









THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PORTUGUESE,  
During the REIGN of  
EMMANUEL:

CONTAINING  
All their DISCOVERIES, from the Coast  
of AFRICK to the farthest Parts of CHINA ;  
their Battles by Sea and Land, their Sieges, and  
other memorable Exploits : With a Descrip-  
tion of those Countries, and a particular Ac-  
count of the Religion, Government, and Cus-  
toms of the Natives.

Including also,  
Their DISCOVERY of the BRAZILS,  
AND  
Their WARS with the MOORS.

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Written originally in Latin  
By JEROME OSORIO, Bishop of Sylves.

Now first translated into English  
By JAMES GIBBS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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To the HONOURABLE

Sir George Lyttelton, Baronet,  
One of the Lords Commissioners of His  
MAJESTY's Treasury, &c.

SIR,

THE original of the following work having been held in great esteem by the late Mr. DRYDEN and Mr. POPE, and your judging it also highly worthy of appearing in our language, emboldens me to prefix your name to this translation.

I am sensible of the difficulty I labour under, in fixing on a patron of such exquisite taste, and so well acquainted with the beauties of the original; but your candour and humanity will, I hope, plead for some indulgence to a first attempt.

However, though OSORIUS may not now make so graceful and majestic a figure as in his Roman garb, yet I flatter myself you will still know him, and receive him into your protection.

He

## DEDICATION.

He has too long remained buried in obscurity, or at least known to a very few ; but as he now appears in an English dress, with the advantage of being recommended by so good a judge, I am persuaded that all who pretend to Taste will be fond of being acquainted with him.

I might now, Sir, as a dedicator, assume the part of a panegyrist ; and display a character which would appear truly great and amiable : but I will deny myself that satisfaction, rather than offer the least violence to your delicacy ; especially seeing you need only look into your own breast, where you will find nothing but what will give you the most rational pleasure.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

James Gibbs.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PORTUGUESE, &c.  
IN TWELVE BOOKS.

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BOOK I.

**A**LTHO' I am of opinion, most holy prince, that nothing contributes more than history to convey a useful knowledge, or to raise a noble emulation in the human breast; that nothing tends more to the common weal, while, at the same time, nothing furnishes the mind with a more rational and agreeable entertainment; yet, notwithstanding all these inducements, and these too strengthened by the solicitations of my friends, who have often importuned me to write a latin history of our people, I was, however, not a little averse to the engaging in such a work. I had several reasons to dissuade me from an undertaking of this kind; but these two chiefly deterred me: First, the difficulty which, as a historian, I should find in gaining credit to my relation; which, if I could not attain, I should lie under the imputation of falsehood and misrepresentation. Secondly, the danger which I must inevitably run into of giving offence; for if I happened not altogether to gratify the vanity of the ambitious, I saw plainly what a storm of hatred and ill-will would be raised against me. Moreover, such is the humour of mankind, that every one believes only so much as he thinks to be within the reach of his own strength and genius; whatever seems to go beyond the ordinary pitch of greatness or industry, carries, in his opinion, an air of incredibility along with

with it. On the other hand, the ambitious, who fix no bounds to their desires, will be highly provoked, if their ancestors are not loaded with the most extravagant praises. Such are the difficulties which the historian has to encounter in almost every nation, but especially amongst the Portuguese; where the resentment of all is sure to fall on him who ventures upon so bold an attempt. This was the fate of Damianus Goes, who, in his native language, wrote a history of the exploits performed under the admirable conduct, bravery, and almost incredible success of your father king Emmanuel. This historian, said one, has not done justice to the memory of my forefathers; he has not given them such encomiums as their merit deserved. This fellow, said another, has thrown several aspersions on our house, and sullied the honour of its nobility. A third alledged, that he had omitted such and such a thing, which, if properly taken notice of, would have added a lustre to his name and family. Now if it is the part of a wise man to take warning from the dangers of others, surely this one example might be sufficient to make me dread the event of writing a history. There is likewise another difficulty that presents itself; this arises from my holy function, which may be said to have a claim to all my study and application; thence it may seem improper in me, as it were, to withdraw myself from heaven for the sake of more nearly looking into the world, since by my undertaking to treat of secular affairs, I shall appear to neglect what is more particularly within my province, I mean the holy things of religion.

But the greater and more numerous the obstacles were, which I had to surmount in writing a history, thence you may the better judge with what zeal I was pushed on, with what ardor I was inflamed, and how great was the admiration of you and your family, which filled my mind. When you condescended so far, as by a letter, to desire of me what your authority gave you a right to command, yet such is the sweetnes of

your

your temper, that you only entreated me in a friendly manner to write the history of your father, and by doing it in latin, to spread his fame amongst foreign nations; I could not help immediately complying with such request; nor were there wanting several motives to induce me thereto. In the first place, not to have been obedient to your will, would have been, in some measure, a degree of impiety. Besides too, I could not bear to think, that the name of Emmanuel, so deservedly celebrated amongst the Portuguese, should not be equally known and admired amongst all Christian nations. This was likewise another incentive, that in undertaking such a work I was about to relate things so glorious and praise-worthy, that they may be esteemed divine rather than human. For as Emmanuel, by a particular providence, was raised to the royal dignity, so likewise whatever was projected or carried on under his government may be imputed to the remarkable goodness of the Supreme Being. In his reign, many things were done so wonderful, and so visibly under the immediate influence of the Deity, that whoever does not give credit to them, must incur the suspicion of an impious infidelity.

I shall be the more able to accomplish my design by what Damianus Goes has already done. With indefatigable pains, labour, and industry, he searched into letters and records, and extracted from them such materials as I could not have come at without the greatest leisure. There are likewise several particulars that I retain in my memory, partly from the writings, and partly from the conversation of others, which I shall not pass by in silence.

But as in these writings our nation has been promiscuously called Lusitanians and Portuguese, it may not be improper, briefly to enquire into the original of these names. The name of Portugal, (as Andrew Resendius, a man of great learning, makes it appear) is derived from the haven or port of Gale, formerly a little obscure place, situate upon a rising ground on the

river Douro. The harbour was at first resorted to upon the account of fishing ; and it being very convenient for that purpose, this invited numbers of people to settle here : hither, at last, they flocked from all parts, and in time it became a rich and populous city, and was called Portugal ; thence the name extended to the whole kingdom. Portugal does not include, as Paul Jovius said, a very small, but a considerable part of antient Lusitania ; for that part of it which belongs to Portugal, is bounded by the rivers Duero and Guadiana, and is above 320 miles in length. Towards the north, Portugal has so much of Galicia as is contained betwixt the river Duero and that of Minho. Towards the east, beyond the Guadiana, there are likewise several cities belonging to it ; so that what Portugal had added to its territories from Galicia and Andalousia, is equal to what it wants of the antient Lusitania. Now since the name of Portugal was taken from one town, and in progress of time applied to a whole country, it is for that reason highly probable, that from so great a part of Lusitania, the kingdom in general might be so called : therefore I think I may be at liberty to make use of either of these names. But I shall dwell no longer upon this point, as it is very trivial, and of little importance. And in order to come to my present purpose, let me exhort and advise all those who may happen to peruse this book, when they reflect on the many wonderful and surprising things done in our nation in the compass of 26 years, (for so far, or but little farther does this history extend) yet in this short space of time, what immense seas were traversed, what wars were successfully carried on against the most powerful princes, what alarms were despised and got over ! When they consider these things, I say, let them ascribe the glory of such miraculous events not to men, but to God, who has so often manifested his presence in our affairs. This will appear more evident, when we observe, that at any time when the Portuguese were self-confident, and relied on human strength alone,

alone, it was then they were worsted by those very enemies whom they had so often defeated ; thence we may learn how vain and fruitless the utmost efforts of men will be, when unassisted by the divine power.

Thus having premised these things, most illustrious prince, it may not seem improper, nor inconsistent with order, if here I make the beginning of my history.—John the second, king of Portugal, having languished for some time under a tedious distemper, went into that southern and remote part of the kingdom which is bounded by the ocean, and called Algarve, to try if the waters there could be of any effect for the recovery of his health. These waters issue forth in a valley, taking their rise from a rock about six or seven miles distant from the sea ; they are universally esteemed, and thought to be preferable to all other baths in the country. However, the king found no benefit by them, but grew every day worse and worse. Some have entertained a suspicion, that a slow poison had been secretly given him, which wasted him away inwardly. Having perceived that death came very fast upon him, he thought proper to make his will ; in this he appointed his cousin Emmanuel his successor, to whom the crown, by right, must have fallen even though he had died intestate ; for Emmanuel was the son of Ferdinand, brother to Alphonso, whose son John was. John having no legitimate son, for Alphonso, the only one he had by his wife Eleanor, had died by a fall from his horse near the town of Scalabis, now called Sanctarena ; Emmanuel then became heir apparent to the crown. John had indeed another son, named George, by a lady of the first nobility ; but he being illegitimate, by the laws of the realm could not inherit the kingdom ; which of consequence became the lawful right of Emmanuel ; and this was now ratified by the approbation of John himself. He had certainly an extraordinary affection for Emmanuel, and this not so much because of the nearness of blood, as upon the account of a noble and true greatness of

soul which he had discovered in him ; and whenever it was in his power, he never failed to distinguish him by the highest marks of honour and dignity. Besides too, Eleanor the wife of John, a lady remarkable for her virtue, natural affection, and piety, was sister to Emmanuel, whom she loved extremely.

1495 John having thus settled his will, and several religious rites, such as might tend to the eternal welfare of his soul, being performed with great decency, he then quitted this mortal body \*, and shewed such a behaviour in his last moments, as gave a signal proof of his extraordinary virtue and uncommon piety. He was, without doubt, a great and illustrious prince, since he was an enemy to the vicious, a friend to the virtuous, a lover of justice, and possessed of almost every good quality. He was a man of spirit and intrepidity, and in military affairs had given not a few instances of his bravery and vigilance. Such was the greatness of his soul, that though his outward person was confined to his own country, yet his mind extended itself through the whole world. He had formed the grandest schemes, and laid the most noble plans, which, if the execution of them had not been prevented by his untimely death, would have rendered his name for ever illustrious. He loved men of bravery to such a degree, that he would often overlook the blemishes of a person in other respects, if he found him to be of true warlike courage. On the other hand, such a thorough contempt had he for the mean-spirited and cowardly, that he hardly accounted them to be men. In the administration of justice, he observed the strictest impartiality. The rich and great were no more screened than the poor and low, who lived free from oppression, and led a life of tranquillity under the guardianship of such a protector. He did indeed put to death several of the nobility and leading men, even those who were related to him, such as he found to be rebellious subjects and dangerous conspirators ; but had he done

\* A. D. 1495. Oct. 25.

otherwise,

otherwise, he could neither have preserved the dignity, of his crown, nor the safety of his life. He had, likewise, a remarkable sharpness of wit. There are several expressions or sayings attributed to him, which evidently shew the acuteness of his genius. He had a wonderful sagacity in penetrating into the measures of those kings whose faith he could not depend upon ; and by his great liberality he had so far gained over the ruling men in most kingdoms, that by their means he was let into the designs of foreign princes ; and before their schemes were ripe for execution, he was enabled to render them abortive. His people dreaded him not as a king, but loved him as a parent, and not without reason ; for as a father he consulted their good. This expression of his was deservedly admired when he said, “ It was his resolution not to amass riches for himself, from the sweat and labour of his subjects ; but if he sought for wealth, it should be more to supply the necessities of his people than to gratify any private appetite of his own.” Having heard that there was a bird which, when her young ones are killed by the bite of a serpent, tears her breast with her bill, and thus by shedding her own blood is said to recall them to life ; he ordered the image of this bird to be put amongst the badges of his royalty, signifying by this token, that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the welfare of his people. But amongst all those virtues with which he was adorned, none shone more conspicuous than his piety and zeal for religion ; for if his affairs were never so distracted, if the most dangerous conspiracies were forming against him, if the greatest complication of misfortunes seemed ready to crush him, yet all this could not hinder him from performing his religious duties with the utmost devotion. In fine, he was a prince whose fame ought to be immortal in all ages. As soon as he expired, an express was immediately dispatched to Emmanuel, who received the news of his death with such marks of a deep concern, as plainly shewed he was much more affected

with the loss of so good a prince, than elated with the thoughts of a crown, which had fallen to him. Emmanuel, now in his twenty-sixth year, happened at this juncture to be at the town of Salatia, where his sister Eleanor also resided: here he was unanimously proclaimed king, with the usual pomp and solemnity on such occasions. And as he was of opinion, that so important a trust could admit of no remissness, he therefore resolved to exert his utmost capacity in the discharge of it. He had already formed in his mind many noble plans for the benefit of his kingdom; but first of all, he thought it highly expedient to call an assembly of the different ranks of his people; wherefore he left Salatia, and went to Monte Mayor, a city standing upon a high hill, beyond the river Tagus, about twenty miles from Evora. In this town, the nobility and clergy assembled, according to his orders, and the cities sent also their deputies, in obedience to his summons. Here it was too that George, the natural son of John, a youth about fourteen years of age, was introduced to his presence. The king embraced him with so much love and tenderness, as could not but convince every one of the vast regard he had for his father, when living. Amongst those who accompanied George, was Diego Almeida, master of the order of Hospitallers, a gentleman no less famed for his military bravery than genteel politeness; he had been in high favour and esteem with the late king, who had put his son under the care of such a man, that by his instructions he might acquire worthy and valuable accomplishments. Almeida advanced to Emmanuel with George, whom he held in his right hand, each of them cloathed in deep mourning, and spoke to this effect: ' Great Sir, the deceased king, who by nature was your cousin, but by the love he bore you, might well be accounted your brother, when on his death-bed, assured me, that he should quit this life with a serene and easy mind, if he was relieved from one anxiety which hung upon his breast, the apprehension

‘ tension which he lay under of leaving behind him  
‘ this destitute and forlorn orphan. Yet, at the same  
‘ time, he owned this uneasiness was greatly alleviated  
‘ when he called to mind the benevolence of your  
‘ disposition, the gratitude of your heart, and your  
‘ promptitude to every thing noble and generous.  
‘ He enjoined me in his name, to desire, nay, entreat  
‘ you, as he had ever loved you as a son, as he had  
‘ ever distinguished you with the greatest marks of  
‘ honour, and done you every kindness in his power,  
‘ that you would shew a grateful sense of his extra-  
‘ ordinary favour, by making a suitable return of ge-  
‘ nerosity to his only son, who in losing him, has lost  
‘ the chief support of his life; that you would con-  
‘ sider how he would have acted, had he been the sur-  
‘ vivor, and you had left children behind you. More-  
‘ over, he strictly charged me to inspire this youth  
‘ with the highest regard and esteem for you; that he  
‘ should shew the greatest deference to your judgment,  
‘ and compliance to your orders; and make it his sole  
‘ ambition to outstrip every one in love to your per-  
‘ son and zeal for your service. For as he is by blood  
‘ so nearly related to you, his father said, it therefore  
‘ became him the more to excel all in duty and affec-  
‘ tion towards you, and to be surpassed by none in  
‘ striving to aggrandize your fame, and to add to your  
‘ dignity. These were his commands to me; and, in  
‘ order to discharge my trust, I here present this youth,  
‘ who at these tender years has been deprived of so  
‘ worthy a parent; he is by his disposition, as well as  
‘ birth, related to you; he comes as a suppliant; the  
‘ severity of his fate seems to intitle him to your pro-  
‘ tection; in the name of his father I recommend him,  
‘ and hope you will cherish and support him: thus  
‘ you will discover a soul truly worthy of a king,  
‘ when you make a generous requital for services done  
‘ to yourself; which if you do, as I am confident you  
‘ will, you will be celebrated by all, and acquire the  
‘ character of a great and bountiful prince; you will

‘ then

‘ then secure the affections of every one, by giving so strong a proof of your goodness.’ Emmanuel was so much touched with this speech of Almeida, that the violence of his grief would hardly allow him to return answer; he only told him in a few words, ‘ That he should always look upon George as his own son, and take a pleasure in bestowing upon him such marks of kindness, as might demonstrate to all the world, in what veneration he held the name and memory of his father.’ All the nobility then present, were highly pleased with this declaration of the king; they went up to him, returned him thanks, and kissed his hand. This we thought worthy of a place in our history, as it is an instance of the probity and honour of John, which was so remarkable, that all the charms of power and empire could not divert his successor from lamenting the loss of so great a monarch; at the same time it cannot but give us a high idea of the good sense of Emmanuel, who was not in the least puffed up with all that power and wealth which flowed so unexpectedly upon him, but still preserved the humanity and equality of his temper. The thirst after riches is generally so powerful, even amongst private persons, that when by the death of their relations they come to estates, though they may then put on a feigned sorrow, yet this is often not sufficient to disguise the inward joy in their hearts. ’Tis still more so with those who come to be invested with regal authority; the greatness of their revenues, and their extent of power, is apt to overturn the government of the mind, if there be not a very large share of virtue to keep it steady and uniform; but above all, when a crown devolves unexpectedly to any one, it is then that the mind is most liable to be shaken, and intoxicated to such a degree, as to be lost to all the dictates of sense and understanding. Emmanuel had at one time very little reason to expect he should ever become king, since he was a younger son; John had likewise a brother living, and was himself young enough to have children,

children, being when he died only in his fortieth year; yet it was the divine pleasure to remove all these, on purpose, as many think, to make room for Emmanuel.

His Portuguese majesty having, as I said before, held a convention of the different orders of his people, he consulted with them about various affairs, and entered into several resolutions for the strength and security of his kingdom. He next sent an ambassador to king Ferdinand and queen Isabel, who then held the sovereignty of Castile and Aragon with great dignity and reputation, to inform them of his accession to the throne. At that time, Alvaro lived in Castile, and was in high favour with the king and his consort. This gentleman was brother to the duke of Braganza, who, upon a suspicion of treachery, had been put to death; he himself, however, was a man of untainted and unsuspected honour. But after his brother's death, not choosing to remain any longer in Portugal, he removed from thence, and lived on the income of his estate, which the king had left untouched. John allowed him this liberty, upon condition he should not sit any where in the kingdom of Castile. Ferdinand and Isabel had both conceived a high opinion of the virtue and prudence of Alvaro; he in his turn became not a little attached to their interest, by the honesty and greatness of their behaviour: so that he went into a voluntary banishment in their dominions; and that he might not be obliged to comply with John's restriction, he freely gave up to him all his possessions in Portugal. King Emmanuel, by his ambassador, now kindly invited Alvaro to return to his native country, as he did likewise the duke's sons, (who upon their father's death, had gone into exile) and promised, if they accepted of this invitation, that he would distinguish them with the highest marks of his favour. In the next place, he thought it incumbent upon him to depute a person to wait upon pope Alexander, to assure him, that he and all his kingdom, as it became every christian prince, were entirely devoted to his service.

service. That he might do this with the greater dignity, he sent a letter to George Costa, a cardinal of great authority and influence, desiring him, in his name, to undertake this business. The cardinal accordingly, in the name of Emmanuel, publickly engaged his faith at Rome, that he would always remain in dutiful allegiance to his holiness, and with the utmost fidelity, adhere to the interest of the catholic church ; and as often as there was occasion, take arms for her protection. This testimony of the king's fidelity was very grateful to his holiness, who sent a letter to him, wherein he made use of the most friendly expressions, and congratulated him upon his accession to the throne.

In the mean time, Emmanuel was extremely active in settling the affairs of his kingdom : John, on his death-bed, had conferred many places and gifts ; all these Emmanuel kindly confirmed to the possessors ; though, at the same time, not a few partook of his liberality, who deserved punishment more than honour. For it is evident that those, who when they see their prince in the agonies of death, seize on that occasion to importune him for such favours as they could never obtain from him when sound in mind and body ; such persons, I say, have only their own selfish ends in view, without any regard to the interest or honour of their master. What can be more base, than at a time when their sovereign is overwhelmed with pain, thus to take advantage of his weakness, and in a manner, extort from him places of honour and profit, to which merit alone is intitled ? What can be more inhuman, when so melancholy a scene is before their eyes, to be so much hurried away by their insatiable avarice, as not to be in the least affected with the groans of their expiring prince ? Besides too, the king, when in such a situation, if he refuses not to grant their requests, yet by so doing may be said to be lavish of what is the right of another, and thereby renders the task of government much more difficult to his successor ; he drains the publick treasury, which is the very fountain of royal

royal bounty ; and does acts of generosity at a time when he is neither able to judge of the honesty nor abilities of those on whom they are conferred. For when a man has his sight overspread with darkness, when he fetches his breath with difficulty, when his whole body is chilled, and the animal spirits are almost exhausted, can we suppose one in such a condition capable of weighing and determining the merit of his fellow-creatures ? Those therefore, who at such a juncture, instead of trying to cherish and support the drooping spirits of their prince, importune him in his last moments to bestow on them the wealth of his kingdom ; such surely, are unworthy of his favour, and ought to be looked upon with scorn and detestation. Emmanuel, however, that he might not seem to abolish the acts of so good a prince, confirmed not only those instances of John's bounty which had been given with judgment and discretion, but also those which had been fraudulently obtained.

He next applied himself earnestly to settling the courts of justice ; such magistrates as he found were influenced by bribery and corruption, he severely punished ; and he inflicted slight penalties on those who were guilty in a less degree, and he nobly rewarded those who had shewn themselves honest and unbiassed. He also increased the number of judges, that law-suits might be determined with greater facility and expedition, and augmented their salaries, lest their incomes being scanty, they might be liable to corruption and bribery. He likewise sent into different parts of the kingdom men of known integrity, whom he invested with full power and authority to punish the guilty, and, if possible, to extirpate all villainy and wickedness. He next took an exact account of the public revenues ; for he was of opinion, that where the riches of a kingdom are allowed to be wasted by the neglect, and preyed upon by the avarice of ministers, or consumed in unnecessary expences, the constitution must be very weak and unstable ; for war cannot be carried on, peace preserved

served, nor justice administered, if the prince is foolishly profuse, or suffers his revenue to be made the prey of private persons.

Emmanuel very soon gave a proof of his extensive humanity, by restoring the Jews to liberty. It will not be foreign to our purpose, if here we relate the cause of their becoming slaves. Their Castilian majesties Ferdinand and Isabel, having conceived an utter aversion to this people, whom they had found guilty of many impieties against our holy religion, banished them their dominions, in the year of our Lord 1482. Some of them, however, being enlightened by the divine spirit, embraced the christian faith. Others, rather than abandon their estates and houses, or be obliged to dispose of their effects to disadvantage, in outward shew made profession of Christ, the rest were forced to fly the country. They dispersed into different places, but the greatest part fled to Portugal. John gave them shelter, on condition each of them should pay him eight ducats, and quit the kingdom at a limited time; and if they did not observe this agreement, but remained after the time appointed, they should then become slaves: the king, however, was to give full liberty to all who had a mind to depart. By this method, John amassed a considerable sum of money, all which he carefully reserved, in order to enable him to pass over into Africa; for he was eagerly bent upon carrying on a war against the Moors, and this not so much out of a desire of fame for himself, as from a zeal to propagate religion, and spread the glory of Christ. But his hard fate in various shapes obstructed these designs; and his untimely death at last cut him off from all his projects. While he lived, he was extremely careful to perform his promise to the Jews; he therefore commissioned several persons to treat with masters of vessels to transport them wherefover they desired, and ordered that none should hurt or molest them. However, it happened otherwise; for the merchants and captains of ships, who

undertook to carry the Jews, treated them in the most injurious manner. Not satisfied with the fraught for which they had agreed, they extorted from them larger sums of money, and harassed these wretched men to a great degree, by keeping them at sea much longer than was necessary ; and thus obliged them, after their own stock was exhausted, to buy provisions of the ship-crew, at the most exorbitant price. By these and such other extortions, the Jews were left penniless, and fleeced almost of every thing. Nor did their wives and daughters escape the violence of those tyrants, who sacrificed them to their lust ; and in direct opposition to the doctrine of Christ, whose name they assumed, they were guilty of the highest cruelty and perfidy. The rest of the Jews who remained in Portugal, partly alarmed with the apprehensions of such barbarous usage, (the report of which, though done clandestinely, could not but reach their ears) parly hindered by their poverty, not having money sufficient to procure necessaries for the voyage, tarried in the kingdom till the time prescribed was elapsed, and thus forfeited their liberty. Whoever had a desire to have Jewish slaves, was obliged to petition the king, who generally assigned them to such persons as he knew to be of a mild and merciful disposition, that these miserable mortals might not meet with too severe and cruel an oppression. All this happened but a little before the death of John ; but it was the general opinion, especially of those who had been most conversant with the king, that had he lived longer, he would have given them their freedom upon very easy terms.

This was the situation of the Jews when Emmanuel began his reign. This prince being sensible they had not wilfully, but from necessity remained in Portugal after the time limited, therefore generously restored them to their liberty. Touched with a grateful sense of such extraordinary goodness, they offered him a large sum of money, which he generously refused ; being resolved by the kindest treatment to gain the affections of

of that people, and by degrees to allure them to the christian faith.

Having settled these and many other affairs, with great wisdom and sagacity, he next bent his thoughts upon carrying his aims into Africa; for ever since John the first had taken Ceuta, a very strong town in Barbary, situate upon the straits of Gibraltar, his successors never allowed the war against the Moors to lie long dormant. Alphonso the grandson of John the first, and father to John the second, had likewise taken the city of Tangier, together with Arzila, not far distant from thence. And John too, after his father's death, tho' he met with several strokes of adverse fortune, and was involv'd in great difficulties, nevertheless always persisted in a firm resolution of carrying on that war. Emmanuel following their example, embark'd in it with the like vigour and spirit. He therefore sent larger reinforcements to those cities in Africa which were under his power, and furnish'd the garrisons there with abundance of warlike stores. He likewise enlarg'd the pay of the soldiery, and made considerable presents to their leaders, who, being rouz'd by this liberality, might engage more warmly in the cause. And as he was convinced that the success of all human affairs is at the entire disposal of the Supreme Being, (who alone gives strength and understanding, by which victory is obtained, and withdraws both from those whom he has mark'd out for destruction) he appointed a number of priests for the performance of religious duties, to accompany the army into Africa, to whom, besides several other rewards, he assign'd a tenth of all the tribute which the Moors had agreed to pay.

Whilst he was busied with these matters, ambassadors came from Ferdinand and Isabel, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and at the same time to make a proposal of a marriage between him and their daughter Mary; and earnestly entreating him that he would recall the sons of Ferdinand duke of Braganza, and restore them to their former possessions. This embassy

embassy was not a little grateful to Emanuel; he told the ambassadors, that nothing afforded him more pleasure than the thoughts of having the friendship of such illustrious princes: as to the proposal of marriage, he said he could not think of matrimony, till he had settled the affairs of his kingdom. This answer did not proceed from his disapproving of an alliance with so noble a family, but the case was, that he had fixed his affections on their elder daughter Isabel, the widow of Alphonso, John's son. However, he did not think proper to declare himself at that Time. As to the sons of Ferdinand, he said he had already given orders for the recalling of those youths, whom he promised to treat in the most honourable manner.

About this time Emmanuel received the news of a considerable victory gained over the Moors by John Menez, who then had the government of Arzila. This affair happen'd in the following manner: Vasco Coutign Conde di Borbe had been governor of Arzila, but some things being alledged against him in regard to his management, he was obliged to return to Portugal, in order to clear himself, and the king, in the mean while, appointed Roderick Coutign to act as governor. John had made a truce with the king of Fez, but Barraxa and Almandario, men of great wealth and power amongst the Moors, not being under the jurisdiction of the Fessentian king, were therefore not affected by this treaty. They accordingly raised a considerable body of men, and invaded the territories of Arzila where they made great devastation: Roderick Coutign, with what forces he had, went and met them; a battle ensued, where the dispute on both sides was for some time eager and warm, but Coutign being at last overpowered by numbers, was himself cut off, together with the greatest part of his army. As soon as John received an account of this misfortune, he gave the command to John Menez, a man of extraordinary bravery, and immediately sent him to Arzila, to succour our people. And as there were several of the Moors, who, upon this Disaster, had rebell'd and refus'd to give the

tributes which they were bound to pay by treaty, Menez thought it was highly necessary first of all to curb their insolence, and reduce them to obedience, by dint of the sword. That he might do this the more readily, he wrote a letter to Lopez Azeved, governor of Tangier, desiring he would assist him with some horse. Lopez accordingly sent fifty, under the command of Pedro Leitano, who with great expedition, in the night-time, came to the place appointed: Menez, who was at the head of one hundred and fifty horse which he had brought from Arzila, having joined forces with Leitano, he bent his march towards that town which had been most remarkable for breach of faith; and lest the inhabitants should be appriz'd of his coming, he ordered the horse to advance one by one in a continued line at a moderate distance from each other: thus he proceeded, and about break of day approach'd the town with great silence, intending to fall upon the enemy unawares. But at this very juncture it happened, that Barraxa, Almandario, Muzza, and Acobo, with two thousand horse, and eight hundred foot under their command, had form'd a design of attacking the Moorish towns which were in our interest. Menez heard of this affair, but being desirous of having a more particular information, he for this purpose sent out some Moors to lie in ambush, to intercept one or other belonging to the army of the enemy, that by that method he might come at the truth. They very briskly accomplish'd these orders, and soon brought him three Moors, by whom he was assured, that what he had heard by report, was really true. He then resolv'd, contrary to the opinion of some of his officers, at once to fall upon them, things being in such a situation that our men could neither with honour nor safety make a retreat; he therefore thought it was much more noble to attack the enemy when dreaming nothing of the matter, than to be oblig'd to act on the defensive against them, when they had the advantage of making the first onset:

in one case the enemy are frighten'd and alarim'd; in the other they become fierce and terrible. Having drawn up his army in three lines, he gave the command of the first to Leitano, together with the fifty horse he had brought with him. At the head of the second he placed John Menez, the son of his own brother Pedro Menez, Conde di Cantagnadia: he gave him only thirty of the horse, reserving the rest for himself, in the third line. After he had encouraged the soldiers, and given the proper orders, he commanded them to march against the enemy, who were not a little astonish'd at the boldness of our people, tho' at the same time, they greatly despised their numbers. At first they intended to have made three divisions of their troops; but altering this resolution, they mov'd forward in one body, thinking, by the multitude of their forces, at once to carry every thing before them. Our first line having advanced till they came to a proper distance, of a sudden rush'd upon the enemy with great violence, and fought for some time very gallantly, till at last being overpowered by numbers, they were beginning to give ground, when the younger Menez came up and attacked the Moors in flank: this gave fresh spirits to our men, and made them fight with redoubled vigour. John Menez, now seeing there was no time to be lost, ordered the standards to be advanced, and thus afresh charg'd the Moors with all his forces. They with some difficulty, at first withstood the shock, then they began to give way a little, and at last be-took themselves to a precipitate flight. Our army continued the pursuit for about eight miles, in which they made great havock, and on their return plundered the camp. In this battle the soldiery got great booty, a great number of the enemy were taken prisoners, and many more killed, and yet not one of our men was missing. Menez now marched to the rebellious towns; but the inhabitants came in the most submissive manner, asked pardon, and payed all the tribute-money they owed.

Having now settled every thing according to his wishes, he went back to Arzila, where he dismissed Leitano after he had enriched him with a considerable part of the plunder. When this battle happened Emmanuel was upon the throne, and the victory had been gain'd much about the time when he settled a tenth of the tribute-money upon the priests who went into Africa; so that many people did not look upon this event to be so much the effect of the bravery of our troops, as a reward from heaven for the king's piety and generosity. Emmanuel had not as yet dissolved the general assembly of the people, when a terrible plague broke out in the city where he resided, which obliged him to quit the place, and defer to another opportunity, many things that he had devis'd for the welfare and security of his kingdom.

1496 In the following year 1496, he went to Setubal, to solemnize the grand festival of Easter, which was now approaching. In this place his two sisters Eleanor and Isabel attended him: after having performed the sacred rites, and most religiously celebrated the memory of that day in which Christ rose from the dead, he again eagerly applied himself to the affairs of his kingdom. First of all, he thought proper to recall Diego and Dyonisio sons of Ferdinand late duke of Braganza, together with their uncle Alvaro, and Sancio the son of Alphonso late duke of Feria, all whom he restored to their lost honours. This Alphonso was likewise brother to Ferdinand; but the king intended that his son Sancio, instead of the title and dukedom of Faro, should have that of Demira. At the same time he recall'd from exile several others, who, in the reign of John, had been suspected of treasonable designs: but this liberality was most remarkable towards those whom we have just mention'd; and as John had given some of their estates to such persons as had most remarkably distinguish'd themselves in the service of their country, Emmanuel, unwilling to give these men the least shadow of complaint, by other expressions of his boun-

ty

ty made them so ample an equivalent that with chearfulness they resigned their possessions. This behaviour of his majesty was censured by some, who took various methods to reprehend him. Some doubtless accounted it base and unworthy, that the sons of infamous traitors should be advanced to dignity, and restored to honour: others again did not condemn the liberality of the king, they wanted only that he should restrain it within proper bounds; they said, it was inconsistent with the good of the public, that the royal wealth, which ought to be the support of the kingdom, should at once be lavished away in extravagant profusion. These general reflections, however, were not sufficient to divert Emanuel from his generous intentions; for he thought that many of those who had been convicted of treason, were not so deeply involved in guilt, as to have their names branded with everlasting infamy; besides, it appear'd to him unreasonable, that children should suffer for the crimes of their parents. His own natural clemency was more heightened when he considered the mournful condition of his sister Isabel (the duke of Braganza's widow) who ever since the death of her husband, and banishment of her sons, had lived in one continued scene of sorrow, and affliction. Moreover, his mother Beatrix incessantly urged him, sometimes with prayers intreating him as a king, at other times commanding him as a son, to look with pity upon those exiles so nearly related to him; that he would restore them to their native country, and reinstate them in their former dignity: ' Consider (said she) ' my son, you are not adorned with a crown for your ' own sake alone, but for the comfort and protection ' of your mother, your sisters, and your other rela- ' tions, who have all fixed their eyes upon you, as their ' darling hope; in this if we are deceived, to whom ' shall we resort? whose protection shall we invoke? ' if our hope in you is ill founded, we shall even be- ' hold you in this exalted station with regret; when ' you was a private person, we could only lament the

‘ severity of our fate, but it will be a fresh addition to  
‘ our misery, if you should now shew yourself insen-  
‘ sible to our distress. If you have then any natural  
‘ affection, if you have any regard for her who gave  
‘ you birth, and ever doated on you with the highest  
‘ love ; give proof of it, by providing for our consola-  
‘ tion ; restore a daughter to your mother, make your  
‘ sister happy by the return of her sons, and rejoice  
‘ the heart of an aged woman with the grateful sight  
‘ of her grand-children ; in fine give me life, by re-  
‘ storing to me all that I hold dear and precious in life.  
‘ Thus you will avoid the imputation of being hard-  
‘ hearted and avaricious ; and may you for ever reap  
‘ the proper fruits of humanity and tender affection.’  
This, and more to the same purpose, was the substance  
of what his mother said to him ; his sister also, with  
tears in her eyes, pressed him with the most earnest en-  
treaties, and the king and queen of Spain by frequent  
letters sollicited him to the same purpose. The king  
prompted by his own benevolent disposition, and  
pushed on by such urgent solicitations, accordingly grant-  
ed their requests.

He also distinguished several other persons by raising  
them to honour and dignity ; amongst these was Diego  
Sylvio, a man of consummate wisdom, who had for-  
merly been his præceptor. He sent Peter Correa, a  
very wise and able person, to Pope Alexander, to trans-  
act some affairs, relating to the interest of his kingdom,  
and at the same time to recall into Portugal George the  
cardinal. George was of mean extraction, but endowed  
with a great genius, and an aspiring soul. He was very  
much in the esteem of Catherine, daughter of king  
Duarte, a woman of great virtue, who never would  
marry. By chance he was taken into the family of this  
lady, who was so much charm'd with his wisdom and  
probity, that she made it her business to have him ad-  
vanced to the richest benefices, in all which he gave  
proofs of the most extraordinary merit. He was made  
a bishop, and thence rose by degrees, till at length the  
Pope

Pope gave him a cardinal's hat, and he was received into their number with the universal approbation of that college. In this new dignity he acquitted himself with the greatest prudence, and had not a little weight amongst all the principal clergy. John, in the beginning of his reign, had conceived a dislike to this man, because he suspected him of having thwarted his measures, notwithstanding which George arrived at and retained the highest employments, and filled them with great authority. After the death of John, Emmanuel by a letter desired he would come and settle in Portugal, having, as he told him, great occasion for the presence of a man, of whose wisdom he had so high an opinion, to assist him in public affairs. George seemed, at first, to comply with this request; but after he had almost reached the city, he then changed his resolution, pleading his age and infirmity for an excuse, and said that he had not liberty from his holiness for that journey; nevertheless he still manag'd the king's business at Rome, and discharged it with the greatest care and faithfulness.

In the mean time, the plague still raged more violently, and again obliged the king to shift his place of abode. He went to the town of Old Torre. Here an ambassador came to him from Venice, in the name of that republic, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and assure him of the friendship and favour of the senate and people of Venice. This ambassador was received with the greatest complaisance, and the king with his own hands conferred upon him the order of knighthood; at his departure, he loaded him with magnificent presents. So that the Venetian state, partly influenced by the high encomiums which their ambassador bestowed upon Emmanuel, partly moved with the kind letter which they received, became more and more attached to his interest.

Emmanuel next set about an affair which his predecessors often had in vain attempted. At the time when the greatest part of Spain was under the dominion of

the Arabians, who waged perpetual war with the Christians, several renowned heroes, equally famed for their bravery and zeal for religion, entered into vows, that, with all their might, they would fight for the glory of Christ. That they might do this the more chearfully, and be less interrupted or drawn off from their religious service, they abstained from marriage, and devoted themselves entirely to the study of religion, and exercise of arms. So great was the ardor with which they were inflamed, that they accounted those the most happy who were killed in battle, for the defence of their country, and the holy religion of Christ. The fame of these persons stirred up many others to follow their example; hence came the institution of all the different religious military orders, which were highly distinguished by the bounty of princes, and greatly esteemed by the heads of the church: by the bravery of these men, the Moors were often routed and put to flight, and struck with admiration at the glory of the christian name. They were distinguished by a cross, partly of red, and partly of green cloth, which they wore upon their breast, sewed to their cloaths. The most remarkable of these orders in Spain, was that of the templars and the hospitallers, who built an hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of pilgrims. There were several different institutions of these orders, and they had particular marks to distinguish them from each other, yet in one thing they all agreed, in offering up their vows in a most solemn manner, and publickly pledging their faith to Christ, that they would never pollute themselves with lust, nor refuse to obey the commands of their master, nor allow themselves to be infected with covetous desires. In Portugal there were also several of these orders. Dionysius likewise substituted a new one in place of the templars, which had been abolished by means of Philip King of France; this order amongst the Portuguese had been open to men of worth and bravery of all nations, and Dionysius was extremely desirous that they should retain their

their dignity and possessions. He therefore decreed, that all the revenues belonging to the templars, should still remain in their possession, their title to be changed into that of the order of Christ, and all of them to wear a white cross inclosed in one of a red colour, as a mark to distinguish them from all other orders; and he obtain'd the authority of the Pope to give a sanction to what he had done. This in a little time became a very flourishing order, and was enriched with many valuable endowments. But Emmanuel having perceived the danger which the knights of this as well as all other orders run into of breaking their faith; for if they happened to give way to their lustful passions, then they were thought to be guilty of impiety, and their children, like bastards became ignominious, though they were descended from the most noble parents; he therefore petitioned Pope Alexander, to take off this restriction from all persons who should henceforth enter into any of the religious orders; for those who had already bound themselves by a vow of continency, could not, without breach of faith, be allowed the same liberty. His holiness granted the request, and ever since that time the knights of all religious orders have been allowed to marry, excepting the hospitallers, who are every where still bound by a vow of chastity. This caution of the king, by which he seemed to prevent wickedness, and deliver so many of his subjects from the temptation of incontinency, was by most people much commended. But to me it remains a doubt, whether he did not open a door to much greater evils than what he was desirous to prevent. I cannot but think, that this slackening of discipline had a bad tendency. The present licentiousness must be curbed, and things brought to their ancient footing, if we are desirous of reaping the proper fruits of these sacred institutions. The cares of matrimony seem to have abated a great deal of that ardour formerly so conspicuous in religious militants. Now-a-days they are become slothful, and after a very little time spent in warlike affairs, they

they embrace a life of ease and indolence, with an eagerness highly unbecoming their character. In the times when celibacy was enjoined, we have reason to believe many entered into this religious warfare, not so much to indulge selfish and avaritious views, as from a real principle of piety and zeal for religion, whereas now, when we have fallen from our ancient discipline, and what seemed a rigour to many, is removed, 'tis highly probable, that all those who are now so strenuous to be admitted into these orders, are only actuated by avarice and ambition. In fine, this inlet to covetousness being more than ever widened, things have come to such a degree, that these institutions, at first so nobly intended, have at last fallen into ruin and decay. Now we behold the faith given to Christ broken, holy things violated, and the incomes destined for sacred purposes become a prey to wicked and presumptuous men: those who never had courage to look an enemy in the face, now flow in riches designed for religious uses, giving themselves up to all manner of luxury and lasciviousness. But I will no more lament what I have not in my power to remedy.

Emmanuel next took under his consideration, an affair which was matter of great talk and public speculation, concerning which his council was very much divided in their sentiments: Whether the Jews, who had been driven out of Spain, and taken up their residence in Portugal, should be banished from thence, as it had been determined in John's reign, or by the royal clemency be allowed to remain quiet and unmolested in those places where they had settled in the kingdom? the king and queen of Castille sent letters to the king, earnestly entreating him, that he would not suffer so perverse a people, so much under the displeasure of God, as well as the odium of men, to remain in his dominions. Emmanuel looked upon it as a point of the utmost delicacy, and worthy of the highest deliberation. Some of his counsellors were of opinion, that this people ought not to be exterminated, since the

the Pope himself had permitted them to dwell in his ecclesiastical territories. Induced by his example, several states in Italy, and many Christian princes, not only in Italy but in Germany, Hungary, and other parts of Europe, had also granted the same liberty, and allowed them to trade and carry on business of all sorts. Besides, said they, their banishment can never reclaim them; for wherever they go, they will carry their perverse dispositions; a change of country will never work any alteration in the depravity of their minds. If they should pass over into Africa, as it is probable they would were they to be driven from Portugal, all hopes of their conversion must be lost. Whilst they lived amongst Christians, many of them have been so far influenced by friendship and example, that they have embraced the christian faith; which can never be the case when they come to be mingled with blind and superstitious Mahometans. Moreover, it would be greatly detrimental to the public interest, if this people, some of whom were considerably rich, should carry their wealth to the Moors, and enrich our enemies with those arts which they had learnt from our nation. On the other hand, those of a different opinion affirmed, that the Jews, not without reason, had been banished from Spain, France, and many places in Germany; those princes who did not set a higher value upon the increase of their revenues than the interests of religion, had perceived the dangerous consequences of allowing such a people to remain in their dominions; they were apt to impose on the simple, and infect the vulgar with their pernicious errors; That it would be highly imprudent to put the least confidence in men who were so inveterate against our holy religion, who were bound by no ties nor obligations, but would be ready to sacrifice all to their interest, by prying into the secrets of the state, and giving intelligence to our enemies. It would likewise be greatly for the interest of the public, that they should immediately be banished when they could only carry away

away the wealth which they had scraped together in other countries : this they said was more eligible than allowing them to remain longer; and then to dismiss them after they had amassed considerable riches, which they scrupled not to procure by the most fraudulent means. Emmanuel was influenced by this opinion, and decreed, that all the Jews and Moors, who were not willing to embrace the christian faith, should quit his territories. In short, a day was fixed, after which all those who remained in Portugal were to lose their liberty.

1497 In the beginning of the next year 1497, Ferdinand and Isabel were engaged in a war with Charles king of France. They sent ambassadors to Emanuel, to renew the leagues which they had formerly made with John, and at the same time to desire aid against Charles. The king, with the concurrence of all his council, readily granted the first part of this request ; but as to the rest, he told them, that at present a treaty of peace subsisted between him and Charles, which he could not break through, without being guilty of the highest dis honour, especially since the war was at such a distance and Spain not invaded by the French. But if the king of France should carry his arms into Spain, in that case, according to the league, he would contribute his assistance, and oppose him with all his vigor. Their Castilian majesties were satisfied, or seemed to be so with this answer.

The time now approached when the Jews, who would not become Christians, were to leave the kingdom ; and all of them were busy to prepare for their departure. It gave Emmanuel great uneasiness to think, that so many thousand men should be driven into banishment, and he was desirous at least to bring over their sons. For this purpose he devised a scheme, which in fact was contrary to justice and equity, though in the event it was as he meant it should, attended with good consequences. He ordered all the sons of the Jews under fourteen years of age, to be forcibly taken

taken from their parents, that they might be instructed and educated in the christian faith: this could not be put in execution without producing some affecting circumstances. It was, indeed, a moving spectacle to behold children torn from the embraces of their mothers, fathers dragged from the necks of their sons, and used with violence; cries and lamentations from all quarters, and every place filled with female shriekings. Some were moved with so much indignation, that they destroyed their sons by throwing them into wells; others were distracted to such a degree, that they laid violent hands upon themselves. There was still another calamity which bore hard upon these wretched mortals; those who were desirous of leaving a country where they met with such treatment, had not the liberty of so doing. The king was so much bent on making converts of this people, that he was resolved partly by rewards to induce them, partly by necessity to oblige them to embrace the christian faith. By agreement, he was to have provided shipping for the Jews, and allow them a free departure; but this he purposely put off from time to time. At first, there were three different ports assigned, where they were to go aboard, but it was afterwards ordered, that they should take shipping only from Lisbon; this obliged the Jews to come from all quarters, and resort to that place; but the time was so far spun out by these delays, that the day fixed was elapsed, and great numbers who had not left Portugal, now forfeited their liberty: being tired out with these hardships, they at length became Christians. Some perhaps were sincere in their conversion, but many more only in outward shew, that they might make their life less painful and irksome. They were, however, baptized and initiated into the mysteries of our holy religion: by this means they recovered their sons, and were restored to their liberty; the king was extremely kind to them, and gave them great encouragement; so that many of the Jews lived very agreeably in the Portuguese dominions. This was the method used

used to bring about the conversion of that people ; but surely it must be owned to be unwarrantable. Will any one pretend to maintain, that it was consistent with the principles of justice or religion, to force perverse and obstinate minds into a belief of things, which, in reality, they despise and reject ? Will any one pretend to take upon him to hinder the freedom of the will, or put fetters on the understanding ? This is impossible to be done, and is directly opposite to the doctrine of Christ. He does not take pleasure in any thing that proceeds from force or restraint, and is delighted only with a voluntary sacrifice that flows from the heart. He does not command violence to be offered to the minds of men, but by persuasion and gentle usage, that they should be invited to the study of true religion. Besides, what is more presumptuous than for a mortal to take upon him to do what the Divine spirit can only effect ? It is he alone who is able to enlighten and purify the minds of men ; and such as he finds to be not altogether perverse and repugnant to his holy influence, these he removes from darkness, and makes them see the truths of christianity. In fine, is it not scandalous and unworthy, that religion should be so far prostituted as to admit men of so much infidelity and dissimulation into her holy mysteries ? That those who hold in contempt the doctrine of Christ, should have such an opportunity given them of exercising their impiety and ridicule ? That from a religious pretence, religion should be thus violated and debased ? Yet there were many who highly applauded this conduct of Emmanuel, with regard to the Jews, especially since several religious and learned men were of opinion, that it was lawful, and had been formerly put in practice by many Christian princes. And indeed, there never have been, nor ever will be wanting, persons who will always square their sentiments with the humour of their prince, in order to insinuate themselves into his favour. This step of the king, though unjust in itself, produced most excellent effects, such as we every day behold ; for

for notwithstanding many of that people might put on a religious mask, yet the sons of such having forgot the impiety of their fathers, and influenced by custom as well as example, now worship Christ most devoutly, and live according to his rules. Thus it was, that the Jews were partly removed into banishment, and partly lost the name of Jews; but the Moors, who would not quit the pernicious errors of Mahometism, were allowed to depart for Africa unmolested, lest, if they had been injured, the Christians who lived in Africa or Asia, should suffer upon that account.

The same year, the king began to treat about marriage. He was desirous, as we have already mentioned, to have for wife Isabel the widow of Alphonso, the son of John, having contracted a violent love for this lady, upon account of her fine accomplishments and prudent behaviour. He communicated his design to Alvaro, the brother of Ferdinand. This gentleman had great influence with the king and queen of Spain, and promised he would use his utmost interest to bring about the affair. For this reason, he went back to Castile, and from thence wrote a letter to Emmanuel, informing him, that he found their Spanish majesties no ways averse to such an alliance. The king thereupon sent, as his ambassador to Spain, John Emmanuel, lord of the bed-chamber, a man of great discretion. This embassy was very grateful to the king and queen of Castile, and the match was accordingly agreed to. Isabel alone was very much against it, partly owing to the grief which had overwhelmed her ever since the death of Alphonso, partly to a notion which she had conceived, of its being unbecoming to have a second husband. She could not therefore, at first, be prevailed on to enter again into the marriage estate; but being at last over-persuaded, by the advice and entreaties of her parents, and influenced by the arguments of several religious persons, who represented to her how much this match would contribute to the peace and security of all Spain, she complied with their request.

In

In the mean time, whilst the necessary preparations were making in Portugal for the reception of Isabel, Emmanuel entered upon a very great and glorious undertaking. That we may set forth this with the more exactness, it will not be improper to trace the whole affair from its original: John the first, king of Portugal, had acquired great fame by ridding his country of invading enemies, over whom he gained many famous victories: nor was his love of glory lessened by old age; for then he fitted out a formidable fleet, which besieged and took Ceuta, a very large, rich, and strong city of Barbary, situated near the streights of Gibraltar; and the Portuguese who were in that garrison, had now an opportunity given them of extending their arms farther. Henry, the son of John, who had greatly distinguished himself by his bravery at the siege of Ceuta, likewise carried on the same grand design. He built a fleet which he sent to cruize upon the coast of Barbary, towards the south; being inflamed with a strong desire of finding out foreign countries, he ordered the commanders of the fleet to go as far as possible. Thence it happened, by the activity of these brave men, and the concurrence of some lucky circumstances, that a great part of Africa, towards Ethiophia, as well as several islands, became subject to the Portuguese: the more distant and wonderful those places were said to be, where our ships put in, the greater desire this prince had of finding out countries still more remote. Henry was a man of an aspiring soul, and remarkable for his attachment to religion: his ambition was not so much to make his own name famous, as to propagate the christian religion; and he thought nothing could be more conducive thereto than such expeditions, whereby he might spread the name of Christ amongst those barbarous nations. That he might do this with greater facility, he went to Sagre, a town in Algarve, about four miles from Cape St. Vincent. There he fitted out a fleet with an intention, that they should try to find out a passage to the eastern nations;

nations ; but death prevented him from carrying these designs into execution. He died in 1460, in the 67th year of his age. He left no issue behind him, for he was never married, but preserved the strictest continence during his whole life. After his death, Alphonso the son of king Duarte, Henry's brother, filled the throne ; but he being so much harrassed with wars, could not enter into the schemes of his predecessor. The crown came at length to John the son of Alphonso, who set about this affair with great vigor, and was at vast expence to carry on what had been already begun. In his time, the greatest part of Ethiophia was visited, and our fleet came into places which learned men, in former ages, thought there was no possibility of reaching. They turned the Point, which had hitherto been the utmost extent of navigation in these parts, and sailed as far as the Line ; nor did they stop here, but proceeded further, and discovered vast tracts of unknown land. Being now out of sight of the polar star, they were obliged to fix upon constellations in the southern hemisphere, by which they might steer their course. A new navigation being thus opened, those who came afterwards into these seas made still greater discoveries, and at last reached the extremity of that prodigious promontory, which on the west side runs southward 35 degrees from the line, besides four which it has of north latitude ; so that its whole extent amounts to 39 degrees, that is, 2340 miles ; but on the eastern side it is much more extensive. In turning this promontory they met with the most furious tempests, whence they called it Tormentos ; which in the Portuguese language signifies boisterous weather. Having examined this cape, or extremity of this promontory, they returned home.

The account which John received of the situation and length of this promontory, gave him inexpressible joy ; he had now great expectations of finding a passage to India, and therefore called the extremity of that neck of land, the Cape of Good Hope. He made

choice of several persons, Jews as well as Christians, such as he found to be men of genius and activity; these he sent by the way of Alexandria and Ethiophia, from thence to sail for India, to get intelligence from people acquainted with those coasts, what was the proper course to steer from the Cape to the East-Indies. But death put a stop to John's further progress in these affairs; so that he left to Emmanuel not only the inheritance of his kingdom, but likewise his earnest desire of carrying on this new navigation.

There were many in Emmanuel's council who endeavoured to dissuade him from this design. They maintained, that upon such uncertain hopes, it would be highly imprudent to run headlong into so many certain dangers. Besides, as India was so remote from Portugal, they thought it almost impossible that advantages could be reaped equivalent to the hardships which must be sustained in so long and perilous a voyage. At the same time they represented, that the embarking in such an affair would, in all probability, involve him in a war with the Egyptian sultan, who was very powerful in the East. If he even succeeded according to his wishes, this would draw upon him the envy of other princes in Christendom; which might be attended with dangerous consequences: if he aimed at glory, of this they said he might acquire a greater share by carrying on the war in Africa with spirit and resolution: if interest was what he pursued, he might gain many more advantages in numberless places of Ethiophia, which he had partly subdued by force, and partly gained by friendship and alliances.

These and many other arguments were advanced in Emmanuel's council, but all were not sufficient to divert him from his purpose. He looked upon despair as the mark of a low and groveling mind, whereas he accounted hope to be the quality of a noble and aspiring soul. Henry and John could never be influenced by these arguments, but had persisted in their resolution of discovering a passage to India. He therefore chose

chose rather to imitate the example of his illustrious predecessors, than follow the advice of such over-cautious and diffident persons: besides, he was somewhat moved by a circumstance which had the appearance of a prophecy. John, in his life-time, had given him as an advice, that when he came to the throne, amongst his other badges of royalty, he should likewise add a sphere marked with the celestial circles. By this, John seemed to foretel, that in Emmanuel's reign, the Portuguese should acquire great wealth and glory by discoveries made in the east and western regions. In fine, his zeal for propagating the christian religion was another motive to make him pursue his design, and hinder him from hearkening to his timorous counsellors.

Emmanuel, therefore, ordered Laurence Fernando, with all expedition, to fit out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama, a noblenian of great abilities, in whom he put the highest confidence. He gave him all necessary instructions, and most earnestly recommended to him, that he would conduct the affair with spirit and discretion. Gama undertook to execute the commission with fidelity, and thanked his majesty for the honour conferred upon him: he desired his brother Paul, for whom he had the greatest affection, upon account of his bravery, might accompany him in the expedition. This the king readily granted. The fleet consisted only of four ships, being sent out to discover countries, not to carry on hostile intentions. Vasco de Gama had the flag ship, his brother was captain of the second, and Nicholas Cœlo of the third; the fourth being a store ship, was commanded by Goncalo Nunnez. There was a chapel by the sea-side, about four miles from Lisbon, built by Emmanuel in honour of the Virgin Mary; thither Gama resorted the day before he went abroad, and spent the whole night in offering up prayers, and performing other religious duties. Next day he was followed by vast crouds of people to take leave of

Him and the rest who embarked in the expedition. Not only those in holy orders, but all present, with one voice put up their petitions to the Almighty, that he would grant them a prosperous voyage, and a safe return. Many of those who came to see them aboard were deeply concerned, and expressed their sorrow as if they had been come to the funeral of their friends. Behold, said they, the cursed effects of avarice and ambition! What greater punishment could be devised for these men, if guilty of the blackest crimes? To be thrown upon the merciless ocean, to encounter all the dangers of such a voyage, and venture their lives in a thousand shapes. Would it not be more eligible to suffer death at home, than be buried in the deep at such a distance from their native country? These, and many other things did their fears suggest. But Gamma, though he shed some tears at departure from his friends, was full of hope, and went aboard with great alacrity. He sailed on the 9th of July 1497. Those who stood on the shore, followed the ships with their eyes; nor did they move from thence till the fleet was under full sail, and quite out of sight.

In the mean while, Emmanuel received an express from their Castilian majesties, informing him, that all suitable preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials of Isabel; accordingly he set out from Cintra for Ebora, where he summoned the greatest part of his nobility to attend him. Isabel and her mother were then at Alcantara in Valencia, almost upon the confines of Portugal; but king Ferdinand was obliged to stay with his son John, who lay dangerously ill at Salamanca. Thus it had been agreed on by him and his queen, that she should accompany her daughter whilst she remained with John, and, upon his recovery, Ferdinand was to set out for Valencia, to grace the ceremony with his presence, and give away his daughter. Emmanuel being desirous the marriage might be concluded as soon as possible, wrote to the queen, that with her leave he would come to Valencia to receive

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his wife. She advised Ferdinand of this by a letter, who returned for answer, that John being so extremely bad, he could not possibly leave him; but since Emmanuel was so impatient, the marriage might be consummated when he pleased. He desired his Portuguese majesty would bring but a few attendants, and that all public demonstrations of joy might be deferred till a more proper season. The queen thercupon wrote to Emmanuel to the same purpose; who, without delay, set out for Valencia. A few days after his arrival, she received a dispatch, giving account of the death of her son; however, she kept it silent in her own breast, that she might not make Emmanuel a sharer in her grief; but it could not be long concealed from him. Having discovered it to be so, he thought it most prudent for him to set out for Portugal with his bride, before she heard of the melancholy news; accordingly he went to Ebora, where at last he divulged the death of John to the queen, who shewed the most inexpressible sorrow upon that account. The death of this prince, as he was the heir apparent to the crown, and the only male issue, could not but greatly affect the whole kingdom of Spain; so that there was a universal mourning and regret. He left behind him Margaret his wife, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, who held the sovereignty of Upper Pannonia, now called Austria. She was with child when John died; so that the people had some hopes she might bring forth an heir, and so prevent the kingdom's falling to a foreign prince: but all their fond expectations were disappointed; for in a few days Margaret miscarried. Thus it happened, that the right of inheritance now descended to Isabel, eldest daughter of Ferdinand.

Emmanuel, in the mean while, was wholly taken up with the affairs of his kingdom. He settled the rights of private possessions, granted immunities, upon certain restrictions, and marked out the boundaries of provinces, towns, and cities, that all disputes about

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property might be prevented, and citizens enjoy their privileges in security. Towards the end of this year, he and his queen, who was now pregnant, went to Lisbon. Here they received a dispatch from their Castilian majesties, giving an account of Margaret's miscarriage, and desiring them to come to Castille, that they might be declared lawful heirs to the crown, and receive allegiance from the people. Emmanuel saw there was a necessity for going to Spain, but first of all he thought it expedient to summon again his council; and he enacted several wise and salutary laws. On the first of April 1498, they set out on their journey, attended only with 300 horse. Their Spanish majesties had desired them not to bring a great retinue, lest this should create animosities betwixt the Spaniards and Portuguese, which, upon such occasions, are apt to spring from the most frivolous causes. Amongst these few attendants, mostly men of the greatest nobility, was George the son of John, who, though a youth, was universally admired. In his disposition as well as person, he so much resembled his father, that he revived in every one's mind the grateful remembrance of that celebrated monarch.

Emmanuel and Isabel, with all who accompanied them, were dressed in black to express their sorrow for the loss of a prince so much lamented throughout all Spain. When they entered the territories of this kingdom, the duke of Medina came on horseback to receive them: As soon as he came up with them, he dismounted, and kissed their hands; all the rest of the nobility did the same. As they passed through the cities and towns, vast crouds of people came forth to welcome them: great rejoicings were shewn, and sumptuous preparations made every where for their reception.

It was now in the close of the evening when they approached the city of Toledo, from whence Ferdinand came out to receive them, and embraced both in a very loving and affectionate manner. The magistrates

gistrates of the city waited at the gates, and in the most respectful terms acknowledged submission and obedience to their Portuguese majesties. They were conducted to church, under a golden umbrello. After prayers were offered up, they went to the palace, where queen Isabel received them with the highest marks of joy. Their arrival seemed to have dispelled from her mind that gloomy sorrow with which she had been overwhelmed ever since the death of her son. Ferdinand was extremely complaisant to all the nobility who accompanied Emmanuel, but especially to George, whom he distinguished with the greatest honour.

The king and queen of Spain thought that no delay ought to be made; therefore, in a few days afterwards they set about the business for which they had summoned a general assembly of the kingdom, and sent for their son in law and daughter. On the sun-day following, Emmanuel and Isabel were conducted to church with great pomp, the former having his horse led by the duke of Medina walking a foot on the right side, whilst the latter had the same office performed by the count de Feria walking on the left. In like manner Ferdinand and his queen were led by the master of the horse and the duke of Alva. The archbishop of Toledo performed the religious rites, with great ceremony. These being finished, Ferdinand and Isabel, advancing to Emmanuel and his queen, took each of them by the hand, and placed them in chairs raised on high, and adorned with rich ornaments, then seated themselves on each side. The deputies from the cities were disposed according to the order established in Spain for many ages. The nobility took their places as chance offered, and this without giving offence to each other; for Ferdinand had in the most friendly manner enjoyned them, not on such a occasion, to contend about frivolous points of honour, telling them it would highly displease him, if by their unseasonable animosites, they should disturb him in an affair which he was desirous should be conducted with universal harmony and agree-

ment. Silence being proclaimed, a person reputed to be a great orator and an able civilian, got up and made a most eloquent speech; in this he set forth the peace, the tranquillity, the increase of empire, and many other advantages which would flow from an union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal. He recommended, in the strongest manner, to the nobility and the different cities, that they should love and esteem the king and queen of Portugal, and at all times, and on all occasions, give them testimonies of their loyalty and affection. He next addressed himself to Emmanuel and Isabel, telling them, he hoped they would imitate the great virtues of their majesties who at present filled the throne. He exhorted them to consider what an important trust they were about to undertake. That it was their duty to protect the innocent; to punish the guilty; to ward off dangers, and give succour to the people; to preserve them in a state of tranquillity; and by all possible means to make the kingdom thrive and flourish. This speech being ended, the archbishop advanced to Emmanuel and Isabel, with a bible in his hand, which he opened, and having placed a crucifix thereupon, he desired them to lay their hands upon it: This they accordingly did, and, after a short form of words was pronounced; they bound themselves by the most sacred oaths, to administer justice with impartiality; to preserve the liberties of the people; and to make it their highest ambition to provide for the interest and welfare of the whole kingdom. Then the book was delivered to the master of the horse, who holding it in his hands, took the oaths to Emmanuel and Isabel, as heirs to the crown; and that on all occasions, at the hazard of his life, he would be ready to shew his attachment to their service. The rest of the nobility, and the deputies from the cities followed his example. Then in the order they had taken the oaths of allegiance, they went all up and kissed their hands, excepting only the citizens of Toledo. It may not be foreign to our purpose, if we give the reason why they alone declined

clined their duty, since we may learn from thence, what slight causes will often give rise to the most turbulent seditions, and be attended with fatal consequences, if not prevented by the utmost wisdom and discretion.

There had been a dispute of long standing betwixt the citizens of Toledo and those of Burgos about pre-eminence: the former maintained their city to be the metropolis of Castile, whilst the latter with as much warmth affirmed Toledo to be the capital of Spain. The point in question could never be brought to an amicable conclusion, so that neither would yield to the other in precedence; as often then as any of the kings of Spain summoned an assembly, there was a danger, that the representatives of these cities would proceed to violence. Alphonso the eleventh having called a public diet of his people, was resolved in some shape to put an end to this controversy: therefore, in presence of the whole assembly, before there was any mention made of the dispute, he said, ‘I know the citizens of Toledo will obey my will with cheerfulness, let those of Burgos speak.’ This declaration of the king pleased both, because each imagined the preference was given to them. The citizens of Toledo thought the greatest honour was shewn to them, because the king mentioned them first; whilst those of Burgos were persuaded his majesty had most honoured them, by calling on them to speak first. The succeeding princes, as often as they summoned an assembly, followed the same method. The citizens of Toledo, however, did not choose to pay their respects in the public assembly, that they might not, upon such an occasion, revive the old dispute. But after their majesties had left the church, and were on their way to the archbishop’s palace, where a most elegant entertainment was prepared, the citizens of Toledo went up to them, in the most submissive manner, and kissed their hands.

The assembly being dismissed, Ferdinand and his queen set out for Arragon, with their son in law and daughter;

daughter, in order to have them declared heirs to that kingdom, and that they might receive allegiance there, as in Castile. As they made their progress thro' the country they were met by vast crowds of people, who gave the greatest demonstrations of joy at their arrival; and the nobility as well as all the different cities, made sumptuous and princely preparations for their reception. On the first of June, they reached Caragoca, where they were received with the utmost pomp and solemnity. After a few days rest Ferdinand gave orders, that this city, as those in Castile had done, should take oaths of allegiance to Emmanuel and Isabel. The Caragocians, however, said they could not comply, till they had a conference with the citizens of Valencia and Barcelona, whom they looked upon to be the guardians and protectors of their liberties. Nevertheless, Ferdinand insisted they should make no delay, since he was sure, he said, these cities would perform their duty, when required: And he saw no reason why they should put off an affair which admitted of so little doubt. They answered, ' That it was a matter not to be determined rashly, but required the utmost deliberation; that they did not hesitate about giving their allegiance, but about the terms and conditions on which it was to be given. And before this point was settled, they thought it convenient to hold a convention with their fellow-citizens, by whose joint assistance and counsel, they might be the more able to support the common cause. However, since it was his majesty's pleasure, that they should immediately take the oaths of allegiance, they said, they would obey his commands, on condition Emmanuel and Isabel should bind themselves by an oath, that, upon their accession to the throne, they would restore those rights and immunities to the people of Arragon, which Ferdinand himself had taken from them.' The king replied, he would by no means suffer a restitution to be made of privileges, which they justly forfeited by the abuse they had made of them.

Three months were spent in these disputes, which gave great umbrage to their Castilian majesties. They had many reasons to be offended, but one thing particularly touched them: The Caragocians affirmed it to be contrary to the constitution of Arragon, to be under the dominion of a woman. And therefore if the king died without male issue, that the people would then have a right to elect any person whom they esteemed worthy of such a high dignity. In the mean while the citizens, jealous of their liberties, held meetings and cabals, to concert measures for the common cause. They provided arms, and concealed them in their houses; they drew together their forces from all quarters, and, in short, omitted nothing which might enable them to stand in defence of their rights and privileges. However, all these tumults were quieted by the birth of a son, whom young Isabel brought forth on the 25th of August. He was named Michael. Ferdinand was so transported with this piece of good fortune, that he could hardly contain his joy; with a loud voice he congratulated every one on the birth of this prince, who was heir to the kingdom of Spain. But alas! how uncertain are the joys of human life! how quickly succeeded by scenes of deepest sorrow! Isabel during her pregnancy had been very much indisposed, and as her time drew near, became worse and worse; after her delivery she was reduced extremely low, and a few days afterwards died, in her father's arms. This lady was a shining example of piety, modesty, and discretion; all which she displayed in a most conspicuous manner in her last moments. Her affections were not fixed upon this life, but raised to another, which is everlasting and full of felicity. The death of this princess was universally lamented, and threw a damp upon that joy which the king, the nobility, and all the cities had expressed on the birth of the young prince.

The funeral rites being performed, and all things settled according to the will of the deceased queen, Emmanuel then began to think of setting out for Portugal.

tugal. When he took leave of Ferdinand and Isabel, this brought their sorrow afresh into their minds; while he at the same time, was deeply affected with the thoughts of having lost a wife of such extraordinary virtue. He was attended by a great number of the Spanish nobility, who accompanied him as far as the Portuguese territories. In this journey thither, when at the town of Alanda, he sent ambassadors to the Pope, exhorting him to set about the reformation of the church. Her morals were totally degenerated, religious zeal was extinguished; vice and licentiousness universally prevailed, and religion was prostituted to the most unworthy purposes. The city where piety and devotion ought to dwell, was now become the common sink of wickedness and debauchery. In short, things were come to such an extremity, that the church of Rome must fall to ruin, if not recovered by a speedy reformation. Emmanuel therefore earnestly entreated, nay in the name of Christ conjured his holiness, to put a stop to this growth of vice and immorality, to extirpate lust, to restrain avarice, and check the present licentiousness of manners, by a strict discipline. He said, it would highly become his dignity, and greatly redound to his honour, if, by an exemplary piety, he would revive a spirit of virtue and religion in his own territories, and by this means recall other christian nations to a sense of their duty. The ambassadors were Roderigo de Castro, and Henry Coutign, noblemen of great wisdom and sagacity. He ordered them to communicate the particulars of their commission to king Ferdinand's ambassador, who, as it had been agreed on by Emmanuel and his Spanish majesty, was sent to Rome on the same account.

Having dispatched these persons, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived at Lisbon on the 13th of October. There he received an express from Ferdinand and Isabel, giving an account, that his son Michael had been unanimously declared heir to the kingdoms of Arragon and Castille, and had received the allegiance of

1499

of the whole people. They desired the same might be done in Portugal, since it would tend very much to the peace and welfare of both kingdoms. Emmanuel therefore in the following year 1499, summoned an assembly for that purpose. He required of them to proclaim Michael successor to the crown of Portugal and to take the oaths of allegiance to him. This they did not refuse, upon condition that he, in the name of his son, should make a promise, and bind it by an oath, that no place of trust or profit, nor the government of any fort or garrison belonging to the Portuguese, either at home or abroad, should at any time, or upon any pretence whatsoever, be conferred upon any person not a native of Portugal. This the king readily complied with, and confirmed his promise by signing it with his own hand, that it might be kept as a public testimony. The people thereupon bound themselves to be faithful to Michael.

In the mean while, the ambassadors whom Emmanuel had sent to the Pope having arrived at Rome, had a meeting with Garsia Lasso, king Ferdinand's ambassador, to whom, according to their orders, they communicated every thing relating to the embassy. After the affair was properly deliberated upon, they went all three to the Pope, and, in the name of their Spanish and Portuguese majesties, recommended to him, that he would shew his zeal for the interest of religion, and promote true piety, by extirpating vice and wickedness. Nor did they think it sufficient once to make their application, but pressed him thereto by frequent and repeated solicitations, and published the particulars of their embassy, signed with their names, as a public testimony, that nothing had been omitted by their Spanish and Portuguese majesties, which might contribute to recover the sinking church. This admonition was taken, or seemed to be taken, in good part by his holiness. It produced one good effect, that Alexander put on an appearance of being less extravagant and dissolute in his conduct. A few days afterwards, he sent a

deputy to Emmanuel, to present him with a sword and cap, which he had consecrated. The king accepted of them with great civility, and sent back the messenger with rich presents, and a letter to Alexander, wherein he declared he would always adhere to the interest of religion, and be ready to espouse the cause of his holiness on all occasions. In this same year, on the 11th of July, Emmanuel received the first intelligence of his Indian expedition, which we shall here give an account of from the beginning: When Gama set sail from Lisbon, he directed his course to the Canary Islands, thence he made towards the island of St. Jago. The ships for three months afterwards were harrassed by continued storms, when at last they came in sight of land, which Gama ordered them to make. The ships accordingly came to anchor in a large bay, and our people being now in great want of water, the admiral sent Nicholas de Cœlo, to try if he could find any river thereabouts. Cœlo having examined the shore, luckily discovered the mouth of a river, the water of which was sweet, and the banks of a beautiful verdure. As soon as Gama was informed of this, he ordered the ships to make towards that river, in order to water and lay in a stock of wood. Here they saw vast numbers of sea-calves, some of which they killed for food. The admiral was resolved, by all possible means to inform himself of the manners and customs of the people in the different places he touched at. He therefore dispatched some persons, to try if they could, by force or stratagem, bring him any of the inhabitants of the country, by whom he might satisfy his curiosity. Accordingly they brought him some black men, with short fleecy hair. Several of the Portuguese who accompanied Gama were acquainted with most of the Ethiopian languages, but not one understood these men; so that they were obliged to express their meaning to each other by signs and gestures. Gama behaved to them with great civility, giving them cloaths, together with bells, glasses, and such other trifles, which extremely

extremely pleased them, and induced others to come, expecting to be treated with the like generosity. Our People lived on a very friendly footing with these Ethiopians, who supplied them with plenty of wholesome nourishing provisions, such as were the produce of their country. In return, our men gave them cloaths of a small value, and other trifling things, which these men esteemed at a very high rate. This friendly intercourse was, however, not of a long standing, being broke off by the indiscretion of a Portuguese, who, having contracted a great intimacy with the natives, desired liberty to go along with some of them to their houses. They conducted him ashore with great complaisance, and in their way killed a sea-calf, which they intended, as an elegant entertainment for their new guest. This dish, when served up, was so much against the stomach of the squeamish Portuguese, that he got up, and wanted to be gone. Nor did they oppose his abrupt departure, but accompanied him with the greatest good humour. He doubted, however, whether they intended him by way of honour; or led him as a victim to be sacrificed; his fear made things appear in the worst light; therefore, when he came near to the ships, he called aloud for help, as if he had been led captive. Our men came immediately to his assistance, which frightened the Ethiopians, who fled to the woods, where their arms were deposited: there they concealed themselves, for now they looked upon the Portuguese as invaders come to destroy them. The arms which they used were spears headed with sharp pieces of horn; these being whirled round, and thrown with great dexterity, wound as deep as the sharpest javelin. In the mean while, Gama, with some of the officers, had come ashore, to take the altitude of the sun with an astrolable. Whilst they were busied in this manner, without the least apprehension of danger, those who had retired to the woods, of a sudden sallied out from their lurking places, attacked them with great fury, and wounded several, amongst whom was the admiral himself,

himself, who received a wound in the foot. Our men were obliged to retreat, which they effected sooner than was expected. Thus it happened, by the folly and rashness of one man, that the ships could no longer water at this place with safety. Our people gave the name of St. Helen to the bay, and that of St. Jago to the river, according to the names of the saints on whose days these places were discovered. This was the rule which they observed in naming all the unknown parts which they discovered.

Thence they steered towards the Cape. In this part of the voyage Gama gave the greatest proofs of his resolution, which was often put to the most severe tryal. The waves in these seas were like mountains in height; the winds boisterous and piercing cold; the storms frightful in themselves, were rendered still more so by an almost continual darkness, which prevails in these parts at that time of the year. In short, every thing appeared most dismal and horrid, especially to those who had never been in these seas. They expected every moment to be swallowed up in the deep. Now the ships seemed to be raised to the heavens, then to be sunk to the lowest abyss. Being unable to proceed further, they were obliged to tack, and humour the winds, so as to keep the way they had already made; and thus to wait the issue of the storm. When there happened to be a calm at any time, then the men, half-dead with fear, came round Gama, begging he would not suffer himself, as well as those committed to his charge, to lose their lives by so horrid a death. They said, they could no longer weather the storm, but must certainly be all buried in the waves, if he went any farther, and did not steer homewards again. The admiral with great firmness refused their request; for this reason, there was a conspiracy formed against him. This he was informed of by his brother Paul, and guarded against it with the utmost precaution: he put all the pilots in chains, and he himself, with some others, performed that office. At last, however, when he had for a

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considerable time resolutely withstood the dangers of the storm, and a wicked machination, the weather took a turn, and he quickly made the Cape of Good Hope, which all our ships doubled on the 20th of November. This was matter of great joy to the whole company ; now they thought there was no obstacle to oppose them, but that with pleasure they should proceed in their voyage. They coasted along at a little distance from the shore, having a most agreeable prospect of the adjacent country, which appeared rich and beautiful. They saw large woods and thick forests, with numerous herds of cattle scattered every where. The country seemed also to abound in people, whom they could see moving to and fro, from all quarters. These men in colour, as well as make of their body, very much resembled those of St. Helen's Bay ; when they spoke, they seemed to sob ; their privities were inclosed in wooden cases, the rest of their body being left quite naked ; they play upon pipes, with which they make no contemptible music ; they live in huts made of clay, or brick hardened in the sun, which they cover with straw and clods of earth. Our people having got 73 leagues north of the cape, found another bay, which they called Angra de San Blas. In the innermost part of it there is a little island, where the ships put in, to get a supply of water. The land hereabouts is very fertile, and abounds in large elephants and great numbers of fine oxen ; which the natives put pack-saddles upon, and use as horses. Here are also prodigious numbers of sea-calves of such surprising fierceness, that they will often fly at people ; and certain birds called soliticairos, about the size of a goose ; they have no feathers, and their wings resemble those of a bat ; these, however, do not enable them to fly, but when expanded make them run with the most astonishing swiftness. Gama, having watered and taken in some provisions, set sail from this place.

On the 8th of December a sudden storm arose, which struck a panic into our people, and drove them

Cape of Good Hope

quite out of sight of land: but it soon blew over, and they again approached the shore; for, as they were unacquainted with the navigation in these parts, they thought it dangerous to keep out at sea, and chose rather to cruise along at a little distance from the coast: On the 10th of January, they descried some little islands, about 230 miles from their last watering place; these appeared extremely pleasant. The trees were tall and lofty, the meadows of a beautiful verdure, and great numbers of cattle frisked about every where. There was now the most profound calm, and the sea was of a proper depth; so that they could, without danger, keep close to the land, and view it with great pleasure. They could see the inhabitants walking upon the shore in vast numbers: these men in colour resembled those already seen in these coasts. Their persons were stately, and outward appearance graceful. Here Gama anchored, and dispatched one of his men, whom he knew to be well versed in languages, in his name to wait upon the king, and pay his respects to him. This messenger was received with great civility, and dismissed with presents such as the country produced. These people were more civilized than the rest, and affected more gaiety in their dress; they had bracelets on their arms, and brazen helmets on their heads; they wore sabres by their sides with tin handles, in ivory scabbards not unskilfully fashioned. The admiral, at his departure from this place, left two exiles, that they might inform themselves of the nature and customs of this people. There were in the fleet ten malefactors, who had been condemned to die, but pardoned on condition they went along with Gama; and wherever he should leave them, they were to examine the country, and, at his return be able to give him intelligence of the manners of the inhabitants.

On the 15th of January, they came to the mouth of a very large river, the banks of which were covered with an agreeable verdure, and shaded with trees loaded with fruit. It was in the dusk of the evening when

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the Portuguese reached this place, therefore they cast anchor, and waited the return of the day, to have a more distinct view of the country. On the morning, they saw several of the natives making towards them in little boats. These men, who came aboard without the least fear or hesitation, were treated with great civility ; none of the Portuguese, however, understood their language. Some days afterwards, four of the chief persons in the country came aboard the ships, to pay their respects to Gama, who received them with the utmost politeness. He made an entertainment for them, and at their departure, decked them with silken garments. These presents not a little pleased the people, who could not help shewing visible marks of joy ; but these no more than the Ethiopians beforementioned, were understood by the Portuguese, who could not make out from them how far it was to India. Only one of them, who spoke Arabic very imperfectly, said there was a country not far distant, from whence he had come but a few days ago, where ships of the same shape and size as ours used often to resort. The spirits of our people were greatly elevated by this piece of intelligence, for they hoped in a little time to behold India. This river Gama called De bon Sinyas, or of good signs. He placed upon the banks a pillar of stone, on which was carved a crucifix, with the arms of Emmanuel under, to spread the glory of the christian name, and be a monument of the fame of that illustrious prince : for this purpose, several of these pillars had been carried in the ships from Portugal. He gave the name of St. Raphael to the country where he left two of the criminals. Having refitted his ships, and refreshed the sick, he gave orders on the 24th of February to set sail.

On the first of March, the Portuguese discerned four islands not far distant from each other. Cælo descried seven vessels in full sail from one of these islands, and bearing towards our ships : they knew our admiral by her ensign, and accordingly made towards her : be-

ing come within hearing, they set up a great shout, and hailed our people in the Arabian language. When they came up with our ships, they began to play on flutes and other musical instruments, and with loud huzzas congratulated the admiral on his arrival in these parts. These men were likewise of a blackish colour, but of a genteel make, and mostly dressed in silk; their heads were adorned with turbans made of fine linen, interwoven with gold. They wore faulchions by their sides, and targets on their arms. Having come aboard, they spoke to our people in the Arabian tongue; those of the Portuguese who understood that language, answered them in the most obliging manner. The admiral ordered a collation to be served up, which they very freely accepted of. During the repast, Gama expressed his desire to know the name, as well as the manners and customs of this island, and how far it was distant from India. They made answer, that it was calied Mozambique, subject to the king of Quiloa, who appointed a governor, invested with high authority. Great part of the island, they said, was inhabited by Saracen merchants, and they had a market there inferior to none in those parts; for from thence ships went to Arabia, to India, and many other parts of the world; and from all these places, imported great quantities of all sorts of goods. Moreover, they said there was on this coast, a country that Gama had passed by, called Zofala, which abounded in gold; and, lastly, they informed the admiral how far that place was from Calicut. This account added greatly to the spirits of our people, who, with uplifted hands, began to return thanks to God, thinking their labours now almost at a period.

This island is situated in that part of Africa formerly called Agesirba, in 16 degrees southern latitude. The inhabitants are black, and the country, on account of its marshes, is very unwholesome. Their houses are made of clay, and thatched with straw; yet, for the convenience of traffic, ships come hither from all

all quarters. The Arabs, at that time, had the most power and wealth in this island. They use small galleyes not fastened with nails, but long round pegs driven through holes made for that purpose ; they caulk the seams with ropes made of palm leaves. The palm trees are of a great height, covered with long prickly leaves ; the broad spreading boughs afford an agreeable shade, and bear nuts of a great size, called cocoes.

The Arabs at that time knew the use of the compass, and had sea charts and maps, wherein the situation of countries were laid down with great accuracy : nor were they without quadrants, with which they took the altitude of the sun, and the latitude of places. In short, so great was their skill in these arts, that they seemed to be very little inferior to the Portuguese pilots, in knowledge of maritime affairs. They conversed very jocosely with our people, whom they imagined to be Mahometans from Barbary. Our admiral was extremely kind to them ; he gave them several presents, and entrusted them with others, which he desired they might, in his name, present to the governor. His name was Zacocia, who, when he heard what a kind reception his countrymen had met with, and saw the presents sent to himself, he thought he was bound in civility to pay Gama a visit. For this purpose, he dressed himself in rich embroidered cloaths, and put on a fine sword set with diamonds. Thus equipped, and attended by a number of armed men, with drums and trumpets playing before him, he set out for the ships. Before his arrival, Gama had ordered all the sick to be removed out of sight, and those who were in health to be above deck, armed in the Portuguese manner : for, as he thought there was no faith to be put in the Saracens, he therefore resolved to be upon his guard at all times. Zacocia having come aboard with his attendants, saluted Gama, who returned this civility with the utmost respect. These compliments being over, they sat down and discoursed together very sociably. An elegant entertainment was

served up, and plenty of wine filled round. They eat very heartily, nor did the superstition of the Mahometan religion hinder them from taking their bottle freely. Zacocia made no doubt but our people were of some Mahometan country ; he asked whether they were Moors or Turks, what kind of warlike arms they used ; and, lastly, if they had any books concerning the Mahometan religion, for such he should be extremely glad to see. Gama made answer, that he came from the west ; that the arms of our people were such as those who stood by were accoutred with ; besides, that they made use of certain engines, to be seen in his ships, with which they could not only destroy whole armies, but even shake and batter to pieces the strongest citadels. As for the books of religion which our people followed, he said he would shew them with the greatest pleasure, after he and his men had a few days respite from their fatigue. Moreover, he told Zacocia he was bound for India, and desired he would supply him with some person skilled in navigation to pilot him thither.

Next day, the governor revisited our fleet, and brought with him two pilots, who agreed for a certain sum of money to steer the ships to Calicut. In short, there was such a mutual exchange of good offices betwixt our people and these islanders, that it looked as if their friendship would have been of a long standing ; but it proved otherwise : As soon as Zacocia perceived them to be Christians, all kindness was turned into the most bitter hatred ; then he began to lay schemes for their destruction, and by all possible means to devise how he might destroy the ships. Gama and all his men were now treated in the most spiteful manner. Tumults and seditions were stirred up against them. A plot was formed against the life of the admiral, but happily discovered. One of the pilots whom the governor had furnished, went off and never returned. Some of our men being ashore to get water and wood, were attacked by seven of their barks, but received no

harm, which was owing to the timely assistance of the rest of the Portuguese, who set upon these vessels, and poured into them a volley of missive weapons.

This skirmish being over, Gama set sail for an island four miles distant; from thence he steered towards Quiloa, but contrary winds and tempestuous weather, drove the ships back again to that island they had touched at when they left Mozambique. Here an Arabian, with his little son, came to the admiral, begging him to take them aboard, and set them ashore at some convenient port, whence he might go to Mecca, the place of his nativity. Gama having, upon enquiry, found this person to be skilled in navigation, received him aboard very gladly, thinking by his assistance, and that of the other pilot, he should be enabled to finish his course. Besides, there was another man who seemed to be not unskilled in this art, whom Paul de Gama had carried off in the scuffle at Mozambique. At this time, Gama had but three ships; the fourth, which was the storeship, the stock being quite exhausted, by his orders had been burnt some time ago. With these, as soon as the wind was favourable, he again set sail for Quiloa, but could not make that port, which was owing to some error in their course, or more probably to some fraud in the Mozambique pilot, who advised them to make for Mombaze. This city, he said, was chiefly inhabited by Christians; nor was there any place more fit for the reception and cure of the sick. Gama was persuaded, or rather necessitated, to follow this advice, partly owing to the want of provisions, and partly to the indisposition of his men; many of whom had been already cut off by various distempers, and most of those who survived were in a lingering sickly condition.

The city of Mombaze is situated in a bay upon a high rock, and the sea almost surrounding, makes it a peninsula. The harbour is defended by a fortress furnished with all manner of warlike stores, and defended by a strong garrison. The soil of this place is very fer-

tile; it abounds in all kind of fruits and vegetables. Here are likewise great numbers of all sorts of cattle, and plenty of excellent water. The climate is temperate, and the air healthy. The inhabitants live with taste and elegance. Their houses are built after the European manner, and adorned with variety of fine paintings. Here Gama intended to take a few days rest for the recovery of the sick, and to refresh all his men with the wholesome fruits of the place.

Scarce had they anchored, when they espied a galley rowing towards the flag-ship. In this galley there were about 100 Men in Turkish habits, armed with sabres and bucklers: of these there were four, who, by their appearance, seemed to be above the common rank. All of them shewed an inclination to come aboard, but the admiral denied admittance to any but these four; nor would he even permit them, till they had put off their arms. When these persons came aboard, they very much extolled Gama's prudence in not allowing armed strangers to come into the ships. During their stay, they were extremely affable in their behaviour, and by all possible means, endeavoured to gain the affections of our people. They said, their king had been informed of the arrival of the Portuguese, and was desirous of entering into a friendship and alliance with them. The following day, deputies came from the king, in his name, to compliment Gama, bringing along with them such provisions as were most proper to refresh the men after their fatigue. These men talked much in praise of their country; they said, the soil was rich and fertile, and abounding with all the commodities to be found in India. Their king, they added, was well disposed towards our people, and willing to give the highest marks of his friendship. They, therefore, desired Gama to approach the city, and come to an anchorage in the harbor, that his majesty might have an opportunity of treating with him more conveniently. He accordingly promised to comply with his request, and as an earnest of his performance

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mance thereof, sent ashore two of his exiles. The king received them with the utmost joy and satisfaction, and ordered his domestics to accompany them, to take a view of the beauty and situation of his city. At their departure, he shewed them several sorts of spices, such as are usually brought from India. These he gave the exiles to shew to Gama, which might be an inducement to make him traffic with a king who was so amicably disposed, rather than proceed further, and run the risque of so dangerous a voyage.

The exiles, upon their return, related these things to the admiral, who being greatly overjoyed at such news, ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the ships to advance towards the city. It happened, however, that his own ship, being hurried on by the violence of the tide, was in danger of running a ground; he, therefore, commanded her sails to be turtled, and the anchors dropt; and that the same should likewise be done by the other ships. No sooner were these orders put in execution, than the Mozambique pilots threw themselves into the sea, and swam to some boats a little way off. Being conscious of their treacherous design, in steering the ships to Mombaze, they imagined their villainy had been discovered, and that upon this account the anchors were so suddenly dropt. Gama called aloud to those in the boats to send back his pilots; but they not regarding him, landed them safe on the opposite shore: this not a little surprised him, considering the pretended friendship of these people. The truth of the case was, that all had been dissimulation. The king having got intelligence of what had passed at Mozambique, had laid the scheme of decoying the ships into the harbour, that he might with more ease take or destroy them.

Gama, not only from his own conjecture, but also from some discoveries of the Arabian pilot, and several other circumstances, was now sensible what dangers he had escaped, and acknowledged the hand of Providence in this wonderful deliverance. The king finding

ing this scheme defeated, sent in the dead of the night some men in small vessels to cut the anchor-cables of our ships ; but this design was also frustrated by the assiduity and vigilance of the admiral, otherwise we must have been reduced to the greatest extremity. Two days afterwards, for sooner they could not get clear of this bay, they hoisted their sails, and directed their course to Melinda. In their way thither, they took a Saracen ship, out of which they detained 14 Prisoners, and dismissed the rest. One of these Gama perceived, by his mein and behaviour, to be a person of distinction. He accordingly entered into conversation with him, and asked several questions, to all which he received very sensible satisfactory answers, and some useful instructions concerning this present voyage. They arrived at Melinda on Easter day.

This city stands in a beautiful plain, surrounded with a variety of fine gardens : these are stocked with all sorts of trees, especially the orange, the flowers of which yield a most grateful diffusive smell. The country is rich and plentiful, abounding not only with tame and domestic cattle, but with game of all kinds, which the natives hunt down, or take with nets. Their houses are stately and magnificent, being chiefly built of square stones. The natives are blacks, with short hair, and not unelegant in their dress. Their religion is paganism, and they worship their images with great superstition : they adorn their heads with turbants ; the rest of their body they leave naked to the waist, and from thence to the middle of the leg are covered with silk. They are a people extremely fond of military glory ; the arms they use are sabres, little bucklers, spears, with bows and arrows.

The coasts about Melinda are full of shelves, and the seas thereabouts often very tempestuous ; Gama, therefore, anchored at a good distance from the city : besides, the dangers which he had so narrowly escaped from the people of Mombaze, made him greatly distrust those of Melinda. The Saracen, whom he had taken

taken aboard, having perceived this, offered to go and found the king's inclination; telling him, at the same time, that there were in that port four ships from India, the commanders of which were Christians; who having already finished their business, would, in all probability, soon set out for India; and that the company of such could not but very much facilitate his voyage. The admiral did not choose to put much confidence in this Saracen; yet, however, as the advice could be followed without danger, he resolved to put it to tryal, and accordingly ordered him to be landed on an island opposite to Melinda: he was carried from thence in a boat sent from the city. Upon his arrival, he was introduced to the king, whom he gave an account of the manners of our people, and made high encomiums on their civility and humane disposition; adding, that they were very desirous of his majesty's friendship; and that it would tend very much to his welfare and honour to enter into an alliance with men of such extraordinary merit.

The king was an elderly man, of a mild and gentle temper; he dispatched a person, in his name to salute Gama, and sent by way of present several sheep, and fruits of all sorts. Our admiral, in his turn, was resolved not to be outdone in friendly offices; and accordingly returned these compliments with great civility and generosity. He ordered the ships to be advanced nearer to the shore, and invited the Indian Christians to come aboard. These men seemed greatly transported with the sight of our people, and gave them several useful instructions, with regard to their voyage.

The king was extremely desirous to visit the Portuguese ships, but was unable to do it, by reason of his age and infirmities; his son, however, on whom he had devolved the supreme authority, came in great pomp, attended by several of his nobility. His dress was magnificent and royal, and the galley in which he was rowed, resounded with the music of drums and trumpets.

trumpets. Gama, that he might receive him with more state, went to meet him in a boat, which the king's son had no sooner come up with, than at once he jumped into it, and embraced Gama with as much familiarity as if he had been his intimate friend. Then they conversed together with an agreeable freedom. During the whole conversation, this prince shewed nothing of the rude uncivilized barbarian; on the contrary, he gave the highest marks of his politeness and good sense. He seemed to look at the admiral with admiration, examined the form of the ships very attentively, and on every occasion expressed the utmost regard for our people. Gama made him a present of all the Saracen prisoners, which he accounted as a very considerable piece of kindness. He earnestly requested Gama to pay a visit to his father, who, he said, offered to leave both his sons as a pledge of his safe return. Upon Gama's refusal, he begged him at least to allow two of his men to go ashore, which was granted. Next day, the admiral took boat, and went nearer to the city, to take a view of its beautiful situation. Here the prince revisited him, and behaved with the same friendship and good manners. He furnished the admiral with an able pilot, and obtained a promise from him, that upon his return to Portugal he would take Melinda in his way; for he said he was extremely desirous to send an ambassador to his Portuguese majesty, and enter into an alliance with so great a monarch.

On the 22d of April, they set sail from this place. The pilot at first steered towards the north, so that in a few days they passed the Line, and with pleasure beheld again the great and little Bear, Orion, and the other stars about the northern pole. Then they stood to the east, and passed over a very broad ocean. On the 20th of March, they thought they saw some high land, but the weather being hazy, they could not distinguish it exactly. However, two days afterwards, the pilot having spied the mountains of Calicut, run up to Gama, and gave him the joyful tidings. This

news

news not a little transported the admiral ; he returned thanks to heaven, and shewed the greatest marks of extacy and joy ; nor would he allow any who were aboard to be in sorrow upon such an occasion ; for he unfettered all his prisoners, and set them at liberty. The whole company now thought the happy time was come, when they should taste the sweets of all their labour and fatigue.

The same day, the ships came to anchor two miles from Calicut ; they were soon surrounded with numbers of Indian canoes : those who were aboard, asked many questions, and in their turn answered as many. Gama enquired of them by interpreters, in what place their king resided. He sent one of the exiles into the city, who had scarce set his foot on shore, when vast croudls came round him ; all pressing to see a man of an appearance and dress so strange, and all inquisitive to know whence he came, what he wanted, and by what fortune he had been brought into these parts ; but he understood nothing of their language, nor they of his. He was carried off his feet by the throng, and borne here and there, as if it were by the waves of the sea, till at last he light on two merchants from the city of Tunis in Africa. These were not a little astonished when they saw him ; by his dress they took him to be a Spaniard : accordingly one of them, whose name was Monzaida, accosted him in Spanish, asking of what part of that kingdom he was. Monzaida, having received for answer, that he was a Portuguese, invited him to his house, and treated him with the highest kindness. He informed him, that he had formerly dealt considerably with the Portuguese, having been the chief person in contracting for, and providing the warlike stores, for which king Feidinand had sent to Tunis. He desired of the exile to introduce him to the admiral ; accordingly they set out for the ships.

Monzaida, when he came aboard, accosted Gama in the Spanish language, who gave him a most hearty welcome, and a kind reception. They held a long conversation

versation together, wherein he let Gama into the knowledge of many useful particulars. And whatever questions were asked him, he answered them in such a manner as shewed he was a man of great understanding, and far from being a superficial enquirer into things. He told our people, that he would be ready to do them all the friendly offices in his power. Moreover, he said, that their arrival would be very grateful to the king of Calicut, because he was always pleased with the commerce of different nations. For though his dominions were very extensive, and not a few princes tributary to him, yet his revenues chiefly arose from the duties on merchandize. The following day, Gama sent two of his officers with Monzaida, to wait upon the king, who then resided at Pandarene, three miles from Calicut. These men being admitted to his presence, told him, That the king of Portugal being filled with admiration at the fame and dignity of his name, had sent thither one of his admirals, who would be extremely glad to have the honour of waiting on his majesty, and, in the name of his master, to enter into a league of friendship with so great a prince. The king made answer, That the arrival of the Portuguese admiral gave him inexpressible pleasure, and he would with chearfulness embrace the opportunity of making such an alliance. For this purpose he would, as soon as possible, have an interview with Gama ; whom, in the mean time, he advised to bring the ships nearer to Pandarene, since the harbour where they lay at present was excessively dangerous, because of the frequent tempests at that time of the year ; and accordingly he sent one to pilot the ships into a more convenient place.

Some days afterwards, one of those magistrates whom they call catuals, was sent by the king to wait upon Gama, and conduct him to his palace. The admiral, in the mean time, gave the command of the ships to his brother Paul ; to whom, as well as to Nicholas Cœlo, he left orders, that if he happened to meet with any misfortune when ashore, they should give

give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly homewards, to give an account of their new navigation; since it would be highly unreasonable, that by making a fruitless attempt to save him, they should run the risque of being all destroyed, and thus lose the fruits of such vast fatigue. He said, that in order to accomplish the purpose for which he was sent into these parts, he could not avoid having an interview with the king of Calicut; nor did he make the least scruple of sacrificing his life for the service of his king and country. He took only 12 of his men to attend him, being resolved to leave as many hands aboard as possible, in case of any necessity.

When Gama came ashore, he was conducted into a sedan chair, by order of the cattal, who was carried in another just by him, whilst all the rest of the company walked. They were surrounded with great numbers of the nobles, who are called naires. Having reached the town, there they dined, then went aboard some canoes, and sailed down the river to a place where numbers of men with sedans waited for them.

Thence the cattal led them into a very fine temple, which Gama, having heard there were a great many christians in that country, conjectured to be a christian church. The magnificence and grandeur of the building, with some other particulars very much confirmed him in this opinion. At the entrance, they were met by four men naked from the head to the waist, and from thence to the knees clad in silk. Each of them had three strings coming over the right shoulder, and tied under the left arm. They seemed to sprinkle holy water, and held out to every one the dust of some wood of a fine scent, with which they made, or seemed to make crosses on their foreheads. The walls of the temple were adorned with curious paintings. In the middle there was a little round chapel, ascending by some steps, the door was made of brass, but very small. Within this chapel, on the wall opposite

posite to the entrance, there stood an image, but the form of it could not be viewed distinctly, because of the gloominess of the place. Our people were not admitted here, nor indeed was this liberty given to any but the priests. The four persons whom we have already mentioned, went up to the image, and pointing to it with their fingers, called aloud Mary! Mary! Then the catual, withall his attendants, prostrated themselves on the ground, and raised their hands in a suppliant posture, and when they rose up, still seemed to offer up supplications. Our people imagining they invoked the assistance of the Virgin Mary, likewise joined in putting up prayers to God, and after the manner of their country adored the blessed mother of our Saviour.

Having left this temple, they entered another of equal magnificence, then walked in procession towards the palace. In their way thither, the streets and avenues were so crowded with all sorts of people, who came out of curiosity to see Gama and his attendants, that they could not have reached the palace, had it not been for the nobles, who cleared the way with their drawn swords. At the entrance to the palace, they were met by several of the grandees belonging to the court, whom they call caimae. When they had come to that part where the king waited to give them audience, an elderly man in a silken garment reaching from his shoulders to his heels, came forth to receive them, and embraced Gama in the most friendly manner. This venerable person was master of the Brameins and of great authority with the king. The rest of the company were first shewn into a hall, then he followed with Gama. This hall was magnificent and spacious, with several rows of seats most ingeniously contrived, rising above each other, after the manner of an amphitheatre. The floor was covered with rich carpets, and the walls hung with silk tapestry curiously interwoven with gold. The king lay reclined

on

on a magnificent sofa ; he was dressed in a silken garment fastened with golden clasps, and he had a mitre on his head, adorned with jewels ; his fingers sparkled with rings set with precious stones. His outward person was graceful, and his whole deportment truly noble and majestic.

Gama, in the Portugese manner, did obeisance to his majesty, who received him very graciously, placed him in a seat just by him, and ordered his attendants likewise to sit down. After our people had some refreshment, the king then desired Gama to let him know the particulars of his embassy; who replied, that by the custom of his country, he could not communicate his instructions in a public assembly : But if his majesty, with a few of his ministers of state, would give him a private audience, then he would lay open the whole of his commission. The king accordingly complied with this request, and ordered Gama to be conducted into a private chamber, and immediately followed him, together with the master of the bramins, and some of the nobility. Here Gama made a speech, the substance of which was, ‘ That Emmanuel, a prince of vast dignity, of an aspiring soul, and great curiosity, having heard much of India, particularly of the empire of Calicut, was struck with admiration at the ingenuity of the people, as well as the dignity and grandeur of their sovereign, and extremely solicitous to enter into a league of friendship with so renowned a monarch. For this purpose, Gama said he had been sent into these parts ; nor did he doubt but such a league would greatly tend to the mutual advantage of both princes.’ And, in order to confirm the truth of what he advanced, he said he had brought letters from Emmanuel for that purpose. The king, in few words, replied, that such an alliance would be extremely agreeable, and he would be ready to do every thing that could shew in what esteem he held the friendship of Emmanuel.

Having made this reply, he ordered the catual to lead Gama to a proper apartment, where he might reside during his stay; the rest of the Portuguese, who accompanied him were also provided for with the like civility. But before we relate what happened afterwards, it may not be improper to give some account of the situation of the kingdom, together with the manners and customs of its inhabitants.



## B O O K II.

*Sketch of the East Indies*

BY the East Indies is vulgarly meant all those countries reaching from the Arabian sea to China; but, to speak with propriety, India is that space of land bounded by the Persian territories on the west, and the Chinese on the east; on the north by the mountain Imaus, and washed on the south by the Indian ocean. It has been considered by some as divided into two parts, one of which reaches from the western boundaries to the Ganges, the other lies beyond that river, and extends as far as the confines of China: Others have confined India to a more narrow compass, thinking that was only to be so called which lies between the rivers Indus and Ganges, and is by the inhabitants called Indostan. Both of these rivers take their rise from the mountain Imaus, and both take their course to the south, the Indus on the western, and the Ganges on the eastern side of India. They fall down from the rocks with great rapidity, and take a winding course through the country, and several rivers running into them, are at last increased to such a degree, that when they approach the sea their channel is so deep, that they carry ships of the greatest burthen: the mouths of these rivers makes two very large bays, from whence the land runs out to the south as far as cape Comorin, which is six hundred miles from the mouth of the river Indus: the breadth of this tract of land betwixt the mouths of these two rivers is four hundred miles: the cape, or the extremity of the promontory is seven degrees north latitude.

The eastern and western coasts were peopled by many different nations. Those called the Malabars,

at that time inhabited greatest part of the west. The country was divided into several kingdoms, governed by many petty princes, all of whom were subject and tributary to the emperor or zamorin of Calicut. His wealth, however, did not arise from his extent of power, but from the commerce and trade carried on in his dominions. Calicut, which is on the coast of Malabar, was then the most celebrated mart in India. The country abounded in all sorts of merchandize, partly its own production, and partly imported from other places. The people are pagans in their religion, and great bigots in their way. They have a vast number of temples, and hold their priests or Bramins in the greatest esteem, giving them implicit faith, in divine as well as human affairs : all their kings are obliged to be instructed in the mysteries of these men, whose persons are accounted sacred, and even in time of war they have a free and safe communication amongst all parties; for it would be deemed the greatest impiety to offer them any violence. These bramins wear each of them three strings, reaching from their right shoulder to the left side ; by this they signify that there are three persons in the deity. They believe that God came upon earth, in the form of a man, to redeem the human race from everlasting destruction. These truths they very probably received from some Christians, who travelled into India. They study mathematiicks and philosophy. Their religion is often nothing but the vilest dissimulation, being under the disguise of affected piety, oftentimes guilty of the most fraudulent tricks in all scenes of life. The rest of the people receive their religious principles from these priests, and are great observers of omens and prodigies. The twenty second of October is kept as a grand festival amongst them ; on that day the boys march out armed with bows, and, in play, discharge light arrows at each other. In like manner, those of a more advanced age throw weapons at one another, so that many are so grievously hurt as to die of their wounds;

and such a death is esteemed full of glory and honour: for they have a notion that those who are taken off in this manner, are removed to heaven, to live amongst the gods. There are many other anniversary holy-days, in which some always, by way of piety, sacrifice their lives amidst a vast crowd of spectators. Their year begins in the month of September, but on no fixed day: they first consult the astrologers and augurs what hour is most happy and auspicious, from thence they date the beginning of their new-year. The youth, on that day they enter into their sixteenth year, are blindfolded and led by their companions into some temple, where the images of their gods are placed. When they come thither, their eyes are uncovered, and if they happen to fix them directly on the image of that god whom they particularly worship, then they are confident this year will be happy and prosperous.

The nobility are debarred from marriage, lest when embarrassed with family-concerns, they should be more remiss in warlike exploits. However, they are allowed to keep a mistress, nay several, provided they be of equal rank with themselves: for it is unlawful for them to lye with any other than a woman of quality. In like manner, the ladies may have as many gallants as they please, with the same restriction; nor is there any appearance of jealousy amongst them, but every one gives place to her successive rival, without envy or ill-nature. If a nobleman lies with a woman of low birth, he is cut to pieces by the rest of the nobles. In like manner the women of nobility are punished, if they happen to transgress this law. The nobles never fix upon their sons as their heirs, because it is uncertain who may have been their fathers; but they adopt their sisters sons, who are educated at the king's expence, and inured to all the hardy exercises and dangers of war. They go naked as far as the waist, being cloathed from thence to the middle of their legs. They are not permitted to use their arms

in the field of battle, till the king, to whom they are subject, has distinguished them with military honours. There are proper masters appointed to instruct them early in the discipline of war, and these persons they honour and obey with the utmost deference. They are extremely expert in the use of arms, and shew a surprising nimbleness and dexterity in all their exercises. They carry pride to the highest degree ; insomuch that if an ignoble person should happen to touch them, they think their blood and nobility is thereby polluted, and that it can be purified in no other way but by the death of the unhappy commoner. For this reason, the common people when they walk along, are obliged to call aloud, that the nobility, if near, may hear them, and give orders, that they should keep out of the way, and thus avoid so dangerous a meeting. Nobility there cannot be forfeited or even tarnished by the foulest crime, nor can a person of mean birth become great or noble by the most illustrious actions ; but all must remain in the same rank as their forefathers have done.

The lower class of people may intermarry, provided it be with those of the same profession or calling ; thus the son of a taylor is not allowed to marry the daughter of a shoemaker, nor is it lawful for a man to follow any other business than that by which his father has got his living. This has been an antient custom, and is kept up with the utmost strictness. There are certain private associations amongst them, by which they bind themselves in the most sacred manner, that if any one concerned therein should be murdered, the rest will sacrifice their lives in revenging his death. Hence it happens, not only when a king, but also when a private person is cut off, that his surviving friends are actuated by such fury and resentment, that they will not stick at the most bloody deed to avenge his fall. In writing they use no paper, but with a style or pen, write upon the leaves of certain trees, not palms, tho' called so because of the great resemblance

blance they bear to them. In this manner all their publick transa<sup>t</sup>tions and memorable events are record<sup>d</sup>, these leaves, being cut of an equal length, and holes bored thro' their extremeties, and tyed up compactly betwixt two pieces of polished wood. And as often as there is occasion to peruse these records, they undo the knots, and tie them up again with the utmost carefulness. A great deal more might be said concerning their manners and customs, which I shall at present omit, in order to hasten to what comes more immediately under my design.

Calicut is situated in the middle of the Malabar coast, at a little distance from the sea. The harbour is not quite close to the city. The town itself is large and spacious, which arises not only from the number of inhabitants, but also from the nature of their buildings, which are not crowded together as in many other cities, but detached from each other, and surrounded with delightful gardens, so that they take in a considerable space of ground. The houses, however, are but poor and mean, nor are they allowed to be otherwise by the laws of the country: This pitiful appearance of all the other buildings makes that of the royal palace shine with more lustre, which is very magnificent, and the only one built of stone. The soil is extremely fertile, and abounds in all the conveniences as well as necessaries of life. This was the state of Calicut at the arrival of the Portuguese. Gama, after having had three days rest, was again introduced to the zamorin by the catual, when he presented to his majesty the letter and presents he had brought him from Emmanuel. The king received the letter with great politeness, but seemed to look upon the presents with an air of contempt. Gama said, he ought not to be surprized, that they were so little suitable to his dignity, since Emmanuel could not foresee that their navigation would be so successful. Besides, he added that he could bring no gift more valuable and honourable than the friendship of his master, nor none

more advantagious, since his Calicutian majesty would reap considerable benefits from settling a commerce with the Portuguese, who would every year send into his dominions ships loaded with the richest cargoes. Gama being informed by Monzaida, that the Saracens or Arabians were his inveterate enemies, and were plotting the Destruction of our people, he therefore entreated the king, not to communicate the contents of Emmanuel's letter to these men, nor make use of them as interpreters. The king accordingly had it explained to him by Monzaida, then took leave of Gama for that time, having recommended to him with great friendship, to be upon his guard against the mischievous designs of the Arabians. The admiral return'd him thanks for his kindness, and departed with a resolution as soon as possible to repair to the ships. The Arabs, in the mean while, were holding private conferences, and concerting measures for the destruction of our people. They went to the king's ministers, and all those who had any influence with his majesty, courting them with bribes, and importuning them with prayers and intreaties to use all their interest with the zamorin, that he might not give any encouragement to such a perfidious set of men. Gama, they said, was a cruel bloody minded pyrate, having shewn himself to be such by his outrageous behaviour in all those parts he had already touched at ; that he had come to Calicut with the same intentions, and his pretence of settling a treaty of commerce, was only a screen to his wicked purposes, in order to lull them into a state of security, that he might thereby be more enabled to carry on his hostile intentions ; They hoped therefore some pains would be taken to remove this danger ; like a fire it ought at the beginning to be extinguished, lest, if allowed to spread, it might consume the whole kingdom. These, and such other insinuations, the Arabian merchants endeavoured to propagate with the utmost industry, and used all their efforts to ruin the affairs of our people : In this they were

were actuated partly by the hatred they bore to the christian name, partly by the apprehensions they lay under, lest if the Portuguese once got a footing in the country, they themselves might be wormed out, or at least their profits greatly diminished. By their bribery they so far won upon the affections of the casual, that he did all that malice and calumny could invent to prejudice our people. The king being of a fickle and inconstant disposition, was uncertain what to do, his mind inclining sometimes one way and sometimes another; for if he should cut off Gama and his attendants, or, in order to gratify the Arabs in some degree, should throw them into prison, he then feared he might be accused of perfidy towards those whom he had taken under his protection. On the other hand, if he let them depart in safety, he was afraid he might lose the affections of the Arabians, who contributed greatly to the increase of his revenues. The Arabs omitted nothing which might enable them to carry their purposes; they went in a body to the king's palace, where one of them, noted for his assurance and skill in oratory, spoke to the king in the following words: ' Most renowned prince, we have ever been such dutiful and useful subjects in your state, that methinks, we have a particular claim to your friendship and protection. The increase of your revenues from our trade, is apparently so considerable, that we shall but just mention it. Ask the commissioners of your customs; examine your public accounts; these will inform you whether the Saracens have been unprofitable members of the community. We ourselves have always had a particular attachment to this country, as well as our ancestors, who regarded it as their native soil, and were ever dutiful and loyal to the kings of Calicut. We hope then your majesty will not allow this agreeable harmony, this ancient friendship, to be dissolved by a set of abandoned wretches lately arrived in these parts. But perhaps you may not conceive so bad

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{ an opinion of these men as we do ; nor is this to be  
‘ wonder’d at, since a mind truly great and princely,  
‘ being conscious of its own candour, is apt to enter-  
‘ tain generous sentiments of others ; and will not  
‘ without difficulty give credit to accusations brought  
‘ against the most abandoned. Besides, you have had  
‘ no occasions of being acquainted with the nature of  
‘ these men ; but we have known numberless instances  
‘ of their perfidy and villainy. They have destroyed  
‘ nations, they have ravaged countries ; and all this  
‘ without the least provocation, merely to sooth their  
‘ ambition, and gratify their lust of power. Can you  
‘ then suppose that men of such a stamp would come  
‘ from regions so remote, and encounter such horrid  
‘ dangers, only to settle a commerce with your peo-  
‘ ple ? No, it is incredible. They are either Pyrates,  
‘ who want to abuse your lenity, and turn it to the  
‘ public detriment, or they are sent by their ambitious  
‘ prince not to make a league of friendship, but as  
‘ spies to examine the situation of the city. Have not  
‘ the Portuguese by such artifices made themselves  
‘ masters of most of the towns in Africa ? Have they  
‘ not in like manner seized on the greatest part of  
‘ Ethiopia ? Is it not evident too, what mischief these  
‘ pyrates have already done ? They have fallen upon  
‘ Mogambique with their hostile arms ; they have  
‘ made great slaughter and havock at Mombaze ; they  
‘ have likewise taken several ships, with many pri-  
‘ soners. And if, with so small a force they dare show  
‘ the ferocity of their disposition, what will they not  
‘ perpetrate, when they have a greater strength. If  
‘ you have then any regard for the welfare of your  
‘ kingdom, destroy these pernicious wretches ; that,  
‘ if pyrates, they may suffer the punishment due to  
‘ their crimes ; or, if the wicked instruments of ambi-  
‘ tion, that the destruction of those you have in your  
‘ power may put an end to this dangerous navigation,  
‘ and prevent the rest of the Portuguese from coming  
‘ into these parts. An evil in its first growth is easily  
‘ crushed,

‘ crushed, but if permitted to gain strength, will not  
‘ be overcome without the greatest difficulty. Now  
‘ therefore is the time. Put a stop to their career;  
‘ check their lawless ambition, and provide for the  
‘ security of your kingdom. As there is nothing more  
‘ hurtful to a nation than an excess of credulity, so  
‘ there is nothing more salutary than a wise foresight  
‘ and moderate caution to ward off dangers. They  
‘ come here under a pretext of carrying on trade,  
‘ whereas the goods they have brought are so poor  
‘ and inconsiderable that they evidently discover their  
‘ wretched condition: How then can we expect they  
‘ will enrich our country, who are themselves so needy  
‘ and indigent? What shall I say in regard to those  
‘ presents brought your majesty in the name of their  
‘ sovereign? I know not whether they ought to move  
‘ our laughter, or raise our indignation. Did their  
‘ king, whom they so much extol, imagine he had  
‘ to do with some petty Ethiopian prince, whose po-  
‘ verty and folly would make him an easy prey? Shall  
‘ they with impunity thus ridicule your sacred ma-  
‘ jesty, endeavour to impose on your good nature,  
‘ and act as if they imagined you destitute of reason  
‘ and common sense? But perhaps it may be said,  
‘ that these are groundless aspersions, proceeding from  
‘ the hatred which the Arabians bear to the Christians.  
‘ I own we have an utter aversion to a people who have  
‘ always been our implacable enemies. But though  
‘ our interest may be somewhat affected in the pre-  
‘ sent case, yet I think I may venture to say, your all  
‘ is at stake. As for us, if you enter into a league  
‘ with these christians, we can remove into other coun-  
‘ tries, where we shall meet with a kinder reception,  
‘ and settle more advantagiously. And it will not  
‘ a little recommend us to the favour of other princes,  
‘ when it shall be known, that you have preferred  
‘ strangers to friends, foreigners to your own subjects,  
‘ and men of suspicious characters to those of ap-  
‘ proved fidelity. Wherever we go we shall be enabled  
‘ to

• to carry on our trade with equal gain and advantage ; but as for you, if you do not immediately exert yourself with spirit, I am afraid, which heaven avert, that in a few years not only your crown, but your life, will be in the greatest jeopardy from a people so covetous, so ambitious, and so warlike."

By this and such like speeches, the Arabians endeavoured to inflame the king against our people. Gama having perceived that many malicious schemes were forming against his life, and at the same time being sensible of the mischievous designs of the treacherous catual, he thought there was no time to be delayed, and accordingly, before day-break, set out for Pandarene, with all possible haste, lest he might be obstructed by the catual. At his departure from the ships he had left orders, that there should be some boats always near at hand, to favour his escape, in case of any danger from the Arabians. These men, in the mean time, were pursuing their malicious purposes with great earnestness. They provided arms, and endeavoured to raise a general tumult against our people. They had even an intention to assassinate Gama and his attendants. And when they found he was gone off, importuned the king to send after him to bring him back by force. The catual being dispatched for that purpose, went for Pandarene with the utmost expedition : and having overtook Gama detained him by force : However, he still pretended great friendship, telling the admiral he would use his interest with the king, that his majesty might grant our people whatever they desired ; but that Gama, in the first place, must fully satisfy him in regard to some aspersions thrown upon the Portuguese, and, at the same time, fairly to declare their design in coming upon these coasts. Besides, he desired him to bring his ships nearer to the land, and deliver up the sails and rudders, which would be as pledges of his fidelity. But Gama replied, he would forfeit his life sooner than comply with this request. He sent letters to his brother, wherein

wherein he enjoined him, as he had done before, that if it was his fate to be detained by this treacherous people, he should set sail for Portugal, to inform the king of this new navigation. As for his part, he was free from any anxiety about his own life, but extremely uneasy lest the fruits of all their fatigue should be lost. He behaved towards the catual with uncommon spirit, and with great dexterity frustrated all his stratagemis. Two days were spent in fruitless altercations. At last it was agreed, that the goods in the Portuguese ships should be landed, with some men to look after them. As soon as this was done, Gama was allowed to go to the fleet. Thence he wrote a letter to the king, wherein he complained of the catual's treachery, telling him, that the perfidy of this man was the occasion of his abrupt departure. The zamorin answered, that he wou'd enquire into the conduct of this officer, and if he found him to have been guilty of any thing base or dishonourable, he would punish him in the severest manner. At the same time, he advised Gama to send his goods to Calicut, where they might be sold to great advantage. The admiral, accordingly, followed his advice, and all the Portuguese merchandize were conveyed to that city, at the king's expence.

In the mean while, Gama moved his ships nearer to the city, and sent thither every day two or three different persons, that as many of his men as possible, might take a view of the country, and make observations on the genius and temper of its inhabitants. He took all possible methods to promote amity and peace. He sent another letter to the zamorin, desiring, in order to establish a lasting friendship, that he might be permitted to leave a person at Calicut to transact the affairs of his Portuguese majesty. The zamorin, however, either suspecting some deep design in leaving such a person, or perhaps imagining Gama wanted to move off, without paying the duties of his merchandize, returned a very surly answer to this letter. Upon this, the admiral resolved to break off all manner of correspondence

respondence with a man of so fickle and inconstant a disposition. The king being incensed at this contemptuous treatment, ordered all the goods to be seized, and two of the Portuguese to be thrown into prison ; and notwithstanding he was pressed in the most strenuous manner to return them, he still persisted in his injustice. Gama irritated by this usage, resolved to make reprisals, and assert his right by force. Accordingly, he attacked the first ship he saw coming into the harbour, and took from thence six naires or noblemen, with nineteen of their servants ; these he made captives, and put into close confinement, but dismissed the rest of the crew. Then he ordered the ships to set sail ; in such a manner, however, that they should not move far from the shore, for he thought this would alarm the people of Calicut ; and that the king, in order to recover his subjects, would immediately restore the Portuguese, together with the goods he had taken. It succeeded according to his wishes. No sooner were the ships under sail, but the king sent a dispatch to Gama, to let him know he was greatly surprised why he confined those noblemen who had never given him the least offence. As for the two Portuguese, he said he only detained them till he should write letters, which he intended to send by them to his brother king Emmanuel ; and promised, upon his honour, that he would set them at liberty, and at the same time, make a restitution of the goods. Gama being induced by this promise, stood again towards the city with his ships. The day following, the two Portuguese came with letters they had received for the king of Portugal. There was likewise another person to inform Gama, that he might leave a person to manage Emmanuel's affairs, and that every thing should be settled in an advantageous manner for the Portuguese. As for the goods, his majesty had not thought proper to send them back ; because, if a person was to be left at Calicut, such a one might sell them to very great advantage. Gama made answer, That he had altered his resolution

resolution as to that respect ; and, therefore, if the zainorin of Calicut wanted to have his subjects restored, he must immediately send back the goods.

The following day, Monzaida came aboard, in great perturbation. The Saracens, he said, had raised vast commotions, and by various calumnies enraged the king against our people ; moreover, that he himself, upon account of the friendship he had shewn to Gama, and the rest of the Portuguese, had been brought into the utmost danger, and by the greatest providence had escaped in safety ; that whilst he remained at Calicut, he could not be sure of his life : therefore he earnestly requested to be carried into Portugal. As to his effects, he said he was indifferent about them, his only care was to preserve his life. Gama accordingly took this man under his protection, and behaved to him in the most friendly manner. The same day seven boats came loaded with the goods. But the admiral was more desirous of carrying the prisoners to Portugal than receiving the goods : he told those who brought them, that he had hitherto been deluded by so many tricks, that he now looked upon the whole people to be void of faith and honour ; that all the goods which had been carried to Calicut were not returned, but he had now no time to enquire into the particulars wanting ; nor would he give up the prisoners, but carry them into Portugal, and make use of them as testimonies to convince Emmanuel what insults his admiral and ambassador had suffered from the zainorin of Calicut, at the instigation of the Arabian merchants. Then he ordered his guns to be fired, that he might strike a terror into these people, and make them betake themselves to flight. The king boiled with indignation at this behaviour, but was not then in a condition to shew his resentment, all his ships at that season of the year being laid up in the docks. The wind, however, not proving fair, Gama was obliged to stay upon these coasts longer than he intended. In the mean while, the king fitted out twenty light ships ; these he furnished with

with men and arms, and sent them against our ships ; but a sudden storm arising, scattered the enemy's vessels, and the wind proving fair, the Portuguese soon got out of sight of Calicut.

Gama wrote a letter to the zamorin, from the first harbour he touched at ; wherein he set forth the many plots formed against him by the Mahomeians, and the various stratagemis devised by the catual for his destruction. Nevertheless, he assured his majesty he would be attached to his interest, and do his endeavour to promote his honour and dignity, and also to raise in Emmanuel the same favourable disposition towards him. As to the nobility whom he had in his custody, he desired him not to be uneasy about them, promising upon his honour, they should be treated with the highest respect, and sent back safe to their native country. He dispatched this letter by one of the captives, whom he put ashore for that purpose.

The admiral being now on his voyage homewards, sailed for the islands of Anchediva. In his way thither, he was attacked by seven ships, but he soon made them sheer off, and took one of them loaded with fruits and all kind of provision. These ships belonged to a pyrate named Timoia, a bold intrepid fellow, who was very much dreaded in these seas. The islands were five in number, about four miles distant from the shore. He touched at one of them, to refit his ships, which had been shattered by the violence of the weather. Many of the inhabitants crowded to the shore to see the ships ; amongst the rest came a person who was the chief minister and confident of Zabaio, king of Goa, a neighbouring island. Zabaio was a man of an aspiring soul, a great warrior, and an able prince. He kept great numbers of troops in his pay, inviting into his service men of courage, and skill in arms, and giving them all manner of encouragement. His minister, whom we have mentioned, came in the name of his master, and paid his compliments to Gama in the Italian tongue. He said, Zabaio had heard of his fame,

Islands of Anchediva

fame, and was ready to do him all the service in his power. If he stood in need of provisions, arms, or money, he might demand them with the greatest freedom ; for Zabaio was resolved to act towards him as a kind and bountiful prince. Gama was struck with the graceful appearance of this person. He admired the fluency of his language, and his quickness of genius, which he discovered in answering all questions put to him. The admiral having asked him where he was born, received for answer, That he was by birth an Italian ; that having sailed for Greece with his parents, he had fallen into the hands of pyrates ; and having gone through various scenes of misfortunes, and being cut off from all hopes of ever seeing his native country, had been obliged to enter into the service of a Mahometan prince. In his turn, he began to ask our people many questions ; in which he appeared to shew an artful and uncommon curiosity : this, however, he endeavoured to conceal by often suspending his curiosity, and turning the conversation to other matters ; then in a little time he would renew his former enquiries. Gama saw through this artifice, and suspected him to be sent as a spy. So strongly was he influenced by this suspicion, that he ordered him to be seized and put to the rack. The tortures which he suffered, extorted from him this confession, ‘ That he was by birth a Polonian, by religion a Jew, in the service of Zabaio, who having a design to attack our ships, had sent him on purpose to examine the strength of our people, and to see what arms they used.’ Gama having made this discovery, set sail from that island with the utmost expedition ; but he thought proper to detain the Jew, who afterwards became a Christian, had the name of Jasper given him, and was of extraordinary service to Emmanuel in many affairs.

Thence he proceeded in his voyage ; but there being so great a calm, it was a considerable time before he reached Africa. The first place he came in sight of on that coast was the city of Magadoxa. Having

been informed, that it was inhabited by Arabians, he played his cannon thereupon, and demolished the walls of the city. He likewise attacked the ships in the harbour, most of which he either sunk or battered in such a manner as to render them unfit for use. Having sailed from this place, he descried eight Arabian ships: these seemed to bear down upon him; however, he soon made them sheer off, but for want of wind, could not come up with them. At length, he reached the amicable port of Melinda, where he again met with the most friendly reception, and had every thing proper for the refreshment of his men, almost worn out with sickness and fatigue. Having stayed there only five days, he ordered the sails to be hoisted; for he was afraid, if he allowed the season to be too far advanced, he might find great difficulty in doubling the Cape. He carried along with him an ambassador, sent by the king of Melinda to Emmanuel; and because his brother's ship was very crazy and leaky in several places, and at the same time, there was not a sufficient number of men to man three ships, he, therefore, ordered it to be burnt, and took his brother into his own ship, together with part of the crew, the rest he sent aboard Nicolas Cœlo.

On the 27th of February, Gama reached the island of Zanzibar, about eight leagues from the continent. The soil of this place is rich and fertile, and it abounds with springs of the most excellent water. There is likewise great plenty of cattle, and the whole island is covered with beautiful woods, which are extremely fragrant from the many wild citrons growing there, which diffuse the most grateful scent. The prince of this island, though a Mahometan, entertained Gama with great kindness, and furnished him with fruits and provisions of all sorts. Thence he coasted along by Mozambique, and came to the watering place of St. Blas, where he wooded and watered his ships, and laid in some provisions; but the wind not favouring, he could not touch at the places where he had left the exiles.

Island of Zanzibar

exiles. On the 26th of April he doubled the Cape, and sailed from thence with a fair wind to the island of St. Jago ; but here a storm arising, separated the two ships, and Nicolas Cœlo steered directly to Lisbon, but Gama was obliged to put in at the island of Tercera on account of his brother, who for some time had been in a lingering sickly condition, and now so extremely bad, that he was unable to endure the motion of the ship. He ended his days in this place, and Gama, after having performed the funeral rites with all possible decency, proceeded on his voyage for Lisbon, which he reached in the year 1499. But before his arrival, the king had been informed, by Cœlo, of all the particulars relating to the voyage, together with the transactions in India, and other parts. These adventurers were beheld with universal amazement and admiration, every one looking upon them as if they had been raised from the dead. Of 148 who set out with Gama, 55 only returned, and these too almost worn out by sickness and fatigue. The king expressed the utmost gratitude for the services of Gama, and distinguished him by the highest honours and titles. Cœlo was likewise raised to dignity, and, in short, all concerned in the expedition were rewarded in proportion to their rank and services.

About this time Emmanuel gave orders to remove the body of king John from Sylves in Algarve to Bataglia, a town so named from a remarkable battle fought near that place, wherein John the first king of Portugal gained a considerable victory over John king of Castile, prince Henry's son. On account of this success, John the first had built a most magnificent church in honour of the Virgin Mary, where he likewise founded a monastery of the dominican order, and fixed upon this church for his burial place. And not only he himself, but his son also, king Alphonso, Alphonso John the second's son, and many of the Portuguese nobility had been buried here. Emmanuel was therefore willing that the remains of his prede-

cessor should be deposited in the same place ; he accordingly set out for Algarve, accompanied with George the son of John, and many other persons of distinction. The ceremony was conducted with the greatest pomp and solemnity ; the corpse being attended by a numerous train of the nobility, and the whole performed amidst vast crowds of spectators. In short, Emmanuel omitted nothing whereby he might shew his veneration and esteem for the memory of John.

In the mean while, his Portuguese majesty, still intent on making further progress in India, fitted out a large fleet for that purpose : but as he was a prince of great piety, he thought nothing could be successful without shewing a particular regard to religion ; he therefore set about building a most magnificent church, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, in that same place where Henry had formerly built one. He called the place Bethlehem, from the name of the city where our Saviour was born. Here he founded likewise a convent for those of the order of St. Jerome, who were to perform divine service in this church, and particularly to instruct all sea-faring people who resorted there in the principles of the christian religion. He built likewise a strong fort on a rock surrounded by the sea, lying to the west, at a little distance from the church, as a security to the harbour of Lisbon against the ships of his enemies. The fleet for India consisted of 13 ships, with 1500 men aboard, and furnished with all manner of warlike stores. The command was given to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, in whom the king had the highest confidence. Emmanuel ordered the admiral, by all possible methods, to endeavour to make a treaty of friendship with the zamorin of Calicut, and to petition him for liberty to build a fort near the city, by which the Portuguese might be enabled to live secure from the violence of their enemies, and carry on their traffic with safety. But if he found him averse to peace, and obstinately bent against our people, that he should then, without any farther delay, declare him

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an enemy, and treat him in a hostile manner. At the same time he charged Cabral, if he could possibly make Melinda, in his name, to wait on the king, and tell him, that his embassy was extremely acceptable, and that he would do every thing in his power worthy of the esteem and friendship of so good a prince. His majesty sent likewise in the fleet, five Franciscan friars, men of known piety and zeal for religion. These men were to remain at Calicut, if amicable terms could be agreed upon with the zanorin, to perform divine service to the Portuguese who should settle there on the account of trade, and to instruct in the mysteries of our holy religion, any people of the country who might be willing to embrace the truth of Christianity. The chief of these religious persons was Henry, afterwards bishop of Ceuta, a man of the most exemplary piety and sanctity of manners. Cabral set sail on the 8th of March 1500.

After the departure of the fleet, Emmanuel turned his thoughts to other affairs. He conferred new titles of honour on George the son of king John, and gave him in marriage Beatrix, a lady of the most virtuous and amiable disposition, the daughter of Alvarez, brother to the duke of Braganza. He made Alphonso master of the horse. This gentleman was the son of Diego Alphonso, Emmanuel's brother, whom John had killed with his own hand. Alphonso was, indeed, an illegitimate son, but his mother was, however, a woman of the highest rank. Diego, when in Castile, had conceived a criminal passion for this lady, and was so inflamed with her beauty, that he spared no pains to gain her affections; and, at last, he enjoyed her person.

This same year, the young prince Michael, Emmanuel's son, was carried off by a sudden fit of sickness, in the second year of his age. Ferdinand and Isabel were very desirous of making another alliance with his Portuguese majesty, by joining him in marriage to their daughter Mary. Emmanuel on his part

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was equally fond of this match, for no other could be more honourable or advantageous for both parties ; nor could he have a queen of more valuable accomplishments, for Mary was a lady of the greatest modesty, sweetness of temper, and the most extensive benevolence. But as he was not allowed by the ecclesiastical law to wed a lady to whom he had contracted so near a relation by his former marriage, he therefore solicited the pope for a dispensation, by which he might be enabled to embrace a match so evidently for the advantage of both kingdoms. This was accordingly obtained, and the nuptials were soon after celebrated with all demonstrations of joy.

But although the agreeable behaviour of Emmanuel's bride inspired him with the utmost tenderness for her, yet this was not sufficient to divert him from the pursuit of glory. Being desirous to tread in the steps of his ancestors, he resolved to pass over into Africa, and to head his army against the Moors. Many in his council endeavoured to dissuade him from this resolution, telling him, it was not the business of a prince to expose his person to the fate of war, but that he ought to send forth other persons to act according to his instructions. If it was his intention, they said, to conquer all Mauritania, he had not a sufficient strength to accomplish such a design ; and if he aimed only at continuing the war with spirit, that the forces already levied, and commanded by his generals, were sufficient for this purpose : that it would therefore be inconsistent with his dignity to pass over into Africa, unless he had an army which might enable him to bring the whole country under his subjection. Moreover, as he had no son, it would be highly imprudent to endanger his person. They entreated him therefore, that he would not, through a false ambition, expose his kingdom to so great a calamity, since the true glory of a prince did not consist in running head-long into unnecessary danger, but in shewing a love and regard for his country. Besides, his queen with tears beseeched him,

him, that he would not, by so sudden a departure, give people occasion to say he hurried away more to get rid of her than to carry on the war. She said, that after he had brought her from her friends and relations, thus to abandon her so soon, had an appearance of great inhumanity. At the same time, Mary wrote to their Spanish majesties, desiring they would use their interest with Emmanuel, to dissuade him from his intention. But, however, neither the intreaties of the queen, nor the arguments of his council, had any effect on Emmanuel. He still persisted in his resolution, and made all preparations for the war with the utmost expedition. He ordered an army to be levied, and a fleet of ships to be equipped. The army consisted of 26000 foot, 6000 horse, and 800 curassiers: with this strength he thought he should be able to carry his design into execution.

But whilst he was thus busied in these warlike preparations, a report prevailed, that Bajazet emperor of the Turks had fitted out a strong fleet to reduce all the islands and cities of Greece belonging to the Venetians. The states of Venice being apprized of his design, and informed of his numerous army, saw plainly they were unable to make head against so great a force. For this reason, they sent ambassadors to petition succour from Emmanuel, as well as several other Christian princes. They likewise solicited the pope to use his interest with his Portuguese majesty, to assist their republic with the fleet he had already equipt. His holiness accordingly sent a letter to Emmanuel by the Venetian ambassador, earnestly beseeching him to comply with their request, telling him, that all Christian princes ought to exert their united strength to ward off so great a danger which threatened a Christian republic. Moreover, if the Grand Turk, who had always been an enemy to the Christian name, should succeed in his design against the Venetians, elate with success, he would carry his arms into Italy, Germany, and Spain. The African war, he added, could be delayed; but if

the present opportunity of rescuing from destruction a christian state was slipped, it could not be recalled. Besides, that it was more glorious to assist our friends, than destroy our enemies. Nor were the Venetians destitute of friends; for there were many princes willing to assist them, but these had it not in their power to bring such speedy aid as the present emergency required; whereas, Emmanuel having a fleet ready equipt, was in a capacity to give them immediate succour, and might acquire to himself the sole glory of saving that republic. Thus he would give an ample proof of his virtue, humanity, and zeal for religion, which would render his name for ever illustrious. Emmanuel was greatly influenced by this letter of the pope. He gave the ambassador a most gracious answer, and promised he would be wanting in nothing to serve the Venetian state. He accordingly ordered 30 of the swiftest ships of the fleet to be furnished with all manner of provisions and warlike stores; and as his fleet was thereby greatly diminished, he deferred his African expedition till another occasion, being now resolved to act with the utmost vigour in defence of the Venetians.

Whilst Emmanuel was thus employed, the following exploits were performed in Africa: John Menez, by the king's order, had been recalled into Portugal immediately after the victory gained over Barraxa and Almandar. In the year 1501 he was sent back to Arzila with a reinforcement of 150 horse, for our people made little use of foot in that country. As soon as Menez reached Arzila, he was desirous to strike some important blow against the Moors; but as he had not a force to execute his design, he therefore sent to Roderigo de Castro, (at that time governor of Tangier) inviting him to a share in the expedition. These two commanders having joined their forces, marched against several large villages; the inhabitants of which they fell upon unawares. Great numbers of the Moors, struck with this sudden alarm, betook themselves

selves to flight ; though at the same time, several of them fought bravely, and died with honour. Many were killed, and about 130 taken prisoners : five of our cavalry having observed seven of the Moors skulking with some women, went in pursuit of them ; these men having lost their horses, were a-foot, yet they prepared to make an obstinate resistance. The contention was keen on both sides, and lasted much longer than could be expected from so small a number. They wounded all the five Portuguese, and killed three of their horses : however, our men at last slew these seven brave Moors. The mistress of one of these Moors, who had fought with the most distinguished courage, when she beheld her lover in such extreme danger, was inexpressibly affected with the spectacle, and worked up to a degree of frenzy. ‘ Shall I thus, ‘ my dearest soul (she cried aloud) tamely behold you ‘ most inhumanly murdered ? shall I only bewail your ‘ death with womanish tears ? No. I will accompany ‘ you to the grave ; for was I to survive you, life to ‘ me would be intolerable.’ Having spoke these words, she rushed upon the five Portuguese, and seized the man who had engaged her lover, who was a-foot, (for he had lost his horse) whom she grappled with such violence, that he could not disengage himself without the assistance of another Portuguese.

Our people got considerable booty, and carried off a great number of cattle and horses. The army now marched back towards Arzila, but they had not got above four miles from the Moorish village, when the governor of a strong town called Alcazassarelquibir, came against them with 1200 horse, and attacked the rear, commanded by Menez. The Portuguese soldiers being drawn up in order, marched on gradually with their plunder, endeavouring only to act on the defensive with the Moors, who often attacked them in light skirmishes. Their way of fighting was in this manner : A party of the Moors would come rushing upon our people with their spears, then immediately betake them-

themselves to flight, and soon after the attack was renewed from another quarter. The Portuguese kept off the weapons with their shields, which being put behind them, covered their horses as well as themselves; and sometimes when too closely pressed, they would wheel about and spur on their horses against the enemy. At one time when the Moors rushed on with great fury, Menez set upon them with a party of his forces, and killed 50 on the spot. The enemy now seeing our people were like to get off with their booty, formed a design of engaging them in a pitched battle, and accordingly were drawn up by their generals for that purpose: Menez was not averse to an engagement; he therefore, halted with his men, and sent a messenger to Roderigo de Castro, to let him know he designed to venture a battle; and if he approved of it, to bring up his men, that they might attack the enemy in one body. Castro made answer, That was not the part of a wise general, after having been successful, without any necessity, to run so great a hazard, especially since the enemy were so numerous, and our people could so easily retreat; for it was very possible, that by some misconduct or unlucky accident, they might lose the fruits of their late victory. Besides, that a prudent commander ought not to give battle when agreeable to the enemy, but when it suited his own conveniency. The booty was considerable, none of our people missing; it was therefore his opinion, that they should act with caution, lest by one rash step they might sully the glory already acquired. Menez hearkened to this advice. Whilst our people were thus consulting what measures to follow, the Moors seeing them halt, imagined they were preparing for the engagement. They advanced against Menez, and made several attacks; but meeting with a warm reception, they soon desisted from their attempt, and suffered the Portuguese to carry off the plunder, without any further molestation.

A few days afterwards, Menez received intelligence by a Moorish spy, that the king of Fez, at the head of

of 12000 men, was on the march for Tangier, which he intended to storm, or at least to ravage the neighbouring lands, and do our people all possible damage in these parts. Besides, that he advanced with so much expedition, that a messenger could not be dispatched to Castro, especially since at the same time all the roads leading to that place were blocked up with the enemy's troops. Menez was terribly alarmed with this news; he ordered his brass cannon to be fired, to alarm Castro of the approaching danger. He had recourse to another expedient, which proved effectual. A few days before the news came, there had been a citizen of Tangier at Arzila. This man, at his departure, had luckily left behind him a little dog, about the neck of which Menez tied a letter for Castro. Then he ordered the animal, after being severely lashed, to be turned loose in the night. The dog being stimulated by the smarting pain, ran homewards with so much expedition, that he reached the gates of Tangier before day-break. Castro having read the letter, immediately commanded all his men to arm, and be in readiness. Scarce had he made the necessary preparations when the enemy appeared in sight. The king had sent before him a detachment of his army, with orders to ravage the lands, drive off the cattle, and to kill all the inhabitants they should find in the fields. Castro being resolved, if possible, to stop their progress, marched out of the city and attacked them; but being overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to retreat with his men within the trench which had been thrown up as a fortification round the city: nor could he effect this without the utmost difficulty; for before he could accomplish it, he had a conflict with the enemy, which lasted above two hours. In this encounter, a son of Castro was killed, together with three more of the cavalry, all men of great bravery, and the governor himself received a terrible wound in the face with a javelin: many of the Moors even forced within the trench; and when our men attempted to retire into

into the city, the enemy followed them closely, in order to enter at the same time. Castro perceiving the Portuguese thus closely pressed, set upon the Moors with a troop of horse, and charged them so furiously, that he thereby secured a retreat for all his soldiers. Lopez Martin, a fellow of undaunted courage, was the last who entered. This man only shut one half of the gate, upon which the rest of his countrymen called aloud to him to shut it altogether. He answered, That he would by no means suffer such an infamous mark of cowardice to be fixed on the Portuguese ; and that he was determined to defend the gate as long as he had breath in his body : nor were these empty words, since he confirmed what he said by his gallant behaviour ; for when the Moors rushed on him in the most furious manner, he withstood their shock with amazing intrepidity till his fellow-soldiers came up to his assistance, by whose bravery the Moors being repulsed, retired to their camp.

The king of Fez, about four days afterwards, set out with all expedition towards Arzila. Menez being informed of this, left a strong guard in the city, and led forth the rest of his men to a place called the Old Town, where he drew them up in battle-array. In this posture he ordered them to remain till he should give them the signal to sally forth. In the mean while he himself advanced with 20 horse to the river called Dulcis, to reconnoitre the enemy. Having observed their numbers and disposition, he resolved to retire into the town by degrees ; but before he could effect this, an advanced party of the Moors of a sudden attacked him so furiously, that he was obliged (though almost at the place where he had left the main body of the army) to wheel about and push on his horse against them. At this juncture he had only four of his men, for the rest had marched into the town with more speed than was consistent with their honour. However, 50 of the Portuguese cavalry seeing him thus embarrassed, came up to his assistance with the utmost

utmost expedition. These setting upon the Moors with great fury, routed them, and made considerable slaughter: those who remained in the old town, when they saw Menez pursuing the enemy, thought they ought not to wait for a signal, and made all possible haste to join him. This, however, they were not able to effect; for the Moors, when they saw their countrymen giving way, had rushed out from all parts of the country, and blocked up the ways. When Menez perceived that there were fresh numbers pouring in continually upon him, he saw that with such a handful of men he could no longer withstand the shock of the enemy, and therefore thought it most expedient to endeavour to make a retreat. This he could not effect without the most extreme danger. In the conflict several of his men were killed, and many wounded, amongst whom was Menez, who received a wound in his thigh: however, he charged those who blocked up the ways with so much fury, that he at last forced a passage to the rest of his men. He then with all his forces again attacked the Moors; many of whom were killed, and many wounded, and all of them driven out of the trenches. The battle being thus ended, Menez re-entered Arzila. At this juncture, one of the Moors, who imagined the town had been taken by his countrymen, rode up to the gates, and entered them with an air of triumph. This afforded matter of laughter to our people, but it proved a very serious matter to the imaginary victor, whom the Portuguese put in fetters. Whilst these things happened in Africa, Emmanuel was intent on fitting out the fleet destined for the assistance of the Venetians: having furnished it with every thing necessary for the expedition, he gave the command to John Menez, son of Darte Menez Conde di Vienna, a man of known courage and ability. At the same time he entrusted him with another fleet, with which he was to endeavour to take by storm Mazalquivir, a strong hold on the sea-coast of Barbary, near the city of Oran. His orders were, if possible, to surprise this fort; but if he found it impracticable in a short time,

time, he was then to desist from the attempt. Menez set sail from Lisbon on the 16th of June 1501, and the wind proving favourable, he soon reached the Streights; thence he steered for Mazalquivir, but the wind being now against him, it was three days before he got into the harbour. Mean while, the Moors being apprized of our people's design, resolved to oppose them with great obstinacy. They strengthened the garrison with additional forces; and made all other necessary preparations. Menez and his men having at length got ashore, directly set about storming the fort: accordingly they applied their scaling ladders; and mounted the walls with intrepidity: but to their utter astonishment, not one soul appeared to obstruct them; thence they concluded that the enemy, being struck with a panic, had befooled themselves to slight. Deceived by this opinion, they looked upon themselves as victorious, and walked about every where without the least apprehension. But the Moors, who lay in ambush, seizing the opportunity when our people were thus unguarded, rushed upon them with great fury, and drove them to a precipitate flight: Twenty of the Portuguese were killed in this action.

Menez being frustrated in his attempt on Mazalquivir, was resolved to spend no more time upon that enterprize; having therefore sent the rest of the fleet home, he proceeded on his voyage, with 30 ships, to assist the Venetians.

He touched at the island of Sardinia, the governor of which received him in the most honourable manner; and having got a supply of provisions and fresh water, he sailed from thence. When he was almost opposite to the city of Tunis, he spied three sail of ships, a very large merchant-man, and two ships of war; these he easily took and carried into Sardinia, where he ordered their goods to be landed. These ships belonged to Genoa; they had aboard several Turks, Moors, Jews, and Christians, and were loaded with abundance of merchandize, with which they were bound for Tunis.

He restored the merchant ship to the Genoese, together with all the cargo that belonged to them. He gave the Jews and Christians their liberty, but confined the Turks as well as Moors, and distributed their effects amongit his men. Then he continued his course till he made the island of Corfu. Here he was met by the Venetian fleet, which saluted him with their cannon, and shewed the greatest demonstrations of joy at his arrival. The Portuguese returned these compliments with the utmost respect. Our ships not making use of oars, and it being a profound calm, they could not get into the harbour, therefore they were obliged to be towed along by the Venetian galleys. The admiral could not be prevailed on to leave the fleet, by the utmost intreaties of the Venetians; but he permitted his officers to go ashore, who were all entertained in the most kind and friendly manner. But, in order to shew what mad extravagancies a soldiery will be apt to run into, if not checked by discipline, it may not be improper to take notice of what happened at this juncture: the Portuguese soldiers and sailors, saucy and insolent by nature, when they came ashore into this island, were somewhat riotous and disorderly in their behaviour. This gave great offence to the inhabitants, who in their turn abused the Portuguese with scurrilous language, and affronted them in various shapes: from words they came to blows, and fought with such arms as chance directed them to. The Venetian commanders came with the utmost dispatch to allay this tumult; Menez came likewise ashore, to restrain the fury of his men. The authority and menaces of the leaders, at last, though with great difficulty, put an end to these disturbances. Seventy of the Portuguese lost their lives in this scuffle; but a much greater number of the Venetian soldiers, and the islanders were slain. Thus it happened, by the fury of a giddy-headed rabble, that the Venetian state suffered a considerable damage from those very persons who had come to their assistance.

There

There was no engagement with the Turks ; for Bajazet having heard, that the Venetian towns were all strongly fortified, and that the king of Portugal, as well as several other christian princes, had sent powerful fleets to their assistance, he thought proper to drop his designs against that state, and was obliged to withdraw this formidable fleet which he had fitted out at an immense, though fruitless expence. The Venetian admiral told Menez, That the senate and people of Venice returned his master most hearty thanks for the zeal he had shewn for their safety and welfare ; that the republic would always retain a grateful remembrance of such kindness ; and that they would, in a short time, send deputies to Emmanuel, to testify their gratitude for his generosity and friendship. Menez having repaired and victualled his fleet, departed for Portugal ; and, notwithstanding he met with the most boisterous weather, he arrived in the harbour of Lisbon, with all his ships safe.

In the mean while, Cabral, who was in his way to India, steered the same course as Gama did, till he reached the island of St. Jago. After he had passed this place, he met with a most furious tempest, which scattered the whole fleet ; one of the ships having lost almost all her rigging, was driven back to Lisbon. After the storm abated, Cabral got together again all the ships, except that above-mentioned ; he waited for her two days, but as she did not appear in that time, he proceeded on his voyage steering away to the westward. On the 24th of April the seamen spied land ; this gave inexpressible pleasure to the Portuguese, who never dreamt of making such a discovery in these parts. Cabral, accordingly, ordered the fleet to steer towards this new discovered coast ; and, at the same time, commanded the master of his own ship to put off in a boat, to examine its nature and situation. This man brought word, that the country appeared to be extremely pleasant, and the soil fruitful ; being cloathed with a beautiful verdure, covered with tall trees, and

abound-

abounding with plenty of excellent water: That he had likewise seen several of the natives walking near the shore; they were of an olive black; their hair long and lank, and had no covering on their bodies. The admiral, not satisfied with the testimony of one person alone, dispatched several of his officers on the same account; who, on their return, confirmed the truth of the account he had already received.

Whilst our people were thus taken up with the agreeable thoughts of this new discovery, a sudden storm arose, which drove the ships from their anchors; and tossed them a considerable time on these coasts: at length, however, they got into a very safe and commodious harbour, which Cabral named Porto Seguro. He dispatched some of his officers to take a view of the country: upon their return, they brought along with them two fishermen, whom they had taken in a little boat: none of the Portuguese understood their language; for which reason, they endeavoured to convey their meaning by signs and motions. But these mortals were so slow and heavy in apprehension, that they seemed to be quite insensible to all the signs made by our people. Cabral cloathed the two men; and having given them some bells, brass rings, and looking-glasses, ordered them to be set ashore. They were extremely pleased with these baubles; and, in an ostentatious manner, shewed them to their countrymen, who being mightily taken with such trifles, flocked in great numbers to the fleet, and brought along with them fruits and provisions of all sorts: these they bartered with our people for things of little or no value. They thought they could not enough admire the looking-glasses; they were highly pleased with the tingling of the bells, and looked upon the rings as the richest finery. In short, the ships, the dress of our people, and whatever they beheld, filled them with the utmost astonishment.

Cabral being pleased with the stupid, though honest simplicity of this people, went ashore. He ordered

an altar to be erected under the shade of a large tree; here mass was performed, and a sermon preached suitable to the occasion: nor were the natives excluded from these religious rites. During the whole ceremony, they seemed to be wrapt up in silent admiration; and, by their outward gestures, appeared to be moved with a sense of religion.

When Cabral was about to return to the fleet, they followed him with the highest joy: this they expressed by singing, by sounding trumpets, by throwing arrows into the air; and with uplifted hands, in a kind of rapture, they seemed to thank God for the arrival of our people in their country. In short, their transport was so excessive, that it carried them almost to a degree of distraction: many of them waded after Cabral into the sea, till they were up to the breast; some swam after him; others went in boats to the ships, nor would they move from them without the greatest difficulty. Whilst Cabral lay at anchor here, till he laid in a fresh supply of water and provisions, a very uncommon sort of fish was thrown ashore, which not a little surprized our people. In thickness, it was equal to that of a large hogshead; and, in length, about twice as much. Its head and eyes resembled those of a hog; its ears were not unlike an elephant's; it had no teeth; the skin was about an inch thick, covered all over with bristles; the tail was about five feet in length.

The admiral ordered a marble pillar to be set up, like those which Gamma had fixed in several places. He called the country Santa Cruz, but it afterwards received the name of Brazil. He dispatched Jasper Loemio, one of his officers, to Portugal, to give Emmanuel an account of the nature and situation of this new discovered land: nor may it be improper if we give here some description of that country. It lies on the south of the Line; is very extensive, and some parts are almost adjoining to that tract of land called Peru, which belongs to the king of Spain. The coun-

Brazil

try is fertile, pleasant, and so healthy, that the inhabitants make no use of medicines; for almost all who die here, are not cut off by any distemper, but worn out by age. Here are many large rivers, besides a vast number of delightful springs. The plains are large and spacious, and afford excellent pasture. The harbours are extremely commodious, and easy of access; and ships may ride in safety in the most boisterous weather. In short, the whole country affords a most beautiful prospect, being diversified with hills and valleys, and these covered with thick shady woods, stocked with great variety of trees, many of which our people were quite strangers to: of these there was one of a particular nature, the leaves of which, when cut, send forth a kind of balsam. The trees used in dying scarlet, grow here in vast plenty, and to a great height. The soil likewise produces the most useful plants; particularly that one called sancta, which cures ulcers, removes shortness of breath, heals festered wounds threatening to infect the whole body, and cures many distempers when the art of medicine can avail nothing.

The natives, as we have said above, are of a black colour, with long soft hair. They appear all to be beardless, for with great care they pluck the hairs from their faces, with instruments like tweezers. They are strangers to letters, as well as religion; are bound by no laws, nor under the government of any prince; but when engaged in a war, they choose for their general the man whom they know to be the bravest, and most skilled in warlike affairs. The generality of this people wear no cloaths, though the nobility are covered from the waist to the knees with skins of parrots, and other birds of various colours. Their heads are also adorned with caps made of feathers. The women dress and comb their hair with a good deal of nicety. The men shave theirs from the forehead to the crown. Those who affect to deck themselves with some kind of elegance, bore holes through their ears, nostrils,

lips, and other parts ; there they fix precious stones of various colours. The women, in like manner, adorn themselves with little shells, which they account to be of great value. In war they make use of bows, and shoot with so much dexterity, that they seldom miss whatever part of the body they aim at. Their arrows are not pointed with steel, but with the bones of fish : these make such an impression, that they will pierce through the thickest boards. They get their food by hunting, but are far from being nice in their eating ; for they will often live upon monkeys, lizards, snakes, and mice. The boats they use are made of the bark of large trees, and of such a size, that they will contain 30 men. When they go a fishing, some row the boat whilst others beat the water so as to frighten the fish ; which will then swim up to the surface, and are caught in large dry hollow pumpkins, placed in the water for that purpose. They sow no corn, making their bread of the root of a certain plant, about the size of that called purslain : this root, however, is deadly poison, if eat before it is properly prepared. In order to extract the poisonous juice, they pound and squeeze it with great violence, then dry it in the sun : they afterwards grind it in mills to a kind of flower, of which they make wholesome and well tasted bread. From this likewise they distil a kind of liquor not unlike ale, of which when they have drunk to excess, they will run into the most mad and mischievous actions. They are great observers of augury, and believe much in sorcerers. There are a certain set of men amongst them called pages, whom they hold in high veneration, and consult in dubious affairs. These men generally carry an arrow, upon the top of which is fixed a gourd, cut in the shape of a man's head : within this, they often light some herbs that send forth a smoke, which they draw up in their nostrils till they become quite intoxicated ; for such is the nature of these herbs, that the smoke will produce the same effect as wine when drank to excess. Then they will

reel,

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reel, gnash their teeth, foam at the mouth, roll their eyes, and by their frantic motions, strike a terror into all around them: every spectator imagines all this to proceed from a divine inspiration; and if any person (to whom one of these men thus intoxicated has foretold some dreadful calamity) should meet with any disaster, they impute it to prediction. Wheresoever these bacchanalians go, they are received with universal acclamations. The streets are lined with crowds on each side to behold them; musick is performed, and dances led up in their honour. The most beautiful women married as well as unmarried, are given up to their possession; for these wretched mortals are of opinion, that if they are in favour with these men, all things will go on prosperously.

In this country daughters are not allowed to be married to their fathers, nor sisters to their brothers. All others may be joined in wedlock without distinction. The husbands may upon any slight offence turn off their wives, and if they find them guilty of adultery have a right to kill them, or sell them as slaves. Parents have no power over their daughters, these being under subjection to their brothers, who can sell them whenever they please. And, there being no money in the country, they barter them for such things as they want for use or pleasure. The natives in general are extremely averse to labour, and much addicted to luxury and ease: when not engaged in war, they spend their whole time in feasting, singing, and dancing to a most immoderate degree. In their dances they form a ring, but they do not move round, but always remain in the same place. In their songs they observe no notes or rules, for all is performed in a manner that is rude and unharmonious. In these they celebrate their warlike exploits, and bestow the highest encomiums on military courage: to singing they likewise add whistling, and at the same time with their feet beat the ground in a kind of transport. Whilst some are engaged in dancing, others are continually

supplying them with liquor, till at last they become so overpowered with drinking that they fall down in a state of insensibility.

Their houses are built of wood, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a double or triple wall, because of the frequent wars they are exposed to. In one of these houses (for they are all very long) several families dwell. Those who live in this manner together, are thought to be connected by a kind of sacred tie, for with pleasure they will risk their lives in defence of each other. When these people enter into war 'tis not to defend nor enlarge their territories, but to maintain their dignity, when they have been slighted by any neighbouring or distant nation. Then they choose a council composed chiefly of men advanced in age, who in their youth have signalized themselves in war. Before these enter into consultation about their affairs, it is the custom for every one to drink a pretty large quantity of liquor. When these old men have determined any thing in regard to peace or war, all acquiesce in their determination, with the greatest chearfulness. They choose for their general, as we have said above, the man who is in highest esteem for warlike courage. But if the person whom they fix upon should betray the least mark of cowardice, they immediately strip him of his honour, and substitute another in his place. The general goes round all their houses, calling aloud to the inhabitants, and inviting them to war with encouraging speeches: he tells them in what manner every man ought to be accoutred, and endeavours to animate them with courage and intrepidity. They not only use bows and arrows, but also swords of a very hard wood, with which they cut and maim their enemies in a terrible manner. In war they fight much by stratagem; and their chief aim, if possible, is to fall upon the enemy by surprize. The captives taken in battle, especially if old men, they immediately eat; the rest are put in fetters. They bury their own people, who have fallen in battle with great

great solemnity, lamenting over their bodies, and extolling the deceased for their bravery and courage. They allow their captives plenty of all sorts of provisions, nay even furnish them with women. But upon any grand rejoicing, they bring forth one of these unhappy wretches, such as is most fat and plump, and tie him with ropes. The woman who has been the prisoner's mistress during his captivity, as a mark of her affection, first fixes the rope about his neck, and drags him along to be made a sacrifice. The men coming next tie ropes about his waist, legs, and arms, then fix him to a pillar, where they paint him with various colours, and adorn him with feathers. But lest they should appear too cruel, they often loosen the ropes, and cheer his spirits with abundance of meat and liquor. In the mean time the whole people are publickly feasting, dancing, drinking, and singing for three days successively. On the fourth the hands and legs of the captive are untied, and he is led in solemnity towards a cave. Several women and boys pull him along by the ropes about his waist, whilst others pelt him in his way, with oranges and all kind of fruits: in his turn he picks them up and throws them back again. During the whole scene, he seems undaunted, nay appears to be joyful, and drinks plentifully. The spectators insult him with the most abusive language, telling him, that he shall now suffer punishment for all his crimes; that they will kill him, cut him to pieces and eat him. On the other hand he replies with boldness. ' That he has always acted the part of a brave man, and will die as such, bidding defiance to all their tortures. If they do kill him, he has likewise slain many of their people. If they do glut themselves with his flesh, it gives him some satisfaction to think he had been often regaled on the mangled bodies of the friends of those who were to be his murderers: besides that he had many brothers and relations who he knew would not suffer his death to go unrevenged.'

The captive is at last brought to the cave, where the person who had kept him in custody, at the same time enters with a large sword in his hand, his body painted, and his neck adorned with feathers; he dances, sings, whistles, and brandishes his sword in a threatening manner. The captive in the mean while tries to catch the weapon from him, but this he is unable to do, being so confined by the ropes, which the boys and women pull on each side, that he cannot move from the place where he stands. Whilst he remains in this posture, the executioner stuns him with several blows, and at last with one terrible stroke cleaves his skull, and scatters his brains. He afterwards cuts off his hands. The women then advance, and taking up the body, throw it upon a fire of wood, where it lies till all the hairs are scorched off. Then they open the belly, and take out the entrail; the rest of the body they cut into small pieces, which these Barbarians feast upon with the highest satisfaction.

There is likewise another sort of people in this country, of the same brutal and savage disposition, who live in the woods and mountains, and are continually waging war with those who live in houses. No crime is punished, amongst them except murder. The relations of the murderer are obliged to deliver him up to those of the deceased, who by their nearness of blood have a right to demand justice. These accordingly put the criminal to death, then the relations of both, with mutual sorrow and lamentation, join in performing the funeral rites over the two bodies. This ceremony being finished, they feast together, and all animosity being laid aside, they become hearty friends. But if it happens that the person who has killed another should make his escape, then his daughters, sisters, or some of his nearest kinswomen, are deliver'd up as slaves to the relations of the deceased, and thus at last the injury is forgot, and all resentment buried in oblivion.

I thought

I thought it might not be improper thus to describe at large the manners of this barbarous nation, that from thence we may see what gross and shocking absurdities mankind will be apt to run into when uncivilized by letters, but above all, when not enlightened by the sacred truths of religion. Here, at the same time, we have an illustrious proof of the goodness of all-bountiful Providence, in sending our people upon these coasts. From this time these men contracted an intercourse and friendship with Christians, and were afterwards instructed in the principles of Christianity, by several holy men of the order of Jesus, sent there by the kings of Portugal. They became sensible of the state of ignorance wherein they had been so long buried, embraced the doctrine of Christ with extraordinary zeal, and returned thanksgivings and praise to God, who had thus brought them from darkness to light.

Cabral set sail from the Brasils on the 29th of April. On the 9th of next month, the sailors saw a cloud gathering, and in a short time the whole heavens were overspread with pitchy darkness. The sea began to swell, and the billows to beat; this threw the fleet into the utmost consternation, and all hands went to work to take in the sails; but the tempest came upon them so sudden and furious, that before many of the ships had time to make preparations for weathering the storm, four of them were dashed to pieces, and swallowed up in the waves, and every soul aboard perished. This was certainly a most moving spectacle to the rest of the fleet, to behold their friends, their fellow companions, nay, many of their near relations, in such distress; and yet not to have it in their power to rescue them from so horrible a death. The remaining seven ships proceeded in their course, but in a short time were again separated by hard weather; however, at last they all met together on the 27th of July, except one which had put back to Portugal, with only six of her

men

men surviving. The rest of their crew had been cut off by thirst, hunger, and various other calamities.

The six remaining ships having turned the Cape, came in sight of a most pleasant country, covered with trees, abounding in cattle, and watered with excellent rivers. But notwithstanding the Portuguese were in the utmost distress for provisions, yet the inhabitants would supply them with nothing, nor enter into any kind of correspondence with them: they therefore proceeded in their course, and coasting along, had an agreeable prospect of the whole country, till at last they came in sight of two islands opposite to the main land. Here there were two ships lying at anchor; those who were aboard, as soon as they spied the Portuguese ships, crowded all their sails, and made away in all possible hurry. Cabral, however, soon came up with them, and took them: but as soon as he was informed that they belonged to one Fonteima, a prince of that country, and relation to the king of Melinda, he generously restored the ships, with all the gold and merchandize which they had brought from Zofala.

Cabrel arrived at Mozambique on the 24th of July, where he watered his ships, without any obstruction; having laid in a fresh stock of provisions, and agreed with a pilot to conduct him to Quiloa, he proceeded in his voyage. When he had got a little way from the shore, he saw several beautiful and well cultivated islands, which were under the government of the king of Quiloa. His dominions upon that coast are two hundred miles in extent. This king, as well as all his subjects, are Mahometans. Some of the natives are of a black, others of a tawney colour. They speak Arabick, and several other languages, which they learn from many different nations, who trade on these coasts. Their dress resembles that of the Turks or Arabians, and they live in every respect with taste and elegance. Quiloa lies about four hundred miles from Mozambique. It is divided from the continent by a little narrow sea. The whole island is stocked with abundance

dance of plants and fine trees. It is likewise furnished with many cool refreshing springs. Here is, at the same time, great numbers of tame cattle, and vast plenty of animals, which live in the forest, and afford the diversions of hunting. The soil of the country is very fruitful, and with a little culture will produce fruits of all kinds. The city is large and populous; the houses are built with grandeur and magnificence, and furnished with variety of elegant furniture. The ships they use are very much like those of Mozambique, all of them laid over with a sort of frankincense, for want of pitch.

Cabral having come to an anchor in this port, sent messengers to the king, whose name was Abraham, to let him know he had letters for him from the king of Portugal, from which he might perceive what a strong desire Emmanuel had of entering into friendship with him: that he himself would have come ashore to wait upon his majesty, had it not been the express orders of his royal master, never to quit the fleet on any account whatsoever: that he therefore hoped his majesty would be so indulgent as to fix upon some place on the water, where they might have a conference. The king received the messengers in the most kindly manner; and returned answer by them to Cabral, ‘ That he was extremely glad to hear of his arrival: that he had conceived the highest regard for Emmanuel, whom he believed to be a prince endowed with the greatest virtues, and would cheerfully embrace this opportunity of entering into friendship with so renowned a monarch: and, since he could not have the pleasure of seeing Cabral ashore, and receiving his dispatches there, he would therefore the very next day have a meeting with him by water.’ Then he sent one of his domesticks to Cabral, with presents.

The following day some small vessels, adorned in the richest manner, were got ready, to convey his majesty to the fleet. His attendants were all clad in purple or

gold

gold embroidery, or in silk and fine cotton. They were armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds. The water resounded with the joyful musick of their flutes and trumpets. The Portuguese on the other hand, saluted them with their cannon, and made other demonstrations of joy. Cabral ordered all his officers to dress themselves in the most elegant manner, and to put off in their long-boats. He himself did the same. When they came up with the king's boat, Cabral saluted his majesty in the most respectful manner; then he delivered the letters from Emmanuel, wrote in the Arabian language, and communicated to him the particulars of his embassy. All which the king received with visible marks of satisfaction; and said he would always account Emmanuel as a brother, and at all times study to advance his honour, and promote his interest. It was agreed upon that Cabral should next day send a person ashore to confirm their friendship by a league. When things were about to be settled on this amicable footing, the Arabian merchants interfered with their wonted malice, accusing our people of wickedness and cruelty: they said they were astonished at the simplicity of the king, in reposing confidence in a crew of pyrates, who, if their mischievous schemes were not frustrated, would, under a mask of friendship, in a few years strip him of all his possessions. These mischievous calumnies wrought such an effect on the king, that he not only laid aside all thoughts of making a league with our people, but even contracted the most inveterate hatred against them. He accordingly ordered the city to be reinforced with soldiers, the garrison to be strengthened, and all such other preparations to be made as are usual in sea-ports, when the enemy is in the harbour.

Cabral having got intelligence of these things, by one Homeris, brother to the king of Melinda, who happened to be then at Quiloa, he was resolved to waste no more time here, and accordingly proceeded in his course for Melinda.

The

The arrival of our people in this place gave the king most inexpressible joy: he immediately took care to provide a sufficient quantity of provisions and refreshing fruits for the whole fleet.

Cabral had brought back the ambassador whom the king of Melinda sent to Portugal by Gama. Him he sent immediately ashore, and at the same time dispatched some of his men with many valuable presents sent to the king by Emmanuel. The eastern monarchs are fond of shew and ostentation, and take a particular pride in shewing their subjects the presents they receive from foreign princes: accordingly the king of Melinda appeared next day in public, seated on a fine horse, adorned with the richest furniture, which amongst other things, had been sent him by Emmanuel. In this manner he went to the sea side, where Cabral and all the Portuguese officers waited for him in their boats. There they met and received each other in the most courteous and friendly manner. The admiral, however, tho' pressed in the strongest terms, to remain at this place for some time, yet he made but a very short stay. At his departure he left two exiles, who were, if possible, to travel into that part of Ethiopia which lies above Egypt, where Emmanuel had heard there was a Christian prince, and to inform themselves of the manners and customs of the people under his sovereignty.

The fleet weighed from Melinda on the 7th of August; and having a fair wind, they crossed over the Indian ocean, and made the islands of Anchediva on the 22d. The admiral anchored here a few days to refresh his men after their fatigue; thence he steered for Calicut, which he reached on the 30th. The zamorin or emperor, as soon as he heard of the arrival of our people, dispatched two of his naires or noblemen, and a merchant of considerable interest, a native of Cambaya, in his name, to salute the Portuguese admiral. Cabral treated them with the utmost respect, and, at their departure, sent ashore with them

John

John Sala, a gentleman of nobility, who had accompanied Gama to India, together with Jasper Gama, the Jew who had formerly been in the service of Zabaio, and having afterwards become a Christian, had assumed the name of his friend and patron. He sent likewise four of the Indian noblemen whom Gama had carried to Portugal, dressed in the Portuguese fashion. The sight of these men gave the zamorin most inexpressible pleasure.

The zamorin resolved to give audience to Cabral in one of his royal seats, not far from the sea shore. Accordingly went thither in grand procession, attended by several of his nobles, preceded with the musick of gold and silver trumpets of the most exquisite workmanship, and all other demonstrations of joy. Cabral set out from the fleet with several of his officers, leaving the command, in his absence, to Sancius Thoares. As soon as he came ashore, he was met by many of the nobility, who having ordered a sedan to be brought for the admiral, followed him a-foot, and in this manner, conducted him to the palace. The building was grand and magnificent ; and the inside adorned with silk-embroidered tapestry. The zamorin was clad in the richest attire, sparkling with the most brilliant diamonds. Cabral having paid his compliments to the king, was seated by him in a silver chair. After Emmanuel's letters were read, and interpreted by Jasper, they begun then to treat about a friendly alliance. The zamorin made the warmest protestations of friendship, and even promised more than Cabral requested. He gave to all the Portuguese the liberty of a free trade in his dominions, and assured them of his protection. Besides, he assigned to them a large house near the shore, which he henceforth appropriated for the use and convenience of those who were to transact the affairs of king Emmanuel. To confirm and perpetuate this donation, he ordered it to be recorded on a golden table. He gave orders likewise, that a standard should be fixed on the top of the building, with the arms of Emmanuel.

Emmanuel engraved thereupon, as a public testimony that this houle belonged to his Portuguese majesty, and as a proof of his affection and regard for that prince.

Mean while the zamorin being informed, that a large ship, having aboard an elephant of the most monstrosus size, had set sail from Colchin, to invade the kingdom of Cambaya, he sent to Cabral, conjuring him by all the ties of friendship, that he would take this ship. And, that he might have a particular account of the behaviour of our people, he dispatched some of his Arabian domesticks, to observe the engagement. Cabral sent only one small ship, commanded by Pedro Ataide, to whom he likewise joined three able officers, Duarte Pacheco, Vasco Silveria, and John Sala. When the zamorin saw that Cabral made so light of such a large ship, furnished with so many soldiers, and with such abundance of warlike stores, he was perfectly struck with astonishment, and with the greatest impatience waited the event.

Our people had scarce time to put themselves in readiness when the ship appeared in sight. They made towards her in full sail, yet in such a manner as not to approach too nigh, lest they might be overwhelm'd by the enemy's darts thrown from a ship of so great height: keeping at a moderate distance, they very briskly plied her with their cannon; they killed and wounded several of the enemy, and damaged the ship in many places. The enemy at first seemed to despise our people, looking upon them to be greatly their inferiors, and exclaiming against them in a haughty insolent manner: but they soon changed their tone upon seeing their ship so much battered, and so many of their men killed; then they began to despair, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The Portuguese ship pursued her; but by favour of the night, she got into the harbour of Cananor, forty miles north of Calicut, where four Arabian vessels lay at anchor. Our people watched very carefully, to prevent

vent her escape, and by day-break prepared to renew their attack ; they threw her into such consternation, that she quitted the port, and put to sea again. The Portuguese ship being clean and light, soon came up with her, and annoyed her in such a manner, that they made her steer what course they pleased, and at last drove her in triumph before them into the harbour of Calicut. The zamorin was filled with amazement, and having asked the particulars of the action, from those he had sent to observe the engagement, their answer was, That never before had they beheld men of the like courage, intrepidity, dexterity in arms, and alacrity in encountering dangers. He sent to the admiral desiring he would send him those men who had behaved so heroically : Cabral comply'd with his request. When the Portuguese came before his majesty, he bestowed upon them the highest encomiums, and gave them several presents : above all he distinguished Pacheco, who, according to the information he received from the Arabians, who had been present at the engagement, signalized himself in the most extraordinary manner.

But the more this affair raised the fame of our people, the more did it excite the jealousy and hatred of the Arabian merchants. These men endeavoured to hinder the Portuguese from procuring such a quantity of pepper and spices as they wanted to buy. In order to effect their malicious purposes, they had recourse to many tricks and stratagems ; they endeavoured to infuse into the zamorin the greatest hatred of our people, and raised against them the vilest aspersions. They went about to all the proprietors of the spices, giving the highest price for this commodity, and hoarding it up privately, that none might come to the Portuguese. The zamorin notwithstanding all his boasted friendship, connived at these proceedings. Cabral had indeed suspected his honour some time before, when the hostages which he had aboard having jumped into the sea, swam ashore : some of them were taken again, others escaped ; of these the king made no restitution

The admiral being nettled at these things, sent a person to the zamorin, to complain of this hard and unjust treatment, telling him, ' That he had engaged his honour, that the Portuguese ships should receive their cargo within twenty days; whereas three months were now elapsed, and not one of them had yet got her loading, whilst the Arabian ships were supplied with great forwardness; which was contrary to the articles of the treaty: for there it was expressed, that no nation whatsoever should be allowed to purchase any quantity of spices, till the Portuguese ships had received their full cargo. He therefore earnestly entreated his majesty to preserve his dignity, and act up to his honour: that the time was almost at hand when the Portuguese must depart, nor was it possible for them to loiter away any more of their time in that port.' The zamorin, when he received this message, pretended to be highly offended at the behaviour of the Arabian merchants: ' But (said he) since they have been so daring and presumptuous as to take in their loading, contrary to my commands, I therefore give Cabral full liberty, after paying the value of the spices to the merchants, to unload the Arabian vessels, and put the cargo aboard the Portuguese ships.'

Cabral having received this answer, was very apprehensive that there might be some villainous artifice cloaked under this condescension of the zamorin; For if he should make use of the power given him, he foresaw this would highly exasperate all the Arabians, who being numerous and powerful, might fall upon and destroy the Portuguese who were ashore. And however fatal the consequences might prove, the zamorin would clear himself, by throwing the blame upon our people, who had begun the disturbance, or upon the Arabians, who had acted contrary to his orders. Cabral remained in suspense, not knowing

what expedient to have recourse to ; in the mean while Ayres Correa, who was left in the house ashore, as chief agent of the Portuguese affairs, wrote to the admiral, pressing him in the strongest terms, that he would make use of the liberty granted him by the zamorin, and take by force from the Arabians the goods they had procured by such fraudulent methods ; otherwise, he said, the Portuguese ships must return home empty, without any thing to countervail the expence and fatigue of so tedious a voyage. Cabral, however, still hesitating, Correa urged him more and more, conjuring him not to suffer his name to be tarnished with the reproaches of cowardice and inactivity, nor to allow his master Emmanuel to be deprived of such great advantages as he had in his power to procure him. Besides, he called upon all the Portuguese to bear witness of his zeal to promote the interest of Emmanuel ; he likewise insisted that his behaviour should be recorded in their journals, that it might from thence appear he had done his utmost for the service of his royal master ; and that the whole blame ought to be laid on the admiral, who was unwilling to exert himself with proper spirit.

Cabral persuaded by the intreaties, or rather stimulated by the reproaches of Correa, was now determined to do something to prevent any future aspersions on his conduct. There was, at this time, a ship lying without the harbour, which having got in all her loading, was ready to put to sea. Accordingly he sent a person, in his name, to tell the captain and master of the vessel not to depart ; for that he had a power from the zamorin to detain any ship in that sea. But the officers of the ship paying no regard to the admiral's authority, he manned and armed some of his boats, and ordered those aboard to tow back the ship into the harbour, which was accordingly executed with great expedition. The owner of the ship was an Arabian, a man immensely rich, and of great interest amongst all the leading men of Calicut. When he

heard

heard of this affair, he was enraged to the highest degree, and having got together all his friends and relations, he laid the matter before them, and in the most bitter terms complained of the scandalous and unjust treatment he had received from our people. His resentment, of itself sufficiently heated, was still further inflamed by the malicious speeches of every one present, who all agreed that they would sooner suffer death than tamely put up with such an indignity. Accordingly they went all in a body to the king, exclaiming against so heinous an action. ‘ These Christians (they said) now carry things with so high a hand as to dare even to attack those who are under the sanction of his majesty’s government; and as if they were already lords of the kingdom, take upon them to dictate their commands, forcibly to drag ships into the harbour, and even in the king’s sight to offer violence to his subjects. Such insults as these (they said) struck at the honour of his crown; and if the authors of them were not severely punished, the consequence would be, that these men would attempt still greater crimes, nor would they scruple at last to offer violence to his sacred person. Moreover they added, that it was certainly owing to that excess of clemency and good nature in his majesty, that strangers so destitute, and so unacquainted with the Indian manners, should dare to act in defiance of so great a prince, and behave in such an insolent and audacious manner.’

The zamorin made such a reply to the Arabians, as plainly shewed he would not be displeased with any scheme they could devise for the ruin of the Portuguese: accordingly they, and several of the naires, went in a riotous manner to the house where our people lived, without the least apprehension of danger. Correa made a signal to the fleet, to let them know the danger with which he was threatened. He had with him only 70 of the Portuguese, whilst there were about 4000 of the Arabians who beset the house. Cabral,

being at this time sick of an ague, was obliged to dispatch Sancius Tobaris, with a detachment in the long boats to assist the Portuguese ashore; and, if possible, to rescue them from their present danger. The Arabians, in the mean while, having forced open the gate with hatchets, and broke down part of the walls, threw in their darts, and entering sword in hand, endeavoured to destroy all the Portuguese within, before they could receive assistance. They, on the other hand, made a most obstinate resistance; and as their fate seemed inevitable, were determined to sell their lives dear. Some of them, however, forming themselves into a body, forced their way to the sea-side; where having joined themselves with the Portuguese sent to their succour, they renewed the attack on the enemy; and, having driven them back a little, by this means made their retreat into the boats more practicable. Of the 70 Portuguese who resided ashore, 50 were killed, amongst whom was Ayres Correa; twenty made their escape, but most of these were so desperately wounded, that the greatest part of them died soon after. Henry, chief of the friars, was amongst the wounded. Correa had brought to India his little son Antonio, a boy about ten years of age, whom Nunnez Leitan, a Portuguese dragoon, defended with the greatest resolution, and conveyed safe to the water-side. Here he was greatly perplexed how to get him conveyed into the boat, which lay at some distance; but a sailor touched with compassion for this young creature, took him upon his shoulders, and, with the greatest danger of his own life, generously saved the boy; who afterwards proved a man of great gallantry, and signalized himself by many brave and valiant achievements. This slaughter was committed on our people on the 17th day of December 1500.

Cabral was extremely grieved at this melancholy affair, and his fever of itself very violent, was still more increased by the sorrow he felt for the death of Correa: however, he was resolved not to attempt any revenge

venge till he should see what excuse the zamorin would make, or whether he would punish the authors of this cruelty. But finding that prince to be quite silent upon that head, he then concluded him to be not only privy to, but also a promoter of this horrid wickedness ; he, therefore, by the unanimous approbation of all his officers, attacked ten large Arabian ships in the harbour. The engagement, for some time, was fierce and warm on both sides. The Portuguese, however, at last, with uncommon fury boarding the ships, took ample vengeance for the death of their countrymen, having killed above 600 of the enemy. They plundered the vessels, and being in great want of hands, they put all the prisoners aboard their own ships. They found likewise three elephants, and (being short of provisions) killed and salted them for food. They afterwards fired the ships, amongst which was one belonging to the Arabian who had raised the late tumult. The flames alarmed and frightened the people at Calicut, who ran up and down in the most distracted manner, lifting up their hands to heaven, and uttering the most horrid imprecations ; but none had courage to oppose the Portuguese. The ships being thus destroyed, in sight of the zamorin, Cabral, the following day, put his fleet in a proper disposition to batter the city with his cannon : he demolished many of the private, as well as public buildings, and made great havock amongst the inhabitants. The zamorin, when he saw one of his dearest friends laid dead at his feet by a cannon ball, was struck with a panic, and be-took himself to flight.

Cabral having thus taken vengeance of this perfidious people, sailed for Cochin ; the prince of this place being, as he heard, desirous of cultivating a friendship with the Portuguese. The city of Cochin is about 70 miles south of Calicut ; it is encircled with a winding river, which not far from thence discharges itself into the sea. It has a capacious harbour, where ships may ride at anchor in safety. The soil is poor

and barren, but the great number of trees which grow here, makes the country look not unpleasant. It abounds with pepper. The revenue of the prince is but small, he being tributary to the zamorin of Calicut. The manners of the people very much resemble those of Calicut. The admiral, as soon as he reached this port, sent one Michael, an Indian, to the king to inform him of the arrival of our people; and to desire that his majesty would, at a reasonable rate, furnish him with some spices and other commodities. Michael was a most devout and abstemious man, and had been one of that religious sect whom the Indians call Togues. These men affect an utter contempt of all worldly things. They pretend to despise riches, and live by begging. They run to all markets and public places, where they preach up their particular tenets with great zeal. The greatest part of them are religious cheats, who impose upon the ignorant multitude; and from their simplicity, gain their own selfish ends. Michael was bred up in this false religion, but at the same time possessed an honest heart, which raised in him an abhorrence of such a doctrine. He was convinced of the truths of Christianity, and became a most sincere convert. This man having waited on the king, and delivered his instructions, returned with a most civil and polite answer. He said, the king was overjoyed to hear of the arrival of our people, and would chearfully furnish them with whatsoever they wanted. Articles of friendship were accordingly settled upon with this prince, and Cabral sent several persons ashore to present him with some silver vessels; and, at the same time, to buy up a quantity of spices. These men were received by the king in a most friendly manner: he assigned them a strong large house to reside in till they had finished their business, and appointed several of the naires to guard and protect them.

Whilst things were carried on at Cochin, in this friendly manner, ambassadors came from the kings of Cananor and Coulam, desiring the friendship of our people,

people, and inviting them into their ports. Cabral returned them thanks for their friendly intentions; at the same time telling them, ' That he had already engaged to take his goods from the king of Cochin; however, he acknowledged himself as much obliged to them as if he had accepted of their kindness. But if it should happen that he could not get a sufficient loading for his ships at Cochin, then he would embrace the opportunity of trading with them.' Whilst the ships were taking in their lading with great forwardness, two Indian christians, of the city of Cranganor, about 20 miles distant from thence, came to Cochin. These men being instructed in the gospel propagated in India by St. Thomas, had for many years adhered to the Christian faith with great zeal and constancy; they waited on Cabral, and entreated him to carry them to Portugal, that they might travel from thence to Rome and Jerusalem, to visit those places where Christ and his apostles had formerly preached. The admiral granted their request with great cheerfulness.

The ships were now furnished with a sufficient cargo, when the king of Cochin received information, that the zamorin of Calicut, being determined to revenge the loss of so many of his subjects, had fitted out a fleet of twenty large ships, besides a great number of small vessels, with 15000 soldiers aboard. The king immediately communicated this to Cabral, who having put his fleet in readiness for an engagement, sailed directly to meet the enemy; but the wind being unfavourable, he could not fall in with them. The enemy seeing with what resolution the Portuguese made towards them, and, at the same time, being filled with the most dreadful apprehensions of the cannon, they were afraid to come nigh our people, and entirely declined an engagement. Cabral then, without any obstruction, set out on his voyage for Portugal, having left Goncalo Barbosa, and Laurence Morena, with some more Portuguese at Cochin, to manage the af-

1501 fairs of Emmanuel at that place. When he came upon the coast of Cananor, he was again invited by that king to furnish his ships with whatever they wanted. He accepted the invitation, and entered that port in the year 1501. The city of Cananor is large and spacious, standing upon a bay, which makes a most commodious harbour. The country abounds in all the necessaries of life. The king who then reigned was rich and liberal; and as to his government and way of living, little differing from the rest of the princes in Malabar. Cabral bought here a quantity of ginger and cinnamon; but the king having understood that he did not purchase so much as was offered to him, imagined this was owing to a want of money; for which reason he sent to the admiral, telling him he was sorry to hear that our people had lost all their money and effects at Calicut; but that his purse was at their service; which, if they would make use of with the same freedom as that of their own king Emmanuel, it would give him the highest pleasure. Cabral returned him most hearty thanks for this friendly offer; at the same time he shewed the messengers a considerable quantity of gold, that from hence his majesty might understand that it was not from a want of money, but because the ships were already sufficiently loaded, that he had not bought a larger stock of goods. The king sent an ambassador to Portugal with Cabral, to make a friendly alliance with Emmanuel. The fleet sailed from this place on the 16th of January.

When Cabral was a little way short of Melinda, he took a large ship very richly loaded: but when he found she belonged to an Arabian merchant of the kingdom of Cambaya, he set her at liberty; telling the commander, 'That Emmanuel was at war with none in India but the zamorin of Calicut, and the Arabians of Mecca; from whom he had received the greatest indignities.' The fleet, after having proceeded a little way further, met with a most boisterous storm. The ship commanded by Sancius Tovar, was

driven

driven upon a bank, but the crew and cargo were saved. Cabral ordered the ship to be burnt, that it might be of no service to any enemy ; but, notwithstanding this precaution, the king of Mombaze, by divers, and the help of machines, afterwards found means to draw the cannons out of the water. The admiral intended to have touched at the port of Melinda, but the wind not favouring his design, he continued his course towards Mozambique. Here he repaired and victualled his fleet ; and having given Tovar the command of another ship, he sent him to examine the coast of Zofala, whilst he himself, with the rest of the fleet, sailed homewards with all expedition ; and, after having suffered much hard weather, he arrived at Lisbon on the 31<sup>st</sup> day of July.

Emmanuel was greatly overjoyed at the arrival of Cabral ; though, at the same time, his joy was not a little damped by the sorrow he felt for the loss of so many brave men, partly swallowed up in the deep, and partly killed in a cruel and villainous manner. The king, some time before the admiral came to Lisbon, had sent another fleet to India, under the command of John de Nova, a very gallant gentleman. It consisted, however, only of three ships ; for as Emmanuel thought that the squadron he had sent with Cabral the foregoing year, would be strong enough either to procure a peace, or to carry on war with the zamorin of Calicut, he therefore concluded, that this small reinforcement would be sufficient. But when he found by the account Cabral gave, to what dangers the Portuguese had been exposed, and what conspiracies had been formed against them, he then determined to send out a much larger force. Accordingly, the following year he fitted out a fleet of ten ships for India, to each of which he assigned brave and able officers, and appointed Vasco de Gama admiral. At the same time he ordered five more to be equipped, the command of which he gave to Vincent Sodre, a man of great courage, whose instructions were to scour

the

the Indian ocean, and to seize all the Arabian ships which should sail from Mecca to India. This fleet of fifteen ships being furnished with every thing necessary for the voyage, sailed from the port of Bethlem on the 10th of February: nor did he think this force altogether sufficient to carry on his great designs in India; for soon after he ordered five more to be got ready, which sailed from Lisbon on the first of April, and steered the same course, under the command of Stephen Gama, first cousin of Vasco.

This same year queen Mary was delivered of her first son. The day on which he was born was made memorable by a violent storm, such as the oldest men living did not remember to have seen the like. A gloomy darkness seemed to cover the whole face of the earth; and it thundered and lightened to such a degree, that the most brave and intrepid persons were filled with fear and consternation. Many houses were beat down, trees were torn up by the violence of the hurricane; whilst at the same time, the fall of rain was so great, that not only the streets, but many of the houses were filled with water. When the tempest ceased, then Emmanuel and his people resumed their joy for the birth of the young prince. A week afterwards the child was baptized by the name of John: Pedro Pascal, the Venetian ambassador, was one of the sponsors; this gentleman had been deputed by the Venetians, to return Emmanuel thanks for the fleet sent to their assistance, and to assure his majesty, that the senate and people of Venice would always retain a grateful sense of his kindness. The king conferred upon him the honour of knighthood with his own hands; and at his departure, loaded him with many valuable presents. Pascal being charmed with this generosity of Emmanuel, when he returned home bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and inspired all the Venetians with the utmost love and respect for his Portuguese majesty. The day the young prince was baptized, the palace suddenly took fire; but by timely assistance

sistance it was soon extinguished. This same year Emmanuel fitted out another fleet, which he sent to the streights of Gibraltar, to curb the insolence of the Moors: but they performed nothing worthy to be related.

In the mean while John de Nova proceeded in his voyage with very favourable weather. Having passed the Line, he discovered an island hitherto unknown to our people; this he called the island of Conception. The next place he touched at was Agua de S. Blas, where he proposed to water the ships. Here he spied an old shoe hanging upon the branches of a tree, which, as he concluded it must be hung there for some particular purpose, he ordered to be brought to him. It contained a letter wrote by Pedro Ataide, warning the Portuguese who should touch at that place in their way to India, 'To beware of the zamorin of Calicut, ' who had behaved to our people in the most cruel and ' perfidious manner; and endeavoured, by all possible ' means, to bring about their destruction.' When Nova made Quiloa, he found one of the exiles, who delivered him a letter from Cabral, much to the same effect. At Melinda he was informed by the king of the various schemes and plots formed against Cabral by the king and people of Calicut. Thence he steered for Anchediva, where he watered his ships, and made directly for Cananor. The king received him with the highest marks of friendship and hospitality.

Whilst Nova remained at this place, there came to him Gundissalvo Peixot, a Portuguese, who, during the tumult in which Aires Correa was slain, had been most miraculously saved by the generous protection of one Coje Bequi, who, though an Arabian, had proved a most excellent friend to our people. This Portuguese was sent by order of the zamorin from Calicut to Nova, to set forth to him, ' That the tumult where-  
' in so many of the Portuguese suffered, had been  
' raised, and carried on by an enraged multitude, en-  
' tirely without the approbation, or even knowledge of  
' his majesty, who desired nothing more than the cul-  
' tivating

‘tivating of a friendship with Emmanuel ; and that it would give him the highest pleasure if Nova would come to Calicut, where he promised he should be treated in the most friendly manner, and receive such a cargo of goods as would enable him to acquire the riches of a prince.’ Peixot having delivered this message from the zamorin to Nova, next communicated to him the private instructions received from Coje Beqai, who advised the admiral ‘not to give the least faith to that perfidious prince ; who, he said, wanted only to decoy the Portuguese into his power, that he might have an opportunity to destroy them ; and that whoever was so foolish as to put any confidence in a man void of all honour, would certainly suffer for his simplicity.’ Nova therefore returned no answer to the zamorin ; nor did Peixot go back to Calicut.

The admiral, after having stayed a short time at Cananor, proceeded for Cochin. In his way thither he fell in with a ship from Calicut, which having taken, he plundered and burnt : soon after he reached the harbour of Cochin. His arrival there was matter of great joy to the Portuguese in that place ; who now looked upon themselves as delivered from the jaws of death, for notwithstanding the king himself behaved to them with the greatest humanity, and appointed several of his nobles as their protectors, yet they lived in the utmost danger from the Arabians, who were very numerous in that city. The king treated Nova with the highest civility ; and in every respect acquitted himself like a man of honour and probity.

The admiral managed all his affairs at Cochin according to his wishes ; and having almost loaded his ships, he sailed back to Cananor to take in a quantity of spices, which were accordingly furnished him with great civility and readiness. When he was about to depart from thence, the king of Cananor, informed him, That the zamorin of Calicut had fitted out above 80 vessels, which were to be stationed at the mouth of the

the harbour; so that the Portuguese ships being thus blocked up, might be more easily destroyed: he therefore advised Nova to advance nearer to the shore, that he might be enabled to assist him with his land forces; for he could not conceive that four ships could stand before such a powerful fleet. Nova returned the king thanks for this new instance of his friendship, and bid him not be uneasy about the fate of our people. He said, he put his trust in the Almighty God, and relying upon his divine protection, would not be afraid to encounter the most formidable enemy.

Nova next day descried the fleet from Calicut, consisting of above 100 ships, in the entrance of the harbour: he disposed his ships in such a manner, that they might be able to use all their guns at once. He charged the officers by all means to beware of coming to close quarters with so numerous an enemy; for their safety was chiefly placed in observing this precaution. He ordered the artillery to be managed so as to make a continual discharge upon the enemy; for if the firing should cease at any time, he foresaw the Portuguese must fall into the most imminent danger. These orders were accordingly executed with the utmost exactness; and our people, with great briskness and emulation, continued playing their cannon till sun-set. There were killed 417 of the enemy, besides a great many wounded; and some of their ships were sunk, whilst the Portuguese sustained no loss. The enemy hoisted an ensign of peace; Nova suspecting this might be some stratagem, ordered the attack to be renewed. They sent an Arabian to the admiral, desiring a truce for that night. Nova answered, he would grant their request, on condition they should immediately remove their ships from the entrance of the harbour, and allow him a free passage. The enemy very readily complied with this demand; and Nova having sailed out of the bay, the two fleets lay at anchor near the mouth of the harbour, at a little distance from each other. The Calicutians, however, not regarding the truce,

let down some persons into the sea, who were to swim to the Portuguese ships, and try to cut the cables: they dispatched, at the same time, a number of boats, with several men aboard, who, as soon as this was compleated, were to throw lighted torches into the ships. But this villainous contrivance, which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, was happily discovered, and frustrated by the vigilance and assiduity of our people. The enemy seeing they could not gain their ends by open force, nor secret cunning, weighed anchor, and with crowded sails, stood away for Calicut.

Nova being thus happily delivered from such threatening danger, without any further delay, proceeded on his voyage homewards. When he had sailed a little way, he met with a ship of Calicut, which he plundered and burnt: he then continued his course, and had a very quick and easy passage to the Cape. Some time after he turned it, he discovered a little island lying in 15 degrees south latitude, to which he gave the name of St. Helena. This island standing by itself in the midst of such a vast ocean, seems, as if it were to have been placed there by Providence, for the reception and shelter of weather-beaten ships in their return from an Indian voyage. There are many delightful rivers in this place. It is covered with fine trees, and the air is temperate and healthy: and after it was inhabited and cultivated (which we shall take notice of afterwards) it abounded in all kind of cattle, and the soil produced plenty of all sorts of fruits and refreshing herbs. It is now rendered the most useful spot for our people who trade to India. Here they always take in wood and water for their ships, where they may likewise have the diversions of fishing and hunting, and lay in a supply of provisions. Nova having departed from St. Helena, set out for Portugal; where, after a very favourable and easy voyage, he arrived on the 11th day of September 1502, to the great joy of Emmanuel and all his people.

Emmanuel

Emmanuel this year set out for Compostella, to perform certain religious vows at the sepulchre of St. Diego. When he came to Coimbra, he took a view of the tomb of Alphonso, that religious and invincible prince, who had driven the Moors out of Portugal; he ordered it to be pulled down, and rebuilt in a most magnificent manner. He took care likewise, that according to the will of king John, a very grand tomb should be erected in honour of Pantaleon, a most devout person, who had died a martyr for the Christian religion: wherever he went, he behaved like a charitable, just, religious, and bountiful prince; providing for widows and orphans, enriching the churches with many valuable presents, and making enquiry into the conduct of the great, and punishing crimes which till then had escaped with impunity. He stayed three days at Compostella, where he performed his religious vows with the utmost sanctity. He adorned the church with a silver lamp of the most curious workmanship; which he ordered to be hung up, and to burn there continually. He then set out again for Lisbon: his arrival there spread a general joy amongst all the inhabitants, who looked upon themselves as unhappy in his absence.

In the beginning of the ensuing year \*, he resumed his design of carrying over an army to Africa against the Moors, and heading it himself; but he was diverted from this enterprize by a great calamity which came upon his people. In the beginning of the spring there fell such vast quantities of rain as had rotied and destroyed the corn. The price of provisions rose considerably, and the famine at last increased to such a degree, that not only the poor, but also the rich were greatly distressed with it. They were obliged to pull up the roots of herbs, and for the support of life to eat many things which they had never before tasted. The food which they were necessitated to live upon, and the infection of the air, brought upon them many grievous

and unusual distempers. Emmanuel being thus foiced to quit his African expedition, now turned his whole thoughts upon relieving the distress of his subjects: He sent to France and Britain, and imported from thence vast quantities of corn; and by this means quickly supplied the necessities of his kingdom.

He dispatched this year six more ships for India; three of which were under the command of Alphonso Albuquerque, and the other three under Francis Albuquerque, first cousin to the former. He dispatched likewise another fleet, the command of which he gave to Gundissalvo Cœlo; who was to go and take a further survey of the people and country of Brasil, discovered by Cabral; but Cœlo being unacquainted with the navigation on that coast; lost four of his ships upon the shelves; and returned home with two only loaded chiefly with red-wood, (of which there is vast plenty in this country) together with a great many parrots and monkeys:

The king sent this same year two ships towards the north, to try if they could learn any thing of the fate of two noblemen, who were brothers, and supposed to have been lost, or forcibly detained in these parts. The affair happened in this manner: Jasper Cortereal, a nobleman of great courage, fired with thirst after glory, and being desirous of perpetuating his fame by some memorable exploit, formed a design of discovering some unknown country. But as almost all the places towards the south had been already found out by the Portuguese, he therefore resolved to make a search towards the north. For this purpose he fitted out a ship at his own expence, which he furnished with provisions, and mann'd with a sufficient number of soldiers and sailors. He set out from Lisbon in the year 1500, and came at length in sight of a country, which, from the beautiful verdure of the place, was called Greenland. The inhabitants were barbarous and uncivilized. Their complexion white; which by age, and the excessive coldness of the climate, is by degrees changed

Greenland

changed into a brown colour. They are surprisingly swift, very expert in archery, and the arrows they use being hardened in the fire, will wound as deep as those pointed with steel. They cloath themselves with the skins of beasts, living in caves or little huts covered with straw. They have no religion, though, at the same time, they are great observers of augury. They take wives in marriage, but being of a jealous disposition, are extremely distrustful of their honour and chastity. This was the account which Cortereal gave of that people, on his return to Portugal: Being full of hopes that he should make still further discoveries on that coast, he set out on his second voyage in the year 1501, but never returned; nor could it ever be known what became of him. His brother Michael, who had a considerable place under king Emmanuel, being moved with a deep concern for the loss of so near a relation, was resolved to make some inquiry after him; and accordingly set out the next year, with two ships, for the same country. This gentleman suffered the like fate; for he was never more heard of. The king was extremely affected with the loss of two noblemen of such distinguished worth, and made all possible inquiry after them; but the ships which he sent for that purpose, returned without being able to learn any thing concerning these unhappy persons. There was a third brother surviving, Vasco John Cortereal; who entertaining some hopes that his brothers might be still alive, wanted to undertake the same voyage; but his majesty would not permit him to go; lest he too might meet the like unhappy fate.

Emmanuel this year summoned a general council of his people, that they might, in the same manner as had been done in Spain, take the oaths of allegiance to John his lawful heir. This was accordingly done with the greatest unanimity; there were, at the same time, enacted many wise and salutary laws; and the council granted the king a certain sum of money, to defray the expences of his expedition to Africa.

In the mean while, Gama having doubled the Cape of Good Hope divided his fleet. He gave eleven ships to Sodre, with orders to proceed for Mozambique, there to wait his arrival. He himself with four, went for the coast of Zofala, to examine the nature and situation of that country. Here he was received by the prince of that country in the most friendly manner, and a league of friendship was accordingly settled. In his return from thence, one of his ships was stranded on the shelves at the mouth of the bay, but the crew were happily saved, and all the goods unloaded into other ships. He then proceeded to Mozambique, and had a very friendly conference with the prince of that place; for he who had been at variance with our people being now dead, his successor had conceived a great liking to the Portuguese, and treated Gama in the most respectful manner.

Gama being provided with one of the Portuguese caravels, intended that it should scour that coast, and do all possible damage to the enemies of the Christian name: he now sailed for Quiloa with all the ships. Whilst he was at this place, Stephen Gama arrived there with the five ships under his command; so that the whole fleet amounted now to 19 sail of ships: besides, there was another commanded by António de Campo, but she had been separated from the rest by hard weather. Ibrahim king of Quiloa, frightened with the sight of so formidable a fleet, came to Gama in the most suppliant manner. Gama put him in fetters, upon account of the ill treatment our people had received from him. However, he soon set him at liberty again, upon condition that he should pay a certain quantity of gold, as an annual tribute to Emmanuel. The king, as a pledge of his performing this agreement, delivered for a hostage one Mahomed Anconi, a man of great authority, and next in dignity to the king himself. Ibrahim was a prince of great wickedness and injustice; he had paved his way to the crown by the murder of his predecessor. His own perverse disposition made him

him distrustful of others ; he was suspicious of every one, but especially of those whom he observed to be men of genius and abilities ; he had for a considerable time very much hated Mahomed ; this, however, he had concealed under an appearance of friendship. Now a favourable opportunity seemed to present itself for his getting rid of this obnoxious person ; he therefore resolved not to pay the tribute, thinking that Gama, being provoked by this breach of faith, would sacrifice the hostage. Mahomed having at last seen through this artifice, discovered the villainous behaviour of his master to Gama ; and having paid the tribute out of his own fortune, was then set at liberty. Gama sailed next for Melinda ; but these seas being swelled to a great degree, and the winds excessively high, he could not make that port ; however, he came to anchor in a bay about 30 miles from thence. Whilst the fleet remained here, the king of Melinda sent Leodovick Moore, one of the exiles left by Cabral, to congratulate our people, and to offer his majesty's service in any thing they wanted.

Gama having watered and victualled his ships, continued his course for India. When he had nigh finished his voyage, he spied a large ship, which was furnished with every thing necessary to enable her to make a stout resistance. This ship belonged to the sultan of Egypt ; she came from Calicut, loaded with ginger, spices, and cinnamon, with a great many other valuable commodities ; and was bound for Mecca, having aboard several passengers of distinction, who were going as pilgrims to visit the sepulchre of Mahomet. Gama directly engaged her ; but the Arabians and Egyptians opposed him with much more vigour than he expected : they fought with such obstinacy, that the engagement continued till the beginning of next day, when the whole Portuguese fleet set upon this single ship ; being resolved, however, not to sink her till she was first plundered. The enemy seeing they must perish, were resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate.

The Portuguese having at last boarded them, put to the sword above 300 men, saving only the children : they took a considerable booty, and afterwards burnt the ship. Gama then steered for Cananor, where he landed the ambassador whom the king had sent to Portugal : he at the same time sent ashore the presents from Emmanuel, which his majesty received with the highest marks of satisfaction.

The admiral sailed next for Calicut. In his way he took some vessels, wherein there were about fifty citizens of Calicut, whom he put in irons. He anchored in the harbour with all his ships. Whilst our people lay here, an Arabian came to them, in the habit of a Franciscan. This man being brought before Gama, owned that he was a Mahometan, and had dressed himself in that manner, thinking by this means he should be more easily admitted by the Portuguese. The dress which he wore had belonged to one of those Friars who had been killed at the time when Correa was. He told Gama, ‘ That the zamorin of Calicut was still solicitous of cultivating a friendship with the Portuguese, and highly incensed at the Arabians, who, in contempt of his authority, had acted so base a part towards our people.’ To this the admiral replied, ‘ That he was far from being averse to peace and amity ; on the contrary, it was the express orders of his royal master, if possible, to make a friendly league with the people of Calicut. But before he would enter into any terms of friendship, as a proof of the zamorin’s sincerity, he insisted that an immediate restitution should be made of all the Portuguese effects.’ Messengers were accordingly sent backwards and forwards for several days, in order to bring things to a friendly accommodation. But nothing was done ; for in short the zamorin made only promises, without any real intentions of friendship. Gama, having perceived his cunning and dissimulation, declared, that, if the goods which had been taken from our people, were not immediately

mediately restored, he would, in revenge of Correa's murder, put to death all the Calicutians whom he had in irons. The zamorin returned no answer to this threatening message. Gama then, hurried on by resentment, hanged all the prisoners, and having cut off their hands and feet, ordered their bodies to be put into one of the Indian vessels, together with a letter to the zamorin, wherein he denounced war against him and all his people. This vessel, according to his orders, was towed ashore by his men. The zamorin, when he received this severe letter, and at the same time, saw the mangled bodies of his subjects, was thrown almost into distraction, and there was a universal grief and consternation. Gama next morning, by break of day, moved his fleet near to the shore, and levelled his cannon at the city. He laid in ruins many public as well as private buildings, and killed a great number of the inhabitants. The admiral then steered for Cochin, having left Vincent Sodre, with six ships, to cruise on the coast of Calicut.

Upon his arrival at Cochin, the Portuguese who had remained there, immediately waited upon him. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon the prince of that place, who had treated them with the highest marks of friendship, and with the utmost vigilance defended them against all the plots and stratagems of the Arabians. A person of great distinction came in his majesty's name to welcome the admiral. Gama received him in the most courteous manner, and told him, that he should be extremely glad next day to have a meeting with the king, being desirous as soon as possible to deliver his instructions from Emmanuel: at the same time, he sent his majesty a golden crown, and several other valuable presents from the king of Portugal. The prince of Cochin, in his turn, was resolved not to be outdone in liberality. He sent to Gama a very large jewel, and two bracelets set with precious stones: these he desired, in his name, to be presented to Emmanuel. Next day the admiral had

a conference with his majesty, wherein they expressed their friendship for each other in the most affectionate terms. A few days after the arrival of our people at Cochin, deputies came to Gama from the Christians inhabiting the city of Cranganor: they said, ‘ They could not render sufficient thanks to almighty God for such an extraordinary instance of his goodness, in sending such illustrious Christians into these parts from countries so remote: that they would henceforth acknowledge Emmanuel for their sovereign: therefore they entreated Gama to take them under his protection, in the name of that religious and invincible prince.’ Gama received these men in the kindest manner; and assured them he would use his utmost interest, that they should have the protection of the Portuguese admirals who came afterwards upon these coasts. These deputies being dismissed, the admiral then set about loading the ships with all expedition.

In the mean while a Bramin from Calicut came to Gama with two youths, the one his son, the other a very near relation. He requested of the admiral to carry them to Portugal, that they might be instructed in the Latin tongue, and educated in the Christian religion. Gama accordingly complied with his request. But the bramin, when he had insinuated himself into the confidence and familiarity of Gama then discovered to him what he was at first afraid to declare, ‘ That he had been sent by the zamorin of Calicut, who desired nothing so much as to establish a friendship with our people: that his majesty was not only ready to restore the Portuguese effects, but would also do them all the friendly offices in his power: that he earnestly entreated Gama to forget all past injuries, and to accept of his proffered amity: that if the Portuguese wanted spices, or any kind of Indian commodities, they could not have any where such a plenty, or at so cheap a rate as at Calicut: and if the admiral would return thither, every thing should be settled agreeable to his wishes or highest expectations.’

Gama

Gama was resolved to make another tryal of the zamorin's sincerity. Accordingly he gave the command of the fleet in his absence to Stephen Gama, with whom he, at the same time left the bramin, as a hostage, then he sailed for Calicut with two ships only. As soon as he reached that port, he dispatched the two youths ashore, who went backwards and forwards with articles of peace betwixt Gama and the zamorin: but the latter still acted with his usual dissimulation. Being of himself void of all honour, and fickle in his disposition, he was again influenced by the repeated importunities of the Arabs: at the same time he entertained a contemptible opinion of the force which Gama then had, and thought he had now an opportunity of cutting him off. Accordingly with great secrecy and expedition he fitted out thirty four vessels, which fell upon Gama's ship with vast fury. The admiral being alarmed with this sudden shock, ordered his anchor cables to be cut, and endeavoured to make away from the enemy, in the utmost hurry. He was in this critical situation, when, by the greatest providence, an eastern gale of wind sprung up, which soon carried him out of sight of land. The enemy nevertheless pursued him in full sail; and had almost come up with his ship when Soder appeared with the fleet under his command; for Gama being apprehensive that the zamorin might be hatching some mischief, though he did not imagine it could be so soon put in execution, had dispatched one of his ships to hasten Soder to Calicut. Having now a sufficient force to contend with the enemy, he made a brisk attack upon their fleet. He killed many of their men, and sunk several of their ships, the remainder of which, in a torn and shatter'd condition stood away for Calicut. Gama upon his return to Cochin, ordered the bramin to be hanged. The two youths made their escape, having gone ashore before this villainous scheme against our people was discovered.

When the zamorin saw he could not accomplish his designs by stratagem nor force, he had recourse to another expedient. He wrote a letter to the king of Cochin, earnestly desiring of him to deliver up the Portuguese. He endeavoured to prompt him to this wickedness by the largest promises, and at the same time threatening him, in the most menacing manner, if he refused to comply. But the king of Cochin returned for answer, ' That he was not a little surprised how a monarch of his dignity could entertain so mean a thought, as that of solliciting another to be guilty of the greatest treachery ; for would it not be the highest breach of duty in a prince to violate his faith, and basely to betray those who had come under his protection. As there could be no greater ornament to a crown, than a firm adherence to honour, so likewise there was nothing so great a stain to royalty as perfidiousness. By the former glory was procured, by the latter, everlasting infamy. Therefore he did not account that man to be a king, who violated the laws of saith : for that it was not extent of power or authority, but virtue worthy of that power which made the true prince. As for his part, he would preserve his faith unviolated towards the Portuguese. This he was resolved to do, even though he was sure for that reason to lose his crown or life itself ; for there was no power nor pleasure in life so agreeable to him, as the consciousness of having acted with integrity.' The zamorin nevertheless still urged him, and wrote three menacing letters to that purpose. But the prince of Cochin remained firm in his honest resolution. He did not, however, at first communicate these things to Gama, lest it might fill his mind with suspicion. But after he had so much resisted these importunities, that the zamorin gave over writing, and seemed to have lost all hopes of bringing him over to his perfidious measures, then he discovered to Gama the arts which had been used in order to corrupt his fidelity. The admiral returned thanks to this kind and faithful

faithful prince, and at the same time bid him not be afraid of the zamorin's threats; for that he would take care to leave such a fleet in India, as would be sufficient to protect him from the insolence of that perfidious monarch.

Gama then steered for Cananor with thirteen loaded ships, to take in company three more, lying in that port till they received their lading. But when he was about two miles from Pandarene, he saw twenty nine ships fitted out by the zamorin to destroy the Portuguese. A council of war being held, it was unanimously resolved to engage them. Vincent Sodre, Pedro Raphael and Diego Petreio, whose ships were least loaded, being placed in the first line, were ordered to begin the engagement. They accordingly executed their orders with uncommon resolution, and attacked two Arabian ships which advanced before the enemy. Those who were aboard being struck with a panick, threw themselves headlong into the sea, and endeavoured to save themselves by swimming. The Portuguese immediately jumped into their long boats, and killed above three hundred of the enemy in the water. The rest of the Calicutian fleet, when they saw these two ships taken, and the men killed, tacked about and made to the shore, in the utmost consternation. Gama pursued them, but his fleet being heavy loaded, could not overtake them. Our people plundered the Arabian ships, and found aboard a considerable booty, amongst which there was a golden idol, in the shape of some monster, weighing forty pounds. Instead of eyes it had two very valuable emeralds; it was covered with an embroidered cloak set with jewels; and on the breast there was a shining ruby of the most uncommon size. The two ships being unloaded, Gama ordered them to be burnt in sight of the enemy; then he proceeded for Cananor, where he entered into a league. In this it was expressed, 'That the king of Cananor should never wage war with the king of Cochin, nor at any time make an alliance with, or assist the zamorin against

‘against that prince.’ He likewise left here some Portuguese, whom he committed to his majesty’s care. And for the protection of these princes he ordered six ships to remain on these coasts, under the command of Vincent Sodre: but if no hostilities were attempted by the zamorin in the space of two months, Sodre was then to sail towards the mouth of the red sea, and annoy the Arabians as much as possible.

1502 Things being thus settled, the admiral set sail from Cananor on the 28th of December 1502. In his way homewards he touched at Mozambique, where he watered and victualled his fleet. When he was near the cape, a storm arose, which separated Stephen Gama’s ship from the fleet, and obliged him to steer a different course. The admiral had a prosperous voyage from the Cape, and reached the port of Lisbon the first of September 1503, with twelve ships richly loaded. His arrival was not only agreeable to Emmanuel, but also spread a general joy amongst the nobility and the whole people. Six days afterwards Stephen Gama, with the like good fortune, came into the same harbour.

In the mean while the following exploits were performed in Africa. There is a town named Alcassar-Quiver in Fez, not far from the straits of Gibraltar, standing upon the Licus. This river of itself is not large, though it is often so swelled by the rains, that it overflows the whole town. The city is said to have been founded by Almanzor emperor of Morocco, who had the office of king and high-priest, like those to whom the Mahometan Arabians give the title of caliph. The inhabitants are without the convenience of springs and wells, having nothing but the rain or the river water, which they keep in cisterns. The city, however, was well peopled, being inhabited by many merchants as well as nobility. It was a seat of learning and politeness, so that many resorted to this place for the sake of improving themselves in all manner of literature. There was likewise a famous hospital here,

where

where great numbers of sick were cured of various distempers. The adjacent country is covered with trees, and abounds with all manner of herbs, and is adorned with beautiful gardens, and the soil is extremely rich and fertile.

After Arzila had been taken by the bravery and good conduct of Alphonso the fifth king of Portugal, the prince of Fez then fortified Alcassar-Quivir, and reinforced it with a strong garrison. From this place the Moors made frequent excursions on the confines of Arzila: Emmanuel therefore wrote to Menez, governor of Arzila, ordering him to march against the enemy. This gentleman, that he might execute his orders with greater facility, sent to his relation John Menez Conde di Tarragona, who had commanded the forces sent to the assistance of the Venetians against the Turks, and was at that time governor of Tangier: him he invited to have a share in the enterprise he was about to undertake. This nobleman accordingly set out for Arzila with 200 horse. Menez brought with him 250. Having joined their forces, they marched in great silence towards Alcassar-Quivir. In the middle of the night they came upon a bridge not far from the city, about 30 miles from Arzila; but the enemy, by means of their scouts, was by this time apprized of our people's approach. The governor of Alcassar-Quivir, as soon as he received the intelligence, ordered an alarm to be sounded, and all his men to be called to arms. He marched out of the city by break of day with all his forces, and took possession of a hill near the city. There he drew up his troops, and seemed to offer battle to the Portuguese. The Conde di Tarragona sent a messenger to Menez, to ask him what he thought of the enemy's disposition; to which he answered, that he was very much pleased with it: ‘For (said he) we have found it according to our wishes.’ The Portuguese soldiers being all in high spirits, the two generals drew up their forces, and advanced towards the enemy. The Moors, on the

other

other hand, began to provoke our people with scurrilous invectives ; and by slight skirmishes endeavoured to draw them from their order. But finding these stratagems were ineffectual, they began to move down the hill gradually. The Portuguese then began the attack with so much fury, that they soon made the enemy give way, and betake themselves to flight. They pursued them as far as the gates of the city, and killed 180 of their men. The citizens were filled with the utmost consternation ; and being afraid that the Portuguese might force their way into the city, they shut the gates in great hurry ; so that by this means many of the Moors were excluded : these being reduced to despair, formed themselves into a body, and attacked our people in the most furious manner, many of the Portuguese were knocked down from their horses, and several were wounded, but not one of them killed. Duarte Menez, the son of Conde di Tarragona, was wounded in the face, as was also Pedro Leitan. The Portuguese generals now thought proper to retire with their army, in the same order as they had advanced ; but when they had got as far as a little bridge, about two miles distant from Alcassar-Quivir, the governor then pursued them with 900 horse. Our people passed over in safety ; and being drawn up in battalia, expected the enemy on the opposite plain, being determined to annoy them as much as possible, if they should endeavour to march over the bridge : but this they did not choose to attempt till the Portuguese had got to a considerable distance. In the mean while, the Moors flocked together from all quarters ; and the further they advanced, their numbers were more and more increased. They began now to press upon our people very closely, and molested them very much till they came to another bridge. The army of the enemy at this time amounted to 1300 cavalry. The Moors imagined that the Portuguese, in passing over this bridge, would be in great confusion, and lose their order : but in this they were disappointed ; for the whole army, though attacked

attacked in the rear, marched over with the greatest regularity. They drew up their forces on the other side, and offered battle: the enemy, however, being afraid to attempt the bridge, declined an engagement, and retired to the city and neighbouring villages.

A few days afterwards, Menez advanced with his forces, to surprise a great number of Moors who lived in some villages situated on a river not far from Alcassar-Quivir; but the enemy having intelligence of this design by a deserter, fled away in great trepidation. The Portuguese, however, killed fifty who had not made their escape, and made as many prisoners. Our people being in their return to Arzila, were attacked by a large body of the Moors. Menez's men retreated in such a manner that they often turned upon the enemy and killed several of them: the Moors, in their turn, briskly charged the Portuguese, and annoyed them considerably. In this encounter, the gallant Pedro Sousa, was in the utmost danger when he endeavoured to bring off his men in safety. But although this engagement was more fierce than could be expected from so small a number, yet the Portuguese lost only four of their men; and, notwithstanding all efforts of the enemy, carried off their plunder to Arzila.

This same year Menez being informed, that there were several Moors who lived on a mountain about 20 miles from Arzila, having in their possession many women of extraordinary beauty; these he was resolved, if possible, to take and send them by way of present to queen Mary. In order to execute his design, he must be obliged, however, to march through several villages in the utmost danger. He set out with 200 horse, in the dead of the night, when all was covered with darkness, with so much silence, that he reached this place without giving the least alarm. When he came to the most populous village in the mountain, he ordered several flambeaus to be lighted, that the Portuguese might see what was proper to be done in

the

the confusion of the enemy. The noise of the trumpets, and the rattling of the arms, struck such a panic into the Moors half asleep, that the greatest part of them fled in the utmost distraction. Some of them, however, in this extremity of danger, fought in the most obstinate manner. The cries and shrieks of the women, and the shouts of the men, alarmed those who lived in the neighbouring villages. But these not knowing the numbers of their enemy, being uncertain how great the danger might prove, whilst at the same time their fear magnified every thing; moreover, having no general to head them, they were so far from bringing assistance to their countrymen, that they fled away in the greatest hurry, with their wives and children retiring to the woods, and the most hidden places of the mountain: eighty of those who were in arms and made resistance, were killed by our people, who took about sixty men and women, and plundered the village without any obstruction. Amongst the female captives were some of their most celebrated beauties; upon whose account, chiefly, the Portuguese had undertaken this dangerous expedition. Menez then led off his forces. Whilst the night continued; none of the Moors had courage to pursue him, but by break of day he was set upon by a formidable body of the enemy: however, he retreated with so much order, that he received little or no damage. Yet before the Portuguese could reach Arzila, they had several sharp skirmishes, and were in the most imminent danger; many of our people as well as their horses were wounded; and the general himself, was at one time, in the greatest jeopardy: however, the Portuguese at last carried off all their booty, without the loss of one man.

## B O O K III.

WHILST those things were transacted in Africa, the king of Cochin (whose name was Trimumpar) began to be involved in great difficulties. The zamorin incensed at that prince, because of his attachment to the Portuguese, had levied considerable forces, and was resolved, by all possible means, to bring about his destruction. There were several in Trimumpar's council who endeavoured to persuade him to deliver up the Portuguese who were under his protection, that by the sacrifice of a few men, foreigners and unacquainted with the manners of India, he might provide for the safety of his whole kingdom. But so far was he from following this advice, that he inveighed in the warmest terms against the authors of it. He said, 'That the zamorin himself, though he should strip him of his kingdom, or take away his life, was not so much his enemy as the man who solicited him to abandon his honour: that life, and the enjoyment of a crown, was but of short duration; whereas the infamy of perfidiousness was everlasting: that he would, therefore, suffer the loss of his kingdom, and life itself, rather than be guilty of a breach of faith.'

In the mean while, Vincent Sodre arrived at Cochin with his fleet; but having made a very short stay, he was about to depart again. Diego Ferdinand Correa, who had been left at Cochin as agent for the Portuguese affairs, went to him, and in the strongest terms conjured him not, at such a juncture, to abandon a prince, who, by his fidelity to the Portuguese, had drawn upon himself the resentment of a most powerful monarch, and was threatened with the greatest calamities. He said, the chief design of the fleet being left in these

parts, was to protect the prince of Cochin: he hoped, therefore, that Sodre would perform his duty, and that he would not be so base as to allow his countrymen to fall a sacrifice to the cruelty of their enemies. Sodre made answer, ‘ That the orders given him by Emmanuel were to cruise near the Red Sea, and intercept the Arabian ships trading from thence to India: this (he said) was his commission, nor would he by any means neglect the speedy and punctual performance thereof.’ But Correa replied, That it ought not to be so much considered what were the literal orders of the king, as what would be most agreeable and pleasing to his majesty: that the events of things were various and uncertain; and measures must be altered according to the change of circumstances: that surely it could never be the intention of the just and benevolent Emmanuel; that a prince who had been so true a friend to the Portuguese, should be deserted at such a critical juncture, and his own subjects left a prey to the perfidious zamorin. He therefore again entreated Sodre to remain at Cochin, to give his assistance against the neighbouring enemies; and when this danger was over, he might then wage war in more distant parts. These remonstrances, however, had no effect on Sodre. He was deaf to all these arguments; and paying no regard to faith or duty, was influenced by fear, or the hopes of acquiring a large booty. Accordingly he sailed from Cochin towards the west, and stationed his ships in the mouth of the Red Sea.

There was at Calicut one Naubedarim, a youth of a fine natural genius, and this greatly improved by education; he was nephew to the zamorin, and next heir to the crown. This youth very much disapproved of the war entered into by his uncle, and is said to have spoken to him in these words:

S I R,

‘ Although it may seem more becoming one of my age to follow than to offer advice, yet my affection to

‘ to you, and the greatness of the present danger, urge  
 ‘ me to declare my sentiments. By nature you are my  
 ‘ uncle, but by the tender regard you have always  
 ‘ shewn me, you may be accounted a most loving fa-  
 ‘ ther. Think not then, I beseech you, that what I  
 ‘ am going to say proceeds from vanity, but rather  
 ‘ impute it to my anxiety and concern for your wel-  
 ‘ fare. Besides, if the strength of your kingdom should  
 ‘ be weakened by indiscreet measures, I myself shall  
 ‘ be considerably affected. On the other hand, if it  
 ‘ thrive and flourish by wise and prudent management,  
 ‘ this likewise will greatly redound to my advantage.  
 ‘ I earnestly entreat therefore, that you would deign to  
 ‘ give ear to me, as I am the nearest related to you by  
 ‘ blood, by a sense of gratitude, and an interest in the  
 ‘ common danger. If I should advance any thing  
 ‘ which may appear just and reasonable, I hope, from  
 ‘ your candour, it will meet with your approbation. If  
 ‘ I am mistaken, I shall then acquiesce in what you  
 ‘ may think more wise and salutary.

‘ You are now making warlike preparations against  
 ‘ Trinumpar: but let us enquire into the foundation of  
 ‘ the quarrel; for those wars which are entered into  
 ‘ without a lawful cause, merely to gratify the hu-  
 ‘ mours of princes, are generally attended with the  
 ‘ most fatal consequences. What has the king of Co-  
 ‘ chin done to justify your hostile proceedings? Has  
 ‘ he refused to pay tribute? Has he made incursions on  
 ‘ your territories? Has he raised any conspiracy against  
 ‘ you? No. What pretext can you then have for per-  
 ‘secuting him with so much resentment? Perhaps you  
 ‘ will say, that he has treated your orders with con-  
 ‘tempt, in not delivering up the Portuguese, whom  
 ‘ you were desirous of having in your power, that you  
 ‘ might put them to death in the cruellest manner.  
 ‘ This then is your complaint, that he would not vio-  
 ‘ late his faith, and break through the law of nations.  
 ‘ But if you shew so much rancour against such as have  
 ‘ steadily adhered to their honour, what conduct will

‘ you observe towards those who have trampled on divine as well as human laws? Will you heap your royal favours on wretches who have been guilty of the most heinous crimes? Surely you will not run into so shameful a behaviour; for as a prince it is your duty to reward the virtuous, and punish the vicious. However, perhaps you will say, “ Shall I not shew resentment to a man who has protected those who were my enemies, and have done me so many injuries?” As to that point, I will speak my mind without reserve; and this I hope I may do without giving offence. If any wicked and unjust insult had been offered to your dignity, this certainly ought to raise a warm resentment in all your subjects, and particularly in me: but in regard to the Portuguese, I confess I cannot see what crimes they have committed. They acted as became men of spirit and bravery in their situation: when affronted and injured, they shewed a quick sense of such treatment, and endeavoured to avenge their injuries with spirit and intrepidity. Had they been the aggressors, they would have merited punishment; but so far from that, they at first behaved with the greatest civility; and at your desire, took and delivered to you a large ship loaded with a considerable booty: nor did they offer the least hostility till provoked by the most unworthy usage; when their countrymen left ashore under your protection were betrayed, robbed, and murdered in the most cruel manner. Let not our resentment, therefore, be kindled against those who have revenged this cruelty, but let it fall upon them, who, by raising such a sudden tumult, were the cause of our late misfortunes.

‘ Long, too long have we suffered the insolent behaviour of the Arabians. Their character for artifice and tricking is universally known; nor is any one ignorant what artists they are at cheating and disimulation. These practices, however, though scandalous, might be borne with whilst the authors remained humble and submissive; but now they are puffed

' puffed up with the wealth amassed in your kingdom,  
 ' they are become intolerable : they can now no longer  
 ' brook the authority of a superior, but insolently dare  
 ' dictate laws to a most powerful prince. The arro-  
 ' gance of these men may be seen even in their out-  
 ' ward air and deportment. With what haughtiness  
 ' they strut about, intruding themselves every where,  
 ' and intermeddling in all affairs ? In what a peremptory  
 ' manner they demand whatever they want ? In short,  
 ' they are arrived at such a pitch of insolence, that if  
 ' you hearken to them, you must govern your king-  
 ' dom according to their will and pleasure. Destroy  
 ' the Portuguese, say they. Why ? Because we hate  
 ' and detest these Christians, and cannot endure the  
 ' sight of them : besides we are afraid, lest by their  
 ' arrival our gains should be considerably diminished.  
 ' Therefore we do not in a humble manner entreat you,  
 ' but insist upon it as our right, that you would re-  
 ' move those men so offensive to our eyes ; and that  
 ' you would gratify our insatiable avarice, though it  
 ' should be never so much to your danger and infamy.  
 ' They affirm, at the same time, that it will be very  
 ' much for the public good, that a people so formidable  
 ' in arms should be rooted out of India. But suppo-  
 ' sing these few with Trimumpar were cut off, what  
 ' will that avail ? Will not others of the Portuguese  
 ' come afterwards into these parts, who being irritated  
 ' by the destruction of their countrymen, will become  
 ' more fierce and revengeful. If the Portuguese then  
 ' are a people of so much intrepidity, if they are so  
 ' terrible in arms, would it not be much better to have  
 ' their friendship rather than their enmity ? For it ge-  
 ' nerally happens, that the keenest enemies make the  
 ' warmest friends. But, alas ! I am afraid that your  
 ' kingdom may suffer greatly from the injuries already  
 ' done to this people ; that by their power you may be  
 ' reduced to a mean and contemptible condition, whilst,  
 ' on the other hand, the king of Cochin will very pro-  
 ' bably flourish by their friendship. For I make no

‘ question but the Portuguese will send large and powerful fleets to these seas, to ravage the countries of their enemies. Ought we not then to detest the Arabians, who have sacrificed the royal honour to their own selfish ends, and have prompted your majesty to abandon the ties of faith and duty? Men so elate with pride, that they think the kingdom must be managed according to their inclinations: men, who in your sight have committed such cruelties as will fix a lasting stain on your character; for none will imagine that they would have dared to be guilty of such a fact without your approbation or connivance. In short, they have persuaded your majesty to the most destructive measures, by inciting you to commit hostilities against a brave people, whose friendship might have been an honour and support to your crown.

‘ It is therefore my opinion, that you lay aside this war, make peace with the Portuguese, giving them reparation for the injuries done by the Arabians; and, by all possible means, endeavour to cultivate friendship with a people so formidable to their enemies, so true to their friends, and who adhere to the rules of justice with the utmost fidelity. If you do otherwise, and follow the advice of the Arabians, I am afraid (which heaven avert) that this country will be involved in the greatest calamities. For my own part, whatever course you may follow, I am determined to be a companion in your fortune; nor will I refuse to venture my life in defence of your honour and dignity. But I thought it my duty to declare my sentiments fully and sincerely; and it is my earnest prayer that providence may direct you in your conduct, and crown your undertakings with success.’

All these arguments, however, had no effect on the zamorin, who remained obstinate in his resolution of carrying on a war against the king of Cochin. Trinumpar on his part levied soldiers, and made all necessary preparations to guard against the impending

storm. But as the strength of this prince was inconsiderable when compared with that of his enemy, there were many of his subjects and tributary princes, who deserted to the zamorin. Amongst these were the princes of Chirabipil and Cambalam, and the prince of an island which lies opposite to Cochin. The zamorin, at the head of a powerful army, advanced to Repelin, about 16 miles from Cochin. The Portuguese who remained with the king of Cochin, went in a body to his majesty, and entreated he would not, upon their account, involve himself in such a dangerous war. They said, they would go to Cananor, and there wait the arrival of the Portuguese fleet. The king replied, 'That he was astonished how men of so much courage, and connected to him by the strongest ties of friendship, could be afraid of the enemy, or in the least doubt his fidelity. He desired them to stay with him, assuring them that all should share the same fate; and said, that he was ready to sacrifice his life in the defence of Emmanuel's subjects.'

Trimumpar gave the command of his army to Naramuhim his nephew and heir apparent to the crown, a youth of great courage and abilities. He sent him 5500 men to guard a pass where the zamorin intended to bring over his forces. Cochin is separated from the main land by an arm or frith of the sea. There is one place, however, which at low water is fordable: thither the zamorin led his army, and ordered an advanced party to attempt the ford; but not being able to accomplish their design, they were obliged to retreat with the loss of many of their men. Next day, the zamorin sent a larger body of his soldiers, under the command of the governor of Repelin, in order, if possible, to force Naramuhim from his station near the ford, that the rest of the army might pass over without molestation. That this scheme might be rendered more practicable, he ordered, at the same time, several vessels called paraos, to be stationed in the frith, to assist his men, and annoy the enemy with darts.

But Naramuhim behaved with his usual courage, and having killed great numbers of the Calicutians, he obliged them to desist from their attempt. In these skirmishes Laurence Moreno, with some others of the Portuguese, very much distinguished themselves by their gallant behaviour. The enemy afterwards made several attempts to pass the ford, but were always repulsed with great loss.

When the zamorin saw that he could not gain his ends by open force, he then had recourse to fraud. By large presents and great promises, he gained over to his interest the paymaster of the king of Cochin's army. This perfidious man being corrupted by bribery, pretended an illness, and went into the city. The soldiers being accustomed to receive their pay every day, murmured at his absence; nor could they be restrained by the authority of their general, but flocked into the city in great numbers: the paymaster put off the payment from day to day. By this artifice he drew off great numbers of the soldiers, and detained them in the town; mean while the zamorin, that he might render the Cochinians more careless of their duty, made no attempt on the ford; till, at last, when he saw their numbers so greatly diminished, and those who remained in an unguarded posture, he ordered the paraos to advance, that they might annoy the people of Cochin with their darts, whilst, at the same time, he ordered the rest of his men to pass the ford with the utmost expedition, and briskly to attack the forces under Naramuhim's command. The zamorin's soldiers being in sight of their prince, executed these orders with uncommon alacrity and emulation. It was in the night when these things were done; when at the same time the zamorin received intelligence from the paymaster, that the port of Cochin might be very easily taken, as so many of the soldiers were gone off, and those who remained were wrapped up in an indolent security. Naramuhim, on this occasion, behaved as a brave and vigilant general; but being overpowered by

by the multitude of the enemy, he was killed, after having made a very gallant resistance. Two youths, near relations of the general, likewise suffered the same fate: their fall, however, was honourable; for they greatly distinguished themselves by their courage and intrepidity in defence of their country: there were many killed and wounded on both sides. The engagement having begun before break of day, lasted till the evening. The Cochinians being dispirited by the loss of their general, betook themselves to flight. The Calicutians, on the other hand, pursued them till the darkness of the night put an end to their pursuit.

Trimumpar, when he received the news of this disaster, was thrown into the utmost consternation; but he soon recovered his spirits, and was resolved to try again the fate of war: accordingly he collected all his forces, and engaged the enemy in a pitched battle. The event proved such as might be expected, when a handful of men, broken and dispirited with misfortunes, engages a numerous enemy flushed with victory, and emboldened by success. The king of Cochin being defeated, passed over to the island of Viopia, together with the Portuguese under his protection; who, notwithstanding they had been the occasion of all his misfortunes, yet were protected by this prince with as much zeal as if their safety could procure him happiness amidst all his calamities. The zamorin sent deputies to the island, to inform Trimumpar that he would cease hostilities, and make restitution of all his dominions, if he would deliver up the Portuguese. This prince returned for answer, 'That his enemy might strip him of his kingdom, and take away his life, but it was not in his power to deprive him of his fidelity.' The zamorin being provoked by this answer, ordered the city to be burnt, and then went to besiege Viopia: but the natural strength of this island was such, that it could be easily defended by the few forces which the king of Cochin had brought thither. The zamorin accordingly made several attempts,

but was always repulsed with considerable loss. The winter season now approaching, he raised the siege, and returned to Cochin, which he fortified with a ditch and rampart ; and having left a strong garrison of soldiers, departed for Calicut, being resolved to renew his attack upon the island in the beginning of the spring. After the defeat of Naramuhim, several persons deserted the cause of this great unfortunate prince. Amongst these were two men of the city of Milan, who, by Emmanuel's permission, had sailed along with Gamma in his second voyage to India. These men regardless of the ties of their religion, went over to the zamorin, and did not a little damage to our people : but the more infamous the behaviour of these false Christians was, the more shining did this render the faith and honour of a prince, who, though a heathen, had shewn the greatest friendship and generosity to men who were strangers, and connected to him by no ties neither of blood, laws, nor religion ; and for his fidelity to these persons had suffered himself to be stripped of all his wealth and power, and almost of life itself. A rare and uncommon instance of faith and probity, scarce to be paralleled ; which ought to be recorded with everlasting honour.

✓ In the mean while, Soder being on his voyage for the red sea, when he came upon the coast of Cambaye, met with five Arabian ships very richly loaded, which he plundered and burnt. He then proceeded in his course, and touched at the islands of Curia and Muria, not far from cape Guardafu. The inhabitants were Saracens or Arabians, who lived chiefly by husbandry, and were quite unacquainted with warlike affairs. They entertained the Portuguese with great hospitality, and supplied them with all necessaries, at the most moderate price. Our people resolved to tarry here till Pedro Ataide's ship, which was extremely leaky, should be repaired. But the natives came and told them, that it would be very dangerous for the ships to remain long where they then lay ; for they said, that at the beginning

ning of May there were always such furious north winds as would dash to pieces the whole fleet: therefore they advised Sodre to steer to some other part of the island. But the admiral regarded not this admonition, nor the entreaties of his officers, who were all of opinion, that this advice ought not to be neglected, especially since it was given by people so well acquainted with the country, and the following of it could be attended with no bad consequence. Pedro Raphael, Ferdinand Roderigo Badarc, Jacob Petries, each of whom had the command of a ship, were so much offended at Sodre's obstinacy, that they left him on the 30th of April, and sailed to another part of the island.

Sodre remained in his ship, void of care or concern, when on a sudden a most terrible storm arose, which drove the ships on the shore, and dashed them to pieces; the whole crew perished, amongst whom was the admiral himself, and his brother Blas Sodre: it seemed as a judgment from heaven, for the rashness and perfidy of Sodre. No part of the booty which he had taken could be found amongst the wreck. Ataide's ship had been drawn ashore to be repaired, so that he himself and all his men escaped. The three commanders above mentioned, after the storm ceased, returned to the place where they had left Sodre. They appointed Ataide admiral: then a general consultation was held about the measures they should pursue. It was the opinion of all, that the two Sodres had suffered as examples of the divine justice for their perfidy. They concluded therefore, that in order to make an atonement for their treacherous behaviour, and to establish their own honour, that the fleet ought to sail back to India, to assist Trimumpar and the Portuguese who were with him. Accordingly, though it was now in the midst of winter there, they set out with an intention to undergo every danger, in order to wipe out such a stain of infamy. But meeting with very foul weather, they were forced to put in at the Anchédive Islands, and to

lay there all the winter, being determined to sail for Cochin in the spring.

This year queen Mary was delivered of a daughter, to whom Emmanuel gave the name of Isabel. This princess was afterwards married to the emperor Charles: she was a lady of the most extraordinary beauty, and endowed with the finest accomplishments; of an aspiring soul, for she often said she would never marry but to one of the greatest princes in Christendom. Towards the end of this year, the king went to a town called Thomar, in which those of the order of Christ had a most magnificent church; here he held a convention of that order, and made many wise rules for a greater regularity and stricter discipline. This same year pope Alexander died: he was succeeded by Pius, who lived but a very short time after his promotion: Julian, a Genoese, was next raised to this high dignity by the unanimous consent of the holy council.

The beginning of the following year, Emmanuel sent several religious persons to that part of Ethiopia called Congo, in order to instruct the natives more fully in the christian faith than they had hitherto been. This country lies in seven degrees southern latitude: The soil is extreamly fertile, it abounds in all sorts of cattle, and is watered with many fine rivers. The kingdom is very extensive, and as the people were converted to Christianity, it may not be improper to give some account of the discoveiy and conversion of that country, since from thence we may see how zealous and indefatigable Emmanuel was in propagating the Christian religion.

King John in his reign had been very assiduous in making discoveries on the coasts of Ethiopia, thinking that by this means a way might be found to India. In the year 1484, he had sent for this purpose one Diego Cam, a gentleman of a bold enterprising genius. When this man was upon these coasts he came into the mouth of a very large and rapid river: he naturally conjectured that there must be inhabitants in the adjacent

jacent parts. Accordingly, when he had gone a little way up the river, he saw several men, who in their complexion and hair very much resembled the other Ethiopians he had already seen. They were not in the least alarmed at the strange appearance of our people, but came up to them in the most familiar manner, and behaved with the greatest civility and good nature. Cam ordered those who were acquainted with the Ethiopian languages to talk with them ; but there was not one who understood this people. They were therefore obliged to express their meaning to each other by signs: by this means the Portuguese understood that there was a powerful prince in this country, who resided at the capital city, a few days journey from thence. Cam was very kind and generous to these men, and prevailed on them to conduct some of his people to the metropolis. By them he sent presents to the king, and appointed a certain time for their return: but as they tarried above double that time, Cam despaired of ever seeing them again, weighed anchor, and set out for Portugal, taking along with him four of the natives, who happened to be aboard his ship : these were men of nobility, and excellent understanding. Cam took so much pains in instructing them during the voyage, that, when introduced to John, they could explain many things in the Portuguese language. His majesty was very much charmed with the capacity of these men, and made them considerable presents ; he ordered Cam to carry them back to Congo, and, in his name, to present the king with many valuable rarities, and exhort him, in the most strenuous manner, to worship Christ, as the true God and parent of all nature.

When Cam returned to that country, he dispatched one of the Ethiopians, desiring the king to lend the Portuguese who were with him, and promising on his compliance immediately to restore the three Ethiopians : adding, that, according to his royal master's commands, he was obliged to proceed farther in his voyage, but

but upon his return, he would be glad to have a conference with his majesty, that he might lay before him his instructions. The king, without delay, sent the Portuguese, accompanied by one of his officers ; and Cam accordingly dismissed the Ethiopians, with the presents from John to their sovereign. The prince of Congo being charmed with the liberality of John, and at the same time, influenced by the high encomiums bestowed on him by the four Ethiopians, conceived the highest esteem for his Portuguese majesty.

Cam, after having surveyed other parts of this coast, returned again to Congo, and waited upon the king, who treated him with the highest marks of honour. This prince asked many questions about the state of John's kingdom, enquired particularly concerning the laws, customs, and government of the Portuguese ; above all he expressed an uncommon curiosity in regard to the Christian religion, for which he seemed by degrees to acquire the highest veneration. When Cam departed, the king of Congo sent along with him Zacut, one of the Ethiopians, who had been in Portugal, an ambassador, earnestly to entreat John, and conjure him in the name of that God whom he worshipped, that he would send some holy men to instruct him and his subjects in the Christian faith. Cam accordingly, upon his arrival at Lisbon waited upon John, with the ambassador and some noble youths sent into Portugal to receive education, and to be instructed in the Christian faith ; they brought along with them, by way of present from the king, a large quantity of ivory, together with some carpets and coais made of the leaves of the palm-tree.

This embassy gave great satisfaction to John, because he thought he had now an excellent opportunity to propagate the gospel in Congo. The ambassador and the youths remained in Portugal upwards of two years, during which time they were very assiduous in learning the Portuguese language, and were instructed in the Christian faith. After they had been baptized, and had

had taken the sacrament, John fitted out three ships, to carry them back to their native country, the command of which he gave to Gonzalo Sousa, a gentleman descended of a noble family. He sent likewise several priests, with fonts, itres, and the other badges of Christianity, that they might instruct this people in the principles of our holy religion, and initiate them in her mysteries. At the time when these ships sailed from Lisbon, the plague then raged very violently in that city ; so that several who were aboard, having caught the contagion, died in the voyage, amongst whom was Gonzalo Sousa. To him succeeded Roderigo Sousa, a near relation of that gentleman, chosen by the unanimous consent of the rest of the officers.

When the ships arrived at Congo, several of the Portuguese went ashore to wait upon the king, who received them in the most affectionate manner, and there was such a universal transport amongst all the people, that the woods and groves echoed with their joyful acclamations. The first person adopted into the Christian faith was the king's uncle, who had very large territories under his command. This man had heard that there was in Portugal one Emmanuel, a prince of great accomplishments, and first cousin to king John ; he was therefore according to his desire, baptized by that name. He embraced the Christian faith with so much zeal and ardour, as shewed that he was inlightned by the divine grace in an extraordinary manner. Several of the grandees and great numbers of the common people came forth to meet the Portuguese ; they expressed their satisfaction by the beating of drums, sounding of trumpets, and all other marks of joy. Sousa having waited on the king, and paid his respects to him, then laied before him the particulars of his embassy from John. The king returned a very polite answer, in which he expressed the most grateful sense for the kindness of his Portuguese majesty. He then requested of Sousa to bring forth the religious robes, and the rest of the exterior ornaments

of Christianity, that they might be exposed to the view of his people. His majesty beheld every thing he saw with a profound veneration. When the cross was held up, our people fell down upon their knees, and all who were present followed their example. His majesty looked and enquired into every particular with unwearied attention, and surprising curiosity. He was extremely attentive to the priests: and whatever they said he retained in his memory, and related again to his queen: it was resolved upon that a church should be built. And notwithstanding the stones were to be brought from the remotest parts of the kingdom, yet by the hearty zeal of the king, and the great number of hands employed, a church was soon begun, and being in a short time finished, it was consecrated by the name of the Holy cross.

Whilst the king of Congo was busied in this manner, he received intelligence that the inhabitants of an island situate in a large lake, near the river Zaire, had revolted, and were laying waste the neighbouring territories. He therefore resolved to march against them, to stop their progress, and punish their insolence. But before he set out, he was, at his own desire, baptized and admitted into the Christian faith. His queen and several of the nobility, at the same time, followed his example. The king took the name of John, and his queen that of Eleanor, that they might by this means shew their regard for their Portuguese majesties. Sousa delivered to him a standard, on which a cross was painted, telling him, at the same time, to put a confidence therein; for by this means he might overcome his enemies. The king accordingly marched against his rebellious subjects, and soon reduced them to obedience.

When his majesty returned, Sousa was now about setting out for Portugal, and they took leave of each other in the most friendly terms. Sousa left several priests for religious purposes, and other persons, who were to examine into the nature of the country, and the

the manners of its inhabitants. Soon after his departure, the king's eldest son returned from the borders of his kingdom, where he had been waging war with some neighbouring nation. He was likewise baptized, being named Alphonso, from a son of John; and there were many other persons of distinction, who at the same time became Christians. Great numbers of the common people embraced the Christian faith; so that the converts to Christianity became every day more and more numerous. But notwithstanding this success, our holy religion had still many bitter enemies, amongst whom was Pansa Aquitum another son of the king. This man opposed Christianity with great obstinacy, and endeavoured to instil prejudices into his father. He said, it was most shameful and scandalous, to desert the ancient institutions of their country, to break to pieces the images of their gods, and to violate their temples, which had hitherto been accounted sacred. Besides, the king himself began to be somewhat out of humour with a religion which confined him to his lawful wife, and prohibited the use of concubines. The women too, piqued at the thoughts of being deprived of the royal bed, laboured to the utmost of their power to turn him from his resolution. The sorcerers and magicians, who are in high esteem amongst the people of this country, were likewise great obstacles to the progress of Christianity. These men denounced threatenings and punishments from the gods, against all who should forsake their ancient religion.

Alphonso opposed the designs of these men with great spirit; for which reason they endeavoured to instigate his father against him; and so far did they impose upon this simple king, as to make them believe his son was forming a conspiracy against him; accordingly he banished him to the most remote parts of the kingdom, and being influenced by the advice of Pansa, his zeal for Christianity every day cooled. In a short time, however, he detected the false accusation of his son, and restored him to his former honours.

Alphonso

Alphonso was then sent as viceroy to some part of this country ; there he enacted a law, by which he made it a capital offence for any one to worship images. This decree raised great commotions amongst the people, and was the occasion of many entering into a confederacy with his brother against him. The king sent an express for Alphonso, intending to advise him to drop his design, and not to give rise to such a tumult. The son returned answer, That having such a multiplicity of business on his hands, he could not go to his father, nor could he be prevailed upon to abolish the law. Hence it was, that great numbers of his subjects flock'd every day to his brother.

In the mean while the old king, worn out with years and infirmities, was drawing towards his latter end. Several persons advised Alphonso of his father's weak state of health, and endeavoured to persuade him to march against his brother, and take possession of the kingdom : this, however, he could not be prevailed upon to attempt, till he had certain intelligence of his father's death. As soon as he was informed of this, he set out for the metropolis, which, according to his mother's advice, he entered in the night-time. The next day having called a meeting of those of the nobility in whom he had some confidence, he made a speech to them, in a plain opposite to the palace. In this he set forth his right to the crown by inheritance, and the allegiance which they owed to him, declaring, at the same time, that he would make it his sole view to promote the welfare of his subjects. Alphonso was accordingly proclaimed king with all the demonstrations of joy usual upon such occasions. When Pansa heard this piece of news, he was at the head of a considerable army ; he divided it into two bodies, and marched directly against his brother. Alphonso, on the other hand, had but a very few soldiers ; these, however, he endeavoured to inspire with the most exalted sentiments, telling them not to despair, but to place their confidence in the Supreme being, by whose assistance,

sistance, they might hope to overcome the most numerous enemy. He expected his brother with undaunted courage. Pansa accordingly attacked him with uncommon fury, but Alphonso and his men behaved in such a gallant manner, that they obliged the enemy to give way, and at last gained a compleat victory. Pansa, full of consternation, fled into the woods, where he fell into a pit made to catch wild beasts, together with his general, a man of great courage and experience in war. This officer finding himself thus taken, sent to the king, telling him that he justly merited death for his rebellious behaviour. Nor did he sue for mercy, but earnestly conjured him, in the name of that God whom his majesty worshipped, that, before he suffered the punishment due to his crimes, he might be admitted into the Christian faith. He said he was indifferent as to this life, which was so full of troubles and perplexities, but extremely anxious in regard to his eternal welfare. Moreover he added, that the overthrow of such a numerous army, by so small a number, was certainly owing to a supernatural power; for which reason he concluded Christ to be the proper object of worship and adoration, and was therefore extremely solicitous of being adopted into the christian faith. Alphonso not only granted his request, but also gave him a free pardon, and afterwards employed him in several offices of trust, which he discharged with the utmost fidelity. Pansa had received several bruises in the fall, which, together with the grief he felt at his misfortunes, carried him off in a few days; nor did he express the least remorse for his wicked and unnatural behaviour. Alphonso was now established in the possession of his kingdom, and gained several considerable victories over his enemies. He promoted the Christian religion with great zeal; nor did he spend more time in regulating the affairs of his kingdom than in forming the minds of his subjects to piety and devotion. He used frequently to make speeches to his people, wherein he endeavoured to inspire them with

a love of justice and religion : he discoursed to them on a future judgment, wherein the good and bad would be rewarded or punished, according to their behaviour in this world : he represented to them the purity of the Christian doctrine ; and set before them, as examples, the apostles of our Saviour. In short, as long as he lived, he behaved with the utmost probity, and ruled over his people like a good Christian and great prince.

Emmanuel was overjoyed at the success of the Christian religion in that country, and he resolved to finish what had been begun by John. Accordingly, in the year 1504, he dispatched to Congo several learned and religious men, to open schools for the instruction of the youth ; together with some mechanics, to teach them the useful arts. He sent at the same time all the books relating to the Christian religion ; such as gave the history of our Saviour, and contained the examples of men eminent for piety. He took care that the priests sent for this purpose should have handsome salaries. These men, at their arrival, were received with the most joyful acclamations ; for the natives of the country looked upon them with a kind of veneration. The king, in particular, gave them the kindest reception, and expressed himself in the most grateful manner for the services of Emmanuel : great numbers of the common people came from all parts to be baptized, and initiated in the Christian faith. But as the priests nor the people did not understand each other, the king, who was now pretty well versed in the Portuguese language, performed the office of an interpreter in a public assembly. Emmanuel had, at the same time, sent letters to his majesty, desiring him to send his sons to Portugal ; promising that they should be carefully instructed in the Latin tongue, and all other polite literature. Accordingly not only the king's sons, but many of the young nobility were sent to Lisbon, where they received a very liberal education, at the expence of Emmanuel. Of these there were some who gave themselves much to the study of religion ; and at their return

turn to Ethiophia, they made many converts to Christianity, by their eloquent discourses and exemplary lives.

This same year Emmanuel fitted out another fleet for India, under the command of Lope Sorez Alvarenga, whose transactions we propose to give an account of in their proper place ; and we shall at present relate what happened to the Albuquerques. Alphonso sailed from Lisbon about a week sooner than Francis ; the latter, however, reached India first, and arrived at the island of Anchedive with two ships only ; one of which was commanded by Nicolas Cœlo. The third commander, named Pedro Vasco Veiga, met with a most unlucky fate ; his ship being, as supposed, either sunk or burnt. Here Albuquerque found Pedro Araide and the other Portuguese officers. As soon as he learnt from the catastrophe of Soder, and the distressed circumstances to which the king of Cochin was reduced, he resolved, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to sail directly for Cananor. Accordingly he set out for that place with his two ships, and the other four, which lay then at anchor in Anchedive. Upon his arrival at Cananor, the king gave him a more particular account of Trimumpar's misfortunes ; for which reason he sailed directly for Vaipin, where that prince still remained. The Portuguese who were with him, when they spied the ships, were transported to the utmost pitch of joy. The king could not contain himself, but called aloud, Portugal, Portugal, and ran in the highest extacy to embrace the Portuguese officers, who received him with joyful shouts, and promised to reinstate him in his throne. The naires of Calicut, and the rest of the soldiers who had been left as a garrison in Cochin, were seized with a panic at the arrival of our people, and immediately left the city. At this time Duarte Pacheco, who had sailed from Lisbon with Alphonso Albuquerque, arrived with his ship and joined the rest of the fleet in Vaipin. Francis Albuquerque bestowed the highest encomiums on

Trimumpar, and returned him the thanks of Emmanuel for his fidelity. Besides, as he knew him to be at present very low in his circumstances, he was extremely liberal to him in many respects, and made him a present of 10000 ducats. This piece of generosity, at such a juncture, was very acceptable to Trimumpar. The fame of this liberal act raised the admiration of all the princes in that country, especially of the zamorin ; for the kings in India, although they are proud and haughty, and possess great revenues, yet they generally live upon a moderate income, and are great lovers of money. Albuquerque thought there was no time to be delayed ; accordingly on the day of his arrival he passed over to Cochin with Trimumpar, and, in the name of Emmanuel, re-established him in the possession of his kingdom ; and lest the spirits of his men should be blunted by inactivity, he sailed to an island opposite Cochin, the prince of which had revolted from Trimumpar to the zamorin. He fell upon the enemy unawares, killed many of them, burnt some of their towns and villages, and then returned to Cochin.

The next day he steered for another island, which had likewise proved unfaithful to Trimumpar. The prince had in arms 2000 men ; and there were besides, a considerable number of paraos from Calicut, which cruized near the island. Albuquerque ordered Pacheco to attack this fleet, whilst at the same time Cœlo, Antoni de Campo and Ataide, were to engage the land forces. Pacheco accordingly executed his orders with great spirit and success ; he sunk several of these paraos, the rest he obliged to sheer off, after having killed great numbers of their men. The other commanders had the like success, having routed the enemy at the first onset : they forced their way into the royal palace, though surrounded with a rampart, killed the prince himself, and fired the building ; and thus having gained a compleat victory, returned the same day to Cochin. Albuquerque sailed next day against the island of

of Repelin. The prince of this place, being conscious of his treachery, had prepared to make a stout resistance. He had 2000 naires under his command; with these he marched towards the shore, in order to hinder the landing of the Portuguese. The dispute, for some time, was warm on both sides; the enemy, however, were at last obliged to save themselves by flight. Our people pursued them to the largest town in the island; there the prince rallied his men, and drew them up in battle array: the fight was accordingly renewed, and the enemy fought with desperate obstinacy. The contest, whilst it continued, was fierce and bloody; but it ended in a compleat victory to the Portuguese. They killed great numbers of the enemy, and drove many of them headlong into the sea; then they gave the island to be plundered by Trinumpar's soldiery; and the towns and villages were afterwards burnt by the orders of Albuquerque.

The king of Cochin being settled in his dominions, and his enemies punished for their perfidy by the bravery of our people, Albuquerque now thought it was a very proper time to desire he would allow him to build a fort as a bulwark to the Portuguese, and a defence to his majesty against the attempts of the zamorin. The king very readily granted this request; saying, That to him and Emmanuel he owed his life, his crown, and protection from his enemies. He not only allowed him to build a fort, but even offered to do it at his own expence. There was accordingly a very convenient place fixed upon for that purpose. The situation was high, and commanding a narrow arm of the sea; so that our people, from such a place, could easily prevent the zamorin's ships from passing that way. The foundation was laid on the 27th of September 1503. The king furnished many hands. All the Portuguese, without distinction, helped to carry on the work. The fourth day after it was begun, Alphonso Albuquerque came to Cochin; so that the num-

ber of workmen being increased, the fort was soon finished.

A consultation being held amongst the Portuguese officers, it was resolved that Albuquerque and the rest of the commanders, together with some of Trumpar's soldiers, should go and attack some towns which belonged to the prince of Repelin. These were distant about 20 miles from Cochin, situate near the banks of a river which discharges itself into that arm of the sea above-mentioned. Our people having accordingly set out in their long boats, attacked the enemy by surprize: they killed vast numbers of them, and made great depredations in their lands. The report of this havock being soon spread abroad, alarmed the neighbouring towns, and the whole country was up in arms: above 6000 naires came to the assistance of their countrymen. These men attacked our people with so much fury, that they were obliged to retreat; which was done, however, in good order. The enemy continued still to press them very closely, and not only annoyed them with their missive weapons, but likewise charged them sword in hand. If the Portuguese had not kept their order, they must certainly have sustained a great loss; but as they were free from confusion, and the boats were near, they at last got all aboard, though not without the utmost difficulty and danger. Duarte Pacheco was in the greatest jeopardy, not being able to find his boat; which, by the rashness of some of his men, had been removed from its place. The enemy, in the mean time, endeavoured to cut him off before he could have assistance; but this brave man withstood their fury till the Albuquerques, who saw him in this dangerous situation, came to his aid. The Portuguese having thus made their retreat, went for Cochin. There were eight of them wounded in this engagement, but not one killed. Many of the enemy were slain, seven of their paraos were taken, and fifteen burnt.

The

The spirits of the Portuguese officers were now raised to such a degree, that they would allow their men no respite. The following night they set out in their long boats to destroy some other villages belonging to the prince of Repelin. Alphonso advanced before the rest with a party of his men ; but the enemy, who lay in ambuscade, falling upon him with great fury, killed two of his men, and wounded twenty. In this dangerous situation he very much signalized himself for his gallantry, having fought with great intrepidity till break of day, when Francis Albuquerque, and the other officers came to his assistance. Their arrival gave fresh courage to our men, and struck such a panic into the enemy, that they gave way, and betook themselves to flight. The Portuguese having continued the pursuit, slew great numbers of the enemy, and fired the villages.

The same day they sailed for the island of Cambal, where they killed above 700 men : nor did they stop here, but carried their arms into the zamorin's territories; where they laid waste the lands, and made great havock amongst the inhabitants. The enemy mustered 6000 men, who attacked our people ; these, however, were repulsed, though not without some difficulty. About the same time Duarte Pacheco, defeated and gave chace to 34 paraos of Calicut, which had been stationed with a design to intercept the ships trading to Cochin.

The fame of the Portuguese arms was now spread every where, and the merchants were afraid to bring their spices to Cochin ; for which reason Alphonso Albuquerque sailed for Coulan, to load three ships. This city, in former times, was the first in these parts for greatness and opulence, but in proportion as Calicut rose in trade and riches, Coulan began to decline. It lies about 48 miles south-east of Cochin ; has a very commodious harbour, and is situate upon an excellent river ; which, in high tide, is able to carry ships of a considerable burthen. The navigation up this river is very

safe, dangerous only in one respect, that it being but narrow, the enemy often lie in ambuscade on the banks of each side. The religious, as well as civil customs of the inhabitants, are much the same as the rest of the Malabars. They are a warlike people, and are almost continually waging war with the king of Narsinga, whose dominions are not only very extensive in the eastern parts of India, but reach likewise to the remotest corners of the west. The princes of Coulan used chiefly to reside in the inland towns; so that the city of Coulan was generally committed to the management of some trusty persons: part of the kingdom is inhabited by Christians, who follow the doctrine preached by St. Thomas. These men had gone through various scenes of fortune; and for the sake of their religion, had suffered many grievances; yet, amidst all their calamities, they remained unshaken, and maintained their Christian faith with the utmost perseverance. There is in this city a very antient church, which the Christians believe to have been built by St. Thomas. The body of this apostle is said to have been buried in the kingdom of Narsinga, in a church which is highly revered not only by the Christians, but by the Arabs likewise, and most other nations in the east. Thomas is reported to have performed many wonderful things in this country, by healing the sick, and relieving the distressed. At the time when Alphonso arrived at Coulan, the queen dowager, in the place of her son who was not of age, then managed the kingdom with great reputation. He was received very kindly by the leading men of the city; who, in the name of the queen, treated him with the highest respect, and granted him whatever he requested. He made a friendly alliance with this people, and left several Portuguese, under the royal protection, to transact Emmanuel's affairs. Having loaded his ships, he then returned for Cochin.

In the mean while, the zamorin being sensible what an imprudent conduct he had run into at the instigation

tion of the Arabians, was now determined to make a treaty of friendship with the Portuguese ; and lest it might be interrupted by the stratagems of these men, he resolved to do it in great secrecy. He was, at the same time, strongly urged by the continual solicitation of Naubeadarim, who, as we have already mentioned, was a strong advocate for the Portuguese. A treaty was accordingly entered into betwixt our people and the zamorin. The conditions were these, ‘ That all the ships which had been fitted out against the Portuguese or their allies, should be immediately withdrawn : that restitution should be made of those goods which had been taken away by the Arabians or their associates, during the tumult wherein Correa was killed : that the zamorin should grant a certain quantity of spices to the Portuguese, within a limited time : and that he should not allow the Arabs, who traded at Calicut, the liberty of sailing to Arabia.’ Moreover, Francis Albuquerque demanded, that the two Milanese who had deserted to the zamorin, should be surrendered. This, however, his majesty would not grant, pretending that it would be most scandalous in him to betray those whom he had received into his protection ; however, he agreed to every other request.

Things being thus settled, Naubeadarim went for Cranganor to see the spices weighed out which were to be given to Pacheco ; who, by the orders of Francis Albuquerque, had come there for that purpose. In the mean while, when Pacheco had received the greatest part of his loading, it happened that a ship of Calicut with spices, was in her way to Cranganor. Fernando Correa having heard of it, sent some of his men to intercept this vessel, and bring her to Cochin. Those who were aboard, finding themselves attacked in this hostile manner, called aloud, that a most solemn treaty had been entered into betwixt the zamorin and the Portuguese, and yet to be thus used, was most scandalous and unjust. Moreover, they added, that their ship was bound for Cranganor, with spices ; which, in order

der to fulfil the zamorin's engagement, were to be delivered to the Portuguese ; they hoped, therefore, our people would not give umbrage to the zamorin, by forcibly taking those goods which the Portuguese would obtain without such violent proceedings : but Correa, nevertheless, persisted in his resolution. The ship was accordingly taken, and plundered ; six of her men were killed, and many wounded : nor did our people come off with impunity, for several of them were wounded in the engagement ; so that an inconsiderable quantity of spices was purchased at the expence of honour and justice, and an effusion of blood.

When Naubeadarim came to the knowledge of this affair, he demanded satisfaction from Francis Albuquerque ; telling him, ' That by this violation of the treaty, the zamorin would be highly provoked ; and an opportunity would be given to the Arabians to break the peace, and rekindle a war. It was most shameful (he said) that the Portuguese should take upon them to punish injustice in others, and they themselves to be guilty of the like scandalous practices. You yourselves, (continued he) thought, and not without reason, that you had a sufficient cause to declare war against the zamorin when he refused satisfaction for the murder of Aures Correa, and the plundering of your goods. And will you refuse redress to his majesty, when he has the like cause of complaint ? Besides (added he) the king himself is naturally fickle and passionate, and so apt is he to be influenced by the malicious insinuations of the Arabians, that without the least provocation he did the Portuguese all the mischief in his power. And what will he scruple now to do, when his indignation is moved by such scandalous and unjust treatment ? These, and many other things to the same purpose, were urged by Naubeadarim ; but Francis treated all his remonstrances with contempt. It is not easy to determine whether this behaviour of Albuquerque was owing to his own perfidious principles, or his fear of punishing

punishing Correa ; but whatever was the motive, his conduct at this juncture certainly tarnished all his former glory. The zamorin, enraged to the highest degree, ordered a fleet to be again equipped, and soldiers to be levied, being determined to carry on war by sea and land against the Portuguese, as well as the king of Cochin and all their allies.

Trivumpar being informed of these preparations, earnestly requested of Francis Albuquerque, that at his departure he would leave him such a force as would enable him to withstand the hostile attempts of the zamorin. This he accordingly promised to do, but his performance fell very much short of a man of honour ; for he left only one ship, two caravels, and another small vessel with 100 men. There were besides 50 Portuguese at Cochin ; and this was all the strength Francis left him to stand out against so formidable an enemy. The command of this small number was given to Duarte Pacheco ; who, with the greatest cheerfulness, was ready to sacrifice his life for the glory of the Christian name, and the honour of his royal master.

In the mean while, Alphonso Albuquerque came from Coulan, and the two brothers set sail at the same time from Cochin, and steered for Cananor, where Alphonso received a letter from Raphael Reinel, (who had been left with Naubeadarim to receive the spices) giving him an account of the warlike preparations made by the zamorin : he received likewise a letter from Cojebequo, to the same effect. When the Albuquerques came upon the coast of Calicut, they sent to the zamorin, desiring he would deliver up the Portuguese who were with him ; but he refused their request. They sailed from thence homewards ; Alphonso arrived at Lisbon on the 17th of July 1504. Francis Albuquerque, and Nicolas Cœlo, very probably perished in the waves, for nothing could be learnt of them, nor any of their men. Pedro Ataide's ship was likewise lost, but he and his crew got safe to land ; where

where having got a small vessel, he sailed with part of his men for Mozambique, where he died; the rest went for Melinda.

About the same time, Antony de Saldanna was at sea, and had suffered various hardships. Soon after the departure of the Albuquerques from Lisbon, this man had been sent by Emmanuel with three ships, to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea. Diego Fernand Peteira, one of the commanders, being separated from the other two by stress of weather, made the port of Melinda. He touched next at Socotra, an island hitherto unknown to our people, situate very near the mouth of the Red Sea; here he determined to lay all winter: but Saldanna, by the unskilfulness of his pilot, was carried into the island of St. Thomas, which lies directly under the Line. After he had departed from thence, he met with another violent storm, which parted from him Roderick Laurence Ravaasco. Saldanna, in endeavouring to make the Cape of Good Hope, was, by the ignorance of the same pilot, carried into a bay, where he watered his ship: this place was for that reason called Aguada del Saldanna. Ravaasco having turned the promontory much sooner, sailed for Mozambique, and thence to Quiloa: here he waited 20 days; but as Saldanna did not arrive in that time, he sailed for Zanzibar, an island about 80 miles westward from Mombaze. It is divided from the main land by an arm of the sea so narrow, that every ship passing this way, is seen from the island as well as the continent. Ravaasco cruized about Zanzibar two months, in which time he took above 20 rich ships belonging to that island; nor would he restore them till he had received for each a considerable ransom. This behaviour to these islanders, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with our people, very much hurt our interest in those parts, and almost entirely alienated their affections from the Portuguese. The prince sent to Ravaasco, telling him he was astonished that a commander of the Portuguese, a nation so famed for their fidelity, should commit

commit such hostilities against a people who had given him no offence ; nay, on the contrary, who were friends to the Portuguese. To this message Ravaſco returned a most haughty insolent answer ; so that the prince being provoked by such treatment, fitted out some paroas to attack Ravaſco ; but before these were ready to put to sea, Gomeze Carasco, and Laurence Phœo, by the orders of Ravaſco, were sent against them in the long boat, well manned and armed. They took four of the paroas, and drove the rest to flight. They likewise killed four men, amongst whom was the prince's son. When the prince saw that neither reason nor force could avail him, he resolved to make a peace with Ravaſco, which was accordingly concluded, and he obliged himself to pay an annual tribute to Emmanuel.

Things being thus settled, Ravaſco directed his course for Melinda, the prince of which kingdom was at this time engaged in a bloody war with the king of Mombaze ; he therefore sailed to the harbour of Mombaze, where he took two merchant ships and three small vessels. Amongst the prisoners taken were twelve Arabians, men of great fortune and weight in the city of Brava, about 400 miles from Mombaze. They gave a considerable sum of money for their ransom ; and surrendered their city to the protection of the Portuguese, promising, upon their faith and honour, that they and the rest of the citizens would be under the subjection of king Emmanuel. Ravaſco then fixt an annual tribute, which they were to pay to his Portuguese majesty. After this treaty was agreed upon, there arrived a very rich ship, which these Arabians had for some time expected : this, however, Ravaſco did not molest ; nor would he allow any one to injure these new allies. In the mean while, Saldanna reached Mombaze with three ships he had taken in his voyage. The king frightened at this formidable appearance, and being afraid that the resentment of the Portuguese might fall upon him, he made peace with the prince

of Melinda. Saldanna then sailed for India, and anchored in the islands of Canacan and Anchedive. We shall relate his exploits in their proper place.

*1504* In this year 1504, on the month of October, Alphonso master of the horse, nephew to Emmanuel, was carried off by a violent fit of sickness: he left one daughter, a lady of great virtue and extraordinary beauty, who was afterwards married to the marquis of Villa Real, a gentleman of uncommon bravery. This year was likewise made remarkable by the death of Isabel, queen of Castile, the loss of whom was universally regretted throughout all the kingdom of Spain. She was certainly a lady of the most exalted sentiments, and adorned with so much probity and piety, that her memory is worthy to be celebrated to all ages. On the 31st of December queen Mary was delivered of a daughter, who was christened by the name of her grandmother Beatrix. She was afterwards married to the duke of Savoy. This same year there happened some terrible earthquakes, which shook down several houses, and laid open the earth in many places. The inhabitants deserted their houses, being afraid they should be crushed in the ruins; nor durst they venture upon the mountains, lest these being torn up by the roots, they might suffer a most shocking death. They therefore flocked to the fields and valleys, where they lived in tents.

About this same time, John Menez very much distinguished himself in Africa for his gallantry and good conduct. There is a noted town in Africa called L'arache, situate upon the river Lixus, about twenty miles from Arzila. The Moors had taken five Portuguese ships, and carried them into this place. Menez being informed of it, was moved with indignation, and formed a design of forcing into the harbour to carry them off. The mouth of this river was defended by a fort, strong by nature, as well as art, furnished with all manner of warlike stores, and well garrisoned with soldiers. It is the general receptacle for all the pyrates

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in those parts of Africa. Menez was devising with himself, how he could, with safety, make his way into the harbour; in the mean while it happened, that he spied towards the west, a couple of galleys of two banks of oars, and another of three. He sent some scouts by water, and others by land, to examine their course. These brought intelligence that the galleys had put into the harbour of L'arache, and were drawn ashore, but that the one of three tire was very near the water. Menez ordered four caravels to be got ready with all expedition; these he manned with a sufficient number of soldiers, such as he knew to be equal to so bold an enterprize: having weighed in the night, he steered for L'arache, and by break of day, reached the mouth of the river, where he came to an anchor. The Moors, were not a little startled at the arrival of our people; they fired their guns, threw large bombs, and endeavoured by all possible means to annoy the Portuguese. But Menez waited for the tide, before he would attempt any thing further: he ordered one of his ships to be covered with feather-beds and sacks of wool, and be placed opposite the fort to receive the cannon balls. So that the rest of the ships being thereby skreened, might come into the harbour with safety. The Moors, in the mean while, furiously plied our people with darts and other missive weapons: but Menez, in spite of all their opposition, forced his way up the river with all his vessels. This river was of a good depth, and so much encreased by the tide, that the Portuguese could approach the banks with the greatest ease. The men therefore, according to their general's orders, jump'd ashore, and with great emulation, endeavour to fire the three-banked galley, by throwing lighted torches. The Moors, on the other hand, rushed from all quarters to hinder this from being put in execution; so that for a considerable time, the conflict was fierce and obstinate. Our people behaved on this occasion with uncommon courage: the enemy having several of their men killed and wounded, at last betook themselves to flight; the

Portuguese

Portuguese would have pursued them, had they not been checked by Menez, who ordered them directly to set about burning the galley of three tire of oars. They accordingly executed his commands, and at the same time, towed along with them five of the enemies two-banked galleys, together with two ships of war, and they retook also one of the Portuguese ships; but being unable to bring off the rest, they burnt them that they, might be of no use to the enemy. Menez having thus succeeded in his enterprize, and perceiving that the enemy grew more and more numerous, sailed down the river with great ease, the tide beginning now to ebb: nor in the whole of this affair did he lose any more than one man; and he returned with twelve ships into the Port of Arzilla, from whence he had set out with four only. The hardiness and intrepidity of this man, struck a terror into the enemy, when they saw that he had dared, under the very mouth of their cannon, to force his way into the harbour, and with so small a fleet to threaten ruin and destruction to a city so strongly fortified. Nor were they so much concerned for the loss of their men and ships, as alarmed with the amazing intrepidity of the action; and they were afraid that our men, being emboldened by success, would attempt still greater things.

The news of this expedition, was extremely grateful to Emmanuel, who bestowed the highest encomiums on the bravery, conduct and vigilance of Menez. But this gallant man was indefatigable in his pursuit after glory; for, by his means, the enemy soon after suffered another considerable defeat. There is a mountain called Farrob, which I take to be a part of the Lesser Atlas. It is about twenty miles from Arzila; at the bottom there runs a river, the waters of which, in the winter, are swelled to such a degree, that they become unfordable. The enemy, therefore, looked upon this mountain to be a place of great security, and generally pitched their winter quarters in the adjacent villages, where they fed great numbers of all sorts of cattle.

Menez

Menez ordered two square boats to be built of such a size that each of them might be carried upon a horse: he went about this with so much secrecy, that the workmen knew not for what they were designed. The boats being finished, he deferred his design till there happened to be a very rainy tempestuous night. Now he thought it a very proper time for the execution of his scheme; accordingly he ordered the signal to be given to arms. This not a little surprised all his men, who little thought of entering upon any warlike expedition in such stormy weather. However, they had all so high an opinion of the wisdom and experience of their general, that they concluded it not to be done without a sufficient reason; and having armed themselves, followed him without the least hesitation. Nor did any one enquire what was his design, or whither he marched. Menez took two hundred and twenty cavalry with him, to whom, as soon as he thought proper, he laid open his scheme, shewed them how easily it might be put in execution, and endeavoured to inspire them with courage and resolution to perform their duty. He at the same time told them, that if any present were afraid to venture upon this enterprize, to such he gave free liberty, nay entreated them, to return home: for he said he was much more confident of success in any exploit with a few brave men, than with a greater number who were timorous and diffident. There was not one of his soldiers, however, so far lost to a sense of honour, as to accept of this proposal. When they came to the river, which had overflowed its banks to a much greater degree, than could be expected, Menez ordered the boats to be placed by the water-side; then he commanded Ferdinand Freitas, one of his servants, to swim across the river, with the extremity of a rope in his teeth, which was tied to one of the boats: this man when he got to the opposite bank could with the greatest ease draw over the boat. In like manner, the other tied to the first, was moved at the same time; so that there being

ropes reaching from the boats to each side of the river, they could be pulled backwards and forwards with the greatest facility. The soldiers having taken the saddles off their horses, threw them into the boats. The Portuguese then went aboard, and holding their horses by the reins, by this means obliged them to swim after them.

Having passed over the river after this manner, they again mounted their horses, and followed their leader in the dead of the night, through many marshy places, where the horses were up to the belly in mud and water. Menez, who was well acquainted with the country, marched on till he approached the villages, where he lay in ambush with his men in a place very convenient for that purpose. By break of day (the weather being now fair) the inhabitants of the mountain began to descend to the valleys, some to look after their corn fields, some driving their cattle to pasture, whilst others were going to take the diversion of hunting. Menez, however, was yet unwilling to come forth till he should see a greater number of the enemy to attack. But it happened that two of the Moors, who were hunting, discovered him and his party for which reason he was obliged to fall forth immediately. He fell accordingly upon the enemy unawares, took several of them prisoners, killed great numbers, and having made a considerable booty, drew off his men in safety. When our people reached the river, they drove the cattle they had taken into the water, and obliged them to swim over; then they themselves crossed the river again, after the same manner, and with the same facility as they had done the preceding night. They entered Arzila in the dusk of the evening, to the greatest surprize and admiration of all who remained in that place; for every one looked upon it to be almost impracticable, to pass the river in such tempestuous weather; or if this was effected, they reckoned it next to an impossibility, that they should escape from so numerous and warlike an enemy, when

when their retreat must be attended with so much difficulty, and might have been rendered still more so, by cutting the ropes of their boats.

Whilst these things, as above related, happened in Portugal and Africa, Trimumpar and the Portuguese in his kingdom were embarrassed with a heavy war. The zamorin, as we have already mentioned, had levied a formidable army, and fitted out a strong fleet before the Albuquerques set out for Portugal; Pacheco having left them at Cananor, had sailed for Cochin. When the king perceived what an inconsiderable force was left him by our people, and, at the same time, received intelligence of the enemy's being so numerous, that a pretty large army seemed hardly able to cope with them, and understood likewise, that not only the Arabian merchants, who supplied his people with corn, but many of his other citizens had likewise thought of deserting him, nay great numbers, had already revolted to the zamorin; when he considered these circumstances, I say, he was in the utmost despair. He was not a little uneasy with regard to the behaviour of the Portuguese; for he could not but account it the greatest madness, if Pacheco should offer, with such a handful of men, to engage the enemy; nay he was at last of opinion, that a designed trick had been put upon him by Francis Albuquerque: for had this man been sincere in his professions of friendship, he concluded, and not without reason, that he must have had a regard to his safety, and would have left him a larger reinforcement. Being distracted with these thoughts, he went to Pacheco, and earnestly conjured him to speak his mind with openness and candour: telling him, at the same time, he had behaved to the Portuguese with so much fidelity, that, if they proved treacherous to him, he had the greatest reason to complain of their ingratitude and injustice. ' However, (added he) I come not at present to implore your assistance in my distress; let me only conjure you not to act towards me with dissimulation. If all expec-

‘ tation of aid from you is cut off, then perhaps I may  
‘ yet devise some method to save myself and my king-  
‘ dom from utter destruction. Whereas if I am buoyed  
‘ up with false hopes, I may then neglect the proper  
‘ opportunity of bringing things to an accommoda-  
‘ tion, and, when it is too late, I shall in vain bewail  
‘ my misfortunes. You must know then, that I can-  
‘ not help thinking you was left by the Albuquerques  
‘ only to transact the affairs of Emmanuel in India,  
‘ without any intention to assist me: for if they had  
‘ had the least concern for my preservation, is it likely,  
‘ that of so strong a fleet, and such a number of forces,  
‘ they should have left only three small leaky ships,  
‘ and such an inconsiderable number of soldiers? If  
‘ indeed your intention is, when you see me involved  
‘ in difficulties, to retire to Coulan and Cananor, then  
‘ your strength is sufficient for that purpose. But if  
‘ you are resolved to defend my kingdom from the  
‘ incursions of a powerful enemy, then I think I may  
‘ with reason affirm, that the Albuquerques have acted  
‘ without the least prudence or foresight. I therefore  
‘ again entreat, and, in the name of that deity whom  
‘ you worship, conjure you not to deceive me, but to  
‘ declare sincerely, whether you intend as a friend to  
‘ assist me in my distress, or if you design to avoid  
‘ the impending storm, by removing to another place.’

Pacheco was moved with indignation at this speech, calling in question his fidelity and honour, which is the greatest indignity that could be offered to a man of probity. In his answer to the king, he was unable to conceal his resentment, and expostulated with him in a very warm manner concerning this affront: ‘ His honour, (he added,) had been always more dear to him than life itself. Nor was there any reason to complain of the Albuquerques, since they had left a sufficient force to curb the insolence of the zamorin; for victory was not procured by the rashness of an undisciplined multitude, but by the bravery and good conduct of a few. Besides, that the king-

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‘ dom of Cochin was divided from that of Calicut by a river and an arm of the sea, so narrow that it might be defended by a handful of men, against a most numerous enemy. Moreover, that he depended not a little on the divine aid, insomuch that he hoped, nay was almost confident, that the zaimorin would not only be conquered, but also carried in chains to Portugal. He bid the king of Cochin therefore be of good courage; and as for his own part, he was determined to fight to the last, in defence of his honour and dignity.’ This speech raised the king’s spirit, and gave him fresh hopes: he gave the management of the war to Pacheco, who sent for several of the Arabian merchants, such as were most eminent for their wealth and power; these he endeavoured to animate with courage, and advised them, in the strongest terms, not out of a groundless apprehension to abandon a place where they had hitherto lived so advantageously. He, at the same time, offered several reasons, to convince them that they ought not to despair of victory. Lastly, he pronounced the severest threats against those, who should out of treachery or cowardice, desert Trimumpar. This, he said, he was willing to declare publickly, that every one might know such a crime should not go unpunished: nor was it possible for any one to escape undiscovered; for he assured them, he would place guards in such a manner, that no man could go off by sea or land, without his knowledge. ‘ Whoever therefore (added he) has any regard for his life, let him detest the infamous thought of deserting his country, for if any man shall attempt such a dishonourable action, let him be assured he shall suffer the most cruel death.’ He delivered this speech with great sternness and resolution, but especially, when he spoke the last words: his eyes sparkled, and his whole countenance carried such a threatening air, that he struck a terror into all who heard him. They answered, that they would remain unshaken in their duty; and that the king should have no reason to complain of

their disloyalty. Hence it happened, that all those who intended to leave the city of Cochin (some from inclination, others from fear) dropt their design.

Pacheco, in the mean while, sailed backward and forward in the river, and stationed soldiers in all the passages, both by sea and land, to prevent any one flying from the island. It happened, at this time that two fishermen, who had gone a fishing without his leave, were brought before him. He alledged, that these men had intended to desert; for which reason, with a loud and threatening voice, he ordered them to be carried back to the island, and there hanged. When the king was informed of this, he earnestly begged of him to pardon these unfortunate men. Pacheco returned for answer. ‘ That he was astonished how so wise a prince should be so remiss in punishing such a heinous crime: that at such a dangerous juncture, the reins of government ought not to be slackened, but discipline kept up with the utmost severity; for the punishment of these men would deter those who might be willing to commit such practices, whereas the pardoning of them would certainly tend to encourage the like treachery in others: for which reason, he said, he would by no means suffer the king, by his indiscreet lenity, so far to endanger the honour and safety of his kingdom.’ Pacheco, however, privately sent a messenger to Trimumpar, to inform him, that he did not intend to put the fishermen to death, but only made an appearance of this severity, in order to keep others to their duty. The two men were secretly in the night conveyed to the king’s palace, where they were concealed with the utmost carefulness, that the people might not discover they had been frightened by a mere shew of severity.

Pacheco took all necessary measures for the security of Cochin; but not content with acting merely on the defensive, he resolved likewise to annoy the enemy. He therefore frequently crossed the river, and made incursions upon the territories of Repelin, and the adjoining

joining country. He fired several of the villages, killed many of the inhabitants, and at various times gave the highest instances of his alertness in military affairs, by falling upon the enemy unawares. The zamorin being informed of these things, drew out his army, with great expedition, and marched towards Repelin. Pacheco was apprized of the zamorin's approach, and the number of his forces, by a letter from Roderick Reinel, who at this time, was afflicted with a violent fit of sickness, of which he died soon after at Calicut. When this news reached Cochin, the Arabians began to raise fresh commotions, by soliciting the people to revolt, but the strictness and vigilance of Pacheco deterred them from such an attempt.

The kingdom of Cochin, towards the north, where the enemy were to make their descent, is divided by several arms of the sea, into many little islands: in such a manner, however, that it is extremely difficult for an army to pass from one to the other, because these straits cannot be passed afoot, nor is easy to ferry over in boats, by reason of the many shallow places. It is likewise extremely difficult to attack the city of Cochin from the open sea, the entrance to the harbour being very narrow and dangerous. The zamorin did not choose to attempt the ford formerly passed by him, when he drove Trimumpar out of his kingdom, because he remembered the great loss he had sustained in that affair, and concluded it would now be much more dangerous, when the king of Cochin was assisted by the Portuguese.

In the island called Cambalam, situate to the eastward, at a little distance from Repelin, there is a ford, not very difficult, to the country of Cochin. Thither the zamorin moved his fleet and army, thinking that he might pass over with his forces, to destroy the Portuguese and the people of Cochin. But Pacheco, with the utmost vigour, prepared to oppose his passage: and in order to shew how little he was afraid

of the zamorin's power, he one night made an excursion with some of his forces, and having entered the town of Repelin, killed several of the inhabitants, some asleep, and others half awake. Our men having been thus successful, the signal was given, and they retreated. Several of the enemy pursued them ; these they received with great intrepidity, nor did they suffer any other loss in this affair, than that of having eight of their men wounded.

When the zamorin was about to attempt the ford, Pacheco disposed of his soldiers in the following manner : In the largest ship, furnished with cannon, fire arms, and all manner of warlike stores, he left five men, under the direction of Diego Pereira, whom he strictly enjoined to defend the city and fort from all attacks of the enemy. He placed thirty-five in the fort, under the command of Ferdinand Correa : he put twenty-six aboard one of the caravels, over whom he appointed Pedro Raphael : and as the other caravel was repairing, he fitted out two small vessels, one of which he gave to Diego Petrez, with three and twenty soldiers : he reserved the other for himself, with two and twenty men, amongst whom was Simon Androde, a youth who had given the most early proofs of bravery and magnanimity. The whole force aboard these ships amounted only to seventy one men. Before they departed, they took the sacrament, and declared in the most solemn manner, they would not give way through fear, nor refuse to die in defence of each other : that they would not allow themselves to be taken prisoners, nor seek their safety by flight, but would either die honourably, or return crowned with victory. Animated with such heroic sentiments, they embarked on this expedition : at a little distance from the fort, the king of Cochin expected them. His majesty was at first greatly overjoyed when he perceived with what alacrity Pacheco went against so numerous an enemy ; but when he reflected that all his hope was placed in such a handful of Portuguese, then he felt great uneasiness

easiness and perturbation in his mind. Besides, he was touched with the most exquisite sense of grief, when he considered that these men were rushing to destruction: his sorrow was still more encreased when he considered their intrepidity and contempt of danger; for he could, not without the highest concern, think that such unparalleled bravery should be exposed to such a dismal fate. He therefore with tears beseeched Pacheco to desist from the attempt. He said ‘ he had given over all thoughts of defending his kingdom; and therefore earnestly desired Pacheco would not, by this destruction of himself, and the rest of the Portuguese, whom he loved so tenderly, add to his ruin, which was inevitable: that he had already been thoroughly convinced of their fidelity, which he believed they held in higher esteem than life itself: and therefore the loss of such men, would be more grievous to him, than that of his kingdom.’ Pacheco, though a man of the greatest magnanimity, yet was greatly touched with these expressions, and could hardly refrain from tears. However, he bid his majesty be of good courage, advising him not to be dejected by the weakness of his strength, but to put his trust in Divine providence. Tríumpar had, at this juncture, only five thousand soldiers, the rest, at the breaking out of the war, had deserted to the zamorin. He gave five hundred men to Pacheco, who were commanded by Candagor and Frangor, lords of Palur and Darraul, whom he strictly enjoined to obey the Portuguese general, in all his orders. Pacheco accordingly set out with these forces in the night on the 16th of March 1504. Having sailed with the tide, he reached the ford by day break. The zamorin’s army had not yet come hither; Pacheco therefore resolved, in the enemy’s absence, to make an attack on some of their confederates. He accordingly sailed for the harbour of Repelin, where there happened then to be about eight hundred archers; these endeavoured to oppose the landing of our people, by discharging their arrows, and throwing

throwing all manner of missive weapons. The Portuguese, however, by the help of their cannon, soon obliged them to retire, and landed without any difficulty. The enemy, who had fled, when they saw our people ashore, at a good distance from the ships, returned again in a body, and charged them with great fury. The dispute was obstinate, and lasted till the middle of the night: there were many killed and wounded on both sides, but at last the enemy was routed and put to flight. The Portuguese burnt the town, and drove off a great number of oxen, which they killed for food. This gave great umbrage to the naires, who esteem it unlawful to kill an ox, and impious to eat the flesh thereof. Our people, however, pay'd no regard to these scrupulous notions, being more afraid of being pinched by hunger than giving them offence.

The following day the zamorin appeared with his whole army. Bertacorole king of Tanor, was at the head of four thousand men: Cantanambar who reigned over the countries of Bispur and Cucurram lying near the mountain which reaches to the eastern confines of Narsinga; brought with him twelve thousand: The prince of Cotugan, situated betwixt Cananor and Calicut, led into the field eighteen thousand: and Gur-rivacuil the king of Curiga, which lies betwixt Cranganor and Panane, was at the head of three thousand men. Every one of their princes had their own distinct standards, and were all tributary to the zainorin of Calicut. The remainder of the army, to the amount of twenty thousand men, amongst whom there were a great many Arabians, was commanded by Naubedarim; and some other inferior princes. But besides these land forces, the zamorin had likewise fitted out a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, rowed with oars. Of these there were seventy-six paraos, which, according to the directions of the two Milanese, had been covered with sacks stuff'd with cotton, to receive the cannon balls.

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These men had likewise cast several cannons of brass, and made some other warlike engines. They contrived also, that twenty paraos linked together with chains, should be sent before the rest of the fleet; the commanders were ordered to attack the caravel, and with the greatest expedition to endeavour to seize her with their grappling hooks. It was by their advice too that the zamorin ordered a rampart to be thrown up, and a turret built, from whence his soldiers might discharge their darts and artillery upon our people. Pacheco, with an iron chain, fixed the caravel at a little distance to another vessel, and this in like manner to a third; so that, by this means, he covered the breadth of the river. In the mean while the enemy appeared at the northern part of the island. Their numerous force, the sound of their trumpets, the loud shouting, the shining brightness of their arms, and the thundering of their cannons, which shook the very ground, struck such a panic into the people of Cochin, that they all betook themselves to flight, excepting only the two commanders Frangor and Candagor, who, being aboard, were kept, contrary to their inclination. Pacheco did not detain them to assist him, but only that they might be spectators of the engagement. The enemy accordingly began the attack with great fury, throwing their darts and arrows, by sea and land. The guns were also discharged so continually, that one could perceive nothing but fire and smoak all around. The circumstances of our people were at this time almost desperate, being attacked by the enemy's fleet, and at the same time greatly annoyed by the weapons from the turret. However, their courage did not fail; for they persisted in their resolution of making a stout resistance, or dying honourably; and in proportion as the enemy bore upon them, their contempt of danger grew higher and higher. They obliged some of the paraos to sheer off, but the twenty which were chained together, bearing down upon our people, created them fresh labour and difficulty. The enemy at this juncture:

too, plied them so furiously with their missive weapons, that the Portuguese not having the least respite, were fatigued to such a degree, that they could hardly stand. The engagement having now lasted some hours, Pacheco ordered a very large gun to be levelled against the enemy : with this he drove asunder the paraos, and shattered four of them in such a manner, as to make them retreat ; the rest having advanced, renewed the fight. When the Portuguese had sunk eight, and scattered thirteen, the remainder of the enemy then began to flag ; but the prince of Repelin, who lay in reserve, made a fresh attack upon our people, whilst, at the same time, the zamorin, bent upon the utter destruction of the Portuguese, attempted to ford the water with his whole army. The engagement was then renewed with the greatest warmth and fury ; so that the river was dyed with blood. The prince of Repelin called aloud to his men to board the Portuguese ships, and endeavoured to spur them on sometimes by threats, and at other times by encouraging speeches : but all his efforts availed nothing, for the land, as well as naval forces of the enemy, were at last obliged to retire ; and, to the utter astonishment of every one, the fight ended in favour of the Portuguese, of whom there were several wounded, but not one killed ; whereas there had fallen of the enemy above 1030 men.

The king of Cochin having received the news of this victory, was transported with joy, and immediately dispatched the young prince to congratulate Pacheco upon his success. The Portuguese, though tired with fatigue, yet remained not inactive after this exploit ; they repaired their ships with all expedition, and refitted the other caravel. The zamorin, by the advice of his augurs, for some time declined any further engagement ; but Pacheco was determined to give the enemy no rest. He crossed over to Cambalam, where he ravaged the country, burnt the villages, killed many of the inhabitants, and made considerable booty : he was indeed, in some places, opposed by the enemy ; but always

always came off victorious. In these excursions he behaved with the greatest diligence and expedition ; and in every respect, acquitted himself like a wise and experienced general.

The zamorin, though he ardently desired to revenge the late disgrace, yet so much was he led away by superstition, that he would not venture upon another engagement before the day appointed by the augurs. The day fix'd for this purpose was that on which the resurrection of our Saviour is kept by all Christians with great solemnity. The fleet the enemy now brought to sea was much stronger than the former, for they had a large reinforcement from Calicut ; it consisted of 200 ships of war, together with 80 small vessels. The soldiers aboard amounted to 15000. The zamorin sent one of his officers with 70 paraos, to attack the ship left to defend the city of Cochin, thinking by this means to draw off Pacheco from her defence, and then he might more easily crush the Portuguese when their strength was thus divided. These paraos accordingly sailed secretly in the night for Cochin, and attacked the guardship. The king immediately sent a messenger to inform Pacheco of this affair. He was not a little alarmed at this news, for he saw plainly the enemy's drift ; but being forced by necessity, he was resolved to go to her assistance : he accordingly sailed with great expedition for Cochin, with one of the caravels and another small vessel. The enemy, as soon as they perceived him approaching, tacked about, and stood away for Repelin in all possible hurry : Pacheco did not pursue them, nor did he proceed any further ; but with his usual expedition, sailed again to his former station. When he reached the pass of Cambalam, things were in the most extreme danger ; for the caravel left there, being in his absence attacked by the enemy, had been bored in several places, her rigging demolished, and the sacks of cotton driven from her sides. The small vessels were in the like condition ; having been battered in a terrible manner by the enemy, who

who had attacked them both by sea and land. The Portuguese, however, retained their courage amidst all these difficulties, and withstood the violence of the enemy in the most intrepid manner. In this condition did Pacheco find his countrymen at his return ; he came upon the enemy by surprize, and attacked them in the rear : this struck a panic into them, whilst on the other hand, it gave fresh spirits to the Portuguese in the front, who fought with redoubled vigour. The enemy being thus closely pressed, at last gave way, and sought their safety by flight : but before they could make their escape, they lost 79 of their paraos, and 290 of their men.

The emperor of Calicut being unable to brook this indignity, immediately ordered his fleet to be put in order again, to make another attack upon our people. Pacheco, mean while, strictly charged his men not to brandish their weapons, point their cannon, nor to speak aloud till he gave the signal for battle. When the enemy perceived the profound silence of our people, they concluded them to be languishing of their wounds, and past all thoughts of fighting. They accordingly shouted for joy, and, in great hurry and disorder, advanced towards the Portuguese. Pacheco seeing them approaching, ordered the signal to be sounded ; his men having immediately jumped upon deck, raised a shout, and attacked the enemy very briskly with their cannon and missive weapons. They sunk several of the paraos, shattered many of them, and killed a great number of their men. The rest of the enemy were extremely alarmed when they beheld such havock made by men whom they imagined to be dying of their wounds. And notwithstanding the presence of their sovereign, neither the dread of his resentment, nor a sense of shame, could restrain them from a dis honourable flight. The prince of Repelin having perceived this, rallied them, and forced them again to attack our people : he was afraid, however, to approach too nigh, so that he engaged at a considerable distance.

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The zamorin was moved with indignation at his cowardly behaviour, and reproached him in the most virulent manner upon that account. He sent for Naubeadarim, and urged him immediately to fall upon the Portuguese, who (he said) were already worn out with fatigue. Naubeadarim undertook the affair, and endeavoured to force a passage over the ford. In this attempt he met with a warm reception from our people, who not only obliged him to desist, but also routed and put him to flight. In the pursuit they sunk 20 of the paraos, and killed above 600 of his men.

When the zainorin found this attempt was frustrated, he ordered his cannon to be removed from the turret, and then decamped. Pacheco chased the fleet a considerable way: and having at last given over the pursuit, went ashore and fired two of the largest villages. He then returned to the ford about the tenth hour, so long had this affair continued from day-break. After his men had rested a few hours, he advanced to a small town, which, according to the intelligence of his scouts, was at no great distance, and very populous: he entered the place by surprize, and burnt it, after having cut off many of the inhabitants. But when he was about to retreat, some of the enemy who had been scattered in many places, came together and attacked him in a body: of these he killed and wounded a great part, and routed the rest. In all these encounters we cannot but admire the assiduity, boldness, and expedition of Pacheco; no toil could fatigue, nor difficulty discourage him, and the greatest danger of his life could never deter him from attacking the enemy. When he returned to the ford, he found several of the officers and servants of the king of Cochin, who waited there with all kinds of victuals and fruits for the refreshment of him and his soldiers.

The zamorin being now tired of the war, was resolved to dismiss his troops, and return to the city of Calicut. Naubeadarim very much approved of his resolution; but the prince of Repelin, the Arabians in

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the council, and the two Milanese, very much opposed it. They said, ‘ it would be shameful and dangerous if his majesty did not prosecute a war, wherein his safety as well as dignity was so much concerned. For if he returned home while it was unfinished, this would not only be scandalous to his honour, but would also render the enemy more fierce and insolent ; so that they would, at last dare, carry their hostile arms to Calicut itself. Besides, (added they) let us not despair though frustrated in our late attemp to ford the river, since there are other places, which being more passable, may be attempted with more success.’ He was accordingly persuaded to make another trial by the fords of Palignard and Palurt, the last which he had formerly passed when he entered the isle of Cochin ; he therefore decamped for that purpose. Our people at first imagined the enemy was retired to Calicut, but being afterwards better informed, they understood that a detachment of the zamorin’s forces were advanced to the island of Araul, to attempt the ford of Palignard ; that they were cutting down branches of trees, which amongst them are used as emblems of victory : Pacheco therefore departed for this place (which was at no great distance) with 200 of the king of Cochin’s soldiers, and a few Portuguese. He drew up his forces in two lines, one he gave to Pedro Raphael, the other he kept under his own command. The enemy endeavoured to make some resistance, but most of them were killed, and 50 taken prisoners, who were sent to the king of Cochin. Pacheco sailed from thence to the ford of Palurt, about two miles distant. When he arrived there, he was informed, that the zamorin intended to attempt Palignard the following day ; he therefore resolved to set out again for that place with his smallest vessels, and to leave some of his officers, with the largest ships, at Palurt ; for he imagined the enemy would attempt them both at once. Before he departed, he ordered the trees on the opposite bank, to be cut down, that the enemy might have nothing

to screen them from his cannon. He placed his ships in a line to defend the ford ; and joined them with cables at a little distance, that they might be a mutual assistance to each other. Pacheco having observed the two fords with a good deal of attention, discovered that both could not be forded at the same time ; for at high water the ford of Palignard could not be passed a-foot, nor was it deep enough for the smallest vessels : that again of Palurt would carry ships only at high water : Thus when the former could be crossed over a foot, the latter had not a sufficient depth for ships ; nor was it so shallow as to be passed a-foot. Pacheco having made this discovery, was extremely careful to guard these two places at the proper times. At his departure for Palignard, he left particular directions to those stationed at Palurt, and agreed upon a signal to be given, if they should want his assistance. He made also a speech to his men, wherein he endeavoured to animate them with a love of honour and glory, and zeal for their religion ; telling them they were now to encounter the greatest difficulty ; however, (he said) he was sensible he addressed himself to men of courage, whom no danger could frighten. He also exhorted them to confide in God, who had already given them so many proofs of his Divine goodness and protection. He then ordered them to refresh themselves with victuals ; adding, he was afraid they must expect no food the following day, unless they earned it by their invincible bravery : they accordingly obeyed his orders ; and having placed the watch, went to repose.

Pacheco was upon his duty by day-break. The young prince of Cochin, by the king's orders, came to his assistance with 600 soldiers. The Portuguese commander expected the enemy at this ford, but as they made no attempt at that time, and the tide began to flow, he made all possible haste for the pass of Palurt, where he arrived before it was high water. In this manner he went day and night incessantly betwixt these fords ; being at last informed by his scouts, that the zamorin

intended next day to attempt the ford of Palurit, he made the most careful preparations for its defence: before day-break, Christopher Jusart and Simon Andrade, who had been left with two small vessels for the defence of Palignard, came to his assistance; for as it was then high water, and that ford unpassable, they said, they saw no reason why they should not share the honour of repulsing the zamorin from the ford of Palurit; and when it began to ebb they promised to return to Palignard. The enemy, by break of day, began to play their cannon on the Portuguese ships from the shore: their fleet consisting of 250 ships, came likewise in sight; but as they were at a considerable distance, Pacheco thought he had time, before their arrival, to attempt something to weaken the power of so formidable an enemy; he therefore ordered small vessels to be rowed towards the shore; and having landed several of his men, he attacked the enemy's works: they at first made a stout resistance, but several being killed, they were at last forced to retire. Pacheco would have brought off their cannon, but as this was a matter of great difficulty, he ordered them to be nailed up so as to render them useless.

Having performed this exploit, he returned to the ships with great expedition. The enemy's fleet having by this time approached, began to batter the Portuguese ships most furiously with their cannon; Pacheco ordered all his men to remain in profound silence till he gave the signal for engagement. The enemy looked upon this as a mark of fear and despair; they were resolved to overpower our people, and accordingly 20 of their paraos chained together came against them. Pacheco, when he thought proper, gave the signal. Then the Portuguese, having raised a joyful shout, sounded their trumpets, and charged the enemy very briskly with their cannon. The artillery on both sides was played with so much continued fury, that nothing could be seen all around but fire and smoke. The Calicutian paraos were at last separated and scattered; the prince

prince of Repelin observing this, immediately came up with some more fresh paraos. The victory was then doubtful, the enemy bore down upon our people with great fury, fighting not only with balls, but with arrows, darts, and all manner of missive weapons. Not one of the Portuguese, however, was killed in this engagement; whilst, on the other hand, such numbers of the enemy were slain, that the river was dyed with blood. The prince of Repelin being in sight of the zamorin, was resolved to venture upon some bold enterprize to gain his esteem; he accordingly twice attempted to pass the ford, but was as often repulsed with loss and shame.

In the mean while, Candagor came express to Pacheco to inform him, that Naubeadarim was hastening to Palignard, with a formidable body of men, and the zamorin following him with great expedition, to attempt that ford; the water, however, was then so high that the enemy could not pass over. Pacheco bid Candagor be of good courage, telling him, he would advance to his assistance in proper time. He continued at the ford of Palignard till the water was so low as to hinder the enemy from a passage; then he made all possible haste to oppose Naubeadarim, whom he charged with so much fury, that he obliged him to retreat in a shameful manner; and this in the sight of his prince, who endeavoured to animate him with the most encouraging speeches. When the zamorin saw him give way, he reproached him in the most bitter terms; telling him, his behaviour was unworthy his character and station. ‘Your cowardice (said he) resembles that of the prince of Repelin: I have beheld you both shamefully fly before so weak an enemy.’ Naubeadarim being nettled at this reproachful language, was resolved, though at the expence of his life, to wipe off this asperion; he therefore made another attempt, at the head of 12000 men. The dispute, for a considerable time, was extremely keen on both sides; but the enemy were at last driven to flight. About this time, the

plague broke out in the enemy's camp ; which put a stop to the zamorin's hostile proceedings, till the contagion ceased. This respite was of great service to the Portuguese ; for in the mean while they refitted their ships, supplied themselves with arms and ammunition, and made other necessary preparations. Pacheco took care to provide a great number of stakes sharpened at the end and hardened in the fire ; these he ordered to be driven deep in the mud at low water, in such a manner as they could not be pulled up easily ; so that when the enemy should endeavour to pass over, the sharp points of these stakes would hurt them to such a degree, as to make the attempt painful and dangerous.

The zamorin having summoned his bramins, desired them to consult the gods, and to declare the most proper day to attack the Portuguese, that he might revenge the injuries he had sustained. These religious men were, at this juncture, very much displeased with his majesty, who had called them cheats and liars, because they formerly foretold he would be victorious ; when, on the contrary, he had suffered many considerable losses. The bramins returned answer, That the gods were offended, and that he could expect nothing but adverse fortune, till they were reconciled by proper attonement : that a temple must therefore be built, and all manner of holy rites performed in honour of the offended gods. The zamorin having made a vow to perform this, the bramins, in the name of the gods, promised victory, and fixed a day for the engagement. The zamorin was extremely punctual to observe whatever the holy men appointed ; for he still relied greatly on their prediction ; accordingly he marched out against the Portuguese on the day prefix'd. His army advanced in the following order : The artillery, which consisted of 30 brazen cannon, was sent before the army, being guarded by 4000 of their bravest men. The first line of the enemy's forces, which amounted to 12000 men, came next under the command of Naubeadarim. The

prince

prince of Repelin followed him with the like number. The zamorin himself brought up the rear, consisting of 15000 soldiers; Pacheco had only two vessels with 40 Portuguese, to oppose so formidable a body. The advanced party of the enemy having planted their cannon opposite to the Portuguese ships, endeavoured to force our people from the ford. Pacheco, for some time, made no resistance, that he might render the enemy more secure and unguarded; then on a sudden he ordered his ships to be moved nearer the shore, and attacked them with great briskness. His cannon were pointed with so much judgment, and fired so expeditiously, that the enemy were struck with terror, and retreated into a neighbouring wood. The engagement was already begun in this manner, when Naubeadarini advanced to the ford with great expedition, and made a most vigorous effort to gain a passage. Our people opposed him with vast intrepidity; they wounded many of the enemy with their small arms and granadoes, and killed several with their cannon. Pacheco being afraid his ship would run a-ground, by reason of the shallowness of the water, ordered Christopher Jusart, who had a less vessel, to advance nearer to defend the pafs, whilst he himself retired a little way backwards, till the tide should begin to flow, which must happen soon, it being then low water. Pacheco, however, did not remain unactive; for though now at a greater distance, yet he was equally strenuous and indefatigable in annoying the enemy.

The soldiers sent by the king of Cochin, had been stationed in a place of great natural strength, and defended likewise by a rampart: but these men retired at the sight of the enemy; this was thought to be owing to the cowardice, or rather treachery of the commanding officer, who was one of those that formerly deserted to the zamorin, but had been reinstated in the favour of Trimumpar. The young prince of Cochin was himself to have headed them, but not being apprized of the enemy's approach, he was then in the

city, and knew nothing of the engagement : Pacheco had indeed sent a bramin, to inform him of the zamorin's approach, but this man proving a traitor, delayed carrying the message till he thought the enemy had time to accomplish their ends. Pacheco did not know of the desertion of the Cochinians ; Jusart, however, perceived it, and called aloud to inform him of their treacherous behaviour, but the noise of the cannon, and the shouts of the men, were so great, that Pacheco could not hear him.

The whole army of the enemy had now advanced to the ford, and with united force, attempted to gain a passage. The zamorin exposed himself as much as any common soldier, endeavouring to animate his men by example as well as words : Pacheco, having known him by his habit, discharged one of his guns at him. The ball missed the zamorin, but killed at his feet two of his intimate friends. He retired a little, but still continued to urge Naubecadarim, and the prince of Repelin, to advance boldly : they accordingly endeavoured to push on their men to the opposite bank, threatening, nay, even wounding with their swords, those who seemed to be tardy. In this manner, pressing upon each other, they entered the ford ; but coming upon the sharp pointed stakes, their feet were mangled in such a manner, that they fell down upon each other in the utmost pain. Whilst the zamorin's men were in this confusion, our people played their cannon upon them ; which did incredible execution. The enemy were in the utmost distraction ; many of them, by reason of their wounds, had not strength to retire, nor if they had, could they retreat, being driven back by clouds of their own people, pushed forwards by the swords of their commanders.

In this situation was the enemy, when several of them advanced to another part of the river with hatchets : with these they demolished the rampart which had been deserted by the people of Cochin. As soon as Pacheco perceived this, he was thrown into the greatest consternation ;

nation ; however, he soon resumed his spirits : his own ship being too large to be moved near enough to the shore, he therefore went aboard that of Jusart, whom he ordered to take possession of his. Having now come nearer to the enemy, he fired his guns upon them, and endeavoured to repulse them with all manner of missive weapons. At this juncture, Naubeadarim advanced with a reinforcement, and renewed the engagement with so much vigour, that it seemed to be but just begun. The enemy pressed upon our people with redoubled fury, and endeavoured to surround them : they likewise caught hold of Pacheco's oars, so that his caravel could not be rowed. Thus the destruction of the Portuguese seemed to be almost inevitable ; and we can impute their deliverance to nothing else but the Divine protection. The tide beginning to flow, gave some spirits to our people, because their ships could now be moved with more ease, and the ford became more difficult to the enemy : they plied them with spears, darts, and other missive weapons. The water growing higher and higher, our people at last extricated themselves from this engagement ; more dangerous than any they had hitherto encountered. Pacheco being thus delivered from destruction, made towards Jusart ; who, during the whole action, had signalized himself by his extraordinary behaviour. As both the caravels could now move with great facility, the commanders thought proper to advance towards the shore : they fired their guns upon the enemy, encamped near the ford, and, having made great slaughter, obliged them to fly to the neighbouring wood. The zamorin being frustrated in this attempt, was moved with the highest indignation, that with such a numerous army he should be worsted by so weak an enemy. At his departure he was carried in a sedan by the water side ; but when he came opposite to the ford of Palurt, Pedro Raphael, having pointed one of his guns, killed three of the zamorin's attendants so near him, that he was sprinkled with their blood. Being struck with a

panic, he jumped down, and fled with the utmost precipitation. This engagement lasted from break of day till nine o'clock. The zamorin lost more men and ships than in any former encounter with the Portuguese. On the other hand, though several of our people were wounded, yet so far did the Divine goodness manifest itself in their protection, that none of them was killed.

The young prince of Cochin came after the engagement ; but Pacheco treated him with the greatest contempt, looking upon him as a coward and traitor. The prince could hardly brook this indignity, especially as he was conscious of his innocence ; but he soon after made it appear, that this accusation was groundless, and that his not being present at the engagement was entirely owing to the bramin's treachery. Pacheco was convinced of his innocence ; though, at the same time, he highly blamed Trimumpar for trusting men of such abandoned principles. He said no prudent person ought to put any confidence in those who had already violated their faith. He told him also, that the desertion had been begun by those under the command of the prince of Mangata, who had before deserted to the zamorin. As soon as the prince of Cochin departed, Pacheco repaired to his ships, where the king also waited upon him, to congratulate him upon his late extraordinary victory. Pacheco complained to them of the cowardice of his soldiers, laying all the blame upon the prince of Mangata, whose conduct he advised his majesty to enquire into ; and if he did not inflict upon him capital punishment, yet at least to banish him from his dominions, that he might again enter into the zamorin's service : for he said, there was nothing more dangerous than treachery : this was a dark and hidden mischief, which destroys before it can be seen ; that therefore the strength of a kingdom could never be established by the assistance of traitors, but was often undermined by their artifices : for which reason, he was desirous that the emperor of Calicut should be beset by such persons,

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by whose means he might easily be brought to destruction, and suffer punishment for his crimes.

In these and such like discourses they spent the greatest part of the day; then the king set out again for the city. In the mean while, Pacheco took care to give his men proper refreshment after their fatigue. The zamorin upbraided his soldiers in the most bitter terms; telling them it was owing to their cowardice, that the Portuguese were not utterly destroyed. The prince of Repelin, in order to pacify him in some degree, was resolved to try if he could accomplish by fraud what had been in vain attempted by force: he accordingly bribed some of the Cochinians to put poison into the fountains whence our people had their water, and to do the same likewise to their bread. Pacheco having received intelligence of this, ordered wells to be dug every day, whence his men might be supplied with water. This our people were enabled to do very easily from the nature of the ground, which lying very low, abounded with springs, as is generally the case near the sea. He likewise gave orders, that none of his soldiers should buy any food, unless the seller first tasted it before them. The prince of Repelin, finding these stratagems to be ineffectual, formed a design to carry a detachment of men by water, in the night to Cochin, to set fire to the city, and fall upon our people unawares: but this scheme was also rendered abortive, by the vigilance of the Portuguese commander; who, in order to secure the ford, fortified it with a ditch, and raised towers. He made also several warlike machines, with which he threatened to destroy the zamorin, and he struck great terror into the enemy, by making frequent incursions on their territories, where he did considerable damage.

The zamorin being highly incensed by these hostilities, resolved to make another attempt on the ford. Mean while he sent a fleet to ravage the kingdom of Cochin; our people, however, made a brave defence, and often repulsed the enemy with considerable loss.

Pacheco



Pacheco and his men, were indeed, at one time, in the most imminent danger ; for having, with more bravery than caution, set upon 19 of the enemy's paraos, he was surprised by 34 more which lay in ambuscade, and came upon him unawares. But this served only as a fresh opportunity for our people to display their courage and intrepidity ; for having overcome the enemy, they returned from the fight with four of the enemy's paraos, together with several of their cannon, and some more considerable booty. The zamorin was still resolved to make another formidable attack upon our people ; but the plague again breaking out in his kingdom, for some time hindered him from putting his design in execution. As soon as the contagion ceased, he resumed his hostile schemes ; and sometimes by fraud, at other times by open force, endeavoured to destroy the Portuguese ; but Pacheco, who had no less sagacity than courage, baffled all his attempts.

At length the time came which the zamorin had fix'd upon to make another attack on the Portuguese. The army was divided into two lines. The first was commanded by the prince of Repelin, who brought along with him a great number of countrymen, armed with spades, hatchets, and other instruments, to clear the roads, cast up trenches, and raise ramparts to secure their cannon from our people. The zamorin himself followed with 30000 men and a large train of artillery. They carried likewise by water, a large float of timber, pitched and bound with tow : this they intended to fire, and send down upon the Portuguese ships. Their fleet was divided into two lines, the first consisted of 110 paraos, well manned and equipped ; some of them chained together, and others separate from each other. The second line, of 100 large ships and 80 pinnaces. They brought likewise by water, eight turrets, the contrivance of an Arabian, who having travelled into many countries, had acquired a great knowledge in warlike affairs. They were formed

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after the following manner: The hulls of two paraos were fastened together, at the distance of a spear's length, by two planks, one joining the prows, and the other the sterns. There were likewise several other planks nailed a-cross; so that the space betwixt the two paraos made the appearance of a square floor: each side was likewise raised with boards to the height of 18 feet, after the manner of a wall: these were fastened together by nails, and strong hinges, in so firm a manner, that by appearance nothing could separate them. Over this wooden wall, several beams were likewise thrown, which rendered the whole work more secure: these were covered with hurdles, so that a number of men could be placed on the upper part; that of the largest contained about 40 soldiers. They were contrived for this purpose, that at the ebbing of the tide, falling down the river upon the Portuguese ships, the enemy might thence pour their darts and arrows upon our people. The zamorin and his men had so much confidence in these machines, that they thought themselves almost sure of victory.

Pacheco being informed of these preparations of the enemy, got several masts about 80 feet in length: of these he nailed so many together, with bars of iron, till the breadth became equal to the length. These he ordered to be fastened with six anchors, at a moderate distance from the prows of his ships, to secure them from a too near approach of the enemy's castles. Pedro Raphael likewise raised scaffolds on the decks of his ships, each could contain six men, and was equal in height to the castles: for Pacheco, by his spies, not only knew the numbers of the enemy, but also the nature and dimensions of their machines, and was apprized of all their designs. Those of the enemy who marched by land, by their unusual shouts, and by sounding their warlike instruments, endeavoured to strike a terror into our people. These things might, indeed, alarm raw and unexperienced warriors, but had no effect on the Portuguese. Pacheco, however, was resolved

solved to fill the enemy with real consternation ; he accordingly set out for the island of Arraul, where he attacked and killed some of the advanced parties of the enemy ; but being afraid he should be overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to retreat to his ships, which he accordingly did without receiving any damage. The zamorin was so incensed at this boldness, that fired with indignation, he commanded his generals to bring Pacheco to him in chains, that he might rack him by the most cruel tortures for his insolence : they accordingly flew with great forwardness to execute his commands. Pacheco, however, not only baffled their attempts, but did them considerable damage before he retreated.

It was now day-break, and the tide beginning to ebb, brought down the enemy's fleet upon the Portuguese. They fired the float of timber, and forced it down the river, but the masts, fixed with anchors by Pacheco, kept it from his ships ; nay, so far was it from doing any damage to our people, that it did them considerable service : for whilst the fire continued, the enemy could not approach. When it was consumed, they advanced with their largest turret : this was likewise kept off by the masts, and they were obliged to attack our people at a distance, with leaden bullets, and other missive weapons. The Portuguese, on the other hand, poured their shot into the paraos near the turret, and scattered some of them. Pacheco ordered one of his largest guns, one of those called camels, to be fired at the first turret : this, however, had not the desired effect ; which gave spirits to the enemy, and made them press upon our people with great forwardness and alacrity. Those in the other turrets, seeing the success of the first, advanced likewise with the same boldness ; so that at this juncture, the Portuguese were in extreme danger, being almost overpowered by the enemy, who bore upon them in the most furious manner : but Pacheco still retained his intrepidity. He fired another of his largest guns, which proved very successful.

ful. The largest turret was brought down, and the men driven headlong into the water. The Portuguese being now greatly elevated, pressed upon the enemy with vast courage ; and in a little time, demolished another turret : but the remaining six still continued firm, and the enemy used their utmost efforts to destroy our people. The Portuguese, however, kept a continual firing, and did considerable execution : they killed great numbers, and either sunk or shattered most of the paraos.

Mean while the zamorin used his utmost effort to pass the ford ; but Christopher Jusart, and Simon Andrade, who sailed in the lesser ships, and Laurence Moreno, who commanded the Cochinian paraos, opposed him with all their force. The young prince of Cochin, at the head of 1000 men, was likewise present that day, and very much distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour. In short, the Portuguese as well as their allies, behaved with the greatest courage : they not only hindered the enemy from passing the ford, but likewise did them considerable damage. It is certain, that this engagement was more fierce and bloody than any they had before. The enemy lost many of their ships, and a considerable number of their men. It lasted from break of day till the evening ; when the tide coming in very strong, forced the turrets to the other side, and thus concluded the contest : many of our people were wounded. After this engagement both armies had a few days respite ; in which time the king of Cochin visited Pacheco, congratulating him upon his success, and bestowing the highest encomiums upon him, and the rest of the Portuguese, whom he took care to supply with such provisions as might refresh and cheer their spirits after the late fatigue.

The zamorin, now despairing of success, was desirous to return home ; but being importuned by many of his subjects to make another trial, was prevailed on to make his last effort. The enemy, accordingly, once more

more attacked our people ; but the event proved such as might be expected, when an army, broken and dispirited with misfortunes, engages another full of spirits, and elevated with success. Their land forces were easily routed, and their fleet met likewise with the same fate. The zamorin now at last withdrew his forces, being not a little exasperated against the soothsayers ; who, pretending to be acquainted with the decrees of Heaven, had imposed upon him, by a promise of certain victory. But notwithstanding he was obliged to quit the field, yet he still continued to form plots for the destruction of Pacheco: these, however, were luckily discovered ; and Pacheco having detected some of the Cochinians concerned therein, would have punished them in the most exemplary manner ; but some of the nobility having interceded very strongly in behalf of these traitors, he sent them to his Cochiniian majesty, that they might be punished, or forgiven, as he thought proper.

The zamorin being thus baffled in all his attempts, became so dejected and sunk in melancholy, that he resigned the regal power to his nephew Naubeadarim, retired to a temple, with an intention to spend the remainder of his days in religious worship. But his mother, a bold ambitious woman, was moved with indignation at his conduct, and endeavoured, by all possible means, to rouze him from this lethargy. She said, ‘ It was shameful for him to be seized with such a panic, and thus give over all thoughts of revenging his injuries : that it was more eligible to suffer death a thousand times, than allow such indignities to go unpunished. His late religious retreat (she said) was not a mark of devotion, but the sign of a mean dastardly soul ; she therefore conjured him not to be lost to all sense of honour and dignity, but to resume his former courage, and shew the enemy that the greatest misfortunes were unable to shake the intrepidity and firmness of his mind.’ The zamorin being spurred on by these reproaches, once more took

the

the field against the Portuguese ; but the greatest part of those princes who had hitherto been attached to his interest, now deserted him, and refused to give their assistance ; nay, many of them had already entered into alliance with Pacheco and Trimumpar ; so that the Calicutian monarch, being now reduced to the utmost despair, again shut himself up in the temple. Thus by the assiduity and bravery of Pacheco, this formidable war was brought to a conclusion, in five months, during which time, the enemy is computed to have lost about 19000 men, together with a considerable number of their ships.

Soon after the war was finished, Pacheco received an account of some disturbances at Coulan. The Arabs, who imagined that our people must have been cut off by the zamorin, entered into a conspiracy to destroy the Portuguese at Coulan ; and had accordingly killed one man. But Pacheco, when he arrived there, was afraid to punish the Arabians, lest he should thereby raise commotions, which might be attended with bad consequences to our people. However, he made strong remonstrances to the leading men of the city, and demanded a strict adherence to the articles of their treaty, wherein it was expressly mentioned, That no ship should be allowed to take in spices till the Portuguese had received their lading ; yet, contrary to this article, he said, that the Arabian ships were loaded in the harbour, whilst those of Emmanuel remained empty. The magistrates at Coulan returned answer, That this breach of the treaty was not owing to any partiality shewn to the Arabians, but must be imputed to the importunity and boldness of these men, whose power and wealth was so considerable, that they could hardly be opposed. But, however, they said, they granted full liberty to Pacheco, to unload the Arabian vessels, and carry the goods aboard the Portuguese ships. This he accordingly did, after having paid the Arabians the value of the spices ; then he hoisted his sails, and cruizing along the coast of India, took and plundered several

veral ships : and so great was his renown amongst all the nations in these parts, that none ventured to oppose him. These are the exploits performed by Pacheco, in the year 1504, to the beginning of September.

About this time Lope Soarez arrived in India, with a fleet of 13 ships. Having in his way touched at Mozambique, he found letters there from Pedro Ataide, giving an account of the formidable war carried on against our people by the zamorin. He received likewise the same intelligence from the king of Melinda ; he therefore made all possible expedition to the island of Anchédive, where he found Antony Saldanna, and Roderick Laurence, who had wintered in that place : but as the spring was now begun, after a short stay here, he sailed for Cananor, where he was informed by the king, and Gonzaie Barbosa, agent for the Portuguese affairs, of the great exploits performed by Pacheco. The day after his arrival, there came to him an Arabian, with a Portuguese boy, who brought a letter from some Portuguese who had been detained prisoners at Calicut ever since Cabral was in India. The purport of this letter was, That the power of the zamorin was now considerably weakened and impaired : that his people, having sustained such heavy losses, were willing to enter into measures for the common safety : that the leading men of the state had therefore entreated them to write to our commanders, and endeavour to accommodate matters betwixt the Portuguese and the zamorin ; who (they said) had engaged in a war not of his own inclination, but was in a manner driven into it by the importunities of the Atabians : that he himself was a friendly generous prince, and a man of strict honour. They concluded with prayers and entreaties, that Soarez would grant a peace, since the Portuguese in general would thereby reap considerable advantages, and they in particular would be delivered from a wretched slavery.

Soarez having read this letter, dismissed the Arabian, but was desirous to detain the Portuguese boy ; but the youth

youth positively refused to stay, saying, he would forfeit his liberty, or life itself, rather than be guilty of such a breach of faith, which would be so infamous, and very probably bring the most cruel death upon his Christian brethren, who remained in chains with the enemy : Soarez therefore allowed him to depart, and soon after sailed for Calicut. Upon his arrival there, he was waited on by the most eminent persons of the city ; who, as a mark of friendship, offered to supply him with fruits and provisions of all sorts : these, however, he refused to receive, before a peace was concluded ; for he said no presentis could be grateful to him from the enemies of his country. Cojebequo, the Arabian, who, as we have mentioned above, had been so zealous a friend to the Portuguese, came likewise, with two of the captives, to treat about peace. The zamorin was not then at Calicut, but expected within four days ; the principal persons therefore pressed Soarez to stay till he came. Soarez declared positively he would enter into no treaty, unless the Portuguese and the two Milanese were first delivered up. They replied, they were ready to give up the Portuguese, but that they could not surrender the Milanese, without being guilty of the highest breach of honour ; since to them it appeared most infamous and base, to give up to punishment those who had entrusted themselves to their protection. The behaviour of the Calicutians, in this particular, was certainly just and honourable ; while, at the same time, I cannot but highly condemn the conduct of the Portuguese general, who seemed not so solicitous to free from slavery so many of the Portuguese as desirous to gratify a spirit of revenge, in punishing the two deserters. It was likewise extremely absurd and mean, to be so obstinate in that particular, at a time when the enemy were reduced to such extremity, that the two Milanese could do but little mischief. Besides, is it not most shameful, that men who pretend to punish perfidy, should themselves urge others to violate the laws of faith ? Moreover, as war is un-

dertaken for the sake of our country, we ought therefore not so much to aim at the destruction of our enemy, as the preservation of our countrymen.

Soarez, however, actuated by pride and resentment, did not consult the safety of the Portuguese captives, nor that of Cojebequo; who, by his friendship to our people, had involved himself in the greatest dangers: for upon their refusing to comply with his demand, he fired upon the city, and demolished many of the buildings. He then departed for Cochin, where he waited upon the king, and, in the name of Emmanuel, praised his fidelity to the highest degree, and gave him many valuable presents. He sent Pedro Mendoze, and Vasco Caraval, with two ships to cruize along the coast, as far as Calicut, to protect the Portuguese allies, and annoy their enemies. He likewise dispatched Alphonso Lopez Costa, Pedro Alphonso Aquilar, and Roderick Abraam, to Coulan, to load their ships with the spices procured by the bravery and assiduity of Pacheco. Pacheco himself, having taken in his cargo, came soon after to Cochin, where he was received by Soarez in the most honourable manner, and treated as a man of his merit deserved. While Soarez remained at this place, he received an account, that the citizens of Cranganor, who continued in the zamorin's interest, were in arms; that they had fitted out 80 paraos, and five other ships, which were under the command of one Maimam; that Naubeadarim was likewise at the head of a great army, which increased daily. The enemy intended, as soon as the Portuguese left Cochin, to endeavour to pass over their forces at the ford of Palipurt, and fall upon the king by surprize.

Soarez being apprized of these things, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved to sail directly for Cranganor, in order to frustrate these designs of the enemy. They accordingly set out on this expedition, in the silence of the night, with 15 long boats, 25 paraos, and one caravel. There were in this fleet 1000 Portuguese, and as many Cochinians: besides, the

prince of Cochin waited at the ford of Palipurt, with 8000 soldiers: thence he continued his march by land, whilst the Portuguese sailed with great alacrity to the place where they intended to attack the enemy. Soarez placed Tristan Sylvio, Antony Saldanna, Pedro Alphonso Aquilar, Alphonso Costa, and Vasco Carval, in the first line. Maimam, with his two sons lay then in the river, with two large ships chained together, well manned, and furnished with cannon and all manner of warlike stores. The Portuguese in the first line attacked them with great fury; Maimam and his sons made so stout a resistance, that the engagement continued much longer than any one could expect: but these three gallant men being at last killed, the soldiers and sailors threw themselves into the water. The Portuguese in the second line, having likewise attacked the enemy's paraos, defeated them with very little difficulty. Our people being thus victorious by water, now landed their forces, and were joined by the prince of Cochin. Naubeadarim advanced with his army, and offered battle. An engagement accordingly ensued, which for some time was extremely obstinate on both sides; but great numbers of the enemy being slain, the rest fled into the city in so much consternation, that they did not attempt to defend it, but entering at one gate rushed out at the other. The Portuguese being at their heels, entered the city at the same time, and fired the buildings. The houses were mostly built of wood, and covered with palm leaves; so that the flames spread very quickly. In the midst of this confusion, the Christian inhabitants came to our people, earnestly entreating them to quench the fire, in order to save those houses where they performed Divine worship. The Portuguese accordingly endeavoured to do so; but notwithstanding their utmost efforts, many of the Christian churches were destroyed. The houses of the Arabians and Jews, which escaped the flames, were plundered. All the ships and paraos of the enemy were likewise burnt, after our people had

taken out of them the engines of war which could be of any service. After this expedition, Soarez and the rest of the Portuguese returned to Cochin.

As we have frequently made mention of Cranganor, it may not be improper, if we here give some account of the place, together with the customs and manners of its inhabitants. This city, as we have said above, lies to the north of Cechin about 16 miles. It is situated on a winding river, which, at a little distance from thence, discharges itself into the sea. The city was at that time large and populous, being, upon the account of trade, frequented by people of many different nations. It was tributary to the zamorin, tho' in other respects a free state, being governed by magistrates, elected by the people. The Pagan inhabitants differ very little in their customs from the rest of the people of Malabar. The Christians who reside here, are generally very poor, and their churches of a mean appearance. They keep the sabbath in the same manner as we do, in hearing sermons, and performing other religious duties. The high priest, whom they acknowledged as the head of their church, had his seat near some mountains towards the north, in a country called Chaldæu. He has a council composed of 12 cardinals, two bishops, and several priests: with the assistance of these, he settles all affairs relating to religion, and all the Christians, in these parts, acquiesce in his decrees. The priests are shaved in such a manner, as to represent a cross on their crowns. They administer the sacrament in both kinds, making use of the juice of pressed grapes by way of wine, and allow the laity to partake of both: but no one is admitted to this solemn ordinance till he has made a confession of his iniquities. They baptized not their infants till they were forty days old, except in danger of death. When any one amongst them is seized with a fit of sickness, the priest immediately visits him, and the sick person is greatly animated by the holy man's supplications. When they enter their churches, they

sprinkle

sprinkle themselves with holy water ; they use the same form of burial as in other catholic countries. The relations of the deceased give great entertainments, which last a week ; during which time they celebrate his praises, and put up prayers for his eternal happiness. They preserve the sacred writings in the Syrian, or Chaldean language, with great carefulness ; and their teachers are ready, in all public places, to instruct every one. They keep the advent sundays, and the 40 days of lent, with great strictness ; and observe most of the festivals which we have in our church, with the same exactness. They compute their time likewise in the same manner as we do, adding a day to every fourth year. The first day of July is kept as a holiday, in honour of St. Thomas, not only by these Christians, but many of the Pagans also. There are likewise convents for the priests, and nunneries for their women ; who adhere to their vows of chastity with the utmost probity. Their priests are allowed to marry once, but excluded from taking a second wife. Marriages amongst other people cannot be annulled but by the death of one of the parties. When a woman becomes a widow, she forfeits her dowry, if married within a twelvemonth after the death of her husband. These are the customs and manners, which the Christians in Cranganor, as well as many other parts of India, have observed with the utmost fidelity, from the time of St. Thomas. The body of this apostle is reported to have been buried in the city of Malapur, in the kingdom of Narsingua.

When Martin Alphonso Sousa, viceroy of John the third, was in India, some brazen tables were brought to him ; on these was engraved some inscription, but the characters so little known, that scarce any body could read them. However, there was at last found a Jew, famed for his knowledge in antient languages, who, though not without great difficulty, made out their signification. The purport of which was, that

the king who reigned in these parts, at the time of Thomas, had assigned him a certain space of ground to build a church. We have likewise another testimony of the truth of this affair, given in a letter wrote by the bishop of Cochin, in the year 1562, to cardinal Henry, where it is mentioned, that there was a chapel built on the top of a hill, in the city of Meliapur, afterwards called St. Thomas, when inhabited by Portuguese: that in this chapel St. Thomas was murdered when performing Divine service; and in this place the Christians, in these parts, used to meet every year, and offer up prayers about a week before Christmas. There was found on this hill a cross cut out of stone, with the image of a dove perched on the top of it, surrounded with an arch of stone; about which there was some old writing: the oldest and most knowing antiquaries were consulted with, but none could make out the character of the writing, till at last a bramin from Narsinga, expounded it in this manner: 'That Thomas had been sent by the son of God into these parts, in the reign of Sagam, to spread the light of Christianity: that he had there built a church, and performed many wonderful things; and that this holy apostle, when kneeling at the altar of God, had been run through with a spear by a bramin.'

## BOOK IV.

WHILST these things, as related above, were transacted, Emmanuel fitted out a large fleet for India. In this he sent Francis Almeed as commander in chief, and appointed him likewise to act as his viceroy, in the east. For as he proposed to himself partly to lay the foundation of an empire in India; partly to protect his subjects left there on the account of trade; and, lastly, to prevent any inconveniences that the princes in alliance with him might undergo, for their attachment to the Portuguese: he thought it expedient therefore, that an officer should reside in India, in quality of viceroy; who by his vigilance and industry, might effect these purposes.

This year 1505, the king sent Diego Sousa, a Portuguese bishop, and Diego Pacheco, a man of uncommon eloquence and skill in the civil law, to Rome, that in his name they might engage his allegiance to Pope Julian the second, who had been advanced to that high dignity by the unanimous voice of the college of cardinals. The deputies had instructions to petition his holiness, that as the war in Africa could not be carried on but at a vast expence, he would give presents out of the sacred treasury of the church, to all such persons as would voluntarily contribute to the maintenance thereof. About this time, there came to Emmanuel one named Maur, of the Franciscan order, a man of great reputation for religion and sanctity of life, who was abbot of the monastery on Mount Sion. The occasion of his coming was this: The sultan who at that time governed Egypt and Syria, being highly offended at the damage done him by the Spaniards and Portuguese, wrote a letter to Julian, and

sent it by this Maur ; who he imagined might greatly influence the pope in his favour. The purport of the letter was as follows : ‘ That their Spanish majesties had done him very great injuries ; for that Ferdinand king of Arragon had seized Andalusia by force of arms, and in a cruel manner partly killed the Arabs who possessed it, partly banished them, after depriving them of their effects and estates, and miserably oppressed those who remained ; and what was still more grievous, had forced them to profess the Christian religion. For it was not held lawful, either among Christians, or Mahometans, to compel any one to renounce a religion in which he had been educated from his infancy : that he could not therefore dissemble his resentment of a behaviour that tended to the common loss and ruin of the nation, and the injury of religion in general. Moreover, that the subjects of Emmanuel so infested the Indian seas, that the trade from Arabia and Egypt to India could not be carried on in safety, since the Portuguese had already plundered and burnt many of his ships : that all these hostilities had been committed without any just pretence : for that he had never given the Portuguese any provocation, though he had felt a great decrease of his usual revenues, by their outrageous proceedings : that he had hitherto taken particular care, that the Christians who had settlements in Egypt and Syria, and those who traded, or came to visit the sepulchre of Christ, should meet with no molestation. But if their Spanish and Portuguese majesties went on in that hostile manner, they would reduce him to the necessity of contriving means to ruin the Christians, and vigorously to revenge such injurious treatment : that he would put to the sword all the Christians in his dominions, demolish their churches, and the sepulchre of Christ, and even exert himself to blot out the Christian name in his empire. Besides, that he intended to equip a large fleet, and to declare war against several of the Christian powers.’

However,

However, he advised Pope Julian, if he had a mind to deliver a numerous body of Christians from slaughter, or preserve the churches in Asia and Egypt, and the sepulchre of Christ from violation ; or, in fine, to avert fire and devastation from many parts in Christendom, that he would use his interest with king Emmanuel to send no more fleets to India.

Julian having received this letter, sent a copy of it to the kings of Spain and Portugal, by the same Maur ; and in a letter from himself, desired to know what answer he should return to the sultan. I had not an opportunity of knowing what answer Ferdinand returned Julian ; but Emmanuel wrote him as follows :

‘ Most holy father, I have seen the letter you sent by Maur, and have also received a copy of the sultan’s to you, in which he complains of the injuries done the Moors by king Ferdinand, whom I regard and honour as a most affectionate father. He at the same time makes heavy complaints of the losses the Arabians have received from the Portuguese in India. But in representing our enmity to infidels, he does honour to our names ; for can Christian princes do any thing more becoming, or more conducive to their immortal glory, than employ all their efforts to the destruction of the execrable superstition of Mahomet, and the utter extinction of the very name of that infamous impostor ? The sultan utters his threats with a barbarous and savage pride, as if he imagined those who fight for the religion of Christ would be daunted by his empty menaces, and forthwith desist from their resolution of maintaining the cause of our most holy religion. My father-in-law Ferdinand, that victorious monarch, will give him an answer becoming his virtue and wisdom, and worthy of his glorious exploits. I may venture to affirm, that he will never stand so much in awe of this barbarous enemy as to be ashamed of the glory he has acquired, by delivering Spain from the tyranny of the Moors. As for my own part, I can assure your holiness, what gives

‘ me

‘ me most uneasiness is, that the tyrant has not greater  
‘ occasion of complaint. From the time I first formed  
‘ the design of opening a passage to the Indies by my  
‘ fleets, and exploring regions unknown to our fore-  
‘ fathers, it was my resolution to destroy the head of  
‘ the Mahometan sect, from whence so great a train of  
‘ evils have proceeded to mankind ; and as I was de-  
‘ sirous that Mecca, the capital of Arabia, where Ma-  
‘ homet’s sepulchre is, might be destroyed by the arms  
‘ of the Portuguese, I am heartily sorry that my de-  
‘ signs have not yet met with the desired success ; but  
‘ I hope this glorious work will at length be accom-  
‘ plished ; the foundation of which has already been  
‘ laid by the bravery and vigour of my subjects. When  
‘ therefore the monuments of Mahomet shall be erased,  
‘ when this troublesome and outrageous enemy shall  
‘ see the land, which nursed and contains in its bosom  
‘ the remains of such a monster, laid waste and utterly  
‘ ruined ; then let him vent his empty threats,  
‘ and be more sparing of them now, when he can only  
‘ complain of slight injuries. As to his threatening  
‘ Europe with fire and sword, and saying that he will  
‘ put the Christians in his dominions to death, and de-  
‘ molish the sepulchre of Christ, I can see no reason  
‘ why any one should be alarmed at these empty boasts.  
‘ It is not to be supposed, that an avaricious enemy will  
‘ ever be so far blind to his own interest, as to demo-  
‘ lish our Saviour’s sepulchre, and other places which  
‘ he sees frequented by Christians, to his great advantage ;  
‘ neither is he so void of understanding, as by injur-  
‘ ing the whole Christian commonwealth, to irritate the  
‘ minds of all against him, and call them off from  
‘ their mutual animosities, to his own ruin and destruc-  
‘ tion. For it usually happens, that people at vari-  
‘ ance, upon an offence done them in common, unite,  
‘ and are pushed on more keenly to take vengeance  
‘ on a haughty enemy. I hope the Christians are not  
‘ so forgetful of their most holy religion, or ancient  
‘ glory, as not to revenge so great an injury : and I

‘ am

‘ am confident, that if the sultan should commit the  
‘ slaughter he threatens, all Christians both young and  
‘ old, would exert their utmost efforts to revenge such  
‘ treatment. And as he cannot but be sensible of this,  
‘ he will not be so distracted as to bring either his per-  
‘ son or government into such imminent danger ; at  
‘ the same time I cannot but express my sorrow, that  
‘ so much discord should prevail amongst Christian  
‘ princes. Thence that tyrant has assumed so much  
‘ spirit, as to threaten those by whom his empire and  
‘ name might very easily be extinguished. Wherefore,  
‘ most holy father, I not only exhort and advise, but  
‘ humbly entreat you to undertake an action which  
‘ will be worthy of your virtue, worthy of your wis-  
‘ dom and religion, and worthy the sacred dignity of  
‘ Christ’s vicegerent ; namely, that by your interest  
‘ and authority, you would endeavour to bring the  
‘ princes of Christendom to an harmonious agreement ;  
‘ that with joint hearts and hands they might carry  
‘ their arms into Asia and Africa, to humble an enemy  
‘ become insolent and presumptuous, not by his own  
‘ courage, but by their negligence : by doing this you  
‘ will pave your way to everlasting glory, and render  
‘ your name for ever illustrious. Some Christian prin-  
‘ ces and I formerly joined in an earnest address to  
‘ Pope Alexander, your immediate predecessor, to this  
‘ purpose ; but perhaps the reason of its not taking  
‘ effect at that time was, because the divine Being had  
‘ reserved it to be the subject of your immortal praise  
‘ and glory. We acknowledge your great condescen-  
‘ sion and goodness, in desiring us to write you what  
‘ answer we would have you return the sultan ; but it  
‘ does not become us, to direct either your wisdom,  
‘ or the venerable college of cardinals, what reply you  
‘ should make the enemy ; it is only our business to  
‘ lay before you what our own sentiments and resolu-  
‘ tions are, with respect to this affair. With regard  
‘ then to myself, I am a man whom no threats, no  
‘ terrors, no difficulties of what kind soever, can de-  
‘ ter

‘ ter from prosecuting what I have once undertaken,  
‘ or from exerting my utmost endeavours to pull down  
‘ and crush that savage and outrageous enemy. And  
‘ it is my earnest prayer, most holy father, that God  
‘ would so strengthen your mind, by the powerful in-  
‘ fluence of the spirit, that you may be enabled to dis-  
‘ charge the duties of your high station, to his glory and  
‘ honour.’

The king gave considerable presents to Maur, and dismiss'd him with the letter: this man having likewise received one from king Ferdinand, returned to Rome, and from thence to the sultan, with a letter from his holiness. By this the sultan understood, that all his threats availed nothing, and that he must have recourse to arms. He therefore set about building a fleet, in order to distress the Portuguese in India, of which we shall take notice in its proper place.

This year Lopez Soarez arrived at Lisbon; he was received both by the king, and all the nobility, with the greatest demonstrations of respect and joy; but Pacheco above all attracted the admiration of his countrymen: his expedition in carrying on war, his magnanimity in the greatest dangers, his steadiness in enduring hardships, and his success in battle was extoll'd to the skies. The king ordered a public thanksgiving on his account, and made a pompous procession with the court, from the cathedral to St. Dominick's church. He made Pacheco walk by his side, that all might see what respect he paid to bravery. After they came to the church, Diego Ortisius, bishop of Visa pronounced an oration, wherein he copiously set forth the illustrious and admirable exploits of Pacheco, and piously concluded by ascribing all to the glory of God. Nor was Emmanuel satisfied with doing him this great honour he likewise wrote letters to almost all the Christian princes, wherein he extolled Pacheco's actions with due applause, that his fame and renown might spread through Christendom. But that it may appear, how uncertain all human affairs are, it may not be amiss to inform the

the reader what reward was paid at last to the merit of this brave man. When the king understood that Pacheco's circumstances were narrow, (for he had spent all in his service) and that he had brought nothing home from India but great glory, after encountering such danger, he appointed him governor of a town in Africa called St. Georgia de Mina, whence the gold used to be imported into Portugal, that he might have an opportunity of bettering his condition in that government. But Pacheco being greatly envied there, he was accus'd by his enemies of having defrauded the king of a great quantity of gold, and of having been guilty of many scandalous and villainous practices. The king therefore ordered him home in irons, where he lived in a very miserable condition, in close confinement for a considerable time, till the affair being more carefully enquired into, it appeared, that the crimes laid to his charge were either without any foundation, or such as did not deserve such severe punishment. Then indeed he was released from prison, and restored to his dignity, but did not meet with a reward suitable to his great merit, and spent the remainder of his days in obscure poverty. Of such great influence are the suggestions of wicked men over even the best princes, that they frequently draw them off from bestowing on virtue its due rewards, though, at the same time, the greatest glory of a king consists in such a generous distinction of merit.

This same year Emmanuel passed many new laws, and made amendments in the old ; he also enacted several statutes for enlarging his public revenues, and applied himself with great diligence to settling the boundaries of church lands, and such as had been destin'd for charitable purposes.

About the same time John Sequire obtained leave of the king to build a fort in the province of Sur in Africa, near cape Aguer ; but not having strength sufficient to defend it, he afterwards delivered it up to the king, who rewarded his labour and expences with  
a truly

a truly royal munificence. In the month of October a pestilential distemper rag'd at Lisbon, which swept off multitudes. This obliged Emmanuel to remove to Almerin. At this time Francisco Pestana happen'd to be at Arzila: he was a man of high birth, and great courage, and had perform'd many military achievements greatly to his honour. He obtain'd of John Menez governor of Arzila, seventy horse; with these he went to attack a village situated on a very high mountain. He marched out in the night time, and lay in ambuscade, at a small distance from the place: Early in the morning, when the inhabitants were driving their flocks and herds to pasture, Pestana fell upon them unawares, and putting them to flight, carried off their cattle; he was now on his return home with the booty, when the Moors, according to custom, making signals and loud outcries, raised the neighbourhood, who getting together a good number of horse, went quickly in pursuit of Pestana. He sustained their attack with a good deal of bravery, and gradually retreated: sometimes when the enemy pressed most furiously, he wheel'd about, and charg'd them at full career; when he had advanced eight miles, and was within four of Arzila, his men were so much annoyed by the enemy, that he thought proper to withdraw to a rising-ground. The Moors then halted; for they suspected some ambush behind the hill; and now the remainder of the way seemed clear to our people for a safe retreat. There was in this detachment of horse, a very brave fellow named, Diego Veiga, who began to incite, and with great vehemency to urge his companions to make an attack on the Moors. ' Come (said he) let us charge the enemy; for believe me, they have not courage to withstand our onset.' Pestana being naturally proud, was fir'd with indignation, and reprimanded Veiga very sharply; and besides other reproachful language, upbraided him with the hempen frock which he wore at that time: ' and yet (added he) are you so bereav'd of you senses, and so presumptuous

‘ sumptuous as to give such an advice to a man so deeply skilled in the art of war?’ Veiga replied, with a smile. ‘ Give me but an opportunity, and this hempen jacket shall soon appear to be a coat of mail.’ Pestana was provok’d by this reply, ‘ If you are (said he) so mighty a hero, let me see it in your behaviour, come then, brother soldiers, let us charge the enemy.’ All of them forthwith set upon the Moors, who being seized with the utmost panic by this unexpected attack, were quickly put to flight, and entirely routed: eighty were slain, and thirty taken prisoners. During the skirmish Pestana kept his eyes stedfastly on Veiga, who fought indeed with the most amazing courage; Pestana was filled with admiration at his intrepidity; and when the action was over, he submissively addressed him in these words. ‘ Most brave Veiga, excuse my rashness, or if you please, beat me with your staff; for the man who doubted your valour deserves such chastisement: had I six such men under my command, methinks I could even enter Constantinople, and put the grand signior in chains.’ Thus with joy and harmony they returned to Arzila with their booty, which was considerable.

In the mean time the plague raging daily more and more in Portugal, it at last reached Scalabis, and people being apprehensive of its getting into the palace, because of the nearness of the place, the King was obliged to remove with all haste: he retir’d to Abrantes, a town situate on an eminence, on the north side the Tajo. Here the queen, on the third of March 1506, was delivered of a son, whom his father named Lewis. As this prince advanced in years, he discovered all the signs of an amiable disposition and a rising genius. He was held in the highest esteem by all the Portuguese nation, who thought him worthy of ruling the greatest empire. He was endowed with every qualification requisite for a soldier, or leader, and was also greatly admir’d for his knowledge in all the arts of peace

peace and government, yet was he eminent for nothing so much as his piety and zeal for religion.

1506 This year a fleet was equipp'd for India, and Tristan Cugna was appointed admiral. About the same time, there happened a great tumult at Lisbon, raised by the fury and madness of the rabble; in this almost all the Jews, who, as we before observed, had been converted to Christianity were cruelly massacred. The affair was as follows: The greatest part of the citizens had left the town, because of the plague; and many French and Dutch ships had arrived there at this time: on the 19th of April many of those who remained in the city, went to St. Dominick's church to attend divine service. On the left side of this church is Jesus chapel, much frequented by people at their devotion. Above the altar is placed a representation of Jesus on the cross, and the hole, representing the wound in our Saviour's side, had a glass cover. When many people had fixed their eyes and attention on that wound, a lucid brightness shone from it. On this appearance many said, it was a miracle, and that the divinity testify'd his presence by a wonderful sign. Some one of the Jews, who not long before had taken upon him the profession of Christianity, with a loud voice denied it to be a miracle, adding, that it was very unlikely that a piece of dry wood should shew forth a miracle. Many indeed doubted of the truth thereof; yet considering the time, place and congregation, it was highly imprudent for any one, especially a Jew, to endeavour to convince people of a mistake, when they were firmly persuaded the thing was true. The populace, naturally headstrong, inconsiderate, and apt to be struck with any thing that appears marvellous, upon hearing that a Jew derogated from the credit of the miracle, began to make an uproar: they called him a perfidious wicked betrayer of religion, and an outrageous and malicious enemy of Christ, and declared him worthy of torture and death.

Nay, their Fury arose at last to such a degree, that falling on this unhappy wretch, they dragg'd him by his hair into the market-place before the church, where they tore him to picces, and making a fire, threw his body into it. All the common people flock'd to this tumult: and a certain monk made a speech too well adapted to their humour at the time; in this he excited them with great vehemency to revenge the impiety of the Jew. The mob, too apt of their own accord, to be outrageous, by this means became the more transported with fury: two other monks at the same time holding forth a crucifix, loudly excited the people to slaughter, at every other word calling out, Heresy, heresy! avenge the heresy, and extinguish the wicked race. The French and Dutch quickly came ashore, and having joined the Portuguese, they committed great havock. This cruel massacre was begun by five hundred, who were at last joined by several others; transported with madness and boiling with rage, they fell upon the wretched Jews, of whom they killed great numbers, and threw many half alive into the flames: by this time several fires were kindled near the place, where the first offender had been burnt; for the canaille about the streets with eagerness and alacrity had brought fewel from all parts, that nothing might be wanting to execute this horrible design. The shrieks and outcries of the women, together with the piteous supplications of the men, might, one would think, have soften'd the most savage hearts into pity; but the actors in this horrid scene, were so divested of humanity, that they spar'd neither sex or age; but wreak'd their fury on all without distinction; so that above five hundred Jews were either killed or burnt that day. The news of this massacre having reached the country, next day above a thousand men from the villages flock'd into the city, and join'd the murderers, and the slaughter was renew'd. The Jews being under the greatest terror, concealed themselves in their houses; but the blood-thirsty rabble broke open

the doors, rush'd in upon them, and butcher'd men, women and children in a most barbarous manner: they dashed the infants against the walls, and dragging all out of doors by the feet, threw them into the fire, some quite dead, and others yet breathing life. Such an insensibility overwhelm'd this wretched people, that they were scarce able to lament their ruin, or deplore their misery: nay those who lay concealed, tho' they beheld their parents or children dragg'd away to torture and death, durst not even utter a mournful groan, for fear of being discover'd; in short they became so stupified with terror, that there was little difference betwixt the living and the dead. Their houses were plunder'd, and the bloody rioters carried off great quantities of gold and silver, and several other things of value: the French put their booty aboard their ships, and had it not been for the desire of plunder, many more would have been murdered that day. Several of the Jews, both young and old, fled to the altars for refuge; and taking hold of crosses, and the images of saints, in a most suppliant manner, implored the divine protection; but the fury of this abandon'd rabble, proceeded to such a length, that without any regard to religion, they broke into the churches, and dragging the Jews from thence, either cruelly butcher'd, or threw them alive into the fire. Several who had any resemblance of this people in their looks, were in great danger and some were actually killed on that suspicion: and others received many wounds and blows on the same account. Some persons took this opportunity to vent their malice upon those against whom they had a pique, by asserting they were Jews; and before the falsity could be confuted, satisfied their revenge by their blood. The magistrates had not spirit to oppose the fury of the multitude: however, many worthy persons, preserved, with the greatest fidelity, such of the Jews as fled to them for shelter; and concealed them in places of safety. Yet above a thousand were massacred this day. The third day those

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inhuman barbarians returned again to the slaughter; but they scarcely found any to murder: for most of the Jews who survived, had either saved themselves by flight, or lay safely concealed; yet some slaughter was committed. On these three days above two thousand of the Jewish race were murdered. In the evening Ayres Sylvio and Alvarez de Castro, men of the first distinction, who presided in the courts of judicature, came with guards into the city: their arrival put a stop to the fury of the mob. The French and Dutch repaired to their ships, with a considerable booty, and set sail with all possible expedition.

Emmanuel having got account of this massacre, immediately dispatch'd Diego Almeed, and Diego Sophiez to Lisbon, with full power to punish the perpetrators of this horrid villainy. Many now suffered for their madness and cruelty. The monks who had stirred up the people to slaughter, being first in a solemn manner degraded from the priestly office and dignity, were afterwards strangled and burnt. Those who appeared remiss in restraining the popular fury, were partly stripped of their honours, and partly fin'd; and the city was deprived of several privileges.

In the mean while Francis Almeed was steering his course to India; but being hindered by bad weather, and long calms, he made but slow progress in his voyage, and could not make the cape of good Hope: it was then winter in those parts, and our people were harassed with continual storms; besides, the pilots mistaking their course, sailed too far to the southward, where the days were extremely short, the sun being then in the northern tropic. The thickness of the air, the immoderate showers of rain, and great fallings of snow, made them likewise seem shorter than they really were, and our men suffered greatly also by the excessive cold. At length, on the twentieth day of June, they turned the cape: Almeed then ordered the fleet to keep nearer the land. On the second of July, a violent storm arising, greatly distressed the fleet. The

tempest being abated, our men sailed along the coast of Caffers, and at last made the port of Quiloa. Almeed, upon his arrival there, sent one directly with his compliments to the king. But he being conscious of his wickedness, left the city in the silence of the night. Mahumed Ancon, whom I mentioned before, remain'd in the town, and the soldiers who were left, flocking about him, desired he would head them against the Portuguese. Almeed seeing that the king neither came in person, nor sent any apology, began to suspect him of hostile designs, and therefore resolved to besiege the city. When it was high water, and the sea washed the walls of the town, he landed five hundred brisk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions. He gave the command of the first, which consisted of two hundred men, to his son Laurence, a youth of great courage and activity. He reserved the other to himself, in which were three hundred men. Mahumed being now terrified as much as the king, fled also out of the city, and our people entered without any obstruction. But Almeed seeing no body to oppose him, suspected that the enemy lay in ambuscade, in order to attack our men, when they should find them straggling in security, or intent on plunder. He therefore halted, and ordered his son to march on with great slowness and circumspection, and not suffer his soldiers to break their ranks. The city was almost quite deserted, and the few who remained, were seized with such a panic, that they had neither courage to fly nor stay. The plunder, by Almeed's orders, was heap'd together in a large house, and distributed among the soldiers; he received nothing for himself but one arrow. He then began to build a fort near the shore, in a place very proper for repulsing an enemy; whilst it was building, he sent a messenger to Mahumed Ancon, and the other citizens, telling them, they had reason to be thankful for being delivered from the usurpation of a cruel and perfidious tyrant, and restored to liberty, under the auspicious reign, and by the

the singular kindness of Emmanuel, a most powerful and benevolent prince. He put them in mind of the many wicked designs, base deceits, and scandalous actions of that usurper, under whom they had suffered the most grievous injuries. But now, by a reverse of fortune, they wou'd be governed with justice and equity, and every one might now maintain his rights against the arbitrary will and wicked designs of that perfidious tyrant. Moreover, Almeede promised to defend them from all hostile invasions, by the power and arms of the Portuguese. And that they might confide the more in his promises, he told them, he would make Mahumet their king, whose fidelity, goodness and prudence, they had frequently experienc'd. He therefore desir'd them to return to their city, and make an alliance with their best friends, under whose protection they might enjoy their properties with safety. They gladly received this message, and making Mahumet ride before them in great state, they all followed him with joyful acclamations. Almeed, in the name of his master Emmanuel, having saluted him king, presented him with a golden crown, and imposed on him an annual tribute: Mahumet bound himself by oath to perform a constant obedience to king Emmanuel, and to behave in all respects as a most faithful vassal.

In the mean time, the two commanders Gonzalo Paiva and Ferdinand Bermudo, came to Almeed from Mozambique. He had sent them thither to sound the inclinations of the governor of the island, and to see if the Portuguese had left any letters there, whereby he might get intelligence of the state of affairs in India. They brought him word, that all was quiet among the islanders, and at the same time delivered him letters from Francisco Albuquerque, and Lopez Soarez, which had been left with the governor of the island, by these commanders when they were sailing to Portugal; these gave favourable accounts of every thing in India. When Mahumet came to pay his compliments to Al-

meed, he begged of him, with great submission, to set at liberty all the Arabian prisoners; which was readily granted by Almeed. Mahumet having thanked him for this favour, made another request worthy to be recorded to posterity. ‘ There was (said he) a strict intimacy and friendship, founded on the most sacred ties, betwixt me and Alfudail our late king, whom the tyrant you have expelled, most treacherously murdered. Was Alfudail alive, I would resign the kingdom to him; for I shall never prefer any regal power or wealth to my duty and fidelity: but as he is no more, I earnestly beg and entreat, that I may be allowed to send for his son, and appoint him heir to the crown; not that I think my own sons unworthy of that honour: but was I to settle the succession on them, this would be doing the highest injustice to the children of the late king, and I should think I deserved to be branded with everlasting infamy; it would not only bring disgrace on myself, but likewise on my posterity; therefore I chuse rather to leave my sons an example of fidelity and honesty than the largest patrimony, and most opulent kingdom.’ Our people were filled with the highest admiration when they saw a Mahometan pay so religious a regard to friendship, and contemn sovereign power with such greatness of soul. All the Portuguese bestowed the highest encomiums on Mahumet, and declared him worthy of a greater kingdom, on account of that candour and honesty which he shewed in desiring to settle the crown on the children of the deceased king. Alfudail’s son was accordingly sent for, and all the citizens, by Almeid’s orders, took the oaths of allegiance to him, as heir apparent to the crown. Things being thus settled, Almeed appointed Pedro Tereira Fogaza governor of the forr, and took particular care to give him all necessary directions for the defence of the place.

The admiral having sailed from this place, four days after arrived at the mouth of the harbour of Mom-baze,

baze. He sent Gonzalo Paiva before to sound the depth of the water ; Paiva carried with him two Arabian pilots, well acquainted with the entrance to the harbour. He executed his orders, and approached the fort ; upon which the garrison began to annoy him with their cannon : he on the other hand, fired upon them with his largest guns. During the engagement, a shot from the Portuguese happened to set fire to the enemy's magazine, filled with gunpowder and other combustible matter : this so terrified the garrison, that they abandoned the fort, and fled to the city. Paiva having sounded the depth of the harbour, returned to Almeed, and informed him that nothing was to be feared from the shallowness of the water ; Almeed therefore entered the harbour with his fleet, and came to anchor near the town. He then sent one of the captains to acquaint the king, that the Portuguese had come to Mombaze, not with any hostile intention, but for his safety and dignity : that his master king Emmanuel was a prince of so much goodness and generosity, that those who submitted to his authority found themselves happier than if they remained independent : for if they acknowledged no sovereign, they would be obliged singly to oppose their enemies, not without great loss and danger ; whereas if they put themselves under the protection and patronage of so excellent a king, they could easily defend themselves and their effects from all injuries. Besides, it would be no reflection on the king of Mombaze to acknowledge Emmanuel for his sovereign, since so many great princes both in Africa and India had voluntarily subjected themselves to his authority ; and if he would follow their example, Almeed promised he would always regard him as the faithful ally of king Emmanuel, and omit no opportunity of advancing his interest and dignity : but if the king of Mombaze would not listen to this advice, he said he should be necessitated to compel him to a submission, and force him to live happy under the dominion of one of the best of princes.

An Arabian was sent with this message ; but the inhabitant, would not suffer him to land, threatening to tear him in pieces if he set a foot on shore. Depart instantly (they cried) and tell the Portuguese commander, that hitherto he has had to do with the women of Quiloa, but must now deal with men of courage ; and if he has a mind to make a trial, he shall soon know, to his cost, tha he had better not entered this port with his fleet. Almeed having received this answer, that very night ordered John Novez, with another captain, to go ashore and endeavour to seize some one of the inhabitants, from whom they might have intelligence of the king's strength and designs. They accordingly landed in great silence, and soon after they took prisoner a person who happened to be one of the kings domestics and friends. This man being brought before Almeed, and terrified by threats, declared that the king, upon the news of the taking of Quiloa, besides his own army, had taken into his pay 4000 mercenaries, and expected 2000 more : that he had besides a large magazine of arms, and was well furnished with all necessaries, whereby he was confident he could repulse a much greater army from his city and fortifications. Almeed, however, resolved to besiege the place ; he accordingly next day ordered his son and some other officers, to land with all possible expedition, and to set fire to that quarter of the town nearest the shore. This order was so speedily executed, that many houses were actually set on fire before the enemy could make any opposition : they at length collected their forces, and attacked our men, who sustained their charge with great resolution : a fierce battle ensued ; in this seventy of the enemy were killed on the spot, whilst the Portuguese lost only two men. Mean while, the flame spreading most furiously, made great devastation in the city ; so that the inhabitants were doubly distressed, being at once necessitated to fight our men, and to extinguish the fire which threatened destruction to the whole city : and indeed so violent were

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the flames, that our men being unable to endure the violent heat, were obliged to retire to their ships. Next morning before day-break, Francis Almeid went ashore with all his forces. The flames, not yet quite extinguished, had so far dispelled the darkness of the night, that the Portuguese could easily perceive there were none on the shore to hinder their landing; yet Almeid fearing some ambush, did not attack the city before day-light; he gave orders to his son Laurence to go and attack another quarter of the town: as there was no wall about the town, our people marched into the lanes and streets which were very narrow, and crowded by the enemy. The Portuguese attacked them, but could not make use of their guns and other engines of war, because of the narrowness of the streets: as the houses were high, the inhabitants annoyed our people with stones and darts from the windows and roofs of their houses, which were not sloping, but quite level. This was a great inconvenience to the Portuguese, who were thereby hindered from pursuing the enemy when they gave way: some of them, therefore, breaking into the houses, and pulling away the doors and bolts, forced their way up stairs, and with great danger reached the upper part of the house: these being joined together, made one continued building. Our men cleared one row of the enemy, and so left a free passage to the rest of the Portuguese in the streets; but the inhabitants having pulled down one of the houses, by this means hindered the Portuguese from advancing. Laurence commanded the first line, and John Novio brought up the rear; but the ruins of the house parted them so, that they could not assist each other. And here again such a multitude of darts was discharged from the windows and tops of the houses, that our men were in the utmost danger; they were therefore again obliged to force a passage to the roofs of some other houses, where leaping from one to another, they slew many of the enemy, and tumbled many of them headlong into the streets; and thus

thus at last entirely rid themselves of an inconvenience that sorely distressed them hitherto.

But Laurence having understood that the body of reserve was in great danger, immediately hastened to their assistance: however, when he came up to them, they were out of all danger: they therefore joined their forces, and marched directly to the king's palace, which they found guarded by Pedro Bermudio according to Almeid's orders. From him they learnt with what bravery Francis Almeed had forced his way to the palace; and that the king had fled from the city, in the utmost panic. Laurence immediately marched after his father, whom he found closely engag'd in a street with a formidable body of the enemy. This youth charged them with so much fury, that they gave way, and with great precipitation fled to the wood where the king had concealed himself. Our people having refreshed themselves after their fatigue, began to plunder the city. The booty was inconsiderable, for the enemy had carried off most of their valuable effects: however, our people found a vast number of arms and engines of war. In this affair the enemy lost 1500 men, and above 2000 were taken prisoners: of these Almeid kept about 200 men of the greatest distinction, and some of the finest women; the rest he set at liberty. Many of the Portuguese were wounded, but only five killed, amongst whom was Ferdinand Decio, a man of great renown, who had been wounded in the foot with a poisoned arrow.

Meantime Vasco Gomez Abraeo arrived in the harbour of Mombaze: his ship had been separated from the fleet by the late storm. The Portuguese now steered for Melinda, but the weather proved so tempestuous, that they could not make that place, but were driven into a bay about three leagues from thence. Here Almeed found likewise two ships, which had been separated by the storm, one commanded by Lopez Chanogua, and the other by John Homo, a man no less remarkable for courage than strength of body;

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but he was more cut out for a soldier than a commanding officer. Almeed was extremely desirous to pay his respects to the king of Melinda: this he was unable to do in person, being obliged to remain with the fleet, which could not, at that time, get out of the bay, by reason of the tempestuous weather. However, he dispatched a person in his name to wait upon his majesty, and to carry him the presents from Emmanuel. The king sent his own brothers to Almeed, with a supply of provisions and several presents; and, at the same time, to express his sorrow for not having the pleasure of seeing him in person.

As soon as the weather was favourable, the Portuguese stood away for the island of Anchedive, where they arrived on the 13th of September 1505. Here Almeed received a letter sent by Gonzalo Agidio Barbosa, and ordered to be delivered to the first Portuguese commander who should touch there from Portugal: by this he was informed, that Gonzalo had procured a quantity of spices sufficient to load several ships; moreover, that three ships richly loaded were expected from Arabia, and that if the Portuguese would keep a good look-out near that island, during the month of September, their vessels would very probably fall into their hands. Almeed having received this intelligence, immediately dispatched Homo to Cochin, Cananor, and Coulan, to give notice of his arrival, and to desire the Portuguese agents, with all expedition, to get ready their ladings. He likewise appointed Lopez Chanogua, and Gonzalo Paiva, to cruise in those seas, in order to intercept the Arabian ships. He himself immediately set about building a fort, in a place near the sea. On this spot there were some ruins, amongst which he found several red and black crucifixes; thence he conjectured this island had been formerly inhabited by Christians. All the Portuguese without distinction, helped to build the fort; so that in a little time the work was brought to a considerable height.

About this time arrived Emmanuel Pazagna, whom Almeed, before he doubled the Cape of good Hope, had appointed commander of part of the fleet: with him came likewise Antonio Vasco: Gundissalvo Vasco, pursuant to Almeed's orders, remained at Quiloa, and Lucas Fonseca wintered at Mozambique. Lopez Sancho's ship was shipwrecked, and all aboard perished, excepting five men, whom Pedro Barreto had taken aboard his ship half dead. These were the commanders of Pazagna's fleet. Almeed likewise understood by Pazagna, that the usurper Abrahem, who had been expelled from Quiloa, had endeavoured most treacherously to murder king Mahumed. For this purpose he had employed a resolute fellow, who having insinuated himself into the friendship of Mahumed, had wounded him in the arm with a dagger: however, the wound proved not mortal, and the assassin having been seized, had suffered the punishment due to his crime.

A few days after, Chanogua and Paiva returned with some ships, aboard which were several Arabians. They had likewise taken some small vessels, and amongst the rest an Indian sloop: in this there was a Portuguese, whom Barboza had sent with a letter to Almeed, acquainting him, That one of the Arabian ships had already arrived at Calicut, and the other two were daily expected: that there had come in the vessel already in port four Venetian artists, who understood the art of casting cannon; these the sultan of Egypt had sent to the zamorin at his earnest request: that the sultan himself was fitting out a large fleet against the Portuguese, and that formidable preparations were also making at Calicut. Almeed having received this intelligence, sent out again Chanogua and Paiva, with strict orders to keep a good look-out, that the other two ships from Arabia might not escape. He also built a large galley; (for he had brought all proper materials from Portugal) he manned her with Arabian rowers, and gave the command to John Serrano, who was likewise joined with two frigates; one of which was

was commanded by Simon Martino, and the other by Diego Diazio ; these were to scour the seas, and annoy the enemy as much as possible.

At this juncture Merlao king of Onor, ten leagues from Anchedive, sent deputies to Almeid to treat of a peace. The pyrate Timoia, whom we have mentioned above, was then at Onor, and had likewise concurred with the king in desiring the friendship of our people ; Almeid received both into his protection : by them he understood, that there was a strong castle a little way off, called Zincutura, which belonged to the kingdom of Daccam. The governor was a vassal of Zabaio king of Goa, who had frequent wars with the king of Onor. Almeid ordered his son to sound the depth of the harbour there ; Laurence accordingly set out with some pilots for this purpose. He found the depth of the river, which runs by the castle, at the mouth to be five fathom, and a little further three and a half more. The fort was situated on a hill, and the garrison consisted of 1000 men : these, when they observed our boats, immediately hastened to the shore ; eight only were on horseback, amongst whom was the governor. Our people hoisted a flag of peace ; upon this the governor came directly to Laurence, with whom he concluded a treaty. He at the same time sent several presents to Francis Almeid, and a large quantity of fruits to refresh the Portuguese after their fatigue. Nine days after he dispatched deputies to Almeid, to ratify the peace with the utmost solemnity. Before our people left Anchedive, they descried a large vessel, which was freighted with horses from Persia. The Portuguese immediately attacked her in their long boats. The Persians and Arabians aboard, being struck with a panic, jumped into their boat and made towards the shore. The ship had run a-ground, so that the Portuguese could not tow her along ; and a sudden storm arising, our people were in the greatest danger. There were 19 horses in this ship, nine of these the Portuguese put aboard their long boats, which were driven

driven ashore by force of the waves. The Arabians who inhabited that country, flocked to the shore in great numbers. Our people desired them to keep the horses till the storm was over, which they accordingly promised. The Portuguese sailed for Anchédive, and after the storm ceased, returned for their horses. The inhabitants made answer, That the king of Onor had them in his custody. Almeed sent a messenger to the king, demanding restitution of the horses; telling him, at the same time, he hoped his majesty would do nothing in violation of the late treaty, which had been concluded in so solemn a manner. Almeed received such an answer as plainly shewed this people were void of faith, or regard for treaties; and so intent were they on this present advantage, that they did not advert to the danger arising from such a faithless behaviour.

Almeed left Pazagna with a small garrison in the fort of Anchédive, and sailed for Onor. As soon as he entered the mouth of the river, he ravaged the country, and burnt several ships in the harbour. The Arabians aboard the vessels in port, assured him, that the king of Onor should give satisfaction; for which reason he ceased hostilities for one day: mean while the inhabitants retired with their effects to the neighbouring mountains, whither the king also betook himself: Almeed therefore dispatched his son with orders to destroy all the ships in the harbour. The king, who was at no great distance, seeing his navy in such danger, sent 4000 men to oppose our people. The fire which the Portuguese threw amongst the houses, as well as ships, raged with great violence; and lest it should be extinguished by the enemy, Almeid ordered Laurence to attack those who had come for that purpose. The enemy were drawn up in such order, that they could not be easily repulsed. Their first line was armed with shields, and their archers being thus covered, annoyed our people with their darts. The conflict for some time remained doubtful; but the Portuguese at last made such an impression on the enemy, that they obliged

them to retire. Almeed observing his men pushing on with too much eagerness, sounded a retreat. The enemy imagining this proceeded from fear, rallied and renewed the attack. The Portuguese, however, retreated in such order and regularity, that they suffered no damage. The enemy, on the other hand, lost many of their men: fourteen of their ships were burnt, and the whole city was in flames. The Portuguese lost only one man, and Almeed was wounded in his right thumb. The king now sent deputies to ask pardon and sue for peace. Almeed made answer, That he had not then time, but that he would soon send his son to settle a peace on the strongest terms. Next day the Portuguese sailed for Cananor.

In the mean while John Homo, pursuant to his orders, informed the Portuguese and their allies in India, of the arrival of Almeed, and the powers with which he was invested. When John arrived at Coulan, he was acquainted by Antonio Sala the Portuguese agent, that the king's ships, at the instigation of the Arabians, had been refused the quantity of spices due by treaty. The Arabians had at that time in the harbour 34 ships; and such was their influence, that they loaded all their vessels before the Portuguese could procure any part of their lading, though it had been expressly stipulated by treaty, that no spices should be given the Arabians till the Portuguese had received their whole cargo. Homo being a bold and resolute man, stripped the Arabians of their helms and rigging, and delivered them to Antony Sala. 'Now (said he) you may take in your lading, and I charge you not to restore their ship tackle, till our ships are furnished with their full cargo.' Sala promised to obey his orders. Homo having sailed from thence, in his course took two Arabian vessels; he put all the crew in irons, and confined them in the holds. He put three Portuguese pilots aboard each of these ships: he could not spare more; and besides, as the wind was fair, he thought these sufficient to steer them into port. He was now

in sight of Almeed, and just entering the harbour of Cananor, when of a sudden the Arabians, in one of the ships having broke loose, murdered the Portuguese ; and having tacked about, quickly got out of sight of our people. Almeed was greatly chagrined at this misfortune, and he thought Homo unworthy to bear the office of a commander, and would directly have deprived him of his commission, had he not been dissuaded by several persons of distinction, who interceded in his behalf. Almeed now resolved to build a fort at Cananor ; he was strongly urged thereto by Gonzalo Agidio Barbosa, who said that the king himself, though ever so willing, was not able to defend the Portuguese against the artifices of the perfidious Arabians : the viceroy accordingly determined not to depart till the fort was finished. Whilst he remained here, embassadors came to him from the king of Narsingua ; but before we mention the particulars of this embassy, it may not be improper to give a short description of the country.

This kingdom lies in the eastern part of India, within the Ganges ; it extends a considerable way westward, and borders on the countries adjoining to Goa, with the inhabitants of which the people of Narsingua used to wage continual wars. The country is adorned with many cities, and watered with several rivers. The soil is fertile, and affords all the diversions of fishing, fowling, and hunting. The country is likewise stored with abundance of all sorts of cattle. The people are extremely addicted to superstition ; their temples or pagods are built with vast magnificence : these, like the rest in India, are filled with the images of monsters, and many strange figures, to which they pay divine honours. Their bramins consisting of men as well as women, preside in religious rites, and are held in great honour. There is another religious sect called hanians, who are esteemed with no less veneration : these carry about their necks a stone called tambarane, about the bigness of an egg ;

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it is perforated in the middle, with three strings running through it. This they say represents the deity, and it is beheld with the utmost devotion: The banians abstain from fish and flesh: they are allowed to marry once; and when they die, their wives are buried alive near their graves. The widows of other persons, after the death of their husbands, are carried in great state to the funeral pile, where they are burnt amidst the songs and acclamations of all their relations and servants, who attend the ceremony. They keep every Friday as a holyday, or sabbath. They likewise observe many other days throughout the year, by singing hymns, and performing the ceremonials of religion, according to the custom of their country. They believe the immortality of the soul; and that there will be a future state, in which mankind are to be punished or rewarded, according to their behaviour in this world. The people are of a tawney colour; they dress elegantly, and are extremely fond of women, on whose account they often quarrel and fight duels. The person who gives the challenge, usually solicits the king for a spot of ground where the affair is to be decided; and if the champions are men in high repute for their gallantry, his majesty himself generally becomes a spectator of the combat: he gives a small golden chain to the conqueror, who is obliged to maintain this honour by his sword, otherwise he forfeits all his glory already acquired; for any one may dispute his claim to this trophy; and the chain is always taken from him that is worsted, and given to the person who comes off victorious in the combat. This custom of duelling is not confined to the military gentlemen only, for artists and mechanics often enter the lists about the excellency of their workmanship.

Bisnagar is the largest city in this kingdom, being four miles in compass, and surrounded with walls: it is very populous, and adorned with many stately buildings and most magnificent pagods. The place abounds in all sorts of commodities, imported from many different

ferent countries. All merchants trading here are obliged to pay certain duties; those only are excepted who bring horses from Persia and Arabia. The king himself buys up all the horses, many of which he retains for his own use; and he gives away in presents, or sells the rest to whom he pleases. The royal palace is a most spacious and magnificent edifice; it is surrounded with beautiful gardens, in which there are several well stocked fish ponds. When the king goes abroad, he is always attended with a numerous body of guards: his subjects treat him with the utmost respect; nay, almost worship him as a deity: his table is always furnished with the most exquisite dishes: his body generally shines with ointments, and his dress sparkles with gold and diamonds. This prince never marries, but he keeps a vast number of concubines, who are all of noble descent. When he dies, his body is burnt on a pile of the most odoriferous woods; here likewise all his considents, domestics, and particular friends, throw themselves; and with such alacrity do they hurry thus to sacrifice themselves, that it appears plainly they esteem it glorious and honourable to die with their sovereign. The prince generally administers justice with great impartiality, and is particularly careful to protect the merchants from all injuries. He keeps under him many governors or lieutenants; these, however, if guilty of oppression or injustice, are either put to death, or have some corporal punishment inflicted on them. He heaps together vast treasures, and thinks it unlawful to expend those left him by his ancestors, unless on the most urgent occasions: by this means he has generally in his possession, vast quantities of gold, silver, and diamonds of the largest size; in which the country very much abounds. The king keeps about him a great number of soldiers, who have horses and provisions every day allowed them from the palace; those who have once listed in his service are not at liberty to quit the kingdom, unless they have express leave from his majesty.

majesty. He likewise maintains a considerable number of foot soldiers. Much more might be said concerning the customs, luxury, and magnificence of the king of Narsingua ; this, however, I shall pass over, that I may not exceed the bounds I prescribed myself.

The king then on the throne having heard much of the fame of the Portuguese in India, was desirous to make a league with them ; he accordingly sent a deputy to Almeed with letters and presents, which he desired, in his name, to be transmitted to Emmanuel. The ambassador was received by Almeed with the highest marks of honour, and after having produced his credentials, delivered the purport of his embassy as follows, ‘ That his royal master being filled with admiration at the fame and reputation of Emmanuel, ‘ was therefore extremely desirous of entering into a ‘ league with so great and worthy a prince : that the ‘ exploits performed by the Portuguese in India was ‘ to him a sufficient testimony of what was reported by ‘ fame ; for he could not doubt but that the king, who ‘ ruled over so many brave subjects, must be a prince ‘ endowed with the greatest accomplishments, and his ‘ friendship worthy to be cultivated by the most powerful monarchs : that he would therefore most willingly make a treaty of friendship with his Portuguese ‘ majesty, and would strive to the utmost, to promote ‘ his honour and dignity. Moreover, if it was not ‘ disagreeable, he should be extremely glad to betroth ‘ his only daughter, a virgin of reputed beauty, with ‘ a considerable dowry, to John the son of Emmanuel, ‘ that their friendship might be more strengthened by ‘ such an alliance.’ The ambassador, at the same time, brought with him a couple of bracelets studded with the brightest gems, together with a parcel of rings set with the finest diamonds, and some rich embroidered cloath ; which he desired might be sent to Emmanuel by the first opportunity. Almeed treated the ambassador with the utmost respect, and dismissed him with many considerable presents. He, at the same time, wrote

Letters by him to the king of Narsingua: in these he assured his majesty, that he would do every thing in his power to promote the strictest and most sincere friendship betwixt him and his royal master.

After the departure of the Narsinguan ambassador, Almeed went ashore in a long boat; and he ordered a tent to be pitched in a grove of palm trees, where the king of Cananor visited him. After a deal of friendly conversation, the viceroy asked leave of his majesty to build a fort: this (he said) would not only defend the Portuguese against the insults of the Arabians, but would also be a bulwark for himself against the invasions of his enemies. His request was readily granted; and the work being set about with great expedition, was in a few days brought to its full height. Egidio Barbosa had, indeed, before laid the foundation, but he gave out he only intended to build a large house for the convenience of the Portuguese merchants. This caution he thought extremely necessary, till Almeed should, in a formal manner, obtain liberty from the king for building a fort. It was called St. Angelo; and Lopez Britto, with 150 Portuguese, was left governor.

About this time Almeed received an account of the melancholy fate of Antonio Sala, who, as we have taken notice of above, had been left agent for the Portuguese affairs at Coulan. John Homo, as we have already mentioned, had, with more bravery than prudence, stripped the Arabian ships of their helms and rigging, and had given them to be kept by Antonio, till the Portuguese should receive their lading. He himself left the place, and sailed to Almeed; but the Arabians, provoked by this insult, inveighed against our people in the most bitter terms. In order to effect their mischievous designs, they stirred up the people, and urged them to revenge this injury. ‘ How long (said they) will you endure the outrages of these mad ambitious men? Can you imagine that they, when aggrandized with wealth, will shew any regard to your

‘ your interest, or observe their faith? A handful of them you see at a distance from their country, have dared most grossly to insult us, your antient friends and allies, and this too in your own city, and even before your eyes. They have highly injured fair traders, from whom you receive yearly such great advantages. In short, by their insolent and audacious behaviour, they seem to act as if they imagined themselves absolute sovereigns of this kingdom. Have not a few of them in a strange country, in the dominions of an excellent prince, and in the sight of thousands of this city, committed an outrage which the king himself would never have thought of attempting? It is not we, therefore, but yourselves who are affronted by this injury; their design is not to molest us, but to try your patience; and if you allow this indignity to go unpunished, they will soon strip you of your liberty and property, and every thing that is valuable.’ By these and such like speeches the people being inflamed, attacked Sala, who, only accompanied with 12 Portuguese, fled to a chapel built in honour of the Virgin Mary; here they made so gallant a defence, that the enemy were unable to break in upon them. The Arabians seeing they could not make themselves masters of the chapel without a considerable loss, got together a parcel of wood, and set fire to the chapel, where all the Portuguese perished in the most miserable manner. Pedro Raphael was then in the harbour, but as the affair was so sudden and unexpected, he could not bring assistance to his friends: however, in revenge he burnt five Arabian ships lying in the harbour, and immediately sailed for Cochin, where he found Almeed, whom he informed of this tragical affair. As soon as the viceroy received this account, he ordered his son to sail directly for Coulan, and to destroy all the ships in that harbour. Laurence executed his orders with so much expedition, that he came in sight of the town, and burnt 27 of the enemy’s ships, before they were apprized of his arrival.

John Homo's commission was taken from him as a punishment for his rash conduct.

Soon after Almeed went ashore, where he was received by the king of Cochin with the highest marks of respect and honour. But this was not that prince who had so much endangered his life and crown by his fidelity to our people. He had abdicated the throne, and retired to a temple, where he dedicated his time entirely to the study and exercise of religious duties. He had resigned the regal power to his sister's son Nambeadar, who was next heir by the laws and customs of the realm. Almeed thought it needless to offer presents to a prince who seemed to set at nought all worldly wealth and grandeur; but he resolved to bestow them on the young king, who as successor to the crown, in his opinion, had likewise a right to the rewards due to the virtue, fidelity, and friendship of his uncle. He accordingly gave orders, that a scaffold should be erected: this he covered with the richest tapestry, and having seated the king in a chair of state, that he might be seen by all the people, he made a speech to him, wherein he greatly encouraged him, and raised his hopes, by telling him he might expect to enjoy more felicity than any of his predecessors had done. Emmanuel, he said, had the highest sense of the extraordinary worth and uncommon fidelity of Trimumpar; and was therefore desirous not only to call him, but to treat him in every respect as his friend and ally: but as that religious prince professed a disregard for all those earthly enjoyments so highly valued by other mortals, the honours due to him now of right devolved to his successor. He accordingly presented Nambeadar with a golden crown, assuring him of the friendship and protection of his Portuguese majesty, who would defend him from the invasions of the zaniorin, and all other enemies. In the name of his royal master, he gave him power to coin all sorts of money, and left him in full possession of all the rights and privileges a king could desire, for

maintaining his power and authority. Nambeadar expressed himelf in the most grateful manner for all the favours of Emmanuel, promising he would always remain attached to his interest, and do every thing in his power to promote his dignity. Almeed then placed the crown on his head, and gave him many considerable presents. After this ceremony was finished several trumpets were sounded, and the king marched in grand procession to his palace.

Almeed having now loaded eight ships, ordered them to sail for Portugal. On the first of February 1506, the fleet came upon an unknown country, which was covered with thick woods, and abounded in cattle. Our people despaired ten small boats, aboard which were several naked blacks, with short fleecy hair, and armed with bows and arrows. They made towards Ferdinand Soarez's ship: twenty of them went aboard; these were treated with great civility, for the Portuguese invited them to an entertainment, and made them a present of some wearing apparel. Our people did not understand their language, so that they were obliged to express themselves to each other by signs. These men departed, in outward appearance extremely well pleased; but when they had advanced a little way from the ship, they began to return these civilities by discharging their arrows on our people. The Portuguese provoked by this ingratitude fired their guns upon them. Ferdinand Soarez, observing some of them near Roderigo Freira's ship, called to Roderigo to take them prisoners; accordingly twenty eight were seized. The fleet having cruized along a little farther, came to anchor in a bay, where they went ashore, and took in a supply of water. In this place a body of the natives attacked our men, who were obliged to retire to their ships, from whence they plied them briskly with their cannon. Several of the Barbarians were killed, and the rest were driven to flight. This behaviour of that people plainly shewed they were of a savage and unhospitable disposition. The Portuguese did not at first

take this country for an island: but when they had sailed along the coast, and doubled some of the capes, they discovered it to be an island. It was formerly called Madagascar, but our people gave it the name of St. Laurence. It lies to the east opposite to that part of Ethiopia called Caffers. The fleet arrived at Lisbon the 24th of May 1506.

In the year 1505, soon after Almced's departure from Lisbon, Emmanuel equipt another fleet of six sail, which he sent to India under the command of Francisco Gnaia. When they were upon the western coast of Ethiopia, one of the captains named John Laeteo, when endeavouring to strike a large fish, was carried over board and drowned. Another commander went ashore to get some provision, but venturing too boldly amongst the natives, he was killed, with several of his crew. They steered from thence for the Cape of Good Hope, but keeping too far to the southward, their water was frozen, and they themselves were so benumbed with cold, that they could hardly work the ships. However, they at last with great difficulty, doubled the Cape, and coasting along Caffers, they came to anchor in Sofala. Gnaia, with his four smallest vessels (for his two largest could not enter) went into the harbour. The king was a man of seventy years of age, and had lost his sight, but before he met with that misfortune he had greatly signalized himself by his gallantry and warlike prowess. The town was not large, nor were the houses magnificent in the outside: they were mostly surrounded with thick hedges, and within they were hung with silk tapestry. The name of the king was Zufe: he received Gnaia with great civility, and expressed the utmost respect and friendship for Emmanuel. His majesty was surrounded with several guards, who were mostly Arabians: they were naked to the waist, and covered from thence to their knees with silk or cotton. They wore a poniard by their side, and a silk or cotton turbant on their head. After many expressions of kindness, Gnaia asked leave of

of the king to build a fort, which, he said, would be of great service to his majesty himself. This request was readily granted. After the king and Gnaia parted, one Zacote, an Arabian of great authority and influence waited on Gnaia, with whom he formed a strict friendship, and informed him in every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants.

The Portuguese admiral set about building the fort with great forwardness, and in a few months it was finished, for the natives themselves assisted in the work. He then sent some of his fleet to India, and others to Zuiloa. He himself remained in the fort with a sufficient force. The Arabian merchants at Sofala were not a little chagrin'd at the civility shewn to our people. Several of them accordingly waited on the king, whom they advised to beware of the perfidy and treachery of the Portuguese, who, they said, under a mask of friendship concealed the most wicked designs.

' For what end (added they) do they build a fort in your dominions, but to encrease their own power, that they may afterwards dethrone you, and strip you of your whole property ? have they not by the like artifice expelled the king of Quiloa, and robbed many of the Indian princes of their possessions ? in short wherever they have got a footing, have they not left numberless traces of their villainy and cruelty ? if you have then any regard for your own welfare, or preservation, destroy them before they acquire strength, lest afterwards it may not be in your power to avert ruin and destruction from yourself and kingdom.' The king being spurred on by such speeches, secretly got together a body of men, and appointed a day to fall upon our people. Gnaia being informed of this plot by Acote, held himself in readiness to repulse the enemy. On the day prefix'd they attacked the fort with great fury, throwing in fiery stakes, and assailing the walls with their warlike engines : Acote in the mean while entered the fort with

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one hundred men to assist the Portuguese. The conflict for some time was fierce and obstinate: but the enemy were so terribly annoyed by the darts and cannon from the fort, that they at last betook themselves to flight. Our people did not allow them to recover from their consternation, but pursued them into the town, and even forced their way into the palace. The king had retired to his couch, and notwithstanding his age and blindness, he shewed amazing intrepidity in this extreme danger. He threw several javelins amongst our people, who were so crowded together, that hardly one weapon failed doing execution. Several of the Portuguese were wounded, amongst whom was Gnaia himself, who received a wound in the neck. Emmanuel Ferdinand, the Portuguese agent in those parts, observing this, attacked the king and cut off his head. The prince being thus slain, Gnaia ordered his men to abstain from all further violence, and to spare the people, whom he wanted to gain by acts of clemency; that as they had already seen convincing proofs of the courage of the Portuguese, they might now experience their tenderness and humanity in distress. Gnaia now thought proper to settle this slate, and to reward Acote for his fidelity and services. He accordingly, in the name of his royal master, created him king, and enjoined the people to obey him as their sovereign. Acote, on his part, took the oaths of allegiance to Emmanuel, and promised to behave always as a faithful tributary.

The air of this country was extremely unwholesome; it abounded in fenny marshes, and these were dried up by the scorching heat of the sun. Our people were seized with an excessive weakness in their body and a dimness of sight: this by degrees turned into a wasting consumption, which carried off several, amongst whom was Gnaia himself. In his room Emmanuel Ferdinand was appointed admiral by the unanimous consent of all the officers.

Soon

Soon after Almeed received intelligence by Cidebarbut and Emmanuel Corefima, sent by Ferdinand into India, of the death of Gnaia. He was at the same time informed of a tumult which had happened at Quiloa, on account of the murder of king Mahumed, who had been treacherously slain by king Tirencundus, a relation of the usurper Abrahem. Almeed immediately dispatched Novio Vasco Pereira, to command the fort of Zotala: in his way thither he was likewise to touch at Quoa, to settle the commissions raised there on account of the king's murder, and severely to punish all who were accessory thereto.

Here it may not be improper, if we give an account of the situation and extent of *Æthiopia*, in which Sofala is situated. That part of Africa, so called by the Greeks, as appears from the authority of Homer, was divided into the western and eastern *Æthiopia*, both which stretch forth in a large tract of thirty five degrees to the Cape of Good Hope, where they are bounded by the ocean. The former likewise extends five degrees north of the line. The eastern region reaches also a considerable way to the north, where it is bounded by the red-sea or Arabian gulph. More than one half of Africa is comprehended under *Æthiopia*. The country in some parts is extremely fertile, being watered with excellent rivers, and abounding in corn and cattle: in other parts the ground is barren, and nothing is to be seen but wild uncultivated deserts. The people differ greatly in their language as well as manners. Some are mild and civilized, whilst others are of the most rude and savage disposition. There are vast numbers of elephants in *Æthiopia*, and the ivory is exported thence to all parts of the world. The country likewise abounds in gold, silver, and brass mines, and many other commodities of considerable value: but the excessive heat of the climate, and the mortal fevers proceeding from thence, greatly hinder our people from reaping many advantages, which they might acquire by carrying on a trade

a trade in Æthiopia. However, avarice has often such an influence over men, that it makes them encounter the most horrid danger, when they have a prospect of enriching themselves. In that part of Æthiopia lying near the line, there is a large and extensive kingdom called Monopotama: it abounds in gold to a degree almost incredible, for it is even dug out of the lakes and rivers. The king was a monarch of great power, for most of the neighbouring princes acknowledged his authority, and paid him an annual tribute. The people were not pagans, but believed in one God, as the creator and ruler of the universe. Their dress differed very little from that used by the other Æthiopians. They highly honour, nay almost worship their sovereign. When the king goes abroad he generally wears by his side a small spade, with an ivory handle, and two arrows in his hands. These are the badges or ensigns of his royalty. The spade, they say, is an emblem of industry, and by it is hinted, that his subjects ought to manure their lands, lest by their sloth and idleness they may be reduced to want, and thereby tempted to steal and pilfer. One of the arrows is an ensign of the power which the king has to punish criminals. By the other he is represented as the defender of his people from all hostile invasions. The sons of all his tributary princes are educated in his family, that they may be taught due loyalty and zeal for his person, and that the king having the children as hostages may thereby keep the parents in strict duty and obedience. He always keeps up a numerous standing army, even when he is in peace with all the neighbouring nations. By this means he looks upon himself as secure from all sudden and unexpected invasions. Once a year he sends ambassadors to the grantees, who are vassals to his crown, to give them fire. As soon as the ambassadors are arrived at the vassal's court, they publish in the emperor's name, that every one must put out his fire, on pain of being declared a rebel and traitor; and every one lights it again at the fire brought by the embas-

embassador. ' If a prince refused to do this, war is declared against him, and if taken prisoner, he is punished as the most guilty criminal. This much may suffice concerning Æthiopia, and the people thereof. Now we will return to the affairs of India.

Francisco Almeed sent his son Laurence with nine sail of ships to cruize near the Maldive islands, which are about eighty leagues west of Cochin. They are almost numberless, and divided from each other by little narrow channels. Laurence's instructions were to intercept all the Arabian ships passing that way. But so great was the strength of the current in those parts, that he could not make the Maldives, but was driven into an island opposite to Cape Comorin, and separated from thence by a narrow sea; many suppose it to be the Tabrobana of the ancients. But the geographers who wrote after Ptolemy, will have Tabrobana to be the island of Sumatra, which lies over against the Aurea Chersonesus, or Malacca. The island, however, of which we are speaking, is called by Ptolemy Cori or Comorin, and by the inhabitants Zeylan or Ceylon. Its length from north to south is about two hundred and fifty miles, and its greatest breadth one hundred and forty. The soil of the country is extremely fertile, for it not only abounds in all kind of fruits, but also produces variety of herbs and odoriferous plants, which grow up without any culture. Here are also many thick groves of citron trees, and several others which yield fruits of the most grateful taste and flavour, but its most remarkable produce is a particular sort of cinnamon, which grows in vast plenty. Here are also great quantities of precious stones, dug out of the veins of rocks, and incredible numbers of rubies of a particular colour and brightness, which are found in shell-fishes at the bottom of the sea. There are likewise many elephants in this country: the whole island was divided into four kingdoms, but there was one king superior to all the rest in power, wealth and authority. He resided and kept his court at Columbo the metropolis

polis of his dominions. In this island there is a prodigious high mountain, called Columbo's or Adam's keeke, surrounded at bottom with many lakes. On the summit of this mountain there is likewise a small lake, the water of which is most delicious and excellent. Near to this is a rock, with the print of a man's foot thereupon, which the inhabitants firmly believe to be the footstep of Adam the father of mankind ; who, they say, was carried up from thence to heaven. A little distance from thence is a chapel where are two graves, much visited and frequented with the most surprising superstition, for they imagine the bodies of our first parents were there deposited. This ridiculous notion has prevailed so universally, that great numbers of the Arabians, and many others resort thither, with the utmost superstition. The ascent to this place is so steep, that no body can get up but by the help of chains and ladders.

Laurence, with his whole fleet, put in at a port of this island which the inhabitants called Gabalican. The king who was at no great distance from this place, having notice of the arrival of our people, sent a deputy with presents to the admiral, and to sollicit a treaty of friendship. Laurence received him with great civility, and gave him many considerable presents. He likewise sent Pelagio Sousa one of his officers, a man of great distinction; to wait upon the king, and to conclude a treaty. This gentleman being conducted to the palace, found the king seated there, with great pomp and majesty : his whole dress sparkled with diamonds, and his room, though at mid day, was illuminated with a vast number of waxen tapers, which in that island was looked upon as a piece of state and magnificence. Pelagio and his attendants were treated with the highest respect, and a treaty was concluded on these terms, ' That this king should pay Emmanuel yearly, by way of tribute, two hundred and fifty thousand pound weight of cinnamon ; and that on the other hand, Emmanuel should take him under his protection, and or- der

‘der his commanders to defend the ports and maritime towns of Ceylon from all hostile invasions.’ Lawrence concluded this treaty on condition that his father consented thereto, and confirmed it by his authority. The cinnamon, however, was immediately put aboard the ships, for the king so much dreaded the power of the Portuguese, that he wanted at any rate to gain their friendship. By the permission of the king, he erected a marble pillar, on which was carved Emmanuel’s arms: in this it was expressed, that he, in the name of Emmanuel had taken possession of that island.

Lawrence now returned to his father at Cochin, whence he was ordered to Anchedive, to fortify the citadel there, and to survey that coast. Emmanuel Pazagna was at the same time sent to Cananor by Almeed to assist in building and fortifying the castle there. When Lawrence was at Anchedive, one Lewis Wastman an Italian came to him. This man having a strong curiosity to see the world, had travelled through many countries in the habit of an Arabian merchant. He at length arrived at Calicut, where he gave himself out to be an Arabian. There he heard much of the Portuguese, and affecting to be entirely ignorant of such a people, he enquired into their manners, customs, and religion, and by what means they had come into India. The Arabians, in answer told him, they were a most wicked perfidious people, who delighted in nothing but plunder and acts of violence; and that they had already done the Arabians in those parts considerable damage. Lewis expressed the highest indignation at the Portuguese, and regretted that such an abandoned race should go on with impunity, for he said they deserved to be cut off from the face of the earth, for their wicked behaviour. By these professions, he insinuated himself into the confidence of the men-in-power, and came at the knowledge of all the king’s counsels. By this means he understood that a large fleet was fitting out in order to destroy the Portuguese.

Portuguese. Lewis in his heart detested the Arabians, and for some time had entertained hopes of being delivered from them by means of our people, and now he thought he had a favourable opportunity of ingratiating himself into their favour. He communicated his design to the Milaneze, and earnestly entreated them to return to the Portuguese. These men made answer, that being conscious of their own scandalous behaviour, they could not expect shelter from Christians whom they had deserted. Lewis however, bid them be of good courage, assuring them he would use his utmost endeavour to procure their pardon. Accordingly as soon as an opportunity offered, he embarked aboard a vessel, in order to go to the Portuguese viceroy; but in his course he fell in with Laurence. Him he informed of the warlike preparations making at Calicut: and at the same time told him, that the Milaneze were extremely sorry for what they had done; and that, on assurance of forgiveness, they would willingly return to the Portuguese, which he earnestly entreated him to promise. For by means of these men, he said, the people of Calicut had cast several cannon, and many had learnt the art from them, against their inclination. Laurence highly commended his friendship, and having loaded him with presents, ordered him to be conveyed to his father. The viceroy as soon as he received this intelligence sent orders to his son to prepare for an engagement. He at the same dispatched Lewis for Calicut, to bring back the Milaneze, on promise of pardon. These men gladly received the news; but as they were preparing for their departure, their design was discovered, and being seized, they suffered death in the most cruel manner. Lewis very narrowly escaped the same fate.

Mean while the Calicutian fleet was completely equipped. It consisted of eighty large ships, and one hundred and twenty paraos, furnished with men, arms, cannon, and every other necessary. Laurence sailed against the enemy with nine ships, aboard which were eight hundred

dred Portuguese, all men of distinguished courage, and extremely well armed. There were likewise some Indian auxiliaries, but these inconsiderable, and not to be much relied upon. The engagement began near the coast of Cananor. The sounding of trumpets, the wild shouts raised by the enemy, and the frequent firing of the cannon made the scene at first appear most terrible to our people, till at last the ships grappling each other, came to close quarter. Laurence attacked the flag-ship, which, after several unsuccessful attempts, he at last seized with his grappling irons. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides: Laurence immediately boarded her, and was followed by Philip Roderigo, John Homo, Ferdinand Petreio Andrade, Vincent Pereira, Roderigo Pereira, and several other brave fellows. There was aboard the enemy's ship six hundred men, who in this extreme danger fought with the most desperate resolution: but all of them were at last either killed or taken prisoners, excepting a few who saved themselves by swimming. The enemy's flag-ship being thus taken, Laurence went to the relief of Nunez Vasco Pereira, who, though his vessel was very small, yet had engaged and grappled one of the largest of the enemy, which by her superior bulk had like to have run him down. His men in this extreme danger, fought with amazing intrepidity; but they were so annoyed by the enemy's darts and weapons, that they thought they must all have been destroyed. But on Almeed's coming up, this ship was also taken, and of five hundred aboard all were cut to pieces, excepting a few who swam ashore. In the enemy's fleet, there was likewise several merchant ships, who were under the protection of the ships of war. These, when they observed two of the largest ships taken, began to fear the event. They therefore took the opportunity whilst our people were engaged in the fight, to sail off. Some of them made to the port of Calicut, and others steered their intended course. The rest of the enemy's ships of war nevertheless

theless maintained the fight with great obstinacy, firing their iron and brazen cannon, and sometimes fighting hand in hand with their spears and swords. One of the Portuguese ships being surrounded by the enemy, was in the most extreme danger. The fight for some time was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. The Calicutians, however, were at last entirely defeated, after having lost three thousand men. Ten of their ships and many of their paraos were sunk: nine of their largest ships were taken, in which was found a considerable booty. The Portuguese lost only six men in the action. Laurence having been thus successful sailed for Cananor, where he was received by the king with all demonstrations of joy, and his bravery was highly extolled by every body.

Meanwhile Zabaio king of Goa having received intelligence of the mighty preparations made at Calicut, and that the Portuguese fleet was sailed from Anchédive, was resolved to seize this opportunity of carrying on his hostile designs. By the advice therefore of a certain Portuguese, who had abjured his religion (one of the condemned exiles) he fitted out sixty ships to attack the fort of Anchédive, and the command was given to this Portuguese, who having been bred a ship carpenter, had formerly been of great service to our people in repairing their ships. His name was Antonio Ferdinand; but after he renounced his religion he called himself Abedella. This man having come before Anchédive with his fleet, began to assail the fort. But he met with so brave a resistance from Pazagna the governor, that he lost many of his men, and was obliged to desist from the attempt with great shame and infamy. But Almeed considering that our people could reap but little advantage from Anchédive, and that the fort being at so great a distance from Cochin, could not be maintained but at a vast expence, and great danger, he therefore resolved, with the approbation of all his officers to demolish it. He accordingly

ingly dispatched his son with a fleet to raze it from the foundation. Laurence executed his orders with great expedition, and having taken Pazagna and the rest of the Portuguese aboard his fleet he returned to his father at Cochin.

About this time Philip son to the emperor Maximilian, came from the Netherlands into Spain. He was married to Joan daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, to whom, after the death of John and that Isabel, who was first married to Alphonso John's son, and afterwards to Emmanuel, the Spanish crown now descended by right of succession. Philip and his consort having heard of the death of queen Isabel, accordingly set out for Spain, that they might be declared heirs to the kingdom. Emmanuel having been informed of their arrival, and considering them as his relations, sent an ambassador to congratulate them on their arrival, and to assure them he would always behave to them as a faithful ally and an affectionate brother. The person deputed for this Purpose was Diego Lopez Conde de Alvita. He was received in the most respectful manner by Philip and Joan, who expressed the utmost gratitude and affection for Emmanuel. About this time his Portuguese majesty sent another embassy to Pope Julian, earnestly beseeching him to use his utmost efforts, to bring about peace and concord amongst the Christian powers, who, he said, by their unnatural animosities and dissensions gave spirits to the grand Turk, and all the enemies of the Christian name.

This same year he ordered a fort to be built in Africa, near the straits of Gibraltar, that from thence our people might annoy the Moors in the adjacent country. He assigned this task to Diego Azambugio, a man of courage and activity, who had performed many great exploits. The fort was at last finished, though not without extreme difficulty and danger; for the Moors in great numbers endeavoured to obstruct the work, so that the Portuguese, while they were em-

ployed in building the fort, were at the same time obliged to repulse the enemy's attacks.

The following year 1507, Emmanuel fitted out fourteen ships for India: these at different times, according as they were ready, sailed from Lisbon. None of them, however, reached India this year. Vasco Gomez Abiato, one of the commanders, was appointed governor of the fort of Sofala. When they came upon the coast of Ethiopia, Vasco ordered a torch to be fixed on the stern of John Chanoqua's ship, the best failer in the fleet, and the rest to follow her. This vessel, however, by the carelessness of the pilot was shipwrecked, but most of the crew swam ashore, many of whom falling into the hands of the natives, were put in fetters, and detained till they were ransomed by some of the Portuguese sailing upon that coast. Roderigo Soarez, one of the commanders, fell in with an Arabian ship manned with five hundred men, which he took, after an obstinate engagement, and put to the sword all the Arabians aboard. Three other ships were lost; the rest which escaped being unable to make India, wintered at different ports on the African coast.

But as soon as it was known in India, that the Portuguese had received no assistance that year from Portugal, the Arabians began then to be greatly elevated; for now, they thought, was the time to destroy our people. They therefore in the most earnest manner, entreated the zamorin not to neglect so favourable an opportunity, which providence itself seemed to offer. The augurs too foretold that he would be victorious this year. The priests also and the bramins, who pretended to be divinely inspired, greatly encouraged him to hope that his undertaking would be crowned with success. The zamorin accordingly, with the utmost diligence, made all necessary preparations for a war. Almeed received intelligence of this by his spies and deserters: and that he might shew the enemy he did not stand in need of any assistance, he immediately fitted out two fleets; one consisted of two gallies, two

large

large ships, and one parao: this he gave to Emmanuel Pazagna, with orders to protect the ships sailing from Cochin towards Cape Camorin. The other of eleven ships he gave to the command of his son Lawrence, who was to cruise near Cochin, to prevent any sudden invasion from the enemy. Gundissalvo Vasco Goes, one of the commanders in this fleet, not having a sufficient quantity of provisions, was obliged to sail for Cananor to get a supply. As he was on his return from thence to join Lawrence, he fell in with an Arabian ship, which he attacked with great fury. The Arabians made no resistance, for they said they were our allies, and in testimony thereof, they produced letters of protection from Laurenzo Britto governor of the fort at Cananor: for ever since the Portuguese began to build forts in India, no ships were allowed to sail in these seas, unless they had letters from some Portuguese commander, otherwise they were liable to be taken and plundered by our people; but if they had such credentials, they were suffered to steer their course without any molestation. The Arabians in this ship accordingly shewed their passport, by virtue of which, they reckoned themselves entirely safe: but Goes either blinded by avarice, prompted by the natural cruelty of his temper, or hurried on by his antipathy to the Arabians, called aloud that it was a forged passport or fraudulently obtained. He said he knew them to be enemies of the Christians; that they had hostile designs against the Portuguese, and declared he would punish them for their villainy. He accordingly plundered the ship, and having sowed up those miserable wretches in the sails, he then sunk the vessel with his cannon. This barbarous action was not only contrary to the laws of nations, and ties of humanity, but also extremely rash and unpolitic at such a juncture. The Portuguese had not yet laid a sufficient foundation for an empire in the east, and their strength was then inconsiderable; they ought therefore by the most faithful and humane behaviour, to have endeavoured to procure the affections

of the Indian nations; for as nothing contributes more to raise and support the character of a people than a strict adherence to faith and honour, so likewise perfidy and cruelty effectually blasts their reputation, renders them detestable, and makes every nation conspire to bring about their destruction. The truth of this remark was greatly confirmed by the consequences which arose from the inhuman behaviour of Goes, for the Portuguese became universally odious in India. Almeed was so much offended at the conduct of that commander, that he deprived him of his commission, and ever after excluded him from his friendship and familiarity.

About this time the king of Cananor died: his successor was a most inveterate enemy of the Portuguese, for he had come to the throne by the zanorin's interest. There was at Cananor one Mamele, an Arabian of the greatest wealth and distinction: this man had had a considerable cargo aboard the ship destroyed by Goes, and the captain was his own nephew. When he received intelligence of the melancholy fate of his relation, and all the rest of the crew, he was almost distracted with grief and indignation. He went directly to Britto, against whom he exclaimed in the most bitter terms as the author of this cruel barbarity. ' 'Tis you (said he) who has basely betrayed us: it must be entirely owing to your accursed villainy, that I have been thus robbed of my effects, and bereaved of my dear nephew: for had you given a true passport, is it possible that one of your own countrymen, and a commander of a large ship too, would have committed such an outrage, and barbarously murdered so many of our unhappy people?' Britto solemnly protested he had been guilty of no deceit; the Arabian, however, was not in the least pacified with this answer. Full of all the marks of grief and indignation, he hastened to the palace, accompanied with the wives, parents, and children of those who had suffered death in so cruel a manner. There, with the most pitiful cries and lamentations,

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ons, implored the king's assistance to revenge such inhuman barbarity. His majesty assured them he would comply with their requests; and having taken Mamele aside, gave him full liberty to pursue what measures he thought proper to punish such a perfidious people. Mamele immediately wrote to the Arabians at Calicut, informing them of this affair. As soon as they received this intelligence, they communicated it to the zamorin, who dispatched a person to spirit on the king of Cananor, and to assure him of his assistance; for with their united forces, he said, they might be able to destroy the Portuguese.

The king of Cananor now applied himself with the utmost vigour in making preparations against our people: however, for some time he thought it necessary to keep his design secret. He ordered a broad trench to be thrown up from shore to shore. This separated the city from the fort, standing on a point of land washed by the sea. This he pretended to make as a fortification for the city, without any design against the Portuguese. At a little distance from the fort there was a well, which used to supply the garrison with fresh water. The king intended, if possible, to deprive the Portuguese of this convenience. There was a narrow path from the trench to the well, which he intended to fortify in such a manner, as to cut off all communication which our people had to the well, that he might by this means destroy them by thirst. This design, however, was discovered to Britto by the prince who was next heir to the crown of Cananor; he also informed him, that the zamorin, besides other engines of war, had sent the king of Cananor twenty four brass cannon to batter the fort, and moreover promised to assist him with 3000 men. Britto expressed himself in the most grateful manner to the young prince for this intelligence, and promised he would do his utmost endeavour to make a proper requital for such extraordinary friendship. He thought it extremely dangerous for any of his men to be in the

city, and therefore commanded them to keep within the fort. He also dispatched a messenger to Almeed to inform him of the danger with which he was threatened. Almeed immediately sent his son with a supply of men, arms, and ammunition to strengthen the garrison, that they might be enabled to hold out a siege. Britto saw plainly that all his men must perish, if their communication with the well was cut off: he therefore made a rampart from shore to shore, and a bridge from thence to the well. This he fortified with towers, and planted with cannon, in order to repulse the enemy, if they should attempt to hinder our people from watering. By these preparations the king understood that his design was discovered, and that there was now no room for dissimulation: he therefore resolved immediately to attack the fort. He had in his camp 40000 men, partly his own subjects, and partly auxiliaries sent from Calicut. Having drawn out his forces, he attacked the rampart; our people with great difficulty withstood the assault. The most obstinate conflict was at the well, for the enemy used their utmost efforts to hinder the Portuguese from watering; they on the other hand maintained the fight with great bravery: so that those who wanted water were obliged to purchase it with blood. Our people, however, at last, by the advice of Thomas Ferdinand, an excellent engineer, dug a passage under ground from the fort to the well: this was done with so much secrecy, that it was finished before the enemy knew anything of the matter. A little above the opening of this burrow at the well, they drove in beams of wood, over which they laid others a-cross, and covered them with a large quantity of stuff, to secure the well and hinder the enemy from throwing poison into it: and in order to prevent their pulling up these materials, the earth, at the mouth of the well was dug up and heaped upon them. By this contrivance the Portuguese had a safe and easy communication with the well. The king of Cananor failing in this attempt, began to attack the rampart with greater

greater fury ; but observing that our cannon did great execution amongst his men, he gave orders that several sacks should be stuffed with wooll, and placed before them to receive the shot : whilst these were preparing he desisted from the attack, and moved his camp to a little distance. Britto imagining there was some deep-laid design in this retreat, devised the following expedient to discover the enemy's intention : He ordered a carpenter to place a gin or trap, at a little distance opposite to the gate of the rampart, and that it should be covered with earth and other light stuff. He then sent out forty soldiers, with orders to make a feint, as if they were going to the city. The enemy observing this, immediately attacked our men, and eagerly pursued them retreating gradually. The commander of the enemy's detachment having advanced before the rest of his men, fell into the snare : upon this the 40 Portuguese fought with redoubled vigour ; and being joined by others who sallied forth to their assistance, they soon put to flight the enemy, who were seized with the utmost panic and consternation. Britto observing his men too eager in the pursuit, sounded a retreat ; upon which they returned : they disengaged the officer in the trap, and carried him to their commander, who, having examined the captive, was by him informed of the king's reason for quitting the attack. He received also intelligence to the same purpose, by a messenger sent by the next heir to the crown, who, in the silence of the night, came to the fort, in a boat, loaded with provisions.

The Portuguese accordingly prepared for a stout defence. The king, on the other hand, having finished his works, prepared for the attack in this order : The sacks were placed in the front, as a rampart to cover his men in their approaches : next to these were placed a considerable number of soldiers, armed with bows, guns, and many other sorts of weapons. The king himself brought up the rear, which consisted of a large and formidable body of men. Vast quantities of stone and

and iron bullets were discharged from the fort, but these being received by the sacks, did the enemy no damage: this gave the assailants high spirits; for they now thought themselves sure of success, and accordingly raised joyful shouts. The following day the assault was renewed with greater vigour; but Britto now calling to mind, that had one large cannon of much greater force than any he had hitherto made use of, he immediately ordered it to be levelled against the enemy: this being discharged several times, at last scattered the sacks and beat down every obstacle. The enemy being thus stripped of their fence, our people plied them with their great guns as well as small arms, and did considerable execution. That night a Castilian nobleman, named Guadelaira, requested of Britto the liberty of picking out fifty Portuguese; and with this force he undertook to strike some important blow against the enemy. This being granted, Guadelaira set out with this detachment in a dark rainy night: the enemy knowing the smallness of our numbers, little dreamt of such an attack; the sounding of the trumpets and the shouts of the Portuguese, filled them with the utmost consternation. Our people killed many asleep, and others half awake, and drove all the rest to flight. By day-break the Portuguese took possession of the camp, from whence they carried off a considerable booty.

But the joy arising from this successful exploit was soon after interrupted by a melancholy event which happened to our people. There was a row of houses adjoining to the fort, by which they were protected from the enemy: these were mostly warehouses; some of which were filled with merchandize, and others stored with provisions for the support of the garrison. By the carelessness of a boy, who having fallen asleep, left a lighted candle, one of these houses was set a fire. The flames spread quick'y to the adjoining houses; which being built of wood, and thatched with palm-leaves, were soon burnt to the ground. By this fire our

our people lost many valuable effects, but nothing affected them so much as their want of provisions, most of which were destroyed ; and as it was then the winter season, they had no hopes of getting a supply. In short, they were at last so afflicted by famine, that they were obliged to live upon cats, mice, and lizards. The governor thought something must be attempted in this extremity ; he accordingly sent out a relation of his own to try if he could surprise the enemy, and bring off some provisions. The enemy, however, being upon their guard, attacked this party, of whom they wounded several ; amongst these was the officer himself, who was so disabled that he could not retreat, and must certainly have fallen into the hands of the enemy had it not been for the timely assistance of John Gregono, a gallant youth about 25 years of age, who brought him off in safety, and conveyed him to the fort. In this affair 20 of the Portuguese were killed.

Meantime the king of Cananor being informed of the extremity to which our people were reduced by famine, was resolved to seize the opportunity of performing some exploit ; he accordingly placed several of his men in ambush, and ordered two cows to be driven near the rampart. The Portuguese soldiers immediately rushed forth to seize them : this they did contrary to the orders of their commander, for now they disregarded all authority, and were entirely actuated by hunger : those who lay in ambush immediately attacked our men, who repulsed them with so much bravery, that they carried off the cattle within the rampart, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the enemy, and before they could receive any reinforcement. This small supply proved a most seasonable relief to our people ; but when this too was consumed, they found themselves under a necessity of surrendering, or perishing by famine. When they were thus distressed, they were relieved by a particular instance of the Divine favour : for the sea beginning to swell and grow tempestuous, threw ashore every day considerable quantities of shrimps, which

which expelled the hunger of our people, and recruited those who had been emaciated by want. By this means the Portuguese were enabled to hold out the siege the whole winter; and the spring now approaching, they began to expect a supply. The king having intelligence of this, resolved to make one powerful effort to take the fort and rampart before any assistance should arrive from Cochin; he accordingly fitted out a large fleet, and raised two castles on the hulls of some of his ships, after the manner of those erected by the zamorin against Pacheco. The Portuguese governor received information of these preparations from the prince successor, who at the same time advised him carefully to guard that part of the fort next the sea. The king having received some more auxiliaries, had now 50000 men under his command. All things being ready, the enemy's ships and castles attacked the fort by sea, whilst, at the same time, a considerable body of men by land assailed the rampart. The enemy, however, in both parts received considerable damage, and they were at last obliged to abandon the attempt. The following day Britto removed his guns from the fort to the rampart, and from thence he turned them upon the city. He demolished several of the houses, and one large mosque, whither the Arabians had flocked in great numbers in order to importune the king to grant them relief in their present distress: for so great was the terror and consternation of the inhabitants of the city, that they unanimously entreated his majesty to make peace with the Portuguese, otherwise they said they should be obliged to remove to some other country. At this time Tristan Cugna arrived with a fleet: his arrival now obliged the king to sue for peace, which was accordingly granted on certain terms, and on condition that the viceroy Almeed ratified them by his authority. But as to the exploits performed by Tristan Cugna, after his arrival at Cananor, these we shall relate in another place of our history.

## B O O K V.

DURING these transactions in India, the following occurrences happened in Africa : Saffia is a sea-port, lying on the Atlantic ocean to the south of the straits of Gibraltar. The city was large, opulent, and populous; great numbers of merchants resorting thither on the account of commerce. The adjacent country is very fertile, abounding in corn and cattle. It was for many years under the emperor of Morocco, whose dominions comprehended the greatest part of the antient Mauritania; but at length the Faramian family, by dint of their great power and popularity, seized the sovereignty. Abdpear Rhaman, one of the chiefs of this family, was a man of the most unbounded ambition, who, in order to pave the way for his obtaining the supreme authority, did not shrink at the most execrable villainy; for he murdered his own uncle Hamedux, who was superior to all the chiefs in wealth and interest. Afterwards, by a shew of the utmost liberality and munificence, he so far won over the people to his interest, that he retained the government without any molestation. Rhaman had a daughter of exquisite beauty, for whom a handsome young nobleman named Haliaduc had conceived a passion, and at last enjoyed her with the consent of the young lady's mother. When Rhaman got notice of this intrigue, he was so highly enraged at the indignity offered to his family, that he resolved to put to death the young nobleman. Rhaman's wife and daughter having discovered his design, gave intelligence thereof to Hamedux, who, in order to save his own life, formed a resolution to take away that of Rhaman's. Having

ing communicated his intention to Jehabentaf, a youth with whom he had the strictest friendship, and in whose fidelity and resolution he had the highest confidence, he now employed all his thoughts to execute the affair with the utmost expedition. At this time there happened to be an anniversary festival, which used to be kept by the Arabians with the greatest pomp and ceremony; Rhaman having gone into a mosque on this solemn occasion, sent a messenger inviting Haliadux to join with him in the offices of devotion; and moreover to acquaint him, that after divine service he wanted to consult with him upon some matters of the highest moment. From this message Haliadux concluded, that the time was now at hand when he must either dispatch Rhaman, or fall himself a sacrifice to the bloody designs of that man; he sent therefore to Jehabentaf, and both of them accompanied with ten of their trusty domestics, brave and resolute men, who were in the plot, having gone straightway to the mosque, fell suddenly on Rhaman and killed him. Rhaman's attendants made at first some appearance as if they were determined to avenge his death; but when they beheld twelve undaunted men at hand, threatening destruction with their drawn swords, they conjectured they would not have embarked in such a desperate attempt without the concurrence of many others: dispirited moreover by the loss of their leader, and finding themselves quite defenceless, they took to their heels. Haliadux and Jehabentaf then repaired to the town hall, where the people being assembled, the former made a speech, in which he observed to them, that he had deservedly put to death the tyrant who had plotted his destruction; adding, moreover, that in cutting off so villainous a parricide he thought he had done a signal service to his fellow-citizens; who, from that day he hoped would be under a mild government, and in a more flourishing condition. By the unanimous consent of the people (who being fickle and unsteady, could be easily wrought upon

upon to side with any party) Haliadux and Jehabentaf had the government of the state devolved upon them.

At this time Diego Azambugio had the command of a fort built by the orders of Emmanuel, at a little distance from Saffia. The late confusion and disorder in the city gave thirteen Spanish prisoners an opportunity to make their escape: these having seized a vessel, sailed to the fort, and informed the governor of the situation of affairs in the city. Two days after, Haliadux, who had perceived that Rhaman's friends and relations were plotting the destruction of him and his party, went to Azambugio, and earnestly entreated him not to let slip the present opportunity. He said he would undertake, with the utmost facility, to bring the city under the power of Emmanuel; but in order to effect this, that he stood in need of the assistance of the Portuguese, to withstand the machinations of his enemies. Azambugio entertained the highest suspicion of the Moors, for he had had many instances of their perfidy, yet, considering the present distraction of the city, he thought proper to go into the proposal of Haliadux and his party. He accordingly went to Saffia, attended with twelve Portuguese of distinction: there he stayed a week; in which time he drew up articles with Haliadux, and entered into the most solemn treaty. But having found by the discovery of one Abraham, a Jew, that there was a plot hatching against him, he then retired to the royal fort, whither he was followed by Haliadux and four more Arabian nobles; so that the management of the state was now left wholly to Jehabentaf. By the late treaty it was stipulated, that the Moors should allow the Portuguese to build a large house near the walls by the sea side; and that our people might live with greater security and splendor, they were likewise to have assigned to them a tower on the wall adjoining to the house, and to have the command of a gate lying towards the sea.

Things being thus settled, Azambugio returned to Portugal with the four Moors: he related the present situation.

situation of affairs at Saffia to Emmanuel, and represented to him the largeness of the place, and the convenience of its situation for carrying on war in the inland parts of Africa. His majesty was highly pleased with this information, and accordingly sent back Azambugio to that country. He sent letters also to Garsia Melos, then cruizing in the streights to annoy the Moorish shipping, ordering him to join Azambugio: Melo, though then very much indisposed, yet obeyed his instructions with the utmost expedition; he accordingly sailed to Saffia, where Azambugio had already arrived. Here was nothing but tumult and confusion; the populace were all up in arms, being resolutely determined not to come under the subjection of any Christian power. Jehabentaf and Haliadux, who had returned into the city, being now reconciled to each other, secretly encouraged this spirit in their people; and, in violation of the treaty, contrived all possible mischief against our people. The Portuguese officers formed a scheme to sow animosity betwixt these two usurpers; so that when their strength was divided, they might then more easily make themselves masters of the city. The expedient was thus executed: Garcia Melos still labouring under a severe distemper, sent to Saffia for a Jewish physician to attend him. He bribed this man to carry two letters, one to each of the governors of the city, in such a manner that neither should know of that delivered to the other. These letters were signed by Melos. In that to Haliadux he advises him to be upon his guard against the wicked machinations of Jehabentaf, who he knew for certain, had a design against his life; and he offered him his assistance against the artifices of this man. No plots (he said) could be more dangerous than those which arose from a jealousy of power; and as the friendship of two persons, who jointly hold the sovereignty, was very unstable, so likewise a man in such a situation was greatly exposed and liable to be cut off by his rival, in whom perhaps he had the highest confidence. He

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wrote Jehabentaf likewise to the same purpose, warning him to beware of Haliadux. As soon as the physician visited Melos, he put his hand under the bed clothes, making an appearance of feeling whether the violence of the fever was abated, and in this manner received and conveyed letters unknown to any person. Meanwhile both Haliadux and Jehabentaf, without the knowledge of each other, returned thanks to Melos, promising to be faithful to Emmanuel; each entreating that he might not be abandoned as a sacrifice to the other.

By this stratagem, so artfully contrived against a most artful and perfidious people, a mutual distrust and fear was infused into these two men, each depended on the assistance of the Portuguese to defeat the artifices of his rival. Both accordingly, unknown to each other, entreated Azambugio and Melos to come into Saffia; each undertaking to bring the city under subjection to Emmanuel. The two Portuguese commanders, therefore, entered the city attended only with 50 soldiers. They chose the house of Rhaman for their residence, because it was large, strong, and situate near the sea, and conveyed thither a great quantity of arms concealed in casks and chests.

The Moors being of the most suspicious as well as faithless disposition, began to suspect somewhat from the busy appearance of our people. The two usurpers repented of their conduct; and, in a clandestine manner, contrived all manner of mischief against the Portuguese: hence it plainly appeared, that their secret artifices would soon break out into open violence. Azambugio wrote to Emmanuel an account of the state of affairs at Saffia; and his majesty resolved to send supplies with all possible expedition: he accordingly fitted out four ships, the command of which was given to Mendez Zacoto, a man of great experience in the African wars. When Mendez reached the port, he found the Portuguese involved in great difficulties by the perfidy of the Moors, who had broke through the treaty, and

used all manner of artifice to obstruct Azambugio in carrying on the fortress: they not only refused to supply materials for the work, but even denied our people the necessaries of life; and it appeared by their whole conduct, that they did not want inclination but courage to put in execution their wicked designs. The Portuguese complained of this usage to one of the usurpers, who laid all the blame on his colleague. However, on the arrival of Zacoto, our people gained fresh spirits, and walked about in the city with great boldness: they then told the usurpers, that they would not suffer both of them to be at the head of the government, because it bred animosity and dissention, and the one was continually plotting the other's destruction: they therefore insisted, that one of the two should hold the administration in the name of Emmanuel. This necessity imposed on these two men made both extremely indifferent about the sovereignty, for each pressed the other to accept the government; which moderation appeared very extraordinary in two persons of such an ambitious turn of mind. Haliadux, by repeated intreaties, at last prevailed on Jehabentaf to take upon him the supreme authority.

This man being now sole governor of the state, began more openly to form plots against the Portuguese; and by all possible methods endeavoured to hinder Ambugio from carrying on the fort. He strictly charged the citizens not to furnish stones, mortar, or any other materials for the work, and threatened to punish severely those who should give the least assistance. This he did at first in a clandestine manner, and every day grew more open and insolent in his behaviour. When Azambugio perceived this, he sent for Haliadux, who he knew heartily repented of his easiness in giving up the sovereignty: him he advised to get together a party of his friends to assassinate Jehabentaf; so that this man being taken off, he himself might enjoy the supreme authority. Jehabentaf finding his life greatly endangered from the plots of Haliadux, and, at the same

same time, not knowing that Azambugio was privy to the design, took shelter in Rhaman's house. Diego Miranda, Azambugio's grandson, at that time resided there, who being likewise ignorant that his grandfather was concerned in the affair, received Jehabentaf into his protection in a very friendly manner. Azambugio had intended to inflict capital punishment on Jehabentaf, but the Moor being a person of great subtilty and eloquence, made use of many arguments to make it appear, that the taking away his life would in no way be conducive to the interest of the Portuguese: he strongly solicited Azambugio to be sent into Portugal, that he might surrender himself to the mercy of Emmanuel, and take the oaths of allegiance to his majesty, to whom he said he would adhere to the last moment of his life, with the utmost fidelity. But if the king refused to grant him forgiveness, he said he would then submit to death with the utmost resignation. Jehabentaf having at last prevailed on Azambugio, was sent in fetters to Portugal. He not only obtained his life of Emmanuel, but also had a troop of horse given him, to be employed in making excursions into the enemies borders. This man ever after retained so grateful a sense of Emmanuel's generosity and kindness, that he performed many great exploits in his majesty's service; and as long as he lived, behaved with the utmost loyalty and fidelity.

But Haliadux, to whom Azambugio had committed the government of the city, acted quite contrary to the expectation of our people, for he behaved with more enmity against them than Jehabentaf had done. He used all his art to obstruct the building of the fort, threatening the workmen, and punishing all those who gave the least assistance. The work, however, notwithstanding all his efforts, was by degrees brought to its proper height. Azambugio pretended that he was only building a large house, where the Christian merchants were to deposit their goods. He filled up the

places designed for portholes, with mud and small stones; and ordered the outside to be cast over with mortar, that the enemy might not know his intention. Besides, he broke out a gate in the wall to open a communication betwixt the fleet and the fort; and he fortified the way leading to the gate with a rampart on each side.

The day after the work was finished, so as to be defensible, Azambugio sent a messenger to Haliadux, reproaching him with breach of treaty, and acting contrary to the solemn oath he had taken; since he had sworn in the name of Mahumet to furnish whatever was necessary for building the fort, but disregarding his oath, he acted with the most inveterate malice against our people. He therefore entreated him to have some regard to divine and human laws; and if he had any sense of shame, to desist from such scandalous proceedings. Haliadux made answer, That he was not a little astonished at the presumption of a man who could not even be supplied with food or water, but by his means; and yet that he should express himself in so haughty a manner, as if he had an abundance of all necessaries. To this Azambugio replied, That the Portuguese were wont to satisfy their hunger, and quench their thirst by the blood of their enemies. When Haliadux received this answer, he bit his finger; which, amongst that nation, is a sign of threatening revenge. Azambugio now thought it highly expedient to fall upon Haliadux with the utmost expedition, before he had time to call in assistance from the neighbouring villages. But lest he should seem the aggressor, he wanted a fresh provocation from the enemy; when, according to his wish, an opportunity of this nature presented itself. A Moorish butcher had struck a Portuguese of royal blood in the market-place. The injured person complained of this indignity to Azambugio, who desired him tamely to put up the affront for some time. But Azambugio being now nettled at Haliadux's answer, sent for the Portuguese gentleman, and

and advised him immediately to kill the Moor who had injured him ; and for this purpose gave him one of his domestics as an associate. They accordingly went to the market-place, where they fell upon the butcher and killed him. The city was immediately filled with tumult and uproar, and the Arabians flock- ed together from all quarters and attacked the Por- tuguese, who made a stout resistance ; and retiring by degrees, they at last reached the fort with the utmost difficulty and danger. The enemy having surrounded the fort, poured in great quantities of darts and other missive weapons, and used all other methods to destroy our people. They at last planted their cannon, and began to batter the fort with great vigour. The Por- tuguese were all in arms, and kept to their posts ; but according to the orders of Azambugio, not one of them threw any weapon. The fort was stormed a whole night with the utmost fury ; but all these endeavours proved ineffectual. By day-break Azambugio ordered divine service to be performed, and that all his men should refresh themselves with victuals. He then drew them up in great silence, and ordered a white horse to be brought for himself, he being very old, and lame ; for in the war betwixt Alphonso and the king of Castille, when his son John besieged the town of Alegrete in the province of Alentejo, Ambugio was one of the principal commanders under John, and at that time received a desperate wound in the leg. Of the Portuguese in the fort, he was therefore the only person on horseback. All things being in readi- ness, they sallied out about mid-day, and by their un- expected attack, struck the utmost pannic into the Moors, little expecting that such a handful of men, whom they believed to be in the greatest trepidation, would have dared to attack so numerous an enemy. The Moors retired into a neighbouring mosque. Our people pursued them and killed several. The enemy having got into the mosque, recovered themselves from their panic, and the fight was renewed with fresh vi-

gour: but the Portuguese rushing in with great fury, slew many of them, and obliged the rest to fly with the utmost precipitation. Many of them took shelter in a fort of the city, garrisoned by their troops. Here they pointed a large cannon against the Portuguese fortress, which did considerable damage. Sebastian Roderigo, an engineer of great skill observing this, planted a cannon opposite thereto, with great exactness. This being discharged, the ball entered the mouth of the enemy's piece which it splitted and killed the gunner. The Arabians having now lost all hopes, beook themselves to flight, and Haliadux fled to the town of Targa. Those who remained in the city, sued for peace from Azambugio, which he granted them on certain terms, and that they should pay an yearly tribute to Emmanuel. Though the particular number of the enemy which fell in this affair is not mentioned, yet it is certain that they suffered a considerable slaughter. The Portuguese lost only one man, an intimate of Azambugio, by whose side he was killed. Melos and Azambugio however, could not agree: they greatly differed about the measures to be taken in keeping the city. The misunderstanding arose to such a height, that Melos departed for Portugal, and Azambugio was left alone to govern Saffia, in the name of Emmanuel. Thus by the bravery and vigilance of a few men, that strong and opulent place came under the power of the Portuguese. After the reduction of the city, the enemy in the neighbouring villages made several incursions on our people, but were always repulsed with loss.

At this time Emmanuel resided in the town of Abrantes, the plague being then at Lisbon. In this same year 1507, on the 5th of June, queen Mary was delivered of a son, who had the name of Ferdinand given him. As he advanced in years he discovered a surprising genius: he searched into antiquity with an uncommon curiosity, and gave early marks of a strong desire after all valuable knowledge, and was adorned with the most princely qualities. But this promising youth

youth was cut off by a sudden death in the very bloom of life.

The following year Emmanuel fitted out a fleet of sixteen ships for India. Four of these he gave to Diego Sequeire, with orders to sail beyond the Ganges to Aurea Chersonesus (Malacca) to examine the situation of the principal city of the same name, one of the most celebrated marts in the east. He moreover instructed him to take a survey of the island of Madagascar, which, according to report, was very extensive, and abounded in all manner of commodities. Sequeire accordingly sailed from Lisbon on the 5th of April 1508; George Aquilar was appointed admiral of the other twelve ships. He was ordered to cruize with five on the northern side of Cape Guardafu, at the mouth of the red sea, to intercept all the Arabian vessels trading to India. The seven remaining ships had also their particular commanders: Francisco Pereira Pestana, one of these, was appointed governour of the fort at Quiloa. The rest were ordered to sail directly for India, and Tristano Sylvio was to return from thence with two galleys to join Aquilar at Cape Guardafu. This fleet sailed the same month, about five days after the other. But it was dispersed by a sudden tempest. Pestana's ship having lost her mast and rigging, was obliged to put back to Lisbon: from whence, after being refit, she set sail again on the 19th of May. The season of the year being so far advanced, Pestana was not able to reach Quiloa, and therefore was obliged to winter at some islands lying to the south of Mozambique.

The commanders bound for India having undergone various hardships, at last made Cochin. Aquilar perished by shipwreck; Duarte Lemos, another of the captains, a relation of Aquilar, having reached Mozambique, would not depart from thence till he was certain of the fate of Aquilar. But he was soon convinced of the admiral's unhappy fate by the wreck floating on the water, where you might see planks, broken masts, casks, and cables scattered on the surface.

By the unanimous consent of all the other commanders, Melos was chosen admiral. As soon as the season of the year would permit, he sailed with Pestana, who had now reached Mozambique, for Quiloa. Lemos having gone aboard Pestana's ship, gave his own to Vasco Sylveira, and then they proceeded for Cape Guardafu. Pedro Fereira Fogaza, who commanded the fort of Quiloa till the arrival of Pestana, according to his instructions, went for Melinda, where he remained till the proper season for sailing came about: as soon as the wind favoured, he went and joined Melos, who having now seven sail of ships, directed his course for Zocotora. The admiral touched at those places, which belonged to the tributary princes, and collected the tribute: those who refused to pay what they had agreed upon, he obliged by force to comply. He had an inclination to storm Magadoxo. But as the place was strong by its natural situation, threatened great damage to the Portuguese ships, and was extremely difficult of access from the sea, the rest of the officers dissuaded him from this enterprize. Whilst the fleet lay here, it happened, by the carelessness of the watch, that George Quadra's ship had her cables cut, and was carried a great way out to sea by the swiftness of the tide; so that when the sailors and soldiers aboard awaked, they knew not where they were. They endeavoured to stop her progress by rowing against the wind till day break. But even then being equally puzzled, they allowed the ship to go before the wind, and were at last driven into the port of Zeila, situated at the entrance of the red sea, on the Æthiopian coast. Here the whole crew were taken prisoners by the Arabians. Lemos being dissuaded from his design on Magadoxo, steered for Zocotora, where he appointed Pedro Fogaza governor of the fort. What happened afterwards to Lemos, we will relate in another place, at present intending to give an account of the fate of Tristad Cugna,

His fleet consisted of eleven ships: and at the same time there were five more given to the command of Alphonso Albuquerque, who was to succeed Almeed in the government of India. Cugna reached Mozambique in December, where he wintered some of the fleet: however, being separated by stress of weather, could not make this place. Lopez Costa had been driven into the port of Sofola; Leonela Coutign put in at Quiloa; Alvaro Tellez, with the utmost danger at last made Cape Guardafu: here after he had repaired his ship, and refreshed his men, he took several considerable Arabian prizes, and afterwards steered for Zocotora to join Tristad Cugna.

Roderigo Peseira Coutign, met likewise with very boisterous weather, and was driven into a very pleasant bay in the island of Madagascar, which had a name given it from its agreeable situation. Whilst he lay here eighteen youths of the island rowed to his ship. These he invited aboard, entertained them in the kindest manner, and decked them with cloaths. Two of them he so far engaged by his generosity, that he prevailed on them to remain with him, and carried them to Cugna at Mozambique.

Cugna having heard much concerning the extent of this island, and at the same time not yet thinking it a proper season to sail for Socotora, he consulted with Alphonso Albuquerque, who approving of his resolution, he determined to steer for Madagascar, in order to inform himself of the manners, customs, and extent of the country, as well as the soil, which in outward appearance seemed extremely fertile. He took with him Alphonso Albuquerque, Antonio Campo, Emmanuel Tellez, Francisco Tavura, John Gomez Abræo, Roderigo Pereira Coutign, and Tristan Alvarez. The rest of the commanders were left with the fleet at Mozambique. The admiral touched at some of the ports in this island, but when he attempted to land his men, he was opposed by a formidable body of the natives, of whom he killed several, and put the rest to flight. He surveyed

surveyed the whole coast lying towards Æthiopia, and intended to have sailed round the island. But when he was about to double C. S. Maria, a sudden storm arising, prevented his design being carried into execution. At this time Roderigo Pereira's ship having run upon the shelves, was sunk, and the greatest part of the crew perished. Cugna then gave a signal for the rest of the ships to tack about, and he again shaped his course for Mozambique.

But John Gomez Abræo had turned the Cape before the storm began, and cruizing along the southern coast, discovered a river in Maratans, a province of that island. Here he intended to water, when of a sudden, several of the natives in small boats surrounded the ship, and by their outward gestures expressed the utmost friend-ship towards our people, offering them fish, roots, and sugar canes in great plenty. The Portuguese captain, allured by the friendly behaviour of this people, ordered his pilot, a man versed in many languages, to go aboard one of their boats, to try if he could hold a conversa-tion with them, and if possible, by presents to entice some of them to come aboard the ship. But as soon as they received the pilot, they plied their oars with so much vigour and dexterity, that they quickly got out of sight of our people. Their unexpected departure very much surprized Abræo: he immediately ordered the long boat to be got ready, and having furnished it with guns, he himself; with twenty four more, went aboard. When he approached the shore, he saw the same boats with the pilot making towards him without the least apprehension of danger. The pilot by signs gave him to understand that the people were friendly and hospitable, and that he should therefore offered no hostilities. The pilot, moreover, told our people that he had been introduced to the king, who behaved to him with the utmost humanity, having presented him with a silver chain, together with rings and bracelets of the same metal, and had sent him back, in his name, to congratulate the Portuguese commander, and to sol-licit

licit his friendship, which he was desirous to cultivate and promote by all the services in his power. Abræo being greatly taken with this courteous behaviour, went ashore, where he was met by the king, who by all possible methods endeavoured to gain his esteem and affection. An entertainment was prepared in the manner of the country, nor was there any thing wanting which the island could afford, and the day was spent in agreeable conversation.

It being now almost sunset, the captain took his leave, and went aboard the long boat, when of a sudden the weather grew extremely boisterous: the whole heavens was overspread with darkness, and the sea ran so prodigious high, that he could not return to the ship, but was detained on shore four days, when this storm abated and the sea became calm. Those aboard the ship imagined that their commander had certainly been killed by the natives. ' For, said they ' is it possible that he would remain so long in a strange ' country, and keep us thus in suspence? is it proba- ' ble that there could be any entertainment amongst ' these Barbarians so inviting as to make him tarry so ' considerable a time. This is the case, continued they. ' He has demanded his pilot to be restored, but met ' with a refusal: he then endeavoured to assert his ' right by force of arms, but has perished in the at- ' tempt, being overpower'd by numbers: what course ' shall we therefore follow? shall we remain here till ' we are shipwreckt by the storm, and swallowed up in ' the waves, or thrown ashore as a prey to those in- ' human Barbarians.' These being their reflections, they set sail. But Abræo having cruized along the coasts, without finding the ship, returned to the king, who again received him with all the marks of affection, and endeavoured to sooth this dejected man by the most kind and hospitable usage. But all his endeavours were ineffectual, for Abræo finding himself thus abandoned, and cut off from all hopes of seeing his native country, became quite inconsolable, and was

so much affected with his misfortune that he soon after pined away with melancholy and despair, as did also eight of his companions. The rest having repaired the long boat, took leave of the king, who expressed the utmost regret at their departure, and directed their course for Mozambique. But in their way meeting with the ship commanded by Lucas Fonseca sailing for Sofola, they were taken aboard and conveyed to Mozambique.

Here it may not be improper to give a short description of Madagascar, called the island of St. Lawrence by the Portuguese, who discovered it on that Saint's day. Its length is about 1200 miles, and in breadth it measures 480. The island is divided into many different kingdoms: the inhabitants in the inland parts are Pagans, but most of those near the sea coast are of the Mahometan religion. The natives are partly black and partly tawney in complexion, with short woolly hair. The better sort are cloathed in cotton, but the poorer people only cover their private parts. Any man there may have as many wives as he pleases. The country is extremely fertile, yielding fruits of all kinds with very little culture. The ground is covered with many delightful woods and forests, filled with trees of all sorts, especially the citron, which yields the most grateful fragrancy. The soil produces vast plenty of roots, which the natives use instead of bread. The sugar-cane grows here in great abundance, and ginger also, which the people eat green, not knowing the art of drying and preserving it. The island abounds in fine springs of the most excellent water, and there are likewise many silver mines in the country: in short the place is very agreeable, and affords all the diversions of fishing, hunting, and fowling. The natives are a people of the utmost simplicity, and naturally humane in their disposition. They know nothing of navigation, having only a few boats for fishing. In war they made use of no other arms but light darts, but afterwards, by their communication with the Portuguese,

tuguese, they gained more experience in warlike affairs. This much may at present suffice concerning the disposition and manners of these islanders.

Tristan Cugna having set out from Mozambique touched at Melinda, where he had a friendly conference with the king, to whom he gave several presents from his Portuguese majesty. He then delivered to his care three persons sent by Emmanuel as ambassadors to the king of *Æthiopia*, whom our people used ignorantly to call Prester John. One was a Portuguese named Ferdinand Gomez Sardo; another a Moor called John Sancho, who had turned Christian; the third was one Mahomed, an Arabian born at Tunis. These the king of Melinda took under his protection, promising that they should be safely conducted to *Æthiopia* lying above Egypt.

Cugna having finished his business at Melinda, now sailed for Hoya, a city about eighty miles off, which at that time waged war with his Melindian majesty. Having taken this place by storm, he plundered and burnt it, and killed several of the Arabians. He then proceeded to another city sixty miles farther, which being unable to make resistance, surrendered to Emmanuel's arms, and agreed to pay an yearly tribute. He steered next for Brava, a strong and well fortified city, and the most celebrated mart on that coast. Having anchored in this port, he immediately sent Leonel Coutign to wait on the heads of the place, offering them peace in the name of Emmanuel, and inviting them to a friendly alliance. They pretended not to be averse to a treaty; but this was only a piece of dissimulation, in order to detain our people, for the season was almost at hand, when such boisterous winds usually blew in those parts, as would dash to pieces the very ships in the harbour. Cugna having discovered this artifice, resolved immediately to assault the city. Before day-break he drew up his men on the shore, and formed them into two lines: the first which consisted of 900 men, he gave to Alphonso Albuquerque;

and he himself headed the second, in which there were 600 soldiers. In the city there was a garrison of 4000 men; of these 2000 immediately sallied forth, and engaged our people. The conflict was severe, but the Portuguese charged the enemy with so much fury, that they at last obliged them to give ground. They made a regular retreat into the city, and shut the gates against our people. The Portuguese immediately surrounded the place, examining with the utmost carefulness where they could force an entrance. Mean while the enemy from the walls annoyed them with burning torches, and all manner of missile weapons. Albuquerque having at last discovered a weak part in the wall, began the attack there. The besieged immediately flocked thither, and opposed our people with amazing intrepidity. The fight was continued with the utmost fury on both sides, till Cugna came up, whose approach struck such a damp into the enemy, that they fled with the greatest precipitation. The Portuguese soldiers wanted to pursue them, but were restrained by their commander. The city being plundered, vast booty was carried aboard the ships. Great numbers of the enemy were slain, and many taken prisoners, but most of these were again set at liberty. The Portuguese lost about fifty of their men, and several were dangerously wounded; eighteen more perished in the long boat, which through insatiable avarice they had loaded so immoderately that she overset: nay so great was the inhumanity of the soldiers and sailors and such their eagerness after spoil, that they cut off the arms of several women, to come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But Cugna having severely punished the authors of this cruelty, hereby deterred others from the like barbarity. The city being plundered, Cugna ordered it to be fired, and thus it was reduced to ashes, the enemy at a little distance beholding this dismal spectacle.

He then steered for Magadoxo, whither, as he had done at Brava, he sent Leonez, Coutign with offers of peace

peace and friendship. The people at this place made a very formidable appearance: great numbers of foot, and cuirassiers were patrolling on the shore; the walls of the city were lined with armed men, and a considerable body of troops were drawn up before it. Coutign being afraid to land, sent one of the Bravan captives to let the people know, that the Portuguese came not to denounce war, but to offer peace. In Coutign's sight they tore to pieces the captive, and threatened to serve him in the same manner, if he should dare to come ashore. Coutign therefore returned to Cugna, to whom he related the cruelty and insolent menaces of the enemy. Cugna was for storming the city, but at the persuasions of all his officers and pilots, he dropt this resolution. The place was almost inaccessible, strong by its natural situation, and defended by a numerous garrison: the station for our ships extremely dangerous, and very much exposed to the enemy: besides the winter was fast approaching, and the season for sailing almost elapsed, so that if our people should have miscarried in this attempt, their fleet and army would in all probability have met with inevitable destruction.

Cugna therefore with all expedition sailed for Socotra, where he quickly arrived with all his ships. This island is generally reckoned to be that formerly called Dioscoridu. The country is very mountainous, and abounds in all kind of corn and fruits. The natives are tawny. They profess the Christian religion: their churches are built after the manner of those in Christendom. They have crosses on their altars, but make no use of images. They keep the same fasts as other Christians, which they religiously observe with the strictest abstinence, not even eating fish at such times. They marry only one wife. They have likewise days set apart in honour of the saints, which they celebrate with great solemnity, and they pay tithes out of their corn and fruits to their priests, with the utmost punctuality. But notwithstanding they assume the name of Christians,

Yet they seem to be quite ignorant of the doctrines of our holy religion. They know nothing of shipping, and are a people quite sunk in laziness and indolence. Moreover, such is their pusillanimity and want of spirit, that they tamely submit themselves to the yoke of a few Arabians, and when oppressed in the most grievous manner, they never once think of asserting their natural liberty. The king of Fartach, a province of Arabia Felix, at that time held them in the most miserable thralldom ; and, in order to take away from them all hopes of liberty, he had built a fort near the sea, which he fortified and furnished with all manner of warlike stores, and appointed his son, a youth of great bravery, to reside there as governor.

Cugna determined if possible, to make himself master of this fort, that he might thereby deliver the Christians from slavery. However, he first sent a deputy to Abrahem, the king's son, commanding him immediately to evacuate the fort, and quit a country which his father had unjustly seized. Abrahem returned for answer, that being subject to his father alone, his orders he would punctually obey, but he despised the commands of any other monarch. He therefore bid our people prepare for war ; the affair, he said, was not to be decided by empty words, but by force of arms. Cugna accordingly, with great expedition, got every thing ready for an assault, and sounded the depth of the water in that part he thought most proper for a descent. But Abrahem in the night fortised that place, throwing up a trench, and stationing some soldiers for its defence. Cugna having ordered his men to go aboard their long boats, formed them into two divisions, and he himself at the head of the first, approached the shore about day-break. Albuquerque, who commanded the second line, observed another place, which, the water being high the day before, appeared then very dangerous, but now it seemed quite otherwise : being resolved therefore to perplex the enemy by a double danger, he ordered his men to row thither

thither with all their vigour, where they accordingly landed without the least obstruction. Cugna not observing this, made towards a grove of palm-trees over against the station where some of the enemy were posted. Abraham having marched out of the fort with a party of soldiers, was hastening to reinforce those who defended the trench: but having perceived Albuquerque and his men drawn up on the shore, he directly alter'd his course, and made towards the place where the greatest danger seemed to threaten. Albuquerque clad in armour, attacked him with vast intrepidity: Alphonso Norhogna, one of Albuquerque's officers, at the same time likewise charged the enemy with great fury, so that they were at last obliged to retire. But Abraham, in order to cover the retreat of his men into the fort, withstood the shock of our people with the utmost resolution, and greatly distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour. He was at last left in the field with eight soldiers only. Norhogna observing this, hastened to engage him singly: the conflict betwixt these two commanders, while it lasted was very severe, but it continued but a short time, for the Portuguese coming up surrounded these few of the enemy, who seeing their fate inevitable, were resolved to sell their lives dear: they accordingly fought with the most desperate resolution, and, before they fell, wounded many of our people.

Cugna in the mean while when endeavouring to land at the place he had fixed upon, was opposed by the enemy's soldiers posted there for that purpose. But having attacked them very briskly, he at last put them to flight, and the Portuguese having got ashore pursued the enemy: Albuquerque's party having met with the enemy flying to the fort, drove them back again with great precipitation: a few of them however got safe into the fort. Cugna being wholly intent on besieging the fort, would not allow any of his men to pursue those who fled. The Portuguese therefore, pursuant to his orders, came before the place, and attempted

to break down the gates, thinking that the enemy being struck with a panic, would make but a faint resistance: but it happened quite otherwise, for the besieged, from their towers, threw stones and all manner of missive weapons on our people. Albuquerque was so stunned with the blow of a stone, that he continued speechless a considerable time: Cugna then commanded a retreat to be sounded, and ordered a large cannon, and the scaling ladders to be brought ashore. The piece being planted opposite to the gates, soon demolished them. The enemy seeing their gates broke down, and knowing their numbers to be so small, that they could not withstand the Portuguese rushing in from all quarters, they therefore betook themselves to the strongest tower in the fort. Our people having forced their entrance, took possession of another tower opposite to that which the besieged intended to defend. The enemy made so gallant a defence, that Cugna was not a little concerned to think that such brave fellows should be thus slaughtered. He therefore gave them to understand by an interpreter, that he would willingly save them, and give them liberty, on condition they would surrender. They returned for answer, That they accounted an honourable death greatly preferable to a shameful surrendry. The tower was at last taken, with the slaughter of all those who defended it, excepting only one man, who proved a most excellent pilot. Of the Portuguese there were only eight killed, and about the same number wounded.

The fort being thus taken, Cugna sent a messenger to the inhabitants of the town, to let them know, that, according to his royal master's instructions, he had come into these parts to restore them to liberty; for Emmanuel could not endure to think that a Christian people should any longer groan under the oppression of the Arabians. The townsmen with uplifted hands returned thanks to heaven, for this deliverance, and prayed for prosperity to Emmanuel. Cugna and all the Portuguese repaired to one of the Arabian mosques,

which

which being purified and consecrated, they performed divine worship there, and offered up thanksgivings for their success. The fort having had several additions made to its fortifications, Alphonso Norhogna was appointed governor thereof pursuant to the orders of Emmanuel.

Cugna sailed thence for India on the 10th of August 1507, and having anchored in the port of Cananor, made a treaty of peace with the prince of that place. He proceeded next for Cochin, where he was received by Almeed the viceroy with the highest marks of honour and affection. A few days after his arrival, Almeed having received intelligence that there were several richly loaded Arabian ships, lying in the port of Panane, (a considerable town belonging to the zamorin, about fifty miles off) escorted by a formidable fleet of Calicutian ships of war, under the command of one Cutial, a commander of great experience, he resolved to attack them in the harbour. Tristan Cugna offered his service, and very readily joined him in this expedition. Almeed accordingly set out for Panane with twelve ships of war, drawn up in line of battle. The viceroy having taken a captive, was informed by him that the enemy's ships were not yet launched, but lay along the river in their docks: Moreover, that Curiel had fortified the mouth of the river on each side with a rampart, which was defended by a strong body of soldiers; that the town likewise was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned, and that Curiel had under his command 4000 men, partly Arabians, and partly naires in the zamorin's service.

Almeed had brought with him only 700 Portuguese. With this body he attack'd the enemy in the following manner: it being now low water, neither the large ships nor the galleys could sail up the river, he therefore sent Pedro Barretto in a long boat with 30 men, to fall upon the enemy's ships. Diego Pereira followed next with thirty more, who were to attack the station at the mouth of the river, which seemed to

threaten the greatest danger. After these went Laurentio Almeed, and Nunez Cugna, in long boats : Almeed and Cugna were in the rear with two galleys. In this order our people, about day-break, rowed up the river, and advanced upon the enemy. Almeed and Cugna, however, were obliged to stay at the mouth, the water not being yet sufficiently high. The enemy discharged their artillery, and showered their missive weapons with great fury on the Portuguese, who nevertheless, still proceeded, and forced their way through fire and darts. Barreto, in attempting to land, was furiously attacked by thirty Arabians, with their heads shaved : these were certain devotees, of which there were great numbers amongst the enemy, who had bound themselves by the most terrible oaths, not to quit the engagement without being victorious : spurred on by their enthusiasm, they fought with the most desperate bravery ; so that the fight was more severe than could be expected from so small a number. Diego Petreio having likewise got to the place where he was appointed to land, was in like manner set upon by some of these devotees. Curial hastened to succour his men, and the contest was equally hot on both sides. The conflict being thus begun, Laurentia Almeed approached, and landed his men, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, though, at the same time, several of the Portuguese were dangerously wounded. Our people, however, pressing on with undaunted courage, at last obliged them to retreat. Laurentio having killed six of the enemy with his battle-ax, was beheld with the utmost admiration : for he was a man of a large size of body, greatly excelling in strength, and genteel in his outward appearance ; so that wherever he went he struck a terror into the enemy. However, one of the devotees boldly attacked him, and wounded him in the arm ; but this man was likewise killed by Laurentio. Nunez Cugna, who followed Barreto, fought also with vast intrepidity ; he threw

fire

fire amongst the Arabian ships, and by this means destroyed eighteen of them.

The engagement having thus continued for some time, the tide now began to flow ; so that the galleys could sail up the river. Almeed therefore (for Tristan Cugna was prevented by a sudden fit of illness) landed with the royal standard, to assist his people. At his arrival the enemy betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and the Portuguese pursued them as far as Panane, which Almeed immediately fired with burning torches. The sight of this city in flames was a spectacle no less disagreeable to the Portuguese soldiers than to the enemy ; for the town was immensely rich, and might have afforded them considerable booty. ‘ What, said they, shall we never have any reward for our bravery ? Our general, continued they, will hardly be liberal to us out of his own coffers, when he will not even allow us to acquire any advantage from the enemy’s spoils. Besides, does he not consider that the bravery of a soldier is whetted by generosity, and extinguished by a stingy behaviour ? Who afterwards will follow such a leader, when those by whose means, he has already gained so many considerable victories, meet with such pitiful encouragement ? ’ Such was the language of the soldiery on this occasion. But Almeed was not a man who affected to please the giddy multitude, but closely adhered to the rules of wisdom and found reason ; for he saw plainly what mischief would ensue from giving up the town to be plundered by the soldiers, since the enemy, who were but at a small distance, might then seize the opportunity to fall upon the Portuguese straggling up and down, and encumbered with booty. He knew moreover, with what facility a considerable body of the enemy could be of a sudden mustered up, since all the Calicutian soldiers were generally ready for such alarms, and thus the victory already acquired by our people, might be snatched out of their hands, and the whole army very probably miserably slaughtered. Of the

enemy 300 fell in this action; many more perhaps would have been killed, but Almeed would not allow his men to pursue them to any great distance. The Portuguese had only eighteen killed, but several were wounded. All the enemy's cannon was carried aboard the fleet.

Almeed having been thus successful, departed from Cananor, from whence he sent Tristan Cugna with five ships richly loaded for Portugal. The viceroy being a person who always chose to keep alive the spirit of his men by action, and to give the enemy as little rest as possible, sent Laurence Almeed with eight ships to cruise on the Indian coast, and to annoy the Arabian vessels. Laurence having accordingly put to sea, entered several of the enemy's harbours, and fired many of their ships. He at length anchored in the port of Chaul, where he waited for some merchant ships coming from Cochin, which he was appointed to convoy. Chaul is a large and opulent city, almost adjoining to the kingdom of Cambaye, through which the Indus takes its course. Whilst Laurence lay here, he received intelligence that Campson the Egyptian sultan had fitted out a formidable fleet to destroy the Portuguese in India: this he did with an intension not only to revenge the injuries done to himself, but also to assist the kings of Cambaye and Calicut, who being his allies, had sent letters to him earnestly entreating that he would exert himself to root out a people so inveterate against the Mahometans, and who wanted to bring all India under their subjection. This, they said, might be easily compassed, since the sultan was a monarch of great power, and had the bravest men in his service: so that with his strength and theirs united, they made no question but they should be able to crush the Portuguese with the utmost facility.

In this fleet the sultan sent a considerable number of Mamalukes, a dynasty which once held the sovereignty of Egypt. They were originally the children of Christian parents, from whom being forcibly taken away in

their

their infancy, they were afterwards bred Mahometans, and greatly distinguished themselves by their warlike behaviour. The Indians had heard much of the renown and fame of the Romans, who outstrip'd all other nations in military glory: therefore when they first beheld the bravery and warlike prowess of these soldiers of the sultan, they were struck with admiration, and by way of distinction called them Rumes, that is, Romans. In like manner, when they afterwards became eye-witnesses of the gallantry and warlike skill of the Portuguese, they called them Franks, the fame of which people had been very great in India, ever since they took Jerusalem under Gothifred.

This formidable fleet manned with so many brave soldiers, variously affected the Indian princes. The enemies of the Portuguese were mightily elated with the hopes of victory, whereas those in the interest of our people were filled with the utmost apprehension. Almeed sent letters to his son, ordering him not to wait the arrival of the enemy in India, but to sail directly to meet them, and to engage them as soon as possible in the open sea. Laurence accordingly made all necessary preparations, and was hastening to draw out the fleet, in order to sail for Diu, where he heard the enemy then lay; but they were before hand with him, for they sailed into the port of Chaul to attack our people. The sultan's admiral was named Mirhocem, a man who had greatly distinguished himself for his bravery and experience in warlike affairs. He brought with him six galleys, and five large ships. Besides Melichiax, the king of Cambaye's viceroy in Diu, sent him likewise thirty four sloops of war well manned, and furnished with plenty of arms and ammunition. The galleys and sloops being rowed with oars, passed along the coast without being perceived: the five remaining ships making towards the harbour with a brisk gale, were at first taken by our people: for the fleet of Alphonso Albuquerque, who was then daily expected from the Persian gulph. The Portuguese at the sight

of these ships were so much suspended betwixt hope and fear, that they remained for some time motionless ; for they did not heave up their anchors, nor put any thing in readiness for an engagement. Mirhocem having a fair wind made up the river, and passed the Portuguese, and then discharged some balls and darts ; by which means he wounded several, and killed a Portuguese nobleman named Roderigo Pereyra. Our people answered them very briskly, and killed or wounded many of the enemy. Mirhocem having sailed up farther, came to anchor near the city. Melichiaz, however, remained that day without the mouth of the harbour. Laurence thinking there was no time to be lost, ordered to weigh anchor directly, being resolved immediately to attack the enemy's flag-ship : but as Melichiaz had not entered the port, Mirhocem did not choose to come to an engagement that day ; and that he might not be forced thereto, he sent out some of his galleys to hinder the Portuguese boats from heaving the anchors.

The following day, however, Laurence having weighed, sailed against Mirhocem's ship, but the tide beginning to ebb, and the wind failing, he could not come close to the enemy ; the engagement was carried on at a little distance, with the cannon and missive weapons ; but the enemy's flag-ship being higher-decked than the Portuguese vessels, the weapons thrown from thence did considerable execution amongst our people, and Laurence himself was wounded. Those aboard Laurence's ship finding themselves quite becalmed, and the tide against them, and that they could not come to close quarters with the enemy, they therefore advised the captain to tack about and return. But Laurence, spurred on by heat of youth, and by a false notion of courage, would not listen to this advice, which to him seemed most scandalous. The rest of the officers, however, stood out against his resolution ; and whilst they were consulting how they could extricate themselves out of the present difficulty, Laurence received

another desperate wound in the face from a dart. In order, however, to come as close to the enemy as possible, he and Pedro Barreto forced their way up the river as far as they could. However, as they were yet unable to grapple the enemy, the fight was continued with the cannon ; which being fired very briskly on both sides, many were killed, and many so desperately wounded as to be obliged to quit the engagement. The Portuguese galleys and the lower deck'd vessels, though the tide was against them, made towards the rest of the enemy's ships, and attacked them with the utmost resolution. Pelagio Sousa was the first who boarded one of their galleys, and was immediately followed by Ambrose Pazagna, Fernando Petreio Andrade, and some others, who being spurred on by the highest emulation, fought with the greatest intrepidity ; so that this vessel was soon taken, and all aboard killed. Duarte Petreio, in like manner, attacked and took another galley ; two more were likewise taken by the Portuguese captains, who commanded the low deck'd ships, and the rest of the enemy's galleys sheered off. The tide beginning now to turn, Pelagio Sousa and Diego Petreio, towed along the vessels they had taken to Laurence Almeed's ship ; and seeing the admiral himself, as well as most of his men wounded, they advised him not to offer to board the enemy's flag-ship, but at a distance to ply her and the rest of their fleet with the cannon ; for this was the safest way to sink them. But Laurence rejected this advice, saying, that as the enemy's ships were large and well furnished, it would therefore be better to take them, which he thought might be easily done, than to destroy them.

The following day Melichiaz, who, as we mentioned above, remained near the entrance of the river, having now the wind and tide favourable, sailed to Mirhocem's ship. His arrival infused fresh spirits into the enemy, and threw the Portuguese into the utmost consternation ; for they had perceived nothing of this fleet

fleet till it was just at hand. The citizens of Chaul likewise set up shouts of joy ; and shewed by their whole behaviour, that the destruction of our people would afford them the greatest satisfaction. The Portuguese officers having held a council of war aboard the admiral, almost every one was of opinion, that as the greatest part of our soldiers were wounded, or spent with fatigue, Laurence himself in such a dangerous condition, the Portuguese ships very much shattered, the enemy reinforced by so considerable a fleet, and the inhabitants of Chaul so much bent against our people ; for these reasons it would be the utmost rashness to remain longer in that harbour : that therefore, as soon as the tide and wind favoured, they ought to put out to sea in the silence of the night. This resolution being unanimously approved of, they accordingly weighed, and set sail about midnight : but this was not done with so much secrecy as to escape the knowledge of the enemy, who having pursued the Portuguese with the utmost expedition, came up with the admiral in the rear, which they surrounded. They gave her a shot betwixt wind and water, so that the sea breaking in upon her, she could not be steered ; and at last ran aground on a fisherman's bar, which lay concealed under the water. Pelagio Sousa observing this, tied a rope to her from his galley, which he ordered to be rowed with the utmost vigour ; but the ship was fixed in such a manner that she could not be got off. Melichiaz seeing that she was unmoveable, looked upon her as his own, and therefore hastened to surround the galley. The Portuguese aboard this vessel, being mostly spent with wounds or fatigue, and finding themselves unable to withstand the enemy, without Sousa's knowledge, cut the cable fastened to Laurence's ship. This being done, the galley was hurried away with the utmost rapidity by the violence of the tide ; so that although Sousa called aloud to his men to return, yet all he could say or do, availed nothing. The vessel was carried at last near to the place where Pedro Barreto,

Duarte

Duarte Melos, Diego Petreio, and the rest of the Portuguese commanders lay with their ships. All of them had the strongest desire to assist Laurence in the present danger, but this, to their regret, they were unable to do, because of the violence of the tide against them. Laurence was advised by his men to get aboard a proe, sent to him on purpose that he might make his escape. This advice he rejected with the highest indignation, and expressed himself in the most menacing language to the authors thereof: for he thought it would have been most scandalous to fly from a danger in which his fellow-soldiers were to be left. As for his part, he dreaded dishonour more than death: Besides, he possessed strong hopes, that with the inconsiderable force he had, he should be able to hold out against the enemy till the tide began to turn, when the rest of the Portuguese vessels could come to his relief. In his ship there were 100 men, 70 of whom were wounded. He formed them into three divisions, one of which he entrusted to Emmanuel Pazagna, to guard the hatchway, the second he gave to Francisco de Nabaez, to secure the forecastle, and the third he reserved for himself, to defend the stern. The enemy seeing our people preparing to defend themselves with the utmost resolution, did not choose to come to close quarters with such a set of resolute men, pushed by extreme despair, which will even make cowards fight with intrepidity. However, being within cannon shot, they fired on Laurence's ship very briskly; so that nothing was to be seen but smoak. Our people, in their turn, poured several shots into the enemy. Laurence animated his men by the most encouraging speeches; was present every where, and performed the part of a most excellent commander. Having at last received a shot in his thigh, which quite disabled him, by his own desire he was then placed in a chair lashed to the mast: thence he gave orders to his men, and spurred them on to signalize themselves by their gallant behaviour. Whilst he was thus busied, he received a shot in

in his breast, which killed him. The ship had now lost all her rigging, and was leaky in several places: the enemy endeavoured to board her thrice, but were as often most vigorously repulsed. However, at the fourth attempt they forced their entrance, after a considerable slaughter. Our people, however, in this extremity fought with amazing courage, being resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Melichiaz observing the gallant behaviour of the Portuguese, could not endure to think that such brave men should thus miserably perish: twenty now only survived; these he preserved with the most tender humanity. In the admiral about 80 men were killed, and about 70 more in the rest of the ships, amongst whom were many persons of nobility and renown.

The other commanders, who were hindered by the tide from assisting Laurentio, seeing the ship taken and sunk, thought their staying longer would avail nothing; they therefore stood out to sea with crowded sails, and directed their course for Cananor. Having reached this place, they dispatched from thence Pedro Gnaia for Cochin, to inform Almeed of the deplorable fate of his son. This melancholy news filled the Portuguese with the deepest sorrow; for Laurence was not only a man of bravery, but also of the greatest humanity: by which and his integrity so much resembling that of his father, he had made himself universally beloved; so that his death was unfeignedly regretted by all his friends and acquaintance. The king of Cochin was greatly affected with this misfortune, and he went immediately to Almeed, partly to condole with him, and partly to solace him, that he might not be too much depressed by so great a loss. But Almeed, who on many occasions had shewn himself to be endowed with the utmost fortitude of soul, at this time gave an illustrious proof thereof: for though he had lost his only son, a youth no less distinguished for his bravery than his virtuous disposition, yet he bore this misfortune in such a manner, that he seemed not

not to stand in need of any one to sooth his sorrow ; nay, he even advised those about him not to give themselves up to mourning and lamentation. He said, ' That in his prayers he had never desired long life, ' but extraordinary virtue for his son ; for human life ' was but a short span, but the reward of virtue ever- ' lasting : that all our trials in this world flowed from ' a Divine providence ; and as for his part, he thanked ' God, who had honoured his boy with so glorious a ' death. Besides, that he hoped the Almighty being ' would reward the youth with a heavenly treasure, ' which is incorruptible. But (added he) if there is any ' one present who had an affection for my son, let him ' shew it by his actions, and not by womanish tears ; ' for now I am determined to revenge his death ; and ' he who assists me with the greatest courage in this ' affair, him will I esteem with as much affection as I ' did my own son.' These, and such like expressions, as they rendered him more worthy of admiration, so likewise did they draw more tears from the spectators ; for the greater constancy and fortitude of soul he seemed to possess, this made him appear to be more worthy of pity and compassion.

Whilst these things happened in India, Emmanuel was extremely assiduous in carrying on his designs in Africa. At this time he had formed a resolution to take Azainor, an African town, situated at the mouth of the river Oimmiraby, near the Atlantic ocean, about 80 miles north of Saffia. He was likewise the more induced to think he could carry this place, from the promises of a certain Moorish prince, who at this time arrived in Portugal. His name was Zeiam ; he had reigned over the city of Miquenez, situated in the inland parts not far from Fez, and the neighbouring towns and villages belonged to his dominions. He was brother-in-law to Mahumed king of Fez, who had married his sister ; but Nazzarrio, Mahumed's brother, who succeeded to the kingdom of Fez, like a true Moor, in violation of all the ties of treaty and con-

sanguinity,



sanguinity, attacked Zeiam, and drove him out his dominions. He being thus stript of his crown, fled to Azamor ; for he thought he was beloved at this place, and that the citizens therefore would receive him kindly, and acknowledge his authority. Zeiam, however, being disappointed in his expectations from the inhabitants of this city, betook himself then to king Emmanuel, to whom he took the oaths of allegiance ; and if his Portuguese majesty would fit out a small fleet, he said he would undertake to bring Azamor, and several other places under his power : for as he had many friends, relations, and vassals in Azamor, he made no doubt but they would readily deliver up the city ; especially as they were at present heartily tired of the tyrannical oppression which they groaned under, and moreover allured by the fame of Emmanuel's clemency, they would gladly embrace an opportunity of coming under his protection. Emmanuel considering the circumstances of this person ; that he had been treated most injuriously, and therefore had a just cause to harbour resentment ; and moreover, not perceiving that falsehood in this affair could be of any service to the author, or perhaps chiefly actuated by that principle which makes us believe those things to be true which we wish to be so, he gave credit to the Moor, and fitted out a fleet which he gave to the command of John Menez.

The fleet sailed from Lisbon the 26th of July 1508, with an army of four hundred horse and two thousand foot aboard. The Portuguese soon arrived at the mouth of the river. In the silence of the night they sailed up with the tide ; and having come to an anchor under the walls of Azamor, began to storm the city. The inhabitants made a gallant defence, discharging upon the assailants great quantities of torches, darts, and leaden bullets. They likewise attempted to burn our ships with large beams of wood, which being pitched over and lighted, they launched out of machines amongst the Portuguese fleet. Many of the enemy too, hav-

ing

ing marched out of the city, patroled along the banks of the river, and vigorously opposed the landing of our forces. Menez every moment expected the assistance of Zeiam ; but this man, fickle and faithless, like the rest of his countrymen, though at first he promised frequently to come, yet it was soon perceived that he only amused Menez with artful evasions ; nay, he at last proceeded to open hostilities against our people. Having now come to an agreement with the citizens, he had six thousand men under his command ; these he drew up near the shore, and was resolved to use his utmost efforts to destroy the Portuguese. Menez, nevertheless, landed all his forces, and encamped them near the shore. The Moors, knowing the country to be convenient for their purposes, placed themselves in ambush in three woody places betwixt the shore and the walls. Another party having marched from the city, advanced to meet Mencz, who was far from declining an engagement. He drew up his men in three lines ; the first consisting of one hundred horse, he gave to the Conde di Tentugal ; and appointed John Mag scaregn to command the second, which contained one hundred and fifty horse ; the third line, which consisted of a battalion, with two hundred and fifty horse on the right and left wings, he reserved for himself. In this order Menez attacked the enemy, who being unable to withstand the charge of so strong a body, fled into the town with much greater speed than they designed ; for their scheme was to have retreated gradually till they had drawn Menez into the ambuscade, when the Moors were to have rushed forth, and the Portuguese being thus surrounded, might have been easily cut to pieces. The townsmen being afraid that our people pressing close on the enemy flying, might force their entrance into the city, immediately shut the gates. The Moors, who were thus excluded, having faced about, fought with the most desperate resolution ; and the conflict was accordingly renewed with the keenest obstinacy on both sides. But those who lay in ambush,

ambush, having rushed forth, charged the Portuguese with great fury; but the Conde di Tentugal, and John Mascaregn, who were left with their men by Menez as a body of reserve, gave them a warm reception. Zeiam immediately hastened with a strong reinforcement to assist his people, and the Moorish cavalry pouring in from the neighbouring villages, attempted to surround the Portuguese.

Menez finding himself thus threatened with danger on all sides, thought it most expedient to retreat; he accordingly drew off his men without the least disorder or confusion. The body of reserve hearing the retreat sounded, immediately broke through the Moors who had rushed from the ambush, and Menez in the rear, with the utmost intrepidity repulsed those who pressed on him from the town. Thus our people having first got to their camp, betook themselves afterwards to their ships. In this action sixteen Portuguese were killed, amongst whom were several persons of nobility and distinguished courage. Of the enemy, as it was afterwards found, there fell one thousand three hundred and sixty men. John Roderigo Sala had his horse killed, and he himself would certainly have shared the same fate, had it not been for John Honio and Fernando Faria, two brave men, who, by their gallantry, rescued him from the most imminent danger. The Moorish officer, who had killed Roderigo's horse, being slain by Faria, Roderigo then mounted the Moor's, and made his escape. Menez being greatly discouraged by Zeiam's perfidy, and, at the same time, knowing the town to be strongly fortified and garrisoned, concluded it to be almost impracticable to take it with so small a force, and therefore resolved to waste no longer time in the siege. But the moon being then in the decrease, the tides were so low, that the ships had not a proper depth. Besides, the mariners heaved up their anchors, and made off with so much precipitation, that some of their smaller vessels bulged upon the shelves, and sunk. One of the largest galleys having

run aground, was surrounded by the enemy, who killed thirty of the rowers, and then fired her. These men, however, made a brave defence, and before they fell killed eighteen of the enemy. Menez now stood out to sea, and steered for the straits of Gibraltar. In his way thither he took some ships; and having touched at Alcazar-Quivir, where there was a Portuguese garrison, according to Emmanuel's orders, he left John Roderigo Sala as governor of the place.

In the mean while a report prevailed, that the king of Fez was advancing to besiege Arzila, with a formidable body of troops. The affair had been carried on with so much secrecy, that the army was levied, furnished with artillery and all manner of warlike stores, and ready to march before any one could conjecture the king's design: he was at the head of 20000 horse, and 120000 foot. Vasco Coutign Conde di Borbe was at that time governor of Arzila. As soon as he heard of the enemy's approach, he sent a party of his soldiers to take some Moors by surprize. This being accordingly put in execution, he learnt from the captives the king's design, the number of his army, and every other particular of which he wanted to be informed. He then dispatched an express to Duarte Menez, commandant of Tangier, and another to John Menez, then cruizing on the neighbouring coasts, informing them of the danger with which he was threatened.

On the 19th of October 1508, the king of Fez came before the city. The following day the enemy having moved up their covered galleries and mantelets, and all other implements for a siege, they began to cannonade and undermine the walls, and to throw great numbers of darts amongst the besieged. The garrison consisted only of four hundred men, who used their utmost efforts to withstand the enemy. The assault was continued incessant till night. Next day our people saw themselves blockaded on all sides by the enemy, who had placed strong stations, thrown up ramparts,

and ranged their artillery in order. They had likewise erected batteries, and planted cannon along the shore to hinder the besieged from receiving any succour by sea: they had also placed large casks filled with earth and sand, in order to cover them from the Portuguese cannon. Besides, several of them were armed with slings, crossbows, and musquets; these as soon as they saw any of the besieged on the walls, directly let fly at them; so that it was with the greatest danger that any of our people durst shew themselves on the battlements. Moreover, the enemy under cover of their galleries, sapped the walls with the utmost expedition; so that having a continual supply of fresh men, and the work being carried on without intermission, that very day a considerable part of the wall was laid in ruins. The enemy immediately mounted the breach. Coutign with fifty men opposed them with great courage, but having received a terrible wound in his arm with a dart, he was obliged to retire to the fort, leaving George Barreto his son-in-law, to command in his absence. The Portuguese soldiers finding themselves overpowered by numbers, and disheartened by the departure of Coutign, fled into the fort. Every thing now had a most dismal appearance in the city, from the shrieking of the women, and the distraction of the soldiers, who had neither resolution to fly nor to die bravely. The enemy committed the utmost barbarities, for their inhumanity was such, that they spared neither sex nor age. The inhabitants thronged into the fort in such crouds, that they hindered each other. The miserable outcries of those who could not get entrance, and of the women, especially with their children in their arms, imploring compassion not only for themselves, but for their babes, quite dispirited those in the fort, and rendered them almost lifeless. The enemy pressed upon our people flying, and endeavoured to force their way into the fort: the gates, however, were at last shut with great difficulty, but several

ral of the inhabitants being left without were cruelly massacred. The enemy then plundered the city.

Menez having received an express concerning this disaster, immediately sailed with some ships for Arzila; but when he reached the mouth of the harbour, the weather was so stormy that he could not enter: for when the wind is high, this haven is extremely dangerous, by reason of its great number of shelves. Besides, he did not choose to venture till he knew whether the fort was taken by the enemy: for if this was the case, he saw plainly that it would be to no purpose, and the highest madness to go ashore with so small a force to engage so numerous an enemy. He lay at anchor three days, uncertain how to act in such a critical juncture. He at last dispatched two trusty friends, in a long boat well manned, to try if they could approach the fort situate upon the sea coast. They accordingly, with the utmost danger, forced their way through the boisterous waves, amidst the fire and darts discharged from the enemy's stations; those in the fort having descried the long-boat, hung out the Portuguese standard from a window, and called aloud Portugal, Portugal. The women too, in the fort, held out their children in their arms, in order to excite the compassion of those without, and to stir them up to bring succour in the present extremity. Coutign sent two men who could swim well, with letters for Menez, informing him of the miserable condition of our people in the fort, and telling him the readiest way to supply them with provisions, by the want of which they were greatly distressed. Menez without delay put his soldiers aboard the lowest deckt vessels, such as might ride most safely in the shallow harbour. He likewise made public proclamation, that all those who by the laws were condemned to suffer death or banishment, should have a free pardon, provided they behaved with gallantry on this occasion. Moreover, he promised to give five hundred ducats as a reward, to the man who should first venture ashore.

The following day the Portuguese rowed up towards the harbour ; Coutign having perceived them from the fort, according to his agreement with Menez, sent out at the postern gate thirty of the cavalry on horseback, and some others a-foot, on whose courage he greatly relied, to assist our people when they disembarked. This was a signal to Menez to land his forces ; he therefore first ordered his men to make a general discharge of their cannon, and to pour their darts upon the enemy : this being done, the enemy had many of their men killed, and quitted the shore in the utmost consternation. The Portuguese strove with emulation who should land first ; some being pushed on by the promised reward, some by the hopes of indemnity, whilst others were incited to encounter the danger from a love of glory and renown. The first man who got ashore was Tristan Menez, who came in John Roderigo Sala's boat, followed by those of John Roderigo, and Henry Menez. Next to these came John Homo in his boat. Of the chief officers, John Mascaregn, master of the light horse, was the first who landed. A considerable body of the enemy now advanced against our people, and the conflict was begun with great fury on both sides. Many of the enemy being killed, and many wounded, they at last retired. The Portuguese then assaulted and took the nearest of the stations : those who sallied out of the fort greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. Six pieces of cannon taken from the enemy were carried into the fort, whither likewise were sent two hundred men commanded by John Mascaregn, with a supply of provisions, arms, and ammunition. This seasonable relief gave great spirits to the besieged, who had hitherto endured the utmost hardships : for as the enemy attacked them unexpectedly, those in the fort were unprovided with every thing necessary to withstand a siege. They were also worn out with thirst, hunger, watching, and fatigue : most of them were likewise wounded ; so that there was hardly one man amongst them

able

able to throw a weapon. The Conde di Tentugal was terribly wounded by a bullet on the shore, and was therefore obliged to return to Tangier, from whence he came. Emmanuel Coutign, and John Pimenta, were killed in this action, and many other brave men, who that day greatly signalized themselves by their gallant behaviour.

Menez had sent expresses to Emmanuel, desiring him to send succour with all possible expedition. He had likewise dispatched messengers into Spain to the same purpose. Pedro Navarre, a gentleman of high renown, was at that time admiral of a Spanish fleet lying in the harbour of Gibraltar, him Menez also earnestly solicited for aid; all of them accordingly prepared to bring assistance without delay. Mean while the fort was stormed with the utmost vigour; nor was the least respite given to the besieged. The first person who brought assistance from Spain was king Ferdinand's lord-lieutenant of Xerez; his name, however, I do not find recorded in history. He sailed with one ship well manned, and furnished with provisions and all manner of warlike stores. The enemy had so fortified themselves with trenches, that the cannon from the fort could do them very little damage; he therefore cruized along the coast till he came opposite to the weakest part of the enemy's camp, when firing very briskly he threw them into the utmost consternation: and when the enemy pointed their cannon against him, he tacked about with so great expedition, that he baffled all their efforts. He made a second attack on them when they dreamt nothing of the matter, and annoyed them in such a manner, that he obliged the king of Fez to move his camp. Pedro Navarre being an active and indefatigable man, soon likewise came to the assistance of our people with three thousand five hundred soldiers under his command: he and Menez having entered into a consultation about what measures were proper to be pursued, resolved next day to attack the enemy's camp. The king finding that our people had

received such a considerable reinforcement, began now to give over all thoughts of continuing the siege of the fort, and ordered the town to be fired.

There was at this time, in the king of Fez's camp, a nobleman whom Menez had taken prisoner in battle, and had treated, during his captivity, with the utmost civility and politeness: this person, after he was ransomed, bestowed the highest encomiums on the Portuguese commander; he sent a messenger, desiring that he might be allowed to pay his respects to Menez. This favour being granted, he accordingly waited on him, attended with twenty of the Moorish cavalry. After a good deal of friendly conversation, 'Sir (said the Moor) you have not a little added to the glory of your exploits by relieving the city against so powerful a monarch: you have certainly greatly gained the affections of the citizens, since the fort, in all probability, had it not been for your presence, would now have been under our power: but so illustrious an action could only have been atchieved by such bravery as you possess, and which you have always displayed in so conspicuous a manner.' To this Menez replied, 'If (said he) I have relieved the city at this critical juncture, it will appear to those who consider rightly, that I have but a small share in the honour, it redounds entirely to the glory of my royal master, under whose guardianship and direction so many braver men than I have been bred up. Your king may likewise boast with justice, that he has not only attacked one of Emmanuel's cities, but also got it into his possession by force of arms: that he shook the walls, that he took the city, that he stormed the fort; all this was praise-worthy: but as to his setting fire to the houses and buildings, this was dishonourable and unbecoming a prince. The war is yet unfinished; if he hoped then for victory, how could he be so blind to his own interest as to destroy by fire a city of which he expected to become absolute master? Or if he despaired of success, was it

‘it not base in him to be thus actuated by such a malicious resentment? Was it for this that he levied so considerable an army, to declare war against the walls and roofs of the houses?’ No, replied the Moor, ‘our king is far from being a person of such a mean disposition; on the contrary he is a prince of a truly great and magnanimous soul: nor did he raise an army to demolish your houses, but to wage war with a warlike and renowned prince: and though he has failed in his attempt, yet surely no dishonourable reflexions can, with justice, be thrown upon him on that account: it is the part of a prince who aspires after glory to embark in great and difficult enterprises, but the success depends not on the bravery of men, but on the will of the Almighty. As to what you mention about firing the houses, I can assure you that it has been done without the knowledge of his majesty. As soon therefore as I see the king, I will inform him thereof, and I make no doubt but he will give immediate orders to extinguish the fire.’

The Moor then departed, and soon after, by the king’s command, the enemy extinguished the fire with all possible diligence and expedition. Many people imagined that the king himself was amongst the Moor’s attendants: for he had expressed a strong desire to see Menez, who at that time was much celebrated and held in the highest admiration by the Arabians themselves. The king seeing the fort so considerably reinforced, and at the same time being informed that there was a fleet expected in a few days from Portugal, thought it would be extremely dangerous to remain any longer before Arzila, he accordingly raised the siege that night, and marched to Alcazar-Quivir. Next morning Menez entered the city with all his forces with flying colours: Coutign, with his wife, and all the citizens who had been in the fort, came forth to meet him in the most joyful manner, and returned thanks to him as to a father, who had given life to them all.

When Emmanuel first received news of the king of Fez's being before Arzila, he was at Evora, and he resolved to go in person to relieve the place: he accordingly dispatched circular letters to all the cities in Portugal, summoned together all the nobility, and he sent all the troops he could levy with the utmost expedition to the kingdom of Algarve, in order to be in readiness to pass over into Africa. Four days afterwards he received another express from Menez informing him, that the city was in the hands of the enemy, the fort besieged and reduced to the greatest extremity: Emmanuel, as soon as he received this intelligence, ordered a horse to be saddled, and posted away for Algarve with only seven or eight attendants. He continued his journey night and day, hardly giving himself time for refreshment: for he was sensible of the danger of delay, especially in warlike affairs, since an opportunity of performing an illustrious exploit once passed, can never be recalled: besides he looked upon it to be the part of a fearful indolent man to bewail an opportunity which he had slipped; for the man of true bravery and activity ought to grasp at the present time, and to omit nothing to improve it to the best advantage: Moreover he considered it as most scandalous for a king not to assist his subjects in distress, those especially who in his service had been reduced to the utmost extremity. Incited by these considerations, he pushed on with so much speed, that his horse dropt down dead with the fatigue, in the mountains which divide Algarve from the rest of Portugal. There he received a third express, giving an account of the reinforcements arrived at Arzila, and the supply of men, provisions, and warlike stores conveyed into the fort, notwithstanding all the enemy's opposition. Emmanuel, however, remitted nothing of the activity with which he had begun: he accordingly continued his journey, and came at length to Tavira. This alacrity and forwardness of the king, raised such a spirit amongst the Portuguese, that vast numbers of horse and foot

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flocked to him from all quarters; so that after five days stay at Tavira, he had an army of above 20000 men. Moreover, according to his orders, several ships came thither from Lisbon with cannon, provisions, and abundance of warlike stores: he accordingly made all expedition to get the fleet ready, but when he was about to embark his troops, he received another express with the news that the siege was raised, and that the king of Fez despairing of success, had disbanded his army.

Emmanuel nevertheless resolved to pass over into Africa, but was dissuaded from this resolution by several persons famed for their ability in council. ‘Your majesty’ said they, ‘has now no occasion to go to raise the siege; this is already done: and if you want to subdue Africa, you have not a sufficient force to carry this design into execution: it will therefore be unbecoming so great a monarch to undertake what is unnecessary, or to attempt what you cannot gloriously accomplish. Your passing over into Africa will then, and not till then, be noble and commendable, when you are able to effect what you purpose in making a descent into that country; for otherwise instead of acquiring glory in the expedition, you will incur disgrace. At present it not a little redounds to your honour, that a handful of your subjects have shamefully repulsed the king of Fez, and forced him to raise the siege: we hope therefore your majesty will be cautious not to sully this glory by an unsuccessful attempt; for if you should pass over into Africa, it will not be sufficient that you overthrow the Moors in one or two battles, it will be expected that you should reduce the whole country under your subjection: and if you fall short of people’s expectations, this will greatly diminish your fame and reputation. We therefore would humbly advise you to defer this enterprize till another opportunity, when you shall have a sufficient strength to put your design into execution with facility, and without sullying the honour

‘nour gained already by your arms.’ By these and such like arguments of those unwarlike men, Emmanuel was diverted from his resolution, in which had he persisted, he would in all probability have gained immortal fame; for at this juncture there was the most favourable opportunity. The Moors being bound by no principles of religion nor loyalty, had nothing to restrain them from a shameful cowardly behavior, and the greatest part of them were unprovided with arms: their princes too were at variance amongst themselves, and the more powerful tyrannized over the weaker, whilst these provoked by oppression, hatched all manner of mischief against the former. Add to this, that the people in general being of a perfidious disposition, and fond of change, would very probably, as soon as an opportunity offered, have given proofs thereof, and for a small bribe have betrayed their princes. Besides, the country was extremely fit for maintaining an army, for it abounded in all the necessaries of life, and the natives being great lovers of money, would, at a small expence, have supplied our people with corn and other provisions from all quarters; and if the Portuguese had used their victory with clemency and moderation, doubtless the Moors engaged by such lenity, would have become sincerely attached to his Portuguese majesty. Thus every thing with respect to the enemy, was in the very situation which Emmanuel could have wished for. Moreover amongst the Portuguese, there prevailed at this time the highest fidelity and affection for their prince, together with a martial boldness fit to carry on the most warlike enterprizes. Besides, such was the general spirit throughout the kingdom, that most of the nobility would, at their own expence, have been ready to assist his majesty in so great an enterprize. And if the king’s going to the remotest part of Portugal with so much expedition, raised so great an emulation throughout the whole kingdom, that such numbers repaired to his standard in so short a time, what might not have been expected had this army

passed over into Africa? Moreover, as troops could have been so easily embarked from Spain, in all probability Emmanuel might have had considerable reinforcements from that kingdom. As the success of war depends greatly on circumstances and opportunity, and these seemed to occur at present in favour of the Portuguese, we may therefore reasonably conclude that Emmanuel, with an army of so much spirit and alacrity, would have easily routed and totally subdued an enemy so full of panic, and already dispirited by their losses. The king, in forming such a noble resolution, discovered a great and aspiring soul, and was certainly to be highly commended; nor can we help finding fault with those timorous counsellors who dissuaded him from such a glorious enterprize.

The king, however, notwithstanding he was dissuaded from his resolution of going in person into Africa, yet took care that every thing necessary for the security of our people in that country should be provided with the utmost expedition; he immediately sent a reinforcement of soldiers to Arzila, with a store of provisions, ammunition, and a number of workmen to repair the walls and houses, and to strengthen the fort with new and stronger fortifications. For this town, by reason of the adjacent fertile champian country, and its natural situation, was esteemed the most important place which the Portuguese possessed on that coast. Emmanuel sent six thousand ducats as a present to Pedro Navarre, who would by no means accept it; for he said what he had done, was on the account of his royal master Ferdinand, by whom alone he expected to be rewarded for his service. The lord lieutenant of Xerez in like manner refused an offer of the same nature. Both of them, however, were afterwards amply rewarded by Emmanuel. Menez, after the fort was supplied with men and provisions, returned to Portugal, where he was received by his majesty with the highest marks of honour and affection.

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This year there happened some contest betwixt Emmanuel and Joan, daughter to Isabel and Ferdinand, in relation to the boundary of their dominions, firmly fixed by John king of Portugal and their Castilian majesties ; but the dispute was at last adjusted with great friendship and moderation on both sides. Emmanuel gave up all pretensions to the greatest part of Mauritania, as of right belonging to the Spaniards. Joan in her turn resigned all her possessions in Æthiopia, which she found by articles of treaty to have been assigned to the Portuguese.

Towards the end of this same year, Emmanuel sent several persons eminent for their learning and piety to Congo, to instruct the people in the principles of the Christian religion.

But to return to the affairs of India. We have already mentioned Tristano Cugna's voyage to India, the cities which he attacked and took by storm, his arrival with the fleet at Zocotora, his making himself master of the fort built there by the king of Caxem, where he left Norhogna governor. Thence he steered for India, and soon after returned to Portugal. We come now to relate the exploits of Alphonso Albuquerque, after Tristano Cugna's departure. He had been left by Tristano admiral of the fleet, to cruize on the Arabian coast to intercept the enemy's ships, and to annoy them as much as possible ; but Albuquerque being a man of a great and aspiring soul, disdained to watch for his prey like a pyrate, and resolved to atchieve some important exploit. He accordingly formed a design to attack the kingdom of Ormuz. The island is sixteen miles in circuit, it lies within the mouth of the Persian gulph, separated from Carmania by a streight of the sea four leagues broad, and it is thirteen distant from Arabia. The name of the island seems to be taken from the ancient city of Armuza in Caramania, and in all probability it was first peopled by a colony transplanted from thence. The place is sandy and barren, and the soil so very poor, that it produces nothing fit for

for human sustenance, neither by nature nor by the most laborious cultivation : the people likewise are extremely pinched for water, there being only three wells in the whole island, and these at a considerable from the city ; so that the inhabitants are obliged to have water, as well as all other provisions, imported from Caramania, Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. There is a remarkable hill in the island, which on one side yields a vast quantity of sulphur, and on the other many mines of salt petre. There are two commodious havens in the place, one situated on the eastern, and the other in the western side of a ridge of land, which runs out a considerable way into the sea. The convenient situation and security of these two harbours, induced many merchants to put in there from Arabia, India, and many other countries. The resort to the island became at last so great that a city was built in the plain, which in a little time became famous for its wealth and numbers. The streets are broad and straight ; the houses consist of several stories, and are built with great magnificence. The king's palace is not only a grand and princely building, but also fortified against all hostile attempts. The heat is very intense here ; in order to screen themselves from which, the natives use various arts and contrivances. The inhabitants are chiefly Arabians and Persians, who follow the Mahometan religion : they are a people very much given to detraction, and extremely addicted to venery. They oblige their women to go veiled, that they may not be seen by strangers : the men in general are of a genteel make ; they are great lovers of musick, and dress very elegantly : they spend a good deal of their time in warlike exercises, and in reading, also being particularly delighted with history. Men of learning are held in the highest esteem amongst them, and nothing is accounted more honourable than to study under such learned persons.

Their government is founded on the most salutary laws. Every thing is sold by weight, and to make use of false scales or weights is punished as the most infamous

famous crime ; for they look upon a man guilty of such a fraud to be the greatest enemy and disgrace to civil society. Though the island of itself produced none of the necessaries or conveniences of life, yet here you might see greater plenty of these, as well as all luxurious superfluities, than in most other countries of a richer and more fertile soil ; for the place, poor in itself, having become the great mart for the commodities of India, Persia and Arabia, was thus abundantly stocked with the produce of all these countries. The kings of Ormuz being enriched by the duties laid on goods imported, were enabled by this means to maintain vast armies, and consequently to extend their dominions ; accordingly they reduced under their power most of the neighbouring islands, and several cities also in Arabia and Caramania : but the princes by degrees growing enervated with ease and luxury, their rich and ambitious ministers at last usurped the whole power, and made use of the public revenues to promote their own villainous purposes, leaving only the empty sound of royalty to the king. Such was the situation of affairs in the island of Ormuz, at the time when Albuquerque formed the design of bringing it under the power of Emmanuel.

He accordingly set sail from Zocotora on the 20th of August 1507, and soon reached the extremity of a promontory in Arabia called Cape Rozalgate, by the ancient geographers Corodam. The commanders who embarked with him in this expedition, were Francisco Tavora, Emmanuel Tellez, Alphonso Lopez Costa, Nunez Vasco de Albigastro, Antonio de Campo, and John Nunez. The troops aboard these ships amounted to four hundred and seventy soldiers. With this small force he sailed into these parts, in order to attack so opulent a kingdom. Having cruized along the Arabian coast, the first town which he reached belonging to Ormuz was Calaiates, situated within the mouth of the gulph. Here he came to anchor with his ships, and offered peace to the inhabitants, on condition they would

would supply his fleet with provisions; which they accordingly did. He then proceeded to the town of Curiate, where when our people were about to refresh themselves with viands, they found, they had been most egregiously imposed upon. For the inhabitants of Caliates had put a great quantity of dirt and filth into the casks which they pretended to fill with provisions, and in order to carry on the deceit, had strowed the top with all sorts of food. However, they afterwards suffered the punishment they deserved for such a scandalous fraud: but the inhabitants of Curiate seemed not disposed to deal with artifice, but made an appearance to repulse the Portuguese by force of arms. The person who governed this town in the name of the king of Ormuz, was a brave and gallant man: he had fortified the harbour with a ditch and rampart, and placed strong garrisons of soldiers, with which he trusted he should be able to defeat a much greater strength than that of our people. Full of these hopes he rejected offers of peace. Albuquerque, after holding a council of war, landed his forces in good order: three thousand of the enemy drawn up on the shore endeavoured to hinder the Portuguese from landing: a severe conflict ensued, in which our people at last routed the enemy, and made themselves masters of the rampart. They soon after forced into the town, which, being deserted by its garrison, they plundered and afterwards burnt. They likewise set fire to all the enemy's ships.

They sailed next to Mascalah, a large and opulent town, thirteen leagues from Curiate. It stands in a plain hemmed in on each side with two mountains, which running out towards the shore make the entrance to the harbour very narrow. The inhabitants had drawn a deep ditch from the one mountain to the other, and fortified it with a mole and a double rampart. Into these there were two entrances, both very narrow. Albuquerque having entered the haven, had a conference with the governor, who agreed to furnish provisions for the Portuguese, by way of tribute; but in

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the mean while the king of Ormuz's general coming with a body of troops, would by no means allow the governor to perform his agreement ; and now the whole city prepared to make a stout resistance. They had above four thousand men in arms. Albuquerque having been apprized of their hostile intentions, continued firing upon the city a whole night, designing not only to shake the walls, but also to fatigue the enemy by continual watching. Next day he drew up his men in three lines ; one he gave to Alphonso Costa, with orders to attack one extremity of the enemy's works ; the second was commanded by John Nunez and Antonio de Campo, who were to make an attempt on the other end of the fortification. Albuquerque himself and Tellez being at the head of the third line, were to attack the middle of the rampart. Tavora and his detachment being the first who landed, advanced boldly to their assigned station, and notwithstanding the many darts and weapons discharged at them, they forced their way, and having thrown several burning torches into the enemy's trenches, at last obliged them to abandon their post : Albuquerque performed his part with no less intrepidity against the enemy, who made a vigorous resistance, whilst in the mean while the dispute was carried on with the like heat in that quarter where Alphonso Costa was engaged. Our people, however, having at last made themselves masters of the rampart, routed the enemy, and took the town, which they plundered, and afterwards burnt. Eight of the Portuguese were killed in this action.

After a few days refreshment Albuquerque went to Sohar, another town belonging to the king of Ormuz : there was a fort in this place, but the governor thereof having heard of the unhappy fate of those who had resisted, immediately surrendered. The fleet proceeded next to Orphazon, a town well fortified with walls and cannon. The commander was an officer of great bravery and experience, but the inhabitants, in spite of all his efforts, began to think of flight as soon as our people

came

came to anchor. Accordingly, the very night after the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, they fled to the mountains with all their valuable effects. The city being thus deserted was plundered and burnt. This was the last town on the northern coast of Arabia, which belonged to Ormuz. Albuquerque steered next for the island itself, which was looked upon by the Arabians as their common country; and there were at this time in the harbour, a great number of their ships, furnished with every thing necessary for fighting. The admiral having summoned the officers aboard his ship, to consult about the most proper measures to be pursued, most of them were of opinion, that the first step necessary was to take or burn the enemy's ships: for as the fleet was the chief bulwark of the city, that being destroyed, the war might then be carried on with the utmost facility. This resolution being unanimously approved of, our people came to an anchor. Albuquerque immediately dispatched a messenger to the king, giving him to understand, that he came thither not as an enemy, but as a friend, to offer peace, on condition his majesty would submit to the power and authority of Emmanuel, under whose government he would be more secure than by reigning over many nations, and by whose protection he would be defended from the insults and attacks of his enemies: he hoped therefore the king would accept of peace on such terms, otherwise, added he, ' I shall be obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to force you to such a submission.'

The king being greatly alarmed by the fame of those exploits which Albuquerque had already performed, pretended to be desirous of peace, and accordingly sent a messenger to the admiral, with letters and presents: the former Albuquerque received with great politeness, but the latter he said he would by no means accept till a peace was concluded. But though the king appeared to be strongly inclined to a peace, yet he put it off from day to day; for in reality his design was only to spin out the time till the arrival of a fleet

which he expected. Mean while the Portuguese relying on his faith, walked about in the town, without the least apprehension : but no sooner had the expected fleet, with a numerous army aboard, come into the port, than he commanded all our people in the city to be taken into custody. He ordered the largest ships to be stationed along the shore, and the lesser vessels to keep out at sea, that when our people were engaged, they might attack them in the rear, and thus surround them on all sides. The following day Albuquerque having observed the order of the enemy, who seemed ready for an engagement, he determined not to decline the fight. He accordingly weighed anchor, and began the attack on the ships in the harbour. Coje Atar, who commanded the enemy's lesser vessels, observing this, immediately tacked about, in order to set upon the rear of our people, who, in the mean while, were closely engaged with those ships which defended the city. The canon being fired with great briskness raised a continued cloud of smoke: Which Coje Atar seizing the advantage of, advanced nearer, and not only plied our people with his canon, but also poured in upon them great quantities of darts and arrows ; in short, the action was carried on with so much vigour on both sides, that the earth itself seemed to shake, and the heavens appeared to be involved in darkness: many of the women with child in the city were so shocked with the horrible noise that they miscarried: the king from a high tower beheld the fight in the utmost suspense: at last, when many of Coje Atar's vessels were sunk, the rest shered off; and the Portuguese being thus freed from all annoyance in the rear, turned their whole force against the ships stationed at the entrance of the harbour. The enemy made a gallant defence: nevertheless the ship of the prince successor to the kingdom of Cambaya, who happened then to be at Ormuz, and bravely assisted against our people, was sunk, as was likewise another belonging to Melichiaz. The rest of the enemy's fleet were put into so much dis-  
order,

order, that many aboard in the utmost despair leapt over-board, thinking to save themselves by swimming. Albuquerque immediately ordered out several of his long-boats to kill all those in the water. The enemy's ships which were in a condition to move, made off in the greatest precipitation, and only one remained, commanded by an officer remarkable for his bravery. The Portuguese immediately entered her, but found no body aboard, for the enemy had hid themselves in the hold: our people being thus deceived, left a few hands in her, and went in pursuit of the rest of the fleet: but those who had concealed themselves suddenly rushing out upon the few Portuguese, surrounded them: these called aloud to the rest of our people for assistance, and in the mean while fought in the most extreme danger. The long-boats made all possible haste, but before they could come up, most of our men were grievously wounded; several of the enemy were killed by the sword, but most of them driven headlong into the water, where many perished, and a very few escaped by swimming. So great was the slaughter this day that the sea being dyed, the waves seemed to be entirely blood, and presented a most horrid spectacle. Such was the distraction of the enemy, that when they found fortune going against them, they turned their arrows into their own breasts: this became evident by great numbers of their dead bodies thrown ashore by the tide, which plainly appeared to have been pierced with arrows, and these must have been their own, for our people did not use such sort of weapons.

George Barreto, who went to assist the Portuguese aboard the above mentioned ship, finding her in a convenient station, being near the town, and well furnished with cannon, pointed her guns against the walls of the city, which he battered most furiously: and meeting with no resistance, he likewise sunk and burnt many of the enemy's ships. Albuquerque now advanced nearer to the city, and came before the royal palace: those of the enemy there, though struck with the utmost panic,

yet they endeavoured to annoy our people with their darts and arrows. Albuquerque and Menez, together with some more persons of distinction, were wounded. The admiral then coasted along, and destroyed many more of the enemy's ships: he came at length to a station lying towards Caramania, where he burnt one hundred and eighty ships as they lay in their docks: he likewise set fire to a magnificent mosque in the suburbs, where the ceremonies of the Mahometan religion used to be performed with the highest solemnity. The Portuguese soldiery, flushed with success, were extremely desirous to force into the city; but Albuquerque as he had so few forces, and these greatly fatigued, whilst on the other hand the enemy were very numerous in the city, therefore thought proper to restrain his men from such a hazardous attempt. In this engagement, which lasted eight hours, only ten of the Portuguese were killed, and fifty wounded, amongst whom was Jasper Diazio the standard bearer, who lost his right hand. Two thousand of the enemy were slain.

This misfortune threw the Ormuzians into the most terrible panic; they were especially moved at the loss of their ships, which they always looked upon as the bulwark and security of their island. The king, after holding a council with his nobles, sent two persons of great authority and distinction as deputies to Albuquerque. One was an Arabian named Coje Beiram, the other a Spaniard called Abdala, a native of Granada. These, in the name of their royal master sued for peace in the most submissive manner, and implored pardon for his majesty's offence, pleading as an excuse the rashness natural to youth, and his being too much influenced by the pernicious counsels of his ministers; that he had already suffered sufficient punishment, and having learnt a submissive obedience from his misfortunes, was ready to acknowledge the authority of Emmanuel, and to pay him tribute; that his majesty entreated Albuquerque to be to him in the place

of a father; and in his turn he promised to behave with a dutiful and filial affection. Moreover, as Ormuz now belonged to Emmanuel, to do any farther damage thereto, would be highly detrimental to the interest of his Portuguese majesty; that as the island was populous and wealthy, and lying almost contiguous to Arabia and Persia, consequently the prince who possessed it had an excellent opportunity of extending his dominions: and as the strength and security of the island consisted in its natural power, for that reason to demolish the ships belonging thereto, was in effect wounding Ormuz in the most mortal manner. 'For,' said the deputies 'as a tree dies when its root is cut, in like manner will it be with Ormuz when deprived of her ships, by which she is nourished and supported: if you have a desire therefore to aggrandize the power of your royal master, you ought to act for the preservation of this island, the safety of which will considerably add to Emmanuel's power and revenues. Imitate then the example of those great and illustrious generals, who have immortalized their names no less by their gallant exploits than their clemency, these heroes esteeming it glorious and honourable by their lenity to preserve those whom they had vanquished by their bravery. As to your warlike prowess, Sir, you have already given such proofs thereof, as may render you equal in fame to the most renowned generals. And as you have shewn your invincible courage in martial achievements, it now belongs to you to shew, that you no less excel in clemency and humanity. As we have then sufficiently suffered for our rashness, let now your compassion be extended towards us, depressed with misfortunes; for it is the mark of a great soul, when elevated with success, to make some allowance for human frailties, and to pity those in distress. We therefore beseech you, in the name of that Deity whom you adore, and by your invincible arm, that you would shew mercy to us in our present miserable circumstances, and or-

‘der the fire to be extinguished. In doing this, to the character of a brave commander you will likewise add that of a humane general, and will at the same time add not a little to the power and fame of your royal master.’

To this Albuquerque replied, ‘That he was sorry, the deputies had not come much sooner, since if they had, a great deal of damage might have been prevented; that he desired they would go immediately and extinguish the fire, and he promised they should meet with no disturbance from our people: but as to the conditions of the peace, to that he said, he would afterwards give an answer.’ Coje Beiram then returned to the king, but Abdala was kept as a hostage, and the fire was immediately extinguished with the utmost diligence, and without the least disturbance. The following day Albuquerque was waited on by the first men of the city, amongst whom was the noradin or chief magistrate, who in the king’s name, governed the city according to her ancient laws and customs. With these Albuquerque concluded a peace, the articles of which were: ‘That Zeifad, the second of this name, king of Ormuz, should become tributary to Emmanuel and pay him yearly the sum of fifteen thousand ducats, and moreover immediately deposite five thousand for the expences of the war: and that he should assign a place in the city, which Albuquerque was to fix upon, where the Portuguese might build a fort.’ Two copies of these articles were each of them engraved on a plate of gold, one in the Persian language, which was kept by the king of Ormuz, and the other in the Arabian tongue, which was to be sent to Emmanuel.

These articles being sealed and ratified, the king desired Albuquerque to send him a standard with the arms of Emmanuel his patron and protector, the sight of which would keep alive in his mind a sense of that duty and veneration which he owed to the absent prince, and would at the same time give every one

to understand, that he was under the guardianship of a monarch famed in so many nations. The standard being accordingly sent, was received with the highest joy and acclamations of the citizens; and fixed on the royal tower. Albuquerque now going ashore went to the palace, which was spread over with silk and embroidered carpets. The king embraced him in the most affectionate manner, and they talked much about the peace, which was again confirmed by the most solemn oaths. Albuquerque then returned to the fleet, whither the king sent him many valuable and truly princelike presents: amongst these were a sword and scabbard curiously adorned with gold, and studded with precious stones, together with a belt of the richest workmanship: four rings set with the most brilliant diamonds, and a beautiful swift running horse, covered with the richest furniture. He likewise sent several presents to the rest of the officers. Albuquerque returned these civilities with the like generosity and magnificence, and now it seemed to every one that this would be a lasting peace. The Portuguese went ashore and resided in the houses assigned them by the king, without the least apprehension: some of their ships were likewise hauled ashore to be repaired, and the foundation of the fort was laid. Albuquerque however, knowing the perfidy of the Arabians, erected a tower on an eminence, near the place where the fortress was to be built; here he placed a battery of cannon to repulse the Arabians, if they should attempt to obstruct the work. All the Portuguese, without distinction of rank or quality, helped to carry on the work, for he who laboured most was esteemed the man of the greatest nobility. Albuquerque was extremely assiduous, pushing them on by the most encouraging speeches, telling them that their whole security depended on the finishing of the fort: for if this was accomplished, the king, though of himself inclined, yet would not dare to break his faith. Albuquerque not only with words, but also by his own example,

ample, pushed them on to labour with the utmost application. The king furnished materials for the work, and, as might be expected, there happening to be some seditious quarrels betwixt our men and the Ormuzians, he therefore appointed a guard of four hundred soldiers, under the noradin to defend the Portuguese from all insults. Two sons of the noradin had formed a conspiracy against the king, but the plot was discovered; however, they escaped punishment by flight. One of them was named Delamisa, and the other Xeraf: but these two persons having shewn great loyalty to Emmanuel, Albuquerque therefore made interest in their behalf, and procured them a pardon, and liberty to return to their native country.



## B O O K VI.

**A**BOUT this time two deputies came to Ormuz, to demand tribute of the king, in the name of Ismael emperor of Persia, and many other countries ; he had several princes tributary to him, amongst whom was the king of Ormuz. Ismael first had the title of sophi given him ; he was the most renowned prince amongst the Arabians, remarkable no less for his abilities than application, zealous for religion, and of the most martial courage ; by which means he had greatly extended his sovereignty. When the deputies arrived, the king of Ormuz was somewhat perplexed, and knew not how to act ; he therefore communicated the affair to Albuquerque, who bid his majesty make himself easy, and immediately dispatched one of his attendants, to congratulate the deputies on their safe arrival. This person at the same time told them, that the city and island of Ormuz was Emmanuel's by the right of war ; and the king therefore under the protection of his Portuguese majesty, by whose arms he must necessarily be defended from all injuries. As to the tribute, this he said he would immediately pay, in the name of his royal master, and accordingly he ordered a dish, in which it was contained, to be brought before the deputies : this being uncovered, there were exposed to view a number of leaden bullets, arrows, points of spears, and other weapons. ‘ This (said the person sent by Albuquerque) is the tribute which Emmanuel king of Portugal, Algarve, India, and Ormuz, is wont to pay to those who demand it from princes tributary to him.’ With this answer the deputies were sent back to their own country ; they appeared to be moved with

with the highest indignation, and threatened revenge for this affront offered to so great a monarch as Ismael.

The fort was now arrived to such a height, that it could be defended by a garrison ; but the officers were extremely piqued, being so long detained in this work ; for their thoughts were wholly bent on the booty which they imagined they could have taken from the enemy, by cruizing in the Red Sea : spurred on therefore by their avarice, they formed a design, in Emmanuel's name, to press Albuquerque to leave a governor in the fort, and depart from Ormuz : they accordingly drew up a paper, and signed their names to it. In this they strongly entreated him, that he would not consume any more time in an affair in which he was not supported by his majesty's authority. The clerk who wrote this petition, waited on the admiral with it, in order to give credit thereto, and, at the same time, to be an evidence that Albuquerque had acted contrary to his duty, if he should refuse to comply with their demand. Albuquerque received the paper from the clerk ; however, he would not read it, but put it under a stone at the entrance of the fort. The officers highly enraged at this affront, went to Coje Atar, a person of the greatest influence with the king ; him they informed, that what Albuquerque had done at Ormuz was not by the authority of Emmanuel, but merely the effects of his own madness and immoderate ambition ; and that his proceedings would, in all probability, give the highest offence to a king so remarkable for justice and moderation ; for Emmanuel would by no means countenance his subjects in offering hostilities to a prince from whom they had received no injury. Coje Atar was overjoyed at what he heard, for now he thought he might carry on his artifices with less danger : he therefore waited on Albuquerque ; and, after a long conversation, earnestly entreated him to withdraw his fleet ; for as long as it remained at Ormuz, (he said) the merchants were afraid to put in there as usual, and

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the king's revenue thereby so much diminished, that he was even unable to pay the tribute imposed on him. Moreover, he assured Albuquerque, that after his departure he would take care that the fort should be finished, and fortified in as strong a manner as our people themselves could wish. Albuquerque gave such an answer as plainly shewed he would not depart from his first resolution.

Coje Atar finding this artifice miscarry, had recourse to other stratagems. By large sums of money he prevailed on five of the Portuguese to desert; amongst these there were some who understood the art of casting cannon. He immediately sent them over to the continent, provided them with all proper materials, and took care that they should be maintained in the most genteel manner. As soon as Albuquerque got notice of the departure of these five persons, he sent to the king and Coje Atar, desiring that the deserters might be delivered up. The king and his ministers made answer, that the men could not be found at that time, but that they would make the strictest search after them. Three days afterwards they sent another message to Albuquerque, letting him know, that the deserters had fled to the continent, and all possible care should be taken in order to bring them back from thence. Mean while several iron and brass cannon were made with the utmost expedition, and the restless perfidious Coje Atar, took care to have a strong supply of arms and soldiers brought into the island: all these preparations were carried on in the night-time, and with so much secrecy, that Albuquerque, though a man of the utmost shrewdness and penetration, knew nothing of the matter. At last, however, he received intelligence of the whole affair, by means of an Arabian named Abrahem, who, at the same time informed him, that the present conduct of Coje Atar was greatly owing to the malevolence of some of the Portuguese officers. Albuquerque was struck with astonishment at this discovery; he earnestly intreated the Arabian

to make all possible enquiry into the enemy's proceedings, and to give him notice thereof, assuring him, that he should be amply rewarded for his services. He then dispatched messengers to the king and Coje Atar, putting them in mind of the treaty struck in so solemn a manner, which he hoped they would not violate, on the account of five deserters: that they would not, by breaking through the most sacred oaths, draw upon themselves the vengeance of the Deity, in whose sight perjury must certainly be highly offensive. They replied by the strongest asseverations, that they did not so much as know in what place the five Portuguese were.

Albuquerque having held a council of his officers, many were of opinion, that it would be the highest imprudence to engage in so dangerous a war on the account of five abandoned wretches: that the Portuguese were few in number, and these too almost worn out with the fatigues they had already undergone; whereas the enemy were fresh and extremely numerous. Besides, if the attempt should miscarry, the disgrace incurred thereby would be much greater than the honour acquired by the late victory; for this would be ascribed to chance, whereas the other would be esteemed the natural consequence of rash madness: that therefore it would be more discreet to put up with the perfidious behaviour of the enemy, and to preserve peace, and that Albuquerque ought to leave a governor in the fort, and depart with the fleet. The admiral, however, was far from approving of this advice, and indeed had he followed it, his wisdom might have been very justly called in question. The enemy seemed resolved to break through the treaty, nor would they scruple to pursue the most false and perfidious measures: moreover, they had in the city a strong supply of arms and forces; therefore to leave the fort unfinished to be kept by a governor and a small garrison, would in effect be betraying them into the hands of the enemy, who would thus reap the benefit of the toil

toil and labour of our people. Besides, it argued an unmanly timidity to desist from their undertaking, and it would have been the highest folly to have been at so much pains in erecting a work, which, if abandoned to the enemy, would be a bulwark to their city, and render any attempt upon it afterwards extremely dangerous ; Albuquerque therefore remained firm in his resolution. He sent several other messengers to the king, requiring that he would not violate the treaty, but surrender up the deserters ; finding, however, that all his entreaties availed nothing, and being likewise informed by the same Arabian, that the enemy had brought great quantities of arms into their arsenal, that they had great numbers of soldiers in readiness, that they had fixt several stations secured by strong garrisons of soldiers and batteries of cannon ; he therefore ordered the Portuguese one night to repair aboard the fleet with all their most valuable effects.

The king now perceiving that his fraudulent intentions were detected, resolved entirely to throw off the mask and to proceed directly to hostilities ; he accordingly commanded his troops to be drawn together from all quarters, and that the cannon should be pointed at our people ; so that now every thing had a most warlike appearance. Albuquerque alarmed by these preparations, ordered several of his officers in long boats to advance towards the city, and to play their cannon upon the walls. Coje Aiar commanded the ships lying at anchor to be moved as near as possible to the shore, lest they might be taken or burnt by the Portuguese, who, notwithstanding this precaution, destroyed several of them. The Portuguese cannon being fired incessantly upon the city, did considerable damage to the walls : but Albuquerque finding this way of carrying on the war to be rather too slow, had recourse to another and more effectual method. He resolved to starve out the enemy by hindering any provisions from being imported to them ; he accordingly appointed three ships commanded by Emmanuel Tel-

Jez, Barreto, Antonio de Campo, and Alphonso Lopez Costa, to intercept all vessels coming into the island. These officers, though unwilling, performed their orders and took several ships which they brought to Albuquerque. Here the admiral committed a piece of barbarity unworthy of his other exploits; for he commanded most of the captives to have their ears, noses, and hands cut off. He then ordered these miserable wretches to be put ashore, desiring them to tell Coje Atar that thus he would serve all others who attempted to supply the island with provisions. The enemy were now filled with the utmost consternation, and the common people being sorely afflicted with famine, began to murmur in the most tumultuous manner. A considerable body of them went to the king, whom with great warmth they entreated to relieve them in their present distress, by a peace or some other method; otherwise they said they themselves should be forced to find some remedy for their calamity. To this Coje Atar, in the name of the king replied, (for the eastern princes affect it as a piece of great dignity to speak by the mouths of their ministers) that there was a sufficient quantity of water in the cisterns of the city, and the wells of Torombaue about four miles off, to quench their thirst; and that there was at present such a stock of provisions in the city as would enable them to hold out till the arrival of a large fleet, which he soon expected loaded with all necessaries. Moreover, he bid them be of good courage, assuring them, that they should quickly see the Portuguese in fetters, to suffer the punishment due to their crimes. The fury of the populace was abated by these vain assurances; for in reality there was not water enough in the cisterns and wells, nor a sufficient quantity of provisions in the city to supply so great a multitude.

Albuquerque being resolved to distress the enemy as much as possible, in order to force them to a surrendry, formed a design to stop up the wells of Torombaue: he accordingly sent for this purpose a detachment of

80 men, under George Barreto, and Alphonso Lopez Costa. Six Portuguese of distinction were first sent ashore, in order to try if they could seize any person in the island by whom they might learn whether the wells were defended by any guard: they accordingly took two captives, by whom they understood that an officer named Cide Hamed, was stationed near the wells with twenty-five horse and two hundred archers under his command. Barreto having received this intelligence, ordered the boats to be rowed forward with the utmost expedition, that he might land his men before day break, and thus fall upon the enemy unawares. The event proved as he expected; for our people coming upon the enemy when asleep, killed their leader and his whole party, excepting a very few who narrowly escaped, and filled up the well with the carcases of the men and horses: but lest these should be cleared away by the enemy, he appointed one Laurentio Sylva, a Spaniard of great gallantry, to guard the well with twenty soldiers. This officer, however, being surrounded by the enemy's numbers, Albuquerque, who was always in readiness for action, and happened then to be pretty nigh, immediately hastened to his relief with one hundred and fifty men. The enemy were very numerous, and the king himself was present animating them to the fight by the most encouraging speeches. Coje Atar called aloud to those under his command, telling them, that the safety of all depended on the issue of this engagement. The Ormuzians fired by these incitements, pressed on with redoubled vigour against the Portuguese, who being at last overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat with most of their men wounded. Delamixa, for whom Albuquerque had obtained pardon and a liberty to return to his native country, was above all remarkably furious against our people, till at last his career was stopt by a wound which he received from a musket bullet. Albuquerque was certainly, during this action, in the utmost danger of his life; but the shore

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being near, all the Portuguese escaped, excepting one of the admiral's domestics who was killed in the engagement.

The Portuguese, however, still blocked up the island in such a manner, that the enemy having no provisions imported, were reduced to the utmost extremity. The people again in numerous bodies crowded about the palace, earnestly imploring the king not to be so far influenced by his wicked ministers as to allow his subjects to be cut off in so miserable a manner: sometimes they endeavoured to melt him by their tears, and sometimes to force him into a compliance by tumultuous uproars. Coje Atar one while soothed them by fair speeches, and at another time deterred them by menacing language. But the evil was of such a nature, that it could not have been long endured, and they must of necessity have been obliged in a short time to surrender, in order to put a period to their misery. But the enemy were extricated from this difficulty by the infamous behaviour of three Portuguese captains, Emmanuel Tellez, Alphonso Lopez, Costa and Antonio de Campo: these, though men of nobility and renown, yet were so far blinded by particular pique against their commander, that forgetting all the ties of honour, they shamefully deserted him when the war was well nigh finished, and sailed away for India. Albuquerque finding his strength so greatly weakened by their departure, as to be unable to prosecute the war; therefore left the island full of indignation, that the victory should be thus snatched out of his hands not by the bravery of the enemy, but by the baseness of his own officers.

There is an island named Queixom, which belonged to the kingdom of Ormuz, and not far from thence: hither Albuquerque sailed. He attacked the town of Arbez in this island, the governor of which he killed, together with several of his soldiers, and plundered the place. The greatest part of the plunder taken here consisted of provisions which was put aboard the ships.

Here

Here he received intelligence, that the fort of Socotora being blockaded was in the utmost distress for provisions. He was at the same time informed, that a fleet of seventy ships, fitted out in the innermost part of the gulph of Bassora, was under sail for Ormuz. Finding therefore that he was under a necessity of avoiding this fleet, and of assisting the Portuguese at Socotora as soon as possible, he therefore resolved to make but a short stay in these parts. However, before he departed he touched at another town of the same island, named Homeal. This place was fortified with a strong garrison. A smart engagement ensued; which at last ended in favour of the Portuguese, who slew great numbers of the enemy, and plundered the town. Only one of our people was killed, and two Arabians who served under Albuquerque. John de Novo was likewise slightly wounded. This gentleman, pursuant to Albuquerque's orders, sailed for India, and he himself directed his course for Socotora.

His arrival put an end to the commotions in that place, for the enemy fled in the utmost panic. They soon after sued for peace, which was granted on condition they supplied the Portuguese yearly with a certain number of sheep and oxen, by way of tribute. And that the fort might be furnished with a greater abundance of provisions, Albuquerque dispatched Francisco Tavora to get a supply of corn at Melinda, and then he himself sailed to Cape Guardafu.

Whilst Tavora was at Melinda, Diego Melos and Martin Cælio, who had wintered at Mozambique, put in at the same port. The persons who had been left at Melinda, in order to be conducted to the emperor of Ethiopia, were still there, for the king had not yet lighted on a proper guide for them; they were therefore taken aboard one of these ships. These three commanders then proceeded to join Albuquerque at Cape Guardafu. In their way thither they took a ship, which they plundered and burnt. Albuquerque was highly overjoyed at the sight of these commanders: he had

likewise taken another ship; in this he found an Arabian of great experience, who having been several years at the emperor of Ethiopia's court, was perfectly acquainted with the manners and customs of the people. Him he sent to Emmanuel, to inform him of what particulars he might be desirous to know. He put ashore the three ambassadors to the Ethiopian emperor, at a town not far from the Cape, and they travelled from thence to the place where they were sent to, without the least obstruction. The emperor then on the throne was named David, but he being under age, the kingdom was at that time ruled by his mother Helen, a lady highly famed for her prudence and understanding. Both of them expressed the utmost satisfaction at the receipt of Emmanuel's letters, and they sent an embassy to his Portuguese majesty, the purport of which we shall give in another place. Albuquerque soon after sailed back to Socotra, where he wintered.

As soon as the season of the year would permit, on the 20th of August, he steered for Calajate, in order to get intelligence of what had been done at Ormuz after his departure, and to punish the inhabitants for the trick they had put upon him. As soon as his ships approached the place, two Arabians of distinction belonging to the city set out in a boat, and came aboard the admiral, without the least apprehension; for they imagined these ships were just arrived from Portugal, and that those aboard knew nothing of what had happened at Ormuz, and they had a strong desire to know what Emmanuel had resolved in relation to the affairs in India. But soon after recollecting Albuquerque, and remembering the deceit practised on him by the governor of Calajate, they became half dead with fear, and implored his mercy in the most suppliant manner. He promised them forgiveness, on condition they would sincerely answer the questions he should put to them: to which they readily consented. From them he learnt the present strength and posture of affairs at Ormuz: he was likewise informed

formed, that the governor, who had imposed on him in so base a manner, was still in the town and enjoyed the same office. As soon as he received this intelligence he sailed into the harbour. The citizens, headed by their governor, endeavoured to hinder the landing of his men; but after a short conflict, being routed, they took shelter in a mosque not far from the shore. But this being quickly taken, the enemy then fled into the city: the Portuguese followed them closely, and would have entered the town immediately had they not been called back by Albuquerque: for night approaching, the streets being narrow, and the houses high, he was afraid that the enemy from their windows might destroy our people with stones and darts, which would be extremely dangerous in the darkness of the night. The Portuguese accordingly remained in the mosque till next morning, when as soon as the light appeared they attacked the town, which the enemy soon quitted in the utmost consternation; and our people then turned themselves to plunder. Albuquerque staid in the city a few days, whilst in the mean while Zasaradin, a bold and active general, having got together one thousand brave men, attacked the Portuguese in the silence of the night. But the enemy not finding our people unguarded as they expected, were most shamefully repulsed: for Albuquerque was so able a general, that he always kept his men in readiness; so that they could hardly be surprized. Here again, being hurried away by his indignation against the people, he committed another piece of barbarity like to that at Ormuz; for he ordered all the prisoners to have their noses slit and their ears cut off. He set fire to the town and the mosque, which was a most magnificent structure, and also burnt twenty-seven ships in the harbour.

He then directed his course for Ormuz, being desirous to observe the condition and strength of the city, and to try if he could any way damage the inhabitants. When he reached this place, he perceived the fort was

raised a story higher, and strongly fortified with cannon. He levelled his guns against the city, and battered the walls for some time. He likewise took some ships, and by all possible methods endeavoured to shew his resentment against Coje Atar, and the rest of these perfidious islanders ; but Coje Atar sent him a letter, which he had received from Almeed. In this Almeed informed him, ‘ That Albuquerque had carried on the war against Ormuz without the authority of Emmanuel : that he himself was greatly displeased at the hostilities committed against that island ; and, in order to convince the king and Coje Atar of his sincerity, that he, as Emmanuel’s viceroy in India, was willing to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship.’ This letter gave great uneasiness to Albuquerque ; nevertheless he renewed his hostilities against the city, and did considerable damage to some other towns belonging to Ormuz. He then sailed towards the continent, where he burnt the town of Habande, from whence the island was supplied with water, and likewise filled up the wells with rubbish, so as to render them unfit for use. He also at this time attacked two of Sophi Ismael’s generals, who were escorting a company of merchants travelling with a large troop of camels loaded with provisions and all sorts of merchandize. The conflict was sharp and obstinate, but the Persian officers were at last killed, and their men amounting to five hundred, partly slain and partly put to flight. He then sent Diego Melos to the island Lara, to stop up some other wells ; for this he thought was the most effectual way to distress the people of Ormuz. But Melos disregarding Albuquerque’s orders, was desirous of himself to perform some great exploit, and by the treachery of some Arabians he was decoyed into a numerous fleet of the enemy : these he resisted with the utmost intrepidity, but was at last killed, with nine more of the Portuguese ; the rest hoisting their sails, bore away before the wind with all possible expedition.

Albuquerque

Albuquerque sailed now for India, and arrived at the port of Cananor on the 3d of November 1508, about which time, as mentioned above, Laurentio Almeed was killed in an engagement with some of the sultan's generals. Soon after this misfortune, Laurentio's father, the viceroy, received a letter from Emmanuel, recalling him home, and ordering him to give up the government to Albuquerque. Almeed happened at this time to be busy in fitting out a fleet against Mirhocem, to revenge his son's death ; but before he proceeded against the enemy, he took care to get ready seven ships for Portugal ; two of these were lost in the passage, and the rest arrived safe at Lisbon. He then sailed on his expedition, and in the way touched at Cananor. While he remained there, Albuquerque arrived, whom he seemed to receive in the most affectionate manner. The following day he invited him to dinner, and showed him Emmanuel's letter. He said he was very willing to obey his majesty's orders, but that he could not conveniently comply with them that year : for having already fitted out a large fleet at vast troub'e and expence, he intended to carry on a war against Mirhocem and the Calicutians ; and it did not seem reasonable that any other person should finish what he had begun, or deprive him of an opportunity of revenging his son's death. To this Albuquerque answered, ' That Almeed must certainly be highly blameable if he did not immediately obey his majesty's command : and as to the enemy, (he said) if the fleet was committed to his care, he would undertake to carry on the war in such a manner, that Almeed should have no reason to repent of his entrusting him with that charge : ' Almeed, however, refused to do this. Thence a misunderstanding arose, which entirely alienated the affections of these two commanders from each other, and the Portuguese formed themselves into two factions, one in favour of Almeed, and the other taking part with Albuquerque. Thus it happened, by the violence of the two parties,

that the animosity betwixt these two brave men was greatly fomented ; both equally fond of fame, were desirous of having the honour of finishing the war, and each spirited on by his party, wanted to snatch the glory from the other. But notwithstanding this discord subsisted betwixt them, yet they did not proceed to any violence in their words or actions. For when Almeed was about to depart to engage the enemy, Albuquerque offered his assistance, and by several of his friends solicited strongly that he might be admitted to a share in this enterprize. Almeed returned him thanks, but said it would be extremely unreasonable, that Albuquerque should so soon engage in fresh fatigues after the hardships he had so lately undergone : he therefore desired him at present to take a little respite ; telling him he would have business enough upon his hands, and no less dangerous wars to carry on when he entered upon the government. Albuquerque being thus excluded from a share in the present enterprize, sailed for Cochin, where he remained for some time, highly disgusted at the insult put upon him.

Almeed set sail on the 12th of December, with a fleet of nineteen ships, aboard which there were three hundred Portuguese and four hundred Cochinians. He coasted along by Onor, where he took and burnt some Calicutian ships in that harbour. This, however, was not accomplished without the loss of some blood on both sides. He then went to water his ships at Anchedive ; and from thence steered his course for Dabul, a city belonging to Zabaio, king of Goa. This prince had entered into an alliance with Mirhocem, and the rest of the enemies to the Portuguese. He had likewise sent letters to the sultan, soliciting him to levy war against our people. Almeed was therefore extremely desirous to destroy this city ; besides, he had another provocation to excite his resentment. For Pelagio Soufa, one of his commanders, having separated from the fleet, went ashore in order to get a supply of water and provisions, and his men happen-

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ing to quarrel with the natives, they alarmed the country, and a considerable body of them being collected, they attacked the Portuguese, and killed Pelagio. Our men being disheartened by the death of their leader, betook themselves to flight. It was the opinion of many, that Pelagio suffered very justly for his rashness in going ashore, without the orders of Almeed ; for the provisions was far from being so scarce as to oblige him to act in so unwarrantable a manner.

When Almeed approached Dabul, he sent a person in the night to sound the depth of the harbour. The city lies in a plain at the bottom of a pleasant hill ; it is a large town adorned with many magnificent buildings, and fortified with a strong garrison. The governor was an Arabian, a man of renowned gallantry, who had under his command six thousand soldiers ; amongst whom were five hundred Turks. There were besides in the harbour a great number of ships well manned, and furnished with plenty of arms and all sorts of warlike stores. The following day the wind and tide being favourable, Almeed ordered the fleet to weigh and enter the harbour. They moved in three lines, the galleys being in the van, the lower decked ships in the centre, and the higher ones in the rear. The long boats were likewise in readiness to receive our people when an occasion should offer to attack the enemy on the shore. The enemy attempted, but in vain, to hinder the Portuguese from landing. Almeed with the first line of his men first got ashore. He advanced to attack a tower which seemed to be strongly fortified, when the governor of the city with all his forces drawn up after their manner, advanced to meet him. The Portuguese attacked them with so much vigour, that at the first onset, having killed the general and several other persons of distinction, they soon drove the rest to flight. The enemy being routed, fled into the city, and our people pursuing them closely, entered at the same time. Now a most dismal scene followed ; for the Portuguese, blinded by their fury,

were hurried into the most shocking barbarities, not even sparing the infants, whom they tore from the embraces of their distracted mothers. Many there were who on their knees, and with tears in their eyes, offered vast quantities of gold, silver, and the most precious diamonds, for the redemption of their children; but nothing could move the obdurate hearts of the merciless conquerors. The slaughter was continued till sunset, when Almeed ordered a retreat to be sounded; for he was afraid lest his men straggling about in the city, intent on plunder and slaughter, might meet with some mischief, which is generally the case when soldiers are not restrained by proper discipline: he accordingly retired into a large mosque, with all his forces, and he conferred the order of knighthood on those who had most signalized themselves in the engagement.

The following day the viceroy gave up the place to be plundered by the soldiers; the booty was so considerable, that the men could not be brought off notwithstanding the repeated orders sent for that purpose. Almeed, observing this, privately dispatched some persons to set fire to the city. The flames quickly reduced the whole town to ashes, all the ships were likewise destroyed, many of the citizens, who had concealed themselves were also consumed. In short out of so great a number of soldiers, as well as citizens, a very few only escaped, who fled to the mountains. Of the Portuguese, there were about sixteen killed and two hundred wounded. Almeed then advanced to the mountains, where he burnt many castles and villages. Several parties of the enemy in different places came against him, but these he partly killed and partly routed, and drove off a considerable number of cattle as provisions for the fleet.

The enemy being thus defeated, Almeed returned to his ships, where he received letters from Melichiaz and the Portuguese captives. These were full of the most civil expressions; for Mirhocem offered to release the prisoners

prisoners on the most reasonable terms. The Portuguese likewise gave him to understand they were at present treated by Mirhocem with the utmost civility; and therefore entreated him to come to some agreement about their redemption, whilst the enemy seemed to be of such a mild disposition, lest, if the present opportunity was neglected, the affair might afterwards be more difficult. But this was discovered to be only an artifice made use of by the subtle Mirhocem to sound the intentions of our people. Almeed therefore thought proper to answer these letters by the mouths of his cannon. He ordered all the artillery taken from the enemy to be put aboard his ships, and sailed from thence on the 5th of January 1509.

Having cruized along that coast, he touched at the places which had acknowledged the authority of Emmanuel, and demanded the tribute. He came at length into the river Mais, which runs through the kingdom of Cambaia. Not far from the shore he saw a very ancient town, with a large mosque, near which there was a spacious plain covered with a vast number of graves. Almeed expressed somewhat of surprize at such a multitude of these funeral monuments. Those who were most famed for their wisdom in the country, informed him that, according to their ancient records, Hercules having penetrated into India with a formidable army, had in two engagements on that spot, been completely routed by a powerful Indian prince: and in order to perpetuate the memory of that exploit, their ancestors had thought proper to consecrate the field in which Hercules's soldiers had fallen, and to declare it sacrilegious in any one who should violate the graves. Whether this was a fabulous romance, or a real fact, I leave every one to determine in his own mind.

Almeed having departed from thence, sailed for Diu. Mirhocem being, contrary to the advice of Melichiaz, resolved to engage Almeed, had for that purpose ordered out all his ships to the open sea. He had six large ships, four Cambajan vessels, and Melichia's sloops

sloops of war, which we mentioned above, together with a considerable number of the Calicutian Paraos ; so that the enemy's fleet amounted to above one hundred sail. Mirhocem's soldiers were men of the utmost intrepidity, and not a little confident of success. The auxiliaries which he had received from the other nations were armed with the same assurance. Hope and resentment spurred them on to defend their liberty, and to destroy a people whom they hated. There were likewise in this fleet several Venetians and Sclavonians, who commanded some of the galleys ; and these Christians, if worthy to be called so, shewed no less ardour to engage our fleet than those enemies of our holy religion. Each commander used various arguments to excite the courage of his soldiers. Mirhocem by all possible methods endeavoured to rouze the resentment of his men against the Christian name, and animated them with the agreeable prospect of rewards and honour, which would attend the success of this engagement; adding moreover, that the liberty and safety of all the Arabians depended on their gallantry. ' If you are worsted this day, said he, the ignominy and loss will be everlasting and irretrievable ; on the other hand if you prove victorious, the empire of India will be secure, and your names will become for ever immortal.' Almeed on his part did not omit any thing which he thought might inflame his men against the Mahometans, and inspire them with a zeal for their own religion. He told them, that all hopes depended on their courage. ' For said he, if conquered, you are every where surrounded by your enemies, who, when freed from the terror of your arms, will vent their implacable rage against the Christian name. You can have no succour but from a great distance. Nor will you be able to find any shelter in your calamity ; for the people are faithless, and will not scruple to break through the most solemn ties of treaty, as soon as an opportunity offers. Behave therefore like men ; resolve either to conquer or die honourably.' He likewise

wise put them in mind of the fate of his son Lauren-  
tio, a youth universally beloved, telling them he hoped  
those who had expressed their sorrow for his death, would  
avenge his fall, by their gallant behaviour; and in fine,  
he exhorted them to put their trust in Christ, for whose  
glory they particularly fought.

By these, and such like speeches, Almeed having en-  
deavoured to whet the courage of his men, of them-  
selves sufficiently eager, he ordered the sails to be  
hoisted. But as the wind failed, and the enemy did  
not advance from their stations, he came again to an  
anchor, waiting the return of the tide, and a favoura-  
ble gale. The wind answering sooner than he ex-  
pected he again weighed, and the signal being given,  
he advanced so far that he could reach the enemy with  
his cannon, for the tide not beginning yet to flow, the  
water was low, so that he was afraid to approach nearer,  
lest he should run aground. The enemy had planted  
several cannon on the walls of the city, and on the  
tower upon the sea-shore: from thence they threw a  
great number of weapons, and fired from their batteries  
on our people, who in their turn attacked the enemy's  
fleet with great fury. The engagement continued till  
it was interrupted by the darkness of the night. Al-  
meed, who was in the first line with his ship, had re-  
solved to attack that commanded by Mirhocem, but  
he was dissuaded from this design by the rest of his  
officers; for they represented to him the disorder and  
confusion which the Portuguese fleet would be thrown  
into, if their admiral should be involved in danger.  
This advice was not agreeable to his inclination; how-  
ever he followed it because he thought it most con-  
sistent with the rules of prudence. He appointed Nu-  
mez Vasco Pereira to attack Mirhocem's ship, and  
gave him the bravest men in the fleet to carry on  
this enterprize, and ordered George Melos Pereira to  
follow him. In every ship the men were drawn up  
in four lines at the poop, stern and sides, and each of  
these under particular officers. Mirhocem perceiving  
that

that Almeed rushed on boldly to the engagement, determined then to follow the advice of Melichiaz, which he had before rejected. He accordingly resolved not to pass the shallow, but drew back his fleet nearer the walls, that he might act with more safety, when assisted by the cannon of the city, and be more readily supplied with reinforcements when necessary. He drew up his fleet in the following order. In the van he placed his six large ships, linked together two and two, so that they might be an assistance to each other; his own ship was in the centre of the line. Next to these were the galleys, sloops of war, and the paraos, which being light and nimble, were to assist the large ships as occasion required; and he stationed the Cambrian vessels at the shallow near the shore, in order to stand the first shock of the engagement.

The following day Nunez Vasco Pereira, pursuant to Almeed's orders, sailed towards the enemy; but George Melos, owing to the negligence of his pilot, could not follow him with that expedition which the exigency required. The rest of the ships moved in the order they were directed. Melichiaz perceiving our people approach, commanded the cannon on the walls and the tower, to be fired against the Portuguese fleet. By one shot, ten of Pereira's men, when upon the shrouds furling the sails, were killed. Nevertheless Pereira still advanced, with a resolution to grapple the enemy's flag ship. Mirhocem observing this, ordered the ship fastened to this to be loosened, that when Pereira begun the attack, they might annoy him on both sides. But Pereira having pointed a large gun at the ship, thus disjoined from the admiral, gave her so effectual a shot betwixt wind and water, that both her sides were at once forced. The enemy knowing their vessel was perforated in the starboard side, immediately crowded to the larboard side, where they threw their heavy luggage, thinking to save her by making her incline that way; but she being equally damaged on that side, immediately sunk to the bottom,

tom. Diego Petreio, who pursuant to Almeed's directions advanced before Pereire with his galley, to sound the depth, having found there was great danger from the lowness of the water, warned Pereira by a signal not to advance any farther: Pereira accordingly stopt his course. Mirhocem observing this, set upon him with vast fury. The two ships having grappled each other, the engagement was fought with great obstinacy. In this conflict Henrique Machiado, a man of distinguished bravery, was killed. But the fight was rendered extremely difficult by a contrivance of the enemy, who had covered themselves above by ropes, in the form of a net, reaching from the poop to the stern. Our people attempted to mount it with vast labour, but they met with a most obstinate resistance. In the mean while one of their stemmed ships having advanced to Mirhocem's assistance, attacked the other side of Pereira's vessel, and threw our people into the utmost confusion. Pereira thus pressed, exerted himself with redoubled vigour and dexterity, but being fatigued with the weight of his helmet, in order to ease himself he pulled it off, and at this instant he received a mortal wound in the throat. The victory however still remained doubtful. Francisco Favora perceiving the danger of his friends, briskly attacked the other side of Mirhocem's ship, and ordered some of his men to mount the net, which being broke by the weight, the Portuguese fell in upon the deck, and thus the fight was renewed with fresh vigour. The enemy, however, were at last partly killed, and partly driven headlong into the sea. Those in the stemmed ship, seeing the greatest part of their crew killed, the vessel bored in many places, and the rigging demolished, quitted the ship in the utmost precipitation; and there being no one aboard to guide her, she was driven upon the shore by the violence of the tide. The rest of the Portuguese commanders behaved with the like intrepidity: Peiro Barreto took another vessel belonging to Mirhocem: Antonio de Campo made

himself master of a stemmed ship, and George Melos as soon as he possibly could, set upon the Cambaian ships. Pedro Cain likewise attacked a third stemmed ship with so much fury, that before he fixed his grapping irons he was upon her covering or net, with thirty eight of his men. The enemy from the deck below wounded several of our people, who being hindered by the ropes could not use their swords. Cain finding himself involved in this difficulty attempted to jump down upon the deck, but his head was struck off at one blow by the enemy. Whilst our people remained in this dangerous situation, another Portuguese ship came up to their assistance. This seasonable relief gave them so much spirits, that the enemy's ship was quickly taken, and all aboard were put to the sword. Almeed being as a spectator of the engagement gave all necessary orders, and played his cannon with so much success, that he sunk one large ship, together with some sloops of war and paraos. Melichiaz sent frequent supplies from ashore to succeed those who were fatigued, and to renew the conflict. Besides, he stood with his drawn sword, and wounded or killed those who retreated, and by his threats he drove several back to the fight. The Portuguese, after a most obstinate battle killed so many of the enemy, that the waves were died with blood. The Calicutians being the first who retreated from the fight, stood to sea with the utmost precipitation. But Mirhocem's ships and Melichia's galleys retired to the innermost parts of the harbour and the mouth of the river. Roderigo Soarez, who commanded a low decked ship having observed two of these galleys, pushed on till he got betwixt them. Then throwing grapping irons from each side of his ship, he fixed the two galleys so as they could not move, and having killed or driven overboard the crews of each, he then towed them along to Almeed. There was now only one ship of the enemy which had not been attacked. She was high decked, and strong built, and covered with raw

hides ; so that if our men had boarded her their footing must have been very slippery, or if they had even thrown fire into her, this would have had little effect. The soldiers aboard were extremely numerous, and these too men of the most resolute and undaunted courage. Besides her sides were of such strength and thickness, that they were almost impenetrable to cannon bullets. The Portuguese, however, having surrounded her, battered her in so terrible a manner that she at last sunk. All the crew threw themselves overboard. Our people having pursued them in boats, killed many in the water, so that a very few escaped. The engagement lasted from mid-day till night. In this action the enemy lost four thousand men ; amongst these were a considerable number of the sultan's soldiers called malukes ; for out of eight hundred, who were present at the fight, only twenty two survived this disaster.

Mirhocem was now afraid that Melichiaz might change his friendship with his fortune, and betray him to Almeed : he therefore fled into the king of Cambaia's dominions, with all possible speed. Three large ships with several paraos and sloops of war were sunk. Two stemmed ships, two galleys and four large vessels were taken. In these there were a great number of cannon, vast quantities of gold as well as silver coin, and a prodigious variety of silk and embroidered cloaths of great value. Almeed, however reserved none of the booty for himself, but gave it all amongst the soldiers. Of the Portuguese about thirty two were killed, and three hundred wounded. Their ships were so torn and battered that they were obliged to spend a considerable time in repairing them. It was certainly a most extraordinary victory : yet Paul Jovius, though he takes notice of the sultan's fleet being sent into India against the Portuguese, makes no mention of this remarkable exploit. I suppose he industriously omitted it out of a pique he had conceived against John the third, who thought it mean to court this lordly author by presents, to write encomiums on the

Portu-

Portuguese nation. The army of the enemy very probably consisted of many different nations, for there were found in the ships several books wrote in the Italian, German, French and Spanish languages. Three of the sultan's standards were likewise taken. Almeed, notwithstanding this success, was afraid lest the fleet might receive some damage that night, and therefore ordered it to be withdrawn from the city.

Next day Melichiaz sent letters to Almeed, suing for peace, and imputing all his misconduct to his hard fate, which had driven him into such a mad undertaking. He implored pardon in the most suppliant manner, and protested that he would henceforth remain true and faithful to the Portuguese interest; for that he had now experienced their warlike bravery, and had ample proofs of their inviolable friendship from various testimonies. He said he should never again choose to put their courage to the trial, to his own loss and shame, but would entirely exert himself to cultivate their friendship, which he was persuaded would greatly tend to his own interest and honour. He then put them in mind of what service he could be to the Portuguese, if they would condescend to accept of his friendship. This letter was brought by one Cidialle, an Arabian of Spanish extraction, with whom Almeed had been very well acquainted, when he served under king Ferdinand in the Granadian war. Almeed made answer, That he would by no means grant peace, unless Melichiaz would first restore the Portuguese prisoners, and deliver up Mirhocem with the sultan's soldiers and the ships which had escaped out of the fight. Melichiaz replied by the same Arabian, that he would immediately give up the Portuguese and the ships; but that Mirhocem had fled he knew not whether: and if he had him in his custody, yet he said he would by no means have committed such an infamous action, as to betray a man under his protection. Such an action, he added, would be highly unbecoming a warrior,

warrior, who ought to prefer an honourable death to shameful life. Almeed granted his request, and the Portuguese prisoners were immediately released. The enemy's ships were likewise given up to our people. All the galleys were by Almeed's orders burnt, for he had not a sufficient number of soldiers, sailors or rowers to man them.

The articles of peace being concluded, Almeed sent out Antonio Norhogna, with two ships furnished with provisions, to supply the fort at Socotora. He left Tristano Agao in the harbour of Diu with two of the enemy's ships, and ordered him to put aboard all the cannon and ammunition which had been taken, and then to sail for Cochin. He himself having departed from thence, coasted along betwixt Diu and Cochin, where he demanded tribute of all the princes, punished those who had rebelled, and greatly extended the sovereignty of Emmanuel. He appointed these three commanders Pedro Barreto, Garcia Soufa, and Martin Cœlo to keep at sea, to intercept all the Arabian ships. He then proceeded for Cananor, and in sight of that fort committed a piece of barbarity which not a little sullied the glory of his victory; for he commanded the sultan's soldiers, who as prisoners of war ought to have been treated with hospitality, to be partly hanged and partly shot. He remained here a few days till he refreshed his men, and settled some things with regard to the city: he then steered for Cochin, where he was received by the king and all the Portuguese with the utmost civility, and the greatest expressions of joy.

In the mean while, by the arts of an abandoned set of men, the animosity betwixt Almeed and Albuquerque was more and more kindled. Those of Almeed's party earnestly entreated him not to give up the government to such a rash and head-strong man, who if intrusted with this charge, would certainly by his madness lose all the glory already acquired. Those especially who had deserted Albu-

querque in the Ormuzian war, endeavoured to screen their own infamous behaviour, by throwing upon him the most virulent reproaches. They said, that without the king's orders he had engaged in a most dangerous and unnecessary war, against a people too, from whom he had received no provocation. That without the least prudence or conduct with a few ships he had attacked a most formidable fleet, not consulting the honour of his royal master, nor the safety of the men; whom he had brought into the most extreme danger. that indeed by the divine providence they had been delivered from destruction; but the wisdom of a general was not to be judged of by the event, but the nature of his undertaking. They concluded therefore that a man of such a rash disposition is by no means fit for such an important trust as Emmanuel had conferred upon him. ' If on the one hand, continued ' they, you are afraid of Emmanuel's displeasure, yet ' on the other, ' you ought to be more afraid of ' giving up a government acquired by so much blood, ' to a man, with whose character though the king is ' unacquainted, yet you know to be rash to the last ' degree. Besides, if you write the king your sentiments ' on the affair, he will, in our opinion, applaud your ' conduct: or even if it should happen otherwise, yet ' certainly, as a man of great and public spirit, you ' ought to be more afraid of bringing destruction on ' the Portuguese than of unjustly incurring the resent- ' ment of our sovereign.' Moreover, they complained that Albuquerque wore out his men by the most intolerable fatigue; and in his absence they threw out against him many spiteful jokes and sarcastical expressions. All the particulars were carefully related to Albuquerque by another set of people, no less desirous to blow up the flames of discord. These persons rallied him for his indolence and want of spirit, because he so tamely put up with such an indignity, and did not properly exert himself to obtain his right. They said, that the opposite party were envious of his great

exploits, and arrived to such a degree of insolence, that disregarding the laws of their country, as well as the authority and dignity of their king, they were running into such excesses as deserved the most rigorous punishment. They urged him therefore to go in public to Almeed, and in the king's name to demand the government: and if he could not obtain his right by any other means, to seek it by force of arms, and to drive Almeed from the government, which he seemed desirous to keep, without the king's authority. Albuquerque was not a little spurred on by these incenives; accordingly when Almeed having retired to the fort, invited him to dinner, he refused the invitation, and went in form to demand the fort to be delivered up to him. He likewise summoned several persons as witnesses of his having claimed his right, and drew up a paper, signed by many of the Portuguese, which he declared he would send to Emmanuel, if Almeed did not immediately obey his majesty's orders. Almeed promised to comply, and endeavoured by all possible methods to sooth Albuquerque; but finding all he could do ineffectual, and fearing a tumult, he ordered him to be carried to Cananor, and there to be confined in the fort, though at the same time that he should be treated with the utmost honour and respect.

In the mean while Emmanuel having received intelligence of Campson the sultan's preparations against the Portuguese, fitted out a large fleet to defend his acquisitions in India against all hostile attempts. It consisted of fifteen shipps aboard which were fifteen hundred soldiers. Fernando Coutign, a nobleman of great courage, was appointed admiral. He had orders to see that the government of India was delivered up to Albuquerque, and to oblige Almeed to return to Portugal. Coutign sailed from Lisbon the 12th of March 1509, and came into the port of Canancr in October. His arrival there gave the highest joy to Albuquerque, to whom he was related by blood, and

with whom he had always lived in the strictest friendship. Having departed from thence he sailed for Cochin together with Albuquerque. He was received by Almeed in the most affectionate and respectful manner, and not a little contributed to bring about a reconciliation betwixt him and Albuquerque, which indeed proved no great difficulty: for the factious spirit of each party being allayed by his authority, and these two great men being persons of undoubted integrity, and pursuing the same end, though by different ways, they were soon brought to an agreement. The homeward bound ships were accordingly got ready, and Almeed, after having resigned the government to Albuquerque, went aboard; nor did he afterwards come ashore. Albuquerque furnished him with provisions and all other necessaries, with the utmost care and civility.

After Almeed's departure, Coutign delivered to Albuquerque Emmanuel's letters. In these his majesty ordered them with united strength to carry on a war against the zamorin, and that in this affair Albuquerque should act in concert with Coutign. Albuquerque promised to behave with the utmost sense of gratitude, telling Coutign at the same time, that he should be even proud of acting as a common soldier under so able a commander. They accordingly entered into deliberation with the king of Cochin about the measures necessary to be pursued. In the first place it seemed expedient to send privately for Coje Bequo (a zealous friend of the Portuguese, who resided at Calicut) in order to learn from him the present situation of the zamorin's affairs. By him they were informed that the zamorin was then absent from Calicut, being engaged in war with a neighbouring prince; that the city, however, was well furnished with arms, and strengthened with a numerous body of brave soldiers.

Whilst our people were preparing for this war with the utmost vigour, Vasco Sylveira arrived at Cochin. He

He brought a letter from Lemos, then cruizing in the Arabian sea, who earnestly requested of the viceroy to send him a reinforcement of men and ships; for his forces had been greatly lessened, and his fleet disabled by stormy weather. Albuquerque made answer, that he would comply with this request, when he returned from Calicut. Sylveira embarked in the present expedition. He was a man of reputed courage, and had signalized himself by many warlike exploits.

About the same time queen Mary was delivered of a son at Evora. When the young prince, whose name was Alphonso, arrived at the age of maturity, he entered into holy orders, and was admitted into the college of cardinals. He was a person of the most elevated sentiments, and greatly conspicuous for his piety and integrity.

This year a French pyrate named Mondragon took one of the ships from India. Emmanuel, by his envoy demanded satisfaction of the French king for this damage. But being unable to procure reparation he sent out four ships under Duarte Pacheco, who came up with Mondragon near Cape Finister, on the coast of Galicia. This bold fellow did not decline the engagement. An obstinate fight accordingly ensued. Pacheco at last sunk his ship, took three more, and brought the pyrate in irons before Emmanuel. Mondragon having made restitution of all he had taken from the Portuguese, and promised that he would never more disturb any of Emmanuel's subjects, was set at liberty, and returned to his native country.

In the mean while Coutign and Albuquerque having got ready their fleet with the utmost expedition had reached the harbour of Calicut with two thousand Portuguese, and six hundred Indian soldiers, and were now consulting what further measures they should pursue. Coutign insisted that Albuquerque should allow him the command of the first line. ' You (said he) who are about to remain in India a considerable time amongst so many fierce nations, will have an ample

field to reap glory. I hope therefore you will not grudge me this small laurel, since we are both equally invested with the command, and I am so shortly to return to Portugal. Albuquerque consented to Coutign's request, though very much contrary to his inclination: for notwithstanding he had a high opinion of his courage, yet he knew him to be rash and precipitate, and unable by his foresight to provide against such incidents as might happen in such an enterprise.

All things being in readiness for a descent, next morning by day-break, Albuquerque and Coutign attempted to land their forces. The enemy opposed them with great obstinacy, having erected several batteries, which they had fortified with strong guards: there was a royal palace without the city, near the shore; this they had likewise filled with a numerous body of soldiers, and furnished with cannon and all sorts of weapons. From thence and their other batteries they annoyed our people with their cannon and missive weapons. Albuquerque observing this, told Coutign it would be extremely dangerous to land in one body; for thus the enemy could hardly throw a weapon without doing execution: he therefore thought it would be better to make two divisions, and each to land where it seemed most convenient. Coutign approved of this advice, and the forces were accordingly separated. Albuquerque with his division having pushed on with great vigour to a proper landing place, got ashore. This detachment, after having routed those who attempted to obstruct them, forced their trenches notwithstanding a continual firing; and the enemy in the utmost precipitation retired to the palace. Those within the building immediately sallied out on our people. A fierce contest ensued, in which many were killed or wounded. The Portuguese, however, at last drove the enemy to flight, and the place was burnt.

But Coutign, who had not been so expeditious, some time after came ashore: this commander had heard the

noise

noise of the cannon, and now seeing the light of the fire, he concluded from thence, that Albuquerque had already come to action, and was therefore highly enraged. Mad with passion he exclaimed against Albuquerque in the most virulent terms, calling him a perfidious villain, who had made the first attack on the enemy contrary to his promise and plighted faith. Albuquerque having heard of this, went directly to Coutign, whom he endeavoured to sooth by the mildest expressions; telling him the circumstances of war were often such as obliged a commander to deviate from his intentions: that he could not possibly restrain his men from seizing an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Moreover, had his soldiers remained long in one place, they must have been in the utmost danger from the enemy, who would have become more fierce had they observed our people dilatory. Besides, that the late affair was not to be called a battle, but only a skirmish, and as the war was yet unfinished, Coutign had still an ample field for the acquisition of glory. He acknowledged himself greatly indebted to the friendship of Coutign; and said that nothing could give him more uneasiness than to be reproached by such a benefactor: for in his opinion it was more glorious to shew a noble sense of gratitude, than to acquire the most renowned victory. But Coutign still remained unpacified, and even abused Albuquerque to his face, with the most scurrilous language. Then calling to Jasper the interpreter, 'Conduct me (said he) into the city, and to the king's palace. This day I will reduce it to ashes, that from thence may appear the falsehood and artifice of those persons who magnify the power and strength of the Indian princes, only to raise the fame of their own exploits. I want (continued he) to engage these men in the very middle of their city, if I may call them men, who have been so quickly routed.' Albuquerque bore all this railing with great patience, and not being able to prevent his rashness, he resolved to follow him, not from

a principle of approbation, but because he thought it would be ungenerous to desert him at such a juncture; for the city not being fortified with walls might have been destroyed by a much safer method. The trees before the town ought to have been demolished, for they were extremely thick, and our people might from thence have met with great danger; this precaution being used, and the enemy's lands laid waste, the Portuguese army ought to have advanced with a slow and sure march, examining every place with the utmost caution, lest the enemy might form some ambush and surprize them. Coutign however, without consulting any person of experience, ordered two pieces of cannon to be drawn along in the van, and thus advanced with the utmost speed. He then sent a messenger to inform Albuquerque, that he intended to attack the city and burn the palace; but that he was at liberty to act as he thought proper. Coutign had under his command eight hundred Portuguese and some Cochinchian soldiers. Albuquerque saw plainly he was running to destruction: however, placing guards on the shore; and leaving Antonio Norhogna with a body of reserve, he followed him with six hundred soldiers; previous to his march he likewise ordered the enemy's works to be destroyed, their ships lying at anchor to be burnt, the arms and cannon which had been taken to be carried aboard the Portuguese ships, and all the long boats to be kept in readiness. Coutign under the conduct of Jasper, at last reached the palace, not without great difficulty: for the naires attacked him in a strong body, and then retreated in great precipitation. Having rallied, they set upon him a second time in his march, but meeting again with a warm reception, they thought proper to save themselves by a hasty flight. In this encounter some of the Portuguese were wounded, and many of the enemy killed. In the palace the conflict became much more dangerous; for great numbers of the enemy flocked thither, firmly resolved to fight for their king,

king, whom they hold in the highest veneration, for their property, and for the safety of their whole city, which they thought entirely depended on the defence of the palace. Nevertheless, the building was at last carried, and the Portuguese soldiers began now to think on nothing but plunder. Emmanuel Pazagna, a brave and experienced officer, seeing the soldiers straggling here and there, and intent on booty, advised Coutign to bring them to their ranks, by sounding a retreat ; telling him the danger was much greater than he imagined : for the enemy would not have quitted the palace so easily, had they not designed to surprize our people, when dispersed and encumbered with their booty. To this Coutign replied, That he had found by experience that neither the Arabians, who inhabited Calicut, nor the Calicutian soldiers, who had been trained up to arms, had any thing formidable in them ; and that as he had nothing to fear he was resolved to take a few days respite from his fatigue. Mean while his soldiers forgetting all order and discipline, threw aside their arms, rushed into the houses, loaded themselves with plunder, and walked about every where without the least apprehension.

But the enemy having now flock'd together, had approached the palace, whither Albuquerque had also advanced ; but he would by no means enter it. However, he dispatched a messenger to Coutign, pressing him to sound a retreat, since they were threatened with the most imminent danger. Coutign, by way of reply, desired him to draw off his party, and promised he would follow him as soon as he had burnt the palace. But at this very time Albuquerque was set upon by the enemy, and had many of his men wounded ; he therefore resolved to retreat immediately towards the shore. The wounded men went first, and the rest followed, as a guard to those in the van. Coutign spent two hours in the palace, and when he saw it in flames then departed. The enemy having formed themselves into two bodies, one fell upon Coutign, and the other

other attacked Albuquerque. Having wounded and killed many of our people, they at last surrounded Coutign, who fought with the most amazing resolution in this extreme danger. Albuquerque endeavoured to his utmost to give him succour ; but his men struck with a panic, did not execute his orders with that readiness and expedition which was necessary, and now, the passage to Coutign was blocked up by the enemy. This rash brave man having received a wound in his leg, at last, fell ; Emmanuel Pazagna, and some others of distinction, suffered the like fate. Yet these, before they died, raising themselves upon their knees, wounded many and killed some of the enemy. In this encounter Vasco Sylveira was likewise slain : he had sprung over the rampart to assist Coutign, and before he fell, had killed three of the enemy who had attacked him most boldly. Albuquerque retreated with those of Coutign's men who had escaped, but the road being narrow and fortified on each side in several places with ramparts, the enemy from thence annoyed our people with their missive weapons : scarce a dart was thrown without doing execution ; so that several of our people were terribly wounded. Albuquerque first received one wound in his left arm ; he was soon after wounded by an arrow in the neck ; and, lastly, he was so stunned with the blow of a stone on his breast, that he dropt down, in all appearance lifeless. With great difficulty and danger he was carried to the shore on his shield. Here the body of reserve repulsed the enemy, and covered the retreat of our people. In this engagement the Portuguese lost seventy-eight men, amongst whom were many persons of nobility and distinction. The enemy purchased this victory at a dear rate : above one hundred and thirty of their men were killed by the sword, and five hundred and seventy were burnt in the palace. Albuquerque was conveyed to Cochin, where he remained for sonic time in the most dangerous condition ; however, contrary to the expectations

expectations of all his physicians, he at last recovered. He then fitted out two fleets for Portugal.

Almeed in his voyage homewards stopt at a watering place, at a small distance from the Cape of Good Hope. One of the Portuguese who had gone ashore, contracted such an intimacy with the natives, that without the least apprehension he went to one of their towns about four miles off. The inhabitants entertained him, and dismissed him in the most civil manner; and at his departure, gave him a large ram, as a present. This man at his return gave Almeed the highest character of the benevolence and simplicity of the people; telling him at the same time, that they abounded in all sorts of cattle. Almeed sent back this same man with twelve others to the city, to purchase some sheep and oxen, and by presents, such as he thought would please the natives, to attract their esteem and friendship. The people invited them to an entertainment, loaded them with presents (such as their country produced) furnished them with cattle, and, in short, treated them with all the marks of hospitality and kindness. The Portuguese in their return met with a man bringing along some sheep, which he offered to exchange for such presents as our people had. One of our men proposed to carry this person to Almeed, that he being treated in the most civil manner, and presented with cloaths, might then be honourably dismissed to his countrymen; who, in all probability, would thus become more attached to our people; and the Portuguese might afterwards water their ships and rest themselves at this place with great advantage and security. This motion being approved of, they seized the man; but he dreading their intention, set up a loud bawling: the townsmen immediately came forth to his assistance, and forced him from the Portuguese; whom they pelted with large stones, and then plundered them of their cattle. Our men being afraid they might be blamed for their imprudence, represented the affair in a quite different manner to Almeed.

Many

Many were of opinion, that this tumult ought to be revenged, otherwise they said none of the Portuguese ships could afterwards water in the place with safety: that such savages ought to be forced to civility by the most rigorous measures: that therefore such an affront ought to be severely punished, and the people being thus deterred, would not dare again to commit the like outrage. On the other hand, some argued, that an affair of this nature ought not to be rashly undertaken: that the provocation being trifling, ought rather to be despised than revenged: that the attempt, though crowned with success, could bring no honour nor advantage; whereas, should it miscarry, the consequence might be very fatal. Besides, it was not clearly proved who were the aggressors; for in all probability, the natives would not have offered an insult of this nature, had they not first received some indignity from the Portuguese. However, the former opinion prevailed, as if the safety and dignity of the whole Portuguese nation had depended on this trifling affair. Thus Almeed, a person of the highest dignity, who had carried on the most important enterprises, now at the height of glory, and in his sixtieth year, was so far influenced by a number of headstrong men, as to enter into a war with a wild and barbarous people, on the most trivial occasion. He accordingly went ashore with one hundred and fifty men. Pedro Barreto, and George Barreto, who commanded the van, reached the town before day-break. They attacked the inhabitants unawares, and spread a general consternation. The inhabitants set up loud shouts: upon this signal, great numbers flocked together, with pouches made of raw hides, in which they carried vast quantities of stones, which they showered on our people as they carried off the booty. Besides, they were armed with short spears, to the ends of which were fixed bearded iron heads about four inches long. These they threw with great force and dexterity, and wounded many of our people. The natives of this place were

were black, with short fleecy hair, like the other Ethiopians, and ugly deformed faces. When they would appear fierce and warlike, they assume the most frightful gestures. At this time in particular, their aspect was so ferocious, their gestures so terrible, and their shouts so hideous, that the advanced party of the Portuguese struck with terror, retreated to Almeed, who had now advanced to their assistance ; but he thought proper to retire towards the shore. The cattle was in the centre of the Portuguese, whose rear with great difficulty withstood the shock of the enemy, who at first did not advance with much fury ; but finding themselves greatly reinforced by numbers of their countrymen pouring in from all quarters, they then pressed on with greater vigour ; and having set up a loud shout, all the cattle flocked together to one place, and would move no farther, which greatly embarrassed our people ; for these barbarians so trained up their cattle, that by a certain modulation of their voices, they could make them advance slower or faster, or stop when they pleased. Almeed seeing his men endeavouring to keep the cattle, gave orders they should drive them off : and he now formed his handful of men into one body, thinking by this means more easily to repulse the enemy : but it happened otherwise than he expected ; for the Barbarians throwing stones and weapons, did considerable execution amongst the Portuguese, who were crowded together, and who had so much despised the enemy, that they had brought no arms ashore with them. Besides, these men were so surprisingly swift-footed, that they could advance, and immediately retreat with the most amazing expedition. On the contrary, the Portuguese were so miserably exhausted by their fatigue, and the excessive heat of the climate, that they could hardly move their feet out of the burning sand ; nay, it was with great difficulty some could stand on their legs. Most of the Portuguese were struck with a panic, and some of them sunk off. Upon this George Melos,

who had been one of the officers of Albuquerque's party in India, called aloud to Almeed, ' I wish  
' (said he) those zealous friends of yours had not thus  
' meanly accused the innocent, and that they had now  
' shewed the friendship they professed for you, by  
' fighting for your safety and honour.' To this Al-  
meed replied, That such a reproof was then highly  
unseasonable ; and holding out the royal standard,  
' Here (said he) take this, and rescue it from the  
' hands of these savages ; for if they should get it in-  
' to their possession, this would be the highest dis-  
' honour to our royal master. As for my own part,  
' (continued he) I am so loaded with years and infir-  
' mities, that if I am now to be snatched off, my  
' death will neither be untimely, nor undeserved.'

Having spoke these words, he made another attempt  
to repulse the enemy, when he received a wound in  
the throat by a javelin, of which he immediately ex-  
pired. Thus died the brave, honest, and renowned Al-  
meed. This indeed was a considerable stain to his  
other illustrious actions, that he should have been so  
easily persuaded to embark in such a dangerous enter-  
prise, without the least prospect of honour or advan-  
tage to himself or country. He fell then a victim to  
his imprudence, and by his death we have a remark-  
able monument of the frailty of all human grandeur.  
Let us not therefore be transported by the highest suc-  
cess, since we see that he who had so nobly distin-  
guished himself in the war of Granada, overthrown so ma-  
ny formidable armies in India, routed and discomfited  
the sultan's forces, and brought so many princes under  
subjection, yet this great man lies now killed by a hand-  
ful of the most rude uncivilized barbarians, and his  
body trampled upon by a set of savages unacquainted  
with arms or discipline, and scarce to be called human  
creatures. As soon as he was killed, most of the Por-  
tuguese fled. Laurence Britto, however, and Martin  
Cælo, declared they would sooner die on the spot,  
than allow Almeed to lie unburied. They called aloud

to their countrymen as they retreated, upbraiding them with ingratitude to their commander and benefactor, whom they had drawn into the present danger, then deserted him, and now left his body without burial. But these two men finding all they could say ineffectual, now turned upon the enemy, who quickly overpowered them with their numbers, and covered them with a multitude of stones, darts, and other weapons. In this disaster the Portuguese lost sixty-five men, amongst whom were eleven officers, men of courage and experience, who had often rushed through the most horrid dangers, struck terror into their enemies, and gained many considerable victories; yet now behold them killed and stript by a few wild naked Barbarians. The rest of the Portuguese with the utmost difficulty escaped to their boats. George Barreto and George Melos, as soon as they perceived the enemy gone, went ashore to bury the bodies, which they found all stript naked. This melancholy affair happened on the first of March 1510. Our people soon sailed from thence for Portugal, where they arrived in safety with the news of this misfortune; which was matter of universal sorrow to the king, nobility and commons.

We shall now relate what happened to Lopez Sequeire in his Indian voyage. He sailed from Lisbon with four ships on the 5th of April 1508, and reached Madagascar the 4th of August. When he was cruising along the southern part of that island, in one of the ports thereabouts, he found some of those who had been left in company with Gomez Abræo, by whom he was informed of the unhappy fate of Gomez. Sequeire sailed thence to Cochin, where Almeed (who was then in the government) received him in the most respectful manner; and, as a reinforcement, gave him one large ship with sixty men aboard, commanded by Garcia Sousa. Sequeire having now five ships, sailed for the island of Sumatra, formerly called Taprobana. It lies under the equinoctial, opposite to Malacca, or Aures Eactsonesus. It is in ex-

rent about nine hundred and sixty miles, and in breadth two hundred and forty. The soil of the country is extremely fertile: it is divided into several kingdoms, which consist of various nations, all differing widely in their genius, dispositions, and customs; some are Pagans, and others Mahometans; some are fierce and savage in their temper, and feed on nothing but human bodies; others are more civilized, and affect a polite and affable behaviour. The island abounds in gold, on account of which the merchants resort here in great numbers, and export it to many different countries. When Sequeire arrived at Sumatra, he anchored in the port of Pedir, from whence he dispatched a deputy to the king, to propose a treaty of friendship; which was accordingly concluded. Thence he steered to Pacem, with the king of which he likewise made a league of friendship, and then he sailed north to examine Malacca; which was the chief design of his being sent out by Emmanuel.

The city so called, which gives name to the peninsula, is situated at the mouth of a small river, and was at that time one of the most celebrated eastern marts. It was in length about four miles, but the breadth was inconsiderable; it abounded in trees, which produced excellent fruits, but the corn and other necessaries of life, which the inhabitants used, were chiefly imported from other countries. The city was divided by a river into two parts, which were joined by a bridge. The walls and buildings of the town were extremely elegant and magnificent. The people were of a tawney colour, and very much civilized in their manners and way of living. The language spoke at Malacca was esteemed so sweet and harmonious, that all the neighbouring countries and islands which traded here, used to affect to talk it, as a piece of elegance and politeness. The inhabitants are neat and genteel in their dress: they are great lovers of musick; and, at the same time, excellent warriors, for they make no scruple to sacrifice their lives for honour and glory. The country

was

## Book VI. the PORTUGUESE, &c.

was formerly tributary to the large and opulent kingdom of Siam: but when the king of Malacca had greatly increased his power and revenues by the considerable trade of his dominions, he then revolted from the king of Siam, and ever since kept up his independency, partly by force of arms, and partly by bribes; which he conveyed to the king of Siam's ministers, that they might dissuade his majesty from commencing hostilities. The king of Malacca followed the Mahometan religion; and in order to appear more zealous, took upon him the name of Mahomet.

When Sequeire came to anchor in the port of Malacca, he found there four Chinese ships; the captains of which, as soon as they beheld the Portuguese, waited on Sequeire, with whom they conversed in the most agreeable manner. Sequeire was so much taken with their polite and friendly behaviour, that he contracted a strict intimacy with them, went aboard their ships; and, in short, nothing was omitted which might promote a mutual harmony and friendship. The king dispatched one of his officers to enquire who our people were, and upon what account they had come on these coasts. Sequeire made answer, That he came from a powerful monarch of the west, who having heard much of the king of Malacca's grandeur, was desirous of entering into a treaty with him, which, he said would be equally advantageous to both princes. This proposal, as it was understood by signs, was very agreeable to the king and his uncle, chief minister of the kingdom; for they thought nothing could be more noble than to enter into an alliance with foreign and remote princes; for this would at once spread the king of Malacca's name in the countries of the west, and, at the same time, his revenues would be enlarged by the Portuguese trade. The king accordingly sent some of his nobles to Sequeire, in his name, to promise every thing which might serve to promote the honour or advantage of Emmanuel. It was accordingly agreed upon,

on, that Sequeire should enter the city, to treat more conveniently with his majesty. The king received him with all the marks of honour and respect usual in that country. When they came to settle the articles, it was agreed that they should be communicated, or carried betwixt Sequeire and his majesty, by messengers. A treaty of friendship was accordingly concluded, and sworn to in the most solemn manner ; and a house immediately assigned to Roderigo Araugio, who was appointed agent for the Portuguese affairs in that city. The Portuguese now looking upon themselves as secure, walked about in the city without the least apprehension. The Chinese perceiving the security of our people, advised Sequeire not to put so much confidence in the Malaccans ; who, they said, were a deceitful, perfidious, and wicked people. For as soon as they had lulled the Portuguese into a thoughtless security, they would then fall upon them unawares : that it was the duty of a prudent commander not to allow the safety of his men to depend on the faith of others, but to provide for it by his own vigilance : that the Malaccans would adhere to the treaty so long as they had no opportunity of acting otherwise. But as soon as an occasion offered, they would then shew themselves in their proper colours. Humanity, they said, and want of suspicion, was commendable ; but at the same time, an immoderate confidence, in a strange country, was highly to be blamed ; especially when amongst a people so infamous for knavery and artifice.

By these and the like speeches, Sequeire was warned by the Chinese captains, to beware of the Malaccans ; but Sequeire considering the oath they had taken, influenced by their outward friendly behaviour, and perhaps unwilling to believe any thing contrary to his favourite schemes, not only disregarded the admonitions of the Chinese, but even permitted his men to walk about with greater liberty in the city, and allowed the inhabitants, as often as they pleased, to come aboard his

his ships. Mean while the merchants from the southern islands, and others from the countries situate near the Indus, began to infuse jealousies into the king against our people ; who, they said, were a set of pyrates, and declared enemies to all nations : that under the disguise of honesty and integrity, they concealed the most villainous designs ; and that they never failed to destroy those who entered into a treaty with them : that they had overturned many kingdoms, and stripped many nations of their liberty and property ; for they always declared war against those who would not allow them to build forts in their country : and if this liberty was granted them, the requital they made to those who admitted them, was stripping them of their liberty, and all their valuable effects. In short, the Portuguese were a people so avaricious, bloody, and inhuman, as not to be paralelled with any other nation in the world. For the truth of these assertions, they appealed to facts ; for they desired the king to ask the merchants the character and behaviour of the Portuguese, in Arabia, Persia, or India. They concluded, therefore, with advising the king to take warning from the misfortunes of others, that he might not fall into the like calamities : that the only remedy now remaining, was immediately to destroy them, before they acquired any considerable strength ; for if this opportunity was neglected, it could never be recalled : that the Portuguese were at present small in number, unarmed, unguarded, and walking about in the utmost security : that now therefore was the time to destroy them, whilst so inconsiderable in number ; for this would effectually prevent any more of the Portuguese from coming up- on these coasts.

By this means the king was entirely alienated from the Portuguese, for he was himself hurried on by the heat of youth ; had been educated in the principles of fraud and artifice, and, by his religion, was an enemy to our people. The chief persons who stirred him up

against the Portuguese, were Nahodabeguea, a native of Cambaya, and Utémutaraja, a Javan, the two richest and most powerful men in Malacca. These men had likewise recourse to something more effectual than empty words; for they bribed the king's uncle, who was prime minister, or Bendar of the kingdom, to break his faith with the Portuguese, and to push on his uncle to the like infamous behaviour. But these measures were very much opposed by Lassaman the high admiral of Malacca, who said there was no danger equal to that arising from the violation of faith: that God himself, who sees all things, was the avenger thereof. Besides, that such dishonest practices carried along with them so much shame and infamy, that they fixed an indelible stain on the name of a king. Moreover he affirmed, that the aspersions thrown against the Portuguese were unjust; for that they had only, as was reasonable, taken vengeance on treaty-breakers: that they were a people constant in maintaining faith, strict in punishing perfidy, and resolute in taking satisfaction for wrongs received: that it was therefore more prudent to follow the example of such, who, by their union, easily withstood all their enemies, than to imitate those who by their unjust proceedings, have been the occasion of their own ruin and destruction.

But all he said had no effect on the king, who was firmly bent on the destruction of Sequeire, and the rest of the Portuguese. In order to carry his design into execution, he built a large wooden house near the bridge: here he was to have a grand entertainment on a certain day, and he gave Sequeire an invitation to partake thereof. The Portuguese admiral took this as a piece of civility, and accordingly promised his company. There was at this time in Malacca, a Persian woman of the Mahometan religion, who kept an inn. In her house there happened to lodge a Portuguese taylor, who being well acquainted with the Persian language, had thereby contracted a strong

strong intimacy with his landlady. This woman having, by means of a gallant of hers, discovered the plot formed against our people, sent a message to Sequeire by the taylor, earnestly requesting to have a meeting with him, about an affair wherein his life and honour was concerned. Sequeire, however, paid no regard to this message: she sent afterwards twice to the same purpose, but could by no means obtain an interview with the admiral. Finding all her labour thus ineffectual, she boldly discovered the whole affair to the taylor, who immediately communicated it to the admiral. On the day prefixed for the entertainment, Sequeire counterfeited sickness, and thus avoided the danger.

When these wicked men saw their mischievous purposes thus defeated, they then had recourse to another expedient. Sequeire had complained, that he could not procure his lading of spices, though he offered the money for them; whilit, at the same time, the other merchants got them without any difficulty. The king said this had happened without his knowledge, but promised that Sequeire next day should be fully satisfied in his demands, and therefore desired him to have his long-boats in readiness at the shore. Mean while this perfidious prince ordered his low-deck'd vessels to be filled with arms, which were to be concealed under all sorts of provisions. He commanded the men to dress themselves like merchants, and to carry arms under their cloaths. Thus disguised they were to go aboard Sequeire's fleet, under a pretence of selling provisions; and, as soon as a signal was given from the city, (which was to be by raising a smoke) they were then of a sudden to fall upon the Portuguese officers. The signal, as agreed upon, was not to be given till the long-boats were brought ashore to receive the lading; so that by this means they might at once attack the ships with scarce any hands aboard, and the boats lying ashore without the least apprehension of danger. Next day the pretended merchants, when they saw all

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the boats, except one, were come ashore, they then steered their vessels towards the ships. When they came along side of them, they asked those aboard if they would buy any fruits or provisions; which they offered for an inconsiderable price. Our people tempted by the plenty and cheapness of the provisions, which they greatly wanted, admitted the men aboard very readily. But Garcia Sousa, finding so many entered his ship, grew suspicious; he therefore ordered all of them to quit his ship, and those who refused to comply, he compelled by force. He then dispatched Ferdinand Magellan, in his long-boat, the only one not sent ashore, to warn Sequeire not to admit any of that perfidious people aboard his ship; bidding him remember the entertainment their king had prepared a few days ago, with an intention to poison the Portuguese commanders.

Sequeire was at this time surrounded by eight of the Malaians, who waited the signal: he happened to be playing at chess, and was so intent on his game, that what Magellan said could not divert him from his play: however, he ordered one of his pilots aloft, to see if the boats were on their return. Magellan went back to Sousa, who having so few hands, might want his assistance. The pilot from the topmast perceived one of the Malaians standing behind Sequeire with his drawn dagger, whilst another opposite made signs to him not to be in such a hurry, for the signal was not given. Sequeire and those who played with him, were so immersed in the game, that they did not observe they were surrounded by eight enemies. But the pilot having called aloud from the mast several times, at last rouzed Sequeire, who in the utmost fright called for arms, and all the Portuguese aboard immediately came upon deck. The Malaians, who expected to have attacked our people by surprize, finding their plot discovered, and the Portuguese in readiness to receive them, now jumped into their vessels, and made off in great

great confusion. When they had got a little way from the Portuguese fleet, the signal was then given in the city. Most of the Portuguese who happened to be in the town were barbarously murdered ; twenty, however, took shelter in Roderick Araugio's house, and Francisco Serran, who happened to be ashore, having got a boat, made his escape also.

Sequeire summoned a council of his officers on this occasion ; some were of opinion, that this injury ought to be revenged immediately : that all the ships in the harbour, except the Chinese, ought to be burnt, and the city to be battered with their cannon. This, however, could not be conveniently done, for many of the Portuguese had been killed by the Malaians, and two of their long-boats also taken. Besides, it seemed necessary that some accommodation should be entered into, in order to procure the liberty of Araugio, and the Portuguese with him. But the Bendar being afraid that Sequeire should enter the harbour, went to Araugio, and assured him of protection from all injury. The king also sent a messenger to Sequeire, telling him that the late outrage had been committed without his knowledge ; but he promised to punish the authors thereof in the severest manner. He invited him into the city to see those villains suffer, and assured him he would behave to him in the most friendly and hospitable manner : and on condition he would enter the city, he promised to release Araugio and the rest of the prisoners. Sequeire in answer desired him first to deliver up the Portuguese, that by such an act of kindness he might know his majesty was sincere in his professions of friendship. The king, however, refused to comply with this request, and endeavoured to delude our people by various stratagems. Sequeire therefore thought proper to depart before the season for sailing was quite elapsed ; and accordingly sailed for that part of India lying within, that is, on the east side of the Ganges. In his way thither he took two ships, one of which he burnt,

burnt, because of his scarcity of hands: The other was soon after shipwrecked, but all the crew escaped. When he reached C. Comorin, he was informed that Almeid, of whose party he had been, was gone for Portugal, and that Albuquerque was the present viceroy. Sequire was afraid of his resentment, and therefore sailed for Portugal.

The End of the first VOLUME.



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