, landed on *Mohilla*, and made great Slaughter and Devastations; but what his Policy was in breaking the Neutrality that the *English* held among those Islanders, I know not. *Mayotta* lies about 35 Leagues from *Johanna*, and is the largest of the inhabited Islands, but being surrounded with dangerous Rocks under Water, it is not much frequented, and so the Manners of the Inhabitants not so well known. The Religion of those Islands is *Mahometan*, but there are very few Zealots among them; and so I leave them, and return to Cape *Guardafoy*, and travel up the *Red Sea*.

The Navigation of the *Ethiopian* Seas is very dangerous, and their Maps very deficient; for I saw a *Dutch* Skipper at *Mocha*, who had Orders to sail from *Batavia* towards *Mocha*, in the Month of *January*, and to navigate to the North End of *Madagascar*, and from thence to the *Red Sea*, he affirmed to me, that he saw several large Islands, and many Rocks and Sands in those Seas that were not placed in his Maps, for which Reason he was obliged to anchor in the Nights, when he could have Anchored; and that the Currents run very strong to the Southward, among those Banks and Rocks.

CHAPTER III

Gives a Description of Zeyla's Sea-coast, and of a Part of Ethiopia, Zuakin and Upper Egypt.

BUT to return again to Cape *Guardafoy*, from thence up to *Zeyla* is about 120 Leagues. The Coast is inhospitable as well as the People. There are only two Places in all that Tract that affords fresh Water, one is a little to the Eastward of Mount *Felix*, but in *Arabick* it is called *Baba-fileck*, or, *The Mountain of Camels*, where there is a small fresh Water River; the other is called *Khagi* 10 Leagues more Westerly; it may be easily known by the Side of a Hill close to the Sea, whose North Aspect is of white Sand, that shews at a Distance like a Sail, but may be seen in that Figure 10 Leagues off. Several Ships from *India*, that have been necessitated to call at those Places for Water, have been cut off; and one poor Man they surprized with his own Boat that he sent for Water. The Boat's Crew were surprized whilst filling Water, them they killed, except two Boys whom they saved; they then came off in the Night, and those in the Ship not examining them in Time, they boarded the Ship, and took them all unarmed, and killed every Man, and carrying the Ship close to the Shore, they unladed her, and then sunk her. The two Youths who gave the Account of that tragical Accident, were brought to *Aden*, which lies opposite to that Place, and were sold for Slaves. A *Surat* Ship being there, bought the Youths, and brought them to *Surat*.

There is no anchoring on that Coast above a Mile off Shore the Sea is so deep; and above *Zeyla*, in a deep Bay opposite to *Babelmandel*, which makes the Entry into the *Red Sea*, there is a large River that disimbogues into the Sea, but tho' the Mouth be large, yet it is so deep, and full of Banks and Rocks, with such Whirl-pools, that no Ship dare go near it. At that River begins the *Ethiopian* Shore, shewing many high Mountains, which are easily seen from the *Arabian* Shore: And all the Coast from this River, as far North as *Zuakin*, which is near 200 Leagues, is called the *Ethiopian* Coast.

And tho' I never was on that South-west Coast of the *Red Sea*, and know but few that traffick there, except *Romish* Priests, yet I'll venture to relate what I learned from them. There are two or three small Ports between *Zeyla* and *Mossava*, but an inconsiderable Trade, being most in Slaves of both Sexes, which the *Ethiopians* bring to *Mocha* for a Market, where I have seen a Drove of those unfortunate Creatures carried like a Flock of Sheep, most Part of them insensible of their own Misery, and the highest Bidder

carries the Bargain. They also bring some Elephants Teeth, the best that ever I saw, and some Ostriches Feathers.

Mossava is situated on the North-west End of a large Island, and affords a very good Harbour for Shipping of any Size; it has a Garison of about 250 *Turks* in a Castle built formerly by the *Portugueze*, who, according to their impolite Custom, oppress Strangers as well as Natives, that come there to trade.

The Country produceth low Gold, Elephants Teeth, Slaves, and some Coffee, but of a larger Grain than what grows on the Land opposite to it in *Arabia*, at *Betlefacee*. The current small Money of *Ethiopia* is Salt, which is dug out of the Mountains as we do Stones from our Quarries, which they break in Pieces of several Sizes, the largest weighing about 80 Pounds, the others in 40, 20, 10, or 5 Pounds, and are so expert in dividing it, that they err not above 5 *per Cent.* more or less in their Calculation of Weight; 20 Pounds is in Value about 1 Shilling *Sterl.* and those Pieces of Salt is the current Money in their Markets for Provisions, and likewise for Cloth, when they buy a Yard or two at a Time; and when a Merchant has got any considerable Quantity by him, there are Bankers to give Gold for it.

The Religion on the Sea-coast is *Mahometan*, but within Land *Cophities*, who are circumcised *Christians*. The Males they circumcise sometimes at 8 Days old, but that Ceremony is often delayed till 40 Days, and sometimes not till the seventh or eighth Year of their Age. They circumcise Females as well as Males. The Circumcision, they think, is necessary in Memory of *Jesus Christ*, and on a certain Day yearly, they immerse themselves in Rivers or Lakes, in Remembrance of *Christ's* Immersion or Baptism. They forbear eating some Beasts Flesh, according to the *Mosaical* Law. They hold from *Saturday's* Noon to *Sunday's* Noon their Sabbath. They receive the Sacrament standing, and only in the Church, and the Wine only from the Deacon's Hand in a Spoon. Their Priests eat no idle Bread, but maintain themselves by Labour. They have many Bishops, but one they call *Abunah* above the rest, he is held in great Veneration, and when he goes abroad, he has great Attendance, and rides on a Mule, with a Cross in his right Hand.

They enter their Churches bare-footed, because God commanded *Moses* to put off his Shoes, for the Ground he stood on was holy. They allow but one Wife, but as many Concubines as they please. They allow of Repudiation, but neither Party can marry again, till the Term of three Years be expired, and if the Parties are not reconciled in that Term, they think the Breach too big ever to be closed up again.

They have all the canonical Books of our Scriptures, and several more. They reckon the Prophet *Iddo* one of the greater Prophets, and put him in the Class with *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Elisha*, *Elijah* and *Daniel*, and that he wrote 14,000 Prophecies, many of which they have at this Day; that his Prophecies of *Jesus Christ*, were clearer, or more distinct than any the other Prophets left behind them; but the Substance of their practical Religion consists in their Fasts and Feasts, for they do not much trouble themselves about the Doctrine of Faith, Repentance and good Works, which makes them very dissolute in their Lives.

We *Europeans* generally call the King of *Ethiopia*, *Prester John*, but his Subjects know no such Appellation; 'tis true, he is Supreme in ecclesiastick as well as civil Affairs. His Dominions are very large, and he has many Tributaries, who stile themselves Kings, and act despotically. The Royal Family are all kept at *Amara*, which is a pleasant round Hill, situated in 12 Degrees North from the *Equator*, tho' I saw an old *Portuguese* geographical Description of *Ethiopia*, place it under the *Equinoctial*. The Hill is walled round with a high Wall, at least 12 Leagues in Circumference, which cuts off all Communication with Strangers or Mal-contents. Within the Walls are Palaces, Gardens, Orchards, Woods for wild Game, Rivulets and Ponds for Fish, and all that the Clime can afford to make it pleasant; there the Youths of the Royal Family study what Arts and Sciences are proper to their Quality, or according to the Knowledge of their Teachers.

Their Empire is hereditary, but not in a direct Line, the Succession being kept in the ancient Family, which they reckon up as high as *Solomon*, but on the Demise of one Emperor, they make Choice of a Royal Youth out of the Paradise of *Amara*, so he that behaves best in that State of Probation, or has the best Friends to recommend him, succeeds without Contention, which political Custom makes their Youths very tractable and studious. There are none reckoned Princes of the Blood after second Cousin-germans, and it seems they have something like the *Salick Law* in Force amongst them, for their Histories mention no Female Reign since *Candace's* Time, if *Ethiopia*, as it now is, was her Country.

They are very nesty in their Apparel and Diet, for tho' their Country is well stored with Fire-wood, yet they do not take Pains to dress their Meat by Fire, but having killed their animal Food, before it be well cold, they mince it, and mix Salt and a sharp hot Bark of a Tree well powdered, and make the Morsel up in small Balls about the Bigness of a Wall-nut, and greedily eat it: But the Princes eat in State, for they being seated on a Matt spread on the Ground, his favourite female Slave or Concubine makes up those Balls of Flesh or Fish seasoned with the aforesaid Sauce

of Salt and Bark, and squeezes them into fashionable Morsels, his Highness gapes like a young Crow, and she throws it cleverly in, which he presently devours. The Commons eat of the same Sort of Viands with the Grandees, but many of both Sexes die by Excoriations of the Guts and the right Intestine; but whether their Diet be the Cause of their Distemper, I leave to Physicians to determine, who generally are the best Judges. They have a good pleasant Liquor made of Hony and Potatoes, which they carouse in plentifully, and often get drunk by it, and then they are rather mad than inebriated, which renders them very quarrelsome and furious; their Hony, as it is very plentiful in their Country, so it is the whitest, hardest and best tasted that ever I met with.

I had the above Relation of *Abasina* from four *Romish* Priests, who had their Mission there for 8 Years together, but made but few Proselytes: They had been meddling in State Affairs, and, for Fear of losing their Heads, they fled, and left two of their Brethren, being old, and not fit for Travel; what became of them they knew not; but those four transgressed their Superior's Orders, and left their Stations, and travelled three or four hundred Miles to the Sea-coast, and got a Passage over the *Red Sea* to *Mocha*, where I entertained them about four Months: They also told me, that seven tributary Kings had lost their Heads in six Months Time, for Mal-administration or Treason, and if my Guests had not removed their Quarters when they did, they had been honoured with the Name of *Roman* Martyrs, in *Anno* 1714. The Country abounds plentifully in Wheat, Rice, Barley, Legumens or Pulse of several Sorts, notwithstanding they eat their raw Meat without Bread. Their Woods abound in Elephants (reckoned the largest in the World), also some Lions and Tigers, and innumerable Troops of Wolves, Monkeys and Ostriches, all much larger than in other Countries. The aforesaid Priests also told me, that the Head of *Nilus*, which the Ancients so much sought for, is in this Country, about the Latitude of 6 Degrees North, and about 400 Miles from the lower End of the *Red Sea*. How far the *Ethiopian* Coast stretches to the Northward, I know not, but it has no Sea-ports to the Northward of *Mossava*, and the next Country to it is the barbarous *Zuakin*, whose Inhabitants are very different both in Complexion and Customs from the *Abasines*, whose Colour is only as black as Soot, but the *Zuakins* are as black as Jet, and their Skins as soft as Velvet.

Their Religion is still Paganism, tho' they don't worship Images. They shew outward Civility to *Europeans*, but kill them, and feast on their Flesh, when any are unfortunately shipwreck'd on their Coast. At first they shew a seeming Humanity, allowing them a convenient Place to lodge in,

with Plenty of animal Food to eat, and sometimes entertain them with their Musick, and then destroy the fattest, as they have Occasion to feast on them, an Instance whereof I had from a Missionary at *Mocha*, in Anno 1712. viz.

A *Turkish* Galley bound from *Mossava* to *Judda* in *Arabia felix*, had on board about 20 *European Turks*, and one *Italian Priest*, as Passenger; that Galley was drove ashore on the Coast of *Zuakin* by a Storm, the Galley was lost, but all the Men got safe ashore, and found the abovementioned Entertainment. They had not been long ashore, till some People of Distinction visited them, and seemed to condole their Misfortune, but withal, told them in *Arabick*, that the King had a great Desire to see some of them, and they chose the youngest and plumpest of the *Turks* to shew to the King, who very willingly went away with them, but none came back to bring News how they were entertained at Court; and every fourth or fifth Day, another of the best favoured and best fleshed were carried from their Comrades, on the same, or such like Errand, till near one Half were carried away, those that remained had no Suspicion, but were lulled asleep by the good Words and good Treatment they received daily: But one Day, an *Abasine*, who had fled his Country for some Misdemeanour, came to visit them, and, in Discourse, they told him how courteously they had been entertained by the hospitable Natives, and how many of their Company had gone to the King, but that none returned. The *Abasine* told them, that they were treated after the common Custom of that Country, that when any white Men were shipwrack'd on their Coast, they found such Treatment as they had, to make them fat, and then to kill and eat them, by cutting such Morsels of the Body as they had present Occasion for, and kept Life as long in the poor Victim as they could; and that very Morning a *Janisary* had been carried on the aforesaid Errand, and had one Leg cut off, and the Half of a Thigh, and he saw them roasting and broiling the Flesh as he happened to pass in his Way to visit them, and told the disconsolate *Turks* that remained, that if one or two would accompany him a little Way in the Evening, he would convince them of the Truth of that he told them, but they must immediately after return to their Lodging. The Priest was one that went to behold the sad Spectacle, whom they found not quite dead, tho speechless, on which the *Abasine* went speedily away, as the others did to acquaint their Fellows what they had seen. Assoon as they made their Report, they were under the greatest Consternation, and unanimously resolved to flee to the Woods that very same Night, and trust the wild Inhabitants rather than the crueller Beasts, the *Zuakins*. And the Woods are plentifully inhabited with Lions, Tigers, large Monkeys, but

above all with Wolves. The Priest took his Way in the Dark along the Sea-shore to the Northward, but knew nothing of his Fellows, which Way they took, or how they fared. In the Day-time he sculked in Caverns and Hollows of Rocks, which that Sea-coast abounds in, and is not so much frequented by the brutal *Cannibals* as the inland Parts; sometimes he sallied out to get Shell-fish, or what else he could get to eat, and in the Night he travelled, so that after seventeen Nights and Days hard Fatigue, he arrived at a Village in *Upper Egypt* inhabited by *Mahometans* and *Cophites*, who relieved him, and sent him to *Grand Cairo*, from whence he wrote to a Missionary at *Mocha*, in *Anno 1714*. who resided with me, and gave him the above Account, with the Addition of a very strange Paradox, *viz.* That himself being then about 28 Years of Age, (when he fell on the Coast of *Zuakin*) his Hair was of a dark brown, but when he arrived in *Cairo*, his Hair was turned to a very light gray, and continued so till the Time he wrote to his Friend at *Mocha* of that tragical Adventure.

There are no Sea-ports from *Zuakin* on the South-west Side of the *Red Sea*, till we come to *Seues*, which lies near the Head of the Bay of that Sea, which sends his opposite Shores down to the South-eastward, as far as *Babelmandel*.

Sues, or *Seues* seems to be the *Ezion-geber*, or *Eloth*, from whence *Solomon* sent his Ships to *Ophir*, for I have conversed with several Pilots of that Navigation, who assured me, there is no clean Bottom for Anchoring, but *Seues*, on that Part of the Coast, for most Part of the *Red Sea* is incumbered with Coral Rocks under Water, and pestered with Banks, which make the Navigation very dangerous. At present, *Seues* is the only Sea-port for *Grand Cairo*, from whence it is three Days Journey by Land, with a Caffilla or Caravan, but on Horse-back but two short Days. In *Cairo* the *English* and *French* keep their Consuls, for the Support of the Trade of their respective Countries.

In *Anno 1714*. Mr. *Farrington* was Consul for the *English*, he had a very fair Character from all People, as well Merchants as the Religious that came from *Cairo* to *Mocha*, which made me presume to trouble him with a Letter, giving him the best Account I could of the State of Merchandize in *India*, and to have his Advice, whether it might be practicable to cultivate a Trade from *India* to *Seues*, which Letter he very civilly answered, and next Year it came to my Hand, but he dissuaded me from any Attempt that Way; because of the intolerable Avarice and Insults of the *Turkish Bashaws*, and other Officers of Note, with the Contempt they have for Merchants, especially *Christians*, he assured me, that it is impossible to be a Gainer by such Commerce.

CHAPTER IV

Gives a little Description of the Coast of Arabia the Happy, from Mount Sinai to Mocha, with some Observations on the Religion, Customs and Laws, as they are now established.

OVER against *Seues*, on the *Arabian Shore*, stands *Mount Sinai*, about 5 or 6 Leagues from the Sea; and on its South-west Side, near the Bottom, is the Monastery of *St. Katharina*. The Mount is much revered by the *Jews*, and the Monastery by the *Christians*; it is very ancient, and held in some Veneration by the *Mahometans*, whose Pilgrims to *Mecca*, from *Egypt*, *Turkey* and *Palestine*, pass close by, both in their going and returning, as do likewise their *Caffillas*, and other Passengers, that go on Traffick to *Judda*, a City four Days Journey from *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* lies interred: And the great Concourse of Pilgrims (from all Parts where his Religion is spread) brings a great Trade thither.

There is a Tradition, that, as *Mahomet* was going on an Expedition to *Palestine*, he called at that Monastery for Refreshments, and the Monks generously assisted him; and in Acknowledgment of their Civility, he gave them a Charter, which they still keep, wherein he gave them many Immunities, and laid his heavy Curse on all, who should, after that Time, dare to molest that Monastery.

The Building is strong and high, and no Gate or Door to enter in to it, but one, which stands about ten Yards high (in the Wall) from the Ground. It has a large Inclosure adjoining to it, with an high Wall, to keep the wild *Arabs* from robbing them of their animal Provisions; for they are such vile Thieves, that they had rather venture to ly under the *Anathema* of their Prophet, than to keep their Hands from Robbery.

Its present Possessors are *Nestorian* and *Jacobin* Monks, who are maintained by the Charity of Passengers, and a little Revenue that belongs to the Monastery. The *Christians*, in that Part of *Arabia*, are *Nestorians* and *Jacobins*, whose Priests may marry, and they allow of no Images but the Cross, and many other Things repugnant to the *Romish* Tenets.

Judda is the next Place of Note below *St. Katharina*. It is a small, but well fortified City, belonging to the *Turk*. It stands close to the Sea, and is governed by a *Bashaw*, who keeps a Garrison in it, with four or five Gallies to cruize on the *Red Sea*, to hinder the Passing of all Ships or Vessels up the Sea, without first calling at *Judda*.

The inland Country about it, belongs to a *Sheek*, who pretends to be a Descendant of *Mahomet*. He has the Title of *Xeriff* given him, to distinguish

his Eminency from other Sheeks. And, altho' he be so near akin to the Prophet, yet he squeezes above 100000 Pounds *Sterl.* yearly out of the Pilgrims, who go to worship at his Ancestor's Tomb. And so much Gain he can make of their Folly.

It is between this Country and *Sinai*, that the famous Balm of *Gilead* grows. It is reported to proceed from a Shrub, the Bark of which is slit, and Vessels set under the Wound to receive it, as it drains from that Wound. The wild *Arabs* about *Sinai*, have a Tradition, that *Abraham* was their Country-man, and are not a little proud of that Honour; but if it was so, that he was their Sheek, as they alledge, they neither follow him in Morals or Religion.

The Sea-coasts of *Arabia felix*, from *Judda* to the Southward, as far as the Latitude of 15 Degrees, are governed by several Sheeks, who are so avaritious, that no Pilgrims can pass through their Dominions, but Beggars; for if Strangers carry any Thing of Value about them, or if they have good Clothes, they are stript of all, and about a Yard of coarse Cloth given them to cover their Nakedness; and Lectures of Humility and Devotion are preached to them, that whoever goes on so solemn an Errand, ought to shew, by their outward Appearance, that the inward Man is humble, and that those who love Riches, ought to sequester themselves from the World, before they approach that holy Place, where, after the Muftee (or his Deputy, the Fackee) had bestowed a Benediction on them, if they had any Grace, they would never covet Riches again.

The *Immaum* of *Mocha's* Dominions reach along the Sea-coast from the Latitude of 15 Degrees, to the Southward, as far as *Babelmandel*, very barren and inhospitable, affording neither fresh Water, nor Wood for Shipping, either for Drink or Fuel. Only on the Island of *Commera*, which lies about 5 or 6 Leagues from *Betlefacee*, there is both a good Harbour, and Plenty of Provisions for Strangers, as well as for the Inhabitants, whose Temperance makes them easily satisfied, both with their coarse Diet and Apparel.

Betlefacee is the first Town of Note (near the Sea-coast) of the *Immaum's* Dominions. It stands about 25 *English* Miles from the Sea, and it is the greatest Market for Coffee in the World. It supplies *India*, *Persia*, *Turkey* in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, besides *England*, *France* and *Holland*, with Coffee-beans. Other Goods and Merchandize may be bought and sold on Credit, for a certain Time; but Coffee is always bought for ready Money. The *Europe* Shipping lades yearly at *Mocha*, (from whence *Betlefacee* is about 100 *English* Miles) about 2000 Tuns, rather more than less, and the other Nations above 20000 Tuns more. The whole Province

of *Betlefacee* is planted with Coffee Trees, which are never suffered to grow above 4 or 5 Yards high; and the Bean or Berry grows on the Branches and Twigs, first green, then red, at last a dark brown Colour. The Berries cling to the Branches like so many Insects, and when they are ripe, they shake off.

Zibet is the next Town, and serves for a Sea-port for *Betlefacee*. It was large, and famous in ancient Times for Trade, but in the fourteenth Century, the *Turks* over-ran all the Coasts of the *Red Sea*, and made them Tributaries to them. They ruined all the Trade from *India* to *Zibet*, and settled their *Emporium* at *Aden*, about 35 Leagues without *Babelmandel*, to the Eastward: And the *Immaum* holds his Kingdom in Feoff from the *Turk* at this Time; and when the *Turks* come to *Betlefacee*, none dare break the Price of the Market, nor buy before they are first served.

The *Immaum* or King keeps his Court generally at a Town called *Mohaib*, about 200 *English* Miles to the East, North-eastward of *Mocha*. He has little Splendor about it, and he that reigned in *Anno* 1714. was about 80 Years of Age. His Government has been of a long Time very ill managed. His Lust having the Ascendant over his Reason, he had seldom less than Three hundred Wives married to him, of the most beautiful young Women in his Dominions. He often marries one, at one New-moon, and, on the next New-moon, remarries her to one of his Minions, and bestows a good Patrimony on her to help her off; so that with his own frequent Marriages, and those of his Minions, he exhausts all his Revenues, and is always necessitous, which forces him on many unjust and mean Ways to exact Money from his miserable Subjects. And, in *Anno* 1720. their heavy Burdens made them rebel, and involved the whole Country in a civil War. One Part was for deposing him, and another for keeping him on the Throne; but what the Event was I never heard.

The *Turks* being baffled in several Projects and Expeditions from *Aden*, and that they could not well maintain their Ground in that Part of *Arabia*, (being so very far distant from their own Dominions) without much Charge and Trouble, they, in the latter End of the sixteenth Century, withdrew their Garison from *Aden*, and left it, with all its Fortifications and Buildings, to the *Immaum*; who finding *Aden* to ly inconvenient for the Trade of the *Red Sea*, because of the fresh Winds usually blowing at its Mouth, in both Easterly and Westerly Monsoons, made him remove the Trade about 15 Leagues within its Mouth, in a Bay, not very commodious for Shipping, to a Fishing Town called *Mocha*.

CHAPTER V

Gives a Description of the Immaum of Mocha's Country, particularly of Mocha its Situation, Laws, Customs and Commerce; with some historical Observations.

MOCCHA, upon the foregoing Account, was built for an *Emporium* or Mart for the Trade of *India* to the *Red Sea*, and was mightily forwarded by the Perswasion of a *Sheek*, who bore the Character of a Saint amongst his Country-men. His Name was *Sheek Seddley*; and he pretended to prophesy, that *Mocha* should be a Place of great Trade to the Country, and consequently of great Profit to the *Immaum*. They had such a Veneration for him, that the greatest Mosque in the Town, and the greatest Gate, bear his Name, and did, even in his own Lifetime, see the Town walled, tho' but very weakly. It is situated close to the Sea, in a large, dry, sandy Plain, that affords no good Water within 20 Miles, all the Wells nearer the City being brakish, so that nothing of Fruits grows near it, but a few Dates and Water Melons. The Water for drinking comes from *Mosa*, about 20 Miles off, as I said before, and by that Time we get it to the Town, it costs us as dear as small Beer is sold for in *England*. Those who are obliged to drink of the Wells near the Town, are in Danger of having a long small Worm breed in their Legs or Feet, that inflames the Place where it breeds, which is accompanied with extreme burning Pains. In 5 or 6 Days it appears between the Cutany and outward Skin, and then puts its Head thro', which when the Patient observes, he takes hold of it with a Pair of Tweezers, and pulls it very gently out, about an Inch or two at a Time, in 24 Hours, and rolls it round an Hen's Quill, or some other Thing of that Thickness. It is no thicker than the Treble String of a Violin; and I have seen of them, after they have been pulled out, about two Foot and an half long. While it is in the Leg, it is daily covered with a Plaister, and, if it chance to break in the Operation, the Patient will be troubled with intolerable Pains for a long While; and sometimes they are crippled by it. But the *Mosa* Water, coming from Springs amongst the Mountains, is very sweet and wholesom.

Mocha is a Place of good Trade, notwithstanding its bad Situation; for, besides the Commerce with *Sues* and *Judda*, the *English* and *Dutch* Companies have their Factories there, besides a Trade from *India*, carried on by *English* free Merchants, *Portugueze*, *Banyans* and *Moors*, and by Vessels from *Bossorah*, *Persia* and *Muskat* in *Arabia petrea*. The Country, of itself, affords or produces very few valuable Commodities, besides Coffee, and

some Drugs, such as Myrrh, *Olibanum* or Frankincense from *Cassin*, and *Aloes Soccotrina* from *Soccotra*, liquid Storax, white and yellow Arsenick, some Gum *Arabick* and Mummy; with some Balm of *Gilead*, that comes down the *Red Sea*. The Coffee Trade brings in a continual Supply of Silver and Gold from *Europe*, *Spanish Money*, *German Crowns*, and other *European* Coins of Silver; also *Zequins*, *German* and *Hungarian* Ducats of *European* Gold; and from *Turkey*, *Ebramies* and *Mograbies*, Gold of low Matt.

The Pirates, for many Years, infested the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, committing frequent Robberies and Barbarities. Captain *Evory* was the first that led the Way, in *Anno* 1695. and the Pirates finding great Booties, purchased with small Danger, from the Traders into the *Red Sea*, had a Project to be Masters of the Key of that Door, so they found the Island *Prim*, which lies within Gun-shot of *Babelmandel*, to have a good commodious Bay for the Security of their Shipping; upon which Consideration, they began to build regular Fortifications, and dig for fresh Water, and, with much Labour, they dug thro' an hard Rock, 15 Fathoms deep, but found none, but brakish Water; wherefore they desisted, and removed to *St. Mary's* Island, on the East Side of *Madagascar*, as I observed before, and are since removed, for more Security, over to the main Island, and there they fortify themselves by Marriages into the noble Families of that great Island, from whence they come into *India*, and cruize in those Seas. In *Anno* 1696. they met with a Ship from *Bombay*, commanded by one *Sawbridge*, who was carrying *Arabian* Horses for *Surat*. After they took the Ship, *Sawbridge* began to expostulate with them about their Way of Life. They ordered him to hold his Tongue, but he continuing his Discourse, they took a Sail-needle and Twine, sewed his Lips together, and so kept him several Hours, with his Hands tied behind him. At length they unloosed both his Hands and Lips, and carried him on board their Ship, and, after they had plundered *Sawbridge's* Ship, they set her on Fire, and burned her and the Horses together. *Sawbridge* and his People were set ashore near *Aden*, where he died presently after.

Captain *Evory* was not so inhumane; for the Year before, he took a large Ship belonging to the *Mogul*, and got a Booty of 2600000 Rupees, which amount to, in *Sterling* Money, about 325000 Pounds. He freed the Ship, and let her go, without torturing the People; but carried a young *Mogul* Lady with him, and some of her female Servants, who had been at *Mecca* to perform a Vow, laid on her by her Mother on her Death-bed.

But, to return again to *Mocha*, from my long Digression: The Town is large, but meanly fortified; and, from the Sea, it has a fine Aspect. The

Buildings are lofty, and make a much better Appearance without than within. The Steeples of five or six Mosques raise their Heads pretty high above the rest of the Buildings. Their Markets are well stored with animal Provisions, such as Beef, Mutton of Sheep and Goats, Lamb and Kid, Camel and Antelopes Flesh, Dung-hill Fowls, *Guinea* Hens, Partridge and Pigeon. The Sea affords Variety of Fish, but not savoury. I believe their Unsavouriness proceeds from the extreme Saltness of the Sea-water, and the Nature of their Aliment. The Town is well furnished, all the Year round, with good Fruits, such as Grapes, Peach, Apricocks and Quinces, of which they make Store of Marmelade, both for their present Use and Exportation, tho' near the Town, there is not a Tree or Shrub to be seen, but a few Date Trees. And they seldom have more than two or three Showers of Rain in a Year, and often no Rain in two or three Years; but amongst the Mountains, about 20 Miles off, seldom a Morning passes without a moderate Shower, which makes the Vallies very prolifick in Fruit and Corn, such as the Soil will bear; but they have no Rice, tho' Plenty of Barley and Wheat.

The Governor of *Mocha*, and the Officers of the Town, are Merchants, when they think to get good Bargains, and are very ready to break their Contracts, both in Payment of their Debts, and in the Time of Payment. Some Instances whereof I saw. And, in *Anno* 1716. I had an experimental one; for the Deputy-governor having bought a Part of my Cargo, agreed to pay me the first Day of *June*, according to our *Era* and Computation. At the appointed Time I demanded my Money; but he told me, that notwithstanding he had agreed at that Time to pay me, yet the Custom was not to pay before the Middle of *July*, and Custom must be observed before Contract; besides, the King having much Need of Money, sent pressing Demands on the Town for Money, as fast as it came in by Customs and other Subsidies; therefore he could not, nor would not pay me before the customary Time, nor would he clear my Account Customs (which is a Part of his Office) before that Time. I often solicited him to clear my Account, and pay the Balance; but to no Purpose. I then fell on a Project to frighten him into Compliance. I went very calmly to him and told him, that I had some Goods left, which would be proper for the inland Markets, and that I would let him have a Pennyworth of them. He knew the Goods were proper enough, as I had told him, and so came to my House, which was four Stories high. I carried him up to the highest and, having seated him in a small Balcony, I shewed him the Muster of my Goods, and askt Prices which he thought too high; and, because we could not agree, he was for going abruptly away, and so got on h

Feet: But I being much too strong for him, took him by the Shoulders, and forced him to sit down again, and ordered my Linguist to tell him, that, before we parted, he must clear my Account Customs, and give me Bills, on the King's Banker, for the Balance, otherwise I would teach him to fly from the Balcony to the Ground, be the Consequence what it would. He had never been so treated before, and Fear seized him so, that he could not speak for a little Time, but, recovering a little, ordered his Clerk, who was in the Room with us, to make up my Account, and draw Bills immediately, who readily obeyed Orders; and, in Half an Hour, we became good Friends again. The Noise of this Action run like a Squib thro' the Town, and, before I came to the Banker with the Bill, (which was for about 1200 *L. Sterl.*) he was apprised how I had served the Deputy-governor, and, upon presenting it, accepted it to be paid in seven Days; but withal desired, that I would constantly keep two *European* Seamen at his Door, with Arms, and, as Money came in, they were to receive one Bag, and the King's People another, till the Sum should be completed: And accordingly in seven Days I got every Penny, and sent the Governor word, that I wanted to wait on him, in order to take my Leave. He returned me Answer, that I should be very welcome; and accordingly I went, and he received me very civilly; and, all the while I staid, he passed Jokes on his Deputy about the Fright I had put him into.

The King's Customs are very easy, being but 3 *per Cent.* from *Europeans*, and 5 on *Gentiles*; and the Custom-house as easy, for they only desire to see the Musters of Goods, and the Quantity of Goods in each Parcel or Bale, and so cause some, that they choose, to be opened; and if they find the Quantity and Quality agree with the Invoice given in, the Remainder of the Cargo is carried directly from the Landing-place, to the Warehouses, without more Trouble; and, after Sale, they receive an Account from the Seller, and rate the Customs accordingly.

They are very ignorant in History and natural Philosophy; for they tell, that *Alexander the Great* was *Mahomet's* General, tho' they lived about 900 Years distant from one another; and that, having a Mind to transport his Army over the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, from *Babelmandel* to *Zeyla*, in order to conquer *Ethiopia*, he went about building a Bridge there; and, there being seven Islands in these Streights, called the *Seven Stones*, he placed them there for a Foundation to build on: And they are of Opinion, that the World is supported on the Horns of a great Bull, who sometimes shakes his Head, which they assign to be the Cause of Earthquakes, which frequently are felt there.

There are Abundance of Beggars in *Mocha*, and in most other Towns in

Arabia, who brag of the Sanctity and Verity of their Religion; and, for Proof, when they pass in the Streets, they are always bawling out, that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet and best beloved Servant; and, carrying a Piece of Iron like the Tooth of an Harrow, in their right Hand, they strike it with great Force into the Cavity of the Eye, and yet the Eye is not blemished, nor the Eyelids, or Skin about the Eye, seem to be hurt; and they often let the Iron hang down, as if the Point was fastned to the Corner of the Eye next the Nose. As for mad People of either Sex, they venerate them, believing them to be inspired, or actuated by a prophetick Spirit.

Their Religion is *Mahometism*, and are superstitiously rigid in their Way, but abominable Hypocrites; for, in their Promises, which they seldom keep, with lifted up Eyes, they call on God to be Witness to their Sincerity: But in no Part of the World is Justice bought and sold more publickly than here; and the Judge, who generally is the Governor of the Place, whilst he is passing unjust Sentences, looks as grave as an old Cat, declaiming against Partiality.

In Anno 1716. I saw Justice executed on a notorious Criminal, guilty of no less than Robbery and Murder. A poor Peasant had raised a Stock of 500 Dollars, amongst his Friends and Neighbours, and was on his Way to *Mocha*, to lay it out in Merchandize proper for the Parts he lived in. A Villain, who knew of his Journey, and the Stock he carried, way-laid him, and cut his Throat from Ear to Ear, and then stabbed him in the Breast with his Dagger, and so possest the Money, and went off with it. Some Passengers, coming that Way soon after, found the mangled Corps, not quite cold, went and informed the Neighbourhood of the Tragedy. On Information, they went and viewed the Carcase, and knew it. They gave the Account to the murdered Person's Relations, who lived but a little Way off, and they buried the Corps.

Some Months after, one of the Relations being at *Mocha*, chanced to see his dead Kinsman's Ring on the Murderer's Finger, and challenged it; for it is the Custom of all the eastern Countries, both the *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, to wear Rings. They wear no Gold Rings, but Silver among the *Mahometans*, and the *Gentiles* commonly wear Gold. The Person who knew the Ring, informed the *Cadjee* or Judge what had past, and the *Cadje* ordered the Murderer to be apprehended, and brought before him; and ordering him to be searched, to see if farther Proof could be found about him, the very Purse that the Money was in, was found in his Bosom. However the Murderer denied all, but was sent to Prison, and fettered, till other Persons were sent for that were particularly well acquainted with

the Defunct. Five or six Evidences who were sent for, appeared, and the Ring and Purse being produced, they swore, that they knew them to be with the unfortunate Defunct when he set out on his Journey for *Mocha*; and he at length confest the Fact himself. The Judge, and the rest of his Court, desired him to return the Money, and they would sollicit the murdered Person's Relations to spare his Life, it being in their Power to take away or save his Life; but he absolutely denied the returning back any Part of it, and impudently asked the Judge, how he thought his Wife and Children should be supported, if he should return the Money.

Three Months had passed in unfruitful Perswasions, but finding him obstinate, they bid him prepare to die next Day about Noon. And accordingly, with a Guard of about 500 Horse and Foot Soldiers, he was carried without the City, with his Hands tied behind him; and, about 200 Yards from *Sheek Seddley's* Gate, he was delivered to the Defunct's Relations, who first gave him a deep Stab under the left Pap, and one of the Relations standing behind, pulled back his Head, while another cut his Throat from Ear to Ear, and so left him with all their Speed. For assoon as the Mob saw him killed, they assaulted the Executioners with Stones and Brickbats so furiously, that the Guards had much ado to save them from being murdered; for there is a Passage in the *Alcoran*, importing, that whoever spilt a Believer's Blood, is accursed, and ought to be stoned to Death.

The Soldiery of *Mocha* are very insolent and licentious; for, in the Months of *May*, *June* and *July*, the Air being fired with Heat, and the greatest Concourse of Strangers come to Town, either about Traffick, or getting Passage by Sea to foreign Countries, and about that Time Cash is plentiest in Town, then those undisciplined Cowards seldom fail to set Fire to some Huts that the labouring People live in, and they being built of a few Spars, covered with the Branches and Leaves of Date Trees, which are very combustible Materials, the Flame soon grows fierce and violent, and very often penetrates thro' the Doors and Windows of Merchants Houses, tho' built of Brick. And, in the Consternation, when People are intent on saving what they can, by removing their Goods from their burning Houses to the Streets, those Varlets plunder publicly there with Impunity; and, altho' those Villains are detected in setting Fire to Houses and plundering, and Complaints made of them to the Governor, those Grievances are so far from being redressed, that I have known a Complainer well bastonaded for detecting the Rogues. When I traded there, I always kept a Part of my Ship's Company ashore for a Guard, and I acquainted the Governor, that if any Person came thro' our Street

in the Night with Fire in their Hands, as they often did thro' several other Streets where Merchants kept their Ware-houses, I would order my Men to fire on such Fire-carriers, which kept me pretty secure from them.

The largest City in the *Immaum* of *Arabia felix's* Dominions, is *Sounan*. It is 15 Days Journey North-east from *Mocha*. It drives a great inland Trade, and is the Mart for many of the *India* Goods that are brought to *Mocha*. The Mechanics of different Trades have each their peculiar different Street; so that whatever Commodities Strangers may want, they readily know where to find them. And in all the Streets there are Brokers for Wives, so that a Stranger, who has not the Conveniency of an House in the City to lodge in, may marry, and be made a free Burgher for a small Sum. When the Man sees his Spouse, and likes her, they agree on the Price and Term of Weeks, Months or Years, and then appear before the *Cadjee* or Judge of the Place, and enter their Names and Terms in his Book, which costs but a Shilling, or thereabout: And joyning Hands before him, the Marriage is valid, for better for worse, till the Expiration of the Term agreed on. And if they have a mind to part, or renew the Contract, they are at Liberty to choose for themselves what they judge most proper; but if either want to be separated during the Term limited, there must be a Commutation of Money paid by the separating Party to the other, according as they can agree; and so they become free to make a new Marriage elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

Contains a Description of Aden, with some historical Remarks about the Turkish Expedition from thence into India: Also an Account of the Sea-coast of Arabia petrea, as far as Muskat and Bassora; with a particular Account of an English Ship lost on the Island of Maceira.

THE eastmost Town of Note in the *Immaum* of *Mocha's* Dominions on the Sea-coast, is *Aden*, built by the *Turks*, in the fourteenth Century, as has been hinted before. It is built on the East Side of a barren Island, and has no fresh Water but what the Rains afford them, which they keep in Cisterns. The *Turks* had great Designs when they built it, for they thought of driving the *Portugueze* out of their Settlements in *India*, and to have possess them themselves. Accordingly about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, they made an Expedition into *India* against the *Portugueze*, but were unsuccessful, and so have never attempted since to settle in *India*. It continued many Years after the Stapple Por

for the *Red Sea* Commerce, but the Charges of keeping it, so far from the *Turkish* Dominions, made them leave it to the *Immaum*, as was already observed, and he removed the Trade to *Mocha*.

It has a good Road for Shipping in the Westerly Monsoons, and a pretty good Mould, or Bason, for the Easterly, close to the Town, and the Road is not Half Gun-shot from it. It has been well fortified, being naturally strong in its Situation; but the *Badows*, or wild *Arabs*, who inhabit about the Sea-coast of *Arabia petrea*, have several Times taken, and plundered it, since it fell into the *Immaum's* Hands. The Country adjacent produces Barley, Wheat and Legumen, and Store of Fruits and Roots, Camels, Asses, Mules and Horses, all very finely shaped and mettlesom; but Money being pretty plenty in that Part of the Country, their Horses are very dear, for 50 or 60 *L. Sterl.* is reckoned but a small Price for one. They have also Plenty of Sheep, with large broad Tails, that reach almost to the Ground, and their Goats are the finest, both for Beauty and Taste, that ever I saw. And they have Poultry and *Guinea* Hens in Abundance. And the Sea affords Variety of good Fish. The *Immaum's* Dominions reach about 20 Leagues to the Eastward of *Aden*, along the Sea-coast; but there are no Places of Trade till we come to

Cassin, that lies almost under the Meridian of Cape *Guardafoy*, and under the prodigious high Mountains of *Megiddo*, on the Coast of *Arabia*. I have seen those Mountains, in a clear Day, above 40 Leagues off.

The Religion of *Cassin* is *Mahometan*, and the civil Government *Democracy*. Death is capital, and is punished with Death, but not by the civil Magistrate; for the Tribe or Clan of the Defunct pursues the Murderer or Homicide, and when they have found him, he is immediately beheaded, and his Head put upon the Point of a Lance, and brought to his Relations in Triumph, with Musick and Dancing. And the Tragi-comedy ends in Feasting.

The Product of the Country (besides the common Roots, and Fruits and Animals) is Myrrh and *Olibanum* or Frankincense, which they barter for coarse Calicoes from *India*; but they have no great Commerce with Strangers. Nor has *Doffar* any better Trade, but is more noted for Barbarity to those they can circumvene. I knew an *English* Ship in Anno 1705. that called there for fresh Water, and the Natives came flocking on board with animal Provisions to sell or barter. They found the *English* supinely negligent, and, being but six or seven in Number, they mixt with them, and suddenly stabbed them all; but did no Harm to the *Indian* Seamen and Merchants, who were about 40 in Number. They took every Thing out of the Ship, and then burnt her.

Curia Muria is another Port on that Shore, but of small Account. It is in the Middle of seven Islands, each having a very high Mountain, which makes them conspicuous from the Sea. There are none that frequent it but Trankies, that navigate from the Gulf of *Persia* to the *Red Sea*, who call there for fresh Water and Recruits of Provision. The Inhabitants, along all that Coast, are *Badows*, who wear no Clothes above the Navel. Their Hair grows long, which they plat, and wreath about their Heads. The next remarkable Place is *Maceira*, a barren uninhabited Island, lying about 5 Leagues from the Continent, and within 20 Leagues of Cape *Rasselgat*. It has dangerous Shoals lying on its West End, which reach above 30 Leagues along the Shore to the Westward, and so far in the Sea, that the Land (tho' pretty high) cannot be seen, before the unskilful or unwary Pilot feels the Rocks with his Ship's Keel. The Inhabitants on the main Continent, seem to be Sorcerers; for about the Year 1684. a Ship from *London*, called the *Merchants Delight*, Captain *Edward Say* Supercargo, this Ship unfortunately run ashore on the Island in the Night, being very dark, notwithstanding they kept their deep Sea Lead going every Half Hour; yet they were so lucky as to run her fast a-ground between two Rocks very close to the Shore. In a few Minutes the Ship was full of Water, but, being dry on the upper Decks, the People kept on them till Day-light, and then they discovered about 4 or 500 wild *Arabs*, with some Tents pitched at a little Distance from them.

The *Arabs*, by Signs, shewed themselves ready to assist the distressed *English*, and being excellent Swimmers, swam to the Ship, and brought the End of a Rope ashore. There was one on board, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, who, before that, had sailed some Years in *India*, and had learned the *Industan* Language, and some *Arabick*; he served for an Interpreter. They bid the *English* hoist their Boats out, and come ashore without Fear, which they accordingly did, with their Arms. They told the *English*, that they were not come there to rob them, but to assist them for reasonable Rewards, and that they would take no Advantage of the ill Circumstances they were in, but would make a fair Contract with them, and perform their Part, as should be stipulated in their Agreement. The *English*, tho' very diffident of the treacherous *Arabs*, were obliged to covenant, and agree, that whatever was saved of the Treasure, Cargo, or the Ship's Furniture, should be equally divided, and the *English* to have the Choice which Part they might have a mind to; and that the *Arabs* should transport the *English's* Part to *Muskat*, about 60 Leagues off, Freight free.

Assoon as the Contract was made, the *Arabs* went courageously to Work

and, in a Week or ten Days, got every Thing ashore that was portable, and they, according to Agreement, divided the whole into two equal Parts, and gave the *English* their Choice, and then got Trankies, (or Barks without Decks) and shipt what belonged to the *English* for *Muskat*. All the while they were getting the Goods ashore, they treated the *English* with excellent Mutton, both of Sheep and Goat, and laid in Provision for their Passage to *Muskat*, free of Charge to the Supercargo.

After the Interpreter aforesaid was grown familiar with those *Arabs*, that were so kind and benevolent, he askt them why so many of them had assembled on that barren Island. They answered, that about eight Days before the Ship was lost, a *Fakee*, who is an ecclesiastick Officer in their Church, prophesied, that near such a Time, a Ship would be lost there, and pressed them to go to the Assistance of the ship-wrack'd People, who would be glad to come under Contract with them, to have one Half of what was gotten out of the Wrack; and conjured his Auditory to perform their Part faithfully, which accordingly they did; tho' at other Times the *Badows* are perfidious, treacherous and cruel.

Cape *Rasselgat* lies about 16 Leagues to the Eastward of *Maceira*, and the Sea-shore is clear of Danger; and just within the Cape, to the Northward, is a Village called *Teywee*, which stands on the Side of a small River, near the Sea; but is best known by a little Mountain (close by it) shaped like an highcrown'd Hat. And about 16 Leagues farther to the Northwestward, is *Curiat*, a large Village in a Valley close to the Sea. To the Northward of it is a very high large Mountain, whose Foot is washt by the Sea, and there are 40 Fathoms within 200 Paces of it. It may be seen above 40 Leagues from the Sea. There are neither Trees nor Grass to be seen along the Sea-coast, but at *Curiat*; and yet the Country has Plenty of Cattle, great and small, with Variety of Fruits and Roots from the Vallies, and Fish from the Sea. Their Wells are dug in the Vallies very deep before they come to Springs, but the Water is very good.

CHAPTER VII

Treats of the Kingdom and City of Muskat, and of their religious and civil Customs; with some historical Account of their Wars and Oeconomy. And a little Account of the Sea-coast of Arabia deserta, as far as Bassora.

MUSKAT lies about 22 Leagues to the North-westward of *Curia*, and is the Mart Town of *Arabia petrea*. It is built on the Bottom of a small Bay, that almost has the Shape of an Horse Shoe. It was built and fortified by the *Portugueze*, in the fifteenth Century, but taken from them about the Year 1650. The King of that Province (for tho' there be many Kings in *Arabia*, yet none assumes the Title of King of *Arabia*) having War at that Time with the *Persians*, had raised an Army of 40000 Men to insult the Sea-coast of *Persia*; and had provided a sufficient Number of small Vessels, called *Trankies*, for their Transports. His Army lay at a little Distance from *Muskat*, and his Fleet at *Muttera*, a small Bay about a Mile from the Entrancce of *Muskat* Harbour. The King sent a civil Message to the *Portugueze* Governor, desiring the Liberty of his Markets to buy Provisions.

The insolent Governor, thinking himself safe within a walled Town, with many small Forts to annoy any Enemy that could come to attack the Walls of the Town, instead of returning a civil Answer to the King's Request, sent a Piece of Pork wrapt up in Paper, as a Present to the King, and bid the Messenger tell him, that if he wanted such Provisions, he could furnish him. The Messenger, not knowing what was in the Paper, carried it to his Master, with the rude Answer. Now Pork being forbidden the *Mahometans* as well as *Jews*, they hold it in Abomination, and consequently it aggravated the designed Affront. The King was much surprized at the Governor's ill Manners, but dissembled his Resentment, in Expectation to find a proper Time at his Return from his *Persian* Expedition, to correct the Governor's Insolence, or revenge the Affront put on him: But the whole Army being enraged at the Affront, breathed nothing but present Revenge. And the Queen, who was of the *Seid* Extraction, who are a Tribe or Family descended from *Mahomet*, by *Fatima* his Daughter and *Alli* his Apostle, being of a masculine fiery Temper, reproached the King for not resenting so gross an Affront, swore by her Ancestor the Prophet, that she would never stir out of the Tent she then sat in, til *Muskat* was taken from the *Portugueze*. All the Army applauded the Queen and threatned to mutiny, if they were not forthwith led by their Officer

to the Scalade of the City Walls. And at last the King finding that no Perswasions could cool their Fury, tho' the Day was far spent, ordered them to be led on. The *Portugueze* flank'd them, from their Forts on the Mountains, with Plenty of great and small Shot; but the *Arabs* never looked back, nor minded the great Numbers of their dead Companions, but mounted the Walls over the Carcases of their slain. About Sun-set they drove the *Portugueze* from two of the City Gates, and pursued their Enemy so hard, that not one escaped, tho' they fled in great Haste towards the great Fort, where the Governor staid. That Fort is built on a Rock almost surrounded by the Sea, and has no Way to get up to it, but by a Stair-case hewn out of the Rock, above 50 Yards high, and not above two or three Persons can ascend a-breast. The *Arabs* thought it impracticable to attack it, so made a Blocade of it. In the Attack of the Town, the *Arabs* lost between 4 and 5000 of the best of their Forces; and the *Portugueze*, in their Forts, were reduced to 60 or 70. Those in the small Forts were obliged soon to surrender for Want of Ammunition and Provisions; and all were put to the Sword, except those, who, to save their Lives, promised to be circumcised, and abjure the *Christian* Religion. Those in the great Fort held out about six Months, under great Want and Fatigues; and all Hopes of Relief being cut off, they resolved on a Surrender, on which Motion, the imprudent Governor, who was the sole Cause of their Calamity, leapt down a Precipice into the Sea, where the Water being very shallow, he was dasht to Pieces on the Rocks.

The little *Garison* would fain have come to a Capitulation, but the *Arabs* would grant them no Terms, but that they must yield, or be starved; and tho' the Terms were hard, yet they thought best to surrender, and all were put to the Sword, except a few who embraced *Mahometism*, which in all were eighteen Persons. And this Relation I had from a very old Renagado, who was at the Tragedy, being then a Soldier, who reckoned himself about 100 Years old, and, by his Aspect, could not be much less.

The City of *Muskat* is very strong, both by Nature and Art; but the Buildings very mean, as most Fabricks are under the Oeconomy of a People who abominate Luxury and Pride, as the *Muskat Arabs* do. The Cathedral built by the *Portugueze*, still retains some Marks of its ancient Grandeur, and is now converted into a Palace for the King, when he resides there, which is generally a Month or two yearly. The Wall of the Town that faces the Harbour, has a Battery of large Cannon, about 60 in Number, and there are 8 or 10 small Forts built on the adjacent Rocks or Mountains, which guard all the Avenues to the Town, both by Sea

and Land; and there are none permitted to come in or go out of the Harbour between Sun-set and Rising.

The Pirates that infested the *Indian* Seas at the latter End of the sixteenth Century, made a Breach between the *English* and them. The Pirates having made Prize of one of their Ships, they retaliated on the *English* private Shipping: They seized Captain *Morrices's* little Ship, and detained him and all his Crew as Slaves, and would never ransom them. In Anno 1705. they took Captain *Murvel* in a rich Ship from *Bengal*, bound to *Persia*; but that might be attributed to Pusillanimity, in not offering to make a Defence.

They put their Slaves to no Manner of Labour, and allow them a Soldier's Pay for Subsistence; and what they can earn otherwise by Industry, is wholly their own.

There are neither Trees, Shrubs nor Grass to be seen on the Sea-coast from *Curiat* to *Muskat*, and but a few Date Trees in a Valley at the Back of the Town, and yet there is not the least Want of them felt in the City; and it has as good Markets for Wheat, Barley and Legumen, and for excellent Fruits, Roots and Herbage, and good Cattle, both great and small, as any where in *India*, where the Soil is most luxurious. And the Sea furnishes them with Plenty and Variety of excellent Fish. Their Cattle look to be very lean, but when killed, they are very fat and good, affording a great Deal of Tallow. They are not well stocked with Fowl, but those they have, are very good.

From *May* to *September* the Heats are excessive in the Town, so that none appear on the Streets, from 10 in the Morning till 3 or 4 after Noon. Their *Bazaars* or Markets are all covered with Date Tree Leaves, spread on Beams of the same Tree, that reach from House to House-top; and the Houses being all flat on their Tops, terrassed with Clay and Straw mixt, in the aforesaid Months every Body lodges on them in the Nights; for below Stairs they cannot sleep for Heat, and the Nights afford plentiful Dews, that sometimes wet them thro' their thick Cotton Quilts; and these Dews are reckoned very salubrious.

The Reason of so intense Heats proceeds from the Nearness of the Sun in those Months, who sends his Beams almost perpendicularly down on the Sides of the Mountains, which being all naked, and nothing but an hard black Rock appearing, the Sun heats them to such a Degree, that between 10 and 11 in the Forenoon, I have seen the Slaves roast Fish on them. And the Horses and Cattle, who are accustomed to that Food, come daily, of their own Accord, to be served their Allowance, and when they have breakfasted, retire again to Shades built for them; and yet their

Beef and Mutton, that are partly nourished by that Sort of Food, have not the least Savour of Fish. And the Reason why Fishes are so plentiful and cheap in the Markets, is by the easy and odd Way they have in catching them, or rather conjuring of them; for I have seen a Man and two Boys catch a Tun Weight in an Hour or two. The Man stands on a Rock, where the Sea is pretty deep near it, and calls *Tall, tall*, for a Minute or two, and the Fish come swarming about the Rock. The two Boys, in a little Boat, shut them in with a Net about 20 or 30 Yards long, and 3 or 4 deep, and, drawing the Net near the Rock, keep all in; and, when People come for Fish, he asks them what Sorts they want, and puts an Hoop-net, fixed to the End of a Pole, into the Water, and serves every Body with what Kind they ask for; and when he has done, he hales out his Net, and gives the rest their Liberty.

Their established Religion is *Mahometan*, of the Sect of *Alli*. They hinder no Body, of what Perswasion soever, to go into their Mosques, even in Time of divine Service. And their *Molahs* or Priests often preach themselves into violent Passions, especially if the Subject of their Sermon be about the Verity of their Religion; and then they'll challenge the Priests of any other Religion whatever, to confirm theirs with as good Evidences as they can; for, being well versed in Legerdemain Tricks, (which all we *Christians*, except one Set of our Priests, are ignorant of) they'll take live Coals out of the Fire, and seem to eat them, with as good an Appetite as a School-boy can eat a *Bergamy* Pear; which Trick the poor deluded Auditory takes for a Miracle, to confirm the sanctity of their Religion.

The King keeps his Court generally at *Nazawa* or *Reystock*, two Towns four or five Days Journey from *Muskat* within Land. He has no splendid Equipage, and his Garb very plain, and no finer than an ordinary Soldier's is. He has about 100 of his own Slaves armed with Matchlocks and short broad Swords, for his Guard, who always attend on him. He, nor his Subjects use no Tables, but plain Mats spread on the Ground, serve for Table and Chairs. Their Viands are a Dish of Rice, either plain, or made in Pillaw, and a Dish or two more of stew'd or fried Flesh, Fish or Fowl, placed near the Dish of Rice: And he, with his Table Companions, sit on the same Mat, with their Buttocks on their Heels, and, in that Posture, they feed very plentifully. Their right Hand serves them for Spoon, Knife and Fork, except when they eat Broth or Milk, and then they have large wooden Spoons. Their usual Drink is Water, or sowre Milk, and in hot Weather Sherbets.

They make no great Difference about Table Guests; for the King and a common Soldier, the Master and Slave, sit promiscuously, and dip in the

same Dish: But Women never eat in Company with Men. The Mens Apparel is a Pair of Breeches down to their Ancles, with a loose Vest on their Backs, with very large Sleeves, and the Body of the Vest girded about their Bodies with a Sash, and a large Turband carelessly wreath'd about their Heads, and a Poniard, or a short broad Sword stuck into their Girdle perpendicularly; their Shoes clumsily made, and very low and stiff at the Quarter-heels; and thus a Gentleman is equipped; but in cold Weather they use Camelins, a sort of loose Coat, without Slecves, made of Camels Wooll. Their Women wear Breeches to their Heels, of finer Stuffs, and better Colours than the Men. The Body of the Vest made for their Use, is strait, but short wasted, and gathered above the Navel in Plats, which makes the lower Part look like a Petticoat. Their Shoes are shap'd like the Mens, flat and broad.

The Reason why their Shoes are made so, is for their easier slipping off or on, when they enter, or come out of a Room, that they may not dirty the Carpets or Mats wherewith the Rooms are spread, which serve them for Beds in cold Weather. And, except some large round Pillows of broad Cloth or Velvet, stuff with Cotton, for the Ease of those who sit on the Carpets or Mats, to lean upon as they sit cross-legg'd, there is no other Furniture in a Room.

Over all the three *Arabias*, their Custom in treating Strangers or Friends, is the same; for assoon as every one is seated, a Servant brings a Pot of Coffee, and serves it about in small Cups, that contain not a Quarter of a Gill; but assoon as one Cup is out, they fill again, and perhaps a third Time: Then a Pipe of Tobacco is presented, their Pipes differing much from ours in *Europe*, in Shape and Magnitude; which Service lasts till near the Time of breaking up Company, when comes in a little Pot of hot burning Coals, on which they throw some Chips of Agala-wood, or some Powder of Benjoin, Myrrh or Frankincense, which produce a thick Smoke, that incenses or perfumes the whole Room. And, as I observed before, it is the Custom of wearing very great Slecves to their Garments. They open their Sleeves as wide as they can, and hold them over the Smoke, which perfumes their Arms, Shoulders, Neck and Beard. And the last Course is some Rose-water to besprinkle the Company, which is the Signal to be gone every one about their Business; so, without any Forms of Ceremony, every one walks off.

The Products of *Arabia petrea* for Exportation, are but few, as Horses, Dates, fine Brimstone, some Coffee, but not so good as at *Mocha*; some Ruinoss, which is the Root of a small Shrub, that dies Crimson, and some Pearl. Their Manufacture is some coarse Cotton Linen and Camelins,

which they consume most in their own Country; but the *Badows* need none, since they wear none. The *Arabs* wear no Pearl or Gold; but the Women of Distinction wear Pearl of a small Price, tho' I saw one there as big as a large Hazel-nut, exactly round, and of a fine Water. It was valued at 1000 Tomans, which is above 3000 *L. Sterl.* I have sometimes gone in a Boat to see them dive for Pearl, and have bought some Pearl Oysters of them; but the Divers are Cheats, putting the Oysters in the Sun, which makes them gape, and then the Rogues rummage them, and shake out the Pearl; and, after they are robbed of their Treasure, they put them into Water again, and they close. I bought at Times above 100 Oysters, and got nothing; they cost me but seven Pence half Penny a Piece. At last I found one that had an Excrescence growing to the Shell on the Inside, which I carefully took off; and, at *Carwar* in *India*, I sold it for 9 *L. Sterl.*

The Women in this Country have some peculiar Privileges beyond the Men; for if one complain that a Man has offered Violence to her Person, without further Proof than her Word of Honour, he is punished with 100 Bastinadoes on the Soles of the Feet, or put into a Dungeon under Ground, which has only an Hole at the Top, big enough to receive a Man; and when he is in, there is a Stone put over the Hole, too big to be removed by a single Person, and there he must stay three Days, and as many Nights, without Meat or Water, or Room to ly at his Length. And if a Wife complain of her Husband for Unkindness in any Kind, particularly of *due Benevolence*, as by Law established in the *Jewish* and *Mahometan* Churches, the Husband must undergo the Punishment of the Dungeon. But if a Lady trespasses, and her Spouse detect her Crime, he has the Law in his own Hand, and may chastise her with the Whip severely; but must not touch her Life, on Pain of Death.

The *Muskat Arabs* are remarkable for their Humility and Urbanity. I had one Instance of their Civility. As I was one Morning walking the Streets, I met accidentally the Governor of the City, by them called the *Waaly*, and, according to my Duty, I went into the Door of a Shop, to let him and his Guards have the Street, which generally are narrow; but he observing, by my Complexion and Garb, that I was a Stranger, made his Guard go on one Side, and beck'ned me to come forward, and stood till I past by him. And for an Instance of their cool Temper, in hearing Debates and rectifying Mistakes between Parties disagreeing about Commerce: The before mentioned Interpreter at *Maceira*, was Commander of a Ship from *India*, and had freighted her to *Muskat*. The Freighter, who was a *Mahometan*, delayed paying the Freight, long after it was due by

the Tenor of the Charter-party; upon which he being in Passion with the Freighter for his continued Delays, went to the *Waaly* to complain. He observing by the Gentleman's Countenance, that his Mind was discomposed, answered him, that being at that Time very busy about some of the King's Affairs, he had not Time to send for his Freighter, but desired that he would come some other Time, and he would hear him, and order the Payment. The Delays still continuing, the Captain went again in an angry Mood to make his Complaint, but was still put off with gentle Excuses: But at last addressing the *Waaly* with Coolness, he was desired to sit down, and he would send for the Freighter, which accordingly he did; and, on his Appearance, the *Waaly* askt him why he did not comply with his Contract, as was stipulated by Charter-party; and his Excuses being thought insufficient, he was ordered to make Payment forthwith, or go to Prison; but the Freighter chose rather to bring the Money, and end the Dispute. The Captain askt the *Waaly* why he did not do him Justice sooner, who received for Answer, that it was his own Fault, for coming drunk to make Complaint. The Captain protested that he had not been drunk in many Years; but the *Waaly* replied, that he saw him drunk with Passion, which was the most dangerous Sort of Drunkenness.

The Countries to the Southward of *Muskat*, as far as *Curia Muria*, are under the Dominions of *Muskat*, and the *Sheeks* or Princes are their Tributaries. The Land is mountainous; but the Plains and Vallies very fertile and well watered, and consequently well peopled. And, to the Northward of *Muskat*, the same Chain of rocky Mountains continue as high as *Zoar*, above Cape *Musenden*, which Cape and Cape *Jasques* begin the Gulf of *Persia*, on the *Arabian* Side. About *Zoar* begins the Desert, that runs as far northerly as *Aleppo*. The Mountains near the Sea, are sandy, and the Vallies and Plains steril, and ill inhabited, and as ill watered.

About the Year 1620. *Persia* was in a flourishing Condition, and was a Terror to all its Neighbours. *Shaw Tamas*, Son to the famous *Shaw Abass*, was then King, and being of a martial Disposition, had a Design to annex all the *Arabian* Coast opposite to *Persia*, to his own Dominions, and accordingly transported from *Cong*, a City of his own that lies on the Seashore, an Army of 35 or 40000 Men to conquer it. The Army met with no Opposition in landing, and they soon overran the Country wherever they went; but they had not been long in Pursuit of their Conquest, till Provisions began to be scarce in the Army, which, with the Scarcity of fresh Water, and the intolerable Heats, both of Sun and Winds, brought a Contagion on the *Persians*, that killed the better Half of them, and

obliged what was left to return back to *Persia* by Shipping, as they had come from it.

Those barren Coasts are needlessly secured by sandy Banks, that run 10 or 12 Leagues off from the Shore, which would make Navigation impracticable, if it should meet with Encouragement; but the two Islands of *Bareen*, lying in the Latitude of 29 Degrees 30 Minutes, almost in the Bottom of the Gulf, and belonging to the Crown of *Persia*, have the best Pearl Fishing in the World.

About the Beginning of this Century, the *Muskat Arabs* took Possession of *Bareen* Islands; but the honest Pearl Fishers deserted it whilst the *Arabs* kept Possession, who finding that their new Settlement could not defray the Charge of keeping, without the Pearl Fishers, they left it; and the Fishers, who are mostly *Arabs*, returned to their Industry, and continue the Fishery.

The great *Turk* gives Laws to all the Countries that ly between the River *Euphrates* and *Ethiopia*; but there are many Sheeks who inhabit those Deserts, that make but small Account of him or his Orders, because the Sterility of their Country makes them secure from great Armies coming amongst them, and a small one dares not venture amongst them as Enemies. They being naturally Thieves, rob Friend or Foe, or one another; so that few People of Substance have any Commerce with them.

There are no Towns of Note between *Muskat* and *Bassora*, but *Zoar*, and but very few inconsiderable Villages; but there are two or three pretty convenient Harbours for Shipping. The southermost is about 6 Leagues to the Southward of Cape *Mosenden*, called *Courforcaun*. It is almost like *Muskat* Harbour, but somewhat bigger, and has excellent fresh Water in deep Wells, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Landing-place. The Village contains about twenty little Houses; yet there are pretty good Refreshments to be had there. Cape *Mosenden* is of itself but a good Number of small high Islands lying near one another, but they appear like a Promontory on *Terra firma*. And up to the Westward of the Cape there is another Harbour, whose Name I have forgot; but there are good fresh Water and animal Provisions to be had there. And now having described *Muskat* and its Territories as well as I can, I'll make one Observation more, and proceed on my Travels.

Ever since the *Portugueze* left *Muskat* to the *Arabs*, there has been a continual War; but in the main the *Arabs* have been the Gainers, yet they have been obliged to build and buy Ships of Force to confront the *Portugueze* at Sea, and to keep their Coasts free from their Insults. Their Fleets have often met, and had some Engagements, but few Ships have

been taken or sunk on either Side; but Merchant Ships of both Sides have been taken. The *Portugueze* use their Captives with great Severity, making them labour hard, and inure them to the Discipline of the Whip; but the *Arabs* use theirs with very much Humanity, only making them Prisoners at large, without putting them to hard Labour, and allow them as much Diet Money as their own Soldiers receive, and that is duly paid them twice a Month. And if any of the *Portugueze* are Artificers or Mechanicks, they may freely work at their Trade, to earn Money to redeem themselves.

In Anno 1715. the *Arabian* Fleet consisted of one Ship of 74 Guns, two of 60, one of 50, and 18 small Ships from 32 to 12 Guns each, and some Trankies or rowing Vessels from 4 to 8 Guns each, with which Sea Forces they keep all the Sea-coasts in Aw, from Cape *Comerin* to the *Red Sea*. They have often made Descents on the *Portugueze* Colonies on the Coast of *India*, destroying their Villages and Farms, but spare the Churches, for better Reasons than we can give for plundering them. They kill none in cold Blood, but use their Captives courteously. In Anno 1695. they quarrelled with the *Carnatick Rajah*, a potent Prince by Land; yet they came with their Fleet, and plundered and burned the Towns of *Barsalore* and *Mangulore*, two of the best and richest Towns on that Coast. And now I leap from *Muskat* to

CHAPTER VIII

Gives an Account of Bassora City, and that Part of Arabia deserta; with Remarks on its Government and Commerce, and some Occurrences, both ancient and modern, that have happened to it; with some Account of the famous River of Euphrates.

BASSORA is the eastmost City or Town in the *Turkish* Dominions, standing about two Miles from the famous *Euphrates*, and has a small Rivulet that washes its walls on the West side, and discharges its Waters into the *Euphrates*. This City stands about 30 Leagues from the Sea, and it is alledged, was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, and had the Honour to be the Birth-place of another *Roman* Emperor, *Philip* surnamed the *Arabian*: But at first it was built along the Side of the River, and the *Vestigia* of its ancient Walls are still to be seen from the aforesaid Rivulet, a League down the Banks of *Euphrates*, which disembogues her Waters, by four or five Mouths, into the Gulf of *Persia*; but none navigable for Ships of Burden, but that Chanel that leads to *Bassora*. At the City it is a short Mile over at high Water, and it keeps about the same Breadth to the very Mouth of it.

The River abounds in Fish, but none good, except a small Shad about the Bigness of an Herring. And there is great Plenty of wild Fowl, such as Swans, Geese, Duck, Teal, Wigeon and Curlews; and the Fields have Plenty of Partridge of several Kinds, Plover, Snipes, Doves, Pigeons and large Larks, whose Flesh is very savoury, and their wild Notes grateful to the Ear. They have also Birds of Prey, as Eagles, many Sorts and Sizes of Hawks, and Kites, Crows black and white, and it is observable, that the black keep the *Arabian* Side of the River, and the white the *Persian*, and if any presume to interlope into anothers Province, they raise the *Posse*, and drive them back to their own Territories.

There is great Plenty of small Tortois in the River; but none eat them, because they are forbidden in the *Levitical* Law, to which the *Mahometans* adhere much in Point of eating. They have also many Species of wild Beasts. Wild Swine are very numerous, and their Flesh is very sweet and juicy, but no Fat to be seen about them. And the Peasants come often to Town to invite *Christians* to kill them; for they make sad Havock of their Corn and Roots. And if a *Christian* kills any, they'll bring them to their Houses on Asses or Mules, for a very small Reward, notwithstanding there is a positive Command in the *Alcoran*, that forbids them to touch Swine's Flesh.

They have Plenty of black Cattle, wild and tame, and good Milk; but they make but scurvy Cheese of it, and no Butter, because they make the Fat of their Sheeps Tails serve in their Kitchens instead of Butter; and they keep no Tea-tables for the Consumption of fresh Butter. And Coffee, which is much in Use, is the constant Companion of a Pipe of Tobacco, which is taken by the Ladies as well as Gentlemen. In the Desert, which is very near the Town, there are wild Camels, Horses, Asses, Goats, Lions, Leopards, Panthers and Foxes, which they hunt on Horse-back, with Sword and Lance, and on Foot with Fowling-pieces. They have Plenty of delicious Fruits, as Pomegranates, Peaches, Apricocks, Quinces, Olives, Apples, Pears, Nectarines and Grapes that are as sweet as the Juice of the Suggar-cane, and their Spirits are so weak, that they'll produce neither Wine nor Vinegar: But the most plenty and useful of all their Fruits, are their Dates, which support and sustain many Millions of People, who make them their daily Food, and they are wonderfully nourished by them. *Bassora* exports yearly for foreign Countries, above 10000 Tuns of Dates, which employ Abundance of Seamen for their Exportation, besides many more Poor in gathering and packing them in Mats made of the Leaves of the Date Tree, and likewise in drying them. I bought about 160 Pound Weight of wet Dates for 2 *sh.* 3 *d.* *Sterl.* and sometimes they are cheaper.

The Ruines of the famous *Babylon* ly about 200 *English* Miles up the River from *Bassora*; and at *Bagdat*, which is 12 Miles below it, the Ruines appear to be a Mountain, and are the Habitation of wild Beasts and Serpents. Whether *Bagdat* was built out of its Ruines, or no, I know not; but 'tis reported, and generally believed that it was. It is now a prodigious large City, and the Seat of a *Beglerbeg*, who governs a very great Province. The Bashaws of *Bassora*, *Comera* and *Musol* (the ancient *Nineveh*) are subordinate to him, and are able to bring 150000 Men into the Field.

Comera stands on the Banks of *Euphrates*, about 80 Miles above *Bassora*, and, by common Tradition, is the Place where holy *Job* dwelt. It abounds in all Things that *Bassora* produces, *viz.* Fruits, Roots, Herbs and Animals: Besides, it is very fruitful in producing Wheat, Rice, and Pulse of several Species. There is a Garison of 10000 Janisaries continually kept there, and 8 or 10 River Gallies, well furnished, to aw the circumjacent Countries, who are apt to rebel. And *Bassora* has 3000 Janisaries and 5 Gallies for the same Account. The Bashaws of the Gallies are not subordinate to the Bashaws of the Cities; but he of the Gallies has the Command of the circumjacent Countries, laying on of Taxes, and raising Subsidies at his Pleasure, as he of the Cities has Power to oppress the Citizens: And their Avarice and Severity often cause Mutinies and Blood-shed. One of those Mutinies happened at *Bassora*, in *Anno* 1721. for the Bashaw of the City having married a Lady out of the *Grand Seignior's Seraglio*, and that Monarch having some Deference for her on Account of Consanguinity, her Husband was put into the Bashaw's Ship to get Money to support his Lady's Extravagancy; and finding that fair honest Ways would be a long While in raising such Sums as he thought would be sufficient for that End, opprest both City and Country to fill his Coffers. The poor opprest Merchants, Mechanicks, and Peasants plied him with Complaints on his Soldiery, who, they thought, robbed them, since the Exactions were new They gave in Remonstrances of their Grievances, and petitioned for Redress; but the Persons sent with those Addresses, had the Bastinado for their Impertinence. Upon this the distressed City and Country made their Address to the Bashaw of the Gallies, who knew they had just Cause of Complaint. He wrote to the *Beglerbeg*, and informed him of their Case and Condition, and obtained a severe Reprimand; for he of the City, instead of Amendment, added Cruelties to Oppression, and mured many who would not, or could not pay what they were sessed at, which unheard of Barbarities made above 50000 of the City and Country betake themselves to Arms, and march out, with the *Mufti* or high Priest at their Head; and he had a green Flag, which is *Mahomet's* Banner, before him,

carried by a Priest; and he and his Army encamped near the Bashaw of the Gallies his House, which stands about two Miles below the City, by the River Side; and the Bashaw of the Gallies joined them with 1000 Janisaries. The *Mufti*, according to Custom, plied his spiritual Artillery, and excommunicated the Bashaw of the City, and all that adhered to him. This Mutiny continued some Days; but I heard of no Blood-shed, and only opprobrious Language past. But the Town began to feel Want, for the Peasants would bring no Eatables to the City; but the *Mufti*'s Host were plentifully supplied. All Shops being shut up, and all the Markets unprovided, made the Bashaw of the City begin to think what the End would be, if the Mutiny continued any longer; so he got some Country Gentlemen, who were of neither Faction, to go to the *Mufti* and the Bashaw of the Gallies, as Mediators; and accordingly they went, and were handsomly received, and, in their Oration on the present Posture of Affairs, made the *Mufti* and his Party incline to Peace, providing that about a Dozen of Incendiaries might be delivered to them, to receive condign Punishment for their Faults. All the proscribed, but one, by the Intercession of Friends, were pardoned; but they would hear of no Peace till the other was made a Sacrifice to their just Resentment; for this Villain would accost a Merchant in the Street, and, after common Compliments were ended, he would ask them what became of the Diamonds, or other Jewels, that they had shewn him such a Time. The innocent Merchant, who perhaps never had any Jewels, being surprised at his Question, would deny that ever they had any such as he spake of. Then the impudent Fellow would tell them plainly, that without they would bribe him with a round Sum, he would inform the Bashaw, that he had seen such Quantities of rough Diamonds, or other valuable Stones, in their Possession, and if they could not be found entred in the Custom-house Books, they must expect to suffer what Punishment the Bashaw would please to inflict for defrauding the King of his Customs. Some out of Fear would comply, and give a Sum, others again stood on their Innocence, and would not give him Money; and they were sure to be informed against, and brought before the Bashaw, and, upon that Villain's Evidence, were generally fined about double of what he askt of them; so that besides the great Sums that came into the Bashaw's Coffers by that Rascal's Ingenuity, he had accumulated twenty five Bags to himself, each Bag containing 500 Crowns, and all this in the Space of three Years that he had been in *Bassora*; for he came from *Constantinople* one of the Bashaw's Retinue, hardly worth an *Asper*, and at his Death so much ready Cash was found in his House, which fell into his Master the Bashaw's Hands: For

after this Villain was culled out to be sacrificed to the just Resentment of the People, and found that they would not be appeased without having his Life, he fell at his Master's Feet for Protection. The cunning covetous Bashaw bid him convey what Money he had to his House, and he would take Care of it for the Use of his Wife and Children, and would send him secretly out of the Town, and get him safely conducted to *Comera*. He swallowed that Bait, and delivered his ill-gotten Money to his Master, who protected him but one single Day, and then told him, that the People's Clamours were so great, that he could protect him no longer; and accordingly he was delivered to the enraged Mob, who forthwith strangled him, and threw his Body on a Dung-hill by the Side of an High-way, where I saw it two Days after. And the Mufti and Bashaw made Matters up for the Ease and Satisfaction of the People, who grew quite tired of their Divisions.

Bassora was many Years in the Hands of the *Persians*, who gave great Encouragement to Trade, which drew many Merchants from foreign Parts to settle there, and particularly from *Surat* in *India*. But in Anno 1691. a Pestilence raged so violently, that above 80000 People were carried off by it, and those that remained fled from it, so that for three Years following it was a Desert, inhabited only by wild Beasts, who were at last driven out of the Town by the circumjacent wild *Arabs*, who possess it about 12 Months, and were in their Turn driven out by the *Turk*, who keeps it till this Day; but its Trade is very inconsiderable to what it was in the Times that the *Persians* had it, and the Reason is, that the *Turks* are very insolent to stranger Merchants. In Anno 1721. I had an Instance of their arbitrary Insolence, for I sold a considerable Quantity of Pepper, which some stranger Merchants bargained to take at 28 *Mamoodies* * a *Maund Attarie*, without Deductions. The Bashaw being made acquaint with the Contract, sent Orders, that the Pepper must be delivered to two Minions of his at 24 *Mamoodies*, and allow them † *Turk* and *Burk*, which is a Piece of Stone or Brick between a Pound and an half or two Pounds Weight, into the Scale with the Standard Weights, besides the Tare of the Bags. I at first refused to comply with the unjust Order, and stood out three or four Days, but at last was advised by some *Surat* Merchants (who were there, and had met with as great Oppressions) to obey, lest I should run the Risque of being plundered by the Soldiery.

There are many *Jews* in *Bassora* who live by Brokrage and exchanging Money; but the *Turks* keep that Set of People very low, for Reasons of

* 28 *Mamoodies* are 17 sh. 6 d. A *Maund Attarie* is 28 lib.

† *Turk* and *Burk* is a customary Donation, such as Tret in *Britain*.

State. There are also about 200 *Christians* of the *Greek Church*, but no Priests of that Communion, wherefore some *Roman Missionaries* officiate there. The *Greek Clergy* are very indifferent about gaining Proselytes, and, to nourish their Flocks, will not run the Risque of Martyrdom, so they keep none of their Priesthood at *Bassora*: But when I was there, three *Romish Priests* of the *Carmelite Order* had the Superintendency of that Church. These sanctified Rascals were a Scandal to *Christianity*, by making a Tavern of their Church; for having more Indulgence from the Government than the *Mahometans*, in moral Matters, they abuse it to the vilest Uses, in selling Arrack, which they distil from Dates, and procuring Birds of Paradise for the Use of their Customers. The *Mahometans* again are forbidden strictly the Drinking of Wine or distilled Liquors, both by their ecclesiastick and civil Laws; for the Heat of the Sun, and the dry sandy Soil create much adust Choler in their Brains, that when they are heated by drinking strong Liquors, they become furious and mischievous to one another, and, in those mad Fits, wound and kill their Fellows. Those scandalous Priests had been often reprimanded by the Government, for abusing the Indulgence they had, but to little Purpose, for their Trade was very gainful; but, upon a drunken Quarrel between two Sea-men of mine, wherein one was dangerously wounded with a Knife, and the other, for Fear of Punishment, turned *Mahometan*, being before a *Portugueze Christian*, the Bashaw sent an Officer and Soldiers to enter the Church, and all the Houses appertaining to it, with Orders to break their Stills and Jars, with the rest of the distilling Utensils, and to pour out all the Arrack they found, on the Ground, which was accordingly done; and, in the Search, the Soldiers met with a fine Silver Watch, and about 400 *Spanish Dollars*, which they carried off with them. The Priests petitioned the Bashaw to have the Watch and Money restored; but were answered, that they preacht much on the Contempt of worldly Riches, and if his Soldiers had made them practise what they preacht, they ought to be thankful, and to let the despicable Money continue in Hands that profest their Love of it, and knew much better how to use it than Priests, and so dismiss them, with Threats of harder Penalties on their next Transgression: But the Sweets of worldly Gains soon made them forget the Admonition given them by the Bashaw, as well as their heavenly Promises and Oaths made at their Admission into their holy Order; and, like a Dog to his Vomit, returned back to their old Trade of debauching *Christians*, *Jews*, *Mahometans* and *Pagans* with Liquors, and set up Stills for that Purpose once more.

Notwithstanding that the *Turkish Government* is so well established by

Severity, and even Cruelty when their Laws are transgressed, yet the *Arabs*, who are the natural Lords of their own Country, are not to be rigorously dealt with, for they are a People very bold, revengeful and cunning. While I was at *Bassora*, a Parcel of Janisaries were sent to the Island of *Gabon*, which lies between the City and the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*. The West End is washed by a Branch of the River, which runs into the Sea, and the North Side by the main River for 25 Leagues, till it disembogues into the Sea by the Chanel for Shipping. It being pretty well inhabited, and the Bashaw imposing exorbitant Taxes on those poor Islanders, which they either would not, or could not pay, sent the aforementioned Janisaries to dragoon them into Compliancc. They first built a Sconce, and fortified it, both to secure themselves from sudden Attacks or Surprize, as well as to hold what they might distrain from the poor Peasants. Many of those poor Wretches having experimented the *Turkish* wholesom Chastisements of plundering and bastonading those who scrupled to obey, or were not able to pay what they were taxed, making their Complaints to one another, and bewailing the Misery that they underwent by the inexorable Janisaries, took Counsel to ferret them off their Island at the Hazard of their Lives, rather than continue under the unsupportable Yoke they were in; wherefore about three hundred of them prepared for an Attack on the Janisaries little Fort, with no other Weapons than Lances and Swords. There were about forty Janisaries in the Fort, well armed with Guns; but the *Arabs* defeated the Design of Powder and Ball, by making up great Bundles of Straw, that covered them intirely from Head to Foot whilst their Faces were towards their Enemy. They waited a convenient Time when the Wind was pretty high, and marching towards the windwardmost Part of the Fort, set Fire to their Straw, whose Blaze and Smoke kept the Janisaries clear from molesting them to windward. There were some Shades within the Fort, built of Date Tree Leaves, for lodging the Garison, but they took Fire also; and five or six Barrels of Powder blowing up, destroyed most of the Janisaries, and some few who leapt down the Outside of the Wall, were killed with the Sword; so that, between Fire and Sword, not one escaped. I saw some of the slaughtered and half-burnt Carcases brought up to the City next Day after the Tragedy was acted; but the Commotions that had happened before in the City, made the Bashaw bridle his Resentment, since it was his own Avarice that begat both Mutinies.

The Horses in this Part of *Arabia* are very well shapt, and mettlesom, and the Men the most dextrous in managing them that ever I saw. They shoot with Bow and Arrow, and throw their Lance at full Spced, and very

seldom miss the Mark. They will stoop at full Speed, and take up an Hare as she runs, with their Hands, or throw a Lance in the Air, and catch it before it comes to the Ground: And indeed the most of their Exercise, whilst young, is in managing their Horses.

They have many Boats on the River, of several Shapes and Dimensions; some are made of Wood, with high broad Boughs, and very long, others are very short: Their Rudders are in Breadth a Quarter Part of their Keel's Length, but not intire of one Piece as ours are, and they daub them over Outside and Inside with Bitumen, without caulking them; others are Baskets made of Reeds, perfectly round, with two Sticks laid athwart cross-ways their Bottoms to keep them open. They are also daub'd on the Outside and Bottom with Bitumen. And this Sort they make use of to transport Goods from Place to Place. Bitumen is a thick sulphurous and unctious Matter, generated in the Earth there, and boils up of its own Accord to the Surface; and sometimes it is so hot, that it scalds the Hands or Feet of them that go to gather it. And there are some hot Pits in the Ground, that putting a Pot over them, they'll boil Meat. There is also Oyl of *Peter* in those Grounds, which is very good in healing rheumatick Pains.

CHAPTER IX

Gives a Description of the Sea-coast of Persia, from Euphrates to Gombroon, with the Places of Commerce on the Persian Side of the Gulf.

THEY have a Tradition, that between *Bassora* and *Comera* was *Job's* Habitation, if he had any; but that is out of my Sphere, and so I'll travel down the *Euphrates* again towards *Persia*.

For above 20 Leagues to the eastward of the Chanel for Shipping, or from *Margan* Point, the Land is very low and marish, and is overgrown with Reeds and Shrubs, which, in the Month of *August*, are very dry by the extreme Heats of *June* and *July*; and the Winds blowing fresh, put them in so great Agitation, that by Friction they take Fire; so that before we see any Land, we see great Smokes by Day, and great Fires by Night, of 4 or 5 Leagues long. But at *Durea*, which I take to be the easternmost Branch of the River, the Land is pretty high, and some Date Trees to be seen from the Sea. And the first Mountains that appear in *Persia*, are those of *Bander-dillon*, which is a large Town on the Sea-coast. It has large Plains near it, that produce Plenty of Wheat and Barley, and have good Pasturage for Horses and Cattle. As also does *Bander-rick*, another

Sea-port Town, and may be seen plainly from the Sea; but the Bay is shallow so far off, that a Ship cannot come within three Leagues of it; however it has pretty good inland Trade, by reason of its Vicinity to *Shyrash*, the second Town in *Persia* for Magnitude, from whence it is but six Days Journey for Beasts of Carriage.

Bowchier is also a maritim Town, about 12 Leagues to the Southward of *Bander-rick*. It stands on an Island, and has a pretty good Trade, both by Sea and Land.

The Islands of *Carrack* ly, about West North-west, 12 Leagues from *Bowchier*. One of them has no Inhabitants but Deer and Antelopes. The southermost has between 2 and 300 poor Fishers on it, who serve Shipping with Pilots for *Bassora*. It affords good Mutton and Fish, and Potatoes and Onions, with good Water. The Anchoring-place is at the North End of the inhabited Island, in 12 Fathoms Water. Their Language is *Arabick*, and Religion *Mahometan*.

About 7 Leagues to the Southward of *Bowchier*, on the Sea-coast, is *Curchoir*, where are the Ruines of a large Castle and Pier that jets a pretty Way into the Sea. They were built by the *Portugueze*, who kept a Garrison there, and had Gallies continually cruising about in the Bottom of the Gulf, to compel all Ships that traded there, or to *Bassora*, to pay 10 *per Cent.* Toll or Customs to them. There is nothing else to invite Observation for Travellers, from *Curchoir* to *Congoun*, which is about 30 Leagues, but high, dry, barren Mountains, and hideous Precipices.

Congoun stands on the South Side of a large River, and makes a pretty good Figure in Trade; for most of the Pearl that are caught at *Bareen*, on the *Arabian* Side, are brought hither for a Market, and many fine Horses are sent thence to *India*, where they generally sell well. And four Days Journey within Land, is the City of *Laar*, which, according to their fabulous Tradition, is the Burying-place of *Lot*, and they pretend to shew his Tomb still; but they do not know a Word about the poor Woman his Wife. That there are many Mountains of Rock Salt there, is very certain.

The next maritim Town, down the Gulf, is *Cong*, where the *Portugueze* had lately a Factory, but of no great Figure in Trade, tho' the Town has a small Trade with *Banyans* and *Moors* from *India*. The many Insults the *Muskat Arabs* give it with their Fleet, frighten Merchants of considerable Stocks from frequenting it. After the *Portugueze* lost *Ormus*, and a Peace made with *Shaw Abass* the King of *Persia*, they were permitted to settle at *Cong*. But that King built the City of

Gombroon, or, as the Natives call it, *Bander Abassi*, or the Sea-port of *Abassi*. This City stands on a Bay, about 4 Leagues to the Northward of

the East End of the Island of *Kismish*, and 3 Leagues from the famous *Ormuz*, which the *English* had so great an Hand in reducing to the Obedience of *Shaw Abass*. What Time the *Portugueze* settled on *Ormuz* I know not, nor could I ever learn from the *Persians* that I conversed with, when they did settle; but finding it a convenient Place to tyrannize over the Traders into the Gulf of *Persia*, they built a large Fort on the East End of it, almost environed by the Sea that washes the Fort Walls. This *Gombroon* was formerly a Fishing Town, and, when *Shaw Abass* began to build it, had its Appellation from the *Portugueze* in Derision, because it was a good Place for catching Prawns or Shrimps, which they call *Camerong*. The *English* and *Dutch* have their Factories here, which bring a good Commerce to it; and the *French* formerly had their Factory too. It is ill seated, and wants almost every Thing that contributes to the Support of human Life, except Fish and Mutton; yet, for many Years, it has been well peopled by reason of its Trade, which has filled the Pockets of many Merchants, who, at their first settling there, were very empty. They have no drinkable Water within three Miles of the Town, except a few Cisterns, which are dry above one Half of the Year: And the Hills, near it, are barren, and the very Rocks taste of Salt. And, when Rain falls, which is but seldom, the Rivulets (which are filled by the Waters running down the Hills into low Grounds) bear a Crust of fine white Salt on their Sides, but is bitterish, by reason of too much Nitre and Sulphur in its Composition. People of Distinction and Fortune keep a Camel or two daily employed in bringing them fresh wholesom Water from *Asseen*, about 15 Miles from the City, because the Water of *Naban*, which is three Miles off, is not accounted salubrious. There is an high Mountain that lies North from *Gombroon*, about 8 Leagues, whose Reflection of Heat on the lower Ground, in the Summer Months, almost fires the Air, which creates much Uneasiness and Unhealthfulness to the Inhabitants of *Gombroon*; wherefore most of them retire into the Country, to pass the Heats of *June*, *July* and *August*, whose Heats affect the Sea, in so much that in *August* there comes a Stink from it, that is as detestable as the Smell of dead Animals on the Land; and vast Quantities of small Shell Fish are thrown on the Shore by the Surges of the Sea; from them I judge the intolerable Stink proceeds. It tarnishes Gold and Silver, as bad as the bilge Water of a tight Ship.

About 10 Miles from *Asseen*, at the Foot of the aforesaid Mountain, is a Place called *Minoa*, where are natural cold and hot Baths, which cure Itches, Poxes, Leprosy and rheumatick Pains, only by bathing, for they are not drinkable; and some that try to drink them, and get a few Spoon-

fuls down, find them powerful Emeticks. There are two or three little Choulteries or Shades built for Patients to rest in; but there are no People that inhabit near it, so that whoever goes there, must carry all Necessaries or Conveniencies along with them.

At *Asseen* there are many Gardens, where the Inhabitants of *Gombroon* retire to in the hot Months; but the *English East-india* Company's is the best, and best cultivated. It produces Plenty of *Seville* Oranges, whose Trees are always verdant, and bear ripe and green Fruit, with Blossoms, all at once. In the hot Season it is well watered from its Wells, so that Roots and Herbage are plentiful, and good in their Seasons, which supply the Factory at *Gombroon*: And there is pretty good Fowling and Hunting in that Plain; but the Road to the Town is only passable for Men, and Asses or Camels, but not for Horses: Nor are there any Houses on the Road, but one *Fackire's* or Beggar's Lodge. But *Naban* is a Village pretty well peopled, and has one Tree, or rather a Wood sprung from the Root of a Tree, whose Branches spread wide, and from them other Branches descend to the Ground, and take Root, and the Branches of them spread as the first did, that it became near three hundred Yards from one End to another, and could shelter 10000 Men from the Heat of the Sun. The Leaves are large and thick, and it bears a red Berry, only useful for Crows and Parrots, who also build Nests on the Tree.

Gombroon is very unhealthy for *Europeans*, occasioned by the scorching Heat of Summer, and peircing Cold of Winter; for as those that stay there in Summer have Wind-chimnies to cool and fan them, so they are obliged, in Winter, to wear Cloth Coats, lined with Fur, to keep them warm. The *Europeans* often hasten Death sooner than he would come of his own Accord, by Intemperance and Debauchery of several Kinds: and they have a Burial-place pretty near the Town, well stored with Tombs, but never a *Christian* Church in this Town, tho' the *Portuguez* have one at *Cong*, where generally reside a Priest or two, who subsist on Alms and Perquisites. When an *English* or *Dutch* Heretick marry or bring the Fruits of their Labour to Light unmarried, then the Priest is sent for to make the Infant a *Christian*; but we officiate in Burial ourselves.

The animal Provisions of Cattle, Sheep, Goat, Fowl and Fish, are a in their Kind good, and pretty cheap; but they kill no Cows publickly because the *Banyans* from *India*, who make a good Figure in the Town and are pretty numerous, give the *Shanasheen* or Governor, a year Present of Value, to prohibit Cow-killing, for they being all *Pythagoreans* in the Belief of Transmigration, worship that Beast in as great a Degr

of Veneration as a *Papist* does the Image of a Saint given him for a Protector. The Devotees of both differ not much in Point of Adoration; for setting aside the Divinity of Cattle, who till the Ground, and nourish them by their Milk, which, they say, is more than a dead Image can do, they have greater Antiquity, and as great Authority as *Christian* Idolaters can pretend to. Their Books are as numerous, and their Traditions and Legends as full in relating Prophecies uttered by the Cow, as well as Miracles performed by her, as the others can boast of done by their Images; so they laugh at a *Papist* that calls them Idolaters.

The Grapes, Melons and Mangoes that supply the Market of *Gombroon*, come from the high Mountain beforementioned, or from the Vallies on the North Side of it. In *November* and *December* the Snow falls so plentifully on that Mountain, as well as on others to the Southward of it, that it clothes them in white generally till the Month of *March*.

In *August* the poorer Sort of People go up the Country to their Date Harvest; and for a Month's Time that the Harvest lasts, we can hardly find Boatmen and Porters enow to lade or unlade our Shipping, which often proves very inconvenient for those whose Voyage depends on quick Dispatch. And the Winds blowing then hard at South-west from the *Arabian* Shore, bring along with them such Clouds of scorching Sands, that the Sun is obscured by them.

A memorable Accident happened about the Year 1712. to two *French* Gentlemen, who, contrary to the Advice of their Friends at *Gombroon*, would needs travel in the Month of *July*, for *Ispahan*, the Metropolis of *Persia*, which lies 700 *English* Miles from *Gombroon*. The Chief of the *English* Factory, who was a Gentleman of much Candor and Probity, and had travelled that Road several Times, told them of the Danger of suffocating Heats that they must pass through the first three Stages of their Journey; for there are some deep Caverns in the Sides of some Mountains, commonly called by the Inhabitants, *Hell's Mouths*, which sometimes send forth such hot dry Winds, that kill Man and Beast, if they do not shun them, which is done by falling flat on the Ground, and placing their Cattle's Rumps to the Wind, whilst they ly on their Bellies. Those Blasts may be seen some Minutes before they come near enough to Men or Beasts to hurt them, and, in a Minute or two, they blow over, being confined to a small Space of Ground to blow on. The general Rule for Travellers, is to set out between three and four in the Morning, and travel to Nine, which Rule those *French* Gentlemen observed, and being fatigued by their Morning's Journey, assoon as they came to a *Caravansearay*, (which are Lodgings built at every Stage's End, a Stage being about 15 Miles)

they were disposed to rest, and ordered their Servants to make their Beds ready, (for even those necessary Furniture Travellers are obliged to carry with them on Carriage-beasts) and ordered their Servants to call them when Dinner was ready, and withal ordered a Sheet for each of them to be dipt in Water, to lay over them, in order to cool them. One of those hot Blasts unfortunately came whilst the Gentlemen slept, and had left the Windows of the Room open, and the Wind blowing in at the Windows, scorcht them both to Death on their Beds, where the Servants found them when Dinner was ready, and pulling off the Sheets, the Skin and some Flesh came off with them.

I observed before, that *Ispahan* is distant from *Gombroon* about 700 Miles, and yet I have known a Foot-post bring Letters in 11 Days from thence, tho' the Ways are so bad, that Horses cannot travel it in that Time.

Shyrash is a large City on the Road, about 550 Miles from *Gombroon*, in a fine, pleasant fertil Country, that produces Fruits of all Sorts, excellent in their Kinds, particularly Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Figs, Wall-nuts, Chesnuts, Hazel-nuts, Pistacio-nuts, and Grapes which afford good Wines, and Raisins, and is so well stored with Roses, that they can yearly export 2000 Chests of Rose-water, besides ten Times as much spent in *Persia*, *Arabia* and *Industan*. A Chest contains about 12 *English* Gallons, carefully put up in thin Flasks or Bottles. The *Mahometans* are forbid to meddle with Wine, therefore the *Armenian Christians* (who are very numerous in *Persia*) have the Privilege of making Wines, most excellent in their Kind; and it is a Question whether the World affords better, for they are excellent Stomachicks, and being strong, they'll bear four Times the Quantity of Water to mix with them, without being flat; and the Mixture has a very fine Flavour. They make also Brandy and Vinegar, but, tho' much stronger, not so palatable as what *France* produces; so that this Country, which formerly was a Kingdom of itself, not only produces what is convenient for itself, but exports large Quantities of Wines, Brandy, Vinegar, Rose-water, Raisins and Figs, with the aforementioned Nuts, which greatly increase the Wealth of the Country, which also abounds in good Wheat, Pease and Barley for its own Consumption: And their Beef, Mutton and Fowl are exceeded by none in *Europe*.

About 5 Leagues off the Road of *Ispahan*, are the Ruines of the famous *Persepolis*, that mad *Alexander* of *Macedon* burnt at the Request of a Strumpet: And, as I have been informed by severals that had the Curiosity to see those Ruines, in their Way to and from *Ispahan*, it has been a large stately City. The Fabrick has been noble, by what may be yet seen in

some Parts yet standing, and some Paintings on Stone, that still look fresh, in spite of Time's Iron Teeth, who defaces and destroys most sublunary Things, or alters their Figures so much, that they can be known no other Way than by Tradition.

CHAPTER X

Is a Continuation of Observations on the Empire of Persia, giving an Account of its Magnitude, the Reduction of Ormuz to the Obedience of Persia by the Assistance of the English: Also of the late Revolution by Meriweze.

THE Empire of Persia is of a large Extent, being limited by *Euphrates* and the *Persian Gulf* to Westward, the *Indian Ocean*, from Cape *Guaddel*, to the Southward, on the East Side by the River *Indus*, that runs 1200 Miles to the Northward from its Mouths, and on the North, by *Usbeck*, *Tartaria*, *Colchis*, *Mangrelia*, the *Caspian Sea* and *Georgia*. *Erivan* in *Armenia*, is a Province in the North-west of it, as *Cabul* and *Candahar* are on the North-east Side. Towards *Turkey* they sometimes lose and get whole Provinces in a Year. About the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, *Shaw Abass* was King of *Persia*, a King worthy of Empire, and made himself famous by his Valour and Justice; but having no Fleet at Sea, the *Portugueze* insulted his Sea-coasts, and settled themselves on the Island of *Ormuz*, and built a good strong Fort, as is already observed, with a pretty large Town, and magnificent Churches. Some Porches and broken Pillars I have seen, that speak their ancient Grandeur; and the Castle is still good, and well kept. The *Portugueze*, with their light Frigats and Gallies, insulted the Sea-coasts of *Persia*, and all the Shipping that had Commerce in the Gulf, for above a whole Century. *Shaw Abass* being tired with the Complaints of his Subjects, and others that had been robbed and insulted by the imperious *Portugueze*, made him very uneasy, and found no Remedy but by encouraging the *English*, who then had a small Factory on the Sea-shore, about 7 Leagues from the Mouth of the Gulf, to the East-ward, called *Jasques*, but were continually disturbed in their Commerce by the domineering *Portugueze* from *Ormuz*.

Sir *Thomas Row* being then Ambassador at the Court of *Persia* for King *James* the First of *England*, to cultivate a Correspondence between the two Kingdoms, *Shaw Abass* broke his Mind to Sir *Thomas*, and proffered any reasonable Indulgence to the *English* that traded into *Persia*, providing

they would joyn his Land Forces with theirs at Sea, in *India*, to drive the troublesom *Portugueze* out of the *Persian Gulf*. Sir *Thomas* agreed, that, if *Shaw Abass* would defray the Charges of the Ships that should come to his Assistance, give the *English* a free Trade all over the *Persian Dominions*, Custom free, and grant them one Moiety of the Customs raised by Merchandize in the Gulf, they would not only help to drive the *Portugueze* out of *Ormuz*, but keep two Ships in the Gulf, to protect Trade. All which was agreed to by both Parties, and sealed and signed by the King of *Persia*.

The *English* Forces consisted of five Ships, about 40 Guns one with another, and were well mann'd. The King of *Persia* sent an Army of 40 or 50000. with Trankies for Transports, to land them on *Ormuz*. The *English* soon destroyed the *Portugueze Armado* of light Frigats and Gallies, which were hal'd dry on the Land near the Castle. The Castle firing briskly on them, sunk one of the *English* Ships, whose Artillery was carried ashore, and put in Batteries to annoy the Castle, which the Shipping and Batteries did so effectually, that, in less than two Months, the *Portugueze* capitulated to leave *Ormuz*, with all the Fortifications intire, and to carry nothing away but their noble selves. The Plunder, which was very great, was equally divided between the *English* and *Persians*; and Tradition reports, that there was so much ready Bullion found in the Castle, that it was measured by Long-boats-full; and one Boat being pretty deep, and an Officer still throwing in more, put the Boatswain of the Ship, who was in the Boat, into a Passion, and made him swear, that for every Shovel-full that they threw more in, he would throw two out into the Sea; for he could not tell what would satisfy them, if a Long-boat Load of Money would not. On the Reduction of the Island and Fort of *Ormuz*, the *Portugueze* withdrew their Men from the Forts of *Laracka*, another Island 4 or 5 Leagues from *Ormuz*, and from *Kismish* Fort, that lies on the East End of that Island, and retired to *Muskat*. *Shaw Abass* was punctual in observing the Agreement with the *English*; and it was punctually kept by the succeeding Kings, till about the Year 1680. the *English* Company failed on their Part of keeping the Gulf clear of Insults; and the *Persians*, finding that the *English* Company's Forces were now too small for the increasing Power of the *Arabs* their Neighbours, took away the half Customs, and allow them 1100 *Tomaans*, which is about 3300 Pounds *Sterling* a Year; but I am afraid that that is also lost by the late Revolution in *Persia*.

When *Shaw Abass* demised, his Son *Shaw Tomas* succeeded him, who was a Son worthy of such a Father. He died about the Year 1630. He was a very valiant and fortunate Prince in his Wars with *Turk* and *Mogul*, and

a great Lover of Justice; for whoever broke the established Laws, were sure to suffer the Penalty annext to them. One Instance of that he shewed on a Baker; for, being once detected in making his Bread lighter than the Standard, he was severely fined; but, on his being detected and convicted a second Time, he was condemned to be bak'd in his own Oven, for a Terror to others, who might flatter themselves with breaking the Laws with Impunity.

After *Shaw Tomas*, the succeeding Kings have been debauch'd with Ignorance of their own Affairs, Voluptuousness and Indolence, leaving the Reins of Government in the Hands of Parasites, or Eunuchs and Concubines, who never fail to bring their Master into Contempt, and the People into Murmurings and Rebellions. A very flagrant Instance is to be seen in *Meriweys's* Revolution.

The whole Reign of the last *Sophi*, or King, was managed by such Vermin, that the *Ballowches* and *Mackrans*, who inhabit the Sea-coast from Cape *Jasques* to *Indus*, observing the Weakness of the Government, threw off the Yoke of Obedience first, and, in full Bodies, fell in upon their Neighbours in *Carmania*, who were thriftier and richer than the maritim Freebooters, and plundered their Fellow Subjects of what they had got by their painful Industry. There was no Want of Remonstrances and Petitions put into the Court to put a Stop to those Enormities, but no Redress could be had. The *Usbecks* came also on their neighbouring Province of *Muschet*, and committed many Depredations; and when Letters came from the Governor of that Province, to acquaint the King of the *Usbecks* Incursions, he happened then to be at Play with a young Cat, that hunted a Feather that he kept in Motion with a Thread. One of the Pages acquainted him, that a Messenger was come in great Haste from *Muschet*, with Letters to the Vizier, who was at the Chamber Door, to know what his Majesty would please to order in that Juncture. He answered, that assoon as he had done playing with his Cat, he would send for the Vizier, and consult of that Matter; but he never thought more of it. This Indolence made many Thefts, Robberies and Murders to be committed throughout the Country: Nay, his own Guards went out in Troops, and way-laid Merchants going or coming to or from *Ispahan*, robbed them, and often murdered them; and when Complaints were made, and Proof offered, yet no Redress could be had, which made most People believe, that some Court Favourites were Encouragers of the publick Calamities. In Anno 1716. I carried some *Armenian* Merchants from *Persia* to *Surat*, who assured me, that there was a Design to depose the King, and set up his Son, or invite the *Muscovite* into the Province of *Casbin*, whose Shores are on the *Caspian* Sea, and

where a foreign Army may easily be brought into their Ports by Sea: And certainly there was such a Design; for in *Anno* 1719. the Plot of deposing the King was found out, and the *Attamadoulet* or Vizier was deeply concerned in it. He was *Meriweys's*, or *Meir Mahoumud Shaw's* Father, the Son being then *Chawn*, or Prince of *Candahaar*. The King was solacing himself in a Garden near the City of *Ispahan*, when he was apprised of the Plot, which was to be executed the same Night it was discovered. He immediately sent for the *Attamadoulet*, pretending Business of Importance about some Frontier Provinces; and the old Gentleman not dreaming of the Discovery made, came to the King, who taxing him with the Plot, made no Difficulty to confess that it was of his own Contrivance, to save the Country from Ruin, which was inevitable, if he continued in Supineness, which had affected him near 40 Years, and there was no Sign of Amendment, notwithstanding his Remonstrances and Admonitions all that while, and now that he was detected, he knew the worst that could befall him, was to be sacrificed for the Good of his Country, which he took to be rather glorious than dishonourable. The King ordered some Bars of Iron to be heated, and his Eyes kept open till the Irons were gently moved near the Eyes to dry up the Moisture, which is the royal Punishment in *Persia*, for disobedient or rebellious Princes; so the old Man being made blind, his Treasure was seized, but his Palace and Gardens allowed him, and an Allowance suitable to his Dignity. He had in Gold and Diamonds, to the Value of 800000 *Tomaans* or 2400000 Pounds *Sterling*; and some said he had more in his Son's Custody: But how true these Reports are, I am no proper Judge, either to believe or reject; but some Bars of his Gold I saw at *Gombroon*.

Before this Conspiracy of the *Attamadoulet* happened, the *Muskat Arabs* came with a Fleet, and landed 5 or 6000 Men on *Ormuz*, and besieged the Castle; but could not take it in three Months, and being tired with Fatigue, they left it. But in *Anno* 1720. *Meriweys* hearing how the King had used his Father, made the whole Province of *Candahaar* rebel, and wrote Letters to the *Chawn* of *Samachie* to come into Alliance with him and his Confederates the *Ballowches* and *Usbecks*, who readily embraced his Propositions in Hope of Plunder. In 1721. *Meriweys* began his March towards *Ispahan*, with an Army of 45000. and paid honestly for what his Army had Occasion for in his March, declaring, that he did not take Arms for their Hurt or Destruction, but to free *Persia* from the Folly and Tyranny of a doting Fool, who was incorrigible by fair Means. The *Usbecks* entred the Provinces of *Muschet* and *Yesd*, with 40000. and acted like Robbers. Another Army of 40000 went out of *Samachie*, and ravaged

Erivan; and the *Ballowches* entred the Province of *Carmania*, and plundered the Country, and at last took the City. Then they marched towards *Laar*, and took the Town, but not the Fort: And there twelve *Hollanders*, who were sent from *Gombroon* to convey down some Treasure belonging to their Company, behaved themselves to Admiration. They were lodged in a *Caravanseray*, where the *Ballowches* came with about 300 to attack them; but they had a brave warm Reception, and left about four Score of their Number dead on the Spot, without the Loss of one *Dutch* Man: But not thinking themselves and their Treasure safe where they were, they desired Admittance into the Fort, which was readily granted, and there they also behaved themselves so well, that the *Ballowches* marched away without the Booty they came so far for. The *Dutch* staid there above a Month, and in that Time came a Detachment of 4000 Horse to plunder *Gombroon*. We heard of their Design about ten Days before they came, and so we and the *Dutch* fortified our Factories as well as possibly we could, planting little Falconets on the Top of our Walls in Swivels, and beating out Ports in our Walls, to ply great Guns, to scour the Avenues to our Factories. Mean while the *Persian* Governor fired Guns every Night, to let the Enemy know he was a brave Fellow: However they had a Mind to see, and, on the 15 of *December*, they appeared near the Town, on a swift March towards it, which scared the Governor so much, that, tho' there was an high Mud Wall between him and them, he got on Horse-back, and fled to a Fort on the Sea-shore, leaving a few Guns, loaded as they were, to the Enemy.

The *Ballowches* came first to the West Quarter of the Town, where our Factory stands, and soon made Passages through the Mud Walls. They hewed down all that came in their Way, particularly old People and Children, and came in a confused Haste to attack our Factory, down some Lanes; but we gave them a warm Welcom with our great Guns and small Shot. They soon found their Mistake, and retired in as great Haste as they came. Some of their Musketeers got into some ruined Houses, and fired on us; but we being barricadoed, they did us little Damage, and had our Men observed their Orders better, we had come off with less. Our Firing lasted about three Hours, in which Time we lost three or four, killed by their own Rashness in standing open to the Enemy, when they might have done better Service under Cover of our Barricadoes. We had also seven wounded, but none mortally, but one who was a Factor, who received a Shot in his right Hand, which threw him into a Fever, of which he died in seven or eight Days. The Agent being gone to *Ispahan* some Weeks before we had any Advice of the *Ballowches* coming, had carried twenty Soldiers

along with him for a Guard, and left but six in the Factory, besides Cooks, and a few Servants. I saw the Factory in Danger if they should be attacked, so I reinforced it with thirty six of my best Men, and another small *English Ship* from *Bombay*, assisted with eight or nine of his, so that when the Enemy came, we were about fifty strong. The Season being very cold, made our Duty hard, for we lay in our Arms every Night, for 10 or 12 Nights that the Enemy lay in the Town. They had a Consultation next Day after their Repulse, how they might make another Attack; but none would undertake to lead their Men on, and so the Day after Consultation, they went to attack the *Dutch*, who were three Times stronger than we, and they met with the same kind Reception we gave them; but they had a Ware-house within Pistol-shot of their Factory, with Goods to the Value of 20000 Pounds *Sterling* in it, which the *Ballowches* broke into, and plundered. The *Dutch* lost twelve Men, and had eight or ten wounded: So finding our Factories were not to be taken without the Danger of much Blood-shed, they went a plundering the Town for eight or nine Days, and carried away, in Money and Goods, above 200000 Pounds, besides 14000 Captives, and as many Beasts of Carriage, and so went off about five or six Miles from the Town, which they laid in Ashes before they left it. They continued in our Neighbourhood, with their Plunder, about a Month, I suppose till they received new Orders how to dispose of themselves.

Notwithstanding such numerous rebellious Armies were a Foot, threatening Destruction to the State, the indolent King being lulled asleep in Security, did not offer to raise any Forces for the Defence of himself and Country, but said to his Cabinet Counsellors, *that he was sure his Enemies would leave him Ispahan, and that one City would be enough to maintain him and them his Counsellors*: But when *Meriweys* came within three Days Journey of the City, he raised about 50000 of the Citizens, and sent to the *English* and *Dutch* Agents, to joyn their little Forces to his, to manage the Artillery, and to lend him some Money to support and pay his new raised Army. The latter desired to be excused in both; but the *English* complied, and were very active in defending the City, when *Meriweys* came to besiege it: And when he approached within a Mile or two of the City, the King sent his raw Army out to fight *Meriweys*; but in their March, *Meriweys's* Men having made a long Trench a pretty Way from their Front, and hid a large Quantity of Gun-powder in it, and then filled it up again, which Ambuscade the King's Army fell into, and, after a good Number of them had past it, Fire was set to it, and blew up and scorched many of the King's Men, which so frightened the rest, that they turned Tail, and fled without striking one Stroke, so *Meriweys* made an easy

Conquest of the City, and found the King weeping, and deserted by his base and treacherous Courtiers. But *Meriweys* soon put an End to his Melancholy, by ordering his Head to be struck off, which was forthwith executed, and put on the Point of a Lance, and carried thro' the City three Days successively, as a Spectacle. The Prince royal, or the young *Sophi*, seeing his Father's Affairs in so wretched a Condition, had left the City, and went to *Taurus* or *Teverize* before *Meriweys* came. *Meriweys* carried himself mighty civilly to the Citizens, but made the *English* Prisoners, and seized what Money and Goods could be found of theirs, and also the *Dutch* Company's Effects, but not their Servants Persons. It was reported, that the *English* lost about 60000 Pounds, and the *Dutch* 210000. But the Truth of these Reports are best known to themselves.

When the old King had a Mind to honour the *English* Factory with a Visit, as I saw in a Letter from Mr. *Bruce* the Company's Agent, that he sometimes did, and one particularly in his Agency, he magnifies the Honour done to his Masters, above what the *Dutch* could ever obtain. He relates how he and all the Factory, great and small, were ordered to leave their House, and Chamber Doors and Ware-houses all open, for his Majesty and his *Seraglio* Companions to ramble thro', and take such Things as best pleased him and his Minions; and there was a Table left in the Dining-room, spread and furnished with the richest Sweet-meats and Fruits.

I believe the Company was not very ambitious of having many such Honours conferred on them, since they were obliged to pay for them. And when the King has a Mind for some new Concubines, he issues out Orders for all Men and Youths to depart out from their Houses in the Street, that he is pleased to visit, and to leave all the Ladies in Possession till his Majesty surveys them; and the Penalty of Disobedience is Death. He generally makes his Progress thro' the *Armenian* Quarters, because the fairest and most beautiful are amongst their Children.

The Religion, by Law established for near eleven Ages, is *Mahometan*, of the Sect of *Alli*; but the ancient Religion was *Parsi*, or Worshippers of the Sun and Fire. The Founder of it was *Zoroaster*, whom they still venerate. About the ninth Century of the *Christian* *Æra*, the *Mahometan* Zealots, according to the laudable Way of some *Christians*, raised a Persecution against the *Parsis*, whose wholesom Severities made many Proselytes; but some obstinate Rogues, who would not change for a worse, were lawfully murdered, or obliged to run their Country, so that at present there are but few left in *Persia*, and those that are left, are protected by their Poverty and Habitations, which are in Deserts or Hills little frequented.

There are vast Numbers of *Armenian Christians* in *Persia*, whose Religion is tolerated. Their former Country of *Armenia* is now the Province of *Erivan*. There are many substantial Merchants of *Armenians*, who inhabit *Julfar*, a Town near *Ispahan*, and they send Factors all over *India* to carry on Trade; and some come to *Europe* on that same Account.

The *Mahometans* in *Persia*, to encourage Proselytes to their Religion, have a Law, that if a Son of an *Armenian* turns *Mahometan*, all the Father's Estate becomes his, and all who continue *Christians* are excluded, which sometimes makes great Divisions and Alterations in a Family.

In Baptism they immerse, but do not sprinkle. The Priest must officiate in his sacerdotal Garb, with a Crown on his Head, and must have two Assistants in holy Vestments also, but without Crowns. Their titular Saint is Saint *Gregory*, of whom they tell many strange Stories; but whether true or false I know not: But I am sure he has plagued them with Fast-days, for they fast one Half of the Year at least.

Having made what Observations I could of the Empire of *Persia*, I'll travel along the Sea-coast towards *Industan*, or the *Great Mogul's* Empire. All that Shore, from *Jasques* to *Sindy*, is inhabited by uncivilized People, who admit of no Commerce with Strangers, tho' *Guaddel* and *Diul*, two Sea-ports, did, about a Century ago, afford a good Trade.

CHAPTER XI

Treats of the Mogul's Dominions on the River Indus, particularly of the ancient Kingdom of Sindy its Product and Commerce, Religion and Customs of the Inhabitants; with a Description of the River Indus.

SINDY is the westmost Province of the *Mogul's* Dominions, on the Sea-coast, and has *Larribundar* to its Sea Mart, which stands about 5 or 6 Leagues from the Sea, on a Branch of the River *Indus*, capable to receive Ships of 200 Tuns. It is but a Village of about 100 Houses, built of crooked Sticks and Mud; but it has a large Stone Fort, with four or five great Guns mounted in it, to protect the Merchandize brought thither, from the Robberies of the *Ballowches* and *Mackrans* that ly near them, to the Westward, and the *Jams* to the Eastward, who being Borderers, are much given to Thieving, and they rob all whom they are able to master. The former are revolted Subjects of *Persia*, and the other are Subjects of the *Mogul*; but being secured from the Aw of an Army's coming to chastise their Insolency, by the marish Grounds they live

in, and the rapid Tides of *Indus*, they make but little Account of their Sovereign's Power or Orders, and so they commit Depredations on the Caffillas that pass to and fro between *Tatta* and *Larribundar*, notwithstanding a Guard of 100 or 200 Horse are sent along with them, by the *Nabob* or Vice-roy of *Tatta*, for Protection; but often those Protectors suffer the Caffillas to be robbed, pretending the Robbers are too numerous to be restrained by their small Forces, and afterwards come in Sharers with the Robbers.

Tatta is the *Emporium* of the Province, a very large and rich City. It is about three Miles long, and one and an Half broad, and is about 40 Miles Distance from *Larribundar*, and has a large Citadel on its West End, capable to lodge 5000 Men and Horse, and has Barracks and Stables convenient for them, with a Palace built in it for the *Nabob*. All Goods and Merchandize imported or exported between *Tatta* and *Larribundar*, are transported on Carriage Beasts, such as Camels, Oxen and Horses. The Country is almost level, and overgrown with Shrubs and Bushes, very fit to cover an Ambuscade, which the aforesaid Robbers often make use of, and suddenly rush out on a Caffilla, and whilst the Guards and Carriers are fighting in one Place, either of Front, Flank or Rear, the Robbers drive away the Beasts with their Packs. In Anno 1699. a pretty rich Caffilla was robbed by a Band of four or five thousand Villains: The Guard, consisting of 250 Horse, were intirely cut off, and above 500 of the Merchants and Carriers, which struck a Terror on all that had Commerce at *Tatta*.

It was my Fortune, about four Months after, to come to *Larribundar*, with a Cargo from *Mallabar*, worth above 10000 *L*. I could find no *Tatta* Merchants that would meddle with my Cargo before it was carried to *Tatta*; but agreed on the Prices of most of the Species of my Goods: And finding no other Remedy but travelling by Land, in a Caffilla of 1500 Beasts, and as many, or more Men and Women, besides 200 Horse for our Guard, about the Middle of *January* we set out; and after we had marched about 16 Miles, our Scouts brought in News of the *Ballowches* and *Mackrans* being just before us, in great Numbers. I had thirteen of my best Firemen with me in the Front, where my Beasts were. We being all mounted on little Horses, alighted, and set our Beasts on our Flanks and Front, to serve us for a Barricadoe, to defend us from Sword and Target-men, which were the principal Strength of the Robbers, and we, at the same Time, had Room enough to fire over our Barricadoe. We were not long in that Posture, till the Enemy sent an Herald on Horse-back, with his Sword brandishing, and when he came within Call of us, he threatned, that if we

did not instantly surrender at Discretion, we should have no Quarters. I had two of my Seamen that shot as well with a Fuzee as any ever I saw, for I have seen them at Sea, for Diversion, knock down a single Sea-fowl with a single Bullet, as they were flying near our Ship. I ordered one to knock down the Herald, which he instantly did, by a Bullet through his Head. Another came presently after, with the same Threatnings, and met with the same Treatment. The next that came, I ordered his Horse to be shot in the Head, to try if we could take his Rider, that we might learn somewhat of the Enemy's Strength. The Horse was killed assoon as he appeared, and some of our Horse got the Rider, and hewed him down, instead of bringing him to us. Our Guard of Horse continually kept in the Rear, but seeing what we had done in the Front, took Courage, and getting in amongst the Bushes, met with some that had a Design to attack our Flank, and soon defeated them, which put the Robbers in such Fear, that they betook themselves to Flight, and our Horse pursuing, put many to the Sword; so when they returned from the Pursuit, we went on in our Journey, and travelling four Miles, came to a Mud-wall Fort, called *Dungham*, a proper *English* Name for such a Fortification. It is built midway between *Tatta* and *Larribundar*, to secure the Caffilla from being set upon in the Night, who all lodge within it, Men and Beasts promiscuously, which makes it so nasty, that the *English* Appellation is rightly bestowed on it. There are about twenty little Cottages built close to it, who breed Fowls, Goats and Sheep, to sell to Passengers. And these are all the Houses to be seen in the Way between *Tatta* and *Larribundar*.

The News of a Victory that I had over three *Sanganian* Pirates at Sea, on my Voyage from *Malabar* to *Larribundar*, had reacht *Tatta*, before the second Skirmish by Land, so that when I came to *Tatta*, we were received with Acclamations from the Populace, and the better Sort visited us with Presents of Sweet-meats and Fruits, ascribing the safe Arrival of the Caffilla wholly to our Courage and Conduct.

We were lodged in a large convenient House of 15 Rooms, and had good Ware-houses. The Stairs from the Street, were intire Porphyry, of 10 Foot long, of a bright yellow Colour, and as smooth as Glass. They were about ten in Number, and led up to a Square of 15 Yards long, and about 10 broad. Next Day we had a Compliment from the *Nabob*, of an Ox, five Sheep, as many Goats, twenty Fowls and fifty Pigeons, with Sweet-meats and Fruit in Abundance. He, at that Time, lay encampt about six Miles from the Town, with an Army of 8 or 10000 Men, with a Design to punish the *Ballowches* and *Mackrans* for robbing the Caffilla, and killing his Men, as is before mentioned. He desired me to let him know when we

designed to drink a Dish of Coffee with him, and he would send Horses to bring us to the Camp. I returned Thanks for his Civility, and sent him Word, that I designed to kiss his Hand the very next Day; and he accordingly sent twenty fine *Persian* Horses, well equipp'd, for my Use, ten of which I accepted for myself and Guard to mount, and the other ten were mounted with some of the most considerable Merchants in *Tatta*, who went to accompany me out of Respect; and, to make our Cavalcade appear with the greater Grace, assoon as we came to the Camp Gate, we would have alighted, but an Officer on Horse-back told us, that it was the *Nabob's* Pleasure, that we should be brought to his Tent on Horse-back, and he riding before us, conducted us to the Tent Door, and, assoon as we got from our Horses, I was conducted into his own Pavilion Chamber, where he was sitting alone. The rest that came with me, were not admitted for an Hour after. It would take a great Deal of Time and Room to relate the Compliments and other Discourses that past; but I knew the Custom, not to appear before great Men with an empty Hand. I desired Leave to lay a little Present at his Feet, which he permitted. It consisted of a Looking-glass of about 5 Pounds in Value, a Gun and a Pair of Pistols well gilded, a Sabre Blade and Dagger-blade gilded, and a Glass Pipe for his Tobacco, and an embroider'd Standish for it to stand in. He then sent for all who had accompanied me into the Room, and shewed the Present I had made him, magnifying every Piece of it; and after some Encomiums on my Valour and Generosity, told me, that I was a free Denison of *Tatta*, with the Addition of an Indulgence of being free of all Custom and Tax on all Goods that I had brought or should export, and that whoever bought any Part of my Cargo, and did not pay according to the Agreement made for Payment, I should not be liable to seek Justice at the *Cadjee's* Court, but to imprison my Debtors, and if that would not perswade them to give Satisfaction, he would sell their Wives, Children or nearest Relations to make good their Debt. This Privilege did me singular Service when the Term of Payments came, and was obliged to try the Experiment of imprisoning. After three Hours Conversation, we took Leave to go, and he dismiss us with much Civility, and told me, that when he returned from that Expedition, he would repay my Visit at my Lodgings; but in three Months that I staid, he did not return, but often sent to enquire after my Welfare, and how my Affairs stood.

In travelling from *Dungham* towards *Tatta*, about 4 Miles short of the City, on smooth rising Ground, there are forty two fine large Tombs, which, from the Plain, appeared to be a small Town. They are the

Burying-places of some of the Kings of *Sindy*, when that Country was governed by its own Kings. I went into the largest, which is built in the Form of a Cupola, and in the Middle of it, stood a Coffin-tomb, about three Foot high, and seven Foot long, with some others of a lesser Size. The Materials of the Cupola were yellow, green and red Porphyry, finely polished, and the Stones set in regular Order, Chequer-ways, which Variegation strikes the Eye with wonderful Pleasure. The Tomb is about 10 Yards high, and 7 in Diameter. I was told, that it was the Burying-place of the last King of that Country, who was robbed of his Sovereignty by *Jehan Guire* Grandfather to the famous *Aurenzeb*, in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, who, after he had him Prisoner, bid him ask what Favours he would desire for himself and Children, and they should be granted. He nobly replied, That all the Favour he begg'd, was, that himself, his Queen, and their Children, might be buried in that Tomb, which, in Times of Prosperity, he had built for that Purpose, and had cost him two Lack of Rupees, or 25000 *L. Sterl.* which Request his Conqueror could not well refuse.

Tatta City stands about two Miles from the River *Indus*, in a spacious Plain, and they have Canals cut from the River, that bring Water to the City, and some for the Use of their Gardens. The King's Gardens were in pretty good Condition in *Anno* 1699. and were well stored with excellent Fruits and Flowers, particularly the most delicious Pomegranates that ever I tasted.

For three Years before I came there, no Rain had fallen, which caused a severe Plague to affect the Town and circumjacent Country, to such a Degree, that, in the City only, above 80000 died of it, that manufactured Cotton and Silk, and above one Half of the City was deserted and left empty. And that was one Reason why the *Nabob* had placed his Camp in that Place that I went to visit him at. The Figure of the Camp was a regular Tetragon, and ditched about with a Trench about 3 Yards broad, and 2 deep. The Ground taken out of the Ditch, was thrown upon the Inside, about 4 Foot high, and regularly built like a Parapet. It had 4 Gates, one in the Middle of each Curtain, and a straight Street from the opposite Gates, which made an exact Cross in Figure, and the *Nabob's* Tent was pitch'd in the Middle of the Cross. Each Side of the Tetragon was about 6 or 700 Paces in Length, and the Ditches could be filled with Water from the *Indus*, and let out at Pleasure, into a large Marish about two Miles off the Camp.

The River *Indus* is navigable for their Vessels, as high as *Casmire*, that lies in the Latitude of 32 Degrees; and one Branch runs up to *Cabul* to

the Westward, and others to *Penjeb, Lahore, Multan, Buckor*, and other large Provinces and Cities to the Eastward, and all share the Benefits of the inland Navigation. Their Vessels are called *Kifties*, of several Sizes. The largest can lade about 200 Tuns. They are flat-bottomed, and, on each Side, Cabbins are built from Stern to Stem, that overhang about 2 Foot; and, in each Cabbin, is a Kitchen and a Place for Exoneration, which falls directly in the Water. Those Cabbins are hired out to Passengers, and the Hold, being made into separate Apartments, are let out to Freighters, so that every one has a Lock on his own Cabbin and Apartment in the Hold, and has his Goods always ready to dispose on at what Places he finds his Market. And indeed in all my Travels I never saw better Conveniencies of travelling by Water. They have one Mast of a good Length, and a Square-sail to use when the Wind is a-stern, or on the Quarter; but they never hale close by the Wind. They are obliged to carry a great Number of Men for tracting them up against the Stream, when the Winds are against them, so that a Voyage from *Tatta* to *Lahore*, they reckon six or seven Weeks long, but from *Lahore* back, not above eighteen Days, and sometimes it is performed in twelve.

At *Tatta* the River is about a Mile broad, and, where I tried with a Lead and Line, it was about six Fathoms deep, from Side to Side. The Stream is not very rapid, for its Motion did not exceed two Miles and an half in an Hour. It produces many Species of Fresh-water Fishes, and among them, the best Carp that ever I saw or tasted. Some of them weigh above 20 Pound Weight, and we have them alive in *Tatta* Market. They have black Cattle in great Plenty, large and good, and most excellent Mutton, of 80 or 100 Pound Weight. Their Horses are small, but hardy and swift. Deer, Antelopes, Hares and Foxes are their wild Game, which they hunt with Dogs, Leopards, and a small fierce Creature, called by them a *Shoegoose*. It is about the Size of a Fox, with long prickt Ears like an Hare, and a Face like a Cat, a gray Back and Sides, and Belly and Breast white. I believe they are rare, for I never saw more than one. When they are taken out to hunt, an Horse-man carries it behind him, hood-winkt, and their Deer and Antelopes being pretty familiar, will not start before Horses come very near. He who carries the *Shoegoose*, takes off the Hood, and shews it the Game, which, with large swift Springs, it soon overtakes, and leaping on their Backs, and getting forward to the Shoulders, scratches their Eyes out, and gives the Hunters an easy Prey. The Leopard runs down his Game, which often gives the Hunters a long Chase, as well as the Dogs, who will take the Water when the Game betake themselves to swimming, which they frequently do. They have Store of Peacocks,

Pigeons, Doves, Duck, Teal, Widgeon, wild Geese, Curlews, Partridge and Plover, free for any Body to shoot. They have a Fruit, that grows in their Fields and Gardens, called *Salob*, about the Size of a Peach, but without a Stone. They dry it hard before they use it, and being beaten to Powder, they dress it as Tea and Coffee are, and take it with powdered Sugar-candy. They are of Opinion, that it is a great Restorative to decay'd animal Spirits.

This Country abounds richly in Wheat, Rice and Legumen, and Provender for Horses and Cattle; and they never know the Misery of Famine, for the *Indus* overflows all the low Grounds in the Months of *April*, *May* and *June*, and when the Floods go off, they leave a fat Slime on the Face of the Ground, which they till easily before it dries, and being sown and harrow'd, never fails of bringing forth a plentiful Crop.

The other Productions of this and the inland Country, are Saltpeter, Sal-armoniack, Borax, Opoponax, Assa-foetida, Goat Bezoar, *Lapis tutiæ* and *Lapis lasuli*, and raw Silk, but not fine.

They manufacture in wrought Silks, which they call *Jemawaars*, in Cotton and Silk, called *Cuttenees*, and in Silk mixt with *Carmania* Wooll, called *Culbuleys*, in Calicoes coarse and fine, sheer and close wrought. Their Cloth called *Jurries*, is very fine and soft, and lasts beyond any other Cotton Cloth that I have used. They make Chints very fine and cheap, and Coverlets for Beds very beautiful. They make fine Cabinets, both lack'd and inlaid with Ivory. And the best Bows and Arrows in the World, are made at *Multan*, of Buffalos Horns. They lack wooden Dishes and Tables, but not so well as in *China*. The Lack is clear enough, but always clammy. They export great Quantities of Butter, which they gently melt, and put up in Jars, called *Duppas*, made of the Hides of Cattle, almost in the Figure of a Glob, with a Neck and Mouth on one Side. They are made of all Sizes, from those that contain 320 *lb.* to those of 5. and that Butter keeps, without Salt, the whole Year round, but, as it grows old, it becomes rank.

The Wood *Ligna dulcis* grows only in this Country. It is rather a Weed than a Wood, and nothing of it is useful but the Root, called *Putchock*, or, *Radix dulcis*. I never heard it is used in Physick, but is a good Ingredient in the Composition of Perfumes. There are great Quantities exported for *Surat*, and from thence to *China*, where it generally bears a good Price; for being all Idolaters, and burning Incense before their Images, this Root beaten into fine Powder, and an Incense-pot laid over smoothly with Ashes, and a Furrow made in the Ashes, about a Quarter of an Inch broad, and as much in Depth, done very artificially into a great Length,

the Powder is put into that Furrow, and fired, and it will burn a long Time like a Match, sending forth a fine Smoke, whose Smell is very grateful, the Powder having the good Qualities of maintaining and delaying the Fire.

The Religion, by Law established, is *Mahometan*; but there are ten *Gentows* or *Pagans* for one *Mussulman*. But the City of *Tatta* is famous for Learning in Theology, Philology and Politicks, and they have above four hundred Colleges for training up Youth in those Parts of Learning. I was very intimate with a *Seid* who was a Professor in Theology, and was reckoned to be a good Historian. He askt me one Day, if I had heard of *Alexander the Great* in my Country. I told him I had, and I mentioned his Battle with *Porus*, and his Victory. He told me, that their Histories mentioned the same, but with some Difference in the two Kings Names, and *Alexander's* Passage over *Indus*. He said, that their History mentioned *Shaw Hasander* and *Prorus*, and that *Alexander* was a great Magician, and summoning above a Million of wild Geese, they swam his Army over the River, and that *Porus's* Elephants would never turn their Heads towards the Place where *Alexander* was.

The *Portugueze* had formerly a Church at the East End of the City. The House is still intire, and in the Vestry are some old Pictures of Saints, and some holy Vestments, which they profered to sell; but I was no Merchant for such Bargains.

The *Gentows* have full Toleration for their Religion, and keep their Fasts and Feasts as in former Times, when the Sovereignty was in *Pagan* Princes Hands. They burn their dead, but the Wives are restrained from burning with the Corps of their Husbands. There is a very great Consumption of Elephants Tceth, for 'tis the Fashion for Ladies to wear Rings of Ivory from their Arm-pits to their Elbows, and from their Elbows to their Wrists, of both Arms; and when they die, all those Ornaments are burnt along with them.

They had several Feasts when I was there, but one they kept on Sight of a New-moon in *February*, exceeded the rest in ridiculous Actions and Expence; and this is called the Feast of *Wooly*, who was a Knight errant in Time of yore, and was a fierce Fellow in a War with some Giants, who infested *Sindy*, and carried away naughty Girls and Boys, and made Butcher Meat of them. This *Wooly*, in a Battle one Day, killed fifty of them, each of them as tall as a Tree, and, after he had dispatcht them, he led them down to Hell, and there they continue bound up to their good Behaviour, and are never to appear again on Earth, for Fear they should scar the King's Liege-subjects, or frighten Children.

In this mad Feast, People of all Ages and Sexes dance thro' the Streets to Pipe, Drum and Cymbals. The Women, with Baskets of Sweet-meats on their Heads, distributing to every Body they meet. The Men are bedawb'd all over with red Earth, or Vermilion, and are continually squirting gingerly Oyl at one another; and if they get into Houses of Distinction, they make foul Work with their Oyl, whose Smell is not pleasant; but in giving a Present of Rose-water, or some Silver Coin, they are civil enough to keep out of Doors. And in this Madness they continue from 10 in the Morning till Sun-set.

The River of *Sindy* would be hard to be found, were it not for the Tomb of a *Mahometan* Saint, who has an high Tower built over him, called *Sindy* Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a Land-mark. The Bar, going into the River, is narrow, and has not above two Fathoms and an Half, on Spring-tides: But this is only a small Branch of *Indus*, which Appellation is now lost in this Country that it so plentifully waters, and is called *Divellee*, or seven Mouths; but it disembogues itself into the Sea thro' many more.

CHAPTER XII

Gives an Account of the ancient Kingdom of Guzerat, now a Province annext to the Mogul's Dominions, its Situation, Product, Manners and Religion; with some Account of the Pirates that inhabit Part of it, and some Observations on Diu, a Portugueze City on an Island appertaining to Guzerat.

THE next maritim Country to *Sindy*, is *Guzerat*. The *Indus* makes it an Island, by a Branch that runs into the Sea at the City of *Cambaya*. This Province, tho' Vassals to the *Mogul*, yet continue in their old Religion of *Paganism*, and, for the most Part, drive the old Trade of thieving and pirating, for they plunder all whom they can overcome, on both Elements: Nor can the *Mogul* restrain them, for their Country is secure from the Marches of Armies into it, by reason of the many Inlets of the Sea that overflow the low Grounds, and make it so soft and muddy, that there is no travelling but by little Boats, in many Places.

The first Town on the South Side of *Indus*, is *Cutchmaggen*. It admits of some Trade, and produces Cotton, Corn, coarse Cloth and *Chonk*, a Shell-fish in Shape of a Perriwinkle, but as large about as a Man's Arm

above the Elbow. In *Bengal* they are saw'd into Rings for Ornaments to Womens Arms, as those of *Sindy* wear Ivory Rings. They are in Fashion in many Countries in *India*. The Province and Town of *Cutchmaggen* are governed by a Queen, who is very formidable to her neighbouring States. The Reasons they give for choosing that Sex for their Governesses, are, that they'll be better advised by their Council than Men, who, by too large a Share of Power and Honour placed on them, become obstinate in their Opinions, and insolent in their Behaviour: But Ladies are esteemed complaisant and gentle.

The next Province to *Cutchmaggen*, is *Sangania*, which is also governed by a Princess, for the above Reasons. Their Sea-port is called *Bast*, very commodious and secure. They admit of no Trade, but practise Piracy. They give Protection to all Criminals, who deserve Punishment from the Hand of Justice. All Villains in the Countries about flock thither, and become honest Robbers, so that they are a Medley of Criminals, who flee their Country for Fear of condign Punishment due to their Crimes. This Province produces Cotton and Corn, as all the Kingdom of *Guzerat* does; but they admit of no Trade in their Country, as I observed before, for Fear of being civilized by Example. I had several Skirmishes with them. They, being confident of their Numbers, strive to board all Ships they can come at by sailing. Before they engage in a Fight, they drink Bang, which is made of a Seed like Hemp-seed, that has an intoxicating Quality, and, whilst it affects the Head, they are furious. They wear long Hair, and, when they let that hang loose, they'll give no Quarter.

In Anno 1686. a small Ship of theirs, that mounted 8 Guns, and mann'd with 300 of these furious Fellows, was cruizing on the Coast of *India*, between *Surat* and *Bombay*, and the *Phenix*, an *English* Man of War of 42 Guns, was bound for *Surat*. The *Sanganian* made towards her, and engaged her, but would fain have been gone again when they found their Mistake; but that was impossible. The *Phenix* sent her Boats, well mann'd, to try if they could make them yield, in order to save their Lives; but they scorned Quarter, and killed and wounded many of the *English*, so that Captain *Tyrrel*, who commanded the *Phenix*, was forced to run his lower Teer out, and sink them: And, after their Ship was sunk, and the Miscreants set a swimming, yet most of them refused Quarter, and only about 70 were taken alive. (I believe Sir *George Bing* can give a better Account of the Story than I, for, if I mistake not, he was a Lieutenant then on board the *Phenix*, and received a dangerous Wound in the Combat, at least one of his Name, who bore a Commission, did.) In Anno 1717. they attackt a Ship called the *Morning Star* in her Passage between *Gombroon* and

Surat. She was richly laden, which they were apprised of, and two Squadrons were fitted out from two different Ports, to way-lay her, and accordingly she fell in with eight Sail of those Pirates. One was a large Ship of near 500 Tuns, and three others were Ships between 2 and 300 Tuns, and the other four were *Grabs*, or Gallies, and *Sheybars*, or half Gallies. They reckoned in all there were above 2000 Men in their Fleet, and the *Morning Star* but 17 fighting Men, who were resolved to trust Providence, and fight for their Lives, Liberty and Estate. The first Attack was by the greatest Ship alone, but was soon obliged to sheer off again, with the Loss of some Men, and the Captain of the *Morning Star* was wounded in the Thigh, by a Lance darted at him, that pierced his Thigh through and through. The Pirates were not discouraged by this first Repulse, but joyned their Forces and Counsels together, and, after a Day's Respite and Consultation, they attackt the *Morning Star* a second Time, the two largest Ships boarding, one on her Bow, and another on her Quarter, and three more boarded them two, and entred their Men over them. The Combat was warm for above four Hours, and the *Morning Star* had seven killed, and as many wounded; but kind Providence assisted her. Whilst she was on Fire in three Places, and had burnt through her Poop and half Deck, she was disengaged of them, and left five of the largest so entangled with one another, that they could not pursue her. So she pursued her Voyage to *Surat*, but having no Surgeon on board, she called at *Bombay*, to get her wounded Men drest and cured. In the Time of the Combat, while the Pirates were on board of the *Morning Star*, twenty one *Indian* Seamen went on board of them, and twenty six Merchants had gone to them, to try if they could perswade them to take a Sum, and not put it on the Hazard of a Battle. All those they detained, and carried along with them, and made them pay above 6000 Pounds for their Ransom, who gave an Account afterwards of great Slaughter done on the Pirates. And the Commodore lost his Head assoon as he landed, for letting so rich a Prize go out of his Hands.

In Anno 1698. one Captain *Lavender*, in the Ship *Thomas*, bound from *Surat* to *Mocha*, encountred four Sail of those Freebooters, and fought them bravely; but they burnt the Ship and all her Crew, because he would not yield. They are very cruel to those they can master, if they make Resistance; but to those that yield without fighting, they are pretty civil.

The next Sea-port Town to *Baet*, is *Jigat*. It stands on a Point of low Land, called Cape *Jigat*. The City makes a good Figure from the Sea, shewing four or five high Steeples. It is the Seat of a *Fouzdaar* or Governor,

for the *Mogul*. It is a Place of no Trade, and consequently little known to Strangers.

The next maritim Town is *Mangaroul*. It admits of Trade, and affords coarse Calicoes, white and died, Wheat, Pulse and Butter for Export, and has a Market for Pepper, Sugar and Betlenut. It is inhabited by *Banyans*; and wild Deer, Antelopes, and Peacocks are so familiar, that they come into the very Houses without Fear.

The next Place is *Poremain*, a pretty large Town on the Sea-shore, and admits of Trade, producing the same Commodities as *Mangaroul*, and its Inhabitants are of the same Religion; but both Towns are obliged to keep *Rasspouts* to protect them from the Insults of the *Sanganians*.

Those *Rasspouts* are Natives of *Guzerat*, and are all Gentlemen of the Sword, and are well trained in the Art of killing. They, like the *Switz*, employ their Swords in the Service of those who give them best Pay. They seldom give or take Quarter, and when they go on an Expedition, they carry their Wives and Children in Caris and Wagons along with them, and if they meet with a Repulse, their Wives will never suffer Cohabitation till they can regain their lost Honour by some noble Exploit.

Diu is the next Port, and is the southermost Land on *Guz-rat*. It is a small Island of three Miles long, and two broad, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*. The City is pretty large, and fortified by an high Stone Wall, with Bastions at convenient Distances, well furnished with Cannon to flank it, and a deep Mote hewn out of an hard Rock, to defend it on the Land Side, which is about one third Part of the City. The other Parts are fortified by Nature, having the Ocean thick set with dangerous Rocks and high Cliffs, who forbid any Approaches on that Side, and a rapid deep River, that affords a good Harbour, on the North-east Side. The Harbour is secured by two Castles, one large, that can bring above 100 large Cannon to bear on the Mouth of the Harbour, to forbid Shipping Entrance without Leave. The other is but small, and is built irregularly on a Rock in the Middle of the River, and Channels for Shipping to pass by it, within ten Yards of its Wall. It is made use of for a Magazine for Powder and other warlike Stores.

It is one of the best built Cities, and best fortified by Nature and Art, that ever I saw in *India*, and its stately Buildings of free Stone and Marble, are sufficient Witnesses of its ancient Grandeur and Opulency; but at present not above one fourth of the City is inhabited. It contains five or six fine Churches, which are great Ornaments to the City, which stands on a rising Ground of an easy Ascent from the great Castle; and the

Churches, being built wide from one another, and standing gradually higher than one another, make the *Visto* from the Sea admirably pleasant, by shewing all their beautiful Fronts that Way. And within they are well decorated with Images and Paintings.

There is a Tradition, that the *Portugueze* circumvented the King of *Guzerat*, as *Dido* did the *Africans*, when they gave her Leave to build *Carthage*, by desiring no more Ground to build their Cities than could be circumscribed in an Ox's Hide, which having obtained, they cut it into a fine Thong of a great Length, and over-reacht their Donors in the Measure of the Ground.

After the City was built and fortified, it drew all the Trade from the King's Towns of Commerce thither, which made him heartily repent his Generosity; and he made Proposals to the *Portugueze* to reimburse all the Charge and Expence they had been at, if they would restore that Island again, but he could never perswade them to that Bargain, and since fair Means would not do, he designed to try what might be obtained by Force, wherefore he raised a great Army, and besieged it, but was soon forced to draw off again with Loss, for the *Portugueze* large Cannon from their Walls disturbed and distress his Camp so, that he found but little Safety for himself, and much less for his Host.

This City came to such an Height of Trade and Riches in the sixteenth Century, that it drew a very potent Enemy from the *Red Sea*; for, about the Year 1540. the *Turks* designing to have a Footing in *India*, cast their Eyes on *Diu*, as being conveniently situated, and well fortified for their Purpose, so they came in a Fleet of Gallies and Transports 25000 strong, from *Aden*, and landed on the West End of the Island, and laid Siege to the City; but the *Portugueze* sent a Reinforcement from *Goa*, of twenty Sail, some of which were large Ships or Galleons, who carried heavy Metal, with which they battered the *Turkish* Fleet, being small Vessels, that many *Turks* were sunk, and the Bashaw was forced to make off with great Loss and Shame, and leave their battering Artillery to the *Portugueze*, for which Misfortune and Disgrace, he lost his Head when he returned to *Aden*.

But about the Year 1670. the *Muskat Arabs* had better Fortune, for they came with a Fleet of Trankies, and took an Opportunity to land in the Night, on the West End of the Island, without being discovered, and marcht silently close up to the Town, and, at Break of Day, when the Gates were opened, they entred without Resistance. The Alarm was soon spread over the Town, and happy was he who got first to the Castle Gates, but those who had heavy Heels were sacrificed to the Enemies Fury, who

for the *Mogul*. It is a Place of no Trade, and consequently little known to Strangers.

The next maritim Town is *Mangaroul*. It admits of Trade, and affords coarse Calicoes, white and died, Wheat, Pulse and Butter for Export, and has a Market for Pepper, Sugar and Betlenut. It is inhabited by *Banyans*; and wild Deer, Antelopes, and Peacocks are so familiar, that they come into the very Houses without Fear.

The next Place is *Poremain*, a pretty large Town on the Sea-shore, and admits of Trade, producing the same Commodities as *Mangaroul*, and its Inhabitants are of the same Religion; but both Towns are obliged to keep *Rasspouts* to protect them from the Insults of the *Sanganians*.

Those *Rasspouts* are Natives of *Guzerat*, and are all Gentlemen of the Sword, and are well trained in the Art of killing. They, like the *Switz*, employ their Swords in the Service of those who give them best Pay. They seldom give or take Quarter, and when they go on an Expedition, they carry their Wives and Children in Carts and Wagons along with them, and if they meet with a Repulse, their Wives will never suffer Cohabitation till they can regain their lost Honour by some noble Exploit.

Diu is the next Port, and is the southermost Land on *Guzerat*. It is a small Island of three Miles long, and two broad, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*. The City is pretty large, and fortified by an high Stone Wall, with Bastions at convenient Distances, well furnished with Cannon to flank it, and a deep Mote hewn out of an hard Rock, to defend it on the Land Side, which is about one third Part of the City. The other Parts are fortified by Nature, having the Ocean thick set with dangerous Rocks and high Cliffs, who forbid any Approaches on that Side, and a rapid deep River, that affords a good Harbour, on the North-east Side. The Harbour is secured by two Castles, one large, that can bring above 100 large Cannon to bear on the Mouth of the Harbour, to forbid Shipping Entrance without Leave. The other is but small, and is built irregularly on a Rock in the Middle of the River, and Channels for Shipping to pass by it, within ten Yards of its Wall. It is made use of for a Magazine for Powder and other warlike Stores.

It is one of the best built Cities, and best fortified by Nature and Art, that ever I saw in *India*, and its stately Buildings of free Stone and Marble, are sufficient Witnesses of its ancient Grandeur and Opulency; but at present not above one fourth of the City is inhabited. It contains five or six fine Churches, which are great Ornaments to the City, which stands on a rising Ground of an easy Ascent from the great Castle; and the

Churches, being built wide from one another, and standing gradually higher than one another, make the *Visto* from the Sea admirably pleasant, by shewing all their beautiful Fronts that Way. And within they are well decorated with Images and Paintings.

There is a Tradition, that the *Portugueze* circumvented the King of *Guzerat*, as *Dido* did the *Africans*, when they gave her Leave to build *Carthage*, by desiring no more Ground to build their Cities than could be circumscribed in an Ox's Hide, which having obtained, they cut it into a fine Thong of a great Length, and over-reacht their Donors in the Measure of the Ground.

After the City was built and fortified, it drew all the Trade from the King's Towns of Commerce thither, which made him heartily repent his Generosity; and he made Proposals to the *Portugueze* to reimburse all the Charge and Expence they had been at, if they would restore that Island again, but he could never perswade them to that Bargain, and since fair Means would not do, he designed to try what might be obtained by Force, wherefore he raised a great Army, and besieged it, but was soon forced to draw off again with Loss, for the *Portugueze* large Cannon from their Walls disturbed and distrest his Camp so, that he found but little Safety for himself, and much less for his Host.

This City came to such an Height of Trade and Riches in the sixteenth Century, that it drew a very potent Enemy from the *Red Sea*; for, about the Year 1540. the *Turks* designing to have a Footing in *India*, cast their Eyes on *Diu*, as being conveniently situated, and well fortified for their Purpose, so they came in a Fleet of Gallies and Transports 25000 strong, from *Aden*, and landed on the West End of the Island, and laid Siege to the City; but the *Portugueze* sent a Reinforcement from *Goa*, of twenty Sail, some of which were large Ships or Galleons, who carried heavy Metal, with which they battered the *Turkish* Fleet, being small Vessels, that many *Turks* were sunk, and the Bashaw was forced to make off with great Loss and Shame, and leave their battering Artillery to the *Portugueze*, for which Misfortune and Disgrace, he lost his Head when he returned to *Aden*.

But about the Year 1670. the *Muskat Arabs* had better Fortune, for they came with a Fleet of Trankies, and took an Opportunity to land in the Night, on the West End of the Island, without being discovered, and marcht silently close up to the Town, and, at Break of Day, when the Gates were opened, they entred without Resistance. The Alarm was soon spread over the Town, and happy was he who got first to the Castle Gates, but those who had heavy Heels were sacrificed to the Enemies Fury, who

spared none, so in a Moment that fair rich City and Churches were left to the Mercy of the *Arabs*, who, for three Days, loaded their Vessels with rich Plunder, and mounted some Cannon in a great beautiful Church, and fired at the Fort, but to little Purpose. The Governor, who was in the Castle, could soon have obliged them to remove farther off the Castle, by the Force of his heavy Cannon, yet the Priesthood forbid him firing at the Church, on Pain of Excommunication, lest some unlucky Shot should sacrilegiously have defaced some holy Image.

But the *Arabs*, like a Parcel of unsanctified Rogues, made sad Havock on the Churches Trumpery, for, besides robbing them of all the sanctified Plate and Cash, they did not leave one Gold or Silver Image behind them, but carried all into dismal Captivity, from whence they never returned that I could hear of. And as for the poor Images of Wood and Stone, they were so rudely treated by those barbarous *Infidels*, that they came well off if they lost but a Limb, and I saw some who lost their Heads: But by the indefatigable Industry of the Clergy, their Churches are again as well, or better furnished with well carved Images of Wood and Stone than they were before; but I saw none of Gold or Silver to supply the Places of the poor Captives.

However, before the *Arabs* had done plundering, they became secure and negligent, which the Governor having Notice of, proclaimed Freedom to all Slaves who would venture to sally out on the Enemy. Accordingly about 4000 Soldiers and Slaves made a Sally with Success, killing above 1000 *Arabs*, and made the rest flee from the Town, the Assailants losing but very few; and by that one Sally the Town was regained. Those Slaves are generally *Mosambique* and *Mombass Negroes*, whose Strength and Bravery I have mentioned before. The City still feels the dismal Effects of the Loss it then received. At present there are not above 200 *Portuguese* both in the Castle and City. The rest of its Inhabitants are *Banyans* of all Sorts. There may be about 40000. but few of them of Fortune or Figure, because the Insolence of the *Portuguese* makes it unsafe for money'd Strangers to dwell among them. The King of *Portugal* has about 12000 Pounds *per Annum*, of Poll Money paid into his Treasury, and the Customs and Land-tax may come to about 6000 Pounds more: But if that Island were in the Hands of some industrious *European* Nation, it would be the best Mart Town on the Coast of *India*, for the River *Indus* being near Neighbours, both by *Sindy* and *Cambay*, those Commodities might be imported and exported to Advantage. And that Commerce has raised *Surat*.

All the Country between *Diu* and *Dand* Point, which is about 30 Leagues

along Shore, admits of no Traffick, being inhabited by Freebooters, called *Warrels*, and often associate with the *Sanganians*, in exercising Piracies and Depredations. They confide much in their Numbers, as the others do, and strive to board their Prizes, and, as soon as they get on board, they throw in Showers of Stones on the Prizes Decks, in order to sink them that Way, if they don't yield, and they have earthen Pots as big as a six Pound Granadoc Shell, full of unquenched Lime, well sifted, which they throw in also, and the Pots breaking, there arises so great a Dust, that the Defendants can neither breathe nor see well. They also use Wicks of Cotton, dipt in a combustible Oyl, and firing the Wick, and throwing it into their Opposer's Ship, it burns violently, and sets Fire to the Parts that it is thrown on. They have no Cities, and their Villages are small. The best of them stands about 60 Miles to the Eastward of *Diu*, and is called *Chance*. It is built about a League within the Mouth of a River, which has a small Island lying athwart it, about two Miles into the Sea. The Island has good Springs of fresh Water, but no Inhabitants. In Anno 1716. the *English* went to burn that Village, and their pirating Vessels, but were unsuccessful in their Undertaking. The *Warrels* occupy all the Sea-coast as high as *Goga*, which lies about 12 Leagues within the Gulf of *Cambay*. And the Coast, from *Dand* Point to *Goga*, is very dangerous, being thick set with Rocks and Sand Banks; and a rapid Tide runs amongst them of 6 or 8 Miles in an Hour, in a Chanel that is 20 Fathoms deep in some Places, which causes Anchoring to be dangerous also.

Goga is a pretty large Town, and has had some Mud Wall Fortifications, which still defend them from the Insults of their Neighbours the *Coulies*, who inhabit the North-east Side of *Guzerat*, and are as great Thieves by Land as their Brethren the *Warrels* and *Sanganians* are by Sea: Nor is there any Land Army that can come into their Country to chastise them, for there are so many Rivulets made by *Indus* and the Sea, that are so soft and muddy at the Bottom, that there is neither Passage for Men nor Horse to penetrate their Country. And their Towns are invironed with such thick Hedges of green *Bamboos*, which are not to be burned in a short Time, and the People so numerous and valiant, that it would be an hard Task to civilize them.

Goga has some Trade, admitting Strangers to a free Commerce in such Merchandize as are fit to be imported or exported to or from *Guzerat*. It has the Conveniency of an Harbour for the largest Ships, tho' they ly dry on soft Mud, at low Water; but the Tides rising four or five Fathoms perpendicular, afford Water enough at high Water. The Town is

have surprised, and plundered the City itself, for which Neglect the Governors Heads answered.

In Anno 1716. they were very bold and presumptuous, so that there was a Stop put to all the Commerce of *Amadabant* and *Cambay*. The Governor of *Surat* got an Army of 20000 to chastise and restrain them; but they laid so many Ambuscades, that, in two Months, the Army was reduced to less than Half of the Number, and the rest were obliged to get Home, with sorrowful Hearts, to *Surat*.

The next Town of Note for Commerce, is *Baroach*, a walled Town, standing on a rising Ground, on the Banks of the River *Nerdaba*. Formerly it was a Place of great Trade, but in *Aurengzeb's* Wars with his Brothers, about the Year 1660. this Town held out a great While against his Army. That Season proving a dry one, *Aurengzeb's* Folks suffered much for Want of fresh Water and Provisions, but at last he took it, and put all to the Sword that had born Arms against him, and raz'd Part of the Walls, and pronounced a Curse on them that should repair them again. But the *Sevajees* Incursions made him order the Rebuilding them himself, and he christned it *Suckabant*, or the *dry City*; but that new Name could not efface the old one, which it yet retains. It is now inhabited by Weavers, and such Mechanicks as manufacture Cotton Cloth. And the *Baroach* Bastas are famous throughout all *India*, the Country producing the best Cotton in the World. This Town is also subordinate to *Surat*; and formerly the *English* and *Dutch* had Factories settled there, but of late have withdrawn them.

Surat is the next Sea-port. It was built about the Year 1660. on the Banks of the River *Tapta* or *Tappee*, which being discommoded with Banks of Sand at *Rannier*, the then Mart Town on this River, the *English* removed about two Miles farther down the River, on the opposite Side, near a Castle which had been built many Years before, to secure the Trade from the Insults of the *Malabar* Pirates, who used to lord it over all the Sea-coast between *Cape Comerin* and *Cambay*. In a little Time after the *English* had settled there, others followed their Example, so that in a few Years it became a large Town, but without Walls, and so it continued till about the aforesaid Year, that *Rajah Sevajee*, who had never submitted to the *Mogul's* Domination, came with an Army, and plundered it, except the *European* Factories, who stood on their Guard. Then he complimented with the Profer of his Friendship, because perhaps he apprehended, that he could not plunder them without Blood-shed and Loss of Time. However he carried away a very great Booty, which made the Inhabitants petition *Aurengzeb* to secure them for the future, by a Wall round their Town, which Favour he granted, enclosing about 4 Miles to build their City in;

but Trade increasing, the Town was too small within the Walls to contain the People that came about Commerce, wherefore several large Suburbs were added to the City for the Conveniency of Mechanicks. The Wall was built of Brick, about eight Yards high, with round Bastions, 200 Paces distant from one another, and each had 5 or 6 Cannon mounted on them. And the rich Men of the Town built many Summer-houses in the Fields, and planted Gardens about them to solace themselves and Families in the Heats, which are pretty violent in *April, May* and *June*.

The City flourished in Trade till *Anno* 1686. that the *English* Company disturbed its Tranquillity by an unjust War they made on *Surat*, but pretended it was not with the *Mogul*, who had given them many Indulgences, which War I'll remark when I treat of *Bombay*, but that War was ended in *Anno* 1689. neither to the Profit nor Honour of that *East-india* Company. In *Anno* 1695. Captain *Evory* a Pirate disturbed the Trade and Tranquillity of the Town with four small Ships, taking one of the *Mogul's* Ships, with a great Booty in Silver and Gold, and a *Mahometan* Lady, as I observed before on the Commerce of the *Red Sea* and the Island of *Madagascar*. And since that Time this City has felt many Convulsions in its Trade.

In *Anno* 1705. when *Aurengzeb* began to be crazy with old Age, the circumjacent *Rajahs*, with an united Force of fourscore thousand Horse, came and besieged *Surat*, and plundered all the Villages in the plain Country; but having no Artillery, they could do but little Harm to the City itself, besides straitning it a little for Provisions, but the City having their River and Sea open, that Difficulty was removed by plentiful Supplies brought them from *Guzerat*.

These Freebooters go under the general Appellation of *Gennims*, but they are composed of the aforementioned *Warrels*, *Coulies*, *Rasspouts*, *Patanners* and *Gracias*. These *Gracias* were formerly the landed Men of this Country, and, upon their Submission to *Ecbar*, the then Emperor of *Mogul*, articted to have the Ground Rents paid to them and their Posterity; but the *Nabobs* often defraud them, and they, to put the Governors of Towns and Villages in mind of the Contract, come in great Numbers, and plunder, or lay them under Contribution.

But whilst this rabble Army lay before the Town, the Citizens built Sconces in convenient Places, about half a Mile without the Wall, to protect the Suburbs, and all those Sconces had Cannon mounted on them, which kept the *Gennims* at a Distance; and, after the Sconces were finished, they built a good high Wall between each Sconce, that encompassed the whole Suburbs, which Wall is about five Miles in Length from

the Bank of the River above the Town, to that Part that terminates below the Town; and all the Inclosure is well inhabited. The Inhabitants are computed at 200000 Souls, and amongst them are many very rich, both *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*. *Abdul Gafour*, a *Mahometan* that I was acquainted with, drove a Trade equal to the *English East-india* Company, for I have known him fit out in a Year, above twenty Sail of Ships, between 300 and 800 Tuns, and none of them had less of his own Stock than 10000 Pounds, and some of them had 25000; and, after that foreign Stock was sent away, he behoved to have as much more of an inland Stock for the following Year's Market. When he died, he left his Estate to two Grandsons, his own Son, who was his only Child, dying before him. But the Court had a Fling at them, and got above a Million *Sterl.* of their Estate.

The Trade of *Surat* was, and still is very considerable, for, from *Anno* 1690. to 1705. the Revenues arising from the Custom-house, Land Rents and Poll Money, *communibus annis*, came to 1300000 Rupees, which is *Sterl.* 162500 *L.* And the Revenue of *Amadabant* is generally reckoned ten Times as much as *Surat*. The Customs in the King's Books, are but 2 *per Cent.* for *Mahometans*, and 5 *per Cent.* for *Gentiles*. The Land pays three Quarters of its Product in Corn, and the Poll about a Crown an Head; but the Rich generally assist the Poor, some paying for 10. some for 100. and some for 1000. This Account I had from an Officer, called the *Vaccanaviece*, who is obliged yearly to take in the Accounts of the Collections, and send them to Court. Besides the current News that monthly occur in his District, he sends to the Vizier by Post.

The Post in the *Mogul's* Dominions goes very swift, for at every Caravan-seray, which are built on the High-roads, about ten Miles distant from one another, Men, very swift of Foot, are kept ready. The Letters are inclosed in a gilded Box, which he that carries holds over his Head when he comes near the Seray, and giving Notice of his Arrival, another takes it, and runs to the next, and so on, Night and Day, at 5 or 6 Miles in an Hour, till it is carried where directed to, so that in eight Days, Advices are brought from the farthest Parts of that large Empire, to Court. And those Curriers are called *Dog Chouckies*.

In the City of *Surat* there are as many different Religions as in *Amsterdam*. That by Law established, is *Mahometan*, of *Hali's* Sect, and they are called *Moors*. Then there are *Persians* and *Turks*, and some called *Musey*, who observe *Moses's* Law as well as the *Alcoran*, and another Sect called *Molacks*, who observe some ancient *heathnish* Customs and Feasts; but all the others reckon them *Hereticks*. They have a yearly Feast, but the Time of its Celebration is only known to themselves, wherein, after much Mirth

and Jollity, each Sex withdraw to a Room. The Women take each an Handkerchief, (or some such Sign that may be again known) and go in the Dark promiscuously among the Men, and, without speaking, ly down together on Mats or Carpets spread for that Purpose, and enjoy one another's Company some Hours, then withdraw to their own Room, leaving their Signals with their Bedfellows, who know whom they have been caressed by; but very often they find incestuous Embraces, which at that Feast are only lawful. *Aurengzeb* made it Death to be found at those Meetings, yet that execrable Rite is still continued and practised. And *Abdul Gafour*, the rich Merchant aforementioned, was a Disciple of that Sect.

The *Banyans* are most numerous in this City, and are either Merchants, Bankers, Brokers or Pen-men, as Accountants, Collectors and Surveyors, but few or none Handycrafts, except Taylors and Barbers. They have 85 different Sects among them, that do not eat with one another. The greatest Part of the eastern Religion is in Forms of Worship, and abstaining from certain Meats; and their Priests differ as much in those Points, and some others of Doctrine, as *Papists* and *Protestants* do, for the *Brahamans* or *Bramanies* are the Priests of the major Part of those Sects, who gull the People when any are dangerously sick, by perswading them to leave Legacies to their Church, as some pious *Christians* do among us, and when they obtain a Legacy, they gratefully acknowledge the Receipt of it, by putting a Scroll of Paper into the dead Person's Hand, containing an Account of the Legacy, with a Bill at the Bottom, to receive ten Times the Value in the other World, from some eminent Saint that deals in such Bills of Exchange in Paradise. They have Patriarchs and Bishops to superintend the inferior Clergy, who, by Virtue of a divine Right, live splendidly and luxuriously on the Oblations of the People.

The other Sects are taught by the *Talapains*, who declaim against that *papistical* Polity, and preach up Morality to be the best Guide to human Life, and affirm, that a good Life in this World, can only recommend us in the next, to have our Souls transmigrated into the Body of some innocent Beast, or to rest in Paradise.

Their Priests indeed shew much Self-denial, for they live on Alms, and their *Pontificalia* is a white Sheet that covers their Bodies, from the Shoulders downwards, a black Staff about 5 Foot long in their Hand, and a small earthen Pot, with some powdered Saffron and Oyl, to mark those on the Forehead that have received their Benediction that Day. When they go abroad, the old carries a Novice in his Company, to teach him Divinity and Morality by Example. They seldom speak in the Streets, but look gravely and demurly, and they extend their Charity even to

Beasts and Birds. They suffer their Hair to grow as low as their Shoulders, and have no other Covering on their Heads, and keep their Beards shaved.

Another Sort of them are Doctors of Physick, who pretend to do great Cures by Amulets, Philtres and Prayers. They have some Skill in Simples and Minerals, which make them in great Esteem; but when their Skill in Physick produces not the promised Effects, then they perswade the Patient, that they ly under the Displeasure of some angry Deity, who must be appeased by Oblations and Penances, which they turn to good Account, by ordering the Offerings and Penance to be light; and when that Trick fails, they leave their Patients to work out their own Salvation the best Way they can.

There is another Sort called *Jougies*, who practise great Austerities and Mortifications. They contemn worldly Riches, and go naked, except a Bit of Cloth about their Loyns, and some deny themselves even that, delighting in Nastiness and an holy Obscenity, with a great Shew of Sanctity. They never cut nor comb their Hair, and besmear their Bodies and Faces with Ashes, which makes them look more like Devils than Men. I have seen a sanctified Rascal of 7 Foot high, and his Limbs well proportioned, with a large Turband of his own Hair wreathed about his Head, and his Body bedawb'd with Ashes and Water, sitting quite naked under the Shade of a Tree, with a *Pudenda* like an Ass, and an Hole bored through his Prepuce, with a large Gold Ring fixed in the Hole. This Fellow was much revered by Numbers of young married Women, who, prostrating themselves before the living *Priapus*, and taking him devoutly in their Hands, kist him, whilst his bawdy Owner strokt their silly Heads, muttering some filthy Prayers for their Prolification.

The Austerities of the *Jougies* are beyond Belief to those who have not been Eye-witnesses of them. Some stand on one Foot some Years, with their Arms tied to some Beam of an House, or Branch of a Tree over their Heads, and continue in that Posture, except when Nature calls for Exoneration, for others feed them whilst they stand. Their Arms in Time settle in that Posture, that ever after they become useless, and are not to be brought again into their natural Position. Some sit in the Sun-shine, with their Faces looking upwards, till they are incapable of altering the Posture of their Necks, their Gullet swelling almost as thick as their Heads; and they also take no Sustenance with their own Hands. Others clinch their Fists, and ty them in that Posture, till their Finger Nails come through the Back of their Hands. And their Fastings are as incredible. I saw a Woman of about 30 Years of Age, who made a Vow of fasting three Months, to avert some impending Calamity threatned by Heaven,

that she pretended to foresee. The Governor of *Surat* being a zealous *Mahometan*, (who generally discourage *Gentilism*, and strive to detect their *Leger de main* Miracles) ordered the said Woman to be put into a Prison without Windows, without any other Sustenance than fair Water, and to be well guarded by *Mahometans*, to avoid Imposture. About 80 Days after she was imprisoned, I and several other *Europeans* paid her a Visit, and got the Door opened to observe her Aspect. We found her in Health, but very weak, and her Pulse beat very low. Her Keepers declared, that she had taken no Sustenance, but a very small Quantity of Water, all the While they had the Overseeing of her, nor did she ever desire any Food. She told us, that three or four Years before, she had fasted sixty Days on the same Account.

Yet in *Anno* 1721. the Governor detected a great Piece of Imposture of the *Jougies*, who paid pretty dear for their Impudence. One of those silly Zealots, who pretended to more Sanctity than his Neighbours, gave out, that he would be buried (in a Grave 10 Foot deep) alive, and that he would appear at *Amadabant*, which is distant from *Surat* about 200 Miles, within the Space of 15 Days. The Grave was dug, and he went in, and had some Reeds placed about a Foot or two over his Head, to keep the Mould off that was to be thrown over him. There was a large Jar of Water standing under the Shade of a great Tree, about ten or twelve Yards from the Grave, where a good Number of *Jougies* had for some Time taken up their Quarters, they were Accomplices in the Imposture, and, by their pretended Sanctity and great Interest with Heaven, had gull'd many poor People into a Belief of their Story, and many brought Presents to them. But the Governor of *Surat* ordered a Party of Soldiers to see the *Jougie* interred, and to see that no Imposture should be used about his pretended Resurrection, and to search well, that there should be no subterraneous Communication between the Grave and any Place that might be suspected above Ground, and accordingly searching narrowly, they suspected some Place about the Root of the Tree might afford a Passage, ordered the *Jougies* to remove a little out of their Way, which they did willingly, and, finding no Visto that might be suspected, they ordered the *Jougies* to remove their great Water Jar, which was near full of Water; but the *Jougies* clamoured loud against that Breach of their Privilege, in touching their Water: But their Noise made the *Mahometans* Suspicion grow stronger, and the Jar was either removed or broken; and behold, where the Jar stood, they discovered a Mine that reacht within 2 Foot of the Grave, which Cheat being thus detected, the angry Soldiers fell to Work with their broad Swords, to try if their Sanctity was Proof against sharp Steel,

but found, by an Experiment of laying a Dozen or more dead on the Ground, and twice as many maim'd with Wounds, that they were as easily killed or wounded as other honest Folks. The poor Miracle-monger lost his Head in the Fray. That spoiled his Journey to *Amadabant*, and, which was worse, brought great Scandal on the whole Order.

I was one Day walking by the Side of a great *Tank* or Pond near *Surat*, in Company with an *English* Lady, and seeing a young *Jougy* sitting by the Tomb of a celebrated *Cuttee*, who are a Sect that bury their dead, the Youth seemed to be very devout in Prayer; but, by the Lady's Order, I interrupted him, and, asking him why he prayed there, and to whom did he direct his Prayer, he answered that he prayed to God to make him as good a Man as he was who lay interred there. I askt him where God was, at which he seemed to smile, and askt me, where is he not? and so continued a little Space in Prayer, and, when he had done, he took some Flowers and Grain, with a little Water, and besprinkled the Tomb, and, making some decent Cringings towards the Tomb, took a formal Leave to go his Way.

CHAPTER XIV

Is a Continuation of my Observations of the Religions and Customs used in Surat and the adjacent Country.

THE great God, whom all adore, they call *Quedaa*; but they have many inferior Deities, and of them *Mahadow*, or, as they express it, *Maadow*, is the second in Place and Dignity. *Ramm* is the third, and *Brahma* the fourth. And *Parvette* is a Goddess much venerated, and is supposed to be the Wife of *Maadow*. The inferior Deities or Saints are very numerous; but the Images of *Gunies*, *Jagarenat*, *Rustum*, *Gopalsami* are most worshipped in their Temples, as reckoned to have most Interest with the superior Deities.

The Marriages of the *Gentiles* in *India*, are celebrated with much Pomp. They begin in the Forenoon to send a long Train of People with covered Dishes or Baskets on their Heads, with Presents from the Bridegroom to the Bride, and, before the Present march Hautboys, Drums, and Trumpets. After the Presents march some female Slaves for the Bride and Bridegroom's Use. After the Slaves comes an empty *Pallankeen* to transport the Bride from her House to her Husband's. At Night the Bride and Bridegroom are carried in State thro' the Town, with Torch-light and Musick before them, and Fireworks played off as they pass in the Streets, and the

Parents of the married Couple send Presents to their Friends. They have no Choice in their Marriages, for that is left to the Parents or nearest Relations; and they are married before they can be capable either to choose or refuse, being often married at six or seven Years of Age; but they do not cohabit before the Bride be about 12. and the Bridegroom 16. As to their Burials, some burn and some inter; but Children under 4 Years of Age are all buried. And the Wives are not permitted to burn with their Husbands; but, when once she is a Widow, she never can marry again, but lives to bewail her Widowhood, and perhaps her Virginity, all her Days.

They marry but one Wife, except in Cases of Barrenness or Adultery, tho' there are no Laws against Polygamy. They abhor Buggery and Sodomy, and the *Mahometans* for that Account, because they use them. They eat twice a Day, but the Husband and Wife eat separate; and they wash before and after Meat. And the *Europeans* there follow that cleanly Custom.

The *Parsees* are numerous about *Surat* and the adjacent Countries. They are a Remnant of the ancient *Persians*, who rather choose to be banisht their Country than change their Religion; for in the seventh Century of the *Christian Æra*, when *Mahometism* over-ran *Persia*, the Spirit of Persecution came there, and some 4 or 500 Families were put on board of Shipping, and sent to Sea, without Compass or Pilot; and they, steering their Course Eastward (in the Southwest Monsoons) from *Fasques*, in about 20 Days, fell in with the Coast of *India* in the Night, and the first Thing they saw was a Fire ashore, which the Exiles steered towards, and accidentally steered into the River of *Nunsaree*, about seven Leagues to the Southward of *Surat*, and were welcomed to Land by the Crowing of a Cock. *Zoroaster* was their Founder, and taught them to adore the Sun and Fire, that produced and maintained all sublunary Beings. Their seeing the Fire on their Approaching the Land, confirmed their Belief, in the Opinion that Adoration was due to it, for which Reason they never extinguish Fire by its opposite Element Water; and even if their Houses are a burning, they'll use no Water to quench the Flames, but throw Earth or Dust to put it out. And because the Cock saluted them first, after they had past through a dangerous Sea, and were secure in a River, they will neither kill, nor eat the Flesh of a Cock.

When they came ashore, the charitable *Indians* flockt about them, and there being some among them that could speak some *Indian* Languages, related what hard Usage they had met with in their own Country, and that Providence having directed them to the *Indian* Country, they begged

Leave to settle among them, and by their Behaviour they would shew their Gratitude for relieving distrest Strangers, who were then become their Supplicants. The generous *Indians* granted their Request, and allowed them Land to manure, and Seed to sow the Ground, upon the same Conditions and Tenure they enjoyed their own Farms: And there they settled first, and remain in and about that Country to this Day. They never marry into foreign Families, which makes them retain their native fair Complexion, little inferior to us *Europeans*, only their often Washing and Anointing, which is a Part of the Exercises of Religion, takes away the beautiful fresh Ruddiness that adorns ours. Their Rites of Marriage are performed like the other *Gentiles*, in Ostentation and Expence; but their Burials are quite different, for they enclose a small Piece of Ground, with a Wall about 4 Yards high, and place several Benches for the Corps to sit on, that the four Elements may each have a Share of the Matter their Bodies are composed of. The Sun or Fire exhales the putrid *Effluvias*. The Water or Rain carries the putrified Flesh and the Bones to the Earth, that gives Burial to them, and the voracious Fowls carry what they can pick into the Air in their Maws. They watch the Corps all Day, till one of the Eyes is pickt out. If the Bird begins with the right Eye, they rejoyce and feast, but if with the left Eye, they mourn and lament for the ill Fortune of the Defunct's Soul, for they attribute future Happiness to the right Eye, and Misery to the left. They build these Charnel Places far from any Town or Village, lest the Stink should annoy them.

They are very industrious and diligent in their Vocation, and are bred to Trades and manuring Ground. They are good Carpenters or Ship-builders, exquisite in the Weaver's Trade and Embroidery, which may be seen in the rich Atlases, *Bottadaars* and *Jemewaars* made by them, as well as fine *Baroach* and *Nunsaree Bastas* that come from their Manufactories. They work well in Ivory and Agate, and are excellent Cabinet-makers. They distil strong Waters, but that they do clandestinely, because that Trade is prohibited by the Government they live under; yet some of them get a good Livelyhood by it.

The Fields about *Surat* are all plain, and the Ground very fertil towards the Country, but, towards the Sea, it is sandy and steril. They have excellent Beef, Mutton and Fowl daily exposed to Sale in the City, reasonably cheap. Beef is about three Farthings a Pound, when the Bones are kept with the Flesh, and about a Penny with the Bones out. Mutton is about three half Pence, and good large Fowls at seven Pence half Penny apiece. They have some good Fish, not dear, and Pigeons at a Penny apiece, and live Hares at four Pence apiece.

They have Plenty of Wheat, as good as any in *Europe*, and some Pease, and *French* Beans; but neither Oats nor Barley. They have several Species of Legumen; but those of *Doll* are most in use, for some Doll and Rice being mingled together and boyled, make Kitcheree, the common Food of the Country. They eat it with Butter and *Atchar* or Salt-fish. 'Tis a pleasant nourishing Food, and that which the famous *Aurengzeb* most delighted to eat. They have also Store of wild Fowl; but who have a Mind to eat of them, must shoot them. Flamingoes are large, and good Meat. The Paddy-bird is also good in their Season, and the Corn-bird is excellent in theirs. They have good Partridge, but bad Pheasants. Their wild Geese, Duck and Teal are plenty and good; and several Sorts of Turtle-doves, both beautiful and well tasted. They have few Deer, but great Plenty of Antelopes in their Forests. There are no fine Buildings in the City, but many large Houses, and some Caravanserays and Muscheits, and some fine *Tanks*, or large Cisterns to keep Rain Water, near the Town, particularly one a little without *Brampore* Gate. The *French* have a little Church near the old *English* Factory, which maintains a few Capuchins, who practise Surgery *gratis* to the poor Natives, of what Perswasion soever. They make some Converts; but they are generally of the loosest Morals of any Set in the Town. There are above an hundred different Sects in this City; but they never have any hot Disputes about their Doctrine or Way of Worship. Every one is free to serve and worship God their own Way. And Persecutions for Religion's sake are not known among them. The *Mahometans* have the Law in their Hands, and distribute Justice best to those that pay best for it. The Judge's Fees are 25 *per Cent.* on all Sums that he pronounces due to the Party whose Plea is best supported with Bribes or Interest, for the Justice of a Cause seldom prevails. Many Examples I have seen between honest Men of low Fortunes and Villains clothed with publick Characters and good Fortunes; yet in some Cases I have seen Justice take Place. The *English* and *Dutch* Directors or Agents there make good Figures, because the Officers of State and Justice get yearly Presents or Pensions from them. The Governor of the Castle is not subordinate to him of the Town, and he dares not come out of his Nest but once in a Year, that he is permitted to go to Church, and then he must return before Sun-set. None are suffered to pass the River whilst the Sun is down below the Horizon, nor dares any one that comes in Boats put their Foot ashore without a special Permission; and all Boats or Vessels must land at the Custom-house, and the Boat and Men are narrowly searcht. The Customs on *Mahometans* Goods are two in the hundred, on *Christians* three and three Quarters; but the *Christians* are

exempt from paying Poll-money, but the *Mahometans* are not, nor *Gentows*, who pay 5 *per Cent.* Customs on their Goods. The *Banyans* are Brokers even to *Mahometans*, who cannot well make Bargains without their Brokers.

The *Mahometan* Women go always vail'd when they appear abroad. Their Garments differ but little from the Man's. Their Coats, which also serve both Sexes for Shirts, are close bodied. The Mens are gathered in Plats below the Navel, to make them seem long waisted, and the Womens are gathered a pretty Way above, to make their Waist seem short. They both wear Breeches to the Ankle. The Men wear only Silver Rings on their Fingers, and generally but one for a Signet. The Women wear Gold Rings on their Fingers, and sometimes one on their Thumbs, with a small Looking-glass set in it, and often they wear Gold Rings in their Noses and Ears. The *Gentiles* again permit their Women to appear bare-faced, and their Legs bare to the Kneec. They wear Gold or Silver Rings, according to their Ability, one in their Nose, and several small ones in Holes bored round the Rim of the Ear, with one large and heavy in each Lappet. They wear also Rings on their Toes, and Shekels on their Legs, of the aforesaid Metals, made hollow, and some Glass Beads loose in them, that when they move the Leg they make a Noise like a rattle Snake. The Men wear Gold Rings in their Ears, and often three or four in a Cluster, hanging at the Lappet. Some have a Pearl set in them. The *Mahometan* Men are known by their Garb, tho' the *Gentows* and theirs are of one Make, save only as they are all overlapt on the Breast. The *Mahometans* are tied on the left Side, which, among them, is the Side of Honour, and the *Gentiles* tie theirs on the right Side. The *Mahometan* Turbans are likewise of another Dress or Make than the *Heathens*; and the different Sects of the *Heathens* are known by the Figure of their Turbans.

When the *English* first settled a Commerce in this Country, which was about the Beginning of the sixteenth Century, they were held in great Esteem; but the *Portugueze* pretending a Right to that Trade solely, disturbed the *English* in theirs, murdering their People, and making Prize of all Ships and Vessels they could overcome. One Season the *English* had eight good large Ships riding at *Swally*, which is about ten Miles from *Ranier*, where the President and his Council then resided; and *Swally* was the Place where all Goods were unladed from the Shipping, and all Goods for Exportation were there shipp'd off. The *Portugueze* thinking it a fit Time to give a deadly Blow to the *English* Commerce, came with a Fleet of 6 large Ships, 10 small, and 10 or 12 half Gallies, and anchored to the Northward of the *English*, in a narrow Chanel, not Musket-shot wide, and a Tide generally of 6 or 7 Miles an Hour. The *Portugueze* landed

near 3000 Men, and seized some Carts laden with the Company's Goods. The *English* could not bear the Insults they daily received, held a Council, wherein it was resolved to land 800 Men out of the Ships, and attack the *Portugueze*, while they were lulled in Security of their own Strength and Numbers, and if they were overpowered, that those left on board the *English* should try if they could cut a *Portugueze* Ship's Cables that lay near them, and her driving on board of another, might, with the Force of the Tide, put them all a-ground on the Shore, or a Sand Bank that they lay very near to. Accordingly, by Break of Day, the *English* were all landed, and every Ship's Crew led by their own Commander. As they had conjectured, so it fell out, the *English* were among the *Portugueze* before they could get in a Posture of Defence, and put them in Confusion. Those on board had done as they were ordered, one being cut loose, soon made all the rest run a-ground, and most of them lost, especially the great Ships. The little *English* Army pursued the *Portugueze*, and killed many in their Flight; but at a Point of Land, about three Miles from the Ships, the *Portugueze* made a Stand, and rallied; but the little victorious Army soon made them take a second Time to their Heels, and so the *English* got an intire Victory, with small Loss, for there were not twenty killed on the *English* Side, but above 1500 of the *Portugueze*. In Anno 1690. I was on the Field of Battle, and saw many human Skulls and Bones lying above Ground. And the Story of the Battle I had from an old *Parsee*, who was born at a Village called *Tamkin*, within two Miles of the Field, and could perfectly remember the Action.

CHAPTER XV

Gives an Account of the famous Aurengzeb's Birth, his Politicks and Actions in obtaining the Empire, and of his long and prosperous Reign.

AND now, before I leave *Surat*, I will venture to relate *Aurengzeb's* Origin, and some of his Actions.

Cha Jehan was one of the most polite Kings that ever ruled over that great Empire of *Mogulstan*. He was a great Patron to all skilful Persons in Arts and Sciences, and gave great Encouragement to Foreigners to come to his Court, treating them kindly and familiarly, and allowed them handsom Pensions to live on, and often sent for the most polite of them, and discoursed them about the Customs, Laws, Commerce and Strength of the *European* Nations, and what he found valuable amongst

them, he would fain have brought into his own Dominions. He was sorry to see the most beautiful Part of the Creation caged up in *Seraglios*, bred up in Ignorance, and kept from useful and pleasant Conversation, by the heavy Fetters of blind and unreasonable Custom. He turned his Thoughts to break those sordid Chains, and introduce the Ladies to a free Air, and reckoned his Court, which he then kept at *Agra* a great City, to be the most proper Part for the Stage to act it first upon.

The first Step he took, was to order all the Ladies at Court to provide precious Stones to bring to a Market-place that he had erected, and there to shew their Wares publickly to all the Noblemen at Court, who were ordered to buy them at whatever Prices the Ladies put upon them; and the King himself was to be a Buyer, to put the greater Honour on the new erected Market. The Ladies obeyed, and took their Booths as they thought fit. On the Market Day the King and Noblemen came to Market, and bought the Jewels and other Trifles the Ladies had to dispose of.

The King coming to the Booth of a very pretty Lady, askt what she had to sell. She told him, she had one large fine rough Diamond still to dispose on. He desired to see it, and he found it to be a Piece of fine transparent Sugar-candy, of a tolerable good Diamond Figure. He demanded to know what Price she set on it, and she told him with a pleasant Air, that it was worth a Lack of Rupees, or 12500 *L. Sterl.* He ordered the Money to be paid, and, falling in Discourse with her, found her Wit was as exquisite as her Beauty, and ordered her to sup with him that Night in his Palace. She promised to obey, and accordingly went, and stayed with him three Nights and Days, and then went back to her Husband, whose Name was *Jemal Chaun*, and was a Commander of 5000 Horse. The Husband received her very coldly, and told her, that he would continue civil to her, but would never cohabit with her again, and would live with her in the same Manner as if she was his Sister. Upon which she went back to the Palace, and desired to be brought to the King, and, being conducted to him, she fell at his Feet, and told what her Husband had said. The King, in a Rage, gave Orders to carry the Husband to the Elephant Garden, and there to be executed by an Elephant, which is reckoned a shameful and terrible Death. The poor Man was soon apprehended, and had his Clothes torn off him, as the Custom is when Criminals are condemned to that Death, and he was dragged from his House, with his Hands tied before him. On his Way to the Garden, he was to pass near the Palace, and he begged to have Leave to speak to the King, and then he would die willingly, if his Majesty did not think fit he should live. A Friend of his, who was an Officer of the Guards, ordered the Messengers

of Death to stop a While, till he had acquainted the King with the Request, which was accordingly done, and he was ordered to be carried into the Court of the Palace, that the King might hear what he had to say, and, being carried thither, his Majesty demanded what he would have. He answered, that what he had said to his Wife, was the greatest Honour that he was capable to do his King, who, after he had honoured his Wife with his Embraces, thought himself unworthy ever after to cohabit with her. The King, pausing a little, ordered him to be unbound, and brought to his own Room, where, as soon as he came, the King embraced him, and ordered a *Serpaw* or a royal Suit to be put upon him, and gave him the Command of 5000 Horse more, but took his Wife into his own *Harran* or *Seraglio*, and, about nine Months after, the famous *Aurengzeb* came into the World. How long the Charter held for continuing those Markets, I know not, but it seems *Cha Jehan* grew fonder of this Lady than of any he had before, tho' he had three Sons by them, the eldest of whose Names I have forgot. *Aurengzeb* was brought up and educated by his Mother, till he was about 12 Years of Age, and then he had Priests and Philosophers to instruct him.

Cha Jehan finding his Empire too large, designed to divide it amongst his Sons, and so placed his eldest Son in the northern Provinces of *Candahaar* and *Uzbek*, to superintend there, and make him acquainted with those People and their Customs, that he designed should be his Subjects. The second Son *Morad Bucks* he sent to *Decan*, to govern there. The third *Sultan Sujah* he sent to *Bengal*, to govern that Country; and *Aurengzeb* he designed for *Guzerat*, being a small Province in Comparison of the others: But when *Aurengzeb* came to be about eighteen Years of Age, and had done with the School, he dissembled his ambitious Thoughts, and declared that he desired to live a private Life in the Province allotted him, and so took up the *Fakire* Habit and Way of Life, contemning the Honours and Riches of the World, and zealously kept the canonical Hours of Prayer, which, by the *Alcoran*, is five Times a Day. In this *Pharisaical* Way he spent eight or ten Years, till his Father began to be old and weak; and News being spread abroad that he was sick, the eldest Son began to raise an Army in his Province, to march towards *Agra*, in order to seize the Crown on his Father's Demise. *Morad Bucks* knowing the cruel Custom of his Country, which is either to die, or be sent to an Hill near *Agra*, called *Goulour*, and there drink the *Poust*, (which is an Infusion of Poppy Seeds in Water, that provokes Sleep) and spend his Days in a Lethargy; but, to avoid both, he also raised a good Army in his Province, and marched also towards *Agra*, and *Sultan Sujah* raised one in *Bengal*, but kept

within his own Province. *Aurengzeb* continued in his Retirement and holy Exercises, and neither disturbed his Father's Repose, as the rest had done, nor was suspected by his Brothers to have any Design to rule. *Aurengzeb* had a Sister, called *Neur Mahaal*, that was continually about her Father *Cha Jehan*, and he had a great Esteem for her, as she had for *Aurengzeb*; and as she was a Woman of a great Genius and Vivacity, she fisht out all the Designs of her Father and Brothers, and acquainted *Aurengzeb* with them by Letters, and promised her Assistance to set him on the Throne.

Cha Jehan sent Letters to his Sons, who were in Arms, to disband their Forces, upon their Allegiance, but not one obeyed, alledging, that they kept in Arms for their own Security in case of his Death. The two eldest made daily Approaches towards *Agra*, and *Aurengzeb* raised a small but good Army, pretending it was to keep the Peace of his own Province. However, as *Morad Bucks* was on his March towards *Agra*, he was obliged to pass through some Part of *Aurengzeb's* Territories, and they had an Interview, and agreed, that if the eldest Son would not be advised to retire back with his Army to his own Province, but continue disobedient to their Father's Commands, then *Aurengzeb* would joyn *Morad Bucks*, and compel him by Force; but still *Aurengzeb* preacht up Peace and Contempt of worldly Grandeur. They wrote pressingly to their elder Brother, to honour their Father's Commands, but to no Purpose; so *Aurengzeb* marched his Army always near *Morad Bucks's* to meet their eldest Brother, and found him encamp't on the Banks of the River *Gemna*, and, on the opposite Banks *Morad Bucks* encamp't his Men. *Aurengzeb* went to wait on his elder Brother as a Mediator, but in reality to discover what Condition his Army was in. His Brother received him with all the Marks of Esteem, and, after a long Conference, he invited *Aurengzeb* to joyn Forces with him, and that assoon as he came to the Crown, he would make him and his Heirs free Sovereigns of *Guzerat*. *Aurengzeb* answered, that as for his own Part, he had rather live a Subject than a Sovereign, whose Care about Government disturbed the Mind, and rendred it unfit for sweet Contemplation, and he only brought his Army there to joyn him who inclined most to Peace, which he found his Brother *Morad Bucks* averse to, but that he would joyn neither till the last Extremity; and, on his Return, he went to *Morad*, and told him, that his eldest Brother's Army was much inferior to theirs, and advised him to put all to the Fortune of a Battle, that he would stand at a little Distance neuter, till the Battle began, and then would fall on the Enemy's Flank and Rear with his Army, which accordingly he did, when his eldest Brother had no Suspicion

of such Usage. The Battle was short, but bloody, and the eldest Brother was killed, which the Remnant of his Army seeing, begged for Quarter, and had it, and listed into the Conquerors Armies. The Victory was wholly imputed to *Aurengzeb's* Conduct, by all the three Armies, which was a great Mortification to *Morad Bucks*, who expected that Honour. But *Aurengzeb* had another Game to play whilst the Armies were so much at his Devotion, for his Brother *Morad Bucks* was violently inclined to the Love of Wine, tho' forbidden by their Laws. *Aurengzeb* got some of his own Creatures of the best Rank, to procure Wine and carouze with him, which they did, and he got beastly drunk, and vomited on the fine Carpets he lay on. While he was in that Pickle, *Aurengzeb* came to his Tent with his Guard, and demanded present Admittance, for there were News brought of the greatest Importance, which he must, without Delay, communicate to his Brother, and stepping hastily into the Tent, his Guards following him, he found his Brother in the Condition he wisht for, and calling him several Times by his Name, he was not able to answer, wherefore *Aurengzeb*, out of an holy Zeal to Religion, vented many angry Words against the Beast his Brother, and then, in a sanctified Choler, ordered one of his Guards to strike off his Head, which was forthwith executed. The News of the Fratricide flew like wild Fire through the Armies, but *Aurengzeb's* being in Arms soon calm'd those that had a Mind to raise Troubles, and, in the Morning, made an Oration that pleased the Armies so well, that they swore Obedience to his Commands. The Clergy run his Praises as high as their Prophet's Paradise, commending his godly Piety and Zeal for poor distressed Religion, and, no Doubt, would have done the same for the Drunkard, had he been as politick as *Aurengzeb*, who is now saluted *Pautshaw*, or Emperor, by the Army, notwithstanding his Father was then alive.

Cha Jehan having lost two of his Sons, expected that all his Troubles were now ended, sent to *Aurengzeb* to come to him, and consult about settling the Peace of his Country, which had been so long disturbed by civil Wars, but *Aurengzeb* would not trust himself within the Walls of a City, where he had not the Command in his own Hands, but wrote very submissive Letters to his Father, and advised him to lay down the heavy Charge of Government on his Shoulders who was young, and much better able to manage it than a Man whose Age required Rest, and gave Orders to build an high Wall round the Palace, and placed his own Creatures to guard the Palace, which so vexed the old King, that he ordered all the Jewels of the Crown to be broken, and particularly his Throne, which he himself had caused to be made worth above a Million *Sterling*, but none

durst obey him. And *Neur Mahaal*, who had given her Brother *Aurengzeb* private Informations of her Father's Designs all the Time of the Rupture, advertised him of the old Man's Design in that Affair, and cautioned him to take Care of what Meat and Drink he took, and to send an Army into *Bengal*, to reduce *Sultan Sujah*, who was invited by the old King, to come with his Army to *Agra*. *Aurengzeb* durst not leave that Country where his Father was well beloved, for Fear of a Revolution in his Affairs, but sent an Army under the Command of a trusty General, called *Emirjemaal Chaun*, who, in three Years Time, chased *Sultan Sujah* out of the Dominions of *Bengal*, and *Cha Jehan* then dying, brought a serene Peace throughout the whole Empire. *Aurengzeb* remembring his Sister's Services, made her Governess of the Palace, and retained her always near his Person, and would eat nothing but what came from her Hand.

Being now settled in Peace, he invited his holy Brethren the *Fakires*, who are very numerous in *India*, to come to *Agra*, and receive a new Suit of Clothes, as a Testimony of his Kindness for them. Great Numbers came on the Invitation, and he pitched Tents in many Places round the City to entertain them, and he proclaimed, that on a certain Day the Distribution should be made, and appointed Officers in every Tent to deliver the new Clothes, but to retain the old Rags in their Rooms, which Stratagem brought many Millions into his Treasury, for those pretended Saints having good Store of Diamonds and Gold sewed up in their Rags, were forced to leave all behind them. He then bent his Thoughts on enlarging his Dominions, and quarrelled with the King of *Orixa* near *Bengal*, and with the King of *Visapore* near *Decan*, and, in ten Years, he annext their Dominions to his own large Empire. And so I leave him to take his Pleasure till the Year 1707. that he died in his Tent near *Agra*, and lies buried in a small Tomb of seven Foot long and three high, on the Side of an High-way that leads to that City.

He was a Prince every Way qualified for governing. None ever understood Politicks better than he. The Balance of distributive Justice he held in an exact *Æquilibrium*. He was brave and cunning in War, and merciful and magnanimous in Peace, temperate in his Diet and Recreations, and modest and grave in his Apparel, courteous in his Behaviour to his Subjects, and affable in his Discourse. He encouraged Virtue, and discountenanced Vice, and he studied the Laws of Humanity, and observed them as well as those of Religion, for in that Part he inclined to Superstition. He had five Sons, but three only made any Figure. The eldest was *Dara*, or vulgarly *Hazan Tarah*, the second *Shaw Allom*, the third *Furucksier*, the

fourth *Eckbar*, and the fifth *Shaw Hazander*. The three first contended for the Crown after their Father's Death, but *Shaw Allom* carried it.

From *Surat* to *Damaan*, a Town belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, and at 22 Leagues Distance, are several Rivers and Villages, under the Superintendency of *Surat*. *Dumbass* is the first, but of small Consequence, either in Trade or Manufactory. *Nunsaree* is the second, that has a good Manufactory of Cotton Cloth, both coarse and fine. *Gundavee* is next, where good Quantities of Teak Timber are cut, and exported, being of excellent Use in building of Houses or Ships. *Seragoung* is a River of no other Consequence but limiting the *Mogul's* Dominions on the Sea Side, as well as the *Portugueze* Territories. It is distant from *Damaan* about 4 Miles.

CHAPTER XVI

Treats of the Cities and Towns on the Sea-coast, belonging to the Crown of Portugal, from Damaan to Bombay.

DAMAAN was, in former Times, a Place of good Trade, but at present reduced to Poverty. It stands at the Mouth of a River on the Sea-shore, and is naturally very strong, by a deep Marsh that almost surrounds it. The Town is about half a Mile long, and near as broad, walled with a good Stone Wall, as the rest of the Buildings of the City are built of; and it has a large Cathedral to adorn it, that is conspicuous a long Way at Sea. There are two or three other Churches, and a Convent, a Monastery, a Nunnery, and an Hospital, and there is a Castle stands on the opposite Side of the River, christned by the Name of *St. Salvadore*, and it is well secured by the Morass, as well as the Town. It has been for a long Time a great Eye-sore to the Governors of *Surat*, who have often pickt Quarrels with the *Portugueze*, and laid Siege to *Damaan*, but without Success.

From *Damaan* to *Bassaim* is about 18 Leagues along the Sea-shore. There are several Rivers and Villages by the Way, viz. *Danaw*, *Tarrapore*, *Mahim*, *Kellem*, and the Island *Vaccas*, but they are all of small Account in the Table of Trade.

Bassaim is a fortified City belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*. It stands on a little Island, separated from the Continent by a small Rivulet. Its Walls are pretty high, and about two Miles in Circumference around the City, which has a little Citadel in the Middle of it. It contains three or four Churches, and some Convents and Monasteries, with a College and Hospital.

It is a Place of small Trade, because most of its Riches ly dead and buried in their Churches, or in the Hands of indolent lazy Country Gentlemen, who loiter away their Days in Ease, Luxury and Pride, without having the least Sense of the Poverty and Calamity of their Country. The Town is about half a League distant from the Island of *Salset*, which Inlet serves it for an Harbour for small Shipping, but there is not Water enough to accommodate great Ships. The Governor is stiled, by the *Portugueze*, *General of the North*, having *Diu*, *Damaan* and *Chaul*, with all their Territories, subordinate to him, but the Church superintends, which makes his Government both uneasy and precarious.

Salset is an Island about 25 Miles long, and, in some Places, 10 Miles broad. It is fruitful in Roots and Fruits, but not in Corn. It is stockt with Villages and Churches, but has no City on it, but an old one, called *Canra*, hewn out of the Side of a Rock, but by whom I never could learn. It is near a Mile in Length, and many antique Figures and Columns curiously carved in the Rock, and has several good Springs of Water to accommodate it. At present it is inhabited only with wild Beasts, and Birds of Prey. The Island is almost cut in two by a narrow River that bisects it at a Town called *Versua*, which lies on the Sea-shore, and has a little narrow Harbour, deep enough to receive Ships of the greatest Burden, and is secured by a small Fort standing on the North Side, but the Town is on the South Side of the River. It drives a small Trade in dry Fish, made here, and transported to the inland Countries and Villages, that want the Benefit of Fishing. The Fishers here catch their Fish in long Nets, fastned to Stakes placed in the Sea, the outwardmost of which are driven in the Bottom on nine Fathoms Water; and they appear to Strangers like a Wood in the Sea. There are several Villages standing between *Versua* and *Bombay*, on the Sea-shore, but *Bandara* is the most conspicuous, which fronts *Mahim* on *Bombay*, about a Mile distant. The *Portugueze* have some great Guns planted at *Bandara*, but they have no Trade, because the River belongs to the *English*; and all Customs of Goods, either imported or exported, are paid to the Custom-house of *Mahim*. The Mouth of the River is pester'd with Rocks, that forbid Entrance to any Vessels of Burden.

In Anno 1694. the *Muskat Arabs* made a Descent on *Salset*, and committed great Depredations in plundering and burning Villages and Churches, killing the Priests, and carried about 1400 Captives into irredeemable Slavery. And about the Year 1720. the Priests of *Salset* disturbed the *English* at *Mahim*, animating the People to Arms; but a Bomb or two thrown into the Church at *Bandara*, had no Respect to the Priesthood,

but sacrilegiously killed one or two, besides some Lay Brothers, which made them know that War was not their Trade. They were also troublesome to the *English* in Anno 1722. but the *English* surprised a Parcel that were about repairing an old Fort, contrary to Articles of Agreement, and killed a Score or two, which made the rest take to their Heels, and be quiet.

CHAPTER XVII

Gives a Description of Bombay, with some historical Remarks on its Wars, Government and Trade, till Anno 1687. when the Foundation of a War was laid, which proved the Ruin of the then English East-india Company.

BOMBAY comes next in Course, an Island belonging to the Crown of *England*. It was a Part of *Katharine* of *Portugal's* Portion, when she was married to *Charles II.* of *Great Britain*, in Anno 1662. Its Ground is steril, and not to be improved. It has but little good Water on it, and the Air is somewhat unhealthful, which is chiefly imputed to their dunging their Cocoa-nut Trees with *Buckshoe*, a Sort of small Fishes which their Sea abounds in. They being laid to the Roots of the Trees, putrify, and cause a most unsavoury Smell; and in the Mornings there is generally seen a thick Fog among those Trees, that affects both the Brains and Lungs of *Europeans*, and breed Consumptions, Fevers, and Fluxes.

After the Marriage, King *Charles* sent my Lord *Malberry*, with four or five Ships of War, to take Possession of it, and the King of *Portugal* sent a Vice-roy to deliver it, and all its Royalties, to the said Lord, and Sir *Abraham Shipman* was ordered to be Governor for King *Charles*. They arrived at *Bombay* in *September*, 1663. but the Church withstood the Crown, and disobeyed the Order: Nor would they acknowledge the Vice-roy, unless he would come into their Measures, which, rather than lose his new Dignity, he did. And the *English* Fleet was forced to go to *Swally* to land their Men, and get Refreshments; but the Governor of *Surat*, in whose District *Swally* is, grew jealous of the Numbers and Bravery of the *English*, and threatned the Factory established in *Surat*, if they did not speedily re-imbark, which, to avoid Suspicion, they did, and the Governor allowed them the free Use of the Markets, so that they had no Want of Provisions and Merchandize whilst they stayed there. In *January* 1664. my Lord went back to *England*, carrying two Ships with him, and left Sir *Abraham* with the rest, to pass the westerly Monsoons, in some Port

on the Coast, but being unacquainted, chose a desolate Island, called *Anjadiva*, to winter at. It is so far from an Harbour, that it is even but a bad Road for Shipping in those boistrous South-west Winds and turbulent Sea; however he landed all the Land-forces, and built Huts to defend them from the Weather. The Island is barren, but has some Springs of good Water. It is about a Mile long, and 300 Paces broad. Here they stayed from *April* to *October*, in which Time they buried above 200 of their Men.

When the Monsoons were over, the Squadron put to Sea, and put in to *Bombay*, to try if the Church had considered on the Obedience due to the King of *Portugal's* Orders, or if they had a Mind to draw the Arms of *England*, as well as their Sovereign's, upon them. Some of them had not forgot what Damages *Spain* and *Portugal* had sustained by the *English* Fleet in *Cromwel's* Time, advised the Church to obey the King, setting forth the Miseries they should be brought into in case of Noncompliance. At length their holy Zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a Treaty, but, before the Treaty was concluded, Sir *Abraham* died, and one Mr. *Humphrey Cook*, who was next in Commission, continued the Treaty, and articulated, that the Inhabitants should enjoy their Lands and Religion under the King of *England*, but forgot to insert the Royalties appending on *Bombay*, which reacht as far as *Versua* on *Salset*, which Omission has been a Bone of Contention for both Parties ever since.

Mr. *Cook*, according to the Treaty, took Possession of the Island, in the King's Name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to save Charges of building an House for the Governor, built a Fort round an old square House, which served the *Portuguese* for a Place of Retreat, when they were disturbed by their Enemies, till Forces could be sent from other Places to relieve them.

After the Fort was lined out, and the Foundations laid, Sir *Gervas Lucas* arrived from *England* with two Ships, but Affairs being settled before he came, did not stay at *Bombay* longer than *January* 1666. and left the Government of the Island in the Hands of Mr. *Cook* and his Council, the Presidency for the then Company, residing at *Surat*. Their Trade flourished, and increased wonderfully; but, after the Fort was finished, the King finding, that the Charge of keeping *Bombay* in his own Hands would not turn to account, the Revenues being so very inconsiderable, he made it over to the *East-india* Company in Fee Tail, which continues so till this Time.

In building the Fort where it is, Mr. *Cook* shewed his Want of Skill in Architecture, where a proper and convenient Situation ought to be well

considered, for it is built on a Point of Rocks that jets into the Sea, where there are no Springs of fresh Water, and it stands within 800 Paces of an Hill, called *Dungeree*, that overlooks it, and an Enemy might much incommode it from that Hill, as we found by Experience in *Anno* 1689, when the *Mogul* sent an Army on *Bombay*. As for the Magnitude, Figure and Materials of the Fort, there is no Fault to be found in them, for it is a regular Tetragon, whose outward Polygon is about 500 Paces, and it is built of a good hard Stone, and it can mount above 100 Piece of Cannon; and that is all that is commendable in it: But had it been built about 500 Paces more to the Southward, on a more acute Point of Rocks, called *Mendham's Point*, it had been much better on several Accounts. First, it had been much nearer the Road for protecting the Shipping there, it had been farther off *Dungeree Hill*, it would have had a Spring of pretty good Water, which served the Hospital that was afterwards built there, and the Shipping had been better secured that lay in the little Bay between the Point where the Fort now stands, and *Mendham's Point*.

They went about building several other little Forts and Sconces in convenient Places, to hinder an Invasion, if any of their Neighbours should have attempted one. At *Mazagun* there was one, at *Souree* one, at *Siam* one, at *Mahim* one, and *Worlee* had one, and some great Guns mounted on each of them. Notwithstanding the Company was at so much Charge in building of Forts, they had no Thoughts of building a Church, for many Years after Sir *George Oxendon* began to build one, and charitable Collections were gathered for that Use; but when Sir *George* died, Piety grew sick, and the Building of Churches was grown unfashionable. Indeed it was a long While before the Island had People enough to fill a Chapel that was in the Fort, for as fast as Recruits came from *Britain*, they died in *Bombay*, which got the Island a bad Name.

There were reckoned above 5000 *L.* had been gathered towards building the Church, but Sir *John Child*, when he came to reign in *Bombay*, converted the Money to his own Use, and never more was heard of it. The Walls were built by his Predecessors to five Yards high, and so it continued till the Year 1715. that Mr. *Boone* came to the Chair, who set about building it, and, in five Years Time, finished it by his own Benevolence, and other Gentlemen, who, by his Perswasions, were brought in to contribute. The Company also contributed something towards that pious End.

About the Year 1674. President *Aungier*, a Gentleman well qualified for Governing, came to the Chair, and, leaving *Surat* to the Management of Deputies, came to *Bombay*, and rectified many Things that were amiss,

and brought the Face of Justice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a single Person's Breast, who distributed her Favours according to the Governor's Direction. He erected a formal Court, where Pleas were brought in and debated; but that Method lasted but a few Years, when Sir *John Child* came to the Chair the Court was done. Mr. *Aungier* advised the Company to enclose the Town from *Dungeree* to *Mendham's* Point, for securing the trading People from the Insults of their troublesome beggarly Neighbours on the Continent; but his Proposals were rejected, and that necessary Piece of Work was reserved for Mr. *Boone* also. And happy it was for the Inhabitants that the Town was secured by a Wall, otherwise *Connajee Angarie* would have harassed them with continual Insults since his War with the *English* began.

The Name of Mr. *Aungier* is much revered by the ancient People of *Surat* and *Bombay* to this Day. His Justice and Dexterity in managing Affairs, got him such Esteem, that the Natives of those Places made him the common Arbitrator of their Differences in Point of Traffick: Nor was it ever known that any Party receded ever from his Award.

There are no Dangers in going into *Bombay* Road, but one sunk Rock that lies about half a League from the Castle. It is dry at low Water, and has a Chanel within it deep enough for the greatest Ships to pass. I never heard of any Damage done by that Rock, but to a small Ship called the *Baden*, which, by Carelessness, run on it at Noonday, and was lost.

In the Year 1673. the *Dutch East-india* Company having an Eye on *Bombay*, sent a Squadron of Ships, with a little Army, to try if they could take it in amongst their other Conquests of *India*, but, on their landing, met with so warm a Reception, that they were glad to get off with the Loss of 2 or 300 of their Men, and so left the *English* to the quiet Possession of it.

The Governors proved tolerable good, till 1682. that Sir *John Child* spoilt it. The *India* Company knowing how to make use of King *Charles's* Necessities, made him some Presents of Money, and he, in grateful Acknowledgments, granted them Power to rob their fellow Subjects in *India*; but they used that Power to their own Destruction, for Mr. *Child's* Pride and Oppressions grew so intolerable, that even the Gentlemen in the Company's Service had not the free Exercise of Trade, and much less private Merchants. And he, trampling on the established Laws of *England*, by Advice of his Namesake who governed the Company in *Europe*, by imprisoning and murdering their fellow Subjects, grew hateful to all.

In Anno 1684. he made his Brother in Law Mr. *Ward* his Deputy of *Bombay*, who designed to fish in troubled Waters. Mr. *Child* being honoured

with the Title of Baronet, by the powerful Motive of the Company's Money to the King, he, at the same Time, got the Commission of General, which puffed him up so, that he contemned all Laws human and divine. The military Gentlemen, who had made Contracts in *England* for their Salaries, tho' paid at 20 *per Cent.* Loss, yet to shew himself a good Oeconomist for his Master's Interests, sent his Deputy Orders to reduce their Pay to 30 *per Cent.* less than it was before, tho' it was so small, that they could hardly bring both Ends to bear at the Month's End. That hard Pill the Sons of *Mars* could not swallow, and so bent their Minds on a Revolution: And having come to some Knowledge of Mr. *Ward's* tampering with the *Sevajee* to land on the Island, they detected some Letters of his to that Purpose, which gave them a Ground for a Revolt. The *Sevajees* indeed sent a Fleet of 80 Sail of small Vessels to land on the back Bay which faces the Ocean; but, on their trying to land some Forces, they were warmly repulsed, and lost many of their Men, which made them draw off again in Confusion, and Mr. *Ward*, being confronted with his own Letters, and having little to say in his own Defence, was made a Prisoner; and General *Child's* Faction was sent to *Surat* to him. The Islanders, taking the Government of the Island into their own Hands, chose Captain *Kegwine* Major of the Military, to superintend military Affairs, and one Captain *Thorburn* to oversee the civil.

General *Child* soon dispatcht Letters to *England*, and gave an Account of the Rebellion, and King *Charles* dispatched a Frigate, called the *Phoenix*, for *India*, to demand the Restitution of the Island, and put it again into the Company's Hands. They arrived at *Bombay*, in *September* 1685. and shewed the King's Orders, with a full Pardon to all who yielded Obedience, which unanimously the Islanders did; but, for their own Security, drew up some Articles to be signed by General *Child* and Captain *Tyrrel*, who commanded the *Phoenix*, one of which Articles was, *That any Person that had a Mind to go for England, should have free Liberty, and a Passage on board the Company's Shipping*, which being agreed to and signed, Captain *Kegwine* took his Passage on board the first Ship; but *Thorburn* being a married Man, and having a small Estate, as well as a Family on the Island, could not so easily remove, but trusted to the Act of Grace, and the Treaty they had made.

After General *Child* had gotten the Reins of Government again into his Hands, he became more insupportable than ever. He erected a Court of Inquisition, and made an old *Greek*, one Captain *Garey*, Judge, who had condemned a Man to be hanged on a *Tuesday*, and the Man suffered according to Sentence; but, on *Friday* after, the poor dead Fellow was

ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the Orders.

Captain *Thorburn* was the first that felt the Weight of Mr. *Child's* Displeasure. He got some Fellows to swear him out of his little Estate, who brought in forged Bonds for Sums borrowed from one *King*, whom he never had any Dealings with, and found Witnesses to attest them. All that *Thorburn* had, was too little to pay the Sums, for which his Estate was taken from him, and himself put in Prison, without the Permission of one Slave to attend or serve him in Prison. His own Wife was not permitted to visit him, which hard Usage brought him into a violent Fever, that soon put an End to his Life. About two Days before he died the Gaoler acquainted his Lady of his Danger, and she, with two small Children, went to the General, and, on their Knees, begged that a Doctor might be permitted to visit her Husband, but he was inexorable, and would allow no such Favour, only granted her Leave to be in Prison with him till he died, and she stayed but one Day and a Part of a Night till he expired. When the Tragedy was over, she was going Home to her distressed Family, but found her Slaves and Children removed into a little Out-house of hers, and the Doors of her Dwelling-house shut against her. The Lady had two Sisters married on the Island, and she, hoping to find Relief from them, went to visit the eldest, but she met her at the Door and told her she could have no Admittance, her Husband being liable to Proscription, if he admitted her into his House; and she believed the other Sister's Husband durst not entertain her in his House. The poor Lady, full of Sorrow and Grief, being abandoned of all her Friends and Relations, went back to her distressed Family, and, having no visible Way of Support, had once some Thoughts of putting an End to her Miseries; but her Sisters, unknown to their Husbands, sent her some Relief by a trusty female Slave in the Night, and a Letter, (that they desired her to burn assoon as she had read) wherein they promised to be assisting in the Maintenance of her and her Children, till the Almighty should think proper to deliver her out of the Persecution.

The poor Lady had both Beauty and Discretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous Part of Mankind; but none of the Gentlemen that wisht her well, durst make Addresses to her, only one, who had the Command of a Ship in the *Indian* Merchants Service, as he had no Dependence on the General, nor his Masters in *England*, thought he could not well come within the Reach of their Persecution, so he courted her, and married her, but that was thought a capital Crime, and the General acquainted his *Indian* Owners, that without they discharged him their

Service, they should also find the Weight of his Displeasure; and accordingly, to avoid Contests with his Excellency, he was discharged: But Grief put an End to his Troubles, for he died within a Year after his Marriage, and left the poor Lady another Child to take Care of, but left her above 1000 *L. Sterl.* of Stock for her and her Family's Support.

As the *Phenix* was in her Way to *India*, she called at the Island of *Johanna*, and there found an *English* Ship, called the *Bristol*, stopping some Lakes in her Bottom. Captain *Tyrrel*, by a dispensing Power from the King of *England*, seized her, and designed to have carried her to *Bombay*, in Company of a small Vessel that he had seized on the Coast of *Madagascar*. The *Bristol* sunk the third Day after they put to Sea, but the other came safe. The *Bristol's* Men were looked on as Pirates, and one Mr. *Mews* a Supercargo was arraigned before the General's Tribunal, where he himself sat Lord chief Justice, and, after his usual Manner of bestowing opprobrious Names, he condemned Mr. *Mews* to lose all that he had in the World, and 1000 Pounds beside, and to ly in Prison, at his own Charges, till the Fine was paid; but Mr. *Vaux*, who was Judge of the Island in petty Affairs, shewed him the Weakness of his Sentence, and perswaded him to set the poor Man at Liberty, and order him a Passage for *England*.

When Mr. *Child* first got his Commission to plunder, there were two of his own Council at *Surat* that were great Eye-sores to him, viz. Messieurs *Petit* and *Boucher*. They were Gentlemen of good Interest in *England*, and had great Remittances of Monies on the Company's Shipping coming yearly to them, to buy up Diamonds and send Home. General *Child* let them know, that he expected Half of their Commissions as a Perquisite to his Post, but they could not be brought to think so: However they condescended, that if he would joyn his Commissions to theirs, which were much greater than his, they would be content to make an equal Dividend in the Commissions; but that Proposition he rejected, and was resolved to carry his Point by Fraud, and wrote to the Company in *England*, of those two Gentlemens ill Services relating to the Company's Affairs, tho' none knew of any, but Mr. *Child* himself. Those Gentlemens Friends in the Committee of the Company in *England*, acquainted them, by Letters over Land, of the Danger they were in, and gave them Warning to be on their Guard; and they accordingly took an House contiguous to the Factory, and, by Degrees, conveyed what they thought fit into their new Lodgings, but retained their old ones in the Factory. When the Shipping arrived, and the Company's Packet was opened, and read at the Council Table, Mr. *Petit* sat in his Place as second, and Mr. *Boucher* in his as fourth. When some few Paragraphs were read, one was to dismiss those

Gentlemen from the Company's Service, and were forthwith ordered to withdraw, which accordingly they did, and went to their new Lodgings without the Factory. Assoon as the Council broke up, Mr. *Child* sent Orders to confine them in their Factory Rooms; but Word being brought that they were not in the Factory, but their Doors were lockt, he gave Orders to break them open, and secure all that was found in them for him, especially their Papers and Books; but they found nothing but a Bed furnished, and some empty Trunks. When Mr. *Child* understood that their Effects and Papers were removed, he raved like a mad Man, but to no Purpose, so he perpetrated their Destruction by Fraud; but the proscrib'd being well beloved by the Brokers, who were always of Mr. *Child*'s Cabinet Council, were timely advertised of his Plots, and prepared to counterplot him. He was the first that bribed the *Mogul*'s Governors to joyn in Villany with a President; but 'tis now a verry common Piece of Policy at *Surat*, and has been often made use of against the *English* Company, since Mr. *Child*'s Time: However, for a Sum of about 4000 *L. Sterl.* he got the Governor of the Town to stretch his Commission, in pretending to distribute Justice, which is only the *Cadjee*'s Place to do. He got the Governor to command the two Victims to meet at a Garden near the Town, and to deliver them up to the General, who was there with a Dozen of Grenadeers to receive them, and carry them on board of a Ship that lay ready to transport them to *Bombay*, and there to feed on the Bread of Affliction as long as they lived. He had suborn'd a Gentleman to draw up an Account, wherein the Delinquents were brought in Debtors to the Company 114000 Rupees, or, 14250 *L. Sterl.* and that Gentleman swore to the Account. The two Defendants being forewarned of the Plot, had given Bonds to their *Mahometan* and *Heathen* Friends, for above Double the Sum that the honest General demanded; and it is against their Law to force any Person out of the *Mogul*'s Dominions, who is indebted to his Subjects; but when Mr. *Harris* had sworn to the Account, (for that was the Gentleman's Name) the Governor ordered the two Gentlemen Defendants to be put in Irons, and to be delivered to Mr. *Child*; but their Friends protested against their going, till they had satisfied their Creditors, and declared the Governor liable to make good all the Sums contained in their Bonds, if by Violence they were sent away. That Protest startled the General and Governor both, so the Gentlemen were delivered to their Friends, and the Governor was no Loser by the General's Honesty: However they could not live in Quiet, so Mr. *Petit* bought a Ship to go a Trading, whilst Mr. *Boucher* went to the *Mogul*'s Court, or rather his Camp, to try if he could procure a *Phirmaund* or Charter, to be under the

Mogul's Protection; but the Company's Money had crept into the Secretary of State's Purse that retarded Mr. *Boucher's* Affair some time: But the General, being afraid of his Success, sent a *Banyan* from *Bombay* to poison Mr. *Boucher*. This *Banyan* being often about his Tent, got acquainted with his Cook, thinking him to be the properest Person to make use of in that Affair; and, after some Discourses about General *Child* and Mr. *Boucher's* Quarrel, he told the Cook, that he had a Commission from the General to settle a Salary on him during Life, and the Sum of 500 Rupees in hand, if he would poison his Master. The Cook seemed to like the Proposals, and bid the *Banyan* bring him the Poison and the 500 Rupees, and accordingly the next Day he did, and, on the Delivery of the Money, he gave him a Paper with some Powder of white Arsenick to mix with his Master's Rice, which is a common Dish there. The Cook gave him large Promises of performing what he would, and so left him, and went to his Master with the Bag of Money and the Paper of Arsenick, and told him, that he had made a Bargain with General *Child's* Vakeel, or Attorney, to poison him, and told him the Terms he had agreed on, and shewed the Money and Poison. Mr. *Boucher* commended the Cook's Fidelity, and told him, that he would give him 600 Rupees to be honest, and a Maintenance during Life. And Mr. *Boucher* being bred a Druggist in his Youth, presently knew the Poison, and carried it to the *Cautwal* or Sheriff, and shewed it. The *Cautwal* used his utmost Endeavours to catch the *Banyan*, but he could never be found there.

Mr. *Boucher* had been fourteen Months soliciting to procure his *Phirmaund*; but his repeted Petitions to the Secretary had no Effect: But he had an *English* Man, one *Swan*, for his Interpreter, who often took a large Dose of Arrack. *Aurengzeb* one Day had ordered his Camp to remove to another Place, and had got on Horse-back. *Swan* took hold of that Opportunity, and got pretty near the King, holding his Petition or *Rocca* above his Head, and cried with a loud Voice in the *Persian* Language, that his Master wanted Justice done him. The *Mogul* seeing him in an *European* Garb, ordered him to be brought to him, and askt the Cause of his Complaint. He answered, that his Master had been so long at Court about procuring a *Phirmaund* to become a Subject of his Majesty's, to be freed from the Oppressions of the *English* Company, who were grown intolerable by the Connivance of his Majesty's Governors of *Surat*, and therefore conjured his Majesty, as he should answer before God at the great Day, to do his Master Justice, and grant him a *Phirmaund*. The King was startled at the bold Expressions, ordered his Secretary to get one ready for the Seal against the next Day, which was accordingly done,

and Mr. *Boucher* had it delivered to him assoon as it was signed, and then took his Leave of the Court.

While Mr. *Boucher* was at Court, Mr. *Petit* made some Voyages into the Gulf of *Persia*, and going thither once, met with some *Sanganian* Pirates, who attackt him. He defended himself bravely, and beat them off; but his Gunner firing a Blunderbush out of one of the Gun-room Ports, blew the Ship up, and the *Sanganians* took up those that were saved by swimming, among whom was Mr. *Petit* himself.

The *Sanganians* carried their Prisoners to *Baet* on *Guzerat*, and laid a Ransom on them, which Mr. *Petit* agreed on, and sent Letters to his Friends at *Surat* to pay the Money: But General *Child* hearing of Mr. *Petit's* Misfortune, and where he was, dispatcht a *Banyan* to *Baet*, to perswade the Pirates not to part with their Prisoner under 25000 *L. Sterl.* and so they, hearkning to the *Banyan*, would not stand to the stipulated Ransom of 5000 *L.* Mr. *Petit* stayed about six Months their Prisoner, and then died through Grief, and the ill Treatment he had received by Mr. *Child's* Perswasion; but the Pirates getting no Ransom, curst the General for his Counsel.

In Anno 1683. the *Dutch* dispossess the *English* Company of their Factory of *Bantam*, on the West End of *Java*; and the *English* having a Mind to regain it by Force of Arms, built several Ships between 60 and 70 Guns, so that in Anno 1685. they had a Fleet ready victualled, and mann'd with 7 or 8000 Men, to the Number of 23 Sail of Line of Battle Ships, which Expence, and the continual Craving of the Court, brought their Stock very low; yet since the Maw of the Court was not enough crammed, the King laid Embargoes on the Fleet from Time to Time, for nine Months, and then the *Dutch* Ambassador had Orders to present his Majesty with 100000 Pounds, if he would command the Company not to use Violence. He snapd at the Bait, and defeated the Design to all Intents and Purposes.

CHAPTER XVIII

Continues the Observations on the Affairs of Bombay, with the Articles exhibited by Mr. Child, in order to embroil the Company's Affairs with the Mogul and his Subjects.

THE Company having such a Number of great Ships on their Hands, were obliged to send them abroad; but having no Stock to employ them, ordered the General and Chiefs of their Factories in *India* to borrow what Sums they could on the Company's Credit, from the *Indian* Merchants, to lade their Ships Home, which accordingly they did, and what they could not lade Home, they were to employ by Freights in *India*. And I saw a Letter from the Governor of the Company in *England*, intimating, that when they had got as much Credit of the *Mogul's* Subjects as they could, then they would pick Quarrels with the Creditors, and put a general Stop to their Trade, which was accordingly done; for, in 1686 and 87. the *Surat* Merchants traded briskly by Sea to *Mocha*, *Persia* and *Bassora*, to the Westward, and to *Bengal*, *Atcheen*, *Malacca* and *Siam*, to the Eastward. The General granting Passes to all who required them, then, about the latter End of the Year 1687. he laid down a Complaint and Grievance before the Governor of *Surat*, and demanded Redress and Satisfaction. The Articles of his Grievances I saw in a printed Copy, and were as follows, in 35 Articles.

I. "Last Year a Ship of *Molah Abdel Gafoar's* coming from *Juddah*, 'in her Return met with two *Danish* Pirates, who made a Prize of her. 'The News coming to *Surat*, the said *Molah Abdel Gafoar*, by Perswasions of '*Meir Nazam*, and other Merchants, made their Complaints to *Salabat Caun* '(then Governor) and other Officers of *Surat*, saying, the *English* belonging 'to *Surat*, had taken his Ship, at the same Time sending his Attorney to 'Court, to complain to the King, who ordered the Governor, &c. Officers 'of *Surat*, to enquire into it, and do Justice accordingly. In this Affair, by 'Bribery, and disgracing me to the King and his Subjects, as also the '*Dutch*, *French*, and other Nations, making them believe it to be true, for 'which Disgrace I am not able to trade in these Parts; but I hope the 'Disgrace will light on him, that hereafter no such Scandal may be put 'on me, or any other, we having traded here these 80 or 90 Years, but 'never before accused as Robbers, but daily enriched the Port of *Surat*.

II. "The Complaints of *Molah Abdel Gafoar* have been much to my 'Prejudice, by reason I could not clear my Money out of the Custom-house, nor ship my Goods for *Europe*, which were seized and hindred,

'which hath made me leave the Port and Trading, and retire to *Bombay*.
'I have by me 30 or 40 Lack of Rupees in Money and Goods in a Readiness; if you please to send any Body, you may be certified of the Truth.
'Consider the Loss I am at in the Use of my Money, Damage of my Goods, and detaining my Ships a Year. I desire your Answer.

III. "*Mulah Abdel Gafoar's* disgracing me, makes People afraid to trust me, my Credit being lost by his false Reports, having 12 Ships laden with Goods, which I designed to have sent to *Surat*, there to have provided Goods, and relade for *Europe*; but his disgracing me is the Occasion of the great Charges I am at, my Ships wintering in these Parts, and my Goods lying on my Hands, we Merchants trading for Profit, which Hindrance hath not only been a great Loss to the King in his Customs, but to me, which I must answer to my Masters.

IV. "Mr. *Petit* and Mr. *Boucher* being indebted to the Company several Sums of Money, I would have called them to account for the same; but they, like Traitors, went to the Governor *Cortalab Caun* for Protection. As for Mr. *Petit* he is dead, and gone to the Devil. Mr. *Boucher* still remains at *Surat*. I demand him, his Wife, Child, or Children, Family, and all *English* Men belonging to him, with their Effects, that they be delivered to me, and that he may not make his Escape from *Surat*.

V. "Formerly such Goods as we brought from the *Malabar* Coast, *Mocha*, and other Parts, which were for *Europe*, and not to sell here, we had Liberty to bring them ashore at *Swally*, to clean them, and ship again, without paying Custom; but the Governor *Cortalab Caun*, in his Time, forced us to pay Custom for those Goods. My Demand is, that what he took more than the former Customs, may be restored, and he do not the like again.

VI. "Of late Years we bring more Money than formerly, which hath much enricht the Port, of which the Governor did acquaint the King, who was pleased to take no more than 2 *per Cent.* we paying no more for many Years. Of late the Governor of *Surat* did write to the King, to make us pay three and one half *per Cent.* for Money as well as Goods, which has been a great Prejudice to our Trade. My Desire is, that we may pay no more than formerly, and that the former Overplus may be repaid. Which Exactings made *Salabat Caun* over-rate our Goods in the Custom-house, to our great Damage.

VII. "Formerly we never paid Custom for Apparel or Provisions, but of late *Salabat Caun* forced us to pay Custom for them. My Desire is that may be repaid, and, for the future, no more Trouble on that Account.

VIII. "When our Goods came out of the Country, if robbed by Thieves or otherwise on the Road, it is the King's Order, that the Governors and Officers make good all Damages, or else the King to satisfy us himself. Few Years since our Goods coming from *Amadabant* and *Durrimgum*, were robbed in the Way to *Surat*. We have petitioned the Governor of *Surat* for Satisfaction, but never obtained any. My Desire is, that the King order Satisfaction to be made for the Loss we sustained, being great and considerable.

IX. "Several of the Natives are indebted to us, of whom we can get no Satisfaction, having several Times made Complaints to the Governors, where they reside, for their Assistance, but, as yet, could have no Redress from them. Our Desire is, that all Governors and their Officers may be assistant to us in recovering our Debts.

X. "We bring more Treasure into the Country than any other Nation, which is carried to the Custom-house, when cleared from thence, we send it to the Mint to be coined; but the Officers, for their own Interest, delay the Coining, to the Hindrance of the Dispatching our Business, for, if our Cash was coined in Time, we could have our Investments out of the Country, and lade our Ships according to the Monsoons or Season of the Year. Our Request is, that, for the future, the Coiners may not delay the Coining, and that our Treasure may be coined apart, for its more speedy Performance.

XI. "At the Arival of our Ships, when unladen, we carry our Goods to the Custom-house, where they are thrown up and down very carelessly, where they are broken, damaged and stolen. Our Request is, that we may have a Ware-house apart by that of the *Dutch*, to put our Goods in, that we may be no further Sufferers, that, when we dispose of our Goods, or send them to our Factory, that the Customer take Account of the King's Customs, clearing them without farther Molestation.

XII. "Formerly when we cleared our Treasure, &c. Goods from the Custom-house, we used to make up the Account of our Customs at the latter End of the Year, and then paid it. Of late Years the Officers of the Custom-house daily and monthly send to our Broker, demanding the Custom, for which Reason we are forced to fee the Officers not to affront our Broker, which has been much to our Prejudice. Our Request is, that they demand not the Customs till the End of the Year, as formerly accustomed.

XIII. "When *Gassadean Caun* was Governor of *Surat*, by Order of the King, the City was walled, at which Time we had a Garden near *Bramapore* Gate, about which we built 34 Shops, Stables for Horses, a

'Summer-house, and several other convenient Places, all firm Buildings, 'which cost to the Amount of 25000 Rupees, when the Wall came near 'our Garden, our Buildings were broke down, and our Garden spoiled. 'We petitioned the Governor for Satisfaction, he promised to allow us 'the Charges out of the King's Treasury; but we have not received any 'Satisfaction. We demand Satisfaction for the said Charges.

XIV. "Formerly when our Goods came from other Parts to *Surat*, we 'paid no more than due Custom, and shipped them for *Europe*, or other 'Places, without any farther Trouble. Of late Years the Officers of those 'Places, from whence our Goods come, put us to much Trouble in 'demanding the Governor's and Officers of *Surat*'s Receipts of us, and many 'Times detain our Goods on that Account, by which their Proceedings 'our Ships sometimes return empty, and sometimes are forced to remain 'in the Country, which is a great Loss to the King in his Customs, 'as well as to us. Our Request is, that, for the future, such Receipts 'may not be demanded of us, but that we may have the same Liberty as 'formerly.

XV. "When our Goods are in a Readiness, we send them to the 'accustomed Place to be shopt, with a true Invoice of the Contents of the 'Bales. Formerly they used to make Choice of one or two Bales, and if 'they found them according to Invoice, then to shop and clear the rest 'without any farther Trouble. Of late the Customer, &c. Officers, for 'their Interest, and to delay Time, open most of our Goods, which is not 'only a great Charge to us in repacking our Goods, but also our Goods 'are damaged. Our Desire is, that they may be shopt and shipt according 'to Invoice, without any farther Trouble, as accustomary.

XVI. "Our Sloops and Boats coming from *Swally* to the Custom-house, the *Meerbar* used to search them, if empty, cleared them, without 'any farther Trouble. Of late Years the *Meerbar*, &c. Officers will not 'clear them in three or four Days, which is a great Hindrance to us in the 'Dispatch of our Business. Our Desire is, they may be searcht and cleared 'as formerly, without Delay.

XVII. "Sometimes Merchants that buy our Goods, break, plead 'Poverty, that they have not wherewithal to pay us, applying ourselves to 'the Governor, &c. Officers for Justice, and their Assistance, we can 'have no Redress. Our Desire is, either that the Governor, &c. Officers 'order Payment to be made, or to satisfy us out of the King's Customs, that 'we may be no longer Sufferers by his Subjects.

XVIII. "Sometimes we send our Brokers or Servants to the Governor, ' &c. Officers, as our Affairs require, who cannot be admitted without

‘bribing the Servants of said Governor, &c. Officers. We desire it may be remedied for the future.

XIX. “Our Horses that come from *Persia*, *Bassora*, &c. at their Arrival we used to send them to our Stables, without farther Delay. Of late Years at their landing are carried to the Governor, his Seal put about their Necks, and ourselves not trusted to use or dispose of them. Our Desire is, that we may either ride them, or dispose of them as formerly.

XX. “The Governor, &c. Officers often send to us for broad Cloth, Sword-blades, &c. in Civility we cannot deny them, but when we send for the Money, they deny the Payment, and abuse our Servants, by which we are Sufferers. Our Desire is, that, for the future, if the Governor, &c. Officers desire any Goods, they may pay for them before they carry them away.

XXI. “Goods provided at *Agra*, *Amadabant*, &c. coming to *Baroach*, the Governor forces us to pay 18 *per Mill*. Custom, which is contrary to the King’s Order, for we ought to pay but in one Place as the *Moors* and *Banyans*. Our Desire is to be cleared of that Custom, that at the Arrival of our Goods at *Surat*, they may be sent for out abroad without farther Trouble, paying the King his due Custom. We desire the same Goods shipt at *Baroach*, *Cambay*, &c. that our Ships may not lose their Passage to *Europe*.

XXII. “At the Arrival of our *European* Ships, we send our Goods to the Custom-house, when cleared, carry them to the Factory, sometimes we have present Vend, and sometimes we send them to other Places, as we think convenient, and for our Interest; in case we send our Goods to any other Place, within the Term of six Months, then to pay half Custom for the said Goods, but, if kept a full Year, then to pay full Custom. Sometimes we send to *Swally* more Goods than will lade our Ships, the Remainder we dare not keep there, for Fear of Fire or Thieves. Our Request is, that for all such Goods as have paid Custom, we may freely bring them to *Surat*, keep them there for our next Shipping, and ship them off without farther Trouble or Demands.

XXIII. “Our Servants, *English*, *Gentows*, and others, many Times we send up the Country, for the speedier Dispatching of our Affairs. When we send to them for our Accounts, being at a Distance, and out of our Reach, like to Mr. *Petit* and Mr. *Boucher*, they go to the Governors for Protection, by which Means we cannot call them to an Account, to our great Loss, and farther proceeding against them. Our Request is, that whatever *English* Man, employed in your Service, without our

'Leave and Discharge, that they, with their Effects and Estates, be
'delivered to us, that they may not be protected, but that we may proceed
'against them, as we think convenient.

XXIV. "It is near 90 Years that we have traded here. At our first
'Coming, the King granted us a Piece of Ground for a *Bunder* to repair our
'Ships and Vessels. Of late Years *Meer Nassam* hath forced it from us,
'and made it a Garden. We are destitute of a Place for repairing our
'Vessels, and other Conveniences. Our Request is, that we may have
'the same Ground as formerly, or some other near the Water Side, fitting
'our Occasions.

XXV. "Formerly we used to pay for each Bale of Indigo, two and an
'half Rupees *per* Bale, without opening it. Of late Years the Officers open
'it, valuing it at their Pleasure, damaging the Goods, which is a great
'Loss and Charge to us in repacking it. Our Desire is, that, for the future,
'it may not be opened, paying the Custom as formerly.

XXVI. "The Governor, &c. Officers buy of us, for the King's Account,
'Iron, Guns, Lead, giving us some Money in Hand. When they are
'turned out, and others come, when we demand the Remainder, they
'delay the Payment of the Money, saying the King did not want our
'Goods, that we may take them again, sometimes after they have kept
'them one or two Years. Our Request is, that whatever they buy of us
'for the King's Account, we may be paid before they take them from us,
'and whatever Goods we have that the King has no Occasion for, we
'may dispose of them at our Pleasure.

XXVII. "As to the Island of *Bombay*, it produceth no Corn. The
'*Mogul's* Fleet often winters there, which makes Provisions scarce and
'dear. We are in Want of Supplies from *Surat*, and other the *Mogul's*
'Ports. When we send to these Places, the said Governor and Officers
'will not let us have any without giving them one and one Fourth *per*
'*Cent*. Our Request is, to be free of this Tax, that we may have Liberty
'of sending what is necessary for Supply of the King's People and said
'Island.

XXVIII. "A Ship, with her Cargo, to the Amount of 254000 Rupees,
'came out of *England* without our King's Licence, which came to *Surat*.
'Our King's Orders came to us to seize Ship and Cargo, which accordingly
'we did; but *Salabat Caun* then being Governor, forced her from us, and
'delivered her to Mr. *Boucher*. Our Desire is, the said Ship may be
're-delivered us, that Mr. *Boucher* and his Broker give us a just and true
'Account of the Remainder of the Cargo, and that the Governor take
'Care it be not squandred away by them.

XXIX. "'Tis the King's Grant, that Merchants pay but one Custom for their Goods, without farther Molestation, and, when they pay it, to take a Discharge. Of late Years, the Officers have forced us to pay double Custom, besides their Perquisites which they have demanded, which has been a great Hindrance to the timely Arrival of our Goods. We desire we may not be forced to pay more than accustomed.

XXX. "We formerly rented a Piece of Ground for Stables, on which we were at considerable Charges in building and Reparations. *Meer Nassam*, by buying it, deprived us of it. We desire he may satisfy us the said Charges.

XXXI. "Some Years since we lost an Anchor at the River's Mouth, which *Mirza Mossum's* People took up. We have often demanded it, offering to defray the Charges he was at, but cannot get it. Our Request is, that his Son *Mirza Mahomud Araff* deliver the same, we paying the Charges they were at.

XXXII. "At the Arrival of our Ships, they send the Boat up with News. At the Custom-house they stop her a whole Day before they will let our People come ashore with Letters, which is a great Impediment to our Affairs. Our Request is, that they may not be hindered for the future, but suffered to land as soon as they come to the Custom-house.

XXXIII. "As concerning my *Bengal*, we hear several Ships have been taken and burnt, in which Affair we are not concerned, neither do we know whether Peace be concluded there or not. Our Request is, that the King issue out his Orders, that no Person question us, or make Demands on us on that Account.

XXXIV. "Some Years ago the *Sedee*, with the King's Fleet, wintered at *Bombay*, in which Time some of his People murdered two of our English Men, which made our Men resolutely resolve to revenge their Death, but, with great Perswasions were pacified, being promised Satisfaction. We acquainted the Governor of it, who ordered the Murderers to be imprisoned; but, three Days after, they were cleared by the *Sedee*. Our Request is, they may be delivered, that we may prosecute them, and that Justice may be done.

XXXV. "When we are minded to take our Pleasure out of the City, altho' we return before the usual Time of shutting the Gates, the Porters shut them against us, demanding Money before they will let us enter the City. Our Request is, that Order be given by the Governor, that we be no more affronted by those People."

These Grievances were the Foundation on which General *Child* built a War with the *Mogul*, without ever sending them to Court to know the

King's Pleasure, but, without declaring War, seized his Subjects Ships wherever they were found, altho' they had the Sanction of his own Passes. If the fourth Article be *Christian* the *Mahometans* and *Heathens* abhor it. The seventeenth and twenty third are unjust, as well as the twenty eighth; and the thirty and thirty first were but weak Arguments to help to support his Complaints and raise a War, that cost his Masters above 400000 Pounds before they could lay it, besides the Loss of their Credit with the *Mogul* and his Subjects, which, to this Time, is not quite recovered. Or by what Rule in Policy could Sir *Josiah* or Sir *John Child* think to rob, murder and destroy the *Mogul's* Subjects in one Part of his Dominions, and the Company to enjoy a free Trade in the other Parts? or how they could expect that he would stand neuter, let Politicians answer them, and I'll proceed.

The General having such a Number of great Ships on his Hands, and little Employment for them, sent them to *Mocha*, *Persia* and *Bengal*, where the *Suraters* had sent theirs under the Protection of his Passes. Captain *Andrews* in the *Charles II.* went to *Mocha*, and set up the King of *England's* Flag on his Factory, and there he seized two *English* Ships, one from *England*, called the *Streights Merchant*, commanded by Captain *Bear*, and another belonging to Mr. *Samuel White* at *Siam*. She was commanded by one Captain *Wren*, whom they killed in his Cabbin, because he would not deliver his Ship up voluntarily. There was but little of their Cargoes on board of the Ships, so they might as well have let them alone: However such Doings displeased the Governor and Merchants of *Mocha*, and they had a Design to force Captain *Andrews* to restore the Ships, but he suspecting as much, fled on board, and left his Colours flying on his Factory.

He soon after left *Mocha*, and carried his two Prizes with him, and Mr. *Clive*, Supercargo of the *Streights Merchant*, got Bills for his Stock, payable at *Grand Cairo*, except about 60 Bales of Coffee that he carried with him to *England*, where it sold very well, and the Company were obliged by the Law to make good all the Ship's Cargo *pro rata*, as those 60 Balcs sold for, which amounted to 32000 Pounds. The *Bristol's* Cargo was also made good to her Owners, with the Ship that was taken at *Johanna* by the *Phenix*, which came to 60000 Pounds. And the *Little Betty*, that was also taken by the *Phenix* in her Way to *India*, cost them 12000 Pounds, tho' she and her Cargo were sold at *Bombay* for less than 600 Pounds. The Owner of that Vessel was one Mr. *Hastewell* a Quaker, and a substantial Merchant in *London*, who arrested Captain *Tyrrel* going off the Exchange. The Captain proffered King *James* for Bail, but the Quaker would not accept of him, but was content to accept of Sir *Joseph Herne*, who became Bail.

The *Charles*, *Cesar*, and *Royal James* and *Mary* way-laid the *Surat* Shipping, and brought in fourteen Sail to *Bombay*, where I saw them lying in *Anno* 1688. and yet no War with the *Mogul*, only with the Inhabitants of *Surat*, whom he threatned to humble.

In *October* 1688. he went to *Surat* Road, in the *Royal James* and *Mary*, with three or four other Ships of Countenance, to try if he could bully the Governor, and frighten the Merchants into a Compliance of losing their Estates, but was disappointed in both. He staid there till the Beginning of *January* 1689. and then left *Surat* in an Huff, and brought all the *English* Ships along with him, except the Ship *Adventure*, whom the *Phenix* had forced over the Bar, when she was lying at the River's Mouth, taking in a Cargo for *England*, under the Protection of Mr. *Boucher's* *Phirmaund*, which was the Grievance complained of in the 28 Article: However, her Supercargo dying, the Ship's Bottom was eaten up with Worms in the River, and Part of the Cargo remained many Years in Mr. *Boucher's* Possession.

On the General's Passage to *Bombay*, he met with a Fleet of Vessels that were carrying Corn to an Army of the *Mogul's* that lay at *Dunder-rajah-pore*, about 14 Leagues to the Southward of *Bombay*. That Fleet he also seized, and carried to *Bombay*, tho' against the Opinion of most of his Council. Before this Seizure he askt the Opinion of some Sea-officers, and one Captain *Hilder*, being the eldest, advised him not to meddle with the Corn Fleet, because it would straiten the Army, and force them to look abroad for Provisions, where it might best be procured, and perhaps might affect *Bombay*, which was in a great Measure beholden to their Neighbours for Sustenance and Fire-wood. The General took him up with scurrilous Language, calling him Coward and Fool, and bragg'd, that if *Sedee Yacoup* (which was the *Mogul's* General's Name) should dare to come with his Forces on *Bombay*, he would blow him off again with the Wind of his Bum.

Cowards are generally stout when Dangers are at a Distance, and so was our General, who had never seen a Sword drawn in Anger, and consequently very ill acquainted with War; and when it came to his Door, none was ever so confounded and dejected as he was, as appeared by his Conduct in that War that he so foolishly brought on himself and his Country.

CHAPTER XIX

Gives an Account of the War of Bombay, between the Mogul and the English East-india Company, with Aurengzeb's Letters of Advice to the Governor of Bombay, on granting them a Peace and new Indulgences in Trade.

WHEN the News came to *Sedee Yacoup*, that his Fleet, with his Provisions of Corn and Cloth, were seized and carried to *Bombay*, he sent a civil Letter to our General to discharge his Fleet, protesting, that as he had not meddled in the Affairs between him and the *Suraters*, he would continue neuter, unless he was forced to do otherwise: But our General gave him an insolent Answer, and the Fleet was unladed at *Bombay*.

Sedee Yacoup sent again to desire the Delivery of his Fleet in fair Terms, otherwise he would be obliged to come with his Army, and quarter on *Bombay*, where his Provisions were detained, and that if his Fleet was not set at Liberty before the 11 of *February*, which was near at hand, he would certainly be on *Bombay* the 14. but still receiving uncivil Answers, he performed his Promise to a Tittle, for that very Night he landed at a Place called *Souree* (about four Miles distant from the main Fort) with 20000 Men at his Back.

Our General's Security had made him neglect providing for receiving such Guests, trusting to the Reputation of his Forces, who were greater then than ever they had been before, or ever were since that Time, and he had small Ships enow, had they been placed in proper Places, that might certainly have hindred his Landing, and forced him Home again; but all those necessary Preparations were neglected, and the *Sedee* landed at Mid-night, and the Redoubt where he landed, fired a great Gun to give the Alarm, and so deserted their Post, and the *Sedee* took Possession of it. At One in the Morning the Castle fired three Guns to give the general Alarm, which brought such Fear on those that lived securely in their Houses without the Castle, that the poor Ladies, both white and black, run half-naked to the Fort, and only carried their Children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the Wall, till Daylight relieved them.

Next Morning the *Sedee* marched to *Mazagun*, a small Fort of 14 Guns, and about a random Shot distant from the Castle. On the Enemy's Approach, that Fort, tho' situated on a Point of Rocks, where the Sea defended three Quarters of it, was also deserted in such Precipitancy,

that eight or ten Chests of Treasure, which generally contain 1000 Pounds each, and four Chests of new Arms, were left behind, tho' the Seamen that were sent in Boats to bring them off, proffered to carry them along with them; but the commanding Officer thought them not fit to be trusted with Money and Arms, and so they were left for a Present to *Sedee Yacoup*, with fourteen Cannon, two Mortars, with some Powder, Shot and Shells: But why that Treasure, and those Arms and Ammunition were deposited in *Mazagun*, few could account for, and the Reasons why they were left to the Enemy were as wonderful; but it was plain, that the old Way of Fishing in troubled Waters was known at *Bombay*, and the Officer was never called to account for his Oversight.

Sedee Yacoup finding no Opposition, sent a Party of Men towards *Mahim*, to plunder the poor Peasants, and to take that Fort, which, he thought, might be deserted as the rest had been, and was not in the least out in his Conjecture, for the Garison had embark'd in Boats, and came by Sea to *Bombay*, before they saw an Enemy. The *Sedee* taking Possession of *Mazagun*, hoisted his Flag there, and made it his head Quarters.

The following Day some of the Enemy appeared on *Mazagun Hills*, which grieved our General's righteous Soul to see Infidels come so near him in an hostile Manner. He called a Minion of his own, one Captain *Pean*, who was no better Soldier than himself, and ordered him to take two Companies, each containing about seventy Men, and march to those Hills, and drive the Enemy out of his Sight. He ordered one *Monro*, who had been a Soldier at *Tangier*, to be his Lieutenant. In *Tangier* he had received a Wound in his Heel, that spoiled his Running, and accordingly they marched in good Order within Shot of the Enemy, who shewed their Heads above the Surface of the Hill, but did not offer to advance or expose their Bodies. Several Gentlemen Volunteers took their Arms, and accompanied the little Army.

The Lieutenant advised the Captain to march up the Hill in Platoons, to separate the Enemy's Forces. The Captain took it as an Affront to be advised, told his Lieutenant, that, when he had the Command in his own Hands, he might use it as he thought fit, but, as it was intrusted to him, he would use it according to his own Mind, and so ordered his Men to spread as much as they could, and when they saw the Enemy open in the Plain, to discharge all at once amongst them, which, he said, would terrify them. *Monro* opposed his Scheme, and told him of the Danger he would bring himself and them into, if the Enemy should attack them whilst their Arms were reloading; but nothing could dissuade him from his Project, and so commanded his Men to fire as he had directed. The

Sedee's being ten to one in Numbers, and better Runners than our Men, and better acquainted with close Fighting with Sword and Target, took hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with all their Speed, which the Captain perceiving, betook himself to his Heels, and was the foremost Man to the *Portuguese* Church, where he took Courage to look behind him, to see what was become of his Men. Poor *Monro* thinking to stop the Enemy's Carreer by a Part of the Wing that he commanded, found himself deserted by all, but 13 or 14 stout Fellows, who were soon surrounded by the Enemy, and cut to Pieccs.

Pean had not stopt at the *Portuguese* Church, had he not found a Party of 100 Men that lay there ready to support or receive him, as his Case should require. He was a Fellow as well made for running as any I ever saw, and was so much in the General's Favour, that he had not so much as a Reprimand for his Cowardice and Misbehaviour. This Relation I had from a Gentleman Volunteer, who kept always near the Captain while he could keep Pace with him.

When the General left *Surat*, there were several Gentlemen in it, some in the Company's Service, and some private Persons, who were all imprisoned, and put in Irons, except Mr. *Boucher* and his Dependents, who were protected by his *Phirmaund*. Those imprisoned were scurvily used, being obliged to pass thro' the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to please the Mob. Captain *Johnson* and Captain *Yeaman*, tho' particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragic-comedy, and continue Prisoners, where Captain *Johnson* died, but Captain *Yeaman* got his Liberty at the End of the War, which was about the Beginning of *June* 1690.

I will now return back to the Year 1686. when Sir *John Weyburn* was sent from *England*, with a Commission of Judge Admiral from the King, and he had likewise another Commission from the Governor of the Company (which they made him believe was also from the King) to condemn and hang 13 of the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where, in a Tumult caused by the Oppressions of the Governor of that Island, one *Johnson* the Second was killed. Sir *John Weyburn* took his Passage to *India* on board the Ship *London*, and, in his Way, called at *St. Helena*, and hanged up the 13 proscribed Persons, without Form of Process, for which the Company paid dear afterwards, and so had Sir *John*, had he lived; but he finding the illegal Proceedings of Mr. *Child* to be insupportable, and meeting with many Affronts (from that Man without Manners) died at *Bombay* about two Months before the *Sedee* came on it. He was much lamented by all honest Men that knew him. He was Captain of the

Happy Return who accompanied the *Glocester* when she was bringing the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, and lost by the Way. It was Captain *Weyburn* that sent his Barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him safe on board of the *Happy Return*, who carried him forward to *Scotland*, for which good Service he was knighted. He was ever after a great Favourite of King *James*, who seeing he could not be brought into his Measures, put that Employ on him, to dismiss him with Honour.

And now the *Sedee* being Master of the whole Island, except the Castle and about half a Mile to the Southward of the Castle, he raised Batteries on *Dungeree* Hill, which overlookt the Fort Wall, and disturbed the Garrison very much; then he put four great Guns in the Custom-house, commonly called the *India-house*, and raised a Battery at the *Moody's* House, within 200 Paces of the Fort, and another in the Lady's House that he had been so unkind to, so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Castle Gate, till we got up an half Moon before it. All Men were then prest into the Company's Service, and I amongst the rest. We past the Months from *April* to *September* very ill, for Provisions grew scarce by the Addition of 3000 *Sevajees* that were employed as Auxiliaries in the military Service of the Company. When the Winter Months were over, at *September* we went to Sea with our small Ships, to cruize on the *Mogul's* Subjects, and had pretty good Success. I was employed in that Service, and had the Command of a small Privateer of 7 or 8 Tuns, with twenty fighting Men, and sixteen Rowers. In three or four Months I brought nine Prizes into *Bombay*, laden most with Provisions and Clothes for the Enemy's Army, which was now increased to 40000. but we were not allowed any Plunder, but were rather plundred our selves, for when we brought our Prizes in, our Chests were severely searcht, and if we had saved any of our Pay, it was seized for the Company's Use, as Money we had found in the Prizes, which made us careless in pursuing the Enemy at Sea. Except when Hunger pinchd we never lookt out for Prizes, by which Indifference of ours many of the Enemy escaped that we could have taken.

The ill Success we had ashore with the Enemy, made our General sick, and, in *December*, he dispatcht two Factors to the *Mogul's* Court, with a *Surat* Merchant, called *Meer Mezamie*. He was our Friend, and had some Interest at Court. They went under the Name of the *English* Ambassadors. Mr. *George Weldon* was first in Commission, and *Abraham Navaar* a Jew was second. In fifteen Days they arrived at Court, being then at *Jehanabant*. They were received but coldly; but, about the Middle of *April*, by the special Assistance of Presents to the Officers at Court, they were admitted to Audience, but were brought to *Aurengzeb's* Presence after a new Mode

for Ambassadors, their Hands being tied by a Sash before them, and were obliged to prostrate. The King gave them a severe Reprimand, and then askt their Demands. They first made a Confession of their Faults, and desired Pardon, then that their *Phirmaund* which was forfeited, should be renewed, and that the *Sedee* and his Army should be ordered off *Bombay*. Their Submission he accepted of, and pardoned their Faults, on Condition that Mr. *Child* should leave *India* in nine Months, and never come back again, the *Phirmaund* to be renewed, on Condition that Satisfaction should be given his Subjects on account of Debts contracted, Robberies committed, and Losses and Damages made good, and, on Security given for the due Performances of these Premisses, the *Sedee* and his Army should be ordered off the Island. In *January* General *Child* died, which much facilitated their Affairs, but it was kept secret at Court, till they knew how the King would order the Affair about him. In *March* *Meer Mezamie* died also, and, it was supposed, was poisoned by some Enemies, contracted by his good Services to the *English*. When he was given over by Physicians, our Ambassadors sent to know what he had done with 50000 Rupees, he had received for secret Services. He answered, that he was sorry that ever he had meddled in their Affairs, for he had served them even with his Life, and yet they were not contented, for what Use that Sum was put to, he durst not divulge.

When our Affairs were in so bad Circumstances at the *Mogul's* Court, the *Dutch* Company had one Mr. *Baroon* their Ambassador there, who designed to impose on *Aurengzeb*, who, he thought, was ignorant of *European* Affairs. The News of the Revolution in *Britain* being arrived in *India*, when he had an Audience of *Aurengzeb*, he began to magnify the Power and Grandeur of his Country, and vilify the *English*. The *Mogul* seemed to be pleased with his Discourse, to encourage him to go on. He told, that the *English* were but contemptible in Comparison of his Sovereigns, for they were forced to send the *English* a King to rule over them, and that if his Majesty would exclude the *English* from the Trade of his Dominions, the *Hollanders* would carry it to a much greater Height, and enrich his Treasury, and the *English* would not know where to get Bread. The *Mogul* gravely answered, That if his Masters were so much superior to the *English* in Power and Riches, they might easily drive them out of *India*, and engross all the Trade of his Countries to themselves, and commanded him to tell his Masters, that he expected it from them. Then the Ambassador excused himself, and told, that he could act nothing in that Affair till he received Orders from *Holland*. *Aurengzeb* then reprimanded him, and shewed him wherein he had lied, for, says he, about

seventeen Years ago, the King of *France* conquered most of your Country in a few Days, and that it was the *English*, and not the Power of *Holland*, that repelled him, and that if *England* did not hold the Balance of Power, either the Emperor or the King of *France* could conquer it in one Campaign.

The Ambassador knew not how to answer to those Truths: But, being sent to sollicite some Indulgence in their Trade, he could obtain none, and so left the Court dissatisfied.

After our Ambassadors had obtained Pardon, they began to be respected, and had Liberty to take their Diversion abroad, till a new *Phirmaund* was drawing up, which, according to the Method of the eastern Courts, took up some Time: However Orders were sent to the *Sedee* to forbear Hostilities, and the *English* had the same Orders, so that frequent Visits past between the *Sedee's* People and ours. And, during the War, about 60 *Europeans* of several Nations, had deserted from us, and took Pay of the *Sedee*. The Reason they gave for their Desertion, was ill Usage they had received from some *Irish* Officers; yet most of them returned after the War, on Promise of Pardon.

The *Phirmaund* being ready, and the required Security given, *Sedee Yacoup* left *Bombay* the 8 of *June*, 1690. but he also left a Pestilence behind him, which, in four Months Time, destroyed more Men than the War had done, and, for Joy, made a malicious Bonfire of his head Quarters *Mazagun* Fort.

Now we may see the *Mogul's* Stile in his new *Phirmaund* to be sent to *Surat*, as it stands translated by the Company's Interpreters, which runs thus in the printed Copy annex to Sir *John Child's* 35 Articles of Grievances.

THE Occasion of your writing to me, was your being in Fault of all these Troubles, that you have repented of what you have done, that you made several Complaints against former Governors, all which I have here from several of my Umbras, and the several Abuses received from them, and their Officers, all which you should have acquainted me with, before you proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged your Error, and desired Pardon, I do not only grant your Request, pardoning what is past, but granting you a *Phirmaund* according to your Desire, and have ordered *Assit Caun* to forward it to the Governor of *Surat*, with such Particulars as he will acquaint you with.

At the Arrival of my *Phirmaund*, receive it with great Respect, acknowledging the great Glory you have got in obtaining the same, that you may trade as formerly at your Pleasure, and as accustomary. That you deliver the Merchants, that have complained against you, their Ships with their Effects. That, for the future, you do

not commit the like Error, in doing as you have done, and proceed according to my Will and Pleasure, and be not forgetful of the same.

If you receive any Affronts from my Governors, or their Officers, or any of my Subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me of the same. I have ordered Assit Caun to write accordingly.

What you write concerning former Governors, protecting Mr. Boucher, that you have several Demands of him, that you cannot call him to an Account, desiring that he may be delivered to you. My Order is, that you prove your Demands according to Law, that Justice may be done accordingly.

Dated the 31 Year of Aurengzeb's Reign.

It seems the King was not ignorant of the hard Usage his Subjects had met with, nor was he desirous to use Severity in punishing Offences and Affronts; but, like an indulgent Prince, only told them of their Faults, and prudently admonished them not to be guilty of falling into such like Errors, and, in a majestick Stile, advised them to receive his Favours and Graces with great Respect, and that they ought to make the Law the Standard of Justice, and, in all his Words and Actions, used a *Christian Moderation*.

General Child being dead, Mr. John Vaux succeeded him in the Government of *Bombay*; but Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who had been Prisoner at *Surat* (all the Time of the Rupture) had the Seigniority in the Company's Service; but it being not the Custom, for one that had been the *Mogul's* Prisoner (for any Crimes judged to be capital) to receive publick Marks of Esteem from the State, without a singular Amnesty from the King, Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to *Surat* and receive the *Phirmaund* and the King's *Serpaw* or Present, which, on such Occasions, is generally a fine Horse, and a Suit of Clothes from Head to Foot, made of rich Atlases or *Zeerbastas*. Those are Sattins or Taffataes full of Gold or Silver Flowers wrought in them. The Horse must never after be sold, on no Account whatsoever. They have also a fine Turband, embroidered Shoes, and a Dagger of Value, stuck into a fine *Cummerband* or Sash; and, being equipt in that Habit, the *Phirmaund* is presented (by the *Goosberdaar* or *Hosbalhouckain*, or, in *English*, the King's Messenger,) and the Governor of the Province or City makes a short Speech adapted to the Occasion, setting forth the great Honour conferred upon him by the greatest King in the World, with an Admonition to make future Actions deserve the Merit of such Favours.

After the aforesaid Manner Mr. Vaux received the *Phirmaund* in a gilded Box, and, according to Custom, put it on his Turband for a little While,

and, by an Interpreter, returned the Governor's Compliment, acknowledging the King's Favours, and the Governor's Civilities; and then the Governor conducted him from the Garden (where the Ceremony was performed) into the City, through a great Concourse of People, who welcomed him with Shouts of Joy as he past thro' the Streets to the *English Factory*.

After Mr. *Vaux* had staid in the City about a Week, he sent to acquaint the Governor of the Necessity he lay under to return back to his Government of *Bombay*; but the Governor sent him Word, that none but he could be trusted by the King to see the Performance of the Contract accomplished, and begged, that he would not think of leaving the City, lest the King should take it amiss, and repent him of the Favours he had shewed to the *East-india Company*; and so Mr. *Vaux* was detained an Hostage for his Masters future good Behaviour.

Mr. *Harris*, according to that Company's ordinary Custom, demanded the Presidency from Mr. *Vaux*, who, to save Contention, gave it to him, tho' his Mind was so debilitated, that he was but few Degrees wiser than an Ideot, and, in two Years Time, Mr. *Vaux* was suspended the Company's Service, and to remain their Hostage at his own Charges, and so he continued till the Year 1697. that he, by Accident, was drowned in *Surat River*, by a Pinnace's oversetting, in which he and his Lady had been taking a Pleasure on the Water.

This Mr. *Vaux* had been Book-keeper to Sir *Josiah Child* in *England*, and, for his good Services and Behaviour, was preferred by his Master to a Supercargo's Post in a Ship to *China*, which Trade, in those Times, was the most profitable of any within the Limits of the Company's Charter. In Anno 1684. he was sent thither on board a Ship called the *Carolina*, commanded by one Captain *Harding*; but, Mr. *Vaux* and *Harding* disagreeing in their Passage to *China*, Mr. *Vaux* laded the Ship, and sent her back to *England*, while he himself went Passenger on board a *Surat Ship* for *Bombay*, where he was entertained in the Company's Service as a Factor, and wrote to Sir *Josiah Child* the Reasons he had for leaving the *Carolina*, and his Resolution of staying in *India*. Sir *Josiah* continued his Esteem for Mr. *Vaux*, and procured him several profitable Posts at one and the same Time in the Company's Service, and, amongst the rest, constituted him Judge in civil Affairs, which brought him both a good Salary and Perquisites. After he was installed in that Office, Sir *Josiah* wrote him a Letter of Admonition and Reminiscence, wherein, after many Postulates, put him in Mind of the many Favours he had done him, and that now, having the Power of condemning the Company's Enemies, or

such as should be deemed so, particularly those who should dare to question the Company's Power over all the *British* Subjects in *India*, and that he expected his Orders, from Time to Time, should be observed and obeyed as statute Laws.

Mr. *Vaux* gratefully acknowledged Sir *Josiah's* Favours in his Answer to that Letter, and promised, that, as he had put him into that Post of Honour and Profit, he would strive to acquit himself with all the Integrity and Justice he was capable of, and that the Laws of his Country should be the Rule he designed to walk by.

In Answer to that Letter, Sir *Josiah* seemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. *Vaux*, that he expected his Orders were to be his Rules, and not the Laws of *England*, which were an Heap of Nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant Country Gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make Laws for the good Government of their own private Families, much less for the Regulating of Companies and foreign Commerce.

I am the more particular in this Account, because I saw and copied both those Letters in *Anno* 1696. while Mr. *Vaux* and I were Prisoners at *Surat*, on Account of Captain *Evory's* robbing the *Mogul's* great Ship, called the *Gunsway*.

Having given an Account of some Part of Sir *John Child's* Reign, I must also remark a few Slips in the Government of some of his Successors, and of the Ways that they took to get into the Chair of *Bombay*.

I remark'd before, that Mr. *Harris* was a very weak and indolent Person, very unfit to govern a Colony and the Factories subordinate to *Bombay*, and, by that Means, a cunning designing Fellow, one Mr. *Samuel Annesley* had the Reins of the Government wholly in his Management, who shewed, that he had malicious Wit and Avarice enough to embroil both his Masters and the private Merchants Affairs in *Surat* in *Harris's* Time, and, on *Harris's* Death, got into the Presidency, or rather Tyranny.

The *Mogul's* Subjects have a good many fine large Ships that trade all over *India*. The Owners of those Ships had a very great Regard for the Courage, Conduct, and Art of Navigation of the *English*, above any other *European* Nation in *India*; and, for those Qualifications, the *Indian* Owners procured *English* Officers to go in their Ships, and allowed them very handsom Salaries and Indulgences. The Captains had from 10 to 15 *L. per Month*. Mates from 6 to 9 *L.* and the Gunners and Boatswains had also good Salaries, besides the Privilege of carrying some Goods and Merchandizes, Freight free.

Mr. *Annesley* thought those Salaries and Indulgences were too great for

Seamen, so he went about to reduce them to about one Half, and the other Moiety he lookt on as his own due by virtue of his Post.

Some through Fear or Necessity complied, others again, who despised both his Power and Tyranny, would, by no Means, come into his Measures, and those he lookt on as Rebels, and persecuted them to the utmost of his Power, bribing the *Mogul's* Governor to plague us; so some were ruined by his Villany, whilst others bade him open Defiance: And we were not wanting on our Side to expose him and his Masters to the *Mogul's* Subjects, which, in the End, was the Loss of both their Esteem and Credit among the trading People of that Country. The poorer Sort, whose Maintenance depended on their Labour and Industry, losing their Employs in the *Moorish* Merchants Service, were obliged to fall on new Schemes to support themselves, not very well suited to the Company's Interest, for some went and joyned themselves with the Pirates.

The Company in *England* receiving Accounts from every one that came from *India*, of *Harris* and *Annesley's* Maladministrations, sent out Sir *John Gayer* to take Care of their Affairs. He arrived in *Anno* 1694. with the lofty Title of General of all *India*. He continued *Annesley* in the Company's Service till the Year 1700. but divested him of all Power of doing more Mischief; but, in the End, he dismiss him the Company's Service.

Sir *John Gayer* was a Man not vitious in his Temper, yet he had some Slips in his Government that proved prejudicial to his Character, tho', in Matters of common Commerce, he acted pretty regularly, till a young Lass of 3000 *L.* Portion made him dispense with the common Methods of Matrimony. This young Gentlewoman was a Daughter of Mr. *Ward's* before mentioned. She had no Relations alive, and unadvisedly married one Mr. *Solomon Loyd* a Factor, and the Marriage was clandestine, which was positively against the statute Law of *Bombay*, where no Marriage is binding but when the Governor's Consent is tackt to it. This Law Sir *John* had got by Heart, and unmarried the poor Factor after Consummation, and married her to his own Son; but the second Marriage was attended with ill Consequences, for, whilst her Husband was at *China*, one *Coleman* was ordered to teach her to write good *English*, but, neglecting those Orders, he taught her something else, and was discovered in the Practising, by a watchful Mother in Law. The poor School-master was sent, in Irons, on board of a Ship for *England*. And the poor Husband's Head aked as long as he lived.

Another Piece of ill Conduct was in forcing the *Mocha* Frigate's Men on board, against their Wills, to proceed on a Voyage to *China*, notwithstanding their just Complaints against *Edgewcomb* their Captain, whom

the Mutineers shot in his Cabin, and then turned Pirates, and infested the Streights of *Malacca*, robbing and plundering all Ships that they could overcome. Captain *Hide*, in the *Dorrel*, met her there in her Passage to *China*, and had a sharp Engagement with her, but got clear with the Loss of 16 Men killed, and some wounded, which disabled the *Dorrel* so, that she proceeded no farther than *Malacca*.

And another Fault of Sir *John*'s was in suffering himself and his Lady to be taken Prisoners at *Swally*, by the Governor of *Surat*'s Order, when he might either have avoided that Disgrace by Force or Flight; but it was generally believed, that that was only a Piece of Policy to get to *Surat*, in order to employ his Money, which he could do much better there than at *Bombay*.

Sir *Nicholas Waite* supplanted Sir *John* in the Government of *Bombay*, and in the Presidency. He was a Man of very loose Morals; and his bare-fac'd Injustices and Prevarications irritated the Inhabitants and Soldiery of *Bombay*, that they seized him, and sent him Prisoner for *England*. Tho' his Reign was short, it was very pernicious to his Masters, as well as to particular Merchants under his Jurisdiction. But, to return from this Digression,

Bombay was governed by a Deputy, since the President was obliged to stay at *Surat*. And of seven or eight hundred *English* that inhabited before the War, there were not above sixty left by the Sword and Plague, and *Bombay*, that was one of the pleasantest Places in *India*, was brought to be one of the most dismal Deserts; but the Spirit of Injustice still resided in it, for those who had ventured thro' the War and Plague in Defence of the Island, had not the Liberty of returning Home to their own Country, nor to raise their Fortune by private Trade, but all were continued prest Men in the Right Honourable Company's Service, without the Hope of Preferment, which made some Discontents.

And, even in the Time of War, when Strangers should have been encouraged to bring Provisions on the Island, the Company's Taxes of 5 *per Cent.* were exacted with great Severity, for I have seen the *Portugueze* Subjects bring twenty or thirty Poultry to the Market, and have had five of the best taken for the Custom of the rest.

CHAPTER XX

Gives an Account of what is remarkable on some Islands, and of the Sea-coast, as far as Goa.

Two Leagues from the Castle is a small Island belonging to the Company, called *Butcher's Island*, but of no Use, besides hauling Ships ashore to clean, and graze a few Cattle. And, a League from thence, is another larger, called *Elephanto*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, and serves only to feed some Cattle. I believe it took its Name from an



The Effegie of the God Gunnies

Elephant carved out of a great black Stone, about seven Foot in Height. It is so like a living Elephant, that, at two hundred Yards Distance, a sharp Eye might be deceived by its Similitude. A little Way from that stands an Horse, cut out of a Stone, but not so proportionable and well-shaped as the Elephant.

There is a pretty high Mountain stands in the Middle of the Island, shapt like a blunt Pyramid, and, about the Half of the Way to the Top, is a large Cave, that has two large Inlets, which serve both for Passage into it and Lights. The Mountain above it rests on large Pillars, hewn out of a solid Rock, and the Pillars curiously carved. Some have the Figures

of Men, about eight Foot high, in several Postures, but exceedingly well proportioned and cut. There is one that has a Giant with four Heads joyned, and their Faces looking from each other. He is in a sitting Posture, with his Legs and Feet under his Body. His right Hand is above twenty Inches long. There are several dark Rooms hewn out of the Rock, and a fine Spring of sweet Water comes out of one Room, and runs thro' the Cave out at one of the Inlets. I fired a Fuzee into one of the Rooms, but I never heard Cannon nor Thunder make such a dreadful Noise, which continued about half a Minute; and the Mountain seemed to shake. Assoon as the Noise was over, a large Serpent appeared, which made us take to our Heels, and got out of the Cave at one Door, and he, in great Haste, went out at the other. I judged him about 15 Foot long, and 2 Foot about. And these were all that I saw worth Observation on that Island. I askt the Inhabitants of the Island, who were all *Gentows*, or *Gentiles*, about twenty in Number, if they had any Account, by History or Tradition, who made the Cave, or the *Quadrupeds* carved in Stone; but they could give no Account. About a League from *Elephanto*, is an Island called *Salvageo*. It affords nothing but Fire-wood, with which it supplies *Bombay*. And, about half a League from it, is the Island of *Carronjaa*, belonging to the *Portuguese*. It affords no Trade, but Eatables for *Bombay*, from whence it lies East about two Leagues. Between it and the main Land, is the Mouth of *Pen River*. And four Leagues South of *Bombay*, are two small Islands, *Undra* and *Cundra*. The first has a Fortress belonging to the *Sedee*, and the other is fortified by the *Sevajee*, and is now in the Hands of *Gonnajee Angarie*. The *English* have made several Attempts to take it, but never could, tho' in *Anno* 1719. it had certainly been taken, had not a *Portuguese* Traitor, who lay on one Quarter of it with some Vessels of War to hinder Relief coming to it, betrayed his Trust, and let some Boats pass by in the Night with Provisions and Ammunition, which the Island was in great Want of. The *English* landed, and were obliged to retire by some Loss they received.

About four Miles to the South-east of *Cundra*, is *Culabee*, a Fort built on a Rock a little Way from the main Land; and, at high Water, it is an Island, belonging to the *Sevajee*. And, 2 Leagues to the South of *Culabee*, is *Chaul*, a Town belonging to the *Portuguese*, whose River affords an Harbour for small Vessels. The Town is fortified, and so is an Island on the South Side of the Harbour, called *Chaul Moar*, which may be known 5 or 6 Leagues off at Sea, by a white Church built on it. *Chaul*, in former Times, was a noted Place for Trade, particularly for fine embroidered Quilts; but now it is miserably poor.

Dande Rajapore lies seven Leagues to the Southward of *Chaul*, a Town belonging to the *Sedee*, who generally lies there with a Fleet of the *Mogul's* Vessels and Ships of War, and an Army of 30 or 40000 Men. This Place affords a good Harbour for his Fleet, and the Country about feeds good Numbers of black Cattle, from whence *Bombay* is mostly supplied, when they keep in good Terms with the *Sedee*, otherwise he makes them feed on Fish, which that Island is plentifully stored with; but now worse than before the *Sedee's* War. There is a Rock fortified by the *Sevajee*, that lies within a League of the Mouth of *Dande Rajapore* River, to the Northward, and another as far to the Southward, called the *Whale*, that shews his Back at low Water.

Coasting to the Southward from *Dande Rajapore*, are several small Rivers and fishing Towns. *Zeferdon* is the best, and two little Islands called *Horney Coat*, fortified and kept by the *Sevajee*. It lies 5 Leagues to the Northward of *Dabul*, which stands at the Mouth of a large River, and, of old, was a Place of Trade, and where the *English* once had a Factory.

There is an excellent Harbour for Shipping 8 Leagues to the Southward of *Dabul*, called *Sanguseer*; but the Country about being inhabited by *Raparees*, it is not frequented: Nor is *Rajapore*, about 7 Leagues to the Southward of *Sanguseer*, tho' it has the Conveniency of one of the best Harbours in the World, and had formerly both an *English* and *French* Factory settled there; and the Place where General *Child* had his Education, from ten Years old to eighteen, under his Uncle Mr. *Goodshaw*, who was Chief there, and having betrayed some of his Uncle's Secrets, in making use of the Company's Cash in his own private Trade, his Uncle was cashier'd, and, before the Nephew was come to four and twenty, he had the Honour to fill his Chair.

About the Year 1685. when *Aurengzeb's* Army was in *Decan*, in order to bring *Sevajee Rajah* to Submission, but could never do it, a Son of *Aurengzeb*, called *Sheek Eckbar*, had contracted a Friendship with the *Rajah*. His Father having Notice of it, dissembled his Resentment, till he had, by fair Promises, entic'd the *Sevajee* to come to his Camp on the publick Faith, but had a Design to have him cut off in his Return from the Camp. *Sheek Eckbar* forewarned him of his Danger, while he was in the Camp, which made the *Rajah* depart in the Night, without taking a formal Leave, which *Aurengzeb* imputed to his Son's Advice to the *Rajah*, and, to requite his Son, he had a Mind to make his Life atone for the *Rajah's*, but designed it to be taken from him by Stratagem; wherefore, pretending more Kindness than ordinary to his Son, he sent him a fine Horse, richly furnished, and a Vest, which was very rich and beautiful, but was

poisoned by a perfumed Powder. His Son, with great Acknowledgments, received the Present, but, being too well acquainted with his Father's Subtilty, put not the Vest on, but deferred it to another Time, that he might put it on with more Solemnity; however he ordered it to be put on a Slave, who died in a Day or two after he put it on. On which *Sheek Eckbar* fled to *Rajahpore*, and took Shipping, with a few Attendants, for *Muskat*, where he was kindly received by two *English* Gentlemen, Messieurs *Bendal* and *Stephens*, and they provided a Vessel to carry him to *Persia*, where he had a royal Welcome, and was soon after married to that King's Sister, whom *Meriweys* dethroned, and beheaded at *Ispahan*.

When the *English* had a Factory at *Rajahpore*, that Country produced the finest Beteellas and Muslins in *India*; but now all Arts and Sciences are discouraged, and the Port not frequented. There are fine artificial Cisterns for Water there, and a natural hot Bath, within three Yards of a very cold one; and both are reckoned very medicinal.

Ghiria is another Harbour, about 2 Leagues to the Southward of *Rajahpore*. That is the common Place of Residence for *Connajee Angarie*, which is well fortified by a strong large Castle, washt by the Sea. Whether *Ghiria* is also called *Vizendruck*, or whether it lies about seven Leagues more southerly, I am not certain; but that Place, to the Southward, determines the Limits of his Government that Way.

About 12 Leagues to the Southward of *Ghiria*, is an Island about 2 Miles in Circumference, and fortified with a Stone Wall round it, called *Malwan*. It lies about a Mile from the main Land, and is governed by an independent *Rajah*, who is also a Freebooter, and keeps three or four Grabs at Sea to rob all whom they can master. And that is all I know of him.

Vingurla lies about 4 Leagues to the Southward of *Malwan*, and was formerly a Place of Trade; and the *Dutch* Company had a Factory there for Cloth, both fine and coarse. But, in Anno 1696. a *Rajah*, called *Kempasson*, overrun that Country, and subdued it, and, under Pretence of visiting the *Dutch* chief Factor, took an Opportunity of the *Dutch* being in Security, seized their Factory, and plundred it, but killed no Body. The trading People in the Country, in and about the Town, having no Security for their Persons and Estates, fled to the *Portuguese* Dominions of *Goa*, that lies within 6 Leagues of *Vingurla*. The *Rajah* finding the Country deserted by the Natives, wrote to the Viceroy of *Goa* to send them back, but, on his Noncompliance, entred the *Portuguese* Territories, and plundred and burnt all he could lay Hands on, not sparing the Churches and Images, for which Sacrilege the *Portuguese* gave him the Name of *Kema Sancto*, or, Saint *Burner*; and they raised a Force sufficient to drive him and his

Freebooters out of their Dominions, but, for many Years, continued in his Robberies, when Opportunity presented, which kept the poor Country Peasants continually alarmed; and, for all the *Portugueze* Haughtiness and Pride, they were at last forced to buy a Peace, and allow him a yearly Pension to keep him quiet.

He is a Soldier of Fortune, and will serve those *Rajahs* who hire him best, so that if he assists one at one Time, if another gives him better Hire, he tacks about, and serves on the other Side. His Army consists of 7 or 8000 Men, and he had 2 Grabs a Pirating at Sea, but, in a Dispute about a Prize which *Connajee Angarie* laid Claim to, they went to War, and *Connajee* being much superior to him in Power, first took his Grabs and burnt them, and then landed at *Vingurla*, and burnt and destroyed the Villages near the Town. And I know not if ever they made Peace since.

Two Leagues to the Northward of *Vingurla* River there is a Parcel of Rocks that stretches about 2 Leagues into the Sea. The outermost lies in 17 Fathoms of Depth. They seem to have been *Vulcanoes*.

The Religion of all the Countries, from *Dande Rajapore*, to the Dominions of *Goa*, is *Paganism*; but they are not tied up to divine or moral Rules. And so I leave them, and take a View of *Goa*.

CHAPTER XXI

Gives an Account of Goa its Situation, Trade, Religion and Churches, with the Fortifications about it, the Limits of the Portugueze Dominions there, as far South as Cabo de Rama.

GOA, the Metropolis of *India*, under the Dominion of the Crown of *Portugal*, stands on an Island about 12 Miles long, and 6 broad. The City is built on the North Side of it, on a Champain Ground, and has the Conveniency of a fine salt Water River, capable to receive Ships of the largest Size, where they ly within a Mile of the Town. The Banks of the River are beautified with noble Structures of Churches, Castles and Gentlemens Houses; but, in the City, the Air is reckoned unwholsom, which is one Cause why at present it is not well inhabited. The Vice-roy's Palace is a noble Edifice, standing within Pistol Shot of the River, over one of the Gates of the City, which leads to a spacious noble Street, about half a Mile long, and terminates at a beautiful Church, called *Misericordia*. The City contains many noble Churches, Convents and Cloisters, with a stately large Hospital, all well endow'd, and well

kept. The Market-place stands near the *Misericordia* Church, and takes up about an Acre square, where most Things of the Product of that Country are to be sold; and, in the Shops about it, may be had what *Europe, China, Bengal*, and other Countries of less Note furnish them with. Every Church has a Set of Bells, that one or other of them are continually ringing, and, being all christned, and dedicated to some Saint, they have a specifick Power to drive away all Manner of evil Spirits, except Poverty in the Laity, and Pride in the Clergy; but, to those that are not used to nocturnal Noises, they are very troublesom in the Nights. The Vice-roy generally resides at the Powder-house, about two Miles below the City, on the River Side, the Springs of Water there being reckoned the best on the Island, which is a Liquor very much esteemed by the *Portugueze*, except when they can get Wine or Spirits Cost free, and then they'll drink to Excess.

The Religion, established by Law, is the *Romish*, and here are the most zealous Bigots of it; and the Laws of the Church (but not of their Country) are rigorously observed, and there is a severe Inquisition Court to punish any whom the Inquisitors have the least Suspicion of, which awes both Clergy and Laity to such a Complacency, that I question if there is such a Pack of notorious Hypocrites in the World; and yet their *Indian Converts*, who go by the general Name of *Cannarians*, retain so much of their ancient *heathnish* Superstition, that they abstain from eating Cows Flesh, because of the Veneration paid to that Beast, above others, by the *Gentows*, whose Offspring they are.

There are many *Gentows* dwell in the City, who cannot be brought to change their idolatrous Superstition for the Religion of *Rome*, but they are tolerated, because they are generally more industrious than the *Christians*, especially in mechanical Employments and Agriculture; but the mercantil Part of them are very subject to the Insults of the *Reynolds*, or *European Fidalgoes*, who will often buy their Goods, and never pay for them, which Custom has also crept into some Countries better polished than the *Portugueze*, only with some Restrictions, that they dare not use Force in taking what they have Occasion for, as the *Portugueze* do, nor inflict corporal Punishments on their Creditors, when they ask for their Money, so that it is dangerous for the poor industrious Merchant, either to refuse their Goods, or ask for their Money when it is due, for Fear of a Bastinado in either Case, and sometimes worse Consequences, which Abuses make the Circulation of Trade very faint and weak.

The Clergy at *Goa* are very numerous and illiterate, and are a very great Burden on the State. Their Churches are richly furnished with fine

Decorations and Images, and, as I said before, richly endow'd to maintain the Luxury of a great Number of idle Drones.

Their Houses are large, and their Outsides magnificent; but within (like their Owners Heads) they are but poorly furnisht, and their Tables very mean. Green Fruits and Roots, in their Seasons, with a little Bread and Rice go far in their Diet; and candied and preserved Fruits are their *Regalio* in all Seasons. They have Hogs and Fowl plenty, but use them sparingly; and the Church feeds most on Fish, but not miraculously, for the poor Fishers dare sell none till the Priesthood is first served, so that the Laity mostly eat stale or stinking Fish. And the Soldiery, Fishers, Peasants and Handicrafts feed on a little Rice boyled in Water, with a little Bit of salt Fish, or *Atchaar*, which is pickled Fruits or Roots, and drink fair Water, when they can get it. This fine spare Diet never loads them with superabundant Flesh on their Bones, and, without the Church, it is rare to find a corpulent Man among them. They are generally very weak and feeble, but whether that proceeds from their Diet, or from their too great Inclinations to Venery, or from both, I am not Physician enough to determine.

Their Soldiers Pay is very small and ill paid. They have but six *Xerapheens* per Month, and two Suits of Calico, stript or chequered, in a Year. Their two Suits may amount to forty *Xerapheens*; and a *Xerapheen* is worth about sixteen Pence half Peny *Ster*. Out of their six *Xerapheens* in Money that they are to receive, their Captain, who is Barrack-master and Victualler to his Company, detains five, and the other one is paid in small Money to discharge the Accounts of the Shoemaker, Taylor, Barber, Washerman and Tobacconist, so that Frugality is no great Virtue among them, tho' Theft is, and really they are very dextrous in that Art, as well as in Murder, for if they are detected in committing such innocent Crimes, the very next Church is a Sanctuary for them, and neither divine nor human Laws can affect them after they get in there.

This Nation was famous in the fifteenth Century for their Navigation and Discoveries into the *East Indies*, where, by Friendship or Force, they made Settlements all over its Sea-coasts. Their Settlements were thick set between *Mozambique* and *Japon*; and, as a Monument of their Grandeur then, their Language goes current along most of the Sea-coast at this Time. Their insolent Pride and War with the *Dutch* have brought them to the Poverty and Contempt they are in, as I shall remark in their proper Places.

The *Muskat War*, (that has lasted since the *Arabs* took that City from them) tho' the longest, has done them least Harm, for it obliges them to

keep an *Armada* of five or six Ships, besides small Frigats and Grabs of War, which gives Bread to great Numbers of People, who otherwise would be much more burdensom to the State, by crowding into Churches. The *Arabs* and they have had many Encounters, but no great Damage done on either Side. I was Witness to one Engagement near *Surat Bar*, but it was not bloody.

They also have had several Wars ashore, but the most dangerous to the City of *Goa*, was that with *Sevajee Rajah*, who got Footing on the Island about the Year 1685. He raised some Batteries against the Town, which would have annoyed it very much, had not a *Portugueze Heroine*, in a Sally, got into a Redoubt of the Enemy's, and cut them to Pieccs, which struck such a Terror into *Sevajee's* Army, that they quitted their Posts and fled. The Lady was alive in *Anno* 1705. and received the Pay of a Captain all her Days after that noble Exploit. She was called *Donna Maria*. She came to *India* in Man's Apparel, in Quest of a Gentleman that had promised her Marriage, and then deserted her, and went, in Quality of Captain, to *India*; but she found him, and challenged him at Sword and Pistol, but he rather chose to make the Quarrel up amicably by Marriage.

I have stood on a little Hill near the City, and have counted about eighty Churches, Convents and Monasteries within View; and I was informed, that, in the City and its Districts, which stretch about 40 Miles along the Sea-coast, and 15 Miles within Land, there are no fewer than 30000 Church Vermin, who live idly and luxuriously on the Labour and Sweat of the miserable Laity, so that every Body that has Sons and Substance, strives to buy Places for them in the Church, because neither military nor civil Preferments can be expected from the State, or if by Merit they chance to raise themselves, yet the Tyranny and Oppressions of the domineering Clergy is insupportable; for Instance, I knew a Gentleman that bought a Parcel of fresh Fish, and a Priest coming soon after to the Fishers, and finding that none was left for the Church, he demanded the Gentleman's Bargain, who excused himself, by telling the Priest, that he had some Friends to dine with him, and could not spare them. The Priest gave him a Reprimand in scurrilous Language, and the Gentleman using some tart Language to the Priest, that offended him, he let fly the sharp Dart of Excommunication, that pierced him so deep, that it cost him above 7 *L. Sterl.* to take it out again, and beg his Pardon on his Knees before the Archbishop, before he could be absolved.

In a fine stately Church dedicated to St. *Paul* the Apostle, lies the Body of St. *Francis Xavier* a *Portugueze* Apostle, and a *Jesuit* by Trade, who died in his Mission to *Japon* in the fifteenth Century; and, about fifty Years

after, as a *Portuguese* Ship was going to, or coming from *China*, being near an Island on that Coast, called after St. *Juan*, some Gentlemen and Priests went ashore for Diversion, and accidentally found the Saint's Body uncorrupted, and carried it Passenger to *Goa*, and there, with much Veneration and ecclesiastical Ceremony, it was deposited in an Isle of St. *Paul's* Church, where it lies still, and looks as fresh as a new scalded Pig, but with the Loss of one Arm; for, when the Rumour of the Miracle reached *Rome*, the sovereign Pontiff ordered his right Arm to be sent, that he might find out if there was any Imposture in it or no, or perhaps make him fadge in a *China* Bonzee into his Calendar, under the Name of a *Christian* Saint. Accordingly his Arm was fairly cut off by the Shoulder, and sent to *Rome* to stand its Trial. When his Holiness had viewed it, he called for Pen, Ink and Paper to be brought on a Table, and the Arm set near them. After a little Conjunction, in full View of the sacred College, who were there present, and no Body else, the Saint's Hand took hold of the Pen, and dipt it in Ink, and fairly wrote *Xavier*.

I take it to be a pretty Piece of Wax-work that serves to gull the People of their Money, for many visit it with great Veneration, and leave something at its Shrine for the Maintenance of Candles and Olive Oyl, that continually burn before it: And a Priest attends weekly to shave his Head and Beard; but none but that Priest has the honour to come within the Iron Rails that are placed about the Corps, four or five Yards distant from it. Now if any should question the Truth of *Xavier's* Story at *Goa*, they would be branded with the odious Name of an obstinate incredulous Heretick, and perhaps fall in the Hands of a convincing Inquisition.

But, if any incredulous Heretick should be squeamish, and cannot swallow the Story of *Xavier* without chewing it, I will tell them of another that doubtless will go glibly down. At a certain Time, but God knows when, a Ship of *Portugal* coming to *India*, got the Length of *Cabo de bona Esperanza*, and then met with such a violent Storm, that drove the Ship so violently before it, that it was past the Pilot's Skill to keep her to Rights in her Course; and who should come to their Assistance in that critical Juncture, but *Senhor Diabolo*, who took the Helm, and managed it very dextrously: And the Virgin *Mary*, to shew her Kindness, and Skill in Navigation, stood a whole Night on the Forecastle, directing the Devil how he should steer, and behold, to the great Admiration of all concerned, the Ship was high and dry in the Morning, in a Valley on the South Side of the River of *Goa*, about half a Mile within the Land. The Ship sailed very well, for that one Night she ran, according to a moderate Computation, 1500 Leagues. And, in Commemoration of this Miracle, there is a

fine Church built where the Ship anchored so safely, and the Structure is just the Length, Breadth and Height of the Ship. The Church I have often seen as I past up and down the River. And this Story is so firmly believed at *Goa*, that it is dangerous to make any Doubt of it.

Of all the Churches in or about *Goa* none is honoured with Glass-windows, but one in the City dedicated to St. *Alexander*, for the rest are all served with clear Oyster-shell Lights, that are far inferior to Lights of Glass. And all their stately Houses are furnished with Oyster-shell Lights.

The Country about *Goa* is steril in Corn, but it produces some excellent Fruits. The *Goa Mango* is reckoned the largest and most delicious to the Taste of any in the World, and, I may add, the wholesomest and best tasted of any Fruit in the World. Their *Jambo Malacca* is very beautiful and pleasant, and they have very good Pine Apples and Melons.

The little Trade they have, is mostly from their Arrack, which is distilled from *Toddy* of the Cocoa-nut Tree, which grows in great Abundance in the Territories of *Goa*. The *English* are their best Customers, for they buy great Quantities yearly for Punch. It is sold by the *Candy*, or two Casks, about 45 Gallons each, for 25 *Xerapheens per Cask*; but I have bought it for 20. when there was no great Demand for it. They also make a great Deal of Salt in Ponds made in low Grounds, where they may convey the Water at spring Tides. It may be bought for a Crown the Tun, and sometimes cheaper.

The River's Mouth is guarded, and the Entrance defended by several Forts and Batteries, well planted with large Cannon on both Sides. On the Island is the black Fort, which stands within half a Musket-shot of the Bar, which is shut up by the South-south-west Monsoons, from *April* to *September*, when is St. *Anthony's* New-moon, as they call being the first New-moon in *September*. The Freshes coming down from the Mountains, carry off the Sands, which choke the Mouths of the Rivers along all the Coasts of *India*. And, without the black Fort, is a Battery built close to the Sea on a little Promontory, called *Nos Senhor de Cabo*, about a Mile without the black Fort. And, just over that Battery, on a little Hill about 40 Yards high, is a fine Monastery, always kept as white as Snow, and may be seen a good Distance off at Sea. The Monastery has a large pleasant Garden towards the Land, and an Orchard of excellent Fruit Trees. And, on the Opposite of *Nos Senhor de Cabo*, is a Fort built on the Face of a little Hill, which commands that Side of the River. And, without that, is the *Aguada*, fortified with a Fort on its Top, and several Batteries at the Foot of its high Grounds, which are also about 40 Yards high. In the Castle is placed a large Lantern for a Light-house, to shew Shipping

the Way into the Road about the Beginning of *September*, when thick Clouds obscure the Land, that it cannot be well known at Sea. All Boats that are bound to the City, are obliged to call at *Aguada*, to give an Account from whence they came, and what their Business is; and if any presume to pass without calling there, they are sure of a Shot fired from a Battery at them, to put them in Mind of their Duty. Two Leagues to the South of *Aguada* are the *Marmagun* Islands, being five in Number, and run a League into the Sea. The two innermost are fortified, to command the Entrance of the River of *St. Lorenzo*, which is a Branch of *Goa* River, parting about five Leagues from their Mouths, and compose the Island called *Goa* Island.

This Country belonged formerly to the Kings of *Visapore*; but in the fifteenth Century, when *Albukerk* settled the *Portugueze* Colonies in *India*, he purchased the Islands of *Goa* and *Salset*, which lie contiguous to *Goa*, from the King, who did them many singular Services, which afterwards were repaid by Ingratitude.

About the Year 1660. when the *Dutch* had a War in *America* and *India*, with the *Portugueze*, the *Dutch* sent a Squadron, to try if they could add *Goa* to the rest of their *Indian* Conquests, but found its Avenues so well fortified, that it was thought impracticable to land. Their Ships were forced to ly at a good Distance from *Aguada* and *Nos Senhor de Cabo*, and so continued riding at Anchor triumphantly, without Action, except a little Diversion they had with a *Portugueze Bravo*, who, with a small Ship of forty Guns, would needs pass thro' the *Dutch* Fleet, as they lay at Anchor; but they soon made him sensible of rash Folly, by sinking his Ship, and either killing or drowning him and all his Crew.

When the *Portugueze* and the *Sevajee* had War, I think that *Conde de Villa Verde* was then Vice-roy, there were so few Soldiers, and so many Priests, that he was obliged to take Recruits for his Army, out of the Church; but the King of *Portugal* was forced to recal him for that great Offence.

Between *Goa* and *Salset* there is a little River that is another Branch of the River of *Goa*, which disembogues about a League to the South of *Marmagun*, at a Village called *Bangricoal*, and affords a little Harbour for small Vessels, from which Place the Island of *Salset* stretches five Leagues along the Sea-shore, in a fine level Plain, planted with Cocoa-nut Trees and Churches. The Product of this Island is as that of *Goa*, Arrack and Salt. The Churches and Monasteries are Seminaries for black *Romish* Priests, and the Country, besides them, produces good Store of Hogs and Poultry. At *Cabo de Rama*, which is contiguous to *Salset*, are the Limits of the Dominions of the *Portugueze* on that Part of *India*.

CHAPTER XXII

Gives an Account of the Sundah Rajah's Dominions, the Product, Religion and Customs of his Country, with Observations on his War with the English East-india Company, in Anno 1718.

CABO de Rama, or, as the *English* call it, Cape Ramus, begins the Limits of the *Sunda Rajah's* Country, to the Northward, and has a Castle on the Cape to secure his Frontier; but there is no River or Harbour for Shipping, till we come to *Sevaseer*, and that is but a bad one, tho' it has the Cover of a large Castle with few Guns in it. But,

Carwar, which lies seven Leagues to the Southward of Cape Ramus, has the Advantages of a good Harbour, on the South Side of a Bay, and a River capable to receive Ships of 300 Tuns. The *English* have a Factory here, fortified with two Bastions, and some small Cannon for its Defence. The *Rajah* is tributary to the *Mogul* at present, but formerly was a Part of *Visapore's* Dominions, before *Aurengzeb* conquered that Country. This *Rajah's* Dominions reach from Cape Ramus to *Merzee*, about fifteen Leagues along the Sea-coast, and sixty or seventy Leagues within Land.

About the Year 1660. *Aurengzeb* came into *Visapore* with an Army of 3 or 400000 Men, and soon conquered the open Country, but the Metropolis, called the City of *Visapore*, took him seven or eight Years to reduce it, for being built on a flat Mountain of difficult Access, and Room enough to sow Corn on it, obliged *Aurengzeb* to surround it with his Army, and make a Blockade, but at last it yielded, and *Aurengzeb* put the King in Chains of Silver, and carried him in Triumph along with his victorious Army, near the Space of thirty Years, and then he died an inglorious Captive. He was reckoned a good simple peaceable Prince while he reigned, but was in no Way related to the God *Mars*.

The *Sundah Rajah's* Country is mountainous, and lies on both Sides of the Mountains of *Gatti*. The Vallies abound in Corn and Pepper, the best in *India*; and the Woods, on the Mountains, with many Sorts of wild Beasts, as Tigers, Wolves, Monkeys, wild Hog, Deer, Elks, and wild Cattle of a prodigious large Size. I have seen a wild Bull killed there, whose four Quarters weighed above a Tun Weight, besides the Hide, Head and Guts. I measured his Horns, which were not long in Proportion to their Thickness, being twenty three Inches in Circumference about the Roots, and his Marrow-bones so large, that I took the Marrow out with an ordinary Silver-spoon. The Flesh was not so savoury as that of small tame Cattle, nor would it take Salt kindly, but grew hard, dry and black when salted.

This Country is so famous for hunting, that two Gentlemen of Distinction, viz. Mr. *Lembourg* of the House of *Lembourg* in *Germany*, and Mr. *Goring*, a Son of my Lord *Goring's* in *England*, went *incognito* in one of the *East-india* Company's Ships, for *India*. They left Letters directed for their Relations, in the Hands of a Friend of theirs, to be delivered two or three Months after their Departure, so that Letters of Credit followed them by the next Year's Shipping, with Orders from the *East-india* Company to the Chiefs of the Factories, where ever they should happen to come, to treat them according to their Quality. They spent three Years at *Carwar*, viz. from *Anno* 1678. to 1681. then, being tired with that Sort of Pleasure, they both took Passage on board a Company's Ship for *England*, but Mr. *Goring* died four Days after the Ship's Departure from *Carwar*, and lies buried on the Island *St. Mary*, about four Leagues from the Shore, off *Batacola*, and Mr. *Lembourg* returned safe to *England*.

There are three Species of Tigers in *Carwar* Woods. The smallest is the fiercest. It is not above two Foot high when it walks. It is very cunning, and delights much in human Flesh. The second Sort is about three Foot high, and hunts Deer and wild Hog, and a little Creature, called a *Pissay*. Its Body has the Shape of a Deer's, but its Head like a swine; and, as a Boar has two long Tusks growing upward from the nether Jaw, so it has two long small sharp Teeth which grow downward from the upper Jaw, and reach as low as the under Part of the lower Jaw. They are very harmless and fearful, and feed on Grass and Herbs. They are hardly so big as a full grown Cat, and their Flesh is black, and tastes like an Hare's. The largest Size of the Tigers is above three Foot and an half high, when they walk. They are less rapacious than the others, seldom greedy of human Flesh, and sooner frightned. A poor Peasant in this Country had a Buffalo bemired in a Bog, and while he went to his Neighbours for Assistance, came a large Tiger that saved them the Trouble, for he pulled it out by his own Dexterity and Strength, and, when he had done, threw him over his Shoulder, as a Fox does a Goose, and was carrying it, with its Feet upwards, to his Den, but, when he saw the People, he let it fall, and went away; but he had killed the Buffalo, and had suckt his Blood. 'Tis a small Buffalo that weighs not above 500 *lb.* Weight, and some weigh 1200.

I once was in the Woods with my Fuzee, to try if I could kill a Deer, but a small Rain happened to fall that damped my Powder, which was only wrapt up in Paper; and, my Gun being useless, I was making towards the Plain where our Factory stands, and falling on a Foot-path from the Mountains towards the Plain, I kept in that Road, and had not gone far, till I espied a Tiger of the largest Size standing in the same Path,

with his Face towards me. Assoon as he saw me, he squatted his Belly to the Ground, and wagged his Tail, and crawled slowly towards me. I thought it would be in vain to flee, so I stept leisurely forward, till I came within ten Yards of him, I then clubbed my Fuzec, and made what Noise I could to frighten him, and he, out of Civility, rusht in amongst a Thicket of Bushes, and left me the Road, which I did not think fit to accept of, but got in among the Bushes on the opposite Side to him (I dare say) much more frightned than he was. And, before I got to the Plain, I saw a wild Bull and a Cow grazing. The Bull grew angry, and snorted, but the Cow only gazed on me; but I soon got out of their Sight, and got safe to the Factory; but never went into the Woods again, but with a numerous Company.

The Chief of the *English* Factory is held in very great Esteem in this Country, and when he goes a hunting, is generally accompanied with most Part of the People of Distinction in the Vicinage, who bring their Vassals and Servants with them, armed with fire Arms and other Weapons, both missive and defensive, with Trumpets, Hautboys and Drums. The fire Men place themselves at convenient Distances, along the Skirts of an Hill or a Wood, except some that are sent in to guard those who are sent with their loud Musick to rouse the Game. The Drums, Trumpets and Hautboys spread themselves sometimes for a Mile or two, and, on a Signal given, strike up at once, and march towards the Skirt where the fire Men are placed. The wild Inhabitants being astonished with the unusual Noise, betake themselves to their Heels, and fall in the Ambuscade, and many of them are killed and wounded in their Flight. I saw, in one of these Huntings, above a Dozen of Deer killed, two wild Cows with their Calves, who would not leave their dead Parents, tho' they had done sucking; also four or five Sows, who had above a Dozen of Pigs following them, and were all killed, with some Pissays; and all in less than two Hours Space. The Hunters made good Cheer of what they lik'd best, and what remained was sent to the Factory; and the Chief soon following after, was conducted Home by the whole Company, and, at the Factory Gate, made him a Compliment, and departed. At this Time, which was in *Anno* 1692. the Factory had about a Score of good Dogs for Game, of *English* Brood, and the Company allowed each of them about 2 *lb.* of boyl'd Rice daily, but now they are better Husbands of their Money, and have discharged all their Dogs and other Superfluities, except one good old Custom of treating Strangers that come there from *Europe*, with pretty black female Dancers, who are very active in their Dancing, and free in their Conversation, where Shame is quite out of Fashion.

The Woods produce great Quantities of good Teak Timber, useful in building both Ships and Houses. It is more durable than Oak. And there is good Poon Masts, stronger, but heavier than Fir. There is a Shrub grows in the Woods, that has a Leaf bigger than that of the Fig-tree; and the Dew that falls on that Leaf being carefully gathered, and set in the Sun a Day or two, becomes the pleasantest and strongest Acid that ever I tasted.

Before *Aurengzeb* conquered *Visapore*, this Country produced the finest Bettecellas or Muslins in *India*. The *English* Company had a great Cloth Trade here, and employed about 50000 People in that Manufactory; but the *Mogul's* licentious Soldiers fell into this Province, and ruined all Manner of Trade, plundering the industrious Inhabitants of all they could lay Hands on, and cut the Company's Cloth from the Loom, and used the Weavers so rudely, that they left their own Country, to look for Protection in Countries farther to the Southward, where War had not set up her bloody Banners.

When the *Mogul's* General had taken Possession of that Province in his Master's Name, he invited the Gentlemen of the *English* Factory to an Entertainment in his Tent, under Pretence of settling the Company's Commerce, and, while they were at Dinner, he sent a Party of Men, who plundered and burnt their House, which made the Company build and fortify what they now have; but he who built it where it is, had no great Foresight in choosing his Ground, for it ought to have been built in a Place of free Communication with the Sea, but now it stands a League from it. And, in *Anno* 1718. the *Rajah* shewed them their Error, and built Batteries at the Mouth of the River, so that the Factory is nothing at present but a gentile Prison, which by dear bought Experience, we found in a War we had with him, by the Indiscretion of one *Taylor* who was Chief, who pretended to be Lord of the Mannor, in appropriating a Wrack to his own Use, that was cast away above four Miles from the Factory. The *Rajah* could not bear to be so bare-fac'dly affronted in his own Dominions, by Tenants that would hear no Reason. He besieged the Factory for 2 Months before the Season would admit of Forces coming to assist them by Sea; and when they arrived, the Seas run so high on the Shore, that there was great Difficulty of landing in the Teeth of an Enemy, who had ten Times our Numbers, so that the first Attempt of landing was unsuccessful, by our Mens Neglect and Disobedience to the Orders they had received, and about fourscore of our bravest Fellows were cut off, and some taken Prisoners: But, about six Weeks after, we had some Revenge on the Enemy in an Engagement on the Side of an Hill among

thick Bushes. The Enemy being above our Men, began their Fire at Break of Day, to beat our Men from a Spring of fresh Water close to the Sea; but our small Vessels lying near the Shore to cover about 400 Men, that lay to guard the Water, fired with so good Success, that, in an Hour's Time, they were obliged to run, and leave near 200 dead in the Woods; and our Men pursuing them in their Flight, did some Execution on them.

We were in daily Expectation of more Forces, and did not offer the Enemy Battle, because of their Numbers and our Want of Experience; but we harassed the Enemies in the Nights, in burning Villages, for there was little to plunder; and at Sea we took some Vessels laden with Salt going to the Enemy, and three Ships of the *Rajah's* coming from *Arabia* with Horses, to the Number of 140. which created us much Trouble to find Provender and Water for them: However, when our Reinforcement came, we could muster, in our Fleet, of Seamen and Soldiers, 2250 Men. The Enemy raised some Batteries on the Strand to hinder our landing; and we took two of the Prizes, and made them Shot-proof above Water, and laid them ashore at high Water to batter their Batteries, and keep the Enemy at a Distance with their great Shot, till our Men were landed and drawn up. Each of our floating Batteries were covered with a Frigate of 20 or 24 Guns. When all was ready, we landed 1250 Men, without the least Hindrance from the Enemy, for they were preparing to flee to the Woods; but our fresh Water land Officers were so long a drawing up their Men in a confounded hollow Square, that the Enemy took Courage, and, with Horse and Foot, came running towards our Men, firing, and wounding some as they marched in their Ranks, which our Commandant seeing, pulled off his red Coat, and vanished. Some other as valiant Captains as he, took Example, and left their Posts, and then the Soldiers followed, and threw down their Arms. We lost in this Skirmish about 250. but our floating Batteries would not permit the Enemy to pursue far, nor durst they stay to gather up our scattered Arms, so about 80 Sailors went on the Field of Battle, and brought on board of the Commodore about 200 Stand of Arms, most of them loaded: However the Enemy had some Loss too, for we found eleven Horses dead, and saw many Fires along the Foot of the Hills to burn their dead Men in.

The *Rajah* had, by this Time, 7000 Men engaged in this War, which Expence he began to be tired of, and the Loss of his Ships and Horses was some Mortification to him, besides the *Saw Rajah* had made an Inroad into his Northern Borders, which made him incline very much towards a Peace, and accordingly he sent a *Brahman* on board the Commodore of

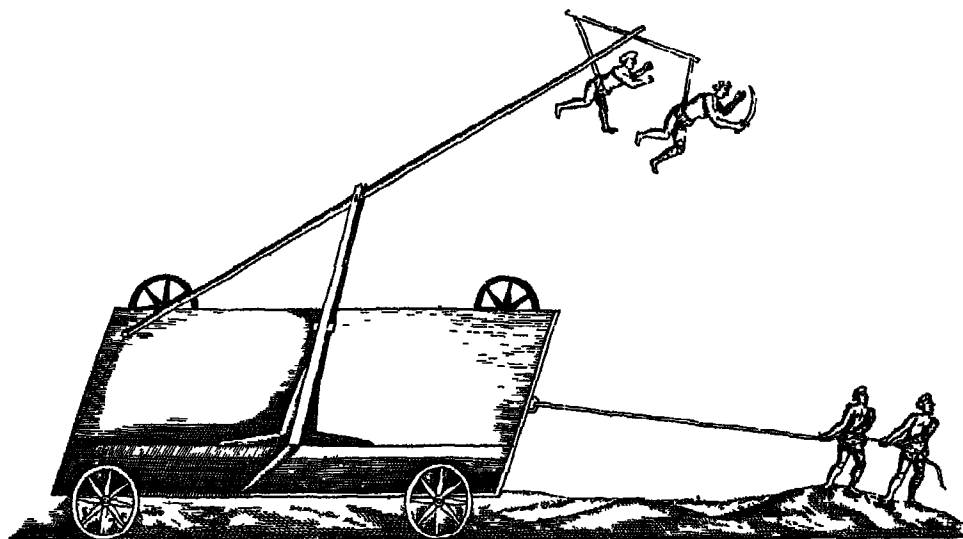
the Fleet, to negotiate about a Peace. The Commodore heard him, and advised him to make his Overtures to Mr. *Taylor*; but he said, that the *Rajah* would by no Means consent to treat with him, complaining, that he was not only the Occasion of that War, but even, before the War, had done some Detriment to him and his Subjects, for receiving the Company's Pepper above 100 Miles from the Factory. He made the Servants that went to receive the Pepper, take certain Quantities to sell out by Retail in his Villages, to the utter Ruin of many poor Inhabitants, that had no other Way to get their Livelihood, but by huckstering, and because the Company's Agreement with his Forefathers and himself, gave them a free Trade in all his Dominions, he past all over, but was forced to relieve the poor *Botickeers* or Shop-keepers, who before could pay him Taxes; however we being tired of War as well as he, by the Mediation of a *Seid*, who was a Friend to both Parties, in ten Days after the first Overture was made, Peace was proclaimed on easy Terms for both Parties.

There is one Trick that the Priests yearly put upon the People in this Country, that would puzzle the best Merry-andrews in *Europe* to imitate, and that is, about the latter End of *May*, or the Beginning of *June*, there is a Feast celebrated to the infernal Gods, with a Divination or Conjururation to know the Fate of the ensuing Crop of Corn. The Ceremony I saw here, and at other Places on the Coast of *Canara*. The Priests having perswaded some Fools to bear a Part in the Farce, proclaim the Feast to be on such a Day, at a certain Grove, where several thousands of People assemble, and in the Middle of the Grove is placed a black Stone of 3 or 400 Weight, without any designed Shape, but some Places bedaub'd with red Lead mixt in Oyl, to serve for a Mouth, Eyes and Ears, and a little earthen Pot of Fire placed before the Stone, and a Girl about ten Years of Age to attend it.

Some Priests, all naked, except a Bit of Cloth to hide their Privities, run and dance round the Stone and Fire for half an Hour, like mad Men, making strange Distortions in their Phizes, and now and then bellowing like Calves. And this was the first Scene. Those Priests had erected a Scaffold on two Axle-trees, that had Trucks fitted for them like the Carriage of Ship Guns. In the Middle of the Scaffold (which might be about 15 Foot long, and as broad) was erected a Piece of Wood about 15 Foot high, with a Notch cut in the upper End, like the Cheeks of a Ship's Pump, with Holes bored for a Bolt to pass through, as Pump Cheeks have. A Tree hewn for their Purpose, about 40 Foot long, was laid about the Middle in the Notch, and a Bolt passing through the Cheeks and that Tree, like a Pump-brake. At one End of the Tree were placed two

cross Pieces, one at the very End, and the other about 4 Foot within it. Each of those cross Pieces were about 4 Foot long, and, at the other End, had a Rope fastned to it. And this was the Vehicle for the Actors to hang on for a Mile or two.

The Actors presenting themselves to the Priests, being four in Number, drest as the Priests were; only on their Heads, Crowns were made round their Temples, of Sugar-cane Leaves, open at the Top, like ducal Crowns. The Priests brought two Tenter-hooks, such as the Butchers in *Britain* hang their Meat on, for each Actor, and, after some ridiculous Ceremony,



hookt them on each Side of the Back-bone, a little above the Kidnies. Those Hooks had Cords fast to them, so they went dancing round the Stone, and the Priest holding their Strings fast, and, after two Minutes Dancing, they came tamely to the End of the Tree, where the cross Pieces were fastned, and one was tied up to each End of the cross Pieces, and the Mob was ready to hale down the other End, and fastned it to the End of the Scaffold, and the foolish Fellows were hung up by the Back, above ten Yards from the Ground. The Populace broke some old Cocoa-nuts on the Scaffold, and some hundreds of them got hold of the Ropes fastned to the Scaffold, and haled it over plowed Ground, above a Mile, to another Grove; and the Girl with the Pot of Fire on her Head, walking all the Way before. When they came to the End of their Journey,

they were let down, and going into the Grove, where was placed another black Stone Pagod, the Girl set her Fire before it, and run stark mad for a Minute or two, and then fell in a Swoon, and in that she lay sweating and foming at the Mouth prodigiously. When she grew mad, the Men fell flat on the Ground before the Image, and then arose after she fell in her Trance. She continued immoveable about a Quarter of an Hour, and then awoke, and seemed to be very sick. The Priests interrogated her about what she had seen and heard from the terrestrial Gods, and she gave them a satisfactory Answer, on which they all bowed to the Image, and put their Hand on a Cow that was there ready, dedicated to the Image; and so all departed satisfied.

On sight of the new Moon in *August* they have another Piece of Superstition, in a Feast dedicated to the Sea, for the prosperous Navigation of the ensuing Season. They have the Effigies of the God *Gunnies*, which is a Man's Body, with an Elephant's Head, clapt cleverly on his Shoulders, and carried in Procession to a River's Side, and thrown into the River, upon which, all Rivers who have Bars are opened for Navigation.

This *Gunnies* was Son to *Ram* another God, who had a great War many Years with a certain Sort of gigantick Devils, that insulted the Land, and carried away all the Virgins they could lay their Paws on; at Length *Ram* overcame them in a bloody Battle, for which Success, he swore, he would make a Sacrifice of the first living Creature he should meet in his own Dominions, to the great God of Heaven; and poor *Gunnies* was the first Object that presented himself; for being a good loving Son, came on Purpose to meet and welcome his Father from his Fatigues in War: You may judge what a Pack of Troubles *Ram* was in, but there was no Remedy, but *Gunnies* must die; and, with great Regret, he was about to have his Head struck off, when a clever Fellow of a *Brahman* Doctor came, and told *Ram*, that by his Art he could save *Gunnies's* Life, if his Advice might be followed, which *Ram* promised to do, on which the Doctor ordered a young Elephant to be brought; and when the Father whipt off his Son's Head, the Doctor very skilfully cut off the Elephant's at one Stroke, and nimble set it on *Gunnies's* Shoulders, to the great Admiration of all the Beholders; and from that Day to this, *Gunnies* has wore an Elephant's Head.

There are a Set of *Brahmans* in this Country called *Buts*, they study Astrology, and are in great Repute for their exemplary innocent Lives, and Skill in prophesying. In the Year 1684. one *Moam But* told some Things very surprising, when Mr. *Walsel* was Chief for the *English* at *Carwar*.

In the Space of three Years no *English* Ship from *Europe* had called there, and the Gentlemen longing for one, and *Moam But* coming to visit the Chief, Mr. *Walsel* askt him if he could tell when a Ship from *Europe* would call there. He answered, he could tell, and musing a little While, told, that on that same Day forty Days, which happened to fall out on a *Sunday*, one would arrive, and that she was, at that Time, at Anchor at an Island on this Side of the Cape of *Good-hope*, taking in Refreshments. The Chief told him, if he prophesied true, he would present him with as much scarlet Cloth as would make him a Coat. The *But* answered, that he thank'd him, but that neither of them would live to see her arrive, and therefore advised Mr. *Walsel* to set his House in Order; and that, to prove some Part of the Prophecy true, the *But* himself should die ten Days after the Day he prophesied, and that Mr. *Walsel* should die so many Days after. Accordingly the *But* died, which put the other's Mind out of Order, till the Day of his Death came, and that Morning Mr. *Walsel* said, he believed the Conjuror was out in his Reckoning, for he never was in better Health in his Days; but, after Dinner, he had an apoplectick Fit, that carried him off. And the Ship's Pinnace came ashore at the Factory Gate that Noon that the *But* told she should arrive. The Ship was the *Mexico Merchant*, commanded by Captain *Roger Paxton*, whom I well knew.

The pretty nimble female Dancers at *Carwar* are not so by Choice; but all Trades and Occupations being lifted into Tribes, none can marry out of their own Tribe; and, as it fortun'd, the Originals of this Tribe were Ladies that could not be confined to one Husband, and so would not marry. Their Posterity are not suffered to marry, because there are no Men in their Tribe allowed. When the Lasses bring forth Children, the Males are brought up Soldiers, and the Females are learned to dance, and what they earn by dancing goes to the *Rajah*, except a small Share for the Girl's Maintenance. What they get by their Kindness to Strangers is all their own; and I have seen some have very fine Clothes and Jewels acquired by their Trade.

The *Portuguese* have an Island called *Anjediva* (before mentioned) about 2 Miles from *Batcoal*. They fortified it, for fear that the *Muskat Arabs* or the *Sevajejs* should have settled on it; if they had, they might have incommoded the *Goa Fleet* that goes yearly to *Canara* for Corn.

At the Mouth of *Carwar* River, are two fortified Islands, called *Shipe* and *Gur*. One is fortified by Walls built round it, and some Guns mounted on it. The other is sterile and dry, and not worth walling. They both belong to the *Rajah* of *Sundah*. There are some Islands ly athwart the

Mouth of the Bay, that make the Harbour of *Carwar*, but none inhabited. The Bay has two large Entrances for Shipping. That to the North is clear from Danger; but the South Chanel has a sharp Rock like a Pyramid in the Middle of it, that several large Ships have struck on, for there is too much Water on it for small Ships to be frightened by it, having at least 15 Foot Water on its Top.

There are several more little Harbours in this *Rajah's* Dominions to the Southward of *Carwar*, viz. *Ankla*, *Cuddermuddy* and *Merzee*, whose River terminates the *Sundah's* Territories, and brings us on to a better Country, viz. *Canara*.

CHAPTER XXIII

Gives a Description of Canara, shewing its Fertility, Product, Government, Religion, Customs, and Temper of its Inhabitants.

 *NOAR* is its northermost Port, and has the Benefit of a River, capable to receive Ships of 2 or 300 Tuns. It has a Castle on a low Hill, about a Mile within the Bar, built, of old, by the *Portugueze*, when they were Lords Paramount of all the Sea-coasts of *India*; but the *Rajah* of *Canara* was so affronted by them, that he laid Siege to the Castle, but was three Years in reducing it; and so long he blockt it up, till Hunger forced a Surrender.

The Religion, by Law established, here, as well as in *Sundah*, is the *Pagan*. And there is a Pagod or Temple, called *Ramtrut*, that is visited yearly by great Numbers of Pilgrims. Close by the Temple there is a fine Cistern or Tank, of a square oblong Figure. It is continually furnished with good Water, that gushes out of the Face of a Rock, as big as a Man's Thigh. There are about 50 Steps cut out of the same Rock, that lead from the Surface of the Earth down to the *Tank*; and at the Foot of the Stairs is a little Summer-house built. The *Tank* is about three Fathoms deep in the Middle, and is stored with Plenty of pretty brown Fish, with a white Stroke from their Head to Tail, on each Side of the Backbone. And when any musical Instrument is played on by the Sides of the *Tank*, they come in such Numbers towards the Musick, that they may be taken up in Baskets; but none dare meddle with them, because they are consecrated to the Pagod.

Sometimes they carry the Image of the Pagod in Procession. In Figure he is more like a Monkey than a Man. They put him into a Coach in Form of a Tower, with a pyramidal Top about 15 Foot high, where eight

or ten Priests are set to bear the Image Company, and to sing his Praises. The Coach has four Wheels, and a Rope of a good Thickness made fast to it, and drawn through the Streets by Strength of Hand, with a great Mob attending his Godship, wherever he is drawn.

In *Canara* there are several Customs peculiar to itself, and many of them are spread abroad to remote Countries. Here it was, that the Custom of Wives burning on the same Pile with their deceased Husbands had its Beginning. It is reported, that before the *Brahmans* invented this Law, Poison was so well known and practised, that the least Quarrel that happened between a married Couple, cost the Husband his Life, and this Law put a great Stop to it; and now Custom so far prevails, that if any faint-hearted Lady has not Courage enough to accompany her Spouse to the other World, she is forthwith shaved and degraded, and obliged to serve all her Husband's Family in all Kinds of Drudgery.

I have seen severals burned several Ways. In this Country they dig a Pit about 10 Foot long, and 6 broad, and fill it with Logs of Wood. One great Piece is set at the Brim of the Pit, ready to fall down on pulling a Bit of String. When all is ready, there is good Store of Oyl or Butter thrown on the Wood, and then the Husband's Corps is placed about the Middle of the Pile, and Fire set to it, which blazes in an Instant. Then the Spouse took her Leave of all Friends and Acquaintances, and Drums, Trumpets and Hautboys being playing cheerfully, she walked three or four Times round the Pile, which, by this Time, was all in a great Blaze, and then leaps in on the Corps. Assoon as ever she leapt in, a Priest drew the String, and down fell the great Log of Wood, at least 500 Pound Weight, over her Body, and all consumed together.

In other Parts they do not use Pits, but a Pile is built, and the Corps laid on it, and Fire put to it; and the Victim dancing round it for a little Time, to the Noise of loud Musick, leaps in; and, if she hesitates, the Priests thrust her in with long Poles, making such an hideous Noise, that she cannot be heard; and, all the While she is a burning, the Priests dance round the Fire. Others again take somnifick Medicines, and stand by the Pile till they fall on it while asleep. I heard a Story of a Lady that had received Addresses from a Gentleman, who afterwards deserted her, and her Relations obliged her to marry another, who died shortly after the Marriage, and who, according to Custom, was laid on the Pile; and, as the Fire was well kindled, and she going to act the Tragedy on herself, she espied her former Admirer, and beckned to him to come to her. When he came, she took him in her Arms, as if she had a Mind to embrace him;

but, being stronger then he, she carried him into the Flames in her Arms, where they both consumed, with the Corps of her Husband: Yet I have known some faint-hearted Girls that had not the Courage to accompany their Spouses into an unknown World, but rather live in this, tho' under the Badge and Umbrage of Ignominy and Shame.

This Country of *Canara* is generally governed by a Lady, who keeps her Court at a Town called *Baydour*, two Days Journey from the Sea. She may marry whom she pleases; but her Husband never gets the Title of *Rajah*, tho' if she has Sons, the eldest of them does; but neither Husband nor Son have any Thing to do with the Management of the Government, while she lives: Nor are the Queens obliged to burn with their Husbands. The Subjects of this Country observe the Laws so well, that Robbery or Murder are hardly heard of among them. And a Stranger may pass through the Country without being askt where he is going, or what Business he has.

No Man is permitted in this Country to ride on Horses, Mules or Elephants, but Officers of State, or Troopers, tho' we are allowed to ride on Oxen or Buffaloes: Nor none are permitted to have Umbrellas carried over them by Servants, but must carry them themselves if the Sun or Rain offend them; but in all Things else there is Liberty and Property.

The next Sea-port, to the Southward of *Onoar*, is *Batacola*, which has the *Vestigia* of a very large City, standing on a little River, about four Miles from the Sea. There is nothing of it left now worth noticing, but ten or eleven small Pagods or Temples covered with Copper and Stone. The Country produces good Quantities of Pepper; and the *English* Company had a Factory there: But, about the Year 1670. an *English* Ship coming there to lade, had a fine *English* Bull-dog, which the Chief of the Factory begged of the Captain.

After the Ship was gone, the Factory, which consisted of eighteen Persons, were going a hunting, and carried the Bull-dog with them; and, passing through the Town, the Dog seized a Cow devoted to a Pagod and killed her. Upon which the Priests raised a Mob, who murdered the whole Factory; but some Natives, that were Friends to the *English*, made a large Grave, and buried them all in it. The Chief of *Carwar* sent a Stone to be put on the Grave, with an Inscription, *That this is the Burial-place of John Best, with seventeen other English Men, who were sacrificed to the Fury of a mad Priesthood, and an enraged Mob.* The *English* never resettled there since; but often buy Pepper there. The Island *St. Mary* lies West-north-west from the Mouth of the River of *Batacola*, about four Leagues distant,

being the Burial-place of Mr. *Goring* before observed. There are some more Islands lying close to the Shore, but are beset with Rocks under Water. And what Ships pass between St. *Mary* and them, ought not to venture above two Miles within that Island; but there is no Danger within a Quarter of a Mile of it, but what is visible.

The next Town, to the Southward of *Batacola*, is *Barceloar*, standing on the Banks of a broad River, about four Miles from the Sea. The Country abounds in Rice, having in many Places two Crops in a Year, by the Advantage they have of some Lakes at the Feet of the Mountains of *Gatti*, whose Waters being confined by Sluces, are let out at convenient Times to water their Rice Fields. The *Dutch* have a Factory here, only to buy up Rice for their Garisons on the *Malabar* Coast. It stands about a Mile from the River's Mouth, that has a Bar of 13 or 14 Foot Water on it at spring Tides, and has a Castle on its North Side for its Guard, that none may go in or out without Leave.

The *Portuguese* also get Supplies of Rice for *Goa*, and they have six or eight Ships belonging to *Barceloar*, that carry their Cargoes of Rice to *Muskat*, and bring back in Returns, Horses, Dates, Pearl, and other Merchandize of the Product of *Arabia*. To the Southward of this Place, on a plain Road that leads to *Mangulore*, are planted four Rows of Trees, on the Sides of a Walk about eight or ten Miles long, which being very large, and having spreading Branches ever green all the Summer, serve for Umbrellas to Passengers that travel that Road. And, on several Places, there are Huts built, where some old People stay in the Day-time, with Jars of fine clear Water for the Passengers to drink *gratis*, at the Charge of the State. *Baccanoar* and *Molkey* ly between *Barceloar* and *Mangulore*, both having the Benefit of Rivers to export the large Quantities of Rice that their Fields produce.

Mangulore is the greatest Mart for Trade in all the *Canara* Dominions. It has the Conveniency of one River produced by three that come into it by different Ways, *viz.* from the North, South and East, all proceeding from the great Rains and Dews that fall from the Mountains of *Gatti*, which ly 25 or 30 Leagues up in the Country, and are the inland Bounds of the *Canara* Dominions. Those three Rivers joyn about a Mile from the Sea, and, at *Mangulore*, disembogue at one Mouth into the common Receptory of Rivers.

The *Portuguese* have a Factory for Rice here, and a pretty large Church, because great Numbers of black *Christians* reside there. The Priests, as well as their Congregations, are the very Scum of *Christianity*. The Clergy are so shameless, that they will bargain with a Stranger to pimp for him.

And the Laity look on Whoring, Thieving and Murder as no Sin, if any Gain can be got by them.

The Fields here bear two Crops of Corn yearly in the Plains; and the higher Grounds produce Pepper, Bettlenut, Sandal-wood, Iron and Steel, which make *Mangulore* a Place of pretty good Trade. The Town is poorly built, along the Sides of the Rivers, and has no Defence against an Enemy, but two small Forts, one on each Side of the River's Mouth. The *Rajah* or *Rana* keeps generally about 15000 Soldiers on their *Malabar* Frontiers, to repel the Insolence of the *Malabars*, and another Army towards the *Sevajee* Borders, to cover them from the Inroads of those *Harpies*; for the *Malabars* and *Sevajees* being poor in respect of the *Canarines*, watch Opportunities to borrow the Superfluities of their rich Neighbours. Such Practices have been used, in former Times, amongst us in *Britain*, and, no Doubt, would still be so, if good wholsom Laws, backt with good Forces to see them put in Execution, did not restrain us.

Along the *Malabar* Frontiers, the *Canarines* have Forts built of Earth, wherein are kept about 2 or 300 Soldiers ready, on all Occasions, to encounter any small Party of the *Malabars* that clandestinely come in to thieve or rob; but the *Muskat Arabs*, in Anno 1695. came with a Fleet, and plundred the Sea-coast of *Canara*, and burnt *Barceloar* and *Mangulore*, and carried away a great Booty. And *Conajee Angarie*, in Anno 1720. came along the Coast, and insulted it; but, on landing some Men, found such Resistance, that made him embark again, without doing much Mischief to the Country.

There is only one small Sea-port more in *Canara*, called *Manguzeer*, about five Leagues to the Southward of *Mangulore*, and three from *Decully*, a large Fort built on an Island close to the Land. And three Leagues farther South is a small River that divides the *Canara* and *Malabar* Territories.

CHAPTER XXIV

Treats of the Malabars their Forces and Families, Religion, Laws and Customs, Product of their Country, and their Commerce; with some miscellaneous Observations on their Customs and Wars.

MALABAR is a pretty large Country, divided into many Principalities, and I have a List of them as they were given in to the ingenious and curious *Heer Van Rede* Commissary General for Affairs of the *Dutch East-india* Company in Anno 1694. who died off *Bombay* in his Voyage towards *Surat*.

The Province of *Tipoposoriwan* can raise Forces by its Clans, viz.

	Men.	<i>Rapolin.</i>	Men.
<i>Terivancoar</i>	100000	<i>Elengoly Serewan</i>	5000
<i>Attinga</i>	30000		
<i>Eledasoriwan</i>	50000	<i>Courour Nadie.</i>	
<i>Peritalie</i>	3000	<i>Courour Monta Coil</i>	15000
<i>Seigenatie</i>	30000	<i>Billiatte Serewan</i>	15000
<i>Teirewey</i>	15000		
		<i>Badecancore.</i>	
<i>Odenadie Carree.</i>		<i>Manna Tellam</i>	30000
<i>Coilcolong</i>	50000	<i>Moda Callie</i>	3000
<i>Pana Pollie</i>	15000	<i>Boy Pilcore</i>	15000
<i>Martin Gallie</i>	15000	<i>Kilmalle Core</i>	15000
<i>Carimbalie</i>	15000		
<i>Teiom Balanore Koilie</i>	3000	<i>Perimba Daponadie.</i>	
<i>Reubanie Aregalie</i>	3000	<i>Martingaly Tavit</i>	3000
		<i>Moute Tavit</i>	3000
		<i>Palombe Tavit</i>	3000
		<i>Teilor Tavit</i>	3000
		<i>Ela Tavit</i>	3000
<i>Chitawa Canaar.</i>		<i>Tesieragatta Nadie.</i>	
<i>Tellicherry Baakie</i>	3000	<i>Teiragalle Caymaal</i>	15000
<i>Elependre May Porombo</i>		<i>Padanarie erte Caymaal</i>	8000
<i>Dedamaadie Peneretta</i>	15000		
<i>Moesterte Manka Polie</i>		<i>Pindereretol Nade.</i>	
		<i>Pindereretol Nambi Deri</i>	15000
<i>Perombara Cormaar.</i>		<i>Coil Pade</i>	1000
<i>Arregatte Calgampolie</i>	15000		
<i>Mamalie Madonie</i>		<i>Mangela Nade.</i>	
		<i>Belatte Tavit</i>	10000
<i>Bambellendada.</i>		<i>Cara ta Tavit</i>	15000
<i>Kilpolie Chitway</i>	75000		
<i>Martingalie Goer</i>	37000	<i>Nambouries, or, Priests.</i>	
<i>Tekellenore</i>	37000	<i>Bay Pinade</i>	6000
<i>Doenjatte Penmaal</i>	3000	<i>Aaron Ade</i>	2000
		<i>Merinade Nambouri</i>	3000
<i>Cottenadie.</i>			
<i>Zembaga Cherry</i>	30000	<i>Nanderetti Nade.</i>	
		<i>Coro Seir Caymal</i>	30000
<i>Tesegidin Genatie.</i>		<i>Cories Caymal</i>	5000
<i>Elertecore</i>	10000	<i>Siangrande Caymal</i>	5000
<i>Moutere Coree</i>	10000	<i>Panna Maketts Caymal</i>	3000
<i>Ambada Coree</i>	10000		

<i>Tollapoli Nade.</i>		Men.			Men.
<i>Amacotta Nambedi</i>		15000	<i>Palangier Nayer</i>		3000
<i>Manacotta Nambedi</i>		15000	<i>Mangalacka</i>		3000
<i>Cacatte Nambedi</i>		15000	<i>Dana Seir Ilerda</i>		10000
<i>Tistul Nambedi</i>		15000	<i>Ramenatte Corie</i>		15000
<i>Terratekin Nair</i>		15000	<i>Polletti Nade.</i>		
<i>Nambiar, or, Priests of the second Order.</i>			<i>Callistree Odirose Coilan</i>	}	23000
<i>Relolaste Nambiar</i>	3000		<i>Palle Coilan Zierrick Coilan</i>		
<i>Relo Canadarie</i>	30000		<i>Ballanore Burgary</i>		30000
<i>Erenaden Caree.</i>			<i>Tellicherry Mota Naire</i>		15000
<i>Cannal Canadrie</i>	40000		<i>Zitre Caymal Mar</i>		30000
<i>Rete Coil</i>	5000		<i>Alarte Tere Caymal</i>		30000
<i>Paro Pachoil</i>	3000		<i>Alarte Nade Adovodie</i>		15000
<i>Ropo Coil</i>	2000		<i>Paravia Coil</i>		60000
<i>Tomera Serinade.</i>			<i>Bayella Nade.</i>		
<i>Aya Nade</i>	20000		<i>Mangalette Naire</i>		1000
<i>Payanade</i>	15000		<i>Manetane Naire</i>		1000
<i>Iregale Nade a Priest of the first Order</i>	}	3000	<i>Callepatte Naire</i>		1000
			<i>Teyka Patte Naire</i>		1000
<i>Candette Nayer</i>	10000		<i>Motrel Naire</i>		3000
<i>Ommitrie</i>	10000		In all 1262000		
			Fit to carry Arms.		

There are several other Principalities in this Country, that I do not find mentioned in this List, as *Cannanore* and *Tannore*, whose Government are in the Hands of *Mahometans*, or *Malabar Moors*. The Kingdoms of *Couchin* and *Porcat* are not put down in the List, nor *Paarow*, which are potent Principalities; and the *Samorin*, or Empire of *Calecut*, one of the most potent of them all, has no Place in this List. But,

The Country, tho' large and populous, is not fruitful in Corn, for there is Abundance of Rice imported from *Canara*; but, being low and sandy all along the Sea-coast, except a few rising Grounds, which are the most steril, yet it nourishes vast Numbers of Cocoa-nut and *Arecka* Trees, whose Fruit brings them great gains from other Countries. The higher Grounds produce Pepper and *Cardamums*, the best in the World; and their Woods Teak Timber and Angelique for building, Sandal-wood, or Saunders, white and yellow *Cassia Lignum*, or wild Cinnamon, and *Cassia Fistula*, *Nux vomica*, and *Cocolus India*. Drugs grow plentifully in their Woods, which

are also well stored with wild Game, both for Pleasure and Use. Their Mountains produce Iron and Steel, but not so good as we have in *Europe*. And their Sea is stored with many Species of excellent Fishes.

When the *Portuguese* came first into *India*, the *Samorin* of *Calecut* was Lord Paramount of *Malabar*; and, in his Dotage, when he was well advanced in Years, he would needs be a *Mahometan*, and, to shew his Zeal, would go in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, to visit the Tomb. Before he took his Voyage, which was by Sea, he made a Will, and having four Nephews, bequeathed each of them a Part of his Empire. To the eldest he bequeathed *Callistree*, whose Sea-coast reaches from *Decully* to *Ticorie*, about 24 Leagues. To the second, whom he loved best, the Title of *Samorin*, and a Sea-coast from *Ticorie* to *Chitawa*, about the same Distance. To the third *Attinga*, which reached from *Chitawa* to Cape *Comerin*, about 50 Leagues, because that Part of the Country is confined between the Sea and the Mountains of *Gatti*, and is divided by Rivers from those Mountains, into more than 1000 Islands between *Chitawa* and *Quiloan*. The youngest had *Coil*, which reached from Cape *Comerin* to the River of *Nagapatam*, about 50 Leagues more.

The old Zealot dying in his Voyage, made great Disturbances in the State among the Brothers; and, after a long and bloody War, they concluded on the Partitions of the foregoing List. Many of the Tribes continue Tributaries to the Provinces mentioned in the old King's Will; but many more are independent. And so I'll return to *Decully*, and proceed in my Observations along the Shore.

Between *Decully* and Mount *Delly* there is no Harbour, tho' a fine deep River keeps its Course to the Southward, along the Shore, for about 8 Leagues, never, in all that Tract, going above a Bow-shot from the Sea. It disembogues itself by the Foot of Mount *Delly*, over Rocks and Sands, in a Chanel of half a League broad. The Inhabitants are a wild superstitious uncivilized People. There is also a small River that runs close by the Foot of Mount *Delly*, on the South Side. And 3 Leagues South from Mount *Delly* is a spacious deep River, called *Balliapatam*, where the *English* Company had once a Factory for Pepper; and the aforementioned Mr. *Boucher* was the last Chief for their Affairs there.

Cannanore was formerly a Town belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, with a very strong Fort to guard it, built on a Point of Land so commodiously, that the Sea fortified above four Fifths of it, and had the Conveniency of a small Bay for an Harbour, that could shelter small Ships from the Fury of the South-west Monsoons. The *Dutch* came with a Fleet about the Year 1660. and landed a small Army, and were joyned by a great

Number of the Natives, who were weary of the Tyranny of the *Portugueze*. The very first Day that they opened their Trenches a *Portugueze Fidalgo* was killed on a Bastion, by a Shot from the *Dutch*, which so frightened the Governor of the Fort, that, in the Night, he made his Escape, and left the Garison to capitulate for themselves, which they did next Day, to save the Effusion of *Christian* Blood by heretical Cannon.

The *Dutch* continue still Masters of the Fort, and added a large Curtain, with two royal Bastions fronting the Land Avenues. They demolished the Town, and, with its Stones, built those Defences. Their Trade is very small, so that their Garison consists of about forty Soldiers and a Captain, who is Governor of the Fort: But there is a pretty large Town built in the Bottom of the Bay, that is independent of the *Dutch*, and that Town, with some circumjacent Country, is under the Government of *Adda Rajah*, a *Mahometan Malabar* Prince, who, upon Occasion, can bring near 20000 Men into the Field. His Government is not absolute, nor is it hereditary; and, instead of giving him the Trust of the Treasury which comes by Taxes and Merchandize, they have Chests made on Purpose, with Holes made in their Lids, and their Coin being all Gold, whatever is received by the Treasurer, is put into those Chests by these Holes; and each Chest has four Locks, and their Keys are put in the Hands of the *Rajah*, the Commissioner of Trade, the chief Judge and the Treasurer; and, when there is Occasion for Money, none can be taken out without all these four be present, or their Deputies.

In Anno 1668. the Prince came into the *Dutch* Fort to pay a Compliment to the Captain. He had brought about 50 Attendants with him. While the Prince was complimenting the Captain, the *Malabars* took the Opportunity of the *Dutch* Security, and killed the Sentinel at the Gate; but the *Dutch* Soldiers being all in their Barracks, and their Arms ready, made a seasonable Sally, and drove the *Malabars* out, with the Loss of twenty of their Number; and the *Dutch* shut their Gate. The Fort is large, and the Governor's Lodgings at a good Distance from the Gate, so that the Fray was over before either the Prince or the *Dutch* Captain knew any Thing of the Matter; and an Officer bringing the News, the Prince ordered a Search to be made for the Ringleader, and being found, he sentenced him to be smeared over with Hony, and made fast to a Cocoa-nut Tree in the Sun till he died. Next Morning the Sentence was put in Execution. These Cocoa-nut Trees producing a sweet Liquor called *Toddy*, bring vast Numbers of Wasps and large red Ants to drink the Liquor. Those Ants bite as painfully as the Stinging of Wasps. When the Sun begins to be hot, they leave the Top of the Tree, and burrow in Holes about

the Root. In their Passage downward they fixt on the Carcase besmeared with the Hony, and soon burrowed in the Flesh. The poor Miscreant was three Days in that sensible Torment before he expired. The *Dutch* Captain begged every Day for a Pardon, or at least for a milder or quicker Death; but the Prince was inexorable.

In Anno 1702. I hired a Ship called the *Albemarle*, in Service of the new established *East-india* Company, to serve me three Months and an half on a Voyage from *Surat* to the *Malabar* Coast, and back; and having Occasion to call at *Cannanore*, I accompanied the Captain of the Fort and an *English* Factor from *Tellicherry* to the Court of *Omnitree*, Successor to the eldest Son of the *Samorin* before mentioned, who died in his Voyage towards *Mecca*.

Captain *Beawes*, who commanded the *Albemarle*, accompanied us also, carrying a Drum and two Trumpets with us, to make our Compliment the more solemn. This was a Visit paid him by all his Tributaries and Friends, to wish him many happy Years, it being his Birth-day. We travelled eight or ten Miles before we came to his Palace, which was built with Twigs, and covered with *Cadjans* or Cocoa-nut Tree Leaves woven together. We were admitted to his Presence assoon as we arrived, in an open Green just by his Palace Window, which lookt into it, where sat his Majesty, with his Queen, and three or four of his Children, pretty well grown up. We paid our Compliment each with a *Zequeen* in Gold, and a few Grains of Rice laid on it, and so, by an Interpreter we had some frivolous Discourse. He treated us with *Toddy*, some *Plantains*, and young Cocoa-nuts; and then, after an Hour's Stay, we had Audience of Leave, and so departed.

Omnitree himself was a Man of a good Aspect, about 40 Years of Age, of an Olive Colour. His Dress was only a Silk *Lungie* or Scarf made fast by a Girdle of Gold Plate, about his Middle, that reacht to his Knees, with great Jewels of massy Gold, set with Rubies, Emeralds and Pearl, hanging at his Ears, but no Ornament on his Head, but a very beautiful Head of Hair hanging over his Shoulders. His Queen and Daughters were in the same Habit, only their Hair was tied up behind. They were all naked above the Navel, and were bare-footed. The Queen had a cheerful Countenance, and very affable to us and others, who had the Honour to stand near her, distributing *Bettle* and *Arecka* with her own royal Hands, to Strangers, who came, as we did, to compliment the Prince her Husband.

About the Year 1680. there were three Princes of the Blood royal, who conspired to cut him and his Family off, to possess themselves of the

Government of *Callistree*; but being detected, they were beheaded on Altars built of Stone. About two Miles from *Cannanore* the Altars were standing when I was there. They were only square Piles of hewn Stone, about three Yards high, and four Yards each Side.

Adda Rajah's Dominions reach but ten Miles to the Southward of *Cannanore*, to *Tellicherry* River, near which he has an Harbour called *Dormepatam*. Its Passage inward is deep enough, but embarrassed with Rocks in its Entrance. It has an Island against its Mouth, called *Cacca Diva*, about half a League from the Shore, invironed with Rocks.

Adda Rajah has also the Dominion over the *Lacca Diva* Islands, which ly about 40 Leagues off the *Malabar* Coast, between the Latitudes of eight Degrees and an half and twelve and an half. I have seen eighteen of them. They are all very low, and have many dangerous Shoals among them, and to the Northward of them. The Chanel between them and the *Maldiva* Islands, is called the eight Degree Chanel. There are no Dangers in it, and sometimes we pass through without seeing either the *Maldivas*, or them. There is another Chanel through them in 11 Degrees Latitude.

Their Product is only Cocoa-nuts and Fish. Of the Cocoa-nut Kernels they express Oyl, which is fine and clear, fitting for Lamps; and, when it is new, serves their Kitchens. Of the Rind of the Nut they make *Cayar*, which are the Fibres of the Cask that environs the Nut spun fit to make Cordage and Cables for Shipping, and for several other Uses. Their Fish they dry, and export to the Continent. Sometimes in the South-west Monsoons they find Amber-grease floating on the Sea. I saw a Piece in *Adda Rajah's* Possession, as big as a Bushel, and he valued it at 10000 Rupees, or 1250 *L. Sterl.* What Religion they have is *Mahometan*, for no other Reason but because their Prince is so, which Complaisance may teach others a Lesson of Conformity.

The next Province to *Adda Rajah's* Dominions is *Tellicherry*, where the *English East-india* Company has a Factory, pretty well fortified with Stone Walls and Cannon. The Place where the Factory now stands belonged to the *French*, who left the Mud-walls of a Fort built by them, to serve the *English* when they first settled there, and for many Years they continued so, but of late no small Pains and Charge have been bestowed on its Buildings; but for what Reasons I know not, for it has no River near it that can want its Protection, nor can it defend the Road from the Insults of Enemies, unless it be for small Vessels that can come within some Rocks that ly half a Mile off, or to protect the Company's Warehouse, and a Punch-house that stands on the Sea-shore a short Pistol-shot from the Garrison.

The Town stands at the Back of the Fort, within Land, with a Stone Wall round it, to keep out Enemies of the Chief's making, for in 1703. he began a War that still continues, at least there were Folks killed in 1723. when I was there; and I was informed by a Gentleman of Judgment there, that the War and Fortifications had taken Double the Money to maintain them that the Company's Investments came to.

The Occasion of the War, as I was informed, began about a Trifle. The *Nayer*, that was Lord of the Mannor, had a Royalty, for every Vessel that unladed at *Tellicherry*, paid two Bales of Rice Duty to him. There was another Royalty of every tenth Fish that came to the Market there, and both together did not amount to 20 *L. Ster. per Annum*. The Chief either appropriated these Royalties to his own, or the Company's Use, and the *Nayer* complained of the Injustice, but had no Redress. These little Duties were the best Part of the poor *Nayer's* Subsistence, which made it the harder to bear, so his Friends advised him to repel Force by Force, and disturb the Factory what he could, which he accordingly did (by the secret Assistance of his Friends) for above 20 Years. The Company are the best Judges whether the War is like to bring any Profit to their Affairs there, or no.

The established Religion of this Country is *Paganism*; but there are a few black *Christians* that live under the Protection of the Factory, and some of them serve for Soldiers in the Garison. They have a little Church standing within the outward Wall of the Factory, served by a *Portuguese* Priest or two, who get their Subsistence by the Alms of the Parish. And the *English* have Punch-houses, where the *European* Soldiers make Oblations to *Bacchus*, and if they want Devotion, which their Accounts can certify at Pay-day, they are forced to commute with their Officer, or undergo some wholsom Discipline or Chastisement.

About four Miles to the Southward of *Tellicherry*, is a small *French* Factory lately settled at the Mouth of a small River, but for what End I know not; but I believe more to employ a little Stock for the Gentlemen of *Calecut* Factory's Account, than for the *French* Company's.

And eight or ten Miles farther to the Southward, is *Burgara*, a Sea-port in the Dominions of *Ballanore Burgarie*, a formidable Prince. His Country produces Pepper, and the best *Cardamums* in the World. I once called at his Port, and bought about 40 Tuns of *Cardamums* for the *Surat* Market. My Ship was large, and of good Force, so he sent me a Present of Poultry and Fruits, and sent me Word, that he had a Mind to see me on board my Ship. I returned Answer, that his Visit would do me great Honour, and I sent my Barge to wait on him. He came on board in her, and

brought about 100 Attendants in other Boats, along with him. I carried him to the great Cabbin, and would have treated him with Coffee, Tea and Wine, or Spirits, but he would taste none, telling me, that my Water was polluted by our Touch, but he thanked me. He desired to see the Ship every where; and I ordered he should have free Liberty, and he went for an Hour to and again, making his Observations; and, when he had seen what he thought fit, he told me, that he would build a Ship of the same Dimensions, but there wanted Water enough in his Rivers to flote her.

This Prince, and his Predecessors, have been Lords of the Seas, Time out of Mind, and all trading Vessels between Cape *Comerin* and *Damaan*, were obliged to carry his Passes. Those of one Mast paid for their Passes about eight Shillings yearly, and those with three paid about sixteen; but when the *Portuguese* settled in *India*, then they pretended to the Sovereignty of the Seas, which occasioned a War between him and them, that has lasted ever since. He keeps some light Gallies, that row and sail very well, which cruize along the Coast, from *October* to *May*, to make Prize of all who have not his Pass. In our Discourse, I asked him if he was not afraid to venture his Person on board of a Merchant Ship, since he himself was an Enemy to all Merchants that traded on these Coasts. He answered, that he had heard of my Character, and that made him fearless, and that he was no Enemy to Trade, but only vindicated his Sovereignty of those Seas before mentioned, and that our own King was invested with the like Sovereignty, not only on his own Coasts, but on those of *France*, *Holland* and *Denmark*, and could have no greater Right than he had, only he was in a better Condition to oblige the Transgressors of his Laws to Obedience than he was: However he would maintain his Claim and Right the best Way he could, and whoever lost their Ships or Vessels for Contempt of his Authority, might blame their own Obstinacy or Folly, and not him.

He stayed about three Hours on board, and, at his going away, I presented him with five Yards of scarlet Cloth, a small Carpet, a Fowling-piece and a Pair of Pistols finely gilt, which Present he seemed highly pleased with; and he took a *Manila*, or Wrist-jewel off from his left Arm, on which was engraven something of their Language, in their own Characters, and putting it on my left Arm, declared me a free Denizon in all his Territories; and all his Attendants paid their Compliments to me with profound Respect. At his going over the Side, he gave the Boatswain ten *Zequens* for waiting on him while he viewed the Ship, and ten more for the Seamen to make a Feast, and when my Barge landed

him, he gave the Cockswain five *Zequeens*, and loaded her back with Poultry and Fruit. He was a very well shaped Man, about 40 Years of Age, of a very dark Colour, but not quite black, his Eyes very lively and sparkling, and something of a majestick Air in his Deportment.

Next Day I waited on him ashore, and he carried me to his Palace, which was very meanly built of Reeds, and covered with Cocoa-nut Leaves, but very neat and clean. He had two Rows of *Bettle Trees*, which are very tall and straight, set in Order about fifty Yards from the Door of his Palace, for it was not large enough to be called a Gate, and there he treated me with Rice, Fowl and fresh Fish drest after their Way; and, after Dinner, he shewed me several Ware-houses like Barns, full of black Pepper and *Cardamums*; and he told me, he wondred why the *English* did not settle a Factory in his Dominions rather than at *Calecut* or *Tellicherry*, for he supplied both these Countries with his Commodities; and, considering the Customs paid to him were but 5 *per Cent.* and what was carried into their Countries must pay other Customs to the Princes, the Company would find Pepper and *Cardamums* much cheaper in his Dominions than they could possibly have them at their Factories where they were settled. I told him, that sending his Vessels to cruize on Merchant Ships had blasted the Reputation of his Country. He answered, that if the Company would make a Trial of a few Years in trading with him, they would be convinced of his fair Dealings; or, if I would come and stay in his Country, he would build a good Stone House at his own Charge, and make a Fortification round it, in any Place that I should choose in his Dominions, and that I should be Superintendent of all the Commerce and Trade in his Country. I told him, that I could not accept of his Favours without the Approbation of our Company, and that would require Time to be got. This happened in *January 1703.*

In 1707. he built a new Ship, which I had a Mind to buy. I was then at *Couchin*, and sent him Word, that I designed him a Visit. He returned an Answer, that I was a Freeman in his Country, and might be assured of an hearty Welcom. About ten Days after I came in a small Boat, to a Place belonging to him, called *Mealie*. When News of my Arrival were carried to him, he sent a Person of Distinction, with twenty armed Men, to receive me, and ordered me to be lodged in a Stone House, the common Place for Ambassadors to lodge in, when any had Business to come to him. The Bedding was only some Mats spread on a Couch; but it is the common Bedding of the Country, and his Highness has no better. Before I was conducted to my Lodgings, there was a Present of Rice, Butter, Hens, Fruits and Roots put into a Pantry for me, and my Retinue and

Guard, for Supper. Next Morning he sent a Compliment, that he desired to see me at his Palace. I went accordingly, and he received me very graciously, with many Protestations of his Friendship, and told me, he would make good all that he had promised before, if I would continue in his Country. I returned his Compliment in the properest Terms I could, and told him, I came to kiss his Hand, and to buy his new Ship, if he and I could agree. He told me, that I should have her at a very reasonable Price, but that his Religion forbid him to sell any Ship that he either built or bought, till he had first employed her in one Voyage himself. I stayed seven Days in his Country, and he treated me after the same Manner as if I had been an Ambassador, in defraying all my Charges, and allowing his own Servants to attend me.

When I went to his Palace the first Time, I was innocently guilty of ill Manners, for, walking with him near his Lodgings, I chanced to touch the Thatch with my Hat, which polluted it so much, that, assoon as I went away, he stript it of its Covering, because Religion forbid him to sleep under it when it was thus polluted; but it was soon re-sanctified by a new Thatching. If any of his own Subjects had been guilty of the same Fault, they might have run in Danger of losing their Lives for the Offence.

I daily received for my Table six Hens, two Pounds of Butter, five and twenty Pound Weight of Rice, a Quarter of a Pound of Pepper, and some Salt, some *Bettle* Leaves, and green *Arecka*, with twenty young, and ten old Cocoa-nuts, but no Fish, which was a favourite Dish of mine. I sent my own Servants to the Fishing-boats, when they came from fishing, to buy some; but the poor Fellows durst not take a Penny of Money, yet supplied me with what Fish I wanted, and my Servants took their Opportunity to pay for them, when none of the Prince's Servants were present.

When I took Leave to depart, he seemed to be sorry that I stayed so short a Time with him, and ordered two Days Provisions to be put into my Boat, and I presented the Officer that waited on me to the Sea Side with five *Zequeens* for a Feast of *Bettle* to him and his Companions. I do not certainly know how far southerly this Prince's Dominions reach along the Sea-coast, but I believe to *Tecorie*, about 12 Miles from *Mealie*, and in the half Way is *Cottica*, which was famous formerly for privateering on all Ships and Vessels that traded without their Lord's Pass.

There is a Rock lies off *Cottica* about 8 Miles in the Sea, which bears the Name of *Sacrifice Rock*. There are no Dangers near it for Ships to be afraid of. How it came by its Name is uncertain; but common Tradition tells us, that when the *Portugueze* settled first at *Calecut*, which lies about

seven Leagues South-east of this Rock, the *Cottica* Cruizers surprised a *Portuguese* Vessel, and sacrificed all their Prisoners on that Rock, which gave Name to it. It is observable, that tho' the *Portuguese* got Footing in all the Dominions of the Princes whose Lands reach to the Sea-shore of *Malabar*, yet they never could get a Foot of Ground in the *Balanores* Country, tho' many Trials have been made, and fair Means used to effect it.

CHAPTER XXV

Observations on the Samorin and his Country, their Religion, Laws and Customs, Product of the Country and its Commerce; an Account of their War with the Dutch, begun in Anno 1708. and the Consequences of it.

THE *Samorin's* Country reaches along the Sea-coast from *Ticori* to *Chitwa*, about 22 Leagues. His chief City (if it may be called one) is *Calecut*, where he generally resides. His Palace is built of Stone, and there is some faint Resemblance of Grandeur to be seen about his Court. He is reckoned the powerfulest King on the Sea-coast of *Malabar*, and has the best Trade in his Country, which makes both himself and People richer than their Neighbours. The *English* had a Factory there many Years, but now the Chief and the Factors are removed to *Tellicherry*, and what Quantities of Pepper they procure there by their black Servants, is sent by Sea to *Tellicherry*. The *French* have also a small Factory, settled in Anno 1698. but they are not in a Condition to carry on a Trade for want of Money and Credit: And the *Portuguese* have a Church, but poorly decorated, and pitifully endowed, for *Christian* Charity is much decayed there as well as in other Places; and the Priests Perquisites are but small by Converts.

The Product of the *Samorin's* Country is Pepper in Abundance, *Bettle-nut* and *Cocoa-nut*, and that Tree produceth *Jaggery*, a Kind of Sugar, and *Copera*, or the Kernels of the Nut dried, and out of those Kernels there is a very clear Oyl exprest; also *Sandel-wood*, *Iron*, *Cassia-lignum* and *Timber* for building, all which Commodities they export to the great Benefit of the Inhabitants.

Many strange Customs were observed in this Country in former Times, and some very odd ones are still continued. It was an ancient Custom for the *Samorin* to reign but twelve Years, and no longer. If he died before his Term was expired, it saved him a troublesom Ceremony of cutting his own Throat, on a publick Scaffold erected for that Purpose. He first

made a Feast for all his Nobility and Gentry, who are very numerous. After the Feast, he saluted his Guests, and went on the Scaffold, and very decently cut his own Throat in the View of the Assembly, and his Body was, a little While after, burned with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Grandees elected a new *Samorin*. Whether that Custom was a religious or a civil Ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aside.

And a new Custom is followed by the modern *Samorins*, that a Jubilee is proclaimed throughout his Dominions, at the End of twelve Years, and a Tent is pitched for him in a spacious Plain, and a great Feast is celebrated for ten or twelve Days with Mirth and Jollity, Guns firing Night and Day, so at the End of the Feast any four of the Guests that have a Mind to gain a Crown by a desperate Action, in fighting their Way through 30 or 40000 of his Guards, and kill the *Samorin* in his Tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his Empire.

In Anno 1695. one of those Jubilees happened, and the Tent pitched near *Pennany*, a Sea-port of his, about fifteen Leagues to the Southward of *Calecut*. There were but three Men that would venture on that desperate Action, who fell in, with Sword and Target, among the Guards, and, after they had killed and wounded many, were themselves killed. One of the *Desperados* had a Nephew of fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, that kept close by his Uncle in the Attack on the Guards, and, when he saw him fall, the Youth got through the Guards into the Tent, and made a Stroke at his Majesty's Head, and had certainly dispatched him, if a large Brass Lamp which was burning over his Head, had not marred the Blow; but, before he could make another, he was killed by the Guards; and, I believe, the same *Samorin* reigns yet. I chanced to come that Time along the Coast, and heard the Guns for two or three Days and Nights successively.

When the *Samorin* marries, he must not cohabit with his Bride till the *Nambourie* or chief Priest has enjoyed her, and, if he pleases, may have three Nights of her Company, because the first Fruits of her Nuptials must be an holy Oblation to the God she worships: And some of the Nobles are so complaisant as to allow the Clergy the same Tribute; but the common People cannot have that Compliment paid to them, but are forced to supply the Priests Places themselves. Any Women, except the first Quality, may marry twelve Husbands if they please, but cannot have more at one Time, and they must all be of her own *Cast* or Tribe, under Pain of Excommunication and Degradation of Honour, if she marries into a lower Tribe; and the Men are under the same Penalty if they transgress that Law, but they are not confined to a set Number of Wives, as the Women are to Husbands.

When a Woman is married to the first of her Husbands, she has an House built for her own Conveniency, and that Husband cohabits with her till she takes a second, or so many as she is prescribed by Law, and the Husbands agree very well, for they cohabit with her in their Turns, according to their Priority of Marriage, ten Days, more or less, according as they can fix a Term among themselves, and he that cohabits with her, maintains her in all Things necessary, for his Time, so that she is plentifully provided for by a constant Circulation.

When the Man that cohabits with her goes into her House, he leaves his Arms at the Door, and none dare remove them, or enter the House, on Pain of Death; but, if there are no Arms to guard the Door, any Acquaintance may freely visit her. And all the Time of Cohabitation she serves her Husband as Purveyor and Cook, and keeps his Clothes and Arms clean.

When she proves with Child, she nominates its Father, who takes Care of its Education, after she has suckled it, and brought it to walk or speak; but the Children are never Heirs to their Fathers Estates, but the Father's Sister's Children are, and if there are none, then to the nearest in Consanguinity from his Grandmother. And this Custom is also practised among the *Mahometan Malabars*.

There are many Degrees or Dignities in the Church as well as in the State. The *Nambouries* are the first in both Capacities of Church and State, and some of them are Popes, being sovereign Princes in both. The *Brahmans* or *Bramanies* are the second in the Church only. The *Buts* or Magicians are next to them, and are in great Veneration. The *Nayers* or Gentlemen are next, and are very numerous. The *Teyvees* are the Farmers of Cocoa-nut Trees, and are next to the Gentry. Merchants are of all Orders, except *Nambouries*, and are in some Esteem. The *Poulias* produce the Labourers and Mechanicks. They may marry into lower Tribes without Danger of Excommunication, and so may the *Muckwas* or Fishers, who, I think, are an higher Tribe than the *Poulias*, but the *Poulichees* are the lowest Order of human Creatures, and are excluded from the Benefit of human and divine Laws.

If a *Poulia* or *Teyvee* meet a *Nayer* on the Road, he must go aside to let his Worship pass by, lest the Air should be tainted, on Pain of a severe Chastisement, if not of Death; but the *Poulichees* are in a much worse State, for, by the Law, they are not permitted to converse with any other Tribe, nor can they wear any Sort of Cloth, but only a little Straw made fast before their Privities, with a Line round their Middle. They are not permitted to build Houses or Huts on the Ground, nor to inhabit

the Plains where there is Corn Ground, but must dwell in Woods, and build on the Boughs of Trees, like Birds, with Grass and Straw. If accidentally they see any Body coming towards them, they will howl like Dogs, and run away, lest those of Quality should take Offence at their breathing in the same Air that they do. They are not permitted to till and sow the Ground, only in obscure Places of the Woods they plant Fruits and Roots, whose Seeds they steal from their neighbouring Gardens in the Plains, in the Night, and if they are caught stealing, Death is their Punishment, on the Spot where they are taken, without any Form or Process of Law. When they want Food, they come to the Skirts of their Woods, and howl like Foxes, and the charitable *Poulias* and *Teyvees* relieve them with Rice boiled or raw, and some Cocoa-nuts and other Fruits, which they lay down in a convenient Place; and when their Benefactors come within twenty Paces of them with their Alms, they walk off, and let the *Poulichees* come to their Food, which they forthwith carry into the Woods. They are very swift in running, and cunning in catching wild Beasts and Fowl; but they have few or no Fish among the Mountains.

The inferior Tribes have Liberty of Conscience in fancying their Deities, and worshipping them. I have seen, at many *Muckwas* Houses, a square Stake of Wood, with a few Notches cut about it, and that Stake drove into the Ground, about two Foot of it being left above, and that is covered with some *Cadjans* or Cocoa-nut Tree Leaves, and is a Temple and a God to that Family. Some worship the first Animal they see in the Morning, let it be Cat, Dog or Serpent, and they pay their Adorations to it the whole Day. Others choose a Tree of their Father's or some dear Friend's planting, and that he gets consecrated, and it then becomes his God; but they all believe the Immortality of the Soul and Transmigration, and the Adoration of the great God, of whom they have many wild Opinions.

The great God's Image they can neither fancy nor make, but believe, that he sent an huge large Fowl from Heaven, that laid a swinging Egg in the Sea, and, in Process of Time, it was hatch'd by the Sun, and forth came the World, with all Animals, Vegetables, &c. that inhabit it now, and that poor *Adam* was set alone on the Top of an high Mountain in *Zealoan*, which is called, to this Day, *Baba Adam*, from that Tradition, but, being tired of so lonesom a Life, he descended into the Plain, and there he met with *Hevah*, whom he presently knew to be his Kinswoman, and they struck Hands, and were there married.

The great Men of the Clergy build Temples, but they are neither large nor beautiful. Their Images are all black, and deformed, according as they

fancy the infernal Gods to be shaped, who, they believe, have some Hand in governing the World, particularly about benign or malignant Seasons that happen in the Productions or Sterility of the Earth, for which Reason they pay a lateral Adoration to them. Their Images are all placed in dark Temples, and are never seen but by Lamp-light, that burns continually before them.

When criminal Cases are brought before the Magistrate, that want the Evidence of Witnesses to support them, the Trial of Truth is by Ordeal. The accused Person is obliged to put his bare Hand into a Pot of boyling Oyl, and if any Blister appears, the Party is found guilty; and I have been credibly informed, both by *English* and *Dutch* Gentlemen, as well as Natives, that had seen the Trial, that the innocent Person has not been in the least affected with the scalding Oyl, and then the Punishment due to the Crime, is inflicted on the Accuser.

The *Samorin* entred into a War with the *Dutch East-india* Company in *Anno* 1714. and the Chief of the *English* Factory, who was a privy Counsellor to the *Samorin*, had a great Hand in promoting it. The Quarrel began about a small Fort that the *Dutch* were building at *Chitwa*. The Ground whereon it stood was a desert Morass by the River's Side, and was claimed both by the King of *Couchin* and the *Samorin*. The King of *Couchin* made over his Claim to the *Dutch*, who made small Account who had the best Title, but carried on their Work with Diligence. The *Samorin*, with, and by the Advice of his Council, got some of his Soldiers to be entred into the *Dutch* Service, under the Disguise of daily Labourers to carry Stones, Morter, &c. for building the Fort, and to take their Opportunity to ly in Ambuscade in a Morass overgrown with Reeds near the Fort.

Two *Dutch* Lieutenants, who had the Overseeing of the Work, were one Evening diverting themselves with a Game at Tables in a Guard Room about half a Mile from the Fort. They had let some of their *Dutch* Soldiers go straggling abroad, and the Sentinels were careless under the Security of Friendship, which gave the disguised Workmen an Opportunity to kill the Sentinels, and make their Signal for the Ambuscade, who, in a few Minutes, took the half-built Fort. The Lieutenants came presently after, with what Forces they had, to retake it, but one being killed dead in advancing, the other thought it impracticable to attack greater Forces within than he had without, and so embarked, with his Men, on board small Boats for *Couchin*, about 10 Leagues from *Chitwa*.

I fortun'd to be at *Couchin* when he and his Men arrived, and, by a Court Martial, he was sentenced to be shot to Death, which Sentence I

saw executed. The *Samorin's* People next Day erected a Flag-staff, and hoisted the *English* Flag, which the *English* Chief had sent by the Ambuscade, and immediately after set about demolishing the Walls, that were built, of the Fort, and carried off some great Guns belonging to the *Dutch*. And this was the Prelude of the War.

I knew pretty well the Strength of the Antagonists, what Power the *Samorin* had, and what Powers the Kings of *Couchin*, *Paaru* and *Porcat* could assist the *Dutch* with, and I wrote to the Chief the Resolutions of the *Dutch*, and advised him not to embark himself or his Masters in that Affair, because War was a different Province from his. He took my Advice so ill, that he wrote to *Bombay*, that I was in the *Dutch* Interest, opposite to the Right Honourable Company, and also to his Masters in *England*, as if the *Dutch* Company could need my Interest, Advice or Assistance; but, as I had forewarned him, he found the *Samorin* was forced, after three Years War, to conclude a dishonourable and disadvantageous Peace, wherein he was obliged to build up the Fort he had demolished, to pay the *Dutch* Company 7 per Cent. on all the Pepper exported out of his Dominions for ever, and to pay a large Sum towards the Charges of the War. Some Part of the Money, I believe, he borrowed.

Whether our *East-india* Company got or lost by that War, I know not, nor will I pretend to pass Judgment on their Affairs; but this I know, that the Chief lost a good Milk Cow, for the Chiefs of *Calecut*, for many Years, had vended between 500 and 1000 Chests of *Bengal Ophium* yearly up in the inland Countries, where it is very much used. The Water Carriage up the River being cheap and secure, the Price of *Ophium* high, and the Price of Pepper low, so that their Profits were great both Ways; for, if I mistake not, the Company paid the highest Prices for their Pepper, and the *Nayers* in the Company's Pay, were employed about the Chiefs Affairs; and by the unexpected Turn of Affairs caused by the War, that Trade is fallen intirely into the *Dutch* Company's Hands, and it will be a very difficult Task to get it out again.

The *English* Company were formerly so much respected at *Calecut*, that if any Debitor went into their Factory for Protection, none durst presume to go there to disturb them; but that Indulgence has been sometimes made an ill Use of, to the Detriment of *English* private Traders.

They have a good Way of arresting People for Debt, viz. There is a proper Person sent with a small Stick from the Judge, who is generally a *Brahman*, and when that Person finds the Debitor, he draws a Circle round him with that Stick, and charges him, in the King and Judge's Name, not to stir out of it till the Creditor is satisfied either by Payment

or Surety; and it is no less than Death for the Debitor to break Prison by going out of the Circle.

They make use of no Pens, Ink and Paper, but write on Leaves of Flags or Reeds that grow in Morasses by the Sides of Rivers. They are generally about 18 Inches long, and one and an half broad, tapering at both Ends, and a small Hole at one End for a String to pass through. It is thicker than our royal Paper, and very tough. They write with the Point of a Bodkin made for that Purpose, holding the Leaf athwart their left Thumb End over the foremost Finger, and what they have to write is indented, or rather engraven into the Leaf, but it does not pierce the Leaf above half Way through. And on two or three of these Leaves they'll write as much as we can on a Sheet of small Paper. All their Records are written so on Leaves, and they are strung and rolled up in a Scroll, and hung some Time in Smoke, and then lockt up in their Cabinets. And I have seen some such Leaves Smoke-dried, that, they told me, were above 1000 Years old.

In Anno 1703. about the Middle of *February*, I called at *Calecut* in my Way to *Surat*, and standing into the Road, I chanced to strike on some of the Ruins of the sunken Town built by the *Portugueze* in former Times. Whether that Town was swallowed up by an Earthquake, as some affirm, or whether it was undermined by the Sea, I will not determine; but so it was, that in 6 Fathoms at the main Mast, my Ship, which drew 21 Foot Water, sat fast a-fore the Chess-tree. The Sea was smooth, and, in a short Time, we got off without Damage.

The unfortunate Captain *Green*, who was afterwards hanged in *Scotland*, came on board of my Ship at Sun-set, very much overtaken with Drink, and severals of his Men came in the same Condition. He told me, that he had some small Arms, Powder, Shot and Glass-ware to dispose of, and asked me if I would take them off his Hands at a very reasonable Rate. I told him, that next Morning I would see them, and perhaps be a Merchant for them. He told me, that the Arms and Ammunition were what was left of a large Quantity that he had brought from *England*, but had been at *Don Mascherenas* and *Madagascar*, and had disposed of the rest to good Advantage, among the Pirates, and had carried some Pirates from *Don Mascherenas* to *St. Marys*.

I told him, that, in Prudence, he ought to keep these as Secrets, lest he might be brought in Trouble about them. He made but little Account of my Advice, and so departed.

About ten in the Night his chief Mate Mr. *Mather* came on board of my Ship, and seemed to be very melancholy. He asked me, if I thought one

of my Mates would be induced to go with Captain *Green*, that he might be cleared of his Ship, and he would give that Mate that would accept of his Post, a very considerable Gratuity. I told him, that such a good Post as he had on board the *Worcester* was not easily procured in *India*, for we seldom preferred Strangers before we had a Trial of them.

He burst out in Tears, and told me, he was afraid that he was undone. I askt his Reason for his melancholy Conjecture. He answered, that they had acted such Things in their Voyage, that would certainly bring them to Shame and Punishment, if they should come to Light; and he was assured, that such a Company of Drunkards as their Crew was composed of, could keep no Secret, tho' the Discovery should prove their own Ruin. I told him, I was sorry for his Condition, and that I had heard at *Coiloan*, that they had not acted prudently nor honestly in relation to some *Moors* Ships they had visited and plundred, and in sinking a Sloop, with ten or twelve *Europeans* in her, off *Coiloan*. He askt me if that was known at *Coiloan*. I told him, that the People there made no Secret of it, but as long as you did them no Harm, you are welcom to their Trade. Next Day I went ashore, and met Captain *Green* and his Supercargo Mr. *Callant*, who had sailed a Voyage from *Surat* to *Sindy* with me. Before Dinner-time they were both drunk, and *Callant* told me, that he did not doubt of making the greatest Voyage that ever was made from *England* on so small a Stock as 500 Pounds. I wisht him Joy and Success, but told him, that we *Indians* understood none of those profitable Voyages, but were well content with 30 or 40 *per Cent*.

In the Evening their Surgeon accosted me in my Walk along the Sea Side, and askt if I wanted a Surgeon. I told him I had two, and both very good ingenious Men. He said, he wanted to stay in *India*, for his Life was uneasy on board of his Ship, that tho' the Captain was civil enough, yet Mr. *Mather* was unkind, and had treated him with Blows for asking a pertinent Question at some wounded Men, who were hurt in the Engagement they had with the aforementioned Sloop. I heard too much to be contented with their Conduct, and so I shunn'd their Conversation for the little Time I staid at *Calecut*. Whether Captain *Green* and Mr. *Mather* had Justice impartially allowed them in their Process and Sentence, I know not. I have heard of as great Innocents condemned to Death as they were.

About 2 Leagues to the Southward of *Calecut*, is a fine River called *Baypore*, capable to receive Ships of 3 or 400 Tuns. It has a small Island off its Mouth, about half a Mile from the Shore, that keeps it safe from the great Seas brought on that Coast by the South-west Monsoons. Four

Leagues more southerly is *Tannore*, a Town of small Trade, inhabited by *Mahometans*. They are a little free State, but pay an Acknowledgment to the *Samorin*. Five Leagues to the Southward of *Tannore*, is *Pennany*, mentioned before. It has the Benefit of a River, and was formerly a Place of Trade. The *French* and *English* had their Factories there, but were removed about the Year 1670. And about four Leagues more to the Southward, is *Chitwa* River, which bounds the *Samorin's* Dominions to the South.

CHAPTER XXVI

Gives an Account of Couchin its Government and Strength, its ancient and present State, its Product and Commerce, with some Account of the Jews inhabiting there.

THE King of *Couchin's* Dominions are next in Course along the Sea-coast, and reach from *Chitwa* about 24 Leagues to the Southward. There are so many Rivulets that run off the Mountains of *Gatti*, that they reckon above 1000 Islands made by their Streams. The Mountains come within 8 Leagues of the Sea, and the Rivulets joyn their Stores at *Cranganore*, and make one great Outlet to the Sea, and another great Outlet is at *Couchin* City. *Cranganore* is about 5 Leagues to the South of *Chitwa*. The *Dutch* have here a small Fort, which retains the Name of *Cranganore*. It lies about a League up the River from the Sea. In Times of old it bore the Name of a Kingdom, and was a Republick of *Jews*, who were once so numerous, that they could reckon about 80000 Families, but, at present, are reduced to 4000. They have a Synagogue at *Couchin*, not far from the King's Palace, about 2 Miles from the City, in which are carefully kept their Records, engraven on Copper-plates in *Hebrew* Characters; and when any of the Characters decay, they are new cut, so that they can shew their own History from the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to this present Time.

Myn Heer Van Reede before mentioned, about the Year 1695. had an Abstract of their History translated from the *Hebrew* into low *Dutch*. They declare themselves to be of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, a Part whereof was, by Order of that haughty Conqueror *Nebuchadnezzar*, carried to the easternmost Province of his large Empire, which, it seems, reacht as far as *Cape Comerin*, which Journey 20000 of them travelled in three Years from their setting out of *Babylon*.

When they arrived in the *Malabar* Country, they found the Inhabitants very civil and hospitable to Strangers, giving them Liberty of Conscience

in religious Matters, and the free Use of Reason and Industry in Oeconomy. There they increased, both in Numbers and Riches, till in Process of Time, either by Policy or Wealth, or both, they came to purchase the little Kingdom of *Cranganore*. And there being one Family among them much esteemed for Wisdom, Power and Riches, two of the Sons of that Family were chosen by their Elders and Senators, to govern the Commonwealth, and reign joyntly over them. Concord, the strongest Bonds of Society, was in a short Time broken, and Ambition took Place, for one of the Brothers inviting his Colleague to a Feast, and picking a Quarrel with his Guest, basely killed him, thinking, by that Means, to reign alone; but the Defunct leaving a Son of a bold Spirit behind him, revenged his Father's Death, by killing the Fratricide, and so the State fell again into a Democracy, which still continues among the *Jews* here; but the Lands have, for many Ages, recurred back into the Hands of the *Malabars*, and Poverty and Oppression have made many apostatize.

Between *Cranganore* and *Couchin*, there is an island called *Baypin*, that occupies the Sea-coast. It is 4 Leagues long, but no Part of it is 2 Miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all Vessels or Boats to enter at *Cranganore*: And at *Couchin* the Chanel is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but very deep, tho' the Bar has not above 14 Foot Water at spring Tides.

The first *Europeans* that settled in *Couchin* were the *Portuguese*, and there they built a fine City on the River's Side, about 3 Leagues from the Sea; but the Sea gaining on the Land yearly, it is not now above 100 Paces from it. It stands so pleasantly, that the *Portuguese* had a common Saying, *that China was a Country to get Money in, and Couchin was a Place to spend it in*; for the great Numbers of Canals made by the Rivers and Islands, make Fishing and Fowling very diverting. And the Mountains are well stored with wild Game.

On the Inside of *Baypin* Island, there is an old Fort built by the *Portuguese*, called *Palliapore*, to inspect all Boats that go between *Cranganore* and *Couchin*. And 5 Leagues up the Rivulets is a *Romish* Church called *Verapoli*, served by *French* and *Italian* Priests; and when a Bishop comes into those Parts, it is the Place of his Residence. The *Padre* Superior of *Verapoli*, can raise, upon Occasion, 4000 Men, all *Christians* of the Church of *Rome*; but there are many more *St. Thomas's Christians* that do not communicate with those of *Rome*, and some *Portuguese*, called *Topases*, that communicate with neither, for they will be served by none but *Portuguese* Priests, because they indulge them more in their Villany, and Absolutions from Crimes are easier purchased from the *Portuguese* than from the *French* or *Italians*, who are generally much more polite and learned than the

Portugueze, who are permitted to take the Habit of some Order, without being examined whether the Novice has the common Qualifications of School-learning.

About 2 Leagues farther up towards the Mountains, on the Side of a small, but deep River, is a Place called *Firdalgo*, where the Inhabitants of *Couchin* generally assemble to refresh themselves in the troublesom hot Months of *April* and *May*. The Banks and Bottom of the River is clean Sand, and the Water so clear, that a small Peeble Stone may be seen at the Bottom in three Fathoms Water. Every Company makes Choice of a Place by the River's Side, and pitch their Tents, and drive some small Stakes before their Tents, in the River, on which they hang up Clothes for Blinds, to hide the Ladies when they bath; but most of them swim dextrously, and swim under Water through the Stakes, into the open River, where the Men are diverting themselves, and there they dive, and play many comical mad Tricks, till Breakfast or Supper call them ashore, for it is in Mornings and Evenings that they bath and swim; for in the Heat of the Day the Sun scorches. Very often the Ladies lay Wagers of Treats with the Gentlemen, about their Swiftmess and Dexterity in swimming, but generally the Ladies win the Wagers, tho', I believe, if the Men would use their Art and Strength, they might win the Prize. The Heat of the Day they pass with a Game at Cards or Tables for Treats, by which Means they fare sumptuously every Day, sometimes in one Tent, and sometimes in another; and, at Night, every Family sleeps in their own Tent, on the soft clean Sand, Males and Females promiscuously.

There is a Place on the Side of that River, called *Hell's Mouth*. It is a subterraneous Cave about four Yards broad, and three high, hewn out of a spungy Iron-coloured Rock. I went into it with a Lantern, and past straight forward about 200 Yards, but saw no End to it. It is an Habitation for Snakes and Bats, who were frightened by the Light of our Candle and Noise. As we were tired with their Company, so we returned back. They have no Tradition why it was made, or by whom.

The Water of this Country, near the Sea-coast, from *Cranganore* to *St. Andreas*, which is about 12 Leagues, has a bad Quality of making the constant Drinkers of it have swell'd Legs. Some it affects in one Leg, and some in both. I have seen Legs above a Yard about at the Ankle. It causes no Pain, but itching; nor does the thick Leg seem heavier than the small one to those who have them: But the *Dutch* at *Couchin*, to prevent that Malady, send Boats daily to *Verapoli*, to lade with small portable Casks of 10 or 12 *English* Gallons, to serve the City. The Company's Servants have their Water free of Charges, but private Persons pay Sixpence *per*

Cask, if it is brought to their Houses; and yet, for all that Precaution, I have seen both *Dutch* Men and Women troubled with that Malady. And no Cure has been yet found to heal or prevent it.

The old *Romish* Legendaries impute the Cause of those great swell'd Legs to a Curse St. *Thomas* laid upon his Murderers and their Posterity, and that was the odious Mark they should be distinguished by; but St. *Thomas* was killed by the *Tillnigue* Priests at *Malliapore* on *Chormandel*, above 400 Miles distant from this Coast, and the Natives there know none of that Malady.

Cochin is washt by the greatest Outlet on this Coast, and being so near the Sea, makes it strong by Nature; but Art has not been wanting to strengthen it. The City built by the *Portuguese* was about a Mile and an half long, and a Mile broad. The *Dutch* took it from the *Portuguese* about the Year 1660. when *Reitloff Van Ghonz* was General of the *Dutch* Forces by Land, and Commodore of a Fleet by Sea. The Insolence of the *Portuguese* had made several neighbouring Princes become their Enemies, who joyned with the *Dutch* to drive them out of their Neighbourhood, and the King of *Cochin* particularly assisted with 20000 Men. The *Dutch* had not invested the Town long before *Van Ghonz* received Advice of a Peace concluded between *Portugal* and *Holland*; but that he kept a Secret to himself. He therefore made a Breach in the weakest Part of the Wall, and made a furious Assault for three Days and Nights, without Intermission, and relieved his Assailants every three Hours; but the *Portuguese* keeping their Men continually fatigued in Duty all the While, and finding Danger of being taken by Storm, capitulated, and delivered up their City. In the Town there were 400 *Topases*, who had done the *Portuguese* good Service in defending the City, but were not comprehended in the Treaty. Assoon as they knew of that Omission, and the Cruelty and Licentiousness of the *Dutch* Soldiery in *India*, they drew up in a Parade, within the Port that the *Portuguese* were to go out at, and the *Dutch* to enter in, and swore, that if they had not the same Favours and Indulgence that were granted to the *Portuguese*, they would massacre them all, and set Fire to the Town. The *Dutch* General knew his own Interest too well to deny so just a Demand, so he granted what they desired, and moreover to take those who had a Mind to serve in the *Dutch* Service, into Pay, which many of them did.

The very next Day after the *Dutch* had Possession, came a Frigat from *Goa*, with the Articles of the Peace made with *Holland*, and the *Portuguese* complained loudly of the General's unfair Dealings, but were answered, that the *Portuguese* had acted the same Farce on the *Dutch*, at their taking

of *Pharnabuke* in *Brasil*, a few Years before. The *English* had then a Factory in the City of *Cochin*, but the *Dutch* ordered them to remove with their Effects, which accordingly they did to their Factory at *Pennany*.

Assoon as the *Dutch* became Masters of the City, they thought it was too large, and so contracted it to what it now is, being hardly one Tenth of what it was in the *Portuguese* Time. It is about 600 Paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with seven large Bastions, and Curtains so thick, that two Rows of large Trees are planted on them, for Shades in the hot Times. Some Streets built by the *Portuguese*, are still standing, with a Church for the *Dutch* Service, and a Cathedral for a Ware-house. The Commodore or Governor's House, which is a stately Structure, is the only House built after the *Dutch* Mode, and the River washes some Part of its Walls, and a Canal cut from the River up to the Middle of the City, that passes close by the Governor's House.

Their Flag-staff is placed on the Steeple of the old Cathedral, on a Mast of 75 Foot high, and a Staff a-top of it about 60 Foot, which is the highest I ever saw; and the Flag may be seen above 7 Leagues off. The Garrison generally consists of 300 effective Men: And from Cape *Comerin* upwards they are allowed, in all their Forts and Factories, 500 Soldiers, and 100 Seamen, all *Europeans*, besides some *Topases*, and the Militia. They have their Stores of Rice from *Barsalore*, because the *Malabar* Rice will not keep above three Months out of the Husk, but in the Husk it will keep a Year.

The Country produces great Quantities of Pepper, but lighter than that which grows more northerly. Their Woods afford good Teak for building, and *Angelique* and *Pawbeet* for making large Chests and Cabinets, which are carried all over the West Coasts of *India*. They have also Iron and Steel in Plenty, and Bees Wax for exporting. Their Seas afford them Abundance of good Fish of several Kinds, which, with those that are caught in their Rivers, make them very cheap.

The King of *Cochin*, who, at best, is but a Vassal to the *Dutch*, has a Palace built of Stone about half a League from the *Dutch* City; and there is a straggling Village not far from the Palace, that bears the Name of *old Cochin*. It has a *Bazaar* or Market in it, where all Commodities of the Country's Product are sold; but there are no Curiosities to be found in it. The King's ordinary Residence is at another Palace 6 Leagues to the Southward of *Cochin*, and 2 from *St. Andrea*; but he keeps but a very small Court.

Mudbay is a Place, that, I believe, few can parallel in the World. It lies on the Shore of *St. Andrea*, about half a League out in the Sea, and is open to the wide Ocean, and has neither Island nor Bank to break off the

about a Mile from the Sea. And about 10 Leagues more northerly is *Tutecareen* a *Dutch* Colony, tho' but small.

Tutecareen has a good safe Harbour, by the Benefit of some small Islands that ly off it. That Country produces much Cotton-cloth, tho' none fine; but they both stain and die it for Exportation. This Colony superintends a Pearl Fishery, that lies a little to the Northward of them, which brings the *Dutch* Company 20000 *L.* yearly Tribute, according to common Report. There are several Villages on the Sea-shore between *Tutecareen* and *Coil*, but none in any Account for Traffick. This *Coil* is a Promontory that sends over a Reef of Rocks to the Island of *Zeloan*, called commonly *Adam's Bridge*.

That Reef of Rocks has so little Water on them, that the smallest Boats cannot pass but at an Island called *Manaar*, which lies almost Mid-way between *Zeloan* and *Coil*, and that Passage has not above 6 Foot Water on it, so that none but small Vessels can pass that Way; and they must unlade, and pay Customs to the *Dutch* who reside at *Manaar*, and, after the Vessel is haled over the Bridge, they take in their Cargo again.

The *Dutch* have fortified *Manaar*, and make use of it for a Prison for *Indian* Princes, whom they can overpower or circumvene, when they are suspected of making Treaties contrary to their Interest, or to such as would willingly reassume their lost Freedom, by breaking the unjust Yoke of the Company's Tyranny, perhaps drawn on themselves by too much Faith or Incredulity; for that honest Company has always had a Maxim, first to foment Quarrels between *Indian* Kings and Princes, and then piously pretend to be Mediators, or Arbitrators of their Differences, and always cast in something into the Scale of Justice to those whose Countries produce the best Commodities for the Company's Use, and lend the Assistance of their Arms to him who is so qualified by the Product above mentioned, and, at the Conclusion of the War, make the poor conquered Prince pay their Charges for assisting the Conqueror; and, when all is made up, and Treaties of Peace ready to be signed, then the Conqueror, their dear Ally and Friend, must suffer them to possess the best Sea-ports, and fortify the most proper and convenient Places of his Country, and must forbid all Nations Traffick but their dear *Dutch* Friends, under Pain of having the Company's Arms turned against them, in Conjunction with some other potent Enemy to the deluded Conqueror.

The King of *Charta Souri*, on the Island of *Java*, is a fresh Instance of the Truth of what I relate. In *Anno* 1704. I saw him at *Samarang* a Sea-port on the said Island, in great Splendor, and in high Esteem with the *Dutch* Commodore; but in *Anno* 1707. he fell under the Displeasure of the General

and Council of *Batavia*, and in 1708. falling into their Hands, he was brought their Prisoner to *Manaar*, and cooped up on that small Island, there to spend the Remainder of his Days in Contemplation or Comments on the Deceit of worldly Grandeur, and of the Power and Pleasure of Sovereignty, or in humble Thoughts on Confinement, Exile and Poverty. And here I leave him, and pass over the rest of *Adam's Bridge*, (called by the Natives *Ramena Coil*) and pay a short Visit to *Zeloan*, beginning at the Bridge, and travelling to the Southward, East and Northward, till I reach back again to the North Side of the Bridge.

CHAPTER XXVII

Treats of the Island of Ceylon or Zeloan its Product and Commerce, Religion and Customs, the Portuguese Pride and Folly the Cause of its falling into the Dutch Company's Hands; with other historical Remarks and Observations, both ancient and modern.

ZELOAN is an Island famous in many Histories for its Fertility, particularly in producing the Cinnamon Tree, whose Bark is so much esteemed all over *Asia* and *Europe*, besides the precious Stones that grow in it, *viz.* the Emerald, Sapphire and Catscye being all valuable Stones, tho' soft.

The first Place, in Course, to the Southward of the Bridge, is a long Island that lies close to the Shore, and reaches about 12 Leagues southerly, called *Calpetine*. It produces only Timber for building: But *Negombo*, that lies near the South End of it, has a small Fort, and a *Dutch* Garison to forbid all Trade to Strangers on that Part of the Coast. And 7 Leagues from *Negombo*, to the South, stands the City of

Colombo, which was at first built by the *Portuguese*, about the Year 1638. but, by their Pride and Insolence, had made the King of *Candia* (who was, at first, Sovereign of the whole Island) their Enemy. The *Dutch* taking that Opportunity, made a League with the King offensive and defensive, and first attacked and carried *Galle* or *Ponto de Galle* in Anno 1658. which is a Fort and Harbour on the South-west Point of the Island, about 20 Leagues from *Colombo*. When they had settled Affairs at *Galle*, they embarked, to the Number of 3000 Soldiers, and sailed to *Pantera*, a small River about 4 Leagues South of *Colombo*, and were joyned by 2 or 3000 of the King of *Candia's* Men. The *Portuguese* having Information of the *Dutch* landing, and the small Assistance of the Natives, contemned their Forces, and raised an Army of 10000 Men to chastise their Folly

in coming with so few Forces. The *Portuguese* Army was commanded by a *Fidalgo*, called *Antonio de Figuera*, a Fresh-water Soldier, but a great *Braggadocio*, and promised to bring all the *Dutch* that did not fall by his Sword, into *Colombo* in Chains; and the *Portuguese* Ladies were so sure of his Performances, that they sent to compliment him, and beg the Favour that he would pick them out some lusty *Dutch* Men to carry their *Palen-queens* and *Somereras* or Umbrellas, which he promised to do on Honour, and so went to meet his Enemies.

The *Dutch* advancing towards the City, met the *Portuguese* unexpectedly, and there being a little shallow River between them, the *Portuguese* pretended to stop the *Dutch* there, and began to fire very briskly, tho' at too great a Distance, but did not advance towards their Enemy. Upon which the *Dutch* past the River, and advanced till they came within Pistol-shot, and then fired on the *Portuguese* with so good Success, that they presently broke, and betook them to their Heels, and the *Dutch* kept a running March after them, and being nimbler than the *Portuguese*, entred the City with them, and made themselves Masters of it, wherein they found immense Treasures: But the poor *Portuguese* Ladies were strangely disappointed to find the *Dutch* were become their Bed-fellows instead of their Slaves.

The *Dutch* had one Game more to play before they had done with that Expedition. They knew that Reinforcements were sent from *Goa*, who came in Sight two or three Days after the City was taken, and the *Dutch* Fleet, which then lay in the Road, pretended Fear, weighed their Anchors on Sight of the *Portuguese* Fleet, and feigned a Flight, while the *Dutch*, in the City, hoysted *Portuguese* Colours, and fired some Guns towards the Sea, to make those in the *Portuguese* Fleet believe, that the Firing was at the *Dutch* Fleet. The Stratagem took, and the *Portuguese* came and anchored in the Road about a Mile from the City, and sent their Boats ashore, where they were detained; and the *Dutch* Fleet being in the Offing, came in with the Sea Winds, and fell on the *Portuguese* Fleet, which soon yielded to them, for which Piece of Civility they had good Quarter.

Upon the Conquest of *Colombo*, followed all the other Forts on the Island, viz. *Calkissie* and *Barbarin*, between *Colombo* and *Galle*; and, on the South End, *Valta* and *Matura*; on the East Side *Batacola* and *Trankamalaya*; and, on the North End, *Jafnapatam*, with a Fort 4 Leagues from *Galle*, within Land, called *Biblegam*; and *Tutecareen* and *Nagapatam* on the main Continent, yielded.

The *Dutch* were no sooner Masters of the Sea-coasts of *Ceylon*, but they began to give Laws to their Ally the King of *Candia*, forbidding him to

trade with any foreign Nation but theirs, which Usage the King could not well digest, whereupon a War broke out, that continued many Years, but, in the End, the *Dutch* made a Peace upon very advantageous Conditions. And *Colombo* being too large to be defended with a few Forces, they have contracted it into one Quarter of its ancient Bounds, and have fortified it strongly with a Wall and Bastions. It is now about a Mile in Length, and three Quarters of a Mile in Breadth; and the *Christians* and other Natives inhabit a Part of the old Town, without the Walls of the new. The Streets of the new Town are wide and spacious, and the Buildings after the new Mode. The Governor's House is a noble Fabrick, and several other Houses are beautiful. It wants the Benefit of a River, but has a small deep Bay capable to receive small Ships, and shelter them in the South-west Monsoons.

Ponto de Galle, I have mentioned before, is a Bay with a dangerous Entrance for Shipping, but is capable to receive Ships of the greatest Burden. About the Year 1670. *Lewis XIV.* of *France* had a great Mind for a Settlement on *Zeloan*, and equipt seven or eight Sail of Ships for that Enterprize; and when they came to Sea, and opened their Orders, they found *Galle* was the Place they were to take and fortify, and the Management of that Affair intrusted to one *Mr. de l'Haye*, which one *Mr. Jean Martin*, who had served the *Dutch* many Years in good Posts in *India*, and who had laid down that Project, was so chagrin'd with the Disappointment of another having the first Post in that Affair, that when they came to *Galle* they had but bad Success. They expected the *Portugueze* there before them to assist, but none came; but soon after *Ritlof Van Gonze* was with them, whom the *French* not caring to engage with, being equal in Number of Ships, and superior in Force, the *French* fled, and left their Project on *Galle* unattempted.

They went then to *Trankamalaya*, and anchored in that Bay, designing to force that small Garison to a Surrender; but that vigilant *Dutch* Man was soon after them with his Fleet, and forced them to fight disadvantageously in *Trankamalaya* Bay, wherein the *French* lost one half of their Fleet, being either sunk or burnt. With the rest they fled to *St. Thomas*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*, designing to settle there; but *Van Gonze* was soon there also, and seized their Ships, many of their Guns being dismounted and carried ashore: But they finding they could do no Good against so powerful and vigilant an Enemy, treated and capitulated with the *Dutch*, to leave *India*, if they might be allowed Shipping to carry them away, which the *Dutch* agreed to, and allowed them their Admiral's Ship, called the *Grand Briton*, and two more, to transport themselves whither

they pleased; but Mr. *Martin* was carried to *Batavia*, and there confined for his Lifetime, with a Pension of a *Rix Dollar per Day*.

Zeloan is fruitful in Rice, Pulse, Fruits, Herbage and Roots. And *Jafnapatam* exports great Quantities of Tobacco, and some Elephants. Those of this Island's Brood are reckoned the most docil of any in the World, but they are not large, few of them exceeding three Yards in Height. They catch them wild by Stratagem, and soon make them tame after they are caught.

The Way they catch them, as they told me, is, they drive large Stakes into the Ground for 2 or 300 Paces, in a Plain, and, about 100 Paces distant, they begin another Row of Stakes, that almost meets one of the Ends of the first Row, only leaving 7 or 8 Foot open between them, for a Door, and farther out from the Door-place, are some Stakes driven thicker than in the Rows, like a square Chamber. In the Door-place is a wooden Portcullice or Trap-door, fitted to pull up or let down at Pleasure. When all is ready, they bring a female Elephant trained up for a Decoy, and she is put into the Chamber, and the Trap-door kept open. There are Men placed in a little close Place built on the Top of the Stakes at the Trap-door, and the female Elephant makes a loud doleful Mone. If a male Elephant is near, he presently approaches the Chamber, on the Outside; but finding no Entrance there, he walks along the Outside, till he finds the End, then walking back on the Inside of the Stakes, he finds the Door, and enters. Assoon as he is in, the Watchmen let fall the Trap-door, and go and bring two tame Elephants to accompany him that is decoyed to their Stables. When they come near the Trap-door, it is pulled up, and they enter, and place themselves one on each Side. If he proves surly, they bang him heartily with their Trunks, and the Female bestows some Blows on him too. When he is tired with their Treatment, and finds no other Remedy but Patience, he even grows tame, and walks very orderly between his two Guards, whithersoever they please to conduct him, and continues very sociable ever after, except when Rutting Time comes, and then, if he be young, he becomes very rude and troublesom. That Time is known by a great Sweating in his Head, so they have strong Fetters ready to put on his Legs, and fastned to a great Tree for eight or ten Days that his Madness continues.

There are several Dangers, and Rocks above Water, on all the Coasts of *Zeloan*. The great *Baxias* are above Water on its East Side, not far from the South End of the Island; and the small *Baxias* are under Water about 3 Leagues to the North of the other, and dangerous Banks of Sand within them. To the Northward of *Trankamalaya* there are some Rocks high above

Water, and some also under Water; and several Spits of Sand jetting a pretty Way into the Sea from Points of Lands. I knew a Gentleman that run his Ship on one Spit near Point *Pedro*, by too much Confidence of his own Knowledge of that Coast, for his Mate told him, that, in his Opinion, they kept too near the Shore. His Captain answered, that his Knowledge of that Coast was so good, that if a single Shovel-ful of Sand was carried off the Sea-shore, he would infallibly miss it; but a few Minutes after, his Ship was fast on a Bank, and he and his Crew deserted her, and went ashore, and the Ship found the Way off again of her own Accord, which when the Captain heard of, he, with some of the Crew, returned, and took Possession of her again.

Point *Pedro* has the most dangerous Banks off it, for they ly above four Leagues from the Shore, and the Land being very low, makes those Banks the more dangerous. I have known several Ships lost there; and, in Anno 1723. one *Williams* lost his Ship there, and he and all his Crew were seized by the Natives, and carried to the King at *Candia*, and, I am afraid, will be forced to end their Days there.

The Religion of *Zeloan* is *Paganism*, and, for want of a better Image or Relict to adore, they worship a Monkey's Tooth. When the *Portugueze* were settled there, the Priests lost their adorable Tooth, and a sly Fellow, who had accompanied a *Portugueze* Ambassador there from *Colombo*, pretended he had found it three Years after it was missing. He had, it seems, seen it, and got one as like it as was possible. The Priests were so overjoyed that it was found again, that they purchased it of the Fellow for a round Sum, reported to be above 10000 Pounds *Sterl.*

All the Natives of this Island believe, that *Adam* was created on this Spot, and there is the Shape of a Man's Foot cut out of a Rock on the Top of the high Hill (called *Adam's Peak* by the *English*) about 5 or 6 ordinary Foot long. This Opinion is also spread over many Provinces on the Continent, which brings many Pilgrims to visit the Footstep. And they also believe, that, on *Adam's* Transgression, the Bridge, before spoken of, was made by Angels to carry him over to the main Land, whither I am obliged to follow him, having no more of *Zeloan* to treat you with, but some of the best *Arecka* in the World that grows there.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Treats of the Countries on the Sea-coast, from Adam's Bridge at Zeloan, to Fort St. George; with an Account of St. Thomas's Martyrdom, according to the Portugueze Legend.

THE first Place of Note, to the Northward of *Adam's Bridge*, on the Continent, is *Nagapatam* a Dutch Colony and Fortress taken from the Portugueze. It has the Benefit of a River, which formerly bounded the Dominions of *Malabar*, tho' their Language was, and is used farther Northward. The River washes the Fort Walls, and its Waters are reckoned very unhealthful; but about the Year 1693. by the Ingenuity and Care of *Myn Heer Van Reede*, whom I have formerly mentioned, that Cause of a mortal Malady was removed, for he built some Water Boats, and sent them 4 Leagues off to another River, whose Waters were reckoned very healthful, and, by these Boats, furnished the Garison with good Water. In a short Time there was a visible Alteration for the better in the State of the Inhabitants Health, and making an Estimate of the Charges of those Water Boats, and the usual Charges of the Hospital, the Company found that they gained by the Water Boats. This Colony produces very little besides Tobacco and long Cloth. The Natives are *Heathens*.

Having thus run along the Sea-coast of *Malabar*, from *Decully* to *Nagapatam*, I must visit the *Maldiva* Islands, which ly off this Coast and that of *Zeloan*, about 60 Leagues distant from the nearest Part of them.

This Cluster of Islands, which reaches from 7 Degrees 20 Minutes North Latitude into 1 Degree South, are all low, sandy and steril, bearing no Sort of Corn, and their only Product is Cocoa-nut. Their Trees are not so high nor gross bodied as those which grow on the Continent, or on *Zeloan*, but their Fruit is pleasanter. Of that Tree they build Vessels of 20 or 30 Tuns. Their Hulls, Masts, Sails, Rigging, Anchors, Cables, Provisions and Firing are all from this useful Tree. It also affords them Oyl for their Kitchin and Lamps, Sugar and candied Sweet-meats, and pretty strong Cloth. Their Seas produce Abundance of Fish, but their Trade is chiefly from a small Shell-fish called *Courie* and the *Bonetta*.

The *Couries* are caught by putting Branches of Cocoa-nut Trees with their Leaves on, into the Sea, and, in five or six Months the little Shell-fish sticks to those Leaves in Clusters, which they take off, and digging Pits in the Sand, put them in, and cover them up, and leave them two or three Years in the Pit, that the Fish may putrify, and then they take them out of the Pit, and barter them for Rice, Butter and Cloth, which Shipping

bring from *Ballasore* in *Orixa* near *Bengal*, in which Countries *Couries* pass for Money from 2500 to 3000 for a Rupce, or half a Crown *English*.

The *Bonetta* is caught with Hook and Line, or with Nets. They come among those Islands in the Months of *April* and *May*, in Shoals, as our Herrings do. They cut the Fish from the Back-bone on each Side, and lay them in a Shade to dry, sprinkling them sometimes with Sea Water. When they are dry enough to put in the Sand, they wrap them up in Leaves of Cocoa-nut Trees, and put them a Foot or two under the Surface of the Sand, and, with the Heat of the Sun, they become baked as hard as Stock-fish, and Ships come from *Atcheen* on the Island of *Sumatra*, and purchase them with Gold Dust. I have seen *Comelamash* (for that is their Name after they are dried) sell at *Atcheen*, for 8 *L. Sterl. per 1000*.

Their Religions are *Paganism* and *Mahometism*, and their Language *Chingulay*, or the *Zeloan* Language. The King resides on an Island in the Latitude of 4 Degrees North, and his Island, which bears the Name of the *King's Island*, is fortified with a Stone Wall, without Lime or Morter, and has a great many small Cannon for his Defence. And his Reign is arbitrary.

The Islands are so many, and, in most Places, so near to one another, that they could never yet be numbred. They are most Part inhabited; but the Inhabitants very poor. None of them dare wear any Clothing above their Girdle, but a Turband on their Head, without a special Warrant from the King. He sets Governors of Provinces over such a Number of Islands, and they lord it over the poor Subjects as much as a Dragoon does over an *Hugonot* in *France*. They give Burial to their Dead, and not Burning. And, at the Island of *Hammandow*, which lies in 7 Degrees, I saw Carving on some Tomb-stones, as ingeniously cut with Variety of Figures as ever I saw in *Europe* or *Asia*.

Their Wells furnish them with all the Fresh-water they use, and they dig them near the Depth of high Water Mark, which is about 5 or 6 Foot; and if they go deeper, it becomes brakish, because there being no Substance of solid Earth under the Surface of the Sand, the Sea-water percolates thro' the Sand, and mixes with the Rain-water that supplies the Springs. So having given the best Account I can of a Parcel of Islands that cannot be counted, I return back to *Nagapatam*, from whence I took my Departure, and stretch along the Coast of *Chormondel*.

I begin at the River of *Nagapatam*, because it is the southermost Bounds of *Golcondah*, and coast along Shore to *Trincumbar* a Fortress and Colony belonging to the *Danes*. The Fort is strong, the Sea washing one half of its Walls; but the Colony is miserably poor. In *Anno 1684*. they were so

distrest with Poverty, that they pawn'd three Bastions of their Fort to the *Dutch*, for Money to buy Provisions, which then was very scarce and dear in that Country; but next Year they redeemed all again, paying their Debts by an unknown Fund, which still remains a Secret: But that the *English* had a Ship called the *Formosa*, which, in her Passage Home to *Surat*, called at *Calecut* for Water, Wood and other Stores. The *Danes*, at that Time, had two Ships cruizing between *Surat* and Cape *Comerin*, upon what Account none could tell but themselves. The *Formosa* left *Calecut* at Mid-night, and stood to Sea, in order to proceed on her Voyage, and being out of Sight of Land, about 11 in the Forenoon, those ashore heard a great firing of Cannon from the Sea, and the *Formosa*, nor none of her Crew were ever heard of since that Time. They still keep their Fort, but drive an inconsiderable Trade either to and from *Europe*, or in *India*, for what they have to live by, is the Hire that they freight their Ships for to *Atcheen*, *Malacca* and *Johore*, and sometimes, but rarely, to *Persia*, by which they keep up the Name of a Company, but resemble one no more than that of the *Mississipi* does in *France*.

They have a Set of Clergy there lately come as Missioners from *Denmark*, to teach the Natives *Christianity*, which deserves both Commendation and Encouragement, but what Proselytes they make, I cannot tell, tho' I saw some of the poorer Sort become Disciples. The Product of the Country is Cloth, white and dyed.

The next Place of Commerce is *Porto Novo*, so called by the *Portuguese*, when the Sea-coasts of *India* belonged to them; but when *Aurengzeb* subdued *Golcondah*, and the *Portuguese* Affairs declined, the *Mogul* set a *Fouzdaar* in it, and gave it the Name of *Mahomet Bander*. The *Europeans* generally call it by its first Name, and the Natives by the last. The Country is fertil, healthful and pleasant, and produceth good Cotton Cloth of several Qualities and Denominations, which they sell at Home, or export to *Pegu*, *Tanasereen*, *Quedah*, *Johore*, and *Atcheen* on *Sumatra*. The Bulk of the People are *Pagans*.

Fort *St. David* is next, a Colony and Fortress belonging to the *English*. About the Year 1686. a *Moratta* Prince sold it to Mr. *Elihu Yale*, for 90000 *Pagodoes*, for the Use and Behoof of the *English East-india* Company. The Fort is pretty strong, and stands close to a River; and the Territories annext to the Fort by Agreement, were as far as any Gun the *English* had, could sling a Shot, every Way round the Fort; but whether the Buyer or Gunner were Conjurers or no, I cannot tell, but I am sure that the *English* Bounds reach above 8 Miles along the Sea-shore, and 4 Miles within Land. The Country is pleasant, healthful and fruitful, watered with

several Rivers, that are as good as so many Walls to fortify the *English* Colony. And ever since the Time that *Aurengzeb* conquered *Visapore* and *Golcondah*, there are great Numbers of Malcontents and Freebooters that keep on the Mountains, and often fall down into the open Country, and commit Depredations, by ravaging and plundering the Villages; and all the *Mogul's* Forces cannot suppress them.

When the *English* bought Fort St. *David*, the *Dutch* had a little Factory there, about a Mile from the Fort, and the good-natured *English* suffer them still to continue a few Servants in it. Our Company did not find so much Grace from the *Dutch* at *Couchin*, nor the Gentlemen of *Bantam* and *Indrapoura*, when the *Dutch* seized those Places. It is true, the *Dutch* can drive no open Trade there, but what they must pay the *English* Company Customs for.

About the Year 1698. the Freebooters aforementioned had almost made themselves Masters of the Fort by Stratagem and Surprize. They pretended, that they had been sent from the *Mogul's* Vice-roy at *Visapore*, to take Charge of the Revenue collected at *Porto Novo*, and to carry it to the Treasury at *Visapore*, and desired Leave to put their feigned Treasure into the Fort for a few Days, to secure it from the *Moratta* Freebooters aforementioned, who, they said, were plundering the open Country, which Favour Mr. *Frazer*, Governor at that Time, granted, so they brought into the Fort ten or twelve Oxen loaded with Stones, and each Ox had two or three Attendants, and about 200 more of that Gang, who came along with the Carriage Beasts as a Guard, lodged themselves in a Grove near the Fort Gate, to be ready, on a Signal given, to enter the Fort. The Freebooters within took an Opportunity the very next Morning, and killed the Sentinel and a few more that were asleep in the Gate-way next to the Grove; but, before they could break the Gate open, the Garison was alarmed, and killed all their treacherous Guests, and the Ambush without being come into the Parade before the Gate, met with so warm a Reception, that they retreated in Confusion, and the *English* pursuing them, killed severals, but lost some of their own Men.

Mr. *Frazer* ordered directly the Grove to be cut down, for fear of future Danger from it, but Fort St. *David* being subordinate to Fort St. *George*, the Governor and Council there called Mr. *Frazer* to their Court, and fined him for Presumption, in cutting down so fine a Grove for Enemies to skulk in, without Leave askt and given in due Form; but their Right Honourable Masters adjusted all that Matter, and ordered the Fine to be refounded, with the Interest; but Governors of different Views and Humours seldom agree.

This Colony produces good long Cloths in large Quantities, either brown, white, or blue dyed, also *Sallampores*, *Morees*, *Demities*, *Ginghams*, *Succatoons*, and Steel. And, without the Assistance of this Colony, that of Fort St. *George* would make but a small Figure in Trade to what it now docs.

The River is but small, tho' very convenient for the Import and Export of Merchandize. And *Cuddalore*, that lies about a Mile to the Southward, is capable to receive Ships of 200 Tuns in the Months of *September* and *October*. The Rivers have both of them Bars, but are very smooth, whereas Fort St. *George* is always dangerous in going ashore and coming off.

The Company has a pretty good Garden and Summer-house, where generally the Governor resides; and the Town extending itself pretty wide, has Gardens to most of their Houses. Their black Cattle are very small, but plentiful and cheap. And their Seas and Rivers abound in good Fishes.

Punticherry is the next Place of Note on this Coast, a Colony settled by the *French*. It lies about 5 Leagues to the Northward of Fort St. *David*. The Fortifications are fine, regular and strong, but its Trade is very small, tho' the Country produces the same Commodities that cause the Trade circulate in Fort St. *David*. About the Year 1690. the *Dutch* brought Forces from *Batavia*, and besieged it, and being then very scarce in Men, Magazines and Money, the *French* were forced to capitulate, and surrender on pretty honourable Terms, but, in the Conclusion of King *William's* War, the *Dutch* were obliged to return it by the Articles of Peace, which verified the Fable of the Cuckow in seizing of other Birds Nests weaker than herself, in the Spring, and quitting them again in Autumn.

Connymere or *Conjemeer* is the next Place, where the *English* had a Factory many Years, but, on their purchasing Fort St. *David*, it was broken up, and transferred thither. At present its Name is hardly seen in the Map of Trade.

Near *Connymere* are the seven Pagods, one of which, whose Name I have now forgot, is celebrated among the *Pagans* for Sanctity, and is famous for the yearly Pilgrimages made there. The God was very obscene, if his Image rightly represents him, and his Nymphs as lewd as any in *Drury-lane*, if their Postures were really figured and carved as they are to be seen on the Outside of the Temple. Here it was that St. *Thomas's* Persecution first began, because he could draw a short Tree to a great Length, as Wire-drawers do Metals, and the *Pagan* Priests being ignorant of such Pieces of Art, made them cry out, that St. *Thomas* was an arrant Conjuror; for, as the *Romish* Story goes, the Freshes coming down in

Rivulets, had made some of them pretty deep to what they used to be, and a Lady going to Church, could not get over one of them, because a Tree, that was laid for a common Bridge, was too short at that Time, and St. *Thomas*, who preached in the Country Villages, a Doctrine opposite to the established Church, accidentally being there, drew the Tree to such a Length, that the Lady could pass without wetting her Foot, upon which she became a Convert, to the great Dissatisfaction of the established Clergy, who lost a devout and charitable Benefactress by that Trick of St. *Thomas*'s.

The Priests, as is usual in such Cases, cried out, that the Church was in Danger, and so inflamed the Minds of the Populace, that St. *Thomas*, finding himself in greater Danger than the Church, thought it best to get out of Harm's Way, and so marched to the Northward, whither I must follow him to

Saderass, or *Saderass Patam*, a small Factory belonging to the Dutch to buy up long Cloth. The Country is healthful, and the Ground fertil, which make them capable of assisting their Neighbours at Fort St. *George* with Sallading and Pot Herbs, the Ground there being very steril.

Cabelon is next, where the *Ostenders* have settled a Factory. There is nothing remarkable there, but a Point of Rocks that runs about half a Mile into the Sea, and those make a smooth Landing-place in the South-west Monsoons.

St. *Thomas* is next, which lies about three Miles to the Southward of Fort St. *George*. The City was built by the *Portugueze*, and they made the Apostle its Godfather; but, before that, it was called *Malliapore*. There is a little dry Rock on the Land, within it, called the *Little Mount*, where the Apostle designed to have hid himself, till the Fury of the *Pagan* Priests his Persecutors had blown over. There was a convenient Cave in that Rock for his Purpose, but not one Drop of Water to drink, so St. *Thomas* cleft the Rock with his Hand, and commanded Water to come into the Clift, which Command it readily obeyed; and, ever since, there is Water in that Clift, both sweet and clear. When I saw it, there were not above 3 Gallons in it. He staid there a few Days, but his Enemies had an Account of his Place of Refuge, and were resolved to sacrifice him, and, in great Numbers, were approaching the Mount. When he saw them coming, he left his Cave, and came down in order to seek Shelter some where else; and, at the Foot of the Mount, as a Testimony that he had been there, he stamp't with his bare Foot, on a very hard Stone, and left the Print of it, which remains there, to this Day, a Witness against those persecuting Priests. The Print of his Foot is about 16 Inches long, and,

in Proportion, narrower at the Heel and broader at the Toes than the Feet now in Use among us. He fleeing for his Life, to another larger Mount, about two Miles from the little one, was overtaken on the Top of it, before he was sheltred, and there they run him through with a Lance; and, in the same Place where he was killed, he lies buried.

When the *Portugueze* first settled there, they built a Church over the Cave and Well on the little Mount, and also over his Grave on the great one, where the Lance that killed the Apostle, is still kept there as a Relict; but how the *Portugueze* came by that Lance is a Question not yet well resolved. In that Church there is a Stone tinctured with the Apostle's Blood, that cannot be washt out. I have often been at both Mounts, and have seen those wonderful Pieces of Antiquity.

At the Foot of the great Mount, the Company has a Garden, and so have the Gentlemen of Figure at Fort St. *George*, with some Summer-houses where Ladies and Gentlemen retire to in the Summer, to recreate themselves, when the Business of the Town is over, and to be out of the Noise of Spungers and impertinent Visitants, whom this City is often molested with.

The City of St. *Thomas* was formerly the best Mart Town on the *Chormondel* Coast, but, at present has very little Trade, and the Inhabitants, who are but few, are reduced to great Poverty. The *English* settling at Fort St. *George* were the Cause of its Ruin, and there is little Prospect of its Recovery.

CHAPTER XXIX

Gives a short Description of Fort St. George its first Settlement and Rise, its Situation and Sterility, and some Remarks on its Government, and the Actions of some of its Governors.

FORT St. *George* or *Maderass*, or, as the Natives call it, *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *English East-india* Company, situated in one of the most incommodious Places I ever saw. It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its Shore, more here than in any other Place on the Coast of *Chormondel*. The Foundation is in Sand, with a Salt-water River on its back Side, which obstructs all Springs of Fresh-water from coming near the Town, so that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Destruction on one Side, and the River in the rainy Season Inundations on the other, the Sun from *April* to *September* scorching hot; and if the Sea-breeses did not moisten and cool the Air when they blow, the Place

could not possibly be inhabited. The Reason why a Fort was built in that Place is not well accounted for; but Tradition says, that the Gentleman, who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coast, about the Beginning of King *Charles II*'s. Reign after his Restauration, for protecting the Company's Trade, chose that Place to ruine the *Portugueze* Trade at *St. Thomas*. Others again alledge, and with more Probability, that the Gentleman aforesaid, which I take to be Sir *William Langhorn*, had a Mistris at *St. Thomas* he was so enamoured of, that made him build there, that their Interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his Reasons were, it is very ill situated. The Soil about the City is so dry and sandy, that it bears no Corn, and what Fruits, Roots and Herbage they have, are brought to Maturity by great Pains and much Trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him Power to settle a Colony in any Part of that Coast that pleased him best, I wonder that he choosed not *Cabelon*, about 6 Leagues to the Southward, where the Ground is fertil, and the Water good, with the Conveniency of a Point of Rocks to facilitate Boats landing, or why he did not go nine Leagues farther northerly, and settle at *Policat* on the Banks of a good River, as the *Dutch* have done since, where the Road for Shipping is made easy by some Sand Banks, that reach 3 Leagues off Shore, and make the high turbulent Billows that come rolling from the Sea, spend their Force on those Banks before they can reach the Shore. The Soil is good, and the River commodious, and convenient in all Seasons. Now whether one of those Places had not been more eligible, I leave to the Ingenious and those concerned to comment on.

However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *English* against the *Mogul's* Subjects, from 1685 to 1689. made Fort *St. George* put on a better Dress than he wore before; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, because it lay far from those Incumberers of Trade, and near the Diamond Mines of *Golcondah*, where there are, many Times, good Bargains to be made, and Money got by our Governors. The black Merchants resorting to our Colony, to secure their Fortunes, and bring their Goods to a safe Market, made it populous and rich, notwithstanding its natural Inconveniencies. The Town is divided into two Parts. One where the *Europeans* dwell is called the *white Town*. It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about 400 Paces long, and 150 Paces broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort *St. George* stood near its Center. There are two Churches in it, one for the *English*,

and another for the *Romish* Service. The Governor superintends both, and, in filling up Vacancies in the *Romish* Church, he is the Pope's *Legate a latere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hospital in the Town, and the Company's Horse-stables are neat; but the old College, where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in Repair.

They have a Town-hall, and underneath it are Prisons for Debtors. They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen to be chosen by the free Burgers of the Town; but that scurvy Way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council or Party fix the Choice. The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Preservation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Register of Transactions and Cases, and Attornies and Solicitors to plead in Form, before the Mayor and Aldermen; but, after all, it is but a Farce, for, by Experience, I found, that a few *Pagodoes* rightly placed, could turn the Scales of Justice to which Side the Governor pleased, without Respect to Equity or Reputation.

In smaller Matters, where the Case, on both Sides, is but weakly supported by Money, then the Court acts judiciously, according to their Consciences and Knowledge; but often against Law and Reason, for the Court is but a Court of Conscience, and its Decisions are very irregular; and the Governor's dispensing Power of nulling all that the Court transacts, puzzles the most celebrated Lawiers there to find Rules in the statute Laws.

They have no martial Law, so they cannot inflict the Pains of Death any other Ways than by whipping or starving, only for Piracy they can hang; and some of them have been so fond of that Privilege, that Mr. *Yale* hanged his Groom (*Cross*) for riding two or three Days Journey off to take the Air; but, in *England*, he paid pretty well for his arbitrary Sentence. And one of a later Date, *viz.* the orthodox Mr. *Collet* hang'd a Youth who was an Apprentice to an Officer on board of a Ship, and his Master going a pirating, carried his Servant along with him; but the Youth ran from them the first Opportunity he met with, on the Island of *Jonkceyloan*, and informed the Master of a Sloop, which lay in a River there, that the Pirates had a Design on his Sloop and Cargo, and went armed, in Company with the Master, to hinder the Approach of the Pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful Man was inexorable, and the Youth was hang'd.

That Power of executing Pirates is so strangely stretched, that if any private Trader is injured by the Tricks of a Governor, and can find no

Redress, if the injured Person is so bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a Pirate.

In Anno 1719. I went on a trading Voyage to *Siam*, on the Foundation of a Treaty of Commerce established in Anno 1684. between King *Charles* and the King of *Siam's* Ambassador at *London*; but, in Anno 1718. Mr. *Collet* sent one *Powney* his Ambassador to *Siam*, with full Power to annul the old Treaty, and to make a new one detrimental to all *British* Subjects, except those employed by *Collet* himself. It was stipulated, that all *British* Subjects that had not *Collet's* Letter, should be obliged to pay 8 per Cent. new Customs, and Measurage for their Ship, which come to about 500 *L.* for a Ship of 300 Tuns, to sell their Cargoes to whom they pleased, but the Money to be paid into the King's Cash, that he might deliver Goods for it at his own Prices, whether proper for their homeward Markets, or no. I coming to *Siam*, sent my second Supercargo up to the City, with Orders to try the Market, and hire an House for the Use of the Cargo and ourselves. He could not get a Boat to bring him back, before the Ship arrived at *Bencock*, a Castle about half-way up, where it is customary for all Ships to put their Guns ashore, so then being obliged to proceed with the Ship to the City, I understood the Conditions of the new Treaty of Commerce, which I would, by no Means, adhere to, but desired Leave to be gone again. They used many Perswasions to make me stay, but to no Purpose, unless I might trade on the old and lawful Treaty. They kept me from the Beginning of *August* to the latter End of *December*, before they would let me go, and then I was obliged to pay Measurage before they parted with me.

I wrote my Grievance to Mr. *Collet*, complaining of *Powney's* villanous Transactions, not seeming to know that they were done by *Collet's* Order, and let some Hints fall of *Lex talionis*, if I met with *Powney* conveniently, which so vexed Mr. *Collet*, that he formally went to the Town-hall, and declared me a rank Pirate, tho' I and my Friends came off with above 3000 *L.* Loss.

I should not have been so particular, but that I saw some printed Papers at *London*, in Anno 1725. that extolled his Piety, Charity and Justice in very high Encomiums; but it must have been done by some mercenary Scribler that did not know him; but now he is dead, I'll say no more of him.

The black Town is inhabited by *Gentows*, *Mahometans* and *Indian Christians*, viz. *Armenians*, and *Portuguese*, where there are Temples and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated; and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the Land, when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had some Apprehension, that the *Mogul's* Generals in *Golcondah* might, some Time or other, plunder it, so laying

the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either persuaded or obliged to raise Subsidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea and the white Town.

The two Towns are absolutely governed by the Governor *Sola*, in whose Hands the Command of the Military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his Council, most Part of whom are generally his Creatures. And I have been and am acquainted with some Gentlemen, who have been in that Post, as well as some private Gentlemen, who resided at Fort St. *George*, Men of great Candor and Honour, but they seldom continued long Favourites at Court.

One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is, for that Reason, called the Sea-gate. The Gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations resorted about 11 a Clock, to treat of Business in Merchandize; but that Custom is out of Fashion, and the Consultation Chamber, or the Governor's Apartment serves for that Use now, which made one Captain *Hart*, a very merry Man, say, *that he could never have believed that the Sea-gate could have been carried into the Consultation Room, if he had not seen it.*

The Company has their Mint here for coining Bullion that comes from *Europe* and other Countries, into Rupees, which brings them in good Revenues. The Rupee is stamp't with *Persian* Characters, declaring the *Mogul's* Name, Year of his Reign, and some of his Epithets. They also coin Gold into *Pagodoes* of several Denominations and Value. There are also Schools for the Education of Children, the *English* for Reading and Writing *English*, the *Portuguese* for their Language and *Latin*, and the *Mahometans*, *Gentows*, and *Armenians* for their particular Languages. And the *English* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Housewifery, good Clothes and *Palankines*.

The Diamond Mines being but a Week's Journey from Fort St. *George*, make them pretty plentiful there; but few great Stones are now brought to Market there, since that great Diamond which Governor *Pit* sent to *England*. How he purchased it Mr. *Glover*, by whose Means it was brought to the Governor, could give the best Account, for he declared to me, that he lost 3000 *Pagodoes* by introducing the Seller to Mr. *Pit*, having left so much Money in *Arcat* as Security, that if the Stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. *George*, the Owner should have free Liberty to carry it where he pleased for a Market; but neither the Owner nor Mr. *Glover* were pleased with the Governor's Transactions in that Affair.

Some Customs and Laws at the Mines are, when a Person goes thither on that Affair, he chooses a Picce of Ground, and acquaints one of the

King's Officers, who stay there for that Service, that he wants so many Covets of Ground to dig in; but whether they agree for so much, or if the Price be certain, I know not: However, when the Money is paid, the Space of Ground is inclosed, and some Sentinels placed round it. The King challenges all Stones that are found above a certain Weight, I think it is about 60 Grains; and if any Stones be carried clandestinely away above the stipulated Weight, the Person guilty of the Theft, is punished with Death. Some are fortunate, and get Estates by digging, while others lose both their Money and Labour.

The current Trade of Fort St. *George* runs gradually slower, the Trader meeting with Disappointments, and sometimes with Oppressions, and sometimes the Liberty of buying and selling is denied them; and I have seen, when the Governor's Servants have bid for Goods at a publick Sale, some who had a Mind to bid more, durst not, others who had more Courage and durst bid, were browbeaten and threatned. And I was Witness to a Bargain of *Surat* Wheat taken out of a Gentleman's Hands, after he had fairly bought it by Auction, so that many trading People are removed to other Parts, where there is greater Liberty and less Oppression.

The Colony produces very little of its own Growth or Manufacture for foreign Markets. They had formerly a Trade to *Pegu*, where many private Traders got pretty good Bread by their Traffick and Industry; but the Trade is now removed into the *Armenians*, *Moors* and *Gentows* Hands, and the *English* are employed in building and repairing of Shipping. The Trade they have to *China*, is divided between them and *Surat*, for the Gold, and some Copper, are for their own Markets, and the Gross of their Cargo, which consists in Sugar, Sugar-candy, Allom, *China* Ware and some Drugs, as *China* Root, *Galling-gal*, &c. are all for the *Surat* Market.

Their Trade to *Persia* must first come down the famous *Ganges*, before it can come into Fort St. *George's* Channels to be conveyed to *Persia*. They never had any Trade to *Mocha* in the Product and Manufactories of *Chormondel* before the Year 1713. and Fort St. *David* supplies the Goods for that Port, so that Fort St. *George* is an Emblem of *Holland* in supplying foreign Markets with foreign Goods.

The Colony is well peopled, for there is computed to be 80000 Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen and Soldiery. Their Rice is brought, by Sea, from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*, their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*, and their Fire-wood from the Islands of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near *Matchulipatam*, so that any Enemy that is superior to them in Sea Forces, may easily distress them.

CHAPTER XXX

Gives an Account of the Coast of Chormondel from Fort St. George to Ganjam, the easternmost Town in the ancient Kingdom of Golcondah; with Observations on their Pagan Worship, and some Occurrences that happened to the English Factory at Vizagapatam while I was there.

POLICAT is the next Place of Note to the City and Colony of Fort St. George, and, as I observed before, is a Town belonging to the *Dutch*. It is strengthened with two Forts, one contains a few *Dutch* Soldiers for a Garison, the other is commanded by an Officer belonging to the *Mogul*. The Country affords the same Commodities that Fort St. George doth; and the People are employed mostly in knitting Cotton Stockings, which they export for the Use of all the *European* Factories in *India*.

There are several Places along the Coast to the Northward, which, in former Times, had Commerce abroad, but now are neglected and unfrequented. *Armagun* is one, and *Kisnipatam* is another, that brought good Store of Cloth, of several Sorts, to the *English* Factories. It has the Benefit of a good large River, that has a Bar of 15 Foot Water on it. *Carrera* has the Benefit of a large River, that reaches a great Way into the Country. *Pettipoly* had once *English* and *Dutch* Factories settled in it, but were withdrawn many Years ago, because the inland *Rajahs* disturbed Commerce by their Impositions and Exactions.

Matchulipatam, being the next Place of Figure, lies in the Way along the Sea-coast. It stands on the North-east Side of *Diu* Point, about 5 Leagues distant from it. In the latter Part of the last Century this Town was one of the most flourishing in all *India*, and the *English* Company found it to be the most profitable Factory that they had. They had a large Factory built of Teak Timber; but now there are no *English* there, tho' the *Dutch* continue their Factory still, and keep about a Dozen of *Hollanders* there to carry on the Chint Trade, for that Commodity is not, as yet, forbid to appear in *Holland*.

The Town is but small, built on a little Island, and is much stronger by Nature than Art. Towards the Continent Side, there is a deep Morass, over which is a wooden Bridge about half a League long, and on breaking a Part of that Bridge, the Town is secured from Enemies on the Land Side.

The *Mogul* has his Custom-house here, and the Commissioner of the Custom-house is Governor of the Town. The Country and adjacent Islands are fruitful in Grain, Timber for building, and Tobacco the best

in *India*. The Islands of *Diu* produce the famous Dye called *Shahi*. It is a Shrub growing in Grounds that are overflown with the Spring-tides. It stains their Calicoes in the most beautiful and lively Colours in the World; and I have seen Butter from thence of as good a Colour and Taste as ever I saw in *Europe*.

A few Years ago, the *Nabob* or Vice-roy of *Chormondel*, who resides at *Chickacul*, and who superintends that Country for the *Mogul*, for some Disgust he had received from the Inhabitants of *Diu* Islands, would have made a Present of them to the Colony of Fort St. *George*, and the Inhabitants were very willing to change their Masters; but certain Reasons, that I am unacquainted with, made the Governor and his Council reject the Present, and the Vice-roy and the Islanders became Friends again; but, after a Year or two, the *English* having considered better of the Matter, would accept of the Viceroy's Profer, and sent some Ships, with Men and Ammunition, to fortify a Factory, but the Inhabitants took Arms, and forbad them to land, so they returned as they went abroad.

Next to *Matchulipatam* is *Narsipore*, where the *English* had a Factory for long Cloth, for the Use of their Factory of *Matchulipatam*, when they manufactured *Chints* there. It also affords good Teak Timber for building, and has a fine deep River, but a dangerous Bar, which makes it little frequented. And passing round *Corrango* Point, a little Way up in *Corrango* Bay, is *Angerang*, that has the Benefit of a large deep River, that penetrates far up into the Continent. It has a Bar soft at the Bottom, and three and an half Fathoms on it at high Water. Here the best and finest long Cloth is made that *India* affords, and is sold cheap; but the inland Countries lying near the River, are in the Hands of different *Rajahs*, and each being Sovereign in his own small Dominions, makes such Impositions and Exactions on the Cloth that comes down the River, that they ruine that beneficial Trade of *Angerang*, and make it little frequented.

In Anno 1708. the *English*, from *Vizagapatam* settled there; but whether the Factory was starved for Want of Money, or whether the Constituent and constituted Chiefs of the Factories disagreed about dividing the Bear's Skin, I know not, but the Factory was soon withdrawn, and the Project lost.

Coasting along Shore, there are several little Ports between *Matchulipatam* and *Vizagapatam*, besides *Narsipore* and *Angerang*, but *Watraw* is the most noted, for it produces Rice for Exportation, besides some long Cloth, but it is not frequented by *Europeans*, and therefore I proceed to

Vizagapatam, a fortified Factory belonging to the *English*. It is regularly fortified with four little Bastions, and has about 18 Guns mounted in it.

It has the Advantage of a River, but a dangerous Bar to pass over before we get into it. The Country about affords Cotton Cloths, both coarse and fine, and the best *Dureas*, or stript Muslins, in *India*; but the Factory is generally heart-sick for want of Money to refresh it.

In Anno 1709. the Factory drew a War on themselves from the *Nabob* of *Chickasaul*, for one Mr. *Simeon Holcomb*, who had been Chief at *Vizagapatam*, had borrowed considerable Sums of the *Nabob*, and affixt the Company's Seal to the Bonds he gave for them. Mr. *Holcomb* dying, the *Nabob* demanded his Money from the succeeding Chief, who would not pay him, alledging, that *Holcomb* had borrowed it for his own private Use, and not for the Company's, and that he must get Payment out of *Holcomb*'s private Estate, if there was enough found to pay the Debt, otherwise he might get his Money from some inland *Rajahs*, who stood indebted to *Holcomb*, by his Books of Accounts, in a greater Sum than would pay his Principal and Interest; and that he being the *Mogul*'s General, could compel those *Rajahs* to pay their just Debts, which they would make over to him: But the *Nabob*, not caring to enter into a War with his Country-men on such a Foundation, sent Agents to acquaint the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, with his Affairs at *Vizagapatam*. They proved deaf to all the Agent's Propositions and Arguments, and hardly treated him civilly, so he went back to his Master, with the Account of his ill Success. Upon which the *Nabob* came to a Garden about half a League from *Vizagapatam*, accompanied with 500 Horse, and 3500 Foot, to demand his Money. I being accidentally there in a small *Dutch*-built Ship, that I had bought from the *French*, on my Credit, at Fort St. George, and the Factory being but ill mann'd, Mr. *Hastings*, who was then Chief, and my Friend, desired the Assistance of my Arms and Counsel in that Juncture of Affairs, which I very freely gave him; and my Opinion being askt in Council, what I thought about the Affair, I advised him and his Council to compound the Matter as well as they could, and spin out Time, that we might better fortify the Avenues to the Factory. My Advice of compounding the Matter was rejected, but the other Part we followed, so, with seven *Europeans* that belonged to the Factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty *Topases*, and 280 Natives, most of them Fishers, that lived under the Company's Protection, we fortified some Rocks that the Enemy was obliged to pass within Pistol-shot of, if they had a Mind to attack us. We threw up Breast-works between the Rocks, and moored my Ship within Pistol-shot of the Shore, and had eight minion Guns to scour the Sands, if they had attempted to come that Way, and, for six Weeks we continued on our Guard, and were often alarmed in the Night, but finding us always

ready to receive them, they did not think it proper to force an Entry into the Town.

I had the Honour to command all the Out-guards, and the Chief, with eight *Europeans* and twenty Blacks, kept the Fort. Thus we continued in perpetual Watchings and Alarms, till Reinforcements arrived from Fort St. George, and then I left them, and proceeded on a Voyage to Pegu. Both Parties being very busy, one striving to get his Money by Compulsion, and the other, to save the Company's Money on any Terms, right or wrong. The War being drawn to a greater Length than was imagined at first, and Charges rising higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at last effected by the Company's paying near the Sum that was at first demanded.

The *Nabob*, whose Name was *Fakirly Cawn*, would hear of no Peace, without the Company's Merchant, who was a *Gentoo* called *Agapa*, and a Subject of the *Mogul's*, who was very active in the War, in encouraging the Town's People to defend themselves and the Company's Interest, and who also had wrote to some neighbouring *Rajahs*, to embroil the *Nabob's* Affairs in his Absence, in order to divert him from pursuing his Demands on *Vizagapatam*, should be delivered up to him, which, at last, he was, and was put to a very cruel Death. He was set in the hot scorching Sun three Days, with his Hands fastned to a Stake over his Head, and one of his Legs tied up till his Heel touched his Buttock, and, in the Night, put into a Dungeon, with some venomous Snakes to bear him Company, and this was repeted till the third Night he ended his miserable Life; but the Company's Merchants, for the future, will be cautious how they espouse the Company's Interest again.

There was one *Baily*, a Recruit from Fort St. George, on some Discontent, deserted the Company's Service, and entred into the *Nabob's*; but falling into an Ambush, was taken Prisoner by our Men, and was sent to Fort St. George, where, for his Desertion, he was deservedly whipt out of this World into the next, and there I leave him.

After the War was ended, and all quiet, the *Nabob* returned to *Chickacul*, but could neither forget nor forgive his Treatment at Fort St. George and *Vizagapatam*, but finding by Force he could not get the Factory into his Hands, without great Loss of Men and Money, he had Recourse to Strata-gem, by surprising it. He came into the Town one Day with 100 Horse, and some Foot, without advertising of his coming, as was usual, at the Town-gate, and before the Chief could have Notice, he was got into the Factory, with twenty or thirty of his Attendants. The Alarm being given, a resolute bold young Gentleman, a Factor in the Company's

Service, called Mr. *Richard Horden*, came running down Stairs, with his Fuzee in his Hand, and his Bayonet screwed on its Muzzle, and, presenting it to the *Nabob's* Breast, told him in the *Gentow* Language, (which he was Master of) that the *Nabob* was welcom, but if any of his Attendants offered the least Incivility, his Life should answer for it. The *Nabob* was surprisingly astonished at the Resolution and Bravery of the young Gentleman, and sat down to consider a little, Mr. *Horden* keeping the Muzzle of his Piece still at his Breast, and one of the *Nabob's* Servants standing all the While behind Mr. *Horden*, with a Dagger's Point close to his Back, so they had a Conference of half an Hour long, in those above mentioned Postures, and then the *Nabob* thought fit to be gone again, full of Wonder and Admiration of so daring a Courage.

There are many ancient Pagods or Temples in this Country, but there is one very particular that stands upon a little Mountain near *Vizagapatam*, where they worship living Monkies; and, by Report, many Hundreds breed there, which are nourished by the zealous Priests, whose Devotion consists mostly in boyling Rice and other Food for their comical little Gods, which, at Meal-times, assemble at the Pagod, and eat what is prepared for them, and retire again in good Order; but it is less dangerous to kill a Man near that Temple than a Monkey. I won't venture to be a Judge, to determine whether the Priest or the God is the most ridiculous Brute, and yet I think the Priest has some Advantage of those on *Zeloan*, who worship a Monkey's Tooth only.

Bimlipatam lies about 4 Leagues to the North-east of *Vizagapatam*. The *Dutch* keep a small Factory there, consisting of four *Europeans*. The Country People manufacture Cloth, both coarse and fine, which the *Dutch* buy up for *Batavia*. About 4 Miles off Shore, at *Bimlipatam*, there are some Rocks that appear above Water, called *Sancta Pilla*. A Ship may pass between them and the Shore without Danger. And that is all worth Observation there.

There are no *European* Factories to the Eastward on the Coast of *Chormondel*, but *Ganjam*. It is kept for the Chief of *Vizagapatam's* Use, tho' a Company might find their Account there better than in many Places that they keep Factories in. It lies about 55 Leagues to the North-eastward of *Vizagapatam*; but there are several other Places between them on the Coast, that drive a small Trade in Corn. *Pondee*, *Callingapatam* and *Sunapore* are the most noted, but are not frequented by *Europeans*.

The Country about *Ganjam* is fruitful in Rice and Sugar-cane, and they make pretty good Sugars, both white and brown. It has the Benefit of a River, but not navigable, nor the Bar passable for Ships, till the Month

of *September*, that the Freshes from the Mountains open it, and then there is three Fathoms on it, but it shuts again about the Beginning of *November*, and, in the other Months, there are not above 7 or 8 Foot at High-water.

The Town stands about a Mile within the Bar, on a rising Ground, and is governed by a *Chowdrie*, an Officer deputed by the *Nabob*. And there is a Pagod in it, dedicated to an obscene God, called *Gopalsami*. He is carried sometimes in Procession thro' the Streets, and sometimes into the Fields near the Town. They allow him a Coach, because he cannot walk, and he has always above a Dozen of Clergymen to accompany him in his Coach. Around his Temple, and on the Coach, are carved Figures of Gods and Goddesses, in such obscene Postures, that it would puzzle the *Covent Garden* Nymphs to imitate. One of his Company in the Coach has a Stick about two Foot in Length, and one End is carved in Shape of a *Priapus*. The Stick is placed between his Legs, and the End sticking out before him, and all Virgins and married Women that never had Children, come and worship the Stick, and the Priests bestow Blessings on them to make them fruitful. The Woods produce Timber for building. It is very heavy, but the strongest Wood I ever saw, tho' not lasting. They also produce Bees-wax and *Sticklack*, and pretty good Iron. And the inland Countries manufacture Cotton into several Sorts of Cloths, both fine and coarse, all fit for Exportation. The Seas produce many Sorts of excellent Fishes, and the Rivers the best Mulletts ever I saw. In *November* and *December* they have great Plenty of Seer-fish, which is as savoury as any Salmon or Trout in *Europe*. I have seen them bought for three half Pence *per Piece*, each above 20 *lb.* Weight. Wild Geese and Duck are plentiful and good here, and Antilopes are sold for fifteen Pence *per Piece*.

CHAPTER XXXI

Treats of the Sea-coast and some inland Countries in the ancient Kingdom of Orixa, by the Natives called Orixa; with an Account of the famous Temple of Jagarynat.

IN the Year 1708. I had Occasion to travel from *Ganjam* to *Ballasore*, by Land, which gave me an Opportunity to see more of the Countries thro' which I travelled, than most others could have who travelled by Sea. About three Miles to the Eastward of *Ganjam* is *Illure*, at the End of a Ridge of Mountains, that divide the ancient Kingdom of *Golcondah* from *Orixa*. Its End runs within Pistol-shot of the Sea, and there were three or four Sentinels to demand a Tax on every Head that past out of, or into

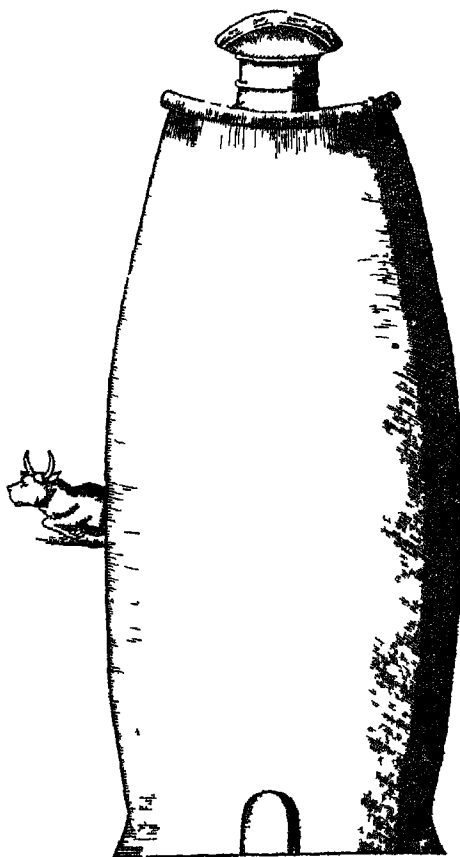
Orixa. I had seventeen Servants to carry my *Palanqueen* and Baggage, and all the Tax amounted to about three Shillings *Sterl.* Proceeding farther, I came to *Manikapatam*, where there is a great Inlet from the Sea; but, about a Mile from its Mouth, it divided itself into many Channels, which made many small Islands. The *Mogul* had an Officer there, who examined from whence we came, and whither we were bound. Our Answers were satisfactory, and he presented us with some Poultry, Rice and Butter, and gave us a Place to lodge in. And, altho' we saw Plenty of Fish in the Rivers, yet Money could not purchase one of them, because there is a Pagod on a little Hill built of Iron-coloured Stone, where all the Animals of the watery Element are worshipped. And Water-fowls are so sacred, that they must not be killed. Our next Stage was at the famous Temple of

Jagarynat, which, in clear Weather, may be seen from *Manikapatam*. In our Way we saw great Numbers of Deer and Antilopes, so tame, that they would not move out of our Way, till we approacht within five or six Yards of them. Water wild Fowl were also numerous and fearless, for none dares kill them under Pain of Excommunication, which cannot be removed but by round Sums to the Church. Poultry there is plentiful, but cannot be killed by the *Pagans*, because they worship them; nor can Strangers purchase them, only the *Mahometans*, who make no Account of their canon Laws, make bold to sacrifice them, and Fish too, as we do in *Great Britain*.

In all this Tract between *Ganjam* and *Jagarynat*, the visible God in most Esteem is *Gopalsami*, whose Temples, as I said before, are decorated with obscene Representations of Men and Women in indecent Postures, also of Demons and Caco-demons, whose Genitals are of a prodigious Size in Proportion to their Bodies. The filthy Image is worshipped by all the *Heathens* of both Sexes, but barren Women are his greatest Devotees, and bring him the best Oblations.

Jagarynat has vast Crowds of Pilgrims to visit him from all Parts of *India*. His Temple stands in a Plain about a Mile from the Sea, and no Mountains nor Outlets of Rivers near it. It is built of a free hard Stone, the Pedestal of large square Stone, and close by it is a Cistern built about with large oblong square Stones of different Colours, *viz.* Brick-colour, light blue, gray and white. The Cistern has Steps that run the whole Length of the Cistern, which is about 40 or 50 Yards, and, at the End opposite to the Pagod, Steps of the whole Breadth of it, which is about 25 or 30 Yards, each Step about a Foot deep, descending, by Gradation, under the Surface of the Water, which did not seem to be clear, but, they say, is

three Fathoms deep in the Middle. This Cistern or *Tank* is walled round with a Stone Wall about 5 Foot high, with two Iron Gates to let in Pilgrims, and keep out unsanctified Persons, as *Christians*, *Mahometans*, &c. for all Pilgrims are obliged to wash in that *Tank* before they go into the Temple to worship. The Temple is built in the Shape of a *Canary Pipe* set on End, about 40 or 50 Yards high, about the Middle is the Image of an Ox cut in one intire Stone, bigger than a live one. He looks towards the South-east, and his hinder Parts are fixt in the Wall. The Fabrick is crowned with a Top about the same Diameter that it is in the Middle, and the Temple being exactly round, makes no contemptible Figure in Architecture. On the West Side of the Pagod, there is a large Chapel that joyns it, wherein Sermons are daily preached; and there are some Convents at a little Distance for the Priests to lodge in, who daily officiate. There are, in all, about 500 of them that belong to the Pagod, who daily boyl Rice and Pulse for the Use of the God. They report, that there are five Candies daily drest, each Candy containing 1600 *lb.* Weight. When some Part has been carried before the Idol, and the Smoke had saluted his Mouth



The Temple of Jaggerynatt

and Nose, then the Remainder is sold out, in small Parcels, to those who will buy it, at very reasonable Rates, and the Surplus is served out to the Poor, who are ever attending the Pagod out of a pretended Devotion: And this Food, that is drest for the Pagod, has a particular Privilege above other Eatables, that the purified *Heathen* is not contaminated by eating out of the same Dish with polluted *Christians* or *Mahometans*, tho' in another Place, it would be reckoned a mortal Sin.

I staid there one Day and two Nights, and my Lodgings were in an

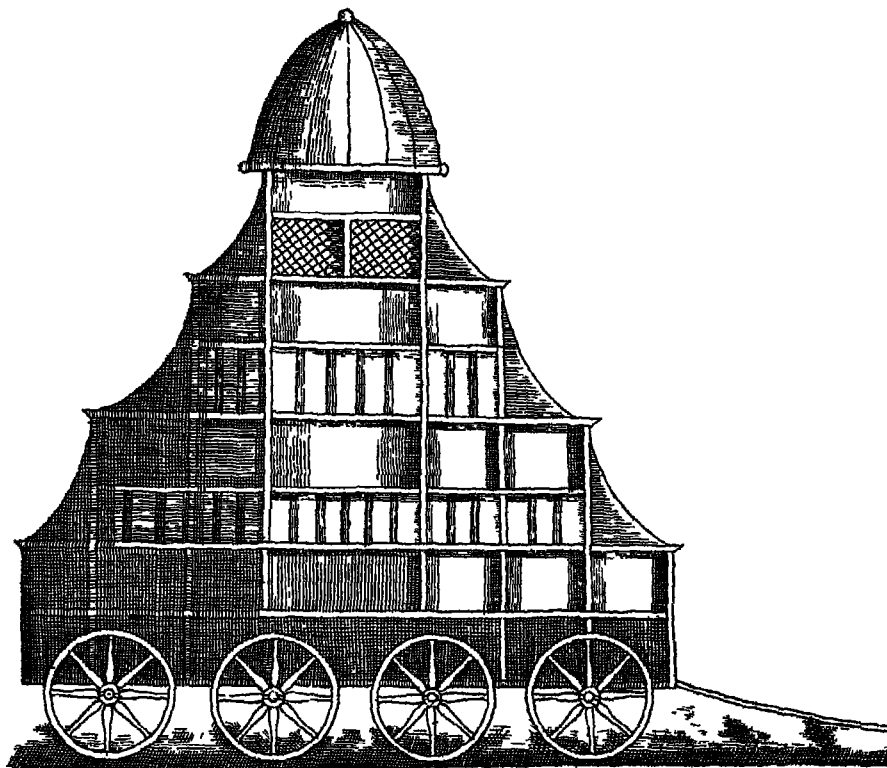
House very near the Pagod. The Nights were spent in beating on Tabors and Brass Cymbals, with Songs of Praises on *Jagarynat*, who is only a Stone God, not carved into a Figure, but an irregular pyramidal black Stone of about 4 or 500 *lb.* Weight, with two rich Diamonds placed near the Top, to represent Eyes, and a Nose and Mouth painted with Vermilion, to shew his Devotees that he can both smell and taste. There are no Windows in the Temple to give Light, so that he has Use for about 100 Lamps continually burning before him. He is railed about, that none may approach near him but his Priests; and only those of the first Quality dare enter into the *Sanctum sanctorum*.

I would fain have gone into the Temple, but could not be admitted, tho' I profered the Value of three Guineas for Admittance, but I sent one of my Servants, who was a *Gentow*, to observe what he could, and he brought me the foregoing Account.

He is never removed out of the Temple, but his Effigie is often carried abroad in Procession, mounted on a Coach four Stories high. It runs on eight or ten Wheels, and is capable to contain near 200 Persons. It is drawn thro' a large Street about 50 Yards wide, and half a League long, by a Cable of 14 Inches Circumference, and, at convenient Distances, they fasten small Ropes to the Cable, two or three Fathoms long, so that upwards of 2000 People have Room enough to draw the Coach, and some old Zealots, as it passes thro' the Street, fall flat on the Ground, to have the Honour to be crusht to Pieces by the Coach Wheels, and, if they meet with that good Fortune to be killed outright, the Priests make the Mob believe, that the Defunct's Soul is much in favour with the Idol, but if only a Leg, a Thigh or an Arm are crusht, then the Devotee is not sanctified enough to be taken Notice of, however, if they die of their Bruises, their Bodies are burned as well as the others, and their Souls go into Paradise, or a Place very near it, without stopping at the half-way House to be purged from their Sins, as others less pure are obliged to do.

They have a Tradition, that this famous Idol was not originally of the Country he now stays in, but, 3 or 4000 Years ago, he swimm'd over the Sea, and some Fishers seeing him ly at High-water Mark, went near him, and, to their great Astonishment, heard him say in their own vernacular Language, *that he came out of pure Charity to reside among them, and desired that he might have a good Lodging built for him, on that same Spot of Ground that he now dwells on.* The Fishers told this Story to their ghostly Fathers, who came in Troops to see the Stone that could talk so prettily, and would have excused themselves of the Trouble of building an House fit to entertain his Godship, but he would not be denied; and, tho' there are no

Stone-quarries nor Mountains to be seen within Reach of the Eye, he promised to furnish them with good Stone and Lime to build his House, if they would but take the Trouble, and so, every Night, Materials were brought as there was Need, and, in a short Time, his House was built, as it now is. And there are reckoned, in the same Town, no less than 400 Temples built in Honour to *Jagarynat* and his Relations.



Jaggerynat's Coach

Had *Jagarynat* staid but twenty or thirty Centuries, and swimm'd to the Shore of some *Christian Catholick* Country, he would have found an hearty Welcome, and would not have been obliged to confine himself to one House without Windows, but would have had an hundred Palaces built for him, with swinging great Windows for to give him Daylight, and Hundreds of good Wax-candles burning before him Night and Day,

instead of Lamps, whose Charge is much less than Virgin Wax, and their Light much dimmer.

Whether this Story of *Jagarynat*, or those of the miraculous Adventures of *Xavier*, and the Ship that run from Cape *Bona Esperanza* to *Goa* in one Night, are most to be credited, I leave to the Determination of the unprejudiced Judges of Controversy in Points polemical.

The Prince of this Country is an *Heathen*, and pays a Tribute to the *Mogul* of a Lack of Rupees yearly, or 12500 *L. Sterl.* which is paid into the Exchequer at *Cattack*. And the Prince exacts a Tax of half a Crown *per* Head on every Pilgrim that comes to the Pagod to worship, which generally amounts to 75000 *L. per Annum*.

This Country abounds in Corn, Cloth, Cattle, Deer and Antelopes. Bears and Monkeys are very numerous and fearless. There is also Plenty of Water-fowl, Partridge and Pheasant, all tame, because none dares kill them but the Prince, except those whom he gives written Licences to, and they are but seldom obtained. The Country is watered with many small Rivers, whose Outlets to the Sea are at *Manikapatam* and *Arsipore*, and there are many Bridges of Stone over those little Rivers, and great Numbers of Beggars near those Bridges, asking Alms in the Name of *Jagarynat*.

The Prince who reigned in *Anno* 1708. had a peculiar Esteem for *Europeans* in general, for, one Day as he was a hunting, his Horse fell, and the Prince broke his Thigh-bone, and accidentally an *European* Surgeon being in the Town, set the Bone, and made a perfect Cure, and was rewarded with 45 *L. Sterl.* for it.

When I was there, he was abroad a hunting, and he sent me a Compliment, that he desired to see me; but I excused myself on account of my having a Fit of the Gout, and he was satisfied with the Excuse, and sent me a good fat Buck for my Supper; and several of the best Gentlemen in Town, came, with their Compliments, next Morning, to invite me to stay a few Days till his Highness returned from hunting; but my Business being pressing, I returned their Civilities in the properest Terms I could, and took Leave to proceed on my Journey.

When I had travelled three or four Leagues from *Jagarynat*, I left the Sea-shore, and took my Way towards *Cattack*, on a very fine Road, where I saw many Drovers of Cattle and wild Game, and several Monuments of zealous Pilgrims, who had signalized themselves by severe Penances, and one particularly, that, about three Months before I was there, had, out of Zeal, built a Tomb for himself, and, when it was finished, took his Leave of his Friends in Form, and entred into his new Cell, and staid

till he died for Want of Sustenance. I challenge any *Christian* Penitents to do more, in Acts of Supererogation, than this blind *Heathen* did.

CHAPTER XXXII

Is an Account of the maritim Towns on the Coast of Orixá, which terminates at Ballasôre; also of some inland Places through which I travelled.

FROM the Dominions of *Jagarynat*, I came into those of *Arsipore*. The Town, where the *Rajah* resided, is named after the Province, and there is a fine River that invites Strangers to frequent it for Cotton Cloth and Rice, that this Country affords in great Plenty. And, in sixscore Miles that I travelled between *Jagarynat* and *Cattack*, I found little else worth noticing but Numbers of Villages intersperst in the plain Countries, and, at every ten or twelve Miles End, a Fellow to demand *Junkaun* or Poll-money for me and my Servants, which generally came to a Penny or three half Pence a Piece, so that, in the whole, it cost me about 1 *L. Sterl.* for Passage-gilt.

The next Place to *Arsipore*, on the Sea-coast, is *Raypore*, that stands on the Banks of the River of *Cattack*, where it disembogues into the Sea, about mid-way between Point *Falso* and Point *Palmeira*. It has a fine Bar affording seven Fathoms Water on it in Spring-tides. It is not frequented by *Europeans*, tho', no Doubt, it was before *Aurengzeb* conquered the Country, for it produceth Corn, Cloth very fine, Butter and Oyl in great Abundance. The City of *Cattack* stands on an Island of this River, about 25 Leagues from the Sea.

When I came to the River of *Cattack*, I espied a small Pagod, built in Form of a Cupola. The Out-side had Holes in it, like the Holes of a Pigeon-house, placed in Order, and in each Hole was a Man's Skull. Enquiring the Reason why such a Number of Skulls were put there, I was informed, that when *Aurengzeb's* Army came to besiege *Cattack*, there was a Conspiracy in the Town to betray it, but being detected, above five Hundred that were concerned in it, were, by Order of the King of *Orixá*, who was then in the City, condemned to be beheaded, and their Heads to be placed in those Holes, and there they have continued ever since. Close by that Temple, we took Boat to carry us to the City, the River, on that Side, being about a Mile broad, and sounding it in the Middle, I found six Fathoms. The River Water is very clear, and wholsom to drink, and descends with a slow Stream

The Springs of the River are from the Mountains of *Gatti*, within 40

Leagues of *Goa*, and, in its Passage, washes Part of the Kingdoms of *Talinga*, *Visapore*, *Golcondah*, and *Orixa*, blessing all the Countries that it passes through, with Fertility of Corn, even to the Place where it loses it self, and there it is also beneficent, in affording a convenient Harbour for Shipping, tho' it is not much frequented by Strangers, and not at all by *Europeans*. I believe the Reason is, that many *Rajahs*, of different Interests, have their Countries on the Sides of the River, and they load the Trade with so many Taxes and Impositions, that the industrious Merchant cannot get any Profit by his Labour; and the Reins of the *Mogul's* Government being so slack in those Parts, the *Nabob* of *Orixa* is not capable to keep the contentious *Rajahs* in better Order.

Cattack is still a large City, walled round, and a good many Cannon planted on its Walls, but neither the Wall nor Artillery are kept in good Order. The Town is not one Quarter Part inhabited; but the Ruins of many large Buildings shew sufficiently its ancient Grandeur, when Kings kept their Courts there. Its Figure is an Oblong for a League long, and a Mile broad. It is garisoned with 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse.

The *English* Company had once a fine Factory in *Cattack*. Most of its Walls were standing in *Anno* 1708. and a Garden that belonged to the Factory, was then in good Repair, kept by a Person of Quality in the Town. The Country about abounds in Corn and Cattle, and tame and wild Fowl are very plentiful and good. Their Manufactory is in Cotton Cloths, coarse and fine of all Sorts, and very cheap, and so are Butter and Oyl. I bought a few *Seerbands* and *Sannoes* there, to know the Difference of the Prices between *Cattack* and *Ballasore* Markets, and I found *Cattack* sold them about 60 *per Cent.* cheaper than *Ballasore*; but, on the Road, which is about 35 Leagues long, we paid seven or eight Times Toll for our Heads and Goods, which made them come out about 28 *per Cent.* better than *Ballasore* Market.

That Part of the River, on the North Side of *Cattack*, is very shallow. When I past it, there were not above three Foot Water in it. They have a Custom in this Town, that, when any Stranger travels thro' it, he must find Surety, that he'll carry none of the Inhabitants off with him, without the *Nabob's* Permission, and if the Stranger can find no Security, the *Nabob's* Secretary becomes bound for paying him ten Rupees for the Danger he runs. Two *Dutch Renagodoes*, who were in the *Nabob's* Service as Gunners, came to wait on me, with a Present of Mutton, Fowl and Fish, and profered to be my Sureties. I rewarded them with the usual Perquisite due to the Secretary, and gave them a Bottle of *French Brandy*, which they set a great Value on.

When I left *Cattack*, I travelled about 50 Miles in two Days, and came to *Badruck*, which stands on the Side of a River, that runs into the Sea at *Cunnaca*, about 20 Miles below *Badruck*. There are about 1000 Houses in it, and a small Mud-wall Fort, but never a Gun in it. The Inhabitants are mostly employed in Husbandry, Spinning, Weaving and Churning, and Butter here is pretty cheap, being accounted dear at a Penny *per* Pound Weight. In two Days I travelled from *Badruck* to *Ballasore*, and saw nothing in the Way, but Things common and indifferent, the Product of the Country being Corn and Cloth, Iron, Annise and Cummin-seeds, Oyl and Bees-wax. Iron is so plentiful, that they cast Anchors for Ships in Moulds, but they are not so good as those made in *Europe*.

I must now return back to *Raypore*, and travel along the Sea-coast. Four Leagues from *Raypore* is the Island of *Palmeira*, which lies about a Mile from the Shore, and has a Chanel of two Fathoms deep between them. The Country is here very low, but the Island lower, and it sends off a very dangerous Sand Bank so far into the Sea, that the Island can scarcely be seen till a Ship is aground. Within 50 Paces of the Bank are sixteen Fathoms Water, which sudden Shallowings make it the more dangerous.

Three Leagues to the Northward of the Point *Palmeira*, is *Cunnaca*, which River is capable to receive a Ship of 200 Tuns. It has a Bar, but not dangerous, because the Sea is smooth, and the Bottom soft. The *Nabob* of *Cattack* commands the North Side of the River, and a *Rajah* the other, which makes them both court the Merchant that comes to trade there, for he pays Custom only to the Sovereign, whose Side of the River his Ship lies on. The Produce and Manufactories of the Country, I mentioned already.

About 12 Leagues to the Northward of *Cunnaca*, is the River's Mouth of *Ballasore*, where there is a very dangerous Bar, sufficiently well known by the many Wracks and Losses made by it. Between *Cunnaca* and *Ballasore* Rivers there is one continued sandy Bay, where prodigious Numbers of Sea Tortoises resort to lay their Eggs; and a very delicious Fish called the *Pamplée*, comes in Shoals, and are sold for two Pence *per* Hundred. Two of them are sufficient to dine a moderate Man.

The Town is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but, by the River, twenty. The Country is fruitful to Admiration, producing Rice, Wheat, *Gram*, *Doll Gallavances*, several Sorts of Pulse, Annise, Cummin, Coriander and Caraway Seeds, Tobacco, Butter, Oyl and Bees-wax. Their Manufactories are of Cotton in *Sannis*, *Cassas*, *Demeties*, *Mulmuls*, Silk, and Silk and Cotton *Romals*, *Gurrahs* and *Lungies*; and of *Herba* (a Sort of tough

Grass) they make *Ginghams*, *Pinascos*, and several other Goods for Exportation.

The *English*, *French* and *Dutch* have their respective Factories here, but, at present, are of little Consideration, tho' in former Times, before the Navigation of *Hughly* River was cultivated, they were the head Factories in the Bay or Gulf of *Bengal*.

The Town of *Ballasore* drives a pretty good Trade to the Islands of *Maldiva*. Those Islands, as I observed before, have no Rice or other Grain of their own Product, so that *Ballasore* supplies them with what Necessaries they want, and, in Return, bring *Cowries* and *Cayar* for the Service of Shipping. The Sea-shore of *Ballasore* being very low, and the Depths of Water very gradual from the Strand, make Ships, in *Ballasore* Road, keep at a good Distance from the Shore, for, in four or five Fathoms, they ride three Leagues off.

From *April* to *October* is the Season for Shipping to come into the Bay of *Bengal*. Pilots ly ready at *Ballasore* to carry them up the River *Hughly*, which is a small Branch of the famous *Ganges*. The *European* Companies, before mentioned, keep theirs always in Pay; but, when none of their own Shipping is there, their Pilots have the Liberty to serve other Ships, which is no small Advantage to them.

The People about *Ballasore* have one particular Custom that I never heard of in any other Country, *viz.* they take a Piece of soft Clay, and make it in the Form of a large Suppository, and they harden it in the Sun, till it comes to the Consistence of soft Wax, and, when they think it fit for Use, they put it into the right Intestine, immediately after Exoneration. This, they alledge, keeps them cool, tho', after it has been in Use a Day and a Night, it becomes hard, but every Morning they have a new one ready for Use.

There is a Report current among the *English* in *India*, that the old *East-india* Company desired one Captain *Goodlad*, who was going in their Service Commander of a Ship to *Bengal*, that he would bring them Home some *Indian* Rarity that had never been seen in *England* before. And being lodged in the Factory at *Ballasore*, looking out of his Window one Morning, he saw some People making Use of their Suppositories, and leaving the old hard bak'd ones behind them. He immediately bethought himself of the Commission he had from his Masters, and judged that they might be Rarities never seen in *Europe* before, and ordered a small Keg to be filled with them. When he brought them to *England*, they proved to be such as they had never seen. Some Gentlemen, more curious than the rest, scrapt some of them to try the Taste, but they still continued in the

Dark, till the comical Captain gave them an Account of their Use and Virtue.

The Sides of the River are overgrown with Bushes, which give Shelter to many fierce and troublesom Tigers, who do much Mischief. I knew an *English* Man that was in a Ship's Boat laden with fresh Water, lying in the River, waiting the Tide to carry her over the Bar, and this Man had the Curiosity to step ashore, and being a little Way from the Boat, had a Call to exonerate, and had no sooner put himself in a Posture near the Bushes, but out leaps a Tiger, and caught both his Buttocks in his Mouth, and was for carrying him away, but one of the Seamen in the Boat seeing the Tragedy, took up a Musket, and placed a Bullet in the Tiger's Head, while the Man was in his Mouth helpless. The Tiger immediately let him fall, and sculkt in among the Bushes, and the wounded Man was carried on board of his Ship, and the Surgeon made a perfect Cure of the Wounds. I saw the Marks of the Wounds three or four Years after the Accident happened to him.

And now having led you as far Eastward as *Alexander* the Great led his Army, even to the famous River *Ganges*, which put a Stop to his Travels, I'll venture farther, and visit both the Banks of that River, upwards and downwards, and then march as far East as our *European* Navigation has as yet discovered. The second Volume will discover whether I keep my Promise or not, and so I proceed.

(*End of Volume I, original edition.*)

NOTES

Page 3

The personage addressed in the dedication was the fifth Duke of Hamilton and second Duke of Brandon; born 1703; succeeded 1712; died 1743. The title of Duke of Chatelherault is still claimed by the family.

In talking of 'scriblers' who dedicated their works to great men with whom they were personally unacquainted, Hamilton was probably hitting at Ovington, who inscribed his *Voyage to Suratt* to the Earl of Dorset and his essay on tea to the Countess of Grantham; possibly also at Lockyer, whose *Account of the Trade in India* (1711) was dedicated to Earl Poulett.

Page 5

The 'reverend gentleman' was John Ovington, who in 1696 published *A Voyage to Suratt* in 1689, and three years later issued a pamphlet on *The Nature and Qualities of Tea*. Both works have recently been reprinted; the latter in 1928 by the Institute of Certificated Grocers, and the former in 1929, under the editorship of Professor H. G. Rawlinson.

Page 6

Hamilton is probably referring to the attack made in 1724 by John Cockburn on the first volume (then recently published) of Burnet's *History of his own Times*.

Page 9

The 'dear friends and allies' were of course the Dutch.

Page 13

Although Table Bay was visited by the English in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the statement that they settled there is incorrect.

For a more accurate account of the experiment made in 1615 of leaving some reprieved malefactors at the Cape, see Roe (p. 6).

Hamilton is wrong as to the date of the kidnapping of the Hottentot here mentioned. He was taken to England in 1613 and restored to his country in the following year (*Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 295, and Terry, pp. 19, 20).

Page 14

Throughout his work Hamilton uses 'legumen' for vegetable foodstuffs.

The Dutch settled at the Cape in 1652. The statement that the English had a colony there, and abandoned it in order to occupy St Helena, is unfounded. They did not take possession of that island until 1659 (see my article in the *English Historical Review*, July 1919).

By 'white Hottentots' our author means of course the Dutch.

Page 15

Hamilton's map marks 'Natal' at the mouth of a river or inlet in 30° lat., i.e. about the position of the Port Natal of the present day.

The *Johanna* was wrecked in June, 1682, at a spot 12 miles west of Cape Agulhas (and therefore a long way from Delagoa). About a hundred survivors got on shore by means of a raft, and made their way to the Dutch settlement in Table Bay (G. M. Theal's *History of South Africa* (1897), vol. 1, p. 260; also I.O. Records, O.C. 4856).

Page 16

The 'black fowl' here mentioned was probably a cormorant.

By 'Sena' is meant the country on both sides of the Zambezi (which the Portuguese termed the river of Sena). The town of that name, for some time the headquarters of the Portuguese in those parts, is about 150 miles up the river.

Page 17

Lungis were cotton cloths used as waistcloths.

Hamilton's theory regarding Ophir has been endorsed by several modern writers.

'Reynol' is the Portuguese *reinol*, meaning "one born in the kingdom" (of Portugal).

Page 18

For the Arab attacks on Mombasa in 1696 and 1697 see O.C. 6349, 6450, 6490.

Yemen (S.W. Arabia) is here transported into Africa, and the error is repeated on p. 20.

Page 19

The *Albemarle* left England in the spring of 1700, but did not reach Surat until the middle of May in the following year. A letter from that place (I.O. Records: O.C. 7587) says that she doubled the Cape at the end of August, and stayed two months at Johanna; it adds that 'Capt. Beaws lost fourteen men,' but gives no particulars. Hamilton probably derived his information from Beawes himself, whose acquaintance he afterwards made (see p. 165).

By 'yole' Hamilton means yawl.

'Prospective' (glass) was an old name for a telescope.

Page 20

'Camlin' is a word of Indian origin, which was taken into Portuguese as *cambolin* (cloak).

Port or Fort Dauphin is on the S.E. coast of Madagascar, in lat. 25° S.

Page 21

St Augustine's Bay is on the S.W. coast, in about 23½° S. lat. New Messalige (or Massalege) was the place now known as Majunga, on the N.W. coast of the island, in 15° 43' S. Old Messalige was a little to the north (the present Majamba Bay).

The Admiralty sent out a squadron in 1699 under Commodore Warren to carry

to India the ambassador, Sir William Norris, and afterwards to suppress the pirates who were doing so much injury to trade. Warren died at Tellicherry in November of that year, and James Littleton succeeded to the command. He proceeded to Madagascar and remained there from May to December 1700, but effected nothing (see Biddulph, p. 55). His dealings with the pirates were the object of much suspicion, as here hinted.

The expedition under Commodore Thomas Mathews is narrated in Downing (p. xxiii, etc.).

The Hovas of the interior differ considerably, as here indicated, from the Malagasy of the coast district, who have been much affected by immigration from Africa.

Page 22

'St Appollonia,' 'Dom Mascarenhas,' and 'England's Forest' were all of them early names for the island now known as Réunion. Hamilton is wrong in saying that it had been colonized by the English.

The Dutch abandoned Mauritius in 1710 (see Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, bk. v, pt. II, p. 155).

For the French attempt to colonize Rodriguez (Hamilton's 'Diego Rais') in 1691-3 see Leguat.

The story of the fight between six (not three) French ships and the *Herbert* (under Thomas Burton) in 1690 has been told by Mr Stephen Wheeler in the *Homeward Mail* for 20 and 27 February and 11 March 1893.

For the capture of the *Cassandra* see Downing, pp. 42-5, Johnson's *General History of the Pyrates*, second edition, vol. I, p. 119, and S. C. Hill's articles on piracy in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919-20. James Macrae, her captain, afterwards became Governor of Madras (1725-30) and died in Scotland a very wealthy man. The vessel given to him by the pirates was the *Fancy*.

Page 23

Charles Boone was President and Governor of Bombay from 1715 to 1722 (see Downing, p. vi, etc., and my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, May 1923). He well deserved Hamilton's praises.

Page 24

'Mount Felix' was an English perversion of Rās Filuk, the name of a headland about forty miles west of Cape Guardafui. The proper name is Rās-al-Fīl, or Cape Elephant (from its shape). Hamilton's 'mountain of camels' is a mistake. The watering-place alluded to is probably Bandar Alula, where there is a lagoon with a stream of water. By 'Khagi' the author seems to mean Bandar Khor, in long. 49° 54' E.

The inlet described as 'opposite to Babelmandel' may be the Gulf of Tajura.

'Zuakin' is Suakin, and 'Mossava' Massowah.

Page 25

The Abyssinian Church is in close communion with the Coptic (Hamilton's 'Cophites').

Page 26

The *midrash* (commentary) of the prophet Iddo is mentioned in 2 Chronicles ix, 29; xii, 15; xiii, 22.

Amhara is a province of Abyssinia. This tale of a mountain where the royal princes were secluded is at least as old as Alvarez (see his *Embassy*, Hakluyt Society, 1881, p. 140).

'Nesty' is a Scotch form of 'nasty.'

Page 27

Māse, a kind of mead, is a favourite drink among the Abyssinians.

The statement as to the position of 'the head of Nilus' is of course incorrect with regard to the main river, but is roughly true of the Sobat, its great eastern affluent.

Page 28

'Janissary' was often used for any Turkish soldier.

Page 29

Qāfila is the Arabic word for 'caravan.'

Page 30

The tradition of Muhammad's visit to the monastery of St Catherine is recorded by other writers, but whether the 'charter' was an authentic document I have not been able to discover.

Sharif ('Xeriff') was a title adopted by many dignitaries who claimed descent from Muhammad.

Page 31

'Balm of Gilcad' is an oleo-resin derived from the *Balsamodendron Gileadense*, anciently used as an antiseptic and vulnerary.

The *Mufti* is the expounder of the Muhammadan law, as distinguished from the *Qāzī*, who administers it. *Faqīh* means a lawyer or theologian.

By the 'Immaum of Mocha' we must understand the Imām of Yemen, in whose dominions Mokha was included.

'Commera' is the island of Kamaran, now used as a quarantine station.

Bait-al-Fakīh ('Betlefactee') is 80 miles N. of Mokha.

Page 32

Zebīd, 56 miles north of Mokha and 19 miles from the sea, was once a considerable centre of commerce, but lost that position owing to the gradual filling-up of the old port of Ghālīfkah. It was captured by the Egyptian and Turkish armies in 1516, but was soon retaken by the Imām of Yemen. (Badger's edition of *The Travels of Varthema*, p. 81 n.)

The capital of the Imām of Yemen was then (as now) San'a. Old maps show 'Moab' and 'Mouab' in the interior of Yemen, and this may account for Hamilton's 'Mohaib.'

Those names appear, however, to be merely forms of Mārib, the old Sabaeen capital, the position of which corresponds to that given in the text. The Imām in 1714 seems to have been al-Mahdī Muhammad.

Page 33

This Shaikh was 'Alī bin Omar Shādilī, the founder and patron saint of Mokha, who is said to have introduced into Arabia the drinking of coffee. He lies buried there, in a large tomb having nine clustered domes.

Muza, 16 miles to the eastward, supplies Mokha with water.

The worm here described is the dreaded Guinea-worm.

'Cutany' is a rare word. The inner layer of the skin is obviously intended.

Page 34

Since 'mummy' is mentioned as being indigenous, the reference may be to some kind of bitumen (cf. Herbert, p. 61).

The Venetian *zecchino* or sequin was for long a favourite coin in Western Asia. The Turkish *ibrāhīmī* is valued by Fryer at eight-fifteenths of a rial of eight. 'Mograbies' seem to be the 'muggerbees' mentioned by Lockyer (p. 201). The name comes from the Arabic *maghrabī*, 'western.'

For Henry Avery, Ivory, or Every, see Wright (p. 159), Biddulph (p. 16), and articles by S. C. Hill in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919-20, on Eastern piracy. He captured two vessels, one, the *Fateh Muhammad*, belonging to Abdul Ghāfar, the other, the *Ganjisawāī*, which was the property of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Reference is made later to the trouble thus caused to the English at Surat.

'Prim' is the island of Perim, at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Page 35

By 'penyworth' is meant 'a good bargain.'

'Musters' has here its old meaning of patterns or samples.

Page 37

'Cadjee' is *Qāzī*, a judge.

Page 38

'Alcoran' represents *al-Qurān*, the Muhammadan bible.

Page 39

By 'Sounan' Hamilton means San'a, the capital of Yemen.

Aden was not founded by the Turks. It already had a long history when they captured it in 1538.

Page 40

By 'Badows' our author intends Bedouins (Arabic *badāwīn*). His repeated references to Arabia Petraea in connexion with the southern part of the peninsula are, of course, wrong.

'Cassin' is Kishin, a little to the west of Rās Fartāk.

How Hamilton came to connect the mountains of the Hadramaut with the biblical Megiddo (in Palestine) is not apparent.

Dhofār is about 150 miles to the westward of Rās Fartāk.

Page 41

The Kuria Muria islands form a group of five in longitude $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.

'Trankies' were lighters (described later as 'barks without decks') much used in the Persian Gulf and neighbouring waters. Grose (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, 1757, p. 28) says that they 'are a kind of uncouth vessels, of seventy to a hundred tons.'

By 'Maceira' is meant Masirah, an island off the S.E. coast of Omān, and by 'Cape Rassclgat' the well-known Rās al-Hadd. The wreck of the interloper *Merchant's Delight*, which occurred on 29 July 1682 (not 1684), is narrated by Ovington (p. 251); and some additional details will be found in *O.C.* 4856, 4905. The ship's company got safely to Muskat, where the supercargo (Say) remained with part of the crew and the bulk of the money, while the captain (Atkinson) went on to Surat. After a time Say made an attempt to follow him, but was captured by Sanganian pirates; and when he succeeded in obtaining his release, the only ship available was one that carried him back to Muskat. In February 1687 the Company wrote to Surat that Say, who had got back to England, had offered his services and, on being repulsed, had, it was reported, started overland for Muskat 'to pick up his old remains'; he was to be apprehended, if an opportunity offered. The next we hear of him is that in February 1698 he sailed from England as supercargo in the interloper *Buckhurst*, in which he seems to have continued to trade for several years. He died in December 1704 or January 1705 (*O.C.* 8693), during the ship's stay at Cochin. An Edward Say (possibly a son) was Chief at Mokha in 1720-1, but was dismissed for defrauding the Company. He then became a free merchant at Bombay, his name appearing regularly in the list of such down to the year 1742.

Page 42

'Teywee' is Tiwi (Taiwa), and 'Curiat' Quryat.

Page 43

Muskat was captured by the Arabs in January 1650 (*English Factories*, 1646-50, p. 311). Hamilton's account is characterized by Badger (p. 87 n.) as 'presumably a fable, with as little foundation as most of his other transmitted hearsay statements regarding the Arab king and his queen.'

'Muttera' is Mātrah, on the western side of Muskat.

Page 45

'Sixteenth century' is a slip for 'seventeenth.'

Murvil's ship was taken in March 1705 (*Madras Consultations*, 19 June, and *O.C.* 8693). Captain Lockyer, who reached Muskat in the following May, says (p. 209): 'Poor

Murvil's fate contributed not a little to our jealousies [i.e. fears]. He was master of a country ship from Culcutta in Bengall, bound for Gombroon. Two Arabian men of war met him off Cape Jasquese, and after a short dispute took him prisoner, tho' he had an English pass and they had no reason to think him an enemy.' So far from his making no resistance (as Hamilton alleges), the Governor of Muskat told Lockyer that the ship was only taken after a stiff fight lasting two hours.

Page 46

The fisherman's call was the Arabic *ta'āl*, *ta'āl*, 'come, come.'

The towns indicated are Rastāk, about 80 miles S.W. of Muskat, and Nezwa, which is about 25 miles farther south.

'Pillaw' is the Persian *pulāo*, meat or fowl, boiled with rice and spices.

Page 47

Agala, calambac, aloe- or eagle-wood are all names of a tree (*Aquilaria agallocha*) providing a fragrant resin much in demand for perfume and for supposed medicinal qualities. It is largely used in China for incense and for the manufacture of joss-sticks.

Benjoin, benzoin, or benjamin is a resin from the *Styrax benzoin*, also used for incense.

'Ruiness' (Persian *rūnās*) or madder was largely exported to India from Gombroon.

Page 48

The *tūmān*, a Persian money of account, was worth about £3. 6s. 8d. Lockyer (1711) gives it that value. Hamilton takes it at £3.

'Waaly' is the Arabic *wali*, a lord or master.

Page 49

Sohār ('Zoar') is about halfway between Muskat and Rās Musāndam. The Jask headland is on the Persian side of the Gulf of Omān.

The Shah in 1620 was 'Abbās, not Tahmāsp.

Page 50

'Bareen' is of course Bahrein.

By 'this century' is meant the eighteenth (see Badger, pp. xxix, 94).

'The Great Turk' was the ordinary English term for the ruler of Turkey.

'Courforcaun' is Khōr Fakkān. The harbour to the westward of Rās Musāndam is Kunzār.

Page 51

Barsalore (Basrūr) and Mangalore are Indian ports in the South Kanara district.

The mention of the Emperors Trajan and Philippus in this connexion shows that Hamilton was confusing the Mesopotamian Basra with the Syrian Busra (the ancient Bostra), which is about 80 miles S. of Damascus. Basra was not founded until A.D. 636. The original site was about eight miles S.W. of the present city.

Page 52

The use in Persia of the fat of the *dumba* (the fat-tailed sheep already described on pp. 20, 40) in place of butter is mentioned by Herbert (p. 260).

Page 53

The ruins of Babylon lie about 70 miles S. of Baghdad, not to the N. of it, as here suggested.

The ruins of Nineveh are on the opposite side of the 'Tigris to Mosul.

By 'Comera' Hamilton seems to mean Qurnah.

For this rebellion see a note in Longrigg (p. 128).

Page 54

An asper was a small Turkish silver coin of low value.

Page 55

The outbreak of plague at Basra (in 1690, not 1691) is described by Longrigg (p. 119). It preceded, not followed, the short period of Persian rule, which began in 1697 (*ibid.* p. 121).

The *mahmūdī* was a small silver coin of Gujarāt origin, which was much used in Western India and Southern Persia. For the 'maund attarie' see Hamilton's notes at the end of the second volume.

Sir Arnold Wilson has been kind enough to obtain from Khān Bahādur Mīrza Muhammad, C.I.E., of Basra, explanations of 'attarie' and 'turk and burk.' The former term is the Arabic *attariyah*, meaning drugs or spices. The other is *tarakah barakah*, signifying an allowance. 'It is still the custom among the inhabitants of Irāq to leave something out of anything they divide or weigh, and to say: "*taraknahu lil barakah*" (i.e. "we have abandoned this by way of blessing").'

Page 56

The opportune publication (1927) of a chronicle of *The Settlement of the Carmelites in Mesopotamia, 1623-1733*, edited by Sir Hermann Gollancz, enables us to form a more favourable judgment of the activities of the Catholic missionaries. There was some ill-feeling against them among the English seamen frequenting the port, owing to the natural unwillingness of the Fathers to officiate at the burials of Protestants dying there; while Hamilton himself had also a personal grievance. The chronicle records (p. 596) that he reached Basra in August 1721, and sailed again in the following October. Some of his sailors, Portuguese by nationality, deserted the ship. Two embraced Islam, in order to obtain employment under the Turks; two more the Fathers, in order to save them from a like apostasy, sent off to a Persian port, with money to pay their expenses. Although he had declared that he would not in any case take back the deserters, Hamilton chose to feel aggrieved at the action of the Fathers, and threatened to retaliate upon their brethren at Bombay. However, his anger quickly evaporated; and when, anxious to

placate him, they paid him a farewell visit, he treated them courteously, gave them a present, and fired a salute in their honour. The chronicler adds that the Fathers much regretted the displeasure of 'this most honourable and liberal Captain Hamilton, who had bestowed many favours and alms upon us.'

Though I can find no authority for the supposition, I strongly suspect that 'birds of paradise' was a sailor's term for prostitutes.

'Adust choler' (more usually the words were reversed) was a supposed state of the body and its 'humours,' causing dryness, heat, and thirst.

Page 57

The island of Gabon (or Goban) is the portion of the delta lying to the E. of the Bahmanshir channel, which leads up to Mohammerah.

'Shades' seems to mean 'sheds.'

Page 58

'Oil of Peter' is possibly petroleum (the etymology is of course wrong).

The 'Durea' is the Dahra, a branch of the Kārūn.

'Bander-dillon' is (Bandar) Dilam.

Page 59

'Bander-rick' is now known as Bandar Rīg.

'Shyrash' and 'Bowchier' hardly disguise Shīrāz and Bushire.

The islands of 'Carrack' are Khārag (Khārg) and its neighbour Khārgū.

'Curchoir' appears to be Khuweir, nine miles N. of Bashi.

'Congoun' is the present-day Kangān.

'Cong' is Kung, in lat. 26° 35' N.

Page 60

The Portuguese for 'shrimp' is *camarão*, and for 'prawn' *camarão grande*.

'Asseen' is Issīn, north of Bandar 'Abbās; while by 'Naban' is meant Nabānd, which is a few miles to the west of that port.

The mountain behind Bandar 'Abbās is the Kuh-i-Ginau, which rises to a height of about 7000 feet.

Mīnau or Mīnāb is about 50 miles W. of Bandar 'Abbās. But Hamilton seems to have confused it with a place which Fryer (vol. II, p. 327) calls 'Genoe' (i.e. Ginau), the hot springs at which he describes. These, as stated in the text, are situated at the foot of the Kuh-i-Ginau.

Page 61

A choultry is a resting place, generally a platform with a roof over it.

For a description of the Company's garden at Issīn see Lockyer (p. 233).

This banyan-tree at Nabānd has been described by Herbert (p. 49) and by several other travellers.

For the 'wind-chimnies' (Persian *bādgīr*), or cowls to suck in the breeze, see Fryer (vol. II, p. 159).

The European burying-ground is mentioned by Lockyer (p. 239).

The payment made yearly by the Hindu traders to the Jāy-nishīn (strictly, a deputy governor) to avert cow-killing is noted by Fryer (vol. II, p. 167) and by Lockyer (p. 237).

Page 62

The distance from Bandar 'Abbās to Isfahān, via Shīrāz, is about 650 miles.

Page 64

Hamilton's incursion into Persian history is not to be taken seriously. Hormuz was occupied by the Portuguese long before the time of Shāh 'Abbās. Sir Thomas Roe was never at that monarch's court, and left India three years before the joint Anglo-Persian attack upon the island, for the details of which see *English Factories*, 1622-3, and *The Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrade* (Broadway Travellers, 1929).

Page 65

Larak and Kishm are two islands close to Hormuz.

The statement that the treaty was punctually observed by the Persians is far from correct.

Though Shāh 'Abbās had a son named Tahmāsp, the latter did not succeed to the throne; while Safi, who did, lived on until 1642.

Page 66

The 'last Sophi' (Safavi) was Shāh Sultān Husain (1694-1722).

'Carmania' is the province of Kermān. The Uzbegs were Turkomans. By 'Muschet' is meant Meshed.

'Casbin' is Qazvīn, in N.W. Persia.

Page 67

The Itimād-uddaula was Fath Alī Khān. As stated, he was blinded, on suspicion of treachery; but he afterwards succeeded in establishing his innocence. That he was the father of Mīr Vais is not true.

'Samachie' is Shemākha, the old capital of Shīrvān, W.N.W. of Baku.

Mīr Vais was the head of the Ghilzai Afghans and hereditary governor of Kandahar. He made himself independent of Persia in 1705, but died ten years later. Hamilton has confused him with his son Mahmūd. The latter invaded Persia in 1720, but was driven back. In 1722 (not 1721) he again marched upon Isfahān, and this time was successful in overthrowing the Safavi dynasty.

Page 68

Hamilton's account of the repulse of the Balūchī raiders, both by a Dutch convoy-guard at Lār and by the English and Dutch factors at Gombroon, is borne out by some extracts from the Gombroon Diary, December 1721 and January 1722, in the India Office Records (*Persia*, vol. XIV, No. 2294). The invaders numbered about 4000. The factor who was wounded was Clement Bolsworth Snow. The Agent, who is mentioned as having gone to Isfahān, was Owen Phillipps.

Page 69

The amount of booty carried off by the raiders is corroborated by an entry in the *Bombay Consultations* of 8 February 1722, where it is stated to have been worth at least 60,000 *tūmāns*. We learn also that the Gombroon factors had undertaken to pay Hamilton demurrage at the rate of sixpence per ton per day, and that after the repulse they distributed a thousand rupees among the crews of the *Morning Star* and the *Bombay Merchant* (the other ship mentioned by Hamilton as rendering assistance).

The statement that the English helped to defend Isfahān against the Afghans appears to be incorrect, as also that regarding its 'easy conquest.' The city resisted desperately for many months, but surrendered at last on 12 October 1722. The Shāh was not put to death, and the conqueror did not, as stated, imprison the English factors. On the contrary, he treated them with civility; and though they found themselves forced to give handsome presents to his officials, besides losing the 3000 *tūmāns* they had lent to the late Shāh, their losses were nothing like the figure given by our author. The 'Prince royal' was Tahmāsp Mirzā, who, as stated, left the city during the siege and went to Qazvīn to raise an army for its relief, but failed in his efforts.

Page 70

Hamilton's 'Taurus' is Tabriz.

A letter to the Company from James Bruce (the Agent) now in the I.O. Records (O.C. 6716) describes the visit paid by the Shāh and his ladies to the English factory on 24 July 1699. Bruce says that the Dutch offered 3000 *tūmāns* for a similar favour, but could not obtain it.

Page 71

'Julfar' is of course the Julfā suburb of Isfahān.

The site of Lāharibandar, long the port of Tatta, has not been identified with precision, though tradition places it on the Piti branch, some distance inland. Its position is roughly indicated in Hamilton's map under its alternative name of 'Sindy.' It seems to have been either identical with or close to the old port of Debal, known to the Portuguese as Diul or Diul-Sind. Our author mentions Diul at the end of the preceding chapter, but evidently was ignorant of its location, for in his map he placed it on the coast of Makrān. The changes in the Indus delta render difficult the identification of defunct ports.

Jām is a title borne by certain chiefs in Cutch, Kāthiāwār, and on the lower Indus. Here it is used of their subjects.

Page 72

The citadel of Tatta was begun about 1699, but never completed. Few traces of it now remain.

In 'target-men' target has its old meaning of a shield.

Page 73

A 'fuzee' (French *fusil*) is a light musket.

'Dungham' (Dhengaon?) has not been located.

Page 74

These tombs are described in Burton's *Scinde* (p. 108).

Page 75

It was Akbar (not Jahāngīr) who conquered Sind (in 1591).

Two lakhs equal 200,000. The rupee here (and elsewhere in the work) is taken at 2s. 6d.

Page 76

Kishti is Hindustānī for a vessel or boat. 'Kifties' is apparently a misprint.

By 'shoegoose' Hamilton means a *siyah-gosh* ('black-ear'), which is the Persian name for *Felis caracal*, a species of lynx used (as here described) for running down small game.

Page 77

Salob' (*salab*) is not a fruit, but the tuber of various species of orchids.

Opopanax is a gum resin formerly used in medicine. Bezoar, a calcareous concretion found in the stomachs of certain animals, was in great repute as an antidote to poison. *Lapis tūtiyā* is copper sulphate.

Jāmauwār is a generic term for dress material. Of the kinds specified, 'cuttenee' is *qutnī* ('of cotton'); of 'culbuleys' and 'jurries' no exact description has been found.

'Lack' is an old form of 'lacquer.'

'Duppa' is the Hind. *dabbah*, a leathern jar.

Pachak (costus root) is still exported, chiefly to China for use as incense.

Page 78

'Gentow' (a corruption of Port. *gentio*, a heathen) was commonly used for a Hindu.

A *sayyid* ('seid') is one who claims descent from Muhammad. For traditions regarding the contest of Porus with Alexander the Great see Roe, p. 90, etc.

The *Holi* or spring festival is not peculiar to Sind, as Hamilton seems to imply.

Page 79

The statement that 'Divellee' means 'seven mouths' is incorrect. The appellation was often given to the Indus delta, but it came from the port Diul, which in turn derived its name from *devālyā*, 'a temple.'

The old error of regarding the Sābarmatī (the river referred to) as a branch of the Indus was exposed by Roe (p. 76, etc.) but still persisted, as here evinced.

For 'Cutchnaggen' see *Hobson-Jobson* (p. 286), where it is identified with Māndvi (in Cutch).

The 'chonk' shell is better known as 'chank.'

Page 80

The Sanganians inhabited the coasts of Kāthiāwār and Cutch, Beyt being their principal centre.

Bhang is an intoxicating liquor prepared from Indian hemp.

Hamilton was right in thinking that the future Sir George Byng (later Viscount Torrington), who was then second in command aboard the *Phoenix*, was concerned in this affray. A full account of the fight is given in a MS memoir of Byng now in the British Museum (Add. MS 31958, f. 9), and from this it appears that the correct date was 1685 (19 September).

The *Morning Star* was Hamilton's own ship. An account of the action was given to the Company in an official letter from Bombay dated 7 December 1717. That document is not extant, but the following is an abstract of the paragraph: '20th March eight Sanganians, of which six [were] ships, attack'd Capt. Hamilton in the *Morning Star* coming from Persia. One boarded him. Though he had but six Europeans, he got clear and arrived [at] Bombay the 25th, though wounded' (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1, p. 267).

'Grab' (*ghorāb*, a raven) was the Arab name for a galley. 'Sheybar' is the Marāthī *shibār*.

Page 81

References to the loss of the *Thomas* (a privately owned vessel) will be found in Surat letters to Bombay of 18 May, 15 June, and 19 July 1698 (I.O. Records: *Surat*, vol. xcvi). These state that the fight occurred off Socotra, that the ship took fire accidentally (a barrel of tar having been ignited), and that about fourteen of the crew were saved by the pirates and travelled overland from 'the Singana countrey' to Surat with the news.

Jagat is an old name for Dwārka, a port and place of pilgrimage at the N.W. extremity of the Kāthiāwār peninsula.

'Fouzdaar' is *faujdār*, a police official and magistrate.

Page 82

Māngrol is on the western coast of Kāthiāwār, in lat. 21° 7' N.

'Poremain' may be meant for Verāwal or for Pātan Somnāth. Porbandar might seem a more probable identification; but that is north of Māngrol.

Rājput's ('Rasspouts') were much employed at this period for the purpose indicated in the text.

Page 83

The story of the ox-hide appears to be a fable.

Diu was besieged by the Gujarātis, aided by the Turks, in 1538, but without success. The second attempt to capture the city was made in 1546, and likewise failed.

The Arab raid took place at the end of 1668 (see *English Factories*, 1668-9, p. 257, and Badger, pp. xxvii, 88). There was a further raid in 1675 or 1676 (*O.C.* 4175).

Page 84

By 'Dand Point' Hamilton seems to mean Goapnath Point, near Jhanghmer.

'Warrels' are members of the Vārli tribe.

Page 85

There is an island, named Chānch, lying roughly in the position indicated. The village referred to is probably Bandar, on a neighbouring creek; this served anciently as the port of Dungar, which is some miles inland.

Gōghā lies on the west side of the Gulf of Cambay, almost opposite to the mouth of the Narbada. In the seventeenth century it was a port of considerable trade.

'Coulies' were Kolis, a turbulent hill tribe in Gujarāt.

Page 86

Cambay (Kambāyat) is on the estuary of the Mahi River, which of course has nothing to do with the Indus.

Akbar conquered Gujarāt in 1572, at which time his son Jahāngīr was only three years old.

'Amadabant' is Ahmadābād, the chief city of Gujarāt.

By 'Patanners' is meant Pathāns, a name applied generally to robbers of supposed Afghan origin.

Page 87

This story of Aurangzeb's treatment of Broach, though accepted in the *Imperial Gazetteer* on Hamilton's authority, is much to be doubted. 'Nerdaba' is an error for Narbada. 'Suckabant' equals Sūkhābād, 'an arid town.'

'Bastas' is an error for 'baftas,' a generic term for cotton piece-goods.

The account given of the origin of Surat is ludicrous. Although it is true that Rānder (on the other side of the Tāpti) is the older settlement, yet Surat, when the English arrived in 1608, had already a long history.

Sivājī's first attack on Surat took place in 1664.

Page 88

The Marāthas besieged Surat for some weeks in 1706.

'Gennim' is the Arabic *ghanīm*, 'a plunderer.' 'Gracias' were highway robbers (*grās*, 'blackmail').

The outer wall of Surat was built in 1717-19.

Page 89

Lockyer (p. 257), who calls him 'Abdel La Ford,' gives a more moderate estimate of Abdul Ghāfar's trading fleet. He says that it was reported to consist of 'fifteen or sixteen sail of ships of his own, from 100 to 500 tuns burthen.' For the oppression of Abdul Ghāfar's heirs see Grose (*A Voyage to the East Indies*), p. 160, and Wright, p. 337 n.

The *Wāki'ahnavīs*, as here indicated, was an official who kept the court informed of all that happened in the district.

Dāk-chaukī really means a post-house or relay-station.

By 'Hali's sect' is intended the Shi'as. But the Mughals in general were Sunnis.

No trace has been found of any Muhammadan sect called 'Musey.' Can it be that our author means the black Jews (Bene-Israel)?

'Molacks' may be Māliks, i.e. Hindus converted to Islam. There are many of these in Gujarāt.

Page 90

Here, as elsewhere throughout the work, 'Banyan' is equivalent to 'Hindu.' The account given of the religious organization is rather a travesty.

Talapains are really Buddhist monks, but Hamilton here uses the terms wrongly as meaning the teachers of certain Hindu sects.

Page 91

'Jougies' are Hindu ascetics (*jogī*).

Page 93

By 'Cuttere' is meant the *Khatrī* or *Kshatriya* (warrior) caste of the fourfold division of Hindus.

'Quedaa' is unintelligible, unless there is a confusion with the Persian *khudā* (God). The other deities named are Mahādeva (Sivā), Rāma, Brahmā, and Pārvatī. The images appear to be those of Ganesh, Jagannāth, and Gopālswāmī. 'Rustum' may be a confused recollection of the Persian national hero, Rustam.

Page 94

The Parsis migrated to India in the early part of the eighth century. Their landfall is usually given as Sanjān, near Dāhānu, not (as Hamilton has it) 'the river of Nunsaree,' i.e. the Purna, on which Nosārī is situated.

Page 95

'Manure' is equivalent to 'cultivate.'

'Atlas' is a kind of satin. 'Bottadaar' has not been traced. For 'Jemewaar' see p. 232. 'Bastas' is an error for 'baftas,' as already noted.

Page 96

Khichrī and *dāl* are well-known terms. 'Atchar' is *āchār*, a name used for various acid or salt relishes.

'Muscheit' is an old form of 'mosque,' and is nearer to the original *masjid*.

The tank alluded to is the Gopī *talāo*, described by many travellers, but it was near the Nosārī, not the Burhānpur, Gate. Its bed is now a garden.

For the situation of the old English factory see p. 297 of *English Factories*, 1661-4.

Page 97

'Lappet' is an old term for the lobe of the ear.

'Sixteenth' is an error for 'seventeenth' (century). The account that follows of a fight at Swally between the English and the Portuguese is a confused version of an incident that took place in 1630 (see *English Factories*, 1630-3, p. ix); and the statement that 'Ranier' (Rander) was the headquarters of the English is quite wrong.

Page 98

Damka ('Tamkin') is a village about two and a half miles N.E. of Swally.

'Polite' has here its older and fuller meaning of 'polished,' 'cultured.'

Page 99

The fairs here described were instituted by Akbar, not by Shāh Jahān; but that the latter delighted in them is affirmed by Bernier (p. 272); also by Manucci (vol. 1, p. 195), who declares that the emperor used the opportunities thus afforded for selecting fresh companions for his pleasures.

This story of Jamāl Khān and his wife seems to be apocryphal. Certainly the assertion that the latter was the mother of Aurangzeb is false.

Page 100

'Serpaw' is *sar-ā-pā* ('head to foot'), a dress of honour. 'Harran' is an obvious error for *harīm*.

The account given of the supersession of Shāh Jahān by Aurangzeb contains many errors, but it is unnecessary to examine it in detail. The four princes concerned were Dārā Shikoh, Shujā, Aurangzeb, and Murād Bakhsh. It was the last-named who was Viceroy of Gujarāt, while Aurangzeb's province was the Deccan. The story that Aurangzeb for a time adopted the life of a *fāqīr* is now discredited.

'Goulour' is Gwalior, which was used as a state prison. 'Poust' (*post*), made by steeping poppy husks in water, was frequently administered to prisoners whose deaths were desired, as it gradually sapped their vitality.

Page 101

The sister who rendered such valuable assistance to Aurangzeb was Roshanārā. Hamilton has confused her with Nūr Mahal, the well-known consort of Jahāngīr.

Page 102

At the battle of Samūgarh (May 1658) here described, Dārā Shikoh was put to flight. His capture, after a further campaign, and execution took place over a year later.

Murād Bakhsh was not killed on the spot, but was imprisoned until 1661 and then put to death.

'Pautshaw' is *Pādshāh*.

Page 103

The celebrated Mir Jumla is here referred to as 'Emirjemal Chaun.'

The Orissa campaign is a myth.

Aurangzeb died in the Deccan, not near Agra. His grave is at Rauza, near Daulatābād.

Aurangzeb's sons were (1) Muhammad Sultān, (2) Muazzam (Shāh Ālam), (3) Azam, (4) Akbar, (5) Kām Bakhsh. Of these the first and fourth predeceased their father.

Page 104

'Dumbass' is Dumas, a small place near the mouth of the Tāpti; 'Nunsaree' is Nosārī, as already mentioned; and 'Gundavee' is Gandevi. The 'Seragoung' is the Kolak River.

The places named as between Damān and Bassein are Dāhānu, Tārāpur, Māhīm (the one in Thāna district, not that on Bombay island), Kelve, and the island of Arnāla, off the mouth of the Vaitarna River.

Page 105

Hamilton here refers to the well-known ruins at Kānheri, in the middle of Salsette island. 'Versua' is Vesāva.

Bandra is on the S.W. point of Salsette island, about nine miles N. of Bombay Castle.

Page 106

For the troubles with the Portuguese in 1722 see *Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1, p. 443, and the *Description of the Port and Island of Bombay* (1724), pp. 39-47.

'Buckshoe' is the Hind. *bachhuā*, a fish abounding in the Ganges and other Northern India rivers. The fish used at Bombay for manure is the bummelo.

The correct date of the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough's squadron at Bombay was 18 September 1662 (not 1663).

Marlborough went home in January 1663 (not 1664).

Page 107

The island of Anjidiv is near Kārwär, as described later. Its occupation by the English lasted from December 1662 to December 1664. Shipman died there on 6 April 1664.

Sir Gervase Lucas reached Bombay in November 1666 (but not 'with two ships'), and died on the island in the following May.

Lucas was succeeded, not by Cook (who had been disgraced) but by Henry Gary. Bombay was transferred to the East India Company by letters patent of 27 March 1668, and on 23 September following the administration was made over by Gary to the Company's representatives.

Page 108

Dongri ('Dungeree') Hill is now absorbed into Bombay.

Mendham's Point, at the southern end of the island, is now covered with houses.

The places named as fortified are Mazagon, Sewri, Sion, Māhīm, and Worli.

The church was begun by Aungier, not by Oxenden. The assertion that Child embezzled the money already collected has been refuted by Mr and Mrs Strachey (p. 168). It is interesting to learn that Hamilton was one of the subscribers to the fund raised later for its completion (*ibid.* p. 170).

Gerald Aungier was President of Surat and Governor of Bombay from 1669 till his death in 1677.

Page 109

Kānhoji Angria, nominally the head of the Marātha naval forces but practically independent, controlled the coast from Bombay harbour to Mālvān. Accounts of the hostilities between him and the English will be found in Downing.

A Dutch fleet threatened Bombay in February 1673, but did not land any men, owing to the precautions taken by President Aungier. See Fryer, vol. 1, p. 170, and Anderson, p. 59.

The reference is to the royal charter granted in 1683, which empowered the Company to erect a court of judicature for the trial of persons accused of infringing its monopoly of trade.

The namesake was of course the celebrated Sir Josia Child, Governor of the Company. The legend that the two Childs were brothers was exploded by Mr and Mrs Strachey (p. 162); but those writers appear to go too far by saying (p. 21) that 'there is no reason to suppose that they were even remotely related.' Among the India Office Records are two letters (O.C. 5005) from Sir John, evidently addressed to Sir Josia, in one of which the former signs 'your very much obliged humble servant *and kinsman*,' while the other has a similar ending.

Charles Ward became Deputy Governor of Bombay in February 1682.

Page 110

For the retrenchments made at Bombay (which had been ordered from home) see the Stracheys (p. 41, etc.).

By 'the Sevajee' Hamilton means Sambhājī, the son and successor of Sivājī.

For the real facts of Keigwin's rebellion see the work on that subject by Mr and Mrs Strachey. It ended in November 1684 in the surrender negotiated, not by Capt. Tyrrell, but by Sir Thomas Grantham.

Henry Gary had been appointed Judge in January 1678, and Child had nothing to do with his selection. It was a common accusation against Gary that he was not an Englishman, and this belief was strengthened by his linguistic attainments, which were remarkable; but he was really of English parentage, though born at Venice.

Page 111

'When the mutiny broke out there was a case of debt pending against John Thorburn, and at its conclusion the ex-Attorney General was arrested and thrown into prison on the old count. Hamilton gives a long story of the barbarous treatment accorded him by the President's orders, and of the cruelty shown to his widow after his death; and from the records we find that Thorburn did actually die in prison, though we doubt if there is much reason to believe the rest of the story' (the Stracheys, pp. 156, 161). Thorburn's wife (Sarah) and two children (John and Sarah) are included in a list of Bombay inhabitants dated 28 December 1682 (*ibid.* p. 164).

Page 112

The story of the *Bristol* has been told by the Stracheys (pp. 124, 133-8). After her capture by the *Phoenix* the two vessels sailed from the Comoro Islands on 18 May 1685, and the *Bristol* sank in bad weather on 4 June (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 31958, s.d.). 'Lakes' is an old form of 'leaks.'

As noted by the Stracheys (p. 139) a Mr Benjamin Mewse (presumably the individual here indicated) was serving later on with Sir Nicholas Waite on the New Company's

staff at Surat. He arrived there in November 1699, but was dismissed early in 1703 (Anderson, pp. 145, 157, 169).

John Petit was Deputy Governor of Bombay from 1676 to the end of the following year, when he was appointed Agent in Persia. In 1680 the Company sent out charges of malversation against him, but the ensuing trial resulted in his acquittal, and he was allowed to act as Second in Council. In August 1682, however, orders arrived from home that he and George Bowcher were to be dismissed and sent to England—a deportation which they evaded in the manner here narrated. The story of the subsequent feud between them and Child has been told by the Stracheys (pp. 55 *et seq.*).

Page 113

'Harris' was presumably the Bartholomew Harris who was afterwards (1690-4) Governor of Bombay.

'Phirmaund' is *farmān* (order).

Page 114

The 'Cautwal' (*kotwāl*) was head of the police. The Stracheys reject Hamilton's story of the attempt to poison Bowcher as 'ridiculous,' but they accept his account of the successful intervention of Swan (p. 95).

A 'rocca' (Arabic *ruk'a*) is a written document.

Page 115

For the correct story of the fight with the pirates and Petit's subsequent death in prison, see the Stracheys, pp. 126-9. 'Baet' is Beyt, on the N.W. extremity of Kathiāwār.

The expulsion of the Company's factors from Bantam was brought about by a civil war, in which the Dutch aided the successful candidate for the throne, while the English were accused of having assisted his rival. The Company for a time entertained the idea of reinstating the former Sultān, and a ship was despatched to co-operate with others in this attempt; but before she arrived the orders were countermanded, as a peaceable settlement of the dispute had been effected at home. I am not aware of any authority for the alleged Dutch bribe to King Charles.

Page 116

Hamilton's account of the genesis of the war is prejudiced and untrustworthy. Though he states that he copied his version of Child's demands from a printed copy (which I have failed to trace), it reads suspiciously like a paraphrase from his own pen. The original was presumably in Persian, and no copy has been found; but an English summary is given in O.C. 5624, dated 7 October 1687. In the notes that follow this is referred to as the official version, and the quotations are taken from it.

I. The demand made in this article was that Mullah Abdul Ghāfar and Mīr Nizāmi should be forced to withdraw publicly the charges made by them against the English. Salābat Muhammad Khān was then Governor of Surat.

Page 117

IV. The remark that Petit had 'gone to the Devil' is not found in the official version and is clearly a characteristic interpolation by Hamilton. The demand made was for the surrender of Bowcher 'with all other English men and women in Suratt.' The Governor mentioned was Kartalāb Khān.

V. The complaint was that customs had been levied on goods brought *from Mokha* and intended for England.

VI. The official version runs: 'Our customes, for great and eminent services to the town of Suratt, was by the Kings phyrmaund to be but 2 per cent., but for some years lately hath been taken from us $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.' A return to the earlier rate was solicited; also orders that their goods were not to be overrated in future, and that the sums thus exacted of late years should be repaid. The services alluded to were rendered at the time of Sivāji's attack upon Surat in 1664. The old rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was again imposed in 1680, in consequence of the refusal of the Europeans to pay the new poll tax on unbelievers (*O.C.* 4699, 4705).

Page 118

VIII. 'Durrimgum' ('Dongom' in the official version) is Dharangaon, in Khāndesh. For the capture of the caravan see Anderson, p. 107.

X. The demand made is more explicit in the official version. It was 'that wee have a place assigned us in the mint-house, that the droga [*dārogha*, head] may not have any command over to give any hindrance in the coining our money, and wee to make choise of four such shroffs as we think fitt to attend it.' Shroffs were money-changers or (as here) experts in coinage.

XI. The warehouse desired was to be 'at the waterside, as the Dutch have.'

XIII. 'Gassadean Caun' is Ghiyās-uddīn Khān, who was Governor from 1664 to 1666 and again from 1667 to 1677. The order to build a wall round Surat was given by Aurangzeb in 1664, as a consequence of Sivāji's raid.

Page 119

XV. For 'shopt' read 'chopt,' i.e. marked with the official seal (*chhāp*).

XVI. The 'Meerbar' was the *Amīr-al-Bahr* ('Lord of the Sea'). For a similar office in the Maldives see Pyrard (vol. 1, pp. 90, 211).

XVIII. In the official version this article refers solely to the prohibition of any interference on the part of the city officers with the jurisdiction of the English over their servants.

Page 120

XX. More specifically, this article provides that, if any official wished to purchase goods from the English, the transaction should take place in the presence of the Governor, 'and he to be obliged to see us paid.'

XXI. In the official version it is made clear, as regards the last paragraph, that what the English desired was to be allowed to ship or land goods at Broach, Cambay, or other ports, instead of being confined to Surat. This would have given a useful check to the rapacity of the Surat officials.

Page 121

XXIV. From the official version it appears that Mīr Nizāmī had not actually seized their *bandar*, but had encroached upon it in making a garden, while others 'forceably bring their shippes and vessells thither.'

XXV. The rate is given in the official version as 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ rupces, not 2 $\frac{1}{2}$; and this is confirmed by O.C. 5686. The refund of the excess was also solicited.

XXVIII. The official version says that the ship was delivered to Bowcher by 'Maut-mutt Caune' (Salābat Muhammad Khān), and gives the name of Bowcher's broker as 'Mudam Vorah' (? Madan Vora).

Page 122

XXIX. The complaint was that goods for which an export duty had already been paid in Bengal or Sind were again subjected to customs at Surat; and the refund of the moncy thus extorted was demanded.

XXXI. The names here given are Mīrza Ma'sūm and Mīrza Muhammad 'Arif respectively.

XXXIII. The word 'my' should be eliminated. The stipulation was that the fighting between the English in Bengal and the imperial forces should not be made a pretext for action against the English in Western India.

XXXIV. The incident referred to occurred at Mazagon in May 1683.

XXXV. The official version runs: 'That wee be not detained in Suratt towne as prisoners on the humour of the Governor and impudence of his porters and petty officers, but have free liberty at all seasonable times to goe out of the severall gates as wee please, without being affronted and abused.'

It is not true that Child began the war without sending his demands to the Emperor; they were expressly forwarded for the latter's consideration, and were delivered to the Governor of Surat as his representative. As regards his assuming the offensive, Child had for justification not only the provocation received from the Surat authorities, but also the fact that his fellow countrymen had been driven out of Bengal; and he had full authority from home to take up a firm attitude in the matter. Hamilton, however, was determined to see no good in any of Child's actions.

Page 123

The *Straits Merchant* was taken to Bombay and condemned by the Admiralty Court there (November 1687) as an interloper and therefore a lawful prize (O.C. 5644). The Siamese vessel was the *Satisfaction*, and was seized on the same grounds as the other, it being alleged that she was really the property of a British subject (O.C. 5639). As regards Wren's death a Bombay letter of 30 November 1687 (O.C. 5635) says: 'The commander of the Syam shipp, one Ranns, being obstinate, was wounded, and some days after deceased. He was (as reported) an ill man, contemned His Majesties authority, and slighted all.' The Mr 'Clive' mentioned as being supercargo of the *Straits Merchant*, is probably the 'Edward Clyve' referred to by Ovington (p. 260).

Page 124

The *Royal James and Mary* was one ship, not two. She was named, of course, after James II and his consort.

Danda Rājpurī is on the mainland, opposite to the fortified island of Janjira, which was the Sidi's headquarters.

For Captain Hilder see the Stracheys' book, p. 62, etc.

The Sidi of Janjira, Yākūt Khān, was commander of the imperial fleet. According to O.C. 5738 he attacked Bombay of his own accord, without waiting for orders from the court.

Page 125

A detailed account of the siege of Bombay will be found in *Factory Records, Bombay*, vol. III. The date of the Sidi's landing at Sewri (a little to the north of Bombay) was the early morning of 15 February 1689.

'Security' is used in its old sense of careless confidence.

Page 126

'Captain Pean' was Lieutenant Paul Paine. The other officer was Ensign Alexander Monro.

Page 127

The factors imprisoned at Surat included Bartholomew Harris, John Gladman, and Samuel Annesley. By 'particular merchants' Hamilton means private traders, such as himself. For Captain Yeoman see *supra*, p. xvi.

For Sir John Wyborne's proceedings at St Helena see a printed petition to the House of Commons from residents in that island (I.O. Library). From this it appears that the Deputy Governor was Robert Holden, not Johnson: nothing is said about his being killed; the accused were tried by court-martial (as sanctioned by royal charter); and although fourteen were condemned, only five were hanged. Wyborne died on 26 November 1688 (O.C. 5659).

Page 128

'Moody' is *modī*, a steward.

The 'Sevagees' were Marātha mercenaries.

By 'winter months' is meant the rainy season.

The account here given of the negotiations is very incomplete. In April 1689 the Governor of Surat, Mukhtār Khān, made overtures to Child through the Portuguese, inviting the General to meet him at Damān to arrange matters. Child replied, declining to leave Bombay while it was besieged, but offering to send representatives. This proposal was accepted, and George Weldon, Barker Hibbins, and Abraham Navarro were despatched accordingly at the end of May. On arriving at Damān they found that Mukhtār Khān was not there, but had appointed certain commissioners to act for him, headed by Mīr Nizāmī. After prolonged negotiations an agreement was reached; but as the

Emperor's assent was necessary, it was proposed that both sides should proceed to court and obtain the necessary *farmān*. Weldon and Navarro therefore started on 10 December for the imperial headquarters, which were in the Deccan, not, as stated by Hamilton, at 'Jehanabant' (i.e. Shāhjahānābad, New Delhi). When the envoys arrived (19 December) Aurangzeb was just setting out for Bijāpur, and thither they were obliged to accompany him (for an account of their journey see Brit. Mus. Sloane MS 1910, f. 45). The outcome was the issue of a *farmān*, dated 22 February 1690, pardoning the English and allowing them to resume their trade on the old footing, contingent upon their paying 150,000 rupees as a present to the Emperor, restoring the ships and goods they had seized, and dismissing Child (O.C. 5702). For Hamilton's statement that Child was allowed nine months in which to leave, no confirmation has been found; but there may have been an understanding to that effect, and this would mitigate the blow to Child, who was anxious to go home. Mukhtār Khān was recalled to court, and Itimād Khān was appointed to succeed him. An imperial *farmān* to the new Governor, it should be noted, materially modified the harshness of the terms imposed upon the English. They were allowed a sum of 80,000 rupees as compensation for their property seized at Surat; and several of the grievances of which they had complained were ordered to be redressed, while others were left to the Governor's discretion to remedy (O.C. 5704).

Page 129

Child died on 4 February 1690 (O.C. 5709).

The factors stated that Mīr Nizāmī was trying to extort large sums from the English envoys and that his death facilitated the conclusion of an agreement.

For the Dutch embassy to Aurangzeb see Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. II, pp. 383-8. The name of the ambassador was Johannes Bacherus; possibly Hamilton confused him with François Baron, the French Chief at Surat. A letter from Child to Madras, 5 December 1688 (O.C. 5655), mentions a rumour that the Dutch were intriguing at court 'to have us excluded the Mogulls dominions, and offered to pay unto the King on that score three lacks of rupees yearly, and would engage to supply all his ports with ships and made every place more flourishing in trade then ever.'

Page 130

The Sīdī left Bombay on 22 June.

No official version of this *farmān* has been found in the I.O. Records. 'Umbras' is *umāra*, the plural of *amīr* (a noble). 'Assit Caun' is the Wazīr, Asad Khān. The date should be the 33rd (not 31st) year of Aurangzeb's reign.

Page 131

For 'seerpaw' see p. 236. Atlas, as already noted, was satin; while *zarbāft* means gold brocade. 'Cummerbund' (*kamarband*) is now familiar in its Indian sense of a girdle.

A *gurzbardār* was a mace-bearer, but here the term is used of the official who brought the *farmān*. *Hasb-ul-hukm* is wrongly employed in the same sense; its real meaning is an order issued, not directly by the Emperor, but by an official acting under his instructions.

Page 132

In O.C. 5855 Vaux refers to the time when he lived with his 'master,' Sir Josia Child. He was sent out to China in the *Carolina* (Capt. John Harding) in 1682 (not 1684). The Chinese would not permit trade, and so the vessel made her way to Surat, whence in 1684 she sailed for England, Vaux remaining behind. He rose to be Second in Council, and acted as Governor of Bombay for a short time after the death of Sir John Child. In 1692, however, the Company sent out orders suspending him, and in October 1693 he quitted the Surat factory, where he then was, and set up for himself as a private merchant. The date of his death is wrongly given by Hamilton. He was returning on 7 July 1698 from a visit to the *Blessing*, when the boat overturned; Vaux and another occupant were drowned, and Mrs Vaux and Capt. Barber nearly shared the same fate (O.C. 6588). On the banks of the Tāpti, near its mouth, there still stands a tower about thirty feet high, which, although it bears no inscription, has always been known as Vaux's tomb. His journal, ending on 6 July 1698, is now in the British Museum (Add. MS 14253).

Page 133

For Evory and his depredations, see p. 225.

Harris succeeded Child as Governor of Bombay and held the post until his own death on 10 May 1694. Then Annesley officiated until the arrival of Sir John Gayer a week later.

In weighing Hamilton's charges against Annesley it must be remembered that he had had violent disputes with the latter (see Wright, p. 184).

Page 134

Annesley's dismissal was ordered by the Company, in consequence of Gayer's unfavourable report of him.

Since Mr Wright was unable to trace the marriage of Annesley, it may be of interest to mention that Vaux's journal (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 14253) records (f. 84) that the wedding took place on 13 June 1697 in the English factory at Surat, and that the bride was 'Mrs. Susanna Smith.' She was apparently the daughter of Henry Smith, a former member of council at Bombay.

Solomon Lloyd was a prominent factor of the period. Long afterwards he was one of the victims of the massacre at Pulo Condore in March 1705. Nothing has been found in the records concerning his marriage. Gayer's son (also named John) seems to have come out with his father. He was engaged as a factor at Bombay on 28 May 1694, and later became a member of council. Thomas Coleman was a factor, not a schoolmaster. He was sent home in June 1696 on account of his debauched life, but no particulars of his offence were given (O.C. 6227).

Page 135

For the story of the fight of the *Dorrill* with the *Mokha* in July 1697, see Wright, p. 203. Apparently the former vessel was bound for China, and Solomon Lloyd was her supercargo.

Waite was President for the New Company. He was deposed by his own council in November 1708 and sent to England as a prisoner.

Page 136

For the god 'Gunnies' (Ganesh) see the account given on p. 154.

The caves at Elephanta have often been described. The statue of an elephant has long been destroyed, and its remains 'are now heaped on the right of the entrance to the Victoria Gardens at Bombay' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiv, p. 92). The statue of a horse disappeared during the first half of the eighteenth century. Both are figured in *Archæologia*, vol. vii.

Page 137

By 'Salvageo' Hamilton seems to mean either Hog Island or Shewe Island. 'Carronjaa' is Karanja. The Pen River (so-called from the town of that name) is the Bhogāvati Creek, which runs up from the estuary of the Amba River.

'Undra and Cundra' are Underi and Khānderi. Kānhoji Angria obtained possession of the latter in 1713. Five years later the English unsuccessfully attacked it (Downing, pp. xiv, 35-8, and Biddulph, p. 122). Downing gives the name of the Portuguese traitor as Manoel de Castro.

Kolāba ('Culabee') is near Alibāg, and about 20 miles south of Bombay.

The harbour at Chaul is the mouth of the Kundalika River. The fort (Hamilton's Chaul Moar, i.e. Mór) on a peninsula (not an island) on the south side is Korlai.

Page 138

The rock fortified by the Marthas is named Kansa. The shoal referred to is still known as the Whale Reef.

'Zeferdon' is Shrivardhan, five miles north of Bankot. By the islands of 'Horney Coat' (*Kot* = fort) Hamilton means (1) the well-known fortress of Suvarndrug, captured by the English in 1755, and (2) a small island, with the remains of fortifications, commanding the bay of Harnai.

'Sanguseer' is Sangamēshwar, a town on the Shāstri River, now no longer a port, owing to the silting up of the creek. It is mentioned by Barbosa (vol. i, p. 167) as a place of considerable trade. 'Raparees' is the Irish term 'rapparee,' meaning a bandit or freebooter.

This tale about Child and his uncle is characteristically inaccurate. The latter's name was not Goodshaw, but (John) Goodyear or Goodier. It is quite probable that Child was sent out, as a boy, to his uncle's care, but the rest of the story is evidently false. Goodyear returned to England of his own accord in 1656, and was again employed by the Company; while he and Child continued to be on the best of terms until the latter's death (*English Factories*, 1655-60, pp. 50, 304).

The rebellion of Prince Akbar took place in 1681, and his coadjutors were the Rājapūts, not the Marāthas, though on its failure the Prince fled to the latter. Afterwards he made his way to Rājāpur and took refuge in Persia, where he died in March 1706. Hamilton's story of his matrimonial alliance with the Persian royal family is not confirmed.

Page 139

Ephraim Bendall (and probably Stephens) had been left at Muskat by the interloper Say. Bendall afterwards joined the Company's service.

'Beteellas' were a fine kind of muslin.

The natural baths at Rājāpur, which lie at the foot of a hill about a mile from the town, are still much frequented (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. x, p. 361).

Hamilton was right in thinking that Vijaydurg and Gheria were identical.

Mālvan is in N. lat. 16° 4'. The old town is situated on an island called Medha. In 1713 Mālvan was ceded to the Kolhāpur chiefs, whose depredations on shipping soon became very troublesome.

The Dutch settlement at Vengurla was captured by the Khem Sāvant of Sāvantvādi. The Portuguese for 'to burn' is *queimar*.

Page 140

The reefs indicated are the Vengurla Rocks or Burnt Islands.

By Goa Hamilton of course means Old Goa, now largely deserted. The Viceroy's palace and other principal buildings have disappeared.

Page 141

The *Casa de Polvora*, or Powder House, was at Panelim, a suburb of Old Goa.

Properly 'Cannarian' should mean a native of Kanara; but the Portuguese (as here stated) called the Indian Christians of their territory 'Canarin' or 'Canarim.' In Portugal the term means a Eurasian.

'Reynolds' has been explained on p. 222. *Fidalgo* is Portuguese for a nobleman. Tavernier (vol. 1, p. 151) says that 'the Portuguese who go to India have no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope than they all become Fidalgos or gentlemen.'

Page 142

Regalo is Portuguese for 'a dainty.'

The *zerafin* was a small silver coin.

Page 143

In 1683 Goa nearly fell into the hands of a Marātha army under Sambhājī, but the appearance of a Mughal force compelled the invaders to come to terms.

For the shrine of St Francis Xavier see Pyrard, vol. II, pt. I, p. 62.

Page 144

'Fage in' means 'to insert.' 'Bonzec' is a Buddhist priest (*bonzi*).

Page 145

Eugenia (Jambosa) malaccensis is the Malay apple. It is described by Orta (p. 236).

The Aguada, a fort commanding the watering-place, is on the north side of the entrance to Goa River.

Page 146

Under the term 'Marmagun Islands' Hamilton appears to include the St George's Islands, Secretario Island, and Marmagao proper, which is really a peninsula. The river of St Lorenzo is the Zuāri.

Albuquerque captured Goa in March 1510, but was forced to abandon it. However, he again took it in the following November, and the Portuguese then retained it permanently.

The Conde de Villa Verde was Viceroy from 1693 to 1698.

'Bangricool' does not appear in modern maps.

Cape Ramas is not the southern limit of Portuguese territory.

Page 147

'Sevaseer' is evidently Sadāshivgad, on the northern bank of the Kālinadi.

By 'Merzee' is meant Mirjān, on an inlet to the south of Ankola.

The final campaign of the Mughals against the King of Bijāpur began in 1682, and in November of the following year Aurangzeb himself took command of the operations. The city of Bijāpur (which is not on a mountain) was besieged from April 1685 to September 1686, when it surrendered and the King became a captive. With the exception of a period of imprisonment in Daulatābād, he was carried about in the train of Aurangzeb until released by death (April 1700).

'Gatti' is Hamilton's name for the Western Ghāts.

Page 148

No confirmation has been found in the India Office Records of this story of the German sportsman and his English friend. There was, however, one of the Company's factors at Kārwar whose name was William Goring. He cannot be traced after 1682, and a letter from Surat in August 1684 refers to his having been poisoned by an Indian (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. xci, p. 189). It seems probable that he was the person referred to; but he was the son, not of Lord Goring, but of Sir Henry Goring, Bart., M.P.

The animal here described is the chevrotain or mouse deer (*Tragulus memmina*). Its Marāthī name is *pisai*.

Page 150

The 'poon' or mast-wood tree is *Calophyllum inophyllum*.

The war with the Sonda Rāja in 1717 (not 1718) is narrated in Downing, pp. ix, 18-22. The chief of the Kārwar factory at the time was George Taylor. Hamilton was the commodore of the naval forces engaged, though he modestly refrains from naming himself as such.

Page 151

The 'Saw Rajah' is Rāja Shāhū, the head of the Marāthas.

Page 152

'Botickeer' is the Portuguese *botiquiro*, a shopkeeper.

Page 153

The hook-swinging ceremony has been described by many travellers.

Page 154

'Gunnies' is of course Ganesh, the elephant-god.

Page 155

This picturesque story lacks corroboration. The *Bhatta* (necromancer) could not have seen the *Mexico Merchant* at anchor anywhere near the Cape of Good Hope 40 days before she reached Kārwār, for she quitted England at the end of 1682, reached Siam in September 1683, sailed again in January 1684, and arrived at Kārwār some time that spring. She left that place on 6 October 1684 and reached Surat 18 days later (O.C. 5270). John Walsall had been Chief of Kārwār from 1681, but he was suspended at the end of January 1683 and summoned to Surat. There he remained, out of employment, until the end of 1684, when he was again sent to Kārwār. He was at the latter place in July 1685, and that is the last trace found of him (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. v, pp. 17, 133; vol. xci, pp. 66, 77, 189; vol. xcii, pp. 7, 13, 173). The actual chief at Kārwār when the *Mexico Merchant* was there was Robert Harbin, but the story could not relate to him, as he too survived the visit. A somewhat similar anecdote, regarding a prophecy by a Brahman of the arrival of an English ship at Surat, is given by Ovington (p. 206).

The islands at the mouth of the Kārwār River are Sunghiri and Kurmagad.

Page 156

The reef referred to is the Kārwār Rock, near Kārwār Head.

The harbours named are Ankola, Kadme (at the head of the Tadri estuary), and Mīrjān.

'Onoar' is Honāwar, called Onor by the Portuguese.

The temple of Rām-tīrth lies about two miles north of Honāwar. Della Valle (vol. II, p. 205) describes the tank and its fish.

Page 158

By 'Baydour' Hamilton seems to mean Bednūr (Bidarūr), now known as Nagar, about 25 miles S.E. of Bhatkal. It succeeded Ikkeri as the seat of government about 1640.

'Batacola' is Bhatkal, in lat. 13° 59' N. I have failed to find in the records any confirmation of the massacre here related. There does not appear to have been any factory at Bhatkal at the time, nor can I discover the name of John Best among the Company's factors. Possibly the tale is an exaggeration of some incident that occurred during the visit of a ship to that port.

'Pagod' is a Hindu temple.

The island here referred to as 'St. Mary' would appear, from the position assigned, to be Netrāmi (Pigeon) Island. The St Mary Isles lie about 20 miles south of Bhatkal.

Page 159

'Barceloar' is Basrūr, in lat. 13° 38' N.

'Baccanoar' is Bārūr, and 'Molkey' Mulki (about 15 miles north of Mangalore).

Page 160

For the Arab raid on Mangalore see *supra*, p. 51, and O.C. 6035.

The two seaports referred to are Manjeshwar (12 miles south of Mangalore) and Bekal (22 miles farther south). The latter has a fine fort on a bold headland, which, Hamilton, viewing it from the sea, may well have taken for an island. He seems to have heard the name as 'Decully.'

Hendrick Adriaan, Baron van Rhede, died, as described, at sea off Bombay, but in December 1691, not 1694. His magnificent tomb may still be seen in the Dutch cemetery at Surat.

Page 161

In the absence of the list said to have been furnished to Van Rhede, it seems useless to attempt to identify its items, as here printed. The names appear to be in some cases titles of chiefs, in others place-names. 'Nade' is *Nād*, a group of villages; 'Nambouries' is *Nambūtiris*, the predominant class of Brahmans; while 'Nambiar' is *Nambiyār*.

Page 162

Cannanore is well known. Tanūr is about 70 miles farther south. Porakād lies about 40 miles below Cochin. 'Paarow' is Parūr, in Travancore. Zamorin or Samorin was the title of the ruler of Calicut.

By 'Angelique' is meant anjeli-wood (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, the jack-fruit tree).

Cassia fistula and *Cocculus Indicus* were both used in medicine.

Page 163

For the tradition of the conversion of King Chērumān Perumāl to Islam, and his division of the kingdom, see Barbosa, vol. II, p. 3, and Baldaeus (*Beschryvinge van Malabar*), p. 99. 'Callistree' is Kōlattiri, the title of the ruler of Cannanore. 'Ticorie' is Trikkodi. 'Chitawa' is Chetwai, about 20 miles below Ponnāni. 'Attinga' is Attingal, four miles inland from Anjengo. It was the capital of a small kingdom. 'Coil' is explained later.

Mount Deli is a headland, 720 feet high, a few miles north of Cannanore.

The Balliapattam River is the Valarpattanam. The English factory was at the town of that name, five miles north of Cannanore, and was founded in 1669.

Cannanore was captured by the Dutch in February 1663 (see *Batavia Dagb-Register*, 1663, p. 178).

Page 164

By 'Adda Rajah' Hamilton means the Alī Rāja, who was the head of the Mopla community and was originally the chief minister of the Rāja of Cannanore, though by this time he had become independent. The Portuguese called him *Adar-rajao* (Pyrard, vol. II, pt. II, p. 504).

Page 165

By 'Ommitree' is intended Unnitiri, the reigning Kōlattiri Rāja of Cannanore.

Page 166

'Dormepatam' is Darmapattanam, about two miles N.W. of Tellicherry. 'Cacca Diva' is Kakka (Crow) Island.

'Cayar' is the 'coir' of the present day. By 'cask' is meant of course, 'shell.'

Ambergris, a secretion formed in the stomach or intestines of the spermaceti whale, is found throughout the tropic seas.

Tellicherry was long an important English settlement. The stone wall mentioned by Hamilton as surrounding the town no longer exists.

Page 167

References to fighting at Tellicherry from 1721 to 1726 will be found in the *Orme MSS* in the I.O. Library (*O.V.* 185, p. 59) and in Logan (vol. 1, p. 356). Logan (vol. 1, p. 348) doubts the accuracy of Hamilton's statement concerning the cause of the war.

The French factory was at Mahé (Māyēli). It was established in 1722.

'Burgara' is Badagara, just north of the Kōtta River; and 'Ballanore' is a corruption of *Vālunnavar*, 'ruler.'

Page 168

Manilha is the Portuguese for a bracelet.

Page 169

'Mealie' is the Māyēli mentioned above.

Page 170

'Tecorie,' as already noted, is Trikkodi. 'Cottica' is Kōttakkal, three miles south of Badagara, at the mouth of the Kōtta River.

According to Fryer (vol. 1, p. 144) Sacrifice Rock derived its name from 'a bloody butchery on some English by the pirate Malabars.'

Page 171

Jaggery (coarse sugar) and copra are well-known products of the coco-nut palm.

Logan (vol. 1, p. 162) confirms the statement that anciently the Zamorin reigned only for 12 years and then a successor was chosen; but he doubts the truth of the allegation that the superseded monarch committed suicide.

Page 172

For the festival at which attempts were made upon the Zamorin's life see Logan (vol. 1, p. 164) and Frazer's *Golden Bough* (third edition, vol. iv, p. 47).

Ponnāni, about 35 miles south of Calicut, was the residence of the Zamorin.

Page 173

The term *Nāyar* is familiar. 'Teyvees' are the *Tīyan* caste, mostly peasants; 'Poulias' are the *Pulayan* caste; while 'Muckwas' are the *Mukkuwan*. By 'Poullichees' Hamilton seems to mean the *Nāyādis*, the lowest caste among the Hindus (Logan, vol. 1, p. 152).

Page 174

The mountain in Ceylon is Adam's Peak, in the S.W. part of the island.

Page 175

For the hostilities here mentioned see Logan, vol. 1, p. 349. The foundations of the Dutch fort at Chetwai are still visible. Its capture is thus referred to in an abstract of a letter written by Hamilton from Mokha on 15 April 1716 (apparently to a London correspondent, who communicated it to the East India Company): 'Our neighbours the Hollanders engaged last year in a bloody warr with the Samorin, a very potent king of the Mallabar, about a little fort called Chittua, built by the Dutch and surpriz[ed] and demolished by the Samorin. The ground where it stood is presented by the Samorin to the English Company, who have hoisted their colours there. The Samorin stood on the defensive, but has given the Dutch two defeats; and now we hear that he besieges Couchin, a very strong city and the emporium of the Dutch Company on the coast of Mallabar. It cannot hold out a seige very long, for want of provisions; so that, if the Dutch do not accomodate matters, beleive [they will] loose the whole pepper of that coast' (*Home Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. VII, no. 208).

Page 177

Chess-trees were two pieces of wood projecting on each side of the ship to confine the lower corners of the mainsail. According to Logan (vol. 1, p. 74) Hamilton's ship probably struck what is now known as the Coots Reef. There could not have been at this spot any remains of Portuguese buildings under water, though there is a local belief to that effect.

Capt. Thomas Green, of the East Indiaman *Worcester*, was hanged for piracy and murder at Leith in April 1705, together with his chief mate (Mather or Madder) and his gunner. His ship had been driven into the Firth of Forth by stress of weather, and had there been seized in retaliation for the arrest in the Thames of the Scottish East India Company's vessel *Annandale*. During the detention of the *Worcester* rumours began to circulate that she had engaged in piracy and had been responsible for the destruction of the *Speedy Return*, another of the Scottish Company's vessels. Public feeling against England and the English East India Company was running high, and when Green and his officers were put on their trial a verdict of guilty was almost a foregone conclusion. Before the sentence was carried out, evidence arrived which showed that the prisoners could not have had a hand in the fate of the *Speedy Return*; but a mob demonstration so alarmed the authorities that they refrained from interfering and the sentence was carried out. That the execution was unwarranted is now admitted; though Andrew Lang (*Historical Mysteries*, p. 193) contends (largely upon Hamilton's statements) that Green had been guilty of piracy as regards some unknown vessel. See also Insh, p. xvi.

Page 178

Beypur, on the Beypur River, lies six miles south of Calicut.

Page 179

The remains of the Dutch fort at Crānganūr are still visible.

For the Jews of these parts consult Logan (vol. 1, p. 247). The synagogue mentioned is still to be seen at Mattanchēri, near Cochin.

Page 180

'Baypin' is now known as Vypīn or Vaipīn. It lies opposite to Cochin, on the northern side.

'Palliapore' seems to be Pallipuram.

Verapoli is nine miles N.E. of Cochin. It is now the seat of a Roman Catholic archbishop (see Logan, vol. 1, p. 210). The 'St. Thomas's' or Syrian Christians are dealt with in the same volume (p. 199).

'Topases' were half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

Page 181

The disease here mentioned (sometimes called Cochin leg) is elephantiasis.

Page 182

'Tillnigue' is a confused form of 'Telugu.'

Cochin was captured on 28 December 1662. The Dutch commander's name was Rijkloff van Goens. The story that he concealed the news of the conclusion of peace is palpably untrue; it was not known at Batavia until June 1663, and the Portuguese did not hear of it until later still.

Page 183

By 'Pharnabuke' is meant Pernambuco.

The English had no factory at Cochin at the time of its capture.

'Angelique' has been explained on p. 249. 'Pawbeet' is possibly *parbati*, i.e. *Dalbergia lanceolata*, which is common in those parts.

'Mudbay' is probably the remarkable mud bank off Alleppi. 'St. Andrea' has not been traced.

Page 184

The modern form of 'Coilcoiloan' (in 8° 53' 28'') is Kayangulam.

'Coiloan' is Quilon. It was captured by the Dutch in 1661.

By 'Erwa' may be meant Edawa, which is in about the position indicated. No confirmation has been found of the statement regarding the presence of the Danes at this spot.

Anjengo was a well-known English settlement. 'Brinjan' is Viliñjam, about seven miles below Trivandrum; while 'Ruttera' is a village lying between the two and now known as Covalam.

Page 185

For the murder of William Gifford, Chief of Anjengo, and his party, see Downing, p. 41. It took place in April 1721.

'Tegnapatam' is Taingapatnam, in lat. $8^{\circ} 13\frac{1}{2}'$ N.

'Colicha' would appear to be the modern Kolachal, but that place is rather over 20 miles west of Cape Comorin.

By 'Manapaar' is intended Manappād, about halfway between Cape Comorin and Tuticorin.

Page 186

From p. 187 it appears that 'Coil' (*Kāysal*, 'a backwater') here means the island of Rāmeswaram, separating Palk Strait from the Gulf of Manār. The pearl fishery in that gulf is well known.

'Circumvene' is a Scottish form of 'circumvent,' now obsolete.

'Charta Souri,' now represented by Surakarta, in the centre of Java, was the residence of the Susunan or Emperor; while Samarang, on the northern coast, was its port. The Susunan Mangkurat Mas succeeded in 1701, but the Dutch refused to recognize him and in 1704 placed another candidate on the throne. Mangkurat Mas surrendered in 1708, and was thereupon deported to Ceylon (Raffles' *History of Java*, vol. II, p. 230). According to Valentijn (vol. IV, p. 203) Galle was the place of his imprisonment.

Page 187

The island is Kalpentin.

The Portuguese fort at Colombo was built in 1518. 'Candia' is of course Kandy. The Dutch captured Galle in 1640. The 'river' at Pantura is only an inlet of the sea. Hamilton's account of the Dutch conquest of Colombo is quite inaccurate. For example, the Portuguese commander's name was Gaspar Figueiro, and the city was only taken after a siege lasting from October 1655 to May 1656. The story of the fleet action is also incorrect.

Page 188

'Somereras' represents the Portuguese *sombreiro*.

Of the places named, 'Calkissie' is Galkissa, six miles south of Colombo; 'Barbarin' is Beruwala, a little below Kalutara; 'Valta' has not been identified; Mathura or Matara is near Dondra Head; Batticaloa, Trinkomali, and Jaffna are well-known; 'Biblegam' is Weligama.

Page 189

This account of the attempt of the French, under Blanquet de La Haye, to establish a settlement at Trinkomali (1672) is wrong in several details (see Kaëppelin's *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 89). Hamilton has also confused Martin (François, not Jean) with François Caron; and his allegation that Martin was imprisoned for life at Batavia is untrue.

Page 190

'Baxias' is the Portuguese *baixo*, a shoal.

Page 191

Point Pedro (Palmyra Point) is the northern extremity of Ceylon.

The Temple of the Tooth (reputed to be a relic of Buddha) at Kandy is well known.

Page 192

For a full account of the Maldives see Pyrard de Laval.

Cowry shells were extensively used as small currency in many parts of Southern Asia and Africa.

Page 193

The bonito is of the same family as the mackerel and the tunny. 'Comelamash' is the Maldivian word *kalu-bili-mās*, meaning 'black-bonito-fish.' For 'shade' see p. 229.

'Chingulay' represents 'Singalese,' from *Sinhala*, the native name for Ceylon.

The King's island is Málé. Pyrard declared that there were no walled towns in the Maldives.

It is not possible to locate 'Hammandow' with certainty; though, from the position given, Filladu may be meant.

'Trincumbar' is Tranquebar.

Page 194

Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, the first Protestant missionaries, established themselves at Tranquebar in 1718.

As stated, Porto Novo was known locally as Mahmūd Bandar (Love, vol. 1, p. 517).

Cuddalore, about 20 miles south of Pondicherry, was acquired by the English in 1682, and eight years later they built Fort St David, two miles to the N.N.E., on ground purchased from the Marātha prince, Rām Rāja.

Page 195

Manucci (vol. III, p. 369) confirms the statement regarding the Dutch factory; it was in the town of Tevenapatam. 'Indrapoura' is on the west coast of Sumatra.

The attack on Cuddalore (not Fort St David) was made in February 1698, by the forces of Sulaimān Khān, a Mughal official, not by 'freebooters.' William Hatsell was then Governor of Fort St David, not William Fraser, who was at Madras at the time and did not succeed to Hatsell's post until May 1699. See *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. III A, pp. 351, 357, 360.

'Refounded' is an obsolete form of 'refunded.'

Page 196

'Sallampores' and 'morecs' were varieties of blue cotton cloth. 'Demities' is familiar in its European form of 'dimity.' 'Ginghams' were striped or chequered cloths. For 'Succatoons' see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. 'Suclat.'

Pondicherry was captured by the Dutch in 1693, and restored six years later, under the terms of the treaty of Ryswick.

'Connymere' is Kunimedu, about 13 miles north of Pondicherry.

The Seven Pagodas (Mahabalipur), 33 miles south of Madras, still attract many visitors.

Page 197

Sadras is 42 miles south of Madras.

Longcloth was a variety of calicoes specially made for exportation to Europe.

'Cabelon' is Covelong (Kovalam), about 20 miles south of Madras. The Imperial East India Company of Ostend was founded in 1722.

San Thomé has now been absorbed into Madras.

Page 198

The native name of Madras was Chennappapatam.

Page 199

The account given of the founding of Fort St George is quite wrong. It was built in 1640, on ground acquired the previous year. Sir William Langhorn did not become Governor until 1672.

The Dutch settled at Pulicat long before the English established themselves at Madras.

Page 200

The statement that the Governor was the Pope's legate is not to be taken literally. A tight hand was, however, kept over the Capuchin Fathers who ministered at Madras, and the English refused to recognize any right of interference on the part of the Roman Catholic authorities.

Elihu Yale was Governor from 1687 to 1692, and Joseph Collet from 1717 to 1720.

Junkseylon is an island off the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, in lat. 8° N.

Page 201

As pointed out in the Introduction, Hamilton's voyage was made in 1718, not a year later.

That a Siamese ambassador was in London in September 1684 is shown by an entry in Evelyn's *Diary*; but there is no evidence that a treaty was concluded, and in point of fact 'ambassadors' from oriental countries were not empowered to negotiate; they merely brought presents and letters.

'Bencock' is Bangkok.

The pamphlet mentioned appears to be the *Essay upon Friendship*, written by Joshua Draper, extracts from which are given by Col. Love at p. 217 of his second volume. But its object was to praise Francis Hastings, not Collet. Perhaps Hamilton's memory deceived him.

For particulars of the fortification of Black Town (1700-7) see Love, vol. II, p. 7. Thomas Pitt was Governor from 1698 to 1709.

Page 202

This Captain Hart may have been either Samuel Hart, who appears in Madras lists of seafarers in 1696-1700, or Rawson Hart, who is entered in a similar list for 1714.

The gold pagoda (so called from the idol depicted on it) had long been the standard coin of Southern India. At the time of their establishing themselves at Madras the English obtained authority to mint these coins. In 1692 permission to mint rupees as well was procured from Prince Kām Bakhsh, son of Aurangzeb.

For accounts of the diamond mines see Tavernier (vol. II, p. 56), Streynsham Master (vol. II, p. 172), Bowrey (p. 112), etc.

The history of Pitt's diamond is given in *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 125, Sir Cornelius Dalton's *Life of Thomas Pitt*, p. 238, and Love, vol. II, p. 2. Samuel Glover, whose connexion with the transaction has not been elucidated, was a free merchant at Madras.

Page 203

A 'coveit' is a cubit (Port. *covado*).

China root was the tuber of various species of *Smilax*, much used in medicine. Several varieties of galangal are grown in India, principally for employment as drugs.

Page 204

Armagon is 35 miles north of Pulicat, and was the seat of an English factory from 1626 to 1640. Kistnapatam lies another 30 miles to the northwards, on a backwater. 'Carrera' is Karēdu, at the mouth of the Manner River. 'Pettipoly' (Peddapalli), now called Nizāmpatam, is a coast town 36 miles W.S.W. of Masulipatam.

'Diu Point' is now called Point Divi.

The English agency at Masulipatam was dissolved in 1687, but re-established later.

For the bridge at Masulipatam see Bowrey, p. 62.

Page 205

The 'islands of Diu' (Divi) are part of the Kistna delta. 'Shaii' is chay (Indian madder), the root-bark of which yields a beautiful red dye.

Chicacole is in Ganjam district. For the attempt to secure Divi Island, and its failure, see Love, vol. II, p. 155. Hamilton's version is inaccurate.

Narsāpur is on the Vasishta branch of the Godāvari, about six miles from its mouth and 39 from Masulipatam.

'Corrango' is now spelt Coringa. 'Angerang' is Injaram, a village five miles south of Coringa. The 'large deep river' is the Godāvari.

'Watraw' is Wattauda, 32 miles S.W. of Vizagapatam.

Page 206

Simon (not Simeon) Holcomb died in May 1705, and his tomb is still to be seen at Vizagapatam. As here related, he had borrowed a large sum of money for his private purposes from the Nawab, Fakrullah Khān, and had given the Company's bond for it.

Failing to obtain satisfaction, in February 1710 the Nawāb besieged the factory, but withdrew on a promise that instructions should be sought from Madras. The Governor and Council proffered, in part payment, bonds due from other chiefs, but these were, not unnaturally, rejected. Some months later Fakrullah Khān, becoming impatient, again attacked the factory, but was repulsed. He continued to invest it until May 1711, when a compromise was reached, by which he was paid over 20,000 rupees. No mention is made in the records of the punishment alleged to have been inflicted by him on Āgapa. Hamilton's statement that he was at Vizagapatam in 1709 is only correct if we understand him to mean (February) 1709-10 (by the old style of reckoning 1 January to 24 March belonged to the previous year).

Francis Hastings had been Chief at Vizagapatam from 1706. He was afterwards (1720-21) Governor of Fort St George.

Page 207

The following accounts of Baillie's punishment are given in the *Abstracts of Letters from the Coromandel Coast* (I.O. Records): 'Ninth November, try'd John Bailie, who deserted at Vizagapatam, as per consultation. [He] was proved guilty. Has twice run the gantlet; was design'd a third course, but he stab'd himself with a penknife, tho not mortally. He is a harden'd villain, and deserves to be hanged, if [they] were sure they had power' (22 December 1711). 'Bailie, who deserted from Vizagapatam, dy'd in prison the 26th February' (14 October 1712).

It was not Fakrullah Khān, but his superior officer, Habib Khān, who was the hero of this episode, which is thus described in the abstract of a letter from Madras dated 17 October 1711: 'He came suddenly with a strong body of horse to make Mr. Hastings a visit; but finding the English in arms, received a small present, was goodhumour'd, and went away.' This affords no support to Hamilton's story of Horden's action.

Page 208

The temple near Vizagapatam appears to be that of Venkateshwaran.

The reef of 'Sancta Pilla' is now known as the Santapilly Rocks.

The three ports mentioned are Pundi (43 miles N.E. of Chicacole), Kalingapatam (15 miles E.N.E. of the same place), and Sonapur (in lat. 19° 7').

The river at Ganjam is the Rushikulya.

Page 209

'Chowdrie' is *chaudharī*, a district revenue officer.

Several varieties of the genus *Cybium* are included under the term 'seer-fish.'

'Orixa' is the Portuguese spelling of 'Orissa.' By 'Oria' Hamilton means *Uriya*, which is really the adjectival form, and is now chiefly applied to the language.

'Illure' has not been traced, unless it be Palur. The frontier station is now Prayāgi.

Page 210

Mānikpatam is near the mouth of the Chilka Lake (Hamilton's 'great inlet'), and 20 miles west of Puri.

Page 211

Hamilton's comparison of the tower of the Jagannāth temple to a large wine cask is far from happy, and the illustration he gives is cruder still. 'Thimble-shaped' would be a rather better description, if to this we add the round finial, surmounted by the wheel and flag of Vishnu. The projection halfway up the tower really represents, not an ox, but an elephant with a lion on its back.

For the daily distribution of rice see Tavernier, vol. II, p. 177. The weight of the candy is wrongly given; it is usually reckoned as equivalent to about 500 English pounds.

Page 212

The idol is of wood, not stone.

Non-Hindus are still rigorously excluded from the temple.

For the car of Jagannāth see Bowrey, p. 17.

Page 214

According to the list given in Hunter's *Orissa* (vol. II, p. 190) the Rāja in 1708 was Drabya Sinh Deva.

Page 215

'Arsipore' is Harisipur Garh, at the mouth of the Pātuā.

'Junkaun' is *chungam* (customs, or toll); while 'passage-gilt' is an old English expression for 'passage-money.'

'Raypore' is not now traceable. The 'river of Cuttack' is the Mahānadi. Its chief mouth is south of False Point, but Hamilton is probably referring to some other outlet. The whole coast hereabouts has been much changed since his day, for many of the channels have been silted up and the coastline altered.

Cuttack stands on the Kāṭjuri River, near its junction with the Mahānadi.

The siege of the city may have occurred during the Afghan revolt of 1695-98.

The statement as to the source of the Mahānadi is quite wrong.

Page 216

Talinga was the name applied to the country east of Bijapur, lying between the Kistna and the Godāvari.

I have found no evidence that the English ever had a factory at Cuttack.

'Seerbands' were muslins used for turbans. For 'sannoos' see Bowrey, p. 231.

Page 217

Bhadrakh is on the Sālandi, 43 miles S.W. of Balasore. 'Cunnaca' seems to have disappeared.

By 'the island of Palmeira' may be meant Maipāra Island.

'Cunnaca River' is apparently the Dhāmra.

Balasore is at the mouth of the Burābalang.

'Pamplee' is a genus of sea-fish (*Stromateus*) in good repute for the table (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. 'Pomfret').

'Doll' is the Hindustānī *dāl*, a kind of pulse. 'Callavances' is a general term for pulse.

For the muslins here mentioned see Bowrey, pp. 133, 230, 290. 'Herba' goods were made from rhea or some similar fibre.

Page 218

An account of the dilapidated remains of the European factory buildings at Balasore will be found in Hunter's *Orissa* (vol. II, p. 45).

Between 1667 and 1687 there were no less than five Goodlads commanding ships in the East India Company's service. The one referred to in the text was probably William Goodlad, captain of the *Loyal Subject*, who was at Balasore in 1672 (see Bowrey, p. 90 n.).

