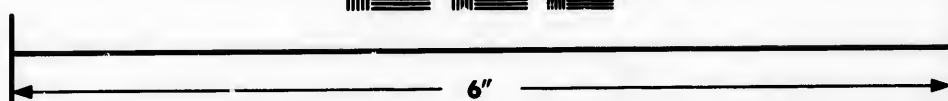
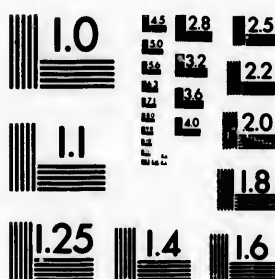


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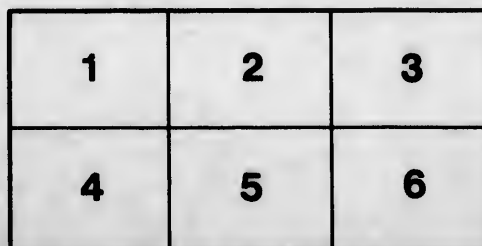
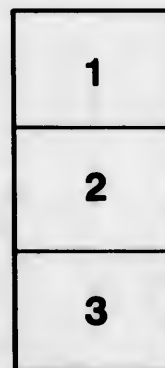
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WILLIAM R.

WILLIAM the Third, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas Our trusty and well-beloved, Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, of our City of London, Booksellers, have humbly represented unto Us, That they have been at a very great Expence and Charge in purchasing several New English Manuscripts of Voyages and Travels, and in translating divers other Books of Travels and Voyages out of several Languages into English, and in engraving Maps and other Plates for the same, intending to print the said Voyages and Travels in English, in several Volumes in Folio, with new Discourses and Observations thereupon, which may be of great Advantage as well to Trade as Navigation; which said Manuscripts and Books are as follow, viz. Baumgarten's Travels into Egypt, Arabia, Palestine and Syria: Brawern and Herckeman's Voyage to Chili: Monck's Voyage to Greenland: Navarette's Historical, Political, Moral and Religious Account of China: Beauplan's Description of Ukraine on the Confines of Poland: Merolla's Voyage to Congo: Mich. Ang. de Gatti and Denys de Carli's Voyage to Congo: The Disasters and Death of seven Sailors who winter'd in Greenland: Wagner's Journey from Moscow to China over Land: Peyrere's Voyage to Greenland, and his Relation of Iceland: Nieuhoff's Voyages: Sir William Mounson's Collection of Voyages and Naval Affairs: Philip's Voyage to Guinea: Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage to the East-Indies: A Relation of a Dutch Vessel shipwreckt upon the Coast of the Isle of Quelpaert's, and a Description of the Kingdom of Corea: Ovalle's Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chili: Ten-Rhynce of the cape of Good-Hope, and of the Hottentots: Morinus's Travels to the Mines in Hungary: Borry's Relation of Cochinchina: Oviedo's Chronicle and History of the West-Indies: Fernan Colon's Life of Christopher Columbus his Father: The two Volumes in Folio, one in Quarto, and one in Octavo, of Melchisedec Thevenot sen. his original Voyages, which have not been already in English: Gemelli's Voyage round the World: Baldeus's Description of the Coast of Coromandel, Malabar and Ceylon: Sepp of Paraquaria, and Del Techo of Paraquaria, &c. And they having humbly besought Us to grant them Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole printing and publishing the same for the term of fourteen Years: We being graciously inclined to encourage an Undertaking of such publick use and benefit, are pleased to condescend to their Request, and do therefore hereby give and grant unto them the said Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, and either of them, their Executors, Administrators and Assigns, Our Royal Licence and Privilege for the sole printing and publishing the said Collection of Voyages and Travels before-mentioned, for and during the term of fourteen Years, to be computed from the day of the date hereof, strictly charging, prohibiting and forbidding all Our Subjects to reprint or abridge the said Books, or any part of them, or to copy or counterfeit the Sculptures or Maps thereof, either in great or in small, during the said term, or to import, buy, vend, utter or distribute any Copies or Exemplars of the same, or any part thereof reprinted beyond the Seas within the said Term, without the Consent and Approbation of them the said Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill, or one of them, their, or one of their Executors, Administrators or Assigns first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein, will answer to the contrary at their Peril, and such other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted: Whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers, of our City of London; the Commissioners and Officers of Our Customs, and all other our Officers and Ministers whom it may concern, are to take notice that due Obedience may be given to Our Pleasure herein signified. Given at Our Court at Hampton-Court the ninth day of December 1700. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

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T H E

P U B L I S H E R ' S

P R E F A C E.

WE think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that it was not possible to publish this collection of voyages and travels within the time mentioned in our proposals, by reason of the difficulties we met with, as well in finding out persons fitly qualified to translate from so many languages, as in getting the cuts prepared: yet we hope we have made sufficient amends, by adding a considerable number, no less than a hundred and fifty sheets and cuts more than we promised. Particularly we have inserted Baldeus's description of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and island of Ceylon; and instead of abridging Gemelli, as we proposed, we have on better advice chosen to give him entire: which necessarily delayed the publication of these volumes, and at the same time put us to much greater expence than our proposals obliged us; though the buyer does not pay one farthing the more. We might indeed have made quicker dispatch, and performed what we undertook at less charge, could we have contented ourselves with abridging any of the pieces we have given

entire, or with leaving out some of those cuts (as possibly there are a few, which in some men's opinion might have been spared) but we would not assume the liberty of prescribing to the publick how much of an author they should read, nor determine which figures are useful, and which superfluous; seeing those who read for their diversion have different tastes, and those who read for instruction have different views.

We take this occasion likewise to inform the publick, that since the undertaking of this design, divers other relations, some in manuscript, others printed, no less curious than useful, are fallen into our hands; which by the advice of learned and judicious friends we have resolved to prepare for the press with all possible expedition, and to publish them in one or more volumes in folio, printed on the same kind of paper with these. In all which we shall not presume to abridge the originals, but fairly and candidly deliver whatever our authors have thought fit to be inserted in their several pieces.

An Account of the BOOKS contained in this COLLECTION.

Vol. I. **T**HE first volume begins with Navarette's historical, political, moral, and religious account of China. The author was a Dominican friar sent over by his order in the year 1646. to exercise his ecclesiastical function in the Philippine islands. But finding no great encouragement to continue in those islands, he ventured over into China, where he spent several years in the service of the Christians he found there, learning the Chinese language, reading their histories, studying the points in controversy among the missionaries, and thoroughly qualifying himself to give a just account of that mighty monarchy. He wrote in Spanish, and was never translated till now:

those that have read him in the original give a high commendation of his learning, judgment, and sincerity; for in handling the particulars mentioned in the title of his book, he delivers nothing but upon the best grounds, as an eye-witness, where he could be so, or else upon the authority of Chinese histories, which he searched and very well understood, or upon the information of credible persons; ever mentioning on which of these the reader is to rely for the truth of what he relates. He often quotes his second volume, calling it, of controversies, the main subject of it being those points still in dispute among the missionaries; this book (as we are informed) was printed, but by the

the interest and artifice of the jesuits, the edition was seized by the inquisition before it was published, so that very few copies of it got abroad.

He gives us an exact history of the empire of China, both ancient and modern; a description of the country and people, perfect in all circumstances; a genuine translation of the morals of Confucius their great philosopher; a full view of the Chinese learning, and a judicious explication of their opinions in religious matters: in which he is so careful and particular, that no other author whatsoever has given so complete an account of the religion of that nation. He likewise makes some considerable remarks on the controversies betwixt the Christian missionaries, which are indeed the subject of his second volume, that, as has been said, was never made publick. Nor does he confine himself to China, but in his way thither delivers many curious observations he made in his voyage to New Spain, and gives a very good account of that country, as also of the Philippine islands (where he made a considerable stay) of the islands lying about them, and of other parts of India; and the accidents he met with in his return home, which was in the year 1673. after he had been abroad twenty six years. On his arrival in Europe he repaired to the court of Rome, upon the matter of the controversies between the missionaries; where he was treated with all the honour due to a person of his merit: and soon after his return to Spain, he was promoted to an archbishoprick in Hispaniola.

Baumgarten, whose travels we have here into Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria, was a German nobleman, as appears by his life prefixed to his travels. His journal was not published by himself, but after his death collected from his own and his servant's observations, both of them having kept diaries of all they saw; and therefore are two several witnesses for the truth of what is delivered. Here is not only a description of the countries above-mentioned, but a great deal of their ancient history inserted; and what renders the relation yet more agreeable, is the great variety of occurrences in this voyage well worth the relating. In particular, we are obliged to him for his account of the discipline and manners of that strange and unparallel'd society of men, the Mamelukes, who for a long time held the dominion of Egypt, and of whom there is scarce to be found any where else a tolerable relation. His observations on the lives of the christian religious men in those parts, will be delightful to the curious reader, as will also his remarks on the superstitions of the Mamelukes, Arabs, and other infidels. This author travelled in the year 1507. His journal never appeared before in English. The Latin copy here translated was corrected by Joseph Scaliger's own hand.

Henry Brawern and Elias Herckemann were sent to the kingdom of Chili by the Dutch West-India company in the years 1642, and 1643. Brawern was ordered to endeavour to settle among the Indians of that country, who were then revolted from the Spaniards, as may appear by the advertisement before the voyage; but he died there, and so that design came to nothing. The main thing in this journal is an account of the voyage, and a description of the island of Callro lying off the south coast of Chili, as also of the river of Baldivia in that kingdom.

The next tract in order in this collection, is a description of the island of Formosa near the coast of China, where the Dutch had a considerable fort. Of the author we know no more, but that he was minister to the Dutch in that island. The description is but short, yet contains the most material points usually treated of in such relations.

The remarks on the empire of Japan give a particular account of the revenues of the emperor and all the great men of that empire. The rest of it may almost as soon be read as characterized, and is therefore left to the reader's censure.

Captain John Monck's voyage into the northern parts, was performed by order of Christian IV. king of Denmark, in the years 1619, and 1620. The particular preface to it mentions the most material points, which otherwise might have required to be inserted here; but need not be repeated in two places. What may be added concerning the captain is, that he was one of the ablest seamen of his time, having been bred to the sea, and being well qualified for the employment, as having excellent natural parts, improved with all that was necessary to make him capable of such enterprizes. Besides, he was of a bold and daring spirit, proper to attempt those dangerous discoveries, and hardy to endure all the rigours of those frozen climates. But what is his greatest commendation in this place is, that he was a man of truth and integrity, as may appear by his narrative, in which all that have followed him could find nothing to contradict.

To Beauplan's description of Ukraine so particular a preface is prefixed, that little more can be added. In general, the Reader will find many things both moral and natural, that are rare and remarkable. He lived in that country about the year 1640. He was excellently qualified to give this description, being a mathematician and an inginer; and he has performed it so well, that nothing seems to be wanting but the map, which he tells us was seized with his papers by the king of Poland.

The two voyages to Congo in Africk were performed, the first by Michael Angelo Gattina and Denis de Carli of Piacenza, Capuchins

Capuchins and missionaries into that kingdom, in the year 1666. The first of these died there, after he had sent these particulars in letters to his friends. The other returned into Italy, where he composed a small book from which this is translated. It begins with their voyage from Italy to Lisbon, and thence to Brazil, which introduces a brief account of that country; and then sailing over to Africk, treats of the Portuguese town of Loando on that coast, of the behaviour and manners of the people, their way of travelling, the product of the country, of the several princes, the proceedings of those and other missionaries, the state of religion; and lastly, remarks in the author's travels through Spain and France in his return home. More particulars whereof may be seen in the translator's preface before the voyage.

The other voyage to the same country was performed by F. Jerome Merolla da Sorrento in the year 1682. who was also a missionary. The vessel he went in being by contrary winds carried to the southward of the cape of Good Hope, the father delivers all that is remarkable in running along that southern coast of Africk, till his arrival at the port of Angola. Then he enters upon his business, with the discovery of Congo, and first missions to those parts; ascribes the river Zaïre, relates the proceedings of the missionaries, the superstitions and customs of the Blacks, something of the wars betwixt the Portuguese and the Blacks, and of the attempts of the Dutch and English to breed enmity betwixt those two nations. He describes the beasts, birds, fruits, and plants of Congo, and has many curious things not taken notice of by the former missionaries.

The first volume concludes with Sir Thomas Roe's journal, a valuable piece. He was sent ambassador by king James the first to the Great Mogul, in 1615. at the charge of the East-India company, to settle peace and commerce. Not travelling for his pleasure, but only following the Mogul's court to facilitate his business, he had not the opportunity of seeing and delivering many things which other travellers meet with in their rambles: but on the other side, being in that high post, he was the better able to give us a true account of the court of that mighty monarch, to shew us all the customs and manners of it, and to instruct us in their policies, arts and maxims of state, which common travellers are not allowed to pry into. There is little cause to suspect the truth of his relation, because by his very method he appears to have been a sincere man, and he wrote for those who had business daily with others that came from India, and might easily have disproved him. For a fuller account of this work we refer to the preface before the journal itself.

The second volume commences with the voyages and travels of Mr. John Nieuhoff, Vol. II. a Dutch man, and employed by the Dutch company to the East and West-Indies. They are divided into three parts. The first to Brazil, anno 1640. in which he says he went merchant supercargo to a ship of the West-India company. That he was a man well qualified for a traveller, sufficiently appears by the excellent accounts he has left of those countries he treats of. His description of Brazil is so exact and full, that he has left nothing for the diligence of those who have come after him; for besides the general map, there are draughts of the towns of Arecite and Olinda, and cuts off all the strange beasts, birds, serpents, insects, trees, plants, and of the Indians themselves, all taken upon the spot. To which he adds the transactions in the war betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese in that country, he being there in the height of it, that is, from 1640, till 1649. The second part contains the author's travels in the East-Indies, begun in the year 1653. In the way thither he describes the islands of Cabo Verde, giving draughts of two of them, call'd S. Anthony and S. Vincent; and then a map of the cape of Good Hope. Thence he sails to Amboyna, of which, and of the Molucco islands, as also of Formosa, he leaves nothing worth relating untouched. The same he performs from China all along the coast of India and Persia; so plainly representing all things observable or strange there, that with the help of his cuts we seem to be conversing with the people of those parts, to see all their towns and living creatures, and to be thoroughly acquainted with their habits, customs and superstitions. But when he comes to Batavia, the metropolis of the Dutch dominions in the East, he there spares no labour or cost to express the greatness of that city; and this not only with words, but with abundance of fine draughts, representing, besides the town and harbour, the church, the markets, the town-house, the hospital, and many other places and structures. All the habits of those parts are also represented, and in short the whole work contains eighty two cuts, which being all drawn to express the truth, and not by fancy, illustrate the work, and render it extraordinary valuable. All this is interwoven with handsome discourses of the wars betwixt the Dutch and Indians in several parts; and many remarks of their history, both political and natural. The third part is a voyage to the east side of Africk, in the year 1672. which is very short and imperfect, the author Mr. Nieuhoff being unfortunately killed in the island of Madagascar by the natives.

After Nieuhoff follow Smith's adventures, travels and observations. They begin with travels

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travels in the Low-Countries, France and Italy, proceeding thence to the wars betwixt the Turks and Transilvanians, where the author served; and being taken prisoner and carried into Tartary, he speaks somewhat of that country; and making his escape from the Tartars, he crossed all Europe, and passed into Barbary: Hence he went to Virginia, the Summer-islands and New-England, and has left us the history of the English settlements in those places, and their state from the year 1624, to 1629. thence he passed to the Leeward-islands, of which he likewise gives an account.

Next to Smith's adventures, the reader will find two journals of men left in the frozen regions of Greenland and Spitzbergen, to winter there, and make some observations on those countries. The first of these is of seven sailors, who voluntarily consented to stay in the isle Maurice, on the coast of Greenland. These kept an exact diary, setting down the wind, weather, and all other particulars they could observe, from the twenty sixth of August 1633, till the twenty ninth of April 1634. The method is plain, and such as might be expected from sailors; and as there is nothing in the relation that seems incredible, so neither is there any ground to call the truth of it in question, because they all died one after another, and left this behind them without any alteration: and doubtless as they felt themselves declining, they would have had no inclination to impose on the world. The second journal is of seven other Dutch sailors, left to winter at Spitzbergen, in the year 1634, where they also kept a diary from the eleventh of September till the twentieth sixth of February, when being spent with the scurvy, and their limbs benumbed with the winter's cold, they could not help themselves, and like the others were all found dead at the return of the Dutch fleet in 1635.

The next is a brief relation of a shipwreck in Spitzbergen in 1646, and of the taking up of four of the men who escaped, after a wonderful manner; yet three of them died soon after, and only one returned home.

The descriptions of Iceland and Greenland, were written about the year 1645, by Mr. la Peyrere, a learned Frenchman, author of the book about the Præ-Adamites, secretary to the French embassy at Copenhagen, at the request of the ingenious Mons. de la Mothe la Vayer, and sent to him: Of Iceland, a country long inhabited, though so cold and northerly, he delivers something of antient history, besides the description of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In Greenland he follows much the same method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the most accomplished narratives we have of those parts, and esteemed as such by

Mons. de la Mothe la Vayer, who was a very competent judge.

The next in order is captain Tho. James's voyage, anno 1631. for the discovery of the north west passage into the South-sea: setting sail in May, he ran into the latitude of 63 degrees and upwards; where, in June and July, he gives an account of such wonderful shoals of ice that came about his ship, that it is much to be admired how he got clear of them. 'Tis very observable throughout the voyage, that we shall scarce meet with so continual a series of storms, and all sorts of hardships, miseries and calamities, as this captain ran through; who after struggling till September with tempests, cold and uninhabited shores, at last was driven upon a desert frozen island, and there forced to winter in miserable distress. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in those quarters, and his observations on it are curious, and were very useful to Mr. Boyle, in the experiments he made about cold. But the general esteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will sufficiently recommend it; he returned safe home with most of his crew.

The Mulcovite ambassador's journey by land from Moscow to China in 1645, is so short, that it requires little to be said of it, but that it describes the way from Moscow to Peking, and shews us that this city is the same with the so much talked of and little known Cambalu, mistakenly supposed to be in Tartary. This ambassador being never admitted to audience, could learn nothing of the Chinese court, and therefore does not pretend to inform us of any thing that relates to it. Wagener's travels in Brasil and the East-Indies about 1633. which are annexed to this embassy, are as short, and may so soon be read over, that it is needless to give a character of them.

The life of Christopher Columbus has a short preface to it, partly the author's, and partly the translator's, which is sufficient to inform the reader both of the contents of the book, and the value of it above others that treat of the same subject. And indeed nothing can be described more authentick, if we will give credit to original papers, and those from so good a hand as the admiral himself and his own son, who bore part with him in some of his enterprises. But we must not omit to observe, that under the title of his life, is contained the narration of all that was done in the discovery of the West-Indies in his time, about 1492, besides abundance of curious remarks, scarce to be found in any other author that writes on this subject.

Greaves's account of the pyramids, needs little to be said of it. The universal approbation it has received is a greater character than can be here given it; the judicious mons. Thevenot set such a value upon it, that he translated it into French. In a word, it is the most accomplished narrative we have of

those wonderful piles, and may spare all other travellers the trouble of writing of them: He has said all that can be expected, he instructs us who were the founders of the pyramids, the time of erecting them, the motive and design of them, and then describes them exactly, and gives draughts of them. His Roman foot and denarius added to his pyramids, is another piece of excellent literature, to give light into the weights and measures of the ancients.

Christopher Borri's account of Cochin-China, where he lived about the year 1620, closes the second volume: 'tis short, but contains many curious things, being full of matter, without superfluity of words to swell it to a volume. There is a small preface of the translator's before it, giving an account of the whole work in very few lines.

Vol. III. The historical relation of the kingdom of Chili, by Alonso de Ovalle, about the year 1646, has the first place in the third volume. 'Tis the only good account of that kingdom; the author, being a jesuit, inserted the relations of several miracles in this work, which the translator has in great measure retrenched; for the rest, his veracity is unquestioned. The author himself is so modest, as to excuse any fault that may be found with his work, alleging its being written at Rome, where he was procurator for those of his order in Chili; and being so far from home, ill provided with papers and all materials for composing a history of this sort: but whosoever reads it, will find more ground for commendation than need of excuse, nothing of the kind being more complete, full and accurate. Something might be here said as to the particulars contained in this book, but that the author and translator have done it already in two several prefaces before the book. The translator gives the author and his work that honourable character they deserve. The author in his preface sums up the contents of his book, declares how sincerely he has dealt, in order to deliver nothing but the truth; gives his reasons for what he says relating to Peru and Mexico, and lastly demonstrates how this work may be diverting and useful to all sorts of readers.

After Ovalle follow sir William Monson's naval traicts. He was a gentleman well descended, but of small fortune, as he confesses, which made him take to the sea, where he served many years in several capacities, till merit raised him to the degree of an admiral, first under queen Elizabeth, and then under king James and king Charles the first; for he lived till the civil wars, with an untainted reputation for conduct and bravery. Being bred from his youth at sea, and being a man of excellent natural parts, there is not the least shadow of reason to make a doubt of his capacity in maritime affairs. His integrity

will sufficiently appear to any that reads him, for he every where carries such a visible ingenuity in what he delivers, that it plainly appears to be written with a true zeal for the publick, and without prejudice or affectation. The excellent advice he gives to his eldest son, is a good instance of his virtuous inclination; and the small estate he declares he leaves him, after so many toils and dangers, plainly shews the honesty of his life. Thus much as to the author; as to his traicts there is a preface before them, to which the reader is referred, for other particulars not touched upon in this place. The first book is chiefly a collection of every year's actions in the war against Spain, on our own and the Spanish coasts, and in the West-Indies. Here the reader is not to expect a full narrative of these affairs, for many of them are so brief that no more is said of them, but the force they are undertaken with, and the success of the enterprise; yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book contains somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which put an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shews the ill management of a design against Algier, and makes very notable remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by king Charles the first, proposing methods how Spain might have been much more endamaged, with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas. The third book treats only of the admiralty, that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral, to the meanest persons employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a compleat fleet to the smallest vessel, and part of it, with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all sorts of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many more curious matters accurately handled. The fourth book is of another nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries and conquests in Africk, Asia and America, with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects or schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth and last treats of fishing, to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England, with all instructions necessary for putting such a design in execution.

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This third volume ends with the description of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the island of Ceylon in the East-Indies, about the year 1649, by Philip Baldaeus, a Dutch minister, who lived several years in those parts. The preface to the work gives a general idea of it, and of the author, to which the reader may recur to avoid repetition, but for his further information let it be observed, that he first gives a brief account of the actions and conquests of the Portugueses in those parts, and then an ample and full relation how the Dutch expelled them; where we shall find more particulars concerning those affairs than have been hitherto made publick in English, which is a very considerable piece of history. And though he only promises to treat of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel on the continent, yet to lead the more methodically into it, he begins with the description of Cambaya, the treaties of the Dutch with the Great Mogul, the trade of several European nations along that coast; and leads us even into the Red Sea, describing many places of note upon those shores, and even up the inland country, acquainting the reader at the same time with all that is requisite to be known of the Mahometans in those parts. Hence he descends to treat of all the great peninsula on this side Ganges, of its products, the rivers Nile and Ganges, and more particularly than any other has done of the Malabar language. After this he proceeds to Ceylon, where he enlarges more than upon the rest, as having lived longest there, and concludes with a large account of the idolatry of the East-India pagans.

Vol. IV.

The first voyage in the fourth volume is that of Dr. Francis Gemelli Careri round the world, a piece of extraordinary curiosity, altogether new, and but lately published in Italian in six octavo volumes, and now first in English, the author returning home from his long travels but at the end of the year 1698. His learning, as being a doctor of the civil law, and his excellent natural qualifications, have rendered his work so complete, that indeed it seems to be one of the most excellent pieces of this nature now extant. Nothing can be more diverting, as having that extraordinary variety which the whole compass of the earth affords, and that in the noblest and best parts of it. An air of truth appears throughout it, there being nothing but what is told with much modesty, and what is probable and natural enough in itself; besides, that the most part of what is here related may be found dispersed in many other travellers, who saw but pieces of what Gemelli took a view of entire. His remarks and observations are extraordinary curious, because he was not only capable to make them, but had leisure, that being his only business, and money to

carry him through. In fine, he has an excellent brief collection of history annexed to every part of his travels, which informs the reader of the antient as well as present state of the countries there spoken of. He is exact for the most part in setting down the distances of places, a great help to future travellers. His accounts of plants and fruits peculiar to the East and West-Indies, with the draughts and representations of them, is a good help to natural history, together with his other descriptions, and his observations of customs, manners, habits, laws, religions, and all other things in those vast regions be passed through. In particular, what he says in that part of his voyage which is from Aquapulco till his leaving the continent of America, is, besides what is in Gage, almost the only account we have of the inland parts of that continent. There is a preface to the work which gives a full account of it.

An account of the shipwreck of a Dutch vessel on the coast of the isle of Quelpaout, which happened in the year 1653, together with the description of the kingdom of Corea. This was originally writ in Dutch by one that calls himself the secretary of the ship then lost, who lived thirteen years in those countries, and at last made his escape with some others. It was thought worthy to be translated into French, and now lastly into English. 'Tis the only account yet extant of the kingdom of Corea, which lies on the east of China, being a peninsula joined to that mighty empire by a small neck of land: and it is no wonder we should be so very much strangers to this country, since besides its remoteness, the author tells us they admit of no strangers; or if any have the misfortune, as he had, to fall into their hands, they never return home, unless they can make as wonderful an escape as he did. The relation itself is not so long as to require very much to be said of it, besides that it has a particular preface annexed to it by the translator, to which the reader is referred.

Next follows a relation of a voyage from Spain to Paraguay, about 1691, by F. Antony Sepp, and F. Antony Behme, German jesuits; with a description of that country, the remarkable things in it, and resistances of the missionaries. We have a particular account of their voyage; they landed at Buenos Ayres, of which town they give a very good description, and of the great river of Plate which runs by it; and proceeding up into the country from Buenos Ayres, they treat distinctly of the several cantons of Paraguay.

After this is placed a fragment translated out of Spanish, concerning the islands of Salomon in the South-sea, discovered by the Spaniards, about 1697, but hitherto never conquered or inhabited by any European nation.

tion. It was inserted in Thevenot's collection of voyages. Both the beginning and conclusion are wanting; which, it seems, have perished through the negligence of those intrusted with the original papers. However, by good fortune, as much has been preserved, as serves to give us some knowledge of those islands, and of the nature and disposition of their inhabitants. And because so little is known of those places, this fragment was judged not unworthy a place in this collection.

The history of the provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira, Urvaica, and Chile, was written in Latin by F. Nicholas del Techo a jesuit. The antecedent account of Paraguay by F. Sepp, has lightly touched upon part of this subject, but that only relates to one of the provinces here named; whereas this extends from the North to the South-sea, and includes all that vast tract of land in America, lying south of Peru and Brasil. The greatest part of these countries has not been so fully described, nor the manners and customs of those savage Indians so fully made known, as they are by this author, who spent no less than twenty five years among them. But to avoid repetitions, what more is performed in this work, may be seen in the particular preface before it.

Pelham's wonderful preservation of eight men left a whole winter in Greenland 1630, is the sixth treatise in this volume. The preservation was indeed very remarkable, especially considering how unprovided they were left of all

necessaries for wintering in such a dismal country, it being accidental, and no way designed. This narrative has nothing of art or language, being left by an ignorant sailor, who, as he confesses, was in no better a post than gunner's mate, and that to a Greenland fisher; and therefore the reader can expect no more than bare matter of fact, delivered in a homely style, which it was not fit to alter, lest it might breed a jealousy that something had been changed more than the bare language.

Dr. John Baptist Morin's journey to the mines in Hungary, about 1650, is a very short relation, as containing not full two sheets, of those mines, the ore they afford, the damps, the springs in them, the miners, the manner of discharging the water, and other particulars relating to them.

Ten-Rhynes account of the cape of Good Hope, about 1673, and of those barbarous Hottentots, the natives of that country, is very curious. After a short description of the cape and table mountain, he describes the birds, beasts, fishes, insects and plants found in that part of the world; and then succinctly treats of the people, their persons, garments, dwellings, furniture, disposition, manners, way of living, and making war, traffick, sports, religion, magistrates, laws, marriages, children, trades, physick and language.

The fourth volume concludes with captain Richard Bolland's draught of the straits of Gibraltar, in 1675, and his observations on its currents.

A N

Introductory Discourse,

CONTAINING,

*The whole History of Navigation from its
Original to this time.*

OF all the inventions and improvements the wit and industry of man has discovered and brought to perfection, none seems to be so universally useful, profitable and necessary, as the art of navigation. There are those that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty God, since the first vessel we read of in the world, was the ark *Noah* built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon such a controversy, where some will ask, why it should be believed there were not ships before the flood as well as after, since doubtless those first men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whose days are reduced to fourscore years, and all beyond them only misery or dotage? It is impertinent to spend time upon such frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to history, on which all our knowledge of what is past depends, we shall find that navigation had but a mean and obscure original, that it was gradually and but very leisurely improved, since in many ages it scarce ventured out of sight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till these latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is still doubtless capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received since its first appearance in the world.

The first vessel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the ark made by God's appointment, in which *Noah* ar.
Vol. I.

his three sons were saved from the universal deluge. But this ark, ship, or whatever else it may be called, had neither oars, sails, masts, yards, rudder, or any sort of rigging whatsoever, being only guided by Divine Providence, and having no particular port, or coast to steer to, only to float upon the waters, till those being dried up, it rested on the mountains of *Ararat*, as we read in *Gen. viii. 4*. From this time till after the confusion of tongues there was no use of navigation, there being as yet no sufficient multitude to people the earth, and those men there were having undertaken to build the tower of *Babel*, from whence they were dispersed into all other parts of the known world. These first travellers doubtless met with many rivers before they came to the sea, as plainly appears by the situation of *Babel*, generally agreed upon by all that treat of scriptural geography; and those rivers they passed in a hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a sort of baskets covered over with raw hides, being the easiest that occurred to invention, and sufficient for their present purpose, which was only to pass on in their way to other parts, without the prospect of trade or commerce, which cannot be supposed to have then entered into their thoughts. What vessels they built when they came to the sea no history describes, and therefore it would be a rashness to pretend to any knowledge of them. That they were small, ill rigged, and only durst creep along the shores, is out of all dispute; if we consider that many succeeding ages were no better furnished, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their shipping, and industriously laboured to improve the art of navigation.

Pancir.
Part. 2.
Tit. 10.
P. 233.

Schefferus
de Mil.
Nav. vet.
p. 19.

An Introductory Discourse concerning

navigation. Not to speak therefore of what is absolutely fabulous, or only supposititious, let us come to the first sailors famed in history; and touching those times of darkness lightly, descend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we shall find *Neptune* covering the *Mediterranean* sea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father *Saturn*, supposed to be *Noah*, as *Neptune* is to be *Japheth*; and to him is ascribed the first building of ships, with sharp stems, or heads shod with iron or brass, to run against other ships and split them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie board and board. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ships, and steering them to *Glaucus*, affirming it was he that built and piloted the ship *Argo* in *Jason's* expedition against the *Tyrrenians*; which others attribute to *Argos*, making him the builder and pilot. These notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned *Bochartus* in his *Geographia Sacra*, p. 819, 820. where he shews that the ship *Argo* ought properly to be called *Arco*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies long, a name given it because it was the first long ship built by the *Greeks*, who learned it of the *Phœnicians*, and called it by their name, whereas all the vessels used by them before that time were round. This ship *Argo*, or rather galley, he says had fifty oars, that is twenty five on each side, and therefore must be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the *Greeks* had round vessels before that time, and all we can reasonably conclude is, that this ship or galley *Argo*, or *Arco*, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage, which rendered it famous, as if it had been the first ship. But it is certain there were many fleets, such as they were, before this time; for the *Argonauts* expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years: whereas we find *Semiramis* built a fleet of two thousand sail on the coasts of *Cyprus*, *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and had them transported on carriages and camels backs to the river *Indus*, where they fought and defeated the fleet of *Staurobates* king of *India*, consisting of four thousand boats made of cane, as *Diodorus Siculus*

* *I. 2. An.* writes. About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, *Jupiter* king of *Crete*, or *Candia*, with his fleet stole away *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor* king of the *Sidonians*. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, *Perseus* went on the expedition by sea against *Medusa* in *Africk*. Now to return to the *Argonauts* so much

celebrated by the poets, upon the strictest examination into truth, we shall only find them inconsiderable coasters in the *Mediterranean*, and set out by the publick to suppress pirates, though fabulous *Greece* has extolled their expeditions beyond all measure. Next follows the *Trojan* war about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thousand one hundred and forty sail of all sorts, still creeping along the shores, without daring to venture out of sight of land.

Now leaving the *Greeks* it is fit we return to the *Phœnicians*, who are the same the scripture calls the *Philistines* or *Canaanites*, as is largely proved by *Bochartus*, certainly the earliest and ablest mariners in those first ages: they made the greatest discoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in most of those countries so discovered, and settled trade and commerce in the most distant regions. There can be no greater testimony of their wealth and naval power than what we find in holy writ, *Ezek. xxvii.* where the prophet speaking of *Tyre*, says it is situate at the entrance of the sea, is a merchant for many isles, its ship-boards are of fir-trees of *Senir*, their masts of cedars, their oars of oak of *Babban*, their benches of ivory, their sails of fine embroidered linen; and so goes on through most of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ships, and all things belonging to them. This, though from the undeniable oracle of scripture, were no sufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not all histories full of their many expeditions. The first was on the coast of *Africk*, where they founded the most powerful city of *Carthage*, which so long contended with *Rome* for the sovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into *Spain*, and not so satisfied, coasted it round, still pursuing their discoveries along the coasts of *France*, and even into this island of *Great Britain*, where they afterwards had a settled trade for tin, and such other commodities as the country then afforded, as may be seen at large in *Procopius*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and many other ancient authors. *Pliny*, lib. 2. cap. 69. with others affirms, that in the flourishing times of the republick of *Carthage*, *Hanno* being sent out from thence to discover southward, sailed quite round *Africk* into the Red-sea, and returned the same way; and that *Kimilco* setting out at the same time northwards, sailed as far as *Tbule* or *Iceland*. Both these relations are in part rejected by most authors as fabulous, because it does not appear that the utmost extent of *Africk* was ever known till the *Portugueses* in these latter times discovered it; and the very northern parts of *Europe*

were not thoroughly discovered even in the time of the *Roman* greatness. However, no doubt is to be made but that they sailed very far both ways, and might perhaps add something of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertakings. Nor were they confined to the *Mediterranean* and westward ocean, it was they that conducted *Solomon's* fleets to *Ophir*; and we read in *1 Kings ix. 27.* that *Hiram* (who was king of *Tyre*, and consequently his men *Phanicians*) sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea. And again, *chap. x. ver. 11.* And navy also of *Hiram* that brought gold from *Ophir*. Thus we see the *Phanicians* traded to *Ophir* before king *Solomon*, and for him. To enter into the controversy where this *Ophir* was, is not proper for this place, but the most probable opinions conclude it to be some part of the *East-Indies*, and indeed there is not the least shew of reason to place it elsewhere. How they performed these long voyages without the help of the compass, or magnetical needle, would be another no less difficult inquiry, considering they could not always sail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within sight of land, whence tempests at least would often drive them into the open sea; but this is easily solved by all authors, who with one consent inform us, that they were directed by the course of the sun in the day, and by the stars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the *Phanicians* exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from *Pliny*, lib. 5. c. 12, and 19. where he shews that mankind is obliged to the *Phanicians* for five things of the greatest use, viz. Letters, the knowledge of the stars, the art of navigation, military discipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the stars they recovered themselves when lost in foul weather, and knew how to shape their course across spacious gulphs, and bays, which would have spent them much time in coasting round. However it must not hence be inferred that they were capable of traversing the vast ocean betwixt *Europe* and *America*, as some would endeavour to make out; because it is well known that voyage even with the help of the compass was at first thought impracticable, and when discovered, for some time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reason alledged for the possibility of their sailing to the *West-Indies*, which is the certainty of the trade, winds blowing always at east within the tropicks, makes against them, because had those winds carried them thither, the vast difficulty in returning the same way would deter them

from that enterprize, they being altogether ignorant, and we may say incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the discovery of the *West-Indies*.

The *Greeks*, though occasionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the *Phanicians* in maritime affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their masters in this art, but soon excelled them, and gave them several notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though much inferior in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the *Persians*, whose fleets were all managed by *Phanicians*. One instance or two may serve for all; the first is the famous battel of *Salamis*, where the confederate *Greeks*, whose whole force consisted but of three hundred and eighty ships, defeated thirteen hundred of the *Persians*, with inconsiderable loss to themselves, and incredible to their enemies, as may be seen in *Plutarch's* lives of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, in *Diod. Sic. lib. XI. Herod. lib. VII.* and *VIII.* and others. Again, the *Albanian* fleet commanded by *Cimon* lorded it along the coasts of *Asia*, where closely pursuing the *Persian* admiral *Tirastates*, he obliged him to run his ships aground, of which he took two hundred, besides all that perished on the shore. And not so satisfied, *Cimon* proceeded to *Hydrunte*, where he destroyed seventy sail, which were the peculiar squadron of the *Phanicians*; for which particulars see *Thucyd. lib. I. cap. 11.* and *12. Plutarch in vit. Cim.* and *Diod. Sic. lib. XII.* These victories were the bane of *Greece*, which growing rich with the spoils of the *Persians* fell into those vices it had before been a stranger to, and which broke that union which had preserved it against the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the *Albanians* and *Lacedemonians*, and several others, where those little states confederating one against another set out many numerous fleets, and strove for the sovereignty of the sea, till having sufficiently weakened themselves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flourishing times, and even in adversity, when driven from home by disasters, they never ceased sending out colonies upon all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and particularly of *Asia*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy* and *Sicily*. In all which countries they so far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under *Alexander the Great*, the founder of the *Grecian* empire, there are some things so singular that they well deserve a place here. That these latter ages may not boast of the invention of fireships,

we find in *Curtius*, lib. IV. that at the siege of *Tyre*, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ship heavily altern with sand and stones, to the end the head might rise high above the water, and prepared it for their purpose with combustible matter, they drove it violently with sails and oars against the mole, where they set fire to it, the seamen in it escaping in their boats. The mole being in a great measure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly destroyed. Thus we see the *Tyrians* successfully invented the first fireship we read of in history. The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign in relation to navigation, was his sailing down the river *Indus* into the *Indian* ocean, where we may by the by observe the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the sailors, who, as *Curtius*, lib. IX. testifies, were all astonished and beside themselves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence the same author tells us, *Alexander* sent his admiral *Nearchus* to coast along the ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he should discover. *Nearchus* accordingly keeping along the *Indian* and *Persian* shores, and entering the *Persian* Gulph, returned to him up the river *Euphrates*, which was then looked upon as a wonderful discovery, and a great masterpiece of that admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from *Alexander*. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in *Curtius* quoted above, and in *Plutarch* in *vit. Alex.* *Purbas* in his first Vol. p. 86, 87, 88, gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of *Nearchus*, taken out of *Arianus*, lib. VIII. who delivers it as *Nearchus's* journal of the expedition.

Next to the *Phœnicians* and *Greeks*, the *Romans* became sovereigns of the sea; yet not all at once, but after hard struggling with the *Cartaginians*, then in the height of their power, having by their naval force made themselves masters of the greatest part of *Spain*, and the coast of *Africa*, of many islands in the *Mediterranean*, and being intent upon the conquest of *Sicily*. This island furnished these mighty cities with an occasion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a desire of sovereignty. The *Romans* were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, inasmuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the *Cartaginians* cruising on the coast of *Italy*, as we find in *Polybius*, lib. I. one of their *Quinquereme* galleys happened to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, who by that model built an hundred of the same sort, and twenty *Tri-*

remes. Whilst the galleys were building, they exercised the seamen in rowing upon the dry shore, causing them to sit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands and an officer in the middle, who by signs instructed them how they should all at once dip their oars and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was launched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but sluggish and unwieldy, they invented an engine to grapple sail with the enemy at the first shock, that so they might come to handy-strokes, at which they knew themselves superior, and prevent being circumvented by the swiftness of the *Cartaginian* galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called *corvus*, it consisted of a large piece of timber set upright on the prow of the vessel, about which was a stage of several ascents of boards well fastened with iron, and at the ends of it two massive irons sharp-pointed. The whole could be hoisted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoisted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to shock ship to ship, they let it run down again into the enemy's vessel, with which its own weight grappled it so fast that there was no breaking loose; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's vessel by the help of the aforementioned scaffold; all which may be seen more fully described in *Polybius* above quoted. By the help of these engines *Duilius* the *Roman* admiral overthrew *Hannibal* the *Cartaginian*, though superior to him in number of vessels and experience in maritime affairs, taking his own *Septirème* and fifty other vessels, with great slaughter of his men, though he himself escaped in his boat. This was in the year of *Rome* 493. In 497. *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Volso* consuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thousand men; the *Cartaginians* had then in their fleet one hundred and fifty thousand men under the conduct of *Hamilcar*, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ships taken, and sixty four sunk. Thus far the sea had proved favourable to the *Romans*; but in the year of *Rome* 499. having set out a fleet of three hundred *Quinqueremes*, they lost one hundred and forty by storms, which made them resolve to lay aside all naval enterprizes, keeping only seventy sail of ships to serve as transports, till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in *Sicily* decline, the *Cartaginians* being absolute masters at sea, they again set out two hundred sail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow with the loss of ninety three galleys. Refolving
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now to put an end to the war, they again fit out two hundred *Quinqueremes*, built by the model of a *Rhodian* they had before taken, and with them gave the *Carthaginians* such a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a dishonourable peace. This was the rise of the *Roman* power at sea, which they after not only held, but increased as long as their empire subsisted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; those that desire to see more may read them in *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and many other authors who deliver them at large; thus much having been said only to deduce the succession of navigation from one people to another. Now though the *Romans* at this time gained the sovereignty of the seas, and held it for some ages, yet we do not find that they applied themselves to new discoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the *Phenicians* had before made known, their greatest voyage being that which *Pliny*, lib. VI. cap. 23. gives an account of, being from *Egypt* to *India* beforementioned, to have been frequently performed by the *Phenicians*, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place is, to say something of the several sorts of galleys called *Triremes*, *Quadrirèmes*, *Quinqueremes*, and so forth, whereof mention was made above. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* agree, that *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* was the first that invented the *Trireme* galley, about three hundred years after the destruction of *Troy*. *Pliny* will have it, that *Aristotle* a *Carthaginian* first built a *Quadrirème*, and *Nesigiton* of *Salamis* a *Quinquerème*; but *Diodorus* contradicts it, attributing the invention of the *Quinqueremes* to *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*. *Pliny* further adds, that *Zenagoras* the *Syracusan* built the first vessel of six ranks, *Nesigiton* one of ten, *Alexander the Great* is reported to have proceeded to twelve; *Philopsephanus* makes *Ptolomy Soter* the first that made one of fifteen ranks, *Pemetrius* the son of *Antigonus* of thirty, *Ptolomy Philadelphus* of forty, and *Ptolomy Philopator* of fifty. Thus we have the original of them all; but what sort of vessels these were, that is, how the several degrees or ranks of oars were disposed, has been much controverted, and is a most difficult point to be determined. The shortness of this discourse will not allow much canvassing of the point, yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give some satisfaction to the curious. *Morifotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*, p. 608. positively affirms, that each of these vessels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, so that the *Trireme* had three, the *Quinquerème* five ranks; and so every one according to its name, even till

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we come to *Ptolomy Philopator's Tesseracteres*, which he asserts, had forty ranks of oars placed one over another, wherein he agrees with *Baifus*, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor *Leo*, whose words are these, *Every ship of war must be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one bigger, and the other lower*. This which to him seems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be vessels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the possibility of having twenty or forty, which must of necessity rise to such a height as would look more like a mountain than a ship; and those upper oars must be so long, and in proportion so large and unwieldy, that no strength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have these several ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in height; that is, so many in the prow, so many in the midships, and so many in the poop: whence will follow that *Ptolomy's* galley had forty several ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from stem to stern, which, allowing but a small number of oars to each of these ranks, will quite outrun the length assigned that vessel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by *Stewebius*, *Castilionius*, and several others; but sir *Henry Savil* is of another mind, and supposes these ranks not to lie in length from head to stern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which must appear preposterous, because allowing so many ranks this way, that is athwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth solution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the vessel had its name from so many men tugging at one oar, that is three in a *Trireme*, five in a *Quinquerème*, and so of the rest; which indeed as far as six or seven men to an oar has the most resemblance of truth: but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult to reconcile either to the breadth of the vessel, not to be supposed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men, because though the first man next the side of the galley had the oar under hand, yet the end of it when it came to the fortieth must of necessity rise above his reach. These two objections are again answered, the first by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and so the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the second by allowing an ascent from one side of the galley to the other for each seat or standing of those that rowed; and for the soldiers and sailors, we must imagine a deck over the heads of the slaves at the oar. This carries much of

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reason, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that describe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of *Sebeferus de militia navali, lib. II. cap. 2.* where allowing a competent distance according to the length of the vessel betwixt each bank of oars, he supposes the first row to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not distinguished by a deck, but raised so high by their seat that their feet rested against that which was the back of the bank below them, and so one above the other in those intervals, which takes off much of the height, that must have been, allowing them several decks, and consequently shortens the upper oars in proportion; yet cannot at all lessen the difficulty that will occur upon plying so many oars, which will come to dip so close together in the water, that it seems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confusion, not to mention many more inconveniences obvious enough to every man's reason that has seen any vessels of this nature: and therefore it is best to determine nothing amidst such uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which shall best suit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving these obscurities, it is better to proceed upon the history of navigation where we left off, and see in what state it continued from the time of the *Romans* last spoken of till the fortunate discovery of the magnetical needle, from which time is to be dated its greatest advancement, as will be visible in that place.

As long as the *Roman* empire continued in splendor, it supported what it had found of navigation, but added little or nothing to it, that people being altogether intent upon making new conquests, and finding still more work than they were able to compass upon dry land, without venturing far out to sea. But when the barbarous nations began to dismember that monarchy, this art instead of improving, doubtless declined, as did all others. The first of these barbarians were the *Goths* and *Vandals*, of whom no great actions appear on the sea, their farthest expeditions on this element being in the *Mediterranean*, betwixt *Italy* and *Africa*, *Spain* and the islands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The *Saracens* were next to them as to order of time, though much superior in naval power, yet contained within the same bounds, and consequently did nothing more memorable. After the *Saracens* may be reckoned the *Normans*, who for several years infested the coasts of *Britain* and *France* with their fleets from *Norway*, till having settled themselves in *Normandy*, they

ran out plundering all the coasts of *Spain*, and entering the straits conquered a great part of the kingdom of *Naples*, and the whole island of *Sicily*. Still these, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coasters, and satisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of navigation, especially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profession. Other famous at sea were the *Genoefes*, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for several years; and the latter, till the *Portugueses* discovered the way by sea to the *East-Indies*, had all the trade of those parts in their own hands, either brought up the Red sea into *Egypt*, or by caravans to the sea-port towns of *Asia*. We might here mention the expeditions of *Englysb*, *French*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, and other nations, but should find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at sea, they all ventured sometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade, but all in the same manner creeping along the shores, without daring to venture far out to sea, having no guides out of sight of land but the stars, which in cloudy nights must fall them. It is therefore time to leave these blind sailors, and come to the magnet or loadstone, and to the compass or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and easy in the blackest night as in the brightest day. To come then to the point.

The loadstone, or magnet, so called from the *Latin* word *magnes*, had this name given it because found in the country of *Magnesia*, which is a part of *Lydia* in *Asia*; or because the *Magnesian* first discovered its virtue of attracting iron: for both these reasons are given by the learned *Bocbartus Geogr. Sacr. p. 717*. What other virtues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place. But it is certain the magnet has two poles answering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obstructs) to lie parallel. This property is confined to it self, but communicative, as daily experience shews us in the nautical needles, which by the touch of this stone partake so much of its nature, that the point so touched, unless otherwise hindered, will always look towards the north-pole. Let the learned naturalist plunge himself into the inscrutable abyss of nature to find out reasons for this sympathy; it shall suffice here to shew the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the discovery of this most wonderful secret. The *Magnesian*, as was said above, were counted the first discoverers of the loadstone's virtue

truce of attracting iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the north-pole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the best modern inquirers into antiquity, who upon diligent search unanimously agree they cannot find the least ground to believe it was known before, rather than give credit to some few writers, who rather suppose such a thing to have been used by the *Phœnicians*, than pretend to prove it, having nothing but their own fancies, raised upon weak and groundless surmises, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion in *Bechart. Geog. Sac.* p. 716. and in *Purchas's* pilgrims, p. 26. is *Fuller* in his miscellanies, l. 4. c. 19. yet neither of them mentions any proof or strong argument he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reason reject him. These two authors, and *Panciroli. lib. ii. tit. 11.* do not forget the verse often urged out of *Plautus in Mercat.*

Hic secundus ventus nunc est, cape modo versoriam.

Which *versoria* some will have to be the compass. But there is nothing solid in this argument, it is only catching at straws, when all history and practice of former ages make against it. History, because it could not but have made some mention of a thing so universally useful and necessary; and practice, because it is well known no such voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compass. It has sufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages they were but coasters, scarce daring to venture out of sight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the stars: and what is still more, it is manifest they scarce ventured at all to sea in the winter months. That this is so, appears by *Vegetius, lib. IV.* where speaking of the months, he says, The seas are shut from the third of the ides of *November*, to the sixth of the ides of *March*, and from that time till the ides of *May*, it is dangerous venturing to sea. Thus much way suffice to shew the compass was not known to antiquity, let us see when it first appeared in the world.

Its ancient use being rejected by general consent, there have still been some who have endeavoured to rob the discoverer of this honour: among them *Goropius*, quoted by *Morijotus*, will have this invention attributed to the *Cimbrians*, *Tentonicks* or *Germani*, for this weak reason, because the names of the thirty two winds about it are *Tentonick*, and used by almost all *Europeans*. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of *Europe*, and therefore go as

far as *China* for it, alledging that *M. Paulus Venetus* brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is asserted without any the least authority, only because *Paulus Venetus* travelled into *China*, and when afterwards the *Portugueses* came thither, they found the use of the needle common among all those eastern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundless suppositions, the general consent of the best authors on this subject is, that the magnetical needle or compass was first found out in *Europe* by one *John Gioia*, whom others call *Flavio Gioia*, of the city of *Amalfi*, on the coast of that part of the kingdom of *Naples* called *Terra di Lavoro*. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300. and though the thing be of such stupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove so greatly profitable to the first finder, whose bare name is all that remains to posterity, without the least knowledge of his profession, or after what manner he made this wonderful discovery. So wonderful that it seems to contradict the opinion of *Solomon*, who so many ages since said there was nothing new under the sun; whereas this certainly appears, though so long after him, to be altogether new, and never so much as thought of before, which cannot so plainly be made out of any other of those we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to instance in a few things, we find the use of fire-ships among the *Tyrians* in the times of *Alexander the great*, as was mentioned before out of *Curtius, lib. IV.* and therefore not repeated here. Our sea-charts, on which latter times have so much valued themselves, are of such ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet *Morijotus*, p. 12. says that *Eolus* gave *Ulysses* a sea-chart drawn on a ram's skin, that is, a parchment. Again, p. 14. the same author out of *Trogus* observes, that *Democedes the Cratonian*, employed by *Darius Hystaspes* to view the coasts of *Greece*, sent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads and strong-holds exactly marked down. Then, p. 215. he shews out of *Aelianus* and *Aristophanes*, that there were maps of the world in *Socrates's* time. This, he says, was about the eightieth *Olympiad*, and then quotes *Strabo*, who from *Eratosthenes* affirms, *Anaximander the Milelian* was the first that made geographical tables about the fiftieth *Olympiad*. Sheathing of ships is a thing in appearance so absolutely new, that scarce any will doubt to assert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will soon appear in two instances. *Leo Baptisti Alberti* in his book of architecture, lib. V. cap. 12. has these words. *But Trajan's ship weighed out of the lake*

lake of Riccia at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had lain sunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I observed, that the pine and cyress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outside it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus in his geography says, this ship was weighed by the order of cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking and sheathing together above sixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being used rather than iron, which when once rusted in the water with the working of the ship, soon lose their hold and drop out. The other instance we find in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. I. lib. IV. in captain Sarii's voyage to the court of Japan, p. 371. where the captain giving an account of his voyage says, that rowing betwixt Firando and Fuccate, about eight or ten leagues on this side Xemina-seque, he found a great town where they lay in a dock a junk of eight or ten hundred tun burden, sheathed all with iron. This was in the year 1613. about which time the English came first acquainted with Japan; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of sheathing of them, or the Portuguese, who were there before, but were themselves ignorant of the art of sheathing.

Now to return to the magnetical needle, or sea-compass; its discoverer, as has been said, appears to be Flavius, or John Gioia of Amalfi, and the time of its discovery about the year 1300. The reason of its tending to or pointing out the north, is what many natural philosophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their study has brought them only to be sensible of the imperfection of human knowledge, which when plunged into the inquiry after the secrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them occult qualities, which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us. Yet these are not all the wonders of this magnetick virtue. The variation of it is another as inscrutable a secret. This variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or less either to the east or west; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the same in the same place, and is found by observing the sun or stars. The cause of this variation some philosophers ascribe to magnetical mountains, some to the pole itself, some to the heavens, and some to a magnetical

power even beyond the heavens; but these are blind guesses, and fond ostentations of learning without any thing in them to convince ones reason. There is nothing of it certain but the variation alone, there is a variation of the variation, a subject to be handled by none but such as have made it a peculiar study, and which deserving a peculiar volume is daily expected from a most able pen. But let us leave these mysteries, and come to the historical part, as the principal scope of this discourse; where we shall find, that though the use of the needle was so long since found out, yet either through its being kept private by some few persons at first as a secret of great value, or through the dulness of sailors, at first not comprehending this wonderful phenomena; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known shores; or lastly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to discover: whether for these, or any other cause, we do not find any considerable advantage made of this wonderful discovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it, who first used it upon the sea, and how it spread abroad into other parts. This is not a little strange in a matter of such consequence, that the histories of nations should not mention when they received so great an advantage, or what benefit they found at first by it. But so it is; and therefore to shew the advancement of navigation since the discovery of the magnetical needle, it will be absolutely necessary to begin several years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This shall be performed with all possible brevity, and by way of annals, containing a summary account of all discoveries from year to year: yet lest the distance and variety of places should too much distract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the European northern discoveries shall be first run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, shall follow the African, and so of the East-India or Asiatick, the one being the consequence of the other; and in the last place shall appear the West-Indian, or American. The first part of the northern European discoveries is all taken out of Hakluyt, beginning with the nearest after the discovery of the needle, quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An. 1360. Nicholas de Linna, or of Linn, a friar of Oxford, who was an able astronomer, took a voyage with others into the most northern islands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all those northern parts, which at his return he presented to king Edward III. This friar made five voyages

voyages into those parts : for this he quotes *Gerardus Mercator*, and *Mr. John Dee*, *Hak*, p. 122. And this, though it is not there mentioned, being sixty years after the discovery of the compass, we may look upon as one of the first trials of this nature made upon the security of the magnetical direction in these northern seas. Yet after this for many years we find no other discovery attempted this way, but rather all such enterprises seemed to be wholly laid aside, till

An. 1553. and in the reign of king Edward VI. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was sent out with three ships to discover *Cathay* and other northern parts. He failed in *May*, and having spent much time about the northern islands subject to *Denmark*, where he found no commodity but dried fish and train oil, he was forced about the middle of *September*, after losing the company of his other two ships, to put into a harbour in *Lapland* called *Arzina*, where they could find no inhabitants, but thinking to have wintered there were all frozen to death. However the *Edward*, which was the second ship in this expedition, and commanded by *Richard Chanceller*, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having lost Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, made its way for the port of *Wardhouse* in *Norway*, where they had appointed to meet if parted by storms. *Chanceller* staid there seven days, and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage so fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of *St. Nicholas* on the coast of *Muscovy*, where he was friendly received by the natives, being the first ship that ever came upon that coast. *Chanceller* himself went to the court of *Mosco*, where he settled a trade betwixt *England* and *Muscovy*, with *John Basilowitz* the great duke, or *Czar*, then reigning. This done, *Chanceller* returned home with the honour of the first discoverer of *Russia*.

An. 1556. *Stephen Burrough* was sent out in a small vessel to discover the river *Ob*: he failed in *April*, and in *May* came upon the coast of *Norway*; whence continuing his voyage, in *July* he arrived at *Nova Zembla*, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to shape his course for the river *Ob*. He spent some time in search of it, but coming to the straits of *Weygats* found no passage, and the summer-season being almost spent, returned to *Colmogro* in *Muscovy*, where he wintered, designing to prosecute his voyage the next summer, but was countermanded, and so this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558. *Anthony Jenkinson* sailed for *Muscovy* with four ships under his command: he left his ships, and travelled by land to

Mosco, where having been nobly entertained by the *Czar*, he obtained his pass, and continued his journey through *Muscovy* across the kingdoms of *Casan* and *Astracan*, where shipping himself on the river *Volga* he sailed down into the *Caspian* sea, having travelled by land about six hundred leagues in the *Czar's* dominions from *Mosco*. On the *Caspian* sea he spent twenty seven days, after which landing, he proceeded five days journey by land among a sort of wild *Tartars* with a caravan of one thousand camels; then twenty days more through a desert, suffering much through hunger and thirst. This brought him again to another part of the *Caspian* sea, where formerly the river *Oxus* fell into it, which now he says runs into another river not far from thence, called *Ardoek*, which runs towards the north and under ground above five hundred miles, after which it rises again, and unburdens itself in the lake of *Kitay*. Hence he continued his discovery amidst those countries of *Tartars* to *Bogbar* in *Bastria*, whence he returned to *Mosco*.

An. 1561. He returned to *Muscovy* with letters from queen *Elizabeth* to the *Czar*; and taking the same way as before down to the *Caspian* sea, crossed over it into *Hircania*, where being nobly entertained, and conducted by the princes of that country, he passed through to the court of the king of *Persia* at *Casbin*, where he obtained several privileges for the *English* nation, and returned home in safety the same way he went.

An. 1580. *Mr. Arthur Pet*, and *Mr. Charles Jackman* failed in *May* from *Harwich* in two barks to make discoveries in the north-east beyond *Weygats*. In *June* they doubled the north cape of *Norway*, and having spent some days in that part of *Norway*, continued their voyage into the bay of *Petzora*; where *Jackman's* vessel being in no good sailing condition he left *Pet*, who proceeded on to the coast of *Nova Zembla*, where in *July* he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at last came to the straits of *Weygats*: there he drew as close as the shoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and a half water, and sending his boat to sound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the strait, and therefore returned the same way he came. A few days after *Pet* met with *Jackman* again in some distress, as not being able to steer, his ship's stern-post being broken, and the rudder hanging from the stern. Having remedied this the best they could for the present, they both stood northward to endeavour to find some passage that way; but meeting with much ice, they despaired of success, and re-

solved to turn again to *Weygats*, there to enquire what was further to be done. All the way thither they met with such quantities of ice, that some days they were not able to make any way. Being come again upon the *Weygats*, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpose as before, the ice obstructing their progress. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it necessary to quit their design for the present. Accordingly *Pet* being parted from *Jackman*, arrived safe in the river of *Thames* about the end of *December* this same year: *Jackman* put into a port in *Norway* betwixt *Tronden* and *Rosstock* in *October*, where he wintered. In *February* following, he departed thence in company of a ship of the king of *Denmark's* towards *Iceland*, and was never more heard of. The *English* having made these unsuccessful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the *Dutch* growing powerful at sea, resolved to try their fortune, hoping the failures of the *English* might help to point out to them what course they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly,

Herbert
out of H. k.
luyt.

An. 1594. The states fitted out three ships, commanded by *William Barentz*, *Cornelius Cornelissen* and *John Hugen*: they all failed together, but *Barentz* ran further up to the northward than the others, till he came into seventy eight degrees of latitude, and in *August* met with much ice, and abundance of sea-monsters, at which the seamen being discouraged they resolved to return home. The other two ships discovered some islands, and at last a strait or passage capable of the greatest ships, and about five or six leagues in length: being passed it, they came into an open and warmer sea, and upon the coast of *Tartary* near the river *Ob* or *Oby*, a very fruitful country. This they called the strait of *Nassau*, and might have gone further but for want of provisions. This done, they came back the same way very joyful to *Holland*, *Meteren. hist. of the Low-countries, lib. XVIII.* This we see positively delivered, but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only must think it strange, that if such a strait had been once found it should never be met with since, though often searched for, and once by the same persons that pretended to have been the first discoverers, as may be seen in the year 1596. yet we see this assertion repeated by the same author, who takes it from the relations of the sailors, and in the same place before quoted says, that

An. 1595. The states being much encouraged by the relation of these discoverers, fitted out seven ships, six of them to proceed on their voyage to *Cbina*, *Japan*,

&c. this way, and the seventh to bring back the news of their being passed the strait; but they met with too much ice at strait *Nassau*, coming to it too late by reason of the contrary winds they had in their passage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many particulars more than they knew before; but they returned *resignata, ubi sup.*

An. 1596. The *Dutch* not discouraged by the former disappointment, fitted out two ships under the command of *William Barentsen* and *John Cornelissen*, who sailed on the eighteenth of *May*, and on the nineteenth of *June* found themselves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they supposed to be *Greenland*, with grass, and beasts grazing like deer, &c. and less cold and ice than in 76 degrees: they turned back to an island they had before called the *Island of Bears*, because of the many bears they saw in it, and there parted company. *Cornelissen* went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a passage east of the land they had discovered, but returned home without doing any thing considerable. *Barentsen* made towards *Nova Zembla*, and coasted along it till he met with an island which he called *Orange*, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he steered south and doubled a cape, but was stop'd by ice, and making towards the land, on the last of *August*, was so inclosed that there was no stirring. They landed and built a house with timber and planks, into which they put all their provisions and goods, where they continued suffering much hardship all the winter. On the twenty second of *June* they set out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ship among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at *Cola* in *Lapland* on the second of *October* 1597. where they found *Cornelissen*, who had made a voyage to *Holland* in the mean while, and was returned thither. *Barentsen* died by the way, but the survivors arrived in *Holland* on the twenty ninth of *October*, *Meteren. lib. XIX.*

An. 1670. Captain *John Wood* in his majesty's ship the *Speedwell*, with the *Prosperous Pink* to attend him, sailed from the *Buoy of the Nore* to discover the north east passage. *June* the fourth he anchored in the island of *Sbeeland*, and the tenth sailed out again, directing his course north north east, and north east by east, till the twenty second, when at noon he saw ice right a head about a league from him, and sailed close to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little

way;

way; but as fast as the fog fell, it froze on their sails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of *Nova Zembla*, and run out five leagues to sea. They continued coasting the ice to find a passage, till on the twenty ninth of *June* at near midnight the *Prosperous Pink* fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, ice on the weather-bow; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a weather to come about, but before she could be brought upon the other tack struck upon a ledge of rocks that lay sunk: the pink got clear, but the ship stuck fast, and there being no getting her off, the men got all ashore in their boats with what provision they could save, some arms and other necessities; only two men were lost with the pinnace. Here they set up a tent, and saw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ship broke and much wreck drove ashore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, some meal, oil, brandy and beer. They killed a white bear and eat her, which they said was very good meat. Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long-boat to carry off some of the men, and others to travel afoot towards the *Weygat*; till on the eighth of *July* to their great joy they discovered the pink, and making a fire for a signal, she sent her boat to help bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They presently stood off to westward, and made the best of their way home, arriving on the twenty third of *August* at the *Buoy of the Nore*. Taken out of captain *Wood's* own journal.

These are the principal discoveries attempted and performed to the north east, which have proved unsuccessful, as failing of the main design of finding a passage that way to the *East-Indies*.

Let us now leave the barren frozen north, where so many have miserably perished, and yet so little been discovered of what was intended; ice, shoals, rocks, darkness, and many other obstacles having disappointed the bold undertakings of so many daring sailors, and for so many losses made us no return but the bare trade of *Russia*, whilst our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of *Catbay*, and a passage to *China*, *Japan*, and all the other eastern regions. Let us, I say, quit these unfortunate attempts, and come now to speak of those so successful made towards the south and south-east, along the coast of *Africk* first, and then to those of the more frequented, as more profitable *Asia*. The first we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an *Englishman*, by name *Macbani*, who

An. 1344. having stolen a woman, with

whom he was in love, and intended to fly with her into *Spain*, was by a storm cast upon the island *Madera* in 32 degrees of north-latitude. Going ashore there with his mistress to refresh her after the toils of the sea, the ship taking the opportunity of a favourable gale sailed away, leaving them behind. The lady soon died for grief of being left in that desolate island; and *Macbani* with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of *Jesus*, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one single tree, in which they got over to the coast of *Africk*, where they were taken by the *Moors*, and presented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the same reason sent them to the king of *Castile*, where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in search of this island. This story we find in *Hakluyt*, vol. II. part 2. p. 1. where he quotes *Antony Galvao* a *Portuguese* author for it; and *D. Antonio Manoel* in his works among his *Epanasoras*, has one on this particular subject, which he calls *Epanasora Amorosa*. Upon this information, as was said, several adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of, till

An. 1348. *John Belancourt* a *Frenchman*, obtained a grant of king *John* the second of *Castile*, and went to conquer the *Canary* islands long before discovered, and made himself master of five of them, but could not subdue the two greatest, as most populous and best defended. These were afterwards subdued by king *Ferdinand*, as may be seen in *Mariana*, lib. XVI. p. 29. These were small beginnings, and out of regular course; next follow the gradual discoveries made by the *Portuguese*, which may be said to have been the ground-work of all the ensuing navigations, which happened in this manner. King *John* of *Portugal* enjoying peace at home after his wars with *Castile*, was persuaded by his sons to undertake the conquest of *Ceuta* on the *African* shore. Prince *Henry's* fifth son accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a strong inclination to discover new seas and lands, and the more on account of the information he had received from several *Moors* concerning the coasts of *Africk* to the southward, which were as yet unknown to *Europeans*, who never pretended to venture beyond cape *Ni* which had therefore this name given it, signifying in *Portuguese* *No*, to imply there was no sailing further; and the reason was, because the cape running far out into the sea, caused it to break and appear dangerous; and they as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to sea they

An Introductory Discourse concerning

they should avoid that danger. Prince Henry resolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two small vessels,

An. 1417. Commanding them to coast along *Africk*, and doubling that cape to discover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run sixty leagues beyond cape *Nao*, as far as cape *Bojador*, so called because it stretches itself out almost forty leagues to the westward, which in *Spanish* they call *Bojar*. Here finding the difficulty of passing further, greater than at cape *Nao*, for the same reason of the sea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home satisfied with what they had done. The following year,

1418. The prince sent *John Gonzalez Zarco* and *Tristan Vaz*, with orders to pass that cape; but before they could come upon the coast of *Africk* they were carried away by a storm, and not knowing where, they accidentally fell in with an island, which they called *Porto Santo*, or *Holy Haven*, because of their deliverance there after the storm. It is a small island a little to the northward of the *Madera*: thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, sent *Bartholomew Perestrelo* with seeds to sow, and cattle to stock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the rest, increased so prodigiously, that all corn and plants being destroyed by them, it was found necessary to unpeople the island.

An. 1419. *John Gonzalez* and *Tristan Vaz* making another voyage by order of the prince, discovered the island *Madera*, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by *Macbani* the *Englishman*, and lost again till this time. The reason of calling it *Madera* was, because they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in *Portuguese* signifying wood. They set fire to the woods to clear them, which are said to have burnt seven years continually, and since the greatest want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furnishing the islands discovered, till

An. 1434. *Gilanez* was sent by the prince to pass that dreadful cape *Bojador*, though at the same time many blamed the attempt, imagining, that in case they should happen to pass much farther on those coasts, all that did it would turn black; others saying there was nothing there but deserts, like those of *Lybia*; others alledging other absurdities of this nature, suitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiscovered. *Gilanez* was satisfied with sailing 30 leagues beyond the cape, giving name there to the bay called *Angra de Ruyvas*, or *Bay of Gurnets*, because he there found many of that sort of fish. The next year

1435. The same commanders passed twelve leagues further, where they also landed, but the people fled from them; whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vast multitude of sea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned home with their skins, which was the greatest return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440. *Antony Gonzalez* was sent to the place of the sea-wolves to load his vessel with their skins. He landed, took some of the natives, and killed others; then coasted on as far as *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, and returned to *Portugal*.

An. 1442. *Antony Gonzalez* returned, and carrying those persons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for some *Guinea* slaves and a quantity of gold dust; for which reason the river that there runs into the country was called *Rio del Oro*, or the *River of Gold*.

An. 1443. The gold above-mentioned sharpening mens appetites, *Nunbo Tristan* undertook the voyage, and passing further than the others, discovered one of the islands of *Argum*, called *Adegi*, and another *De las Garzas*, or of the *Herons*, because they saw many herons in it.

An. 1444. A small company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to those parts lately discovered, whither they sent six caravels; which coming to the isles of *Argum* took there about two hundred slaves, which yielded them good profit in *Portugal*.

An. 1445. *Gonzalo de Cintra* failed to the island of *Argum*, and venturing up a creek in the night to surprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat ashore; so that two hundred *Moors* coming down upon him, he was killed with seven of his men, and from him the place was called *Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra*, fourteen leagues beyond *Rio del Oro*.

An. 1446. Three caravels failed for the same river to settle commerce, but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a *Portuguese* there to view the country. But *Dinis Fernandez* the same year passed beyond the river *Sanga*, which divides the *Azanagi* from *Jalof*; and discovered the famous cape called *Cabo Verde*, or the *Green Cape*.

An. 1447. Three caravels performed the same voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than taking up the *Portuguese* left there before, whom they found in good health, and he gave them some account of the country. This year likewise *Nunbo Tristan* sailed sixty leagues beyond *Cabo Verde*, and anchoring at the mouth of *Rio Grande*, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and most

of

of his men were killed by the Blacks with their poisoned arrows. *Alvaro Fernandez* the same year went forty leagues beyond *Rio Grande*. Prince *Henry* the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all these discoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew *Alonso* the fifth king of *Portugal*. Under him,

An. 1449. *Gonsalo Vello* discovered the islands called *Azores*, or of *Hawks*, because many of those birds were seen about them. They are eight in number, viz. *S. Michael*, *S. Mary*, *Jesus* or *Tercera*, *Graciosa*, *Pico*, *Fayal*, *Flores* and *Corvo*. They are near about the latitude of *Lisbon*. In the last of them was found the statue of a man on horse-back with a cloak, but no hat, his left-hand on the horse's mane, the right pointing to the west, and some characters carved on the rock under it, but not understood.

An. 1460. *Antony Nole* a *Genoese* in the *Portuguese* service, discovered the islands of *Cabo Verde*, the names whereof are *Fogo*, *Brava*, *Boavista*, *Sal*, *S. Nicolao*, *S. Lucia*, *S. Vincente*, and *S. Antonio*. They lie about a hundred leagues west of *Cabo Verde*, and therefore take name from that cape. He also found the islands *Maya*, *S. Philip*, and *S. Jacob*. This same year *Peter de Cinctra*, and *Suero da Costa* sailed as far as *Serra Leona*.

An. 1471. *John de Santarem* and *Peter de Escobar* advanced as far as the place they called *Mina*, or the *Mine*, because of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to cape *S. Catbarine*, thirty seven leagues beyond cape *Lope Gonzalez* in two degrees and a half of south-latitude. *Ferdinand Po* the same year found the island by him called *Ilermosa*, or *Beautiful*, which name is lost, and still keeps that of the discoverer. At the same time were found the islands of *S. Thomas*, *Anno Bom*, and *Principe*. Some years passed without going beyond what was known; but in the mean time king *John* the second, who succeeded his father *Alonso*, caused a fort to be built at *Mina*, which he called fort *S. George*, and settled a trade there.

An. 1480. *James Cam* proceeded as far as the river *Congo* in the kingdom of the same name, called by the natives *Zayre*, whence he continued his voyage as far as 22 degrees of south-latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486. King *John* being informed by an ambassador from the king of *Benin* on the coast of *Africa*, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his master received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the so much talked of *Prestor John*, he sent *Peter de Covillam*.

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and *Alonso de Payva* by land to get intelligence of this great potentate, and some account of *India*. They went together by the way of *Grand Cair* to *Tor* on the coast of *Abia*, where they parted, *Covillam* for *India*, and *Payva* for *Ethiopia*, agreeing to meet by a certain time at *Grand Cair*: the first went to *Cananor*, *Calicut* and *Goa*, passed thence to *Zofala* in *Africa*, then to *Aden* at the mouth of the Red-sea on the side of *Arabia*, and at last to *Grand Cair*, where he found his companion had died. Hence he sent an account to the king of his proceedings by a *Jew* come from *Portugal*, and with another embarked for *Ormuz*, then went over into *Ethiopia*, where he was kindly entertained, but never suffered to return home. At the same time these were sent away by land, *Bartholomew Diaz* put to sea with three ships, and out-going all that had been before him a hundred and twenty leagues, discovered the mountains he called *Sierra Parda*, and passed on in sight of the bay called *De los Vaqueros*, or of the *Herdsmen*, because of the great herds of cattle they saw there; beyond which he touched at the small island *Santa Cruz*, entered the mouth of the river called *Del Infante*, and at last came to the now famous, and till then unknown cape, which he called *Tormentoso*, because he there met with storms; but the king, in hopes of discovering the *East-Indies*, changed its name to that of *Cabo de Buena Esperanza*, or cape of *Good Hope*: this done he returned home, having discovered more than any man before him. The strange conceit which possessed the heads of the sailors, that there was no possibility of passing beyond *Cabo Tormentoso*, as they called it, and the great employment the kings of *Portugal* found in their great discoveries upon the coast of *Africa*, very much retarded the prosecution of further designs, so that nothing was advanced till

An. 1497. King *Emanuel*, who with the crown of *Portugal* had inherited the ambition of enlarging his dominions, and the desire of finding a way by sea to the *East-Indies*, appointed *Vasco de Gama* a gentleman of an undaunted spirit admiral of those ships he designed for this expedition, which were only three, and a tender; their names were the *S. Gabriel*, the *S. Raphael* and *Berio*; the captains *Vasco de Gama* admiral, *Paul de Gama* his brother, and *Nicolas Nunez*, and *Gonzalo Nunez* of the tender, which was laden with provisions. *Gama* sailed from *Lisbon* on the eighth of *July*, and the first land he came to after almost five months sail was the bay of *S. Helena*, where he took some *Blacks*. The twentieth of *November* he sailed thence, and doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and on the twenty

f

fifth

fifth touched at the bay of *S. Blas*, sixty leagues beyond the aforesaid cape, where he exchanged some merchandize with the natives. Here he took all the provisions of the tender, and burnt it. On *Christmas-day* they saw the land, which for that reason they called *Terra do Natal*, that is, *Christmas-land*; then the river they named *De los Reyes*, that is of the kings, because discovered on the feast of the *Epiphany*; and after that cape *Corrientes*, passing fifty leagues beyond *Zofala* without seeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with sails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not so black as those they had seen before, and understood the *Arabick* character, who said that to the eastward lived people who sailed in vessels like those of the *Portugueses*. This river *Gama* called *De Bons Sinays*, or of good tokens, because it put him in hopes of finding what he came in search of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the islands of *S. George* opposite to *Mozambique*, and removing thence anchored again above the town of *Mozambique* in 14 degrees and a half of south-latitude; whence after a short stay, with the assistance of a *Moorish* pilot, he touched at *Quiloa* and *Monbaza*; and having at *Melinde* settled a peace with the *Moorish* king of that place, and taken in a *Guzarat* pilot, he set sail for *India*, and crossing that great gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below *Calicut* on the twentieth of *May*. To this place had *Gama* discovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a straight line from the river *Del Infante*, discovered by *Bartolomeu Diaz*, to the port of *Calicut*, for in sailing about by the coast it is much more. Returning home not far from the coast, he fell in with the islands of *Anchediva*, signifying in the *Indian* language five islands, because they are so many; and having had sight of *Goa* at a distance, sailed over again to the coast of *Africk*, and anchored near the town of *Magadoxa*. At *Melinde* he was friendly received by the king, but being again under sail, the ship *S. Raphael* struck ashore and was lost, giving her name to those sands: all the men were saved aboard the other two ships, which parted in a storm near *Cabo Verde*. *Nicolas Coello* arrived first at *Lisbon*, and soon after him *Vasco de Gama*, having spent in this voyage two years and almost two months. Of a hundred and sixty men he carried out, only fifty five returned home, who were all well rewarded.

An. 1500. King *Emanuel*, encouraged by the success of *Vasco de Gama*, fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail under the command

of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in *India*. He failed on the eighth of *March*, and meeting with violent storms was cast off from the coast of *Africk* so far, that on *Easter* eve the fleet came into a port, which for the safety found in it was called *Seguro*, and the country at that time *Santa Cruz*, being the same now known by the name of *Brazil*, on the south-continent of *America*. Hence the admiral sent back a ship to advertise the king of the accidental new discovery, leaving two *Portugueses* ashore to enquire into the customs and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of *May* for the cape of *Good Hope*, the fleet was for twenty days in a most dreadful storm, inasmuch, that the sea swallowed up four ships, and the admiral arrived with only six at *Zofala* on the sixteenth of *July*, and on the twentieth at *Mozambique*; where having refitted, he prosecuted his voyage to *Quiloa*, and thence to *Melinde*, whence the fleet stood over for *India*, and reached *Anchediva* on the twenty fourth of *August*: then coming to *Calicut*, peace and commerce was there agreed on with *Zamori*, the king of *Calicut*, but as soon broken, and the *Portugueses* entered into strict amity with the kings of *Cochin* and *Cananor*, where they took in their lading and returned to *Portugal*.

An. 1501. *John de Nova* departed from *Lisbon* with four ships and four hundred men, and in his way discovered the island of *Conception*, in 8 degrees of south-latitude, and on the east-side of *Africk* that which from him was called the island of *John de Nova*. At *Cananor* and *Cochin* he took in all his lading, destroying many vessels of *Calicut*, and in his return home found the island of *St. Helena* in 15 degrees of south-latitude, distant fifteen hundred forty nine leagues from *Goa*, and eleven hundred from *Lisbon*, being then unpeopled, but since of great advantage to all that use the trade of *India*.

An. 1502. The king set out a fleet of twenty sail commanded by the first discoverer of *India*, *Vasco de Gama*, whose second voyage this was. No new discoveries were made by him, but only trade secured at *Cochin* and *Cananor*, several ships of *Calicut* taken and destroyed, the king of *Quiloa* on the coast of *Africk* brought to submit himself to *Portugal*, paying tribute; and so *Vasco de Gama* returned home with nine ships richly laden, leaving *Vincent Sodre* behind with five ships to scour the coasts of *India*, and secure the factories there.

An. 1503. Nine ships were sent under three several commanders, *Alonso de Albuquerque*, *Francis de Albuquerque*, and *An-*

Alonso de Saldanha, each of them having three ships. The *Albuquerque*, with permission of that king, built a port at *Cocbin*, burnt some towns, took many ships of *Calicut*, and then returned richly laden homewards, where *Alonso* arrived safe with his ships, but *Francis* and his were never more heard of. *Saldanha* the third of these commanders, gave his name to a bay short of the cape of *Good Hope*, where he endeavoured to water; but it cost the blood of some of his men, and therefore the place was called *Aguada de Saldanha*, or *Saldanha's* watering-place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of *Monbaza* on the other coast of *Africk* to accept of peace; and then went away to cruize upon the *Moors* at the mouth of the Red-sea, which was the post appointed him.

An. 1504. Finding no good was to be done in *India* without a considerable force, king *Emanuel* fitted out thirteen ships, the biggest that had been yet built in *Portugal*, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of *Lope Suarez*, who made no further discoveries, only concluded a peace with *Zamorin*, and returned rich home.

An. 1505. *D. Francisco de Almeyda* was sent to *India*, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty two ships, and in them fifteen hundred men, with whom he attacked and took the town of *Quileu* on the east coast of *Africk*, and in about 9 degrees of south-latitude, where he built a fort; then burnt *Monbaza* on the same coast in four degrees, and sailing over to *India* erected another fort in the island *Anchediva*, and a third at *Cananor* on the *Malabar* coast.

An. 1506. *James Fernandez Pereira* commander of one of the ships left to cruize upon the mouth of the Red-sea, returned to *Lisbon* with the news of his having discovered the island *Zocotora*, not far distant from the said mouth, and famous for producing the best aloes, from it called *succotrina*. In *March* this year sailed from *Lisbon* *Alonso de Albuquerque*, and *Tristan da Cunha*, with thirteen ships, and thirteen hundred men, the former to command the trading ships, the latter to cruize on the coast of *Arabia*: in their passage they had a sight of cape *S. Augustin* in *Brasil*; and standing over from thence for the cape of *Good Hope*, *Tristan da Cunha* ran far away to the south, and discovered the islands which still retain his name. Sailing hence, some discovery was made upon the island of *Madagascar*, that of *Zocotora* subdued, and the fleet sailed part for the coast of *Arabia*, and part for *India*. In the former *Albuquerque* took and plundered the town of *Calayate*, the same he did to *Masgate*, *Soar* submitted, and

Orfuzam they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, *Albuquerque* sailed away to *Ormuz*, then first seen by *Europeans*. This city is seated in an island called *Gerum*, at the mouth of the *Persian* gulph, so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur, but it is one of the greatest marts in those countries. Hence *Albuquerque* sailed to *India*, where he served some time under the command of the viceroy *Almeyda*, till he was himself made governor of the *Portuguese* conquests in those parts, which was in the year 1510, during which time the whole business was to settle trade, build forts, and erect factories along those coasts already known, that is, all the east-side of *Africk*, the shores of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara* and *Malabar*; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years. But avarice and ambition know no bounds; the *Portuguese* had not yet passed cape *Comori*, the utmost extent of the *Malabar* coast, and therefore

An. 1510. *James Lopez de Sequeira* was sent from *Lisbon* with orders to pass as far as *Malaca*: This is a city seated on that peninsula, formerly called *Aurea Ceresifonsus*, running out into the *Indian* sea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the south separated from the island of *Sumatra* by a small strait or channel: *Malaca* was at that time the greatest emporium of all the farther *India*. Thither *Sequeira* was sent to settle trade, or rather to discover what advantages might be gained; but the *Moors* who watched to destroy him, having failed of their design to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men ashore on pretence of loading spice, and then falling on them and the ships at the same time killed eight *Portuguese*, took sixty, and the ships with difficulty got away. However here we have *Malaca* discovered, and a way open to all the further parts of *India*. In his way to *Malaca*, *Sequeira* made peace with the kings of *Achem*, *Pedir* and *Pacem*, all at that time small princes at the northwest end of the island *Sumatra*. Whilst *Sequeira* was thus employed, *Albuquerque* assaults the famous city of *Goa*, seated in a small island on the coast of *Decan*, and taking the inhabitants unprovided made himself master of it, but enjoyed it not long; for *Hidalcán* the former owner returning with sixty thousand men, drove him out of it after a siege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever since continued in the hands of the *Portuguese*, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the east, being made an archbishop's

archbishop's see, and the residence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conquests in those parts. *Albuquerque* flushed with this success, as soon as he had settled all safe at *Goa*, sailed for *Malaca* with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen ships. By the way he took five ships, and at his arrival on the coast of *Sumatra* was complimented by the kings of *Pedir* and *Pacem*. It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the ships taken at this time was found *Neboada Bequea*, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery against *Sequeira*; and though he had received several mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as soon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm, the blood gushed out at all parts. The *Indians* said this was the bone of a beast called *Cabis*, which some will have to be found in *Siam*, and others in the island of *Java*, which has this strange virtue, but none has ever been found since. This being looked upon as a great treasure, was sent by *Albuquerque* to the king of *Portugal*, but the ship it went in was cast away, so that we have lost that rarity, if it be true there ever was any such. *Albuquerque* sailing over to *Malaca* had the *Portugueses* that had been taken from *Sequeira* delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the second assault made himself master of the city, killing or driving out all the *Moors*, and peopling it again with strangers and *Malays*.

An. 1513. *Albuquerque* made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, but failed, being repulsed with loss. This place is seated on the coast of *Arabia Felix*, near the mouth of the Red-sea, under the mountain *Arzira*, which is all a barren rock: It is rich, because resorted to by many merchants of several nations; but the soil excessive dry, so that it scarce produces any thing. Being disappointed here, *Albuquerque* steered his course towards the Red-sea, being the first *European* that ever entered it with *European* ships.

An. 1517. *Lope Soarez de Albergoria* governor of *India* sailed over to the island of *Ceylon* with seven galleys, two ships, and eight smaller vessels, carrying in them all seven hundred *Portuguese* soldiers. This island had been before seen by the *Portugueses* passing to *Malaca*, but not much known. Here *Lope Soarez* built a fort, and in process of time the *Portugueses* made themselves masters of all the sea-coasts of this wealthy island.

About the same time *John de Silveyra*, who had the command of four sail, made a farther progress than had been done before in the discovery of the *Maldivy* islands, which are so many that the number of

them is not yet known, lying in clusters, and these in a line N. W. and S. E. and twelve of these clusters in the line, besides two other little parcels lying together east and west from one another at the south-end of the aforesaid twelve. These, though so numerous, are so very small, that no great account is made of them. From them he failed to the kingdom of *Bengala*, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the same name in about 23 degrees of north-latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river *Ganges*. To this joins the kingdom of *Arracam* descending southward, then that of *Pegu*, and next to it that of *Siam*, which joins to the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or peninsula of *Malaca*. All these countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of silk and cotton, of which last they make the finest calicoes and muslins, with much reason admired by all the nations of *Europe*. They have numerous droves of elephants, and consequently great plenty of ivory, besides plenty of black cattle and buffaloes.

An. 1517. *Fernan Perez de Andrade*, sent by the king of *Portugal* to make new discoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and passing the strait betwixt *Malaca* and the island *Sumatra*, came upon the coast of the kingdom of *Camboia*, whence he proceeded to that of *Cbiampa*, where taking of fresh water had like to have cost him his life. He went on to *Patane*, and established peace and commerce with the governor there: which done, the season being unfit to proceed further, he returned to *Malaca* to refit. As soon as the weather was seasonable he set out again, and continued his discoveries till he arrived at *Canton*, or *Quantung*, the most remarkable sea-port town on the southern coast of the vast empire of *Cbina*. He treated with the governor of *Canton*, and sent an ambassador to the emperor of *Cbina*, and settled trade and commerce in that city for the present. Though this was not lasting, (for the very next *Portugueses* that arrived, behaved themselves so insolently, that the fleet of *Cbina* attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their ambassador being sent back from *Peking* by the emperor to *Canton* unheard, was there put to death) nevertheless some years after the *Portugueses* obtained leave to settle in a little island opposite to the port of *Canton*, where they built the city *Macao*, which they hold to this day, though subject to the emperor of *Cbina*.

An. 1520. *James Lopez de Sequeira*, then governor of *India*, sailed for the Red-sea with a fleet of twenty four ships, and in it eighteen hundred *Portugueses*, and as many

Malabars

Malabars and Canarins. Coming to the island *Mazua* in the Red-sea, he found it forsaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to *Arquico*, a port belonging to *Prefter John*, or the emperor of *Ethiopia*, which was now first discovered by sea. At this time it was a vast monarchy, and extended along the shores of the Red-sea above a hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the least of its sides; but since then all the sea-coast has been taken from them by the *Turks*. Here the *Portugueses* in following years made some progress into the country, five hundred of them being sent under the command of *D. Christopher de Gama* to assist the emperor against his rebellious subjects, and his enemies the *Turks*. The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the *Jesuits*, who for several years after continued there.

An. 1521. *Antony de Brito* was sent to the *Molucco* islands from *Malaca*. These had been before discovered by *Antony de Abreu*. The *Molucco* islands are five in number, their names, *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Moussel*, *Macbien*, *Bacham*. These islands were afterwards long struggled for by the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, till at last the *Dutch* prevailed, and continue in possession of that trade till this day. A few years now past without any considerable discoveries by sea, though still they found several little islands, and advanced far by land, too long for this discourse, designed only to shew the progress of navigation. Let us then proceed to the next considerable voyage, which was

An. 1540. Which furnishes as remarkable a piece of sea-service as any we shall read undertaken by a private man. *Peter de Faria* governor of *Malaca* sent his kinsman *Antony de Faria y Sousa*, to secure a peace with the king of *Patane*. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thousand ducats; and finding no sale for them there, sent them to *Lugor* in the kingdom of *Siam*, by one *Christopher Borrallo*, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was surprised by a *Moor* of *Guzarat* called *Coje Hazem*, a sworn enemy to the *Portugueses*. *Borrallo* having lost his ship swam himself ashore, and carried the news of what had happened to *Faria* at *Patane*, who vowed never to desist till he had destroyed that *Moor*, and in order to it fitted out a small vessel with fifty men, in which he sailed from *Patane* towards the kingdom of *Champa*, to seek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the island of *Pulo Condor*, whence he sailed into the port of *Bralapi-*

sam in the kingdom of *Camboia*, and so coasted along to the river *Pulo Cambier*, which divides the kingdoms of *Camboia* and *Tjiompa*. Coasting still along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river *Toobafsy*, where he took two ships belonging to the pirate *Similau*, and burnt some others. The booty was very rich, besides the addition of strength, the ships being of considerable force. Thus increased, he goes on to the river *Tinacoreu*, or *Varela*, where the *Siam* and *Malaca* ships trading to *China*, barter their goods for gold, *Calamba* wood and ivory. Hence he directed his course to the island *Aynan* on the coast of *China*, and passed in sight of *Champiloo* in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of *Cochinchina*; then discovered the promontory *Pulocampas*, westward whereof is a river, near which spying a large vessel at anchor, and imagining it might be *Coje Hazem*, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to *Qyay Tayjam* a pirate. In this vessel were found seventy thousand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, besides other spice, ivory, tin, wax and powder, the whole valued at sixty thousand crowns, besides several good pieces of cannon, and some plate. Then coasting along the island *Aynan*, he came to the river *Tananguir*, where two great vessels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt the one for want of men to sail her. Further on at *C. Tilaure* he surprized four small vessels, and then made to *Mutipinam*, where he sold his prizes for the value of two hundred thousand crowns of uncoined silver. Thence he sailed to the port of *Madei* in the island *Aynan*, where meeting *Himilan* a bold pirate, who exercised great cruelties towards Christians, he took and practised the same on him. This done, he run along that coast, discovering many large towns and a fruitful country. And now the men weary of seeking *Coje Hazem* in vain, demanded their share of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they shaped their course for the kingdom of *Siam*, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious storm they were cast away on the island called *de los Ladrones*, which lies south of *China*, where of five hundred men only eighty six got ashore naked, whereof twenty eight were *Portugueses*: Here they continued fifteen days with scarce any thing to eat, the island not being inhabited. Being in despair of relief, they discovered a small vessel which made to the shore, and anchoring, sent thirty men for wood and water. These were *Chinefes*, whom the *Portugueses*, upon a sign given as had been agreed, surprized, running on a sudden and possessing themselves of their boat and vessel:

and leaving them ashore, directed their course towards *Liampe*, a sea-port town in the province of *Cbequiang* in *China*, joining by the way a *Chinefe* pirate, who was a great friend to the *Portugueses*, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river *Anay* they refitted and came to *Chinebes*, where *Faria* hired thirty five *Portugueses* he found, and putting to sea met with eight more naked in a fisher-boat, who had their ship taken from them by the pirate *Coje Hazem*; which news of him rejoiced *Faria*, and he provided to fight him, having now four vessels with five hundred men, whereof ninety five were *Portugueses*. He found his enemy in the river *Tinlau*, where he killed him and four hundred of his men, and took all his ships but one that sunk, with abundance of wealth: But it prospered very little, for the next night *Faria's* ship and another were cast away, and most of the goods aboard the others thrown overboard, and one hundred and eleven men lost; *Faria* escaped, and taking another rich ship of pirates by the way, came at last to winter at *Liampo*, as was said before, a sea-port town in the province of *Cbequiang* in *China*, but built by the *Portugueses*, who governed there. Having spent five months here, he directed his course for the island *Calempuy* on the coast of *China*, where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of *China*, which he designed to rob, being reported to be full of treasure. After many days sail through seas never before known to the *Portugueses*, he came into the bay of *Nanking*, but durst not make any stay there, perceiving about three thousand sail lie at anchor about it. Here the *Chinefes* he had with him being ill used fled, but some natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the island *Calempuy*: He arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his design, and he was obliged to put to sea again, where having wandred a month, he perished in a storm, both his ships being cast away, and only fourteen men saved. Thus ended this voyage, famous for several particulars, and especially for having discovered more of the north of *China* than was known before, though the design of the undertaker was only piracy. The city *Liampo* before mentioned was soon after utterly destroyed by the governor of the province of *Cbequiang*, for the robberies and insolences committed in the country by the *Portugueses*.

An. 1542. *Antony de Mota*, *Francis Zeimoto*, and *Antony Peixoto* sailing for *China*, were by storms drove upon the islands of *Nipongi*, or *Nifon*, by the *Chinefes* called

Gipon, and by us *Japan*. Here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the first discoverers of these islands. Their situation is east of *China*, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north-latitude: There are many of them, but the principal is *Nipongi*, or *Japan*, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of *Meaco*. The chief islands about it are *Gikoko*, *Tokoefi*, *Sando*, *Sifime*, *Bacafa*, *Vuouqui*, *Saycock* or *Ximo*, *Goto*, *Ceuxima*, *Tanaxuma*, *Toy*, *Gifima*, *Jafima*, *Tanaxuma* and *Firando*. Hitherto we have mentioned none but the *Portugueses*, they being the only discoverers of all those parts, and all other nations have followed their track, yet not till some years after this time, as we shall soon see. I do not here mention the discovery of the *Philippine* islands, though properly belonging to the east, as not very remote from *China*, because they were discovered and conquered the other way, that is from *America*; and therefore we shall speak of them in their place among the western discoveries. What has been hitherto said concerning these *Portuguese* voyages is collected out of *John de Barros's* decads of *India*, *Oforius's* history of *India*, *Alvarez* of *Abassia*, and *Faria's Portuguese Asia*. Having seen what has been done by these discoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the voyages of those who followed their footsteps.

An. 1551. We meet with the first *English* voyage on the coast of *Africk*, performed by Mr. *Thomas Windbam*, but no particulars of it.

An. 1552. The same *Windbam* returned with three sail, and traded at the ports of *Zafim* and *Santa Cruz*; the commodities he brought from thence being sugar, dates, almonds and molosses.

An. 1553. This *Windbam*, with *Anthony Anes Pinteado*, a *Portuguese* and promoter of this voyage, sailed with three ships from *Portsmouth*: They traded for gold along the coast of *Guinea*, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of *Benin*, where they were promised loading of pepper: but both the commanders and most of the men dying through the unseasonableness of the weather, the rest, being scarce forty, returned to *Plymouth* with but one ship and little wealth.

An. 1554. Mr. *John Lock* undertook a voyage for *Guinea* with three ships, and trading along that coast brought away a considerable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. *William Towerfon* and others performed several voyages to the coast of *Guinea*, which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the same parts, there is no occasion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account

of a further progress made along this coast by the *English*, till we come to their voyages to the *East-Indies*, and those begun but late; for the first *Englishman* we find in those parts was one *Thomas Stevens*, who

An. 1579. wrote an account of his voyage thither to his father in *London*; but he having failed aboard a *Portuguese* ship, this voyage makes nothing to the *English* nation, whose first undertaking to *India* in ships of their own was,

An. 1591. Three stately ships called the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, were fitted out at *Plymouth*, and sailed thence under the command of *Mr. George Raymond*: they departed on the tenth of *April*, and on the first of *August* came to an anchor in the bay called *Aguada de Saldanha*, fifteen leagues north of the cape of *Good-Hope*. Here they continued several days, and traded with the *Blacks* for cattle, when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to send back *Mr. Abraham Kendal* in the *Royal Merchant* with fifty men, there being too few to manage the three ships if they proceeded on their voyage: *Kendal* accordingly returned, and *Raymond* and *Lancaster* in the *Penelope* and *Edward Bonaventure* proceeded, and doubled the cape of *Good Hope*; but coming to cape *Corrientes* on the fourteenth of *September*, a violent storm parted them, and they never met again; for *Raymond* was never heard of, but *Lancaster* held on his voyage. Passing by *Mozambique* he came to the island *Comera*, where after much shew of friendship, the *Moorish* inhabitants killed thirty two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoist sail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape *Comori*, opposite to the island of *Ceylon* in *India*, in the month of *May 1592*. Thence in six days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the island of *Gomes Polo*, which lies near the northernmost point of the island *Sumatra*; and the winter-season coming on, stood over to the island of *Pulo Pinao*, lying near the coast of *Malacca*, and betwixt it and the island *Sumatra*, in 7 degrees north latitude, where he continued till the end of *August* refreshing his men the best the place would allow, which afforded little but fish, yet twenty six of them died there. Then the captain running along the coast of *Malacca*, and adjacent islands, more like a pirate than merchant or discoverer, took some prizes, and so thought to have returned home: but his provisions being spent when they came to cross the equinoctial, where he was staid by calms and contrary winds six weeks, he ran away to the *West-Indies* to get some supply, where after

touching at several places, the captain and eighteen men went ashore in the little island *Mona*, lying betwixt those of *Portorico* and *Hispaniola*, but five men and a boy left in the ship cut the cable and sailed away. *Lancaster* and eleven of his men some days after spying a sail, made a fire; upon which signal the *Frenchman*, for such a one it proved to be, took in his topails, and drawing near the island received them aboard, treating them with extraordinary civility, and so brought them to *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whence they passed over to *Rye* in *Sussex*, and landed there in *May 1594*, having spent three years, six weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto *Hackluit*, vol. II.

An. 1595. The *Dutch* resolving to try their fortune in the *East-Indies*, fitted out four ships at *Amsterdam* under the command of *Cornelius Hootman*, which sailed on the second of *April*, and on the fourth of *August* anchored in the bay of *S. Blasé*, about forty five leagues beyond the cape of *Good Hope*, where they continued some days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. *August* the eleventh they departed that place, and coasting along part of the island *Madagascar*, came at last into the bay of *S. Augustin*, where they exchanged pewter spoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more provisions were to be had: and therefore on the tenth of *December* they weighed, directing their course for *Java*, but meeting with bad weather and strong currents were kept back till the tenth of *January*, when they were forced for want of refreshments to put into the island of *S. Mary*, lying on the eastern coast of *Madagascar* in 17 degrees of south-latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of *Antongil*, and continued there till the twelfth of *February*: then putting to sea again, they arrived on the coast of the great island *Sumatra* on the eleventh of *June*, and spending some days along that coast, came at last to *Bantam* in the island of *Java*. They lay here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of *Java*, till falling at variance many hostilities passed betwixt them; and in *November* the *Dutch* removed from before *Bantam* to *Jacatra*, which is no great distance. In *January* finding themselves much weakened by loss of men, and the *Amsterdam* one of the biggest ships leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of sailing for the *Molucco* islands, they ran along as far as the strait of *Balambun* at the east-end of *Java*; but the seamen refusing to pass any further, they made through the strait, and on the twenty seventh of *February* sailed along the coast

coast of *Java* towards the cape of *Good Hope*; and three of their four ships, besides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty nine seamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty nine, returned to *Holland* in *August* following, having been abroad twenty nine months. This and the voyage soon after following in 1598. may seem to be mistaken, because it is said in both, that the commander in chief was *Cornelius Hootman*; but it must be observed, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumstances, and this is certainly the first voyage the *Dutch* made to *India*, whereas in the other there is mention of those people having been there before. This is to be seen at large in the collection of voyages undertaken by the *Dutch East-India* company, printed this present year 1703.

An. 1596. Sir *Robert Dudley*, as principal adventurer, set on three ships under the command of *Benjamin Wood*, designing to trade in *China*; for which purpose he carried letters from queen *Elizabeth* to the emperor of *China*: but the ships and the men all perished, so we have no account of their voyage. *Purchas*, vol. I. p. 110.

An. 1598. Three merchants of *Middleburgh* fitted out two ships under the command of *Cornelius Housteman* for the *East-Indies*, which failed on the fifteenth of *March*. In *November* they put into the bay of *Saldanba* on the coast of *Africk*, in 34 degrees of south-latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*. Here pretending to trade with the natives, they offered them some violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down great numbers, and surprizing the *Dutch* slew thirteen of them, and drove the rest to their ship. *January* the third they again anchored in the bay of *S. Augustin* in the south-west part of the island *Madagascar*, and 23 degrees of south-latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of provisions, they failed to the island *Magotta*, or *S. Christopher*, on the north of *Madagascar*, and having got some relief went on to *Anfwame*, or *Angovan*, another small island, where they took in more provisions. Then proceeding on their voyage, they passed by the *Maldivy* islands, thence by *Cochin*, and in *June* arrived in *Sumatra* at the port of *Atben*, where after being kindly received by the king, he sent many men aboard on pretence of friendship, but with a design to surprize the ships, which they had near accomplished, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet so that the *Dutch* lost sixty eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty gun each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreshed at *Pulo*

Batun off *Queda*, which is on the coast of *Malaca*; and having spent much time about those parts, in *November* anchored at the islands of *Nicobar* in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had some refreshment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards *Ceylon*, they took a ship of *Negapan* and plundered it. Then directing their course home in *March* 1600, they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and in *July* return'd to *Middleburgh*. *Purchas*, vol. I. p. 116.

This same year 1598. the *Holland East-India* company set out six great ships and two yachts for *India* under the command of *Cornelius Hemskirke*, which failed out of the *Texel* on the first of *May*, and coming together to the cape of *Good Hope* in *August*, were there separated by a terrible storm: four of them and a yacht put into the island *Maurice* east of *Madagascar*; the other two ships and yacht put into the island of *S. Mary* on the east also of *Madagascar*, where they made no stay, but sailing thence arrived on the twenty sixth of *November* 1598. before *Bantam*; and a month after them came the other five ships and yacht from the island *Maurice*. The first comers having got their lading, departed from before *Bantam* on the eleventh of *January* 1599, and arrived happily in the *Texel* on the ninth of *June* 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs and cinnamon, having spent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ships and yacht left in *India* under the command of *Wybrant*, failed from *Bantam* along the north-side of *Java* to the east-end of it, where the town of *Arojaya* is seated. Here the natives, in revenge for some of their people killed by the *Dutch* in their first voyage, seized seventeen of them that were sent ashore for provisions; and fifty more being sent to their relief in sloops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned or taken. The prisoners were ransomed for two thousand pieces of eight, and then the ships put to sea, and on the third of *March* 1599. came into the strait of *Ambaina*, where they anchored before a small town in that island, called *Itan*. This is near the *Molucco's*, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ships here, the other two were sent to *Banda*, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs and mace, and returned home in *April* 1600. The other two ships left behind at *Ambaina* having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, failed away to get what they wanted at the *Molucco's*, and anchored at *Ternate*, where having got the rest of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of *August* 1599, and came to *Jacatra* in the island *Java* on the thirteenth of *November*, being then reduced

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duced to extremity for want of provisions: whence after a few days stay they proceeded to *Bantam*, and thence on the twenty first of *January* for *Holland*, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in safety, having lost many men through sickness and want of provisions*. Every year after the

* Collect.
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Dutch failed not to set out new fleets, being allured by the vast returns they made; yet there was nothing in these voyages but trade, and some encounters with the *Spaniards*, and therefore it will be needless to mention them all in particular, till in the year 1606, the *Dutch* possessed themselves of *Tidore*, one of the *Molucco* islands, and *Ambina*, expelling the *Portuguese* first, and afterwards the *English*. In 1608 the *Dutch* admiral *Mattiel* laid siege to *Malaca*, but without success. Soon after they grew formidable at *Jacatra*, or *Batavia*, on the island *Java*, where they continue to this day, that being the chief seat of all their dominions in the east. Not so satisfied, they at length made themselves masters of *Malaca*, and expelled the *Portuguese* the island of *Ceylon*, by which means they are possessed of the most considerable trade of the east, all the cinnamon, nutmegs and cloves being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all, for they have conquered the island *Formosa* on the coast of *China*, whence they trade to *Japan*, with the exclusion of all christian nations from that island. And here we will leave the *Dutch*, to give some further relation of the *English* proceedings, and so conclude with the *East-Indies*.

An. 1600. A company of merchant-adventurers was by patent from queen *Elizabeth* authorized to trade in the *East-Indies*, and accordingly in *January* 1602 they fitted out four great ships and a victualler, all under the command of captain *James Lancaster*, who sailed out of the river of *Tames* on the thirteenth of *February*, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ships, yet got not beyond *Torbay* till the second of *April*, and on the first of *November* doubled the cape of *Good Hope*. In *April* following they anchored at the islands of *Nicobar*, north-east of the great island of *Sumatra*, and in *June* came before *Achem*, where they had a good reception, and settled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to sea, and took a great *Portuguese* ship richly laden, and returned to *Achem*, whence they sailed to *Bantam* in the island of *Java*: Here they had also good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which consisted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of *February* they set sail in order to return for *England*, but meeting with

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violent storms were carried into 40 degrees of south-latitude, where *Lancaster* lost his rudder, which was restored with much labour, and so they arrived at the island of *St. Helena* in *June*, and having refreshed themselves there put to sea again, and returned safe to *England* in *August*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 147.

An. 1604. The aforesaid company sent four ships more to the *East-Indies* under the command of sir *Henry Middleton*, who sailed on the second of *April*, and arrived at *Bantam* on the twenty third of *December*. Two of these ships loaded pepper at *Bantam*; sir *Henry* with the others sailed to the isles of *Banda*, where he continued twenty one weeks, and then returned to *Bantam*, and arrived in the *Downs* on the sixth of *May* 1606. The same year captain *John Davis* and sir *Edward Mitchell* with one ship and a pinnace failed into the *East-Indies*, trading at *Bantam*, and taking some prizes, but performed nothing else remarkable. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 185.

An. 1607. The company fitted out their third voyage, being three ships under the command of *William Keeling*, but only two of them kept company; and setting out in *April*, arrived not at *Priaman* in the island *Sumatra* till *July* the following year; having spent all this time along the coasts of *Africk*, and beating at sea against contrary winds. Here they took in some pepper, and then sailed to *Bantam*, where a *Siam* ambassador invited them to settle commerce in his master's dominions; and so they proceeded to *Banda*, where they were hindered taking in their lading of spice by the *Dutch*, who had built a fort on that island. So being disappointed they returned to *Bantam*, loaded pepper, and settled a factory there, which continued in prosperity till overthrown by the *Dutch*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 188.

The third ship mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but set out at the same time, after touching at the bay of *Saldanba* on the coast of *Africk*, and at *Bantam* in the island of *Java*, proceeded to the *Molucco* islands, where, with the permission of the *Spaniards* then possessed of those islands, they had a trade for some days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then sailing towards the island *Celebes* at the island *Butone*, or *Buton*, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to *Bantam*, and thence to *England*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 215.

An. 1608. The *East-India* company for its fourth voyage set out two ships, the *Union* and *Ascension*, commanded by *Alexander Sharpey* and *Richard Rowles*, who

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failed on the fourteenth of *March*; and having spent above a year by the way, and lost the *Union* in a storm, the *Ascension* came on the eighth of *April* 1609, to an anchor before the city *Aden* on the coast of *Arabia Felix*, whence they sailed into the Red-sea; being the first *English* ship that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of *June* anchored in the road of the city of *Mocha*; and having made a short stay to refit, sailed away for the coast of *Cambaya*, where refusing to take in a pilot the ship was lost on the shoals, but all the men saved in two boats, who got ashore at the small town of *Gahdevel*, about forty miles from *Surat*, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the *English* factor there. The captain and most of the company went from thence to *Agra* the court of the *Mogul*, resolving to take their journey through *Persia* to return into *Europe*. But *Thomas Jones*, the author of this account, with three others, committed themselves to a *Portuguese* religious man, who promised to send them home, and accordingly carried them through *Damam* and *Cboul* to *Goa*, where in *January* they were shipped aboard the admiral of four *Portuguese* ships homeward bound, and arrived at *Lisbon* in *August*, where embarking in an *English* ship they came safe into *England* in *September* 1610. The rest of the company that went with the captain dispersed, and few of them came home.

The *Union*, mentioned before to be separated from the *Ascension* in a storm, touched at the bay of *St. Augustin* in the island *Madagascar*, where the captain and five more going ashore upon friendly invitation were killed by the natives, who thought to have surprized the ship with their boats, but were beaten off with great loss. So sailing hence, they directed their course to *Atchem* on the island *Sumatra*, where and at *Priaman* they took in their lading of basts and pepper, and directed their course to return home. But their voyage proved so unfortunate, that all the men died by the way, except three *English* and an *Indian*, who were scarce alive; and not being able to hand their sails, the ship was carried upon the coast of *Britany* in *France*, where the *French* conveyed her into harbour, and most of the lading was saved for the company.

An. 1609. The *English East-India* company for its fifth voyage set out but one ship, commanded by *David Middleton*, who arriving at *Banda* was by the *Dutch* there hindered loading any spice, and therefore sailed to *Puloway* a small island not far distant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of spice, and returned home safe. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 238.

An. 1610. Sir *Henry Middleton* sailed with three ships under his command; and being informed by the natives of the island *Zocotora*, that he would be friendly received at *Mocha* in the Red-sea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither, and after much deceitful kindness shewn him by the *Turks*, was himself with many of his men secured, and sent up the country several miles to another basts. Some men were also killed by the *Infidels*, who attempted to surprize one of the ships, and were possessed of the upper decks, till the *seamen* blew up some, shot others, and drove the rest into the sea, so that only one of them that hid himself escaped and was afterwards received to mercy. After much solicitation Sir *Henry Middleton* and his men were sent back to *Mocha*, where most of them make their escape aboard their ships. Many fruitless contests having afterwards passed with the *bassas* about the restitution of the goods taken; at last he sailed to *Surat*, where he arrived in *September* 1611, and having notwithstanding the opposition made by the *Portuguese*, sold some of his goods, and departing thence to *Dabul*, had some more trade in that place, yet not so much as to dispose of all he had. Whereupon he resolved to return to the Red-sea, there to traffick with the ships of *India*, which usually resort to those parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the *Indians* being under restraint, and in no condition to oppose whatever was offered them. Being thus furnished, he sailed for *Sumatra*, where he got loading of spice, and sent one ship home with her burden, his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done so soon. This ship arrived safe in *England*, but Sir *Henry Middleton* and his were cast away in *India*. *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 247. Other ships failed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which still ran much the same course with the former, and have nothing singular to relate. But,

An. 1611. In *April* failed captain *John Saris* with three ships, who having run the same course all the rest had done severally before, entering the Red-sea, and touching at *Java*, he received a letter from one *Adams an Englishman*, who sailed aboard some *Dutch* ships to *Japan*, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain *Saris* dismissing his other two ships, directed his course for that island; and passing by those of *Bouro*, *Xulu*, *Bachian*, *Celebes*, *Silolo*, the *Molucco's*, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of *June* 1613, at the small island and port of *Pirando*, lying south-west

Southwest of the southwest point of the great island of *Japan*. This and several other small islands about it are subject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of *Japan* for their sovereign. These little princes shewed all imaginable kindness to the *English*, being the first that ever appeared in those parts. Captain *Saris*, with the assistance of the king of *Firando*, was conducted to the emperor's court at *Meco*, where he had audience of him, and settled peace and commerce in as authentic manner as if he had been sent from *England* only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the *English* free liberty of trade, and several privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being settled there, captain *Saris* returned to *Firando* well pleased with his success; and there the goods he brought being not yet all disposed of, he erected a factory, leaving in it eight *English*, three *Japanese* for interpreters, and two servants. These were to dispose of the goods left behind, and provide loading for such ships as were to continue the trade now begun. This done, he left *Firando* on the fifth of *December*, and stood for the coast of *China*, along which he kept to that of *Cochinchina* and *Cambaya*, whence he struck over to the southward, and came into *Bantam* road, where he continued some time, and lastly put into *Phymouth* in *September* 1614. *Purchas*, vol. i. p. 334. Thus have we brought the *English* to *Japan*, the furthest extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the *East-Indies*, and therefore think it needless to prosecute their voyages this way any longer, since they can afford nothing new; nor indeed have these hitherto added any thing to what was discovered by the *Portuguese*, to whom all these countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the *Dutch* navigations this way somewhat has been said, and it seems needless to add any thing concerning the *French*, who are not so considerable there as any of those nations already mentioned, besides that they came thither the latest, and therefore not as discoverers, but tracing the beaten road; so that all that can be said of them will be only a repetition of things already spoken of. Having thus given an account of the first discoverers, and the success of all the first voyages to *Africk* and *Asia*, it now remains to shew what a vast extent of land is by these means made known, which before *Europe* was wholly a stranger to, and the commodities it supplies us with; which is one great point of this discourse, viz. to shew what benefit is reaped by navigation, and the vast improvement it has received since the discovery of the

magnetical needle, or sea-compass. Then having performed this with all possible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the discovery and other affairs of *America*, or the new world, which will lead us to the voyages round the globe, where this discourse will end.

To begin then where the discoveries commenced, that is, at cape *Nam*, or *Nao*, which is on the coast of the kingdom of *Morocco*, and in the twenty eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to south, from 48 degrees of north-latitude to 35 degrees of south-latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree, to be one thousand six hundred leagues, but very much more if we run along the coast, especially upon that of *Giamma*, which lies east and west for above 25 degrees, which at the same rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a coast, only reckoning to the cape of *Good Hope*, of above sixteen hundred leagues in length made known to us, and in it the further *Lybia*, the country of the *Blacks*, *Guinea*, the kingdoms of *Benin*, *Conga*, *Angola*, and the western coast of the *Cafres*. These are the general names by which these vast regions are known. The natives are for the most part black, or else inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold-dust, ivory, and slaves; those black people selling one another, which is a very considerable trade, and has been a great support to all the *American* plantations. This is all that mighty continent affords for exportation, the greatest part of it being scorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almost naked, no where industrious, and for the most part scarce civilized. In the southernmost parts among the wild *Cafres*, there is plenty of good cattle, which the first traders to *India* used to buy for knives and other toys at the bay of *Saldanha*, and other places thereabouts. The *Portuguese* here have the largest dominions on this coast of any nation, which are in the kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*. The *English* and *Dutch* have some small forts on the coast of *Guinea*, and the *Dutch* a large strong town, with all manner of improvements about it, at the cape of *Good Hope*. From this cape of *Good Hope* to cape *Guardafui* at the entrance into the Red-sea, the coast running north-east and south-west, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a strait line, containing the eastern *Cafres* and *Zanguebar*, which are the two great divisions of this side; the latter of these subdivided into the kingdoms of *Mozambique*, *Pemba*, *Quiloa*, *Monbara*, *Melinde*, *Magadoxa* and *Adel*. Of these

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the *Portugueses* possess the town and fort of *Mozambique*, having lost *Monbaca* within these few years, taken from them by the *Moors*. No other *European* nation has any dominions on this coast, which is all in the possession of the natives or *Moors*. The commodities here are the same as on the west-side of *Africk*, gold, ivory and slaves. All this vast continent produces many sorts of fruit and grain unknown to us, as also beasts and fowl, which being no part of trade, are not mentioned here. Yet before we leave this coast we must not omit to mention the island *Zocotora*, famous for producing the best aloes, and situate not far distant from cape *Guardafu*. Next in course follows the Red-sea, the mouth whereof is about a hundred and twenty leagues from cape *Guardafu*, and its length from the mouth to *Suez* at the bottom of it above four hundred leagues, lying north-west and south-east: on one side of it is the coast of *Aben* and *Egypt*, on the other that of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Arabia Felix*, all in the possession of the *Turks*, and not at all resorted to by any *European* nation, but somewhat known to them by the way of *Egypt*, before the discovery of *India*. From the mouth of the Red-sea to the gulph of *Persia* lies the coast of *Arabia*, extending about four hundred leagues north-east and south-west to cape *Rosafgate* at the entrance into the bay of *Ormuz*. This coast is partly subject to the *Turk*, and partly to *Arabian* princes; and its principal commodities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning cape *Rosafgate* to the north-west is the great bay of *Ormuz*, along which runs still the coast of *Arabia*, where stands *Masfate*, once possessed by the *Portugueses*, now by the *Arabs*. Next we come into the gulph of *Bazora*, or of *Persia*, almost two hundred leagues in length, and enclosed by *Arabia* on the one side, and *Persia* on the other. At the mouth of this bay in a small island is the famous city *Ormuz*, conquered and kept many years by the *Portugueses*, but at last taken from them by the *Persians*, with the assistance of the *Englisb*. Within the bay of the *Arabian* side is the island *Babarem*, famous for a great fishery of pearls. From the mouth of the *Persian* gulph to that of *Indus* are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the coast of *Persia*, where no prince possesses any thing but that great monarch. The chiefest commodities here are raw silk, rhubarb, wormseed, carpets of all sorts, wrought and plain silks, silks wrought with gold or silver, half silks and half cottons, from the mouth of *Indus* to cape *Comori*, taking in the bend of the coast from *Indus* to *Cambaya*, lying north-west and south-east, and from that bay to the cape almost

north and south, are near four hundred leagues, including the shores of *Guzarat*, *Cambaya*, *Decan*, *Canara* and *Malabar*: of these *Guzarat* and *Cambaya*, with part of *Decan*, are subject to the great *Mogul*, the other parts to several *Indian* princes. Yet the *Portugueses* have the port of *Diu* in *Guzarat*, *Damam* in *Cambaya*, and the great city of *Goa* in *Decan*, besides other ports of lesser consequence: the *Englisb* the island of *Bombaim*, and the *Dutch* some forts. Doubling cape *Comori*, and running in a straight line north-east, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of *Bengala*; and turning thence south-east, somewhat more than the same number of leagues to the southernmost point of the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or coast of *Malaca*: and in this space the shores of *Coromandel*, *Bijnagar*, *Golkonda*, *Orissa*, *Bengala*, *Arracan*, *Pegu*, *Martaban*, and the *Aurea Chersonesus*, or *Peninsula* of *Malaca*. Hence we will make but one line more for brevity sake up to *Japan* on the northern coast of *China*, which in a strait line, without allowing any thing for the bays of *Siam* and *Cochinchina*, is at least eight hundred leagues, and in it the east-side of the *Peninsula* of *Malaca*, the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboja*, *Chiampa* and *Cochinchina*, and the vast empire of *China*. All these immense regions from *Persia* eastward are vulgarly, though improperly, comprehended under the name of the *East-Indies*. The product of these countries is no less to be admired, being all sorts of metals, all beasts and birds, and the most delicious of fruits. But to speak by way of trade, the commodities here are diamonds, silk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in callicoes and muslins, all sorts of sweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the spices, which I leave to the islands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or useful: inasmuch, that though here be mines of silver and gold, yet none is sent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts, and is here swallowed up. But something must be said of the islands belonging to this great continent, for the value of them is immense, as well as their number, and the extent of some of them. The first in order that are any thing considerable, are the *Maldivy* islands, rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being so many that the number is not known, yet so small, that no great account is made of them: they lie south-east of cape *Comori*, betwixt three and 8 degrees of north-latitude; for so far they run, being disposed in twelve several clusters or parcels that lie north-

north-west and south-east, at the south-end whereof lie two other less clusters or parcels east and west from one another. As for trade, or commerce, though these islands are very fruitful, they have not any thing considerable to promote it, especially to supply *Europe*, which is the thing here to be considered. Next to these is the great and rich island of *Ceylon* beyond cape *Comori*, formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, till the *Portugueses* first reduced all the sea-coasts under their dominion, and were afterwards dispossessed by the *Dutch*, who still remain masters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffick, for it produces the best cinnamon in the world, and supplies all *Europe*: here are also found the finest rubies, and several other sorts of precious stones. The elephants of this island are counted the best in all *India*, and as such coveted by all the eastern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not spare to give considerable prices for these, which is a great enriching of the country. The islands of *Sunda*, or the *Sound*, are that great parcel lying south and south-east of *Malaca*, the principal whereof are *Sumatra*, *Borneo* and *Java*; the two first directly under the line, *Sumatra* above three hundred leagues in length, lying north-west and south-east, and about sixty in breadth in the widest place; *Borneo* is almost round, and about six hundred in circumference; *Java* the last of them lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of south-latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from east to west, and not above forty in breadth in the widest place from north to south. There are many more, but all small in comparison of these, unless we reckon *Celebes* lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longest way north-east and south-west, and about eighty in breadth in the broadest place from east to west: As also *Gilolo*, under the equator as well as the last, of an irregular shape, and not above one fourth part of the bigness of *Celebes*. All these islands have a prodigious trade, being resorted to from all parts, not only of *India*, but even from *Europe*. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatsoever man can wish; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphir, agarick, cassia, wax, honey, silk, cotton; they have also mines of gold, tin, iron and sulphur, all sorts of cattel and fowl, but no vines nor olive-trees. In *Sumatra* the *Dutch* have some sorts, and are very powerful, but much more in *Java*, where *Batavia*, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eastern dominions. The *English* had a great

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trade and factory at *Bantam* in the same island, but were expelled by the *Dutch* in the year 1682. After these follow the *Molucco* islands, which are five in number properly so called, viz. *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Macbian*, *Moutil* or *Moufil*, and *Bachian*: They lie along the west-side of *Gilolo*, so near the equinoctial, that the last of them lies 24 or 25 minutes south, and the first of them about 50 minutes north of it. They are so small, that all of them do not take up above 1 degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. *Ternate* is the northernmost, and in order from it lie to the south *Tidore*, *Moutil*, *Macbian* and *Bachian*. The whole product of these islands is cloves, which are scarce found elsewhere, and here little besides them; which is the reason why the *Dutch* have possessed themselves of them, expelling the *Portugueses*, who after long contests had bought out the *Spaniards* claim to them. With the *Molucco's* may be reckoned the islands of *Amboina* and *Banda*: The first of these produces cloves like the other, and was once much resorted to by the *English*, till the *Dutch* destroyed their factory, of which action there are particular printed accounts. *Banda* is a larger island than any of the others, and in five degrees of south-latitude, possessed also by the *Dutch*, who have here all the trade of nutmegs and mace, which scarce grow any where but in this and two or three neighbouring islands. A vast multitude of other little islands are scattered about this sea; but those already mentioned are the most considerable; for though those of *Chiram* and *Papous* be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to guess they are not of much value; for if they were, the same avarice that has carried so many *European* nations into their neighbourhood to destroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long since as familiar to us as the rest. Of *Japan* enough was said when first discovered by the *Portugueses*, and in captain *Saris's* voyage thither, where the reader may satisfy his curiosity. All that needs be added is, that it produces some gold, and great plenty of silver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue and green, rice, brimstone, salt-petre, cotton, and the most excellent varnish in the world, commonly called *Japan*, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things are brought into *Europe*. Thus are we come to *Japan* the utmost of these eastern discoveries, omitting to say any thing of the *Philippine* islands, and those called *des Ladrões*, though within this compass, because they were discovered from the *West-Indies*, and therefore they are left to be treated of

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among

among the *American* affairs, as are the isles of *Solomon*, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account. This summary shews the improvement of navigation on this side the world since the discovery of the magnetical needle, or sea-compass, it having made known to us as much of the coasts of *Africk* and *Asia*, as running along only the greatest turnings and windings, amounts to about five thousand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not so universally known to be true, and so very demonstrable. The benefit we reap is so visible, it seems not to require any thing should be said of it. For now all *Europe* abounds in all such things as those vast, wealthy, exuberant eastern regions can afford; whereas before these discoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at excessive rates from the *Venetians*, who took in the precious drugs, rich spices, and other valuable commodities of the east in *Egypt*, or the coast of *Turky*, whither it was brought from *India*, either by caravans or up the Red-sea; and they supplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the sea is open, every nation has the liberty of supplying itself from the fountain-head; and if some have encroached upon others, confined them to a narrower trade in those parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly so great, that all those goods may be purchased here at the second-hand, infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the supplying of all the rest, and that by so expensive a way, as being themselves served by caravans, and a few small ships on the Red-sea. To conclude; these parts, the discovery whereof has been the subject of this discourse, supply the christian world with all gums, drugs, spices, silks and cottons, precious stones, sulphur, gold, salt-peter, rice, tea, *China*-ware, coffee, *Yacau* varnished works, all sorts of dyes, of cordials, and perfumes, pearls, ivory, ostrich-feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endless number of necessities, conveniences, curiosities, and other comforts and supports of human life, whereof enough has been said for the intended brevity of this discourse. It is now time to proceed to a still greater part, greater in extent of land, as reaching from north to south, and its bounds not yet known, and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhaustible treasures of the silver mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, and of the gold mines of *Chile*, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferior to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the blessings nature could bestow upon the earth. A world concealed from the rest for above

five thousand years, and reserved by Providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being so immense, that three hundred years have not been a sufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the universe wonderful in all respects: 1. For that being so large it could lie so long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way those people could come thither, and that none others could find the way since. 3. For its endless sources of gold and silver, which supplying all parts, since their first discovery are so far from being impoverished, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, so far exceeding all others, that they look like little seas, compared with the greatest in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whose tops are almost inaccessible. 6. For the strange variety of seasons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues distance. And lastly, For its stupendous fertility of soil, producing all sorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, besides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elsewhere.

To come to the discovery of this fourth and greatest part of the earth, it was undertaken and performed by *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoise*, excellently skilled in sea-affairs, an able cosmographer, and well versed in all those parts of the mathematics, which might capacitate him for such an enterprise. This person being convinced by natural reason, that so great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all sea, or created to no purpose; and believing that the earth being round, a shorter way might be found to *India* by the west, than by compassing all *Africk* to the southward, as the *Portugueses* were then attempting to do; he resolved to apply himself wholly to the discovery of those rich countries, which he positively concluded must extend from what was known of the *East-Indies* still to the eastward one way, and to be the easier met with by sailing round to the westward. Having been long fully possessed with this notion, and provided to answer all objections that might be started against it, he thought the undertaking too great for any less than a sovereign prince, or state; and therefore, not to be unjust to his country, he first proposed it to the state of *Genoa*, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This republic made him have recourse to king *John* the second of *Portugal*, who having caused the mat-

ter to be examined by those that had the direction of the discoveries along the coast of *Africk*, by their advice he held him in hand till he had sent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this discovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and suffered much by storms, returned without finding any thing. *Columbus* understanding what had been done, resented it so highly, that in hatred to *Portugal* he resolved to go over to *Castile* and offer his service there; but for fear of any disappointment, at the same time he sent his brother *Bartolomew Columbus* into *England*, to make the same overture to king *Henry* the seventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at sea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of *England*; where when at last he came, being poor and destitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at least be looked upon; so that in fine, *Columbus* was gone before he returned to *Spain* with his answer. *Columbus* in the mean while stole away out of *Portugal*, and coming to the court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, king and queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*, he there spent eight years soliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at last, when he had utterly despaired of success, he met with it, through the assistance of some few friends he had gained at court. At his earnest suit he had all the conditions he required granted, which were, that he should be admiral of all those seas he discovered, and viceroy and governor-general of all the lands; that he should have the tenth of all things whatsoever brought from those parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets sent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns. This to him and his heirs for ever. With these titles, and sufficient power from the queen, who espoused the undertaking, he repaired to the port of *Palos de Moguer*, on the coast of *Andaluzia*, where there was furnished for him a ship called the *S. Mary*, and two caravels, the one called *La Pinta*, commanded by *Martin Alonso Pinzon*, and the other *La Nina*, by *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*. In these vessels he had ninety men, and provisions for a year; and thus equipped he sailed from *Palos de Moguer*.

An. 1492. On the twenty third of *August* directing his course to the *Canary* islands, where he made a new rudder to the caravel *Pinta*, which had hers broke off at sea, he took in fresh provisions, wood, and water with all possible expedition; and on the sixth of *September* put to sea again, steering due west, and on the seventh lost sight of land. The eleventh at a hundred and fifty leagues distance from

the island of *Ferro*, they saw a great piece of a mast drove by the current, which set strong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral observed the variation of the needle to the westward about two points. On Sunday the sixteenth the men were surprised to see green and yellow weeds scattered about in small parcels on the superficies of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from some island or rock; and the next day they saw much more, which made some conclude they were near land, and others supposing it only to be rocks, or shoals, began to mutter. Every day they saw some birds flying to the ships, and abundance of weeds in the water, which still made them conceive hopes of land; but when these failed, then they began again to murmur, so that the admiral was forced to use all his art to keep them quiet, sometimes with fair words, and sometimes with threats and severity, they imagining, that since for the most part they sailed before the wind, it would be impossible for them ever to return. Thus their mutinous temper daily increased, and began to appear more open, some being so bold as to advise throwing the admiral over board. The first of *October* the pilot told the admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty eight leagues west of the island of *Ferro*, which is the westernmost of the *Canaries*; who answered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty four, whereas in reality his computation was seven hundred and seven; and on the third the pilot of the caravel *Nina* reckoned six hundred and fifty, he of the caravel *Pinta* six hundred and thirty four: but they were out, and *Columbus* made it less for fear of discouraging the men, who nevertheless continued very mutinous, but were somewhat appeased on the fourth, seeing above forty sparrows fly about the ships, besides other birds. The eleventh of *October* there appeared manifest tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ship they saw a green rush in the water, from the *Pinta* they saw a cane and a stick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, besides abundance of weeds fresh pulled up; from the *Pinta* they beheld such-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn-tree with the berries on it: besides, that sounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For these reasons the admiral ordered, they should make but little sail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark, and about ten of the clock that night the admiral himself saw a light, and shewed it to others. About two in the morning the caravel *Pinta*, which was furthest ahead, gave

gave the signal of land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an island about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives standing on the shore, admiring what the ships were. The admiral and captains went ashore in their boats, and called that island *S. Salvador*, the natives calling it *Guanañani*, and is one of the *Lucayas* in about 26 degrees of north-latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues west of the *Canaries*, and discovered the thirty third day after they sailed from them. *Columbus* took possession for the king and queen of *Spain*, and all the *Spaniards* joyfully took an oath to him, as their admiral and viceroy. He gave the *Indians*, who stood in admiration to see him and his men, some red caps, glass-beads, and other trifles, which they valued at a high rate. The admiral returning aboard, the natives followed, some swimming, others in their canoes, carrying with them bottoms of spun cotton, parrots, and javelins pointed with fish-bones, to exchange for glass baubles and horse-bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair short and tied with a cotton string, and well enough featured, of a middle stature, well shaped, and of an olive colour, some painted white, some black, and some red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with sharp stones. No beasts, or fowl were seen here but only parrots. Being asked by signs, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noses, they pointed to the south. The admiral understanding there were other countries not far off, resolved to seek them out; and taking seven *Indians* that they might learn *Spanish*, sailed on the fifteenth to another island, which he called the *Conception*, seven leagues from the other. The sixteenth he proceeded to another island, and called it *Fernandina*, and so to a fourth, to which he gave the name of *Isabella*; but finding nothing more in these than in the first, he proceeded on to the island of *Cuba*, which he called *Juana*, and entered the port on the east-end called *Baracoa*, whence after sending two men to discover without finding what he sought for, he went on to *Hispaniola*, and anchored on the north-side of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people simple, and one of the *Caciques*, or princes, shewing all tokens of love and affection; and having lost his own ship, which through the carelessness of the sailors in the night run upon a sand, he resolved to build a fort, which with the assistance of the *Indians* was performed in ten days, and called the *Nativity*: Here he left thirty nine men, with provisions for a

year, seeds to sow, baubles to trade with the natives, all the cannon and arms belonging to his own ship and the boat. This done, he departed the port of the *Nativity* on the fourth of *January* 1443, steering eastward, and the sixth discovered the caravel *Pinta*, which had left him some days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himself. *Columbus* having sailed some days along the coast of the island, discovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and seeing some other islands at a distance, at length launched out to sea to return for *Spain*. In the way they struggled with the dreadfullest storms any of them had ever seen, which separated the admiral from the caravel *Pinta*, so that he saw her no more; but at last it pleased God to bring his shattered caravel into the river of *Lisbon*, where the people flocked with admiration to see him, and some advised the king of *Portugal* to murder him, but he having entertained him generously dismissed him; and he putting to sea again, arrived safe at *Palos de Moguer*, from whence he set out on the fifteenth of *March*, having been out six months and a half upon his discovery. The court was then at *Barcelona*, whither the admiral repaired, carrying with him the *Indians* he brought, some gold, and other samples of what the discovery afforded. The king and queen received him with all possible demonstrations of honour, making him sit down in their presence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After some time spent in these entertainments, the admiral desired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant those new countries, which was granted, and he departed for *Seville*, to set out on his second voyage, which we are to speak of next; we have been very particular in this, because being the first, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and shall therefore be more succinct in those that follow.

An. 1493. A fleet of seventeen sail of all sorts was fitted out at *Seville*, well furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, mares and horses, tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring people, and artificers, several gentlemen, and twenty horse. With this fleet *Columbus* set sail from *Seville* on the fifteenth of *September* the year aforesaid, and on the fifth of *October* came to the *Gomeru*, one of the *Canary* islands, where he took in wood and water, as also cattle, calves, sheep, goats and swine to stock the *Indies*, besides hens and garden-seeds. Sail-
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ing hence more to the southward than the first voyage, on the third of November in the morning, all the fleet spied an island, which Columbus called *Dominica*, because discovered on a Sunday, and soon after many others, the first of which he called *Marigalanti*, the name of the ship he was in, the next *Guadalupe*, then *Montserrat*, *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *S. Martin*, *Santa Cruz*; these are the *Caribbe* islands. Next he came to the large island, which he called *S. John Baptist*, but the *Indians* *Borriquen*, and it is now known by the name of *Puerto Rico*. November the twenty second the fleet arrived on the coast of *Hispaniola*, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the *Spaniards*, they being all destroyed either by discord among themselves, or by the *Indians*. Not liking the place he had chosen the first voyage to plant his colony, he turned back to the eastward, and finding a seat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called *Isabella*, in honour of *Isabel* then queen of *Castile*. Then keeping five ships of the fleet with him for his use there, he sent back twelve to *Spain*, under the command of *Antony de Torres*, with some quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493: and here it must be observed, that all the actions done ashore must be omitted, as too great for this discourse, and in reality no way belonging to it, the design of it being only to shew what advantages have been made by sea since the discovery of the magnetical needle, as has been declared before.

An. 1494. Columbus sailed from his new colony of *Isabella* with one great ship and two caravels on the twenty fourth of April, directing his course westward, and came upon the point of *Cuba* on the eighteenth of May, where sailing along the coast he saw an infinite number of small islands; so that it being impossible to give them all names, he in general called them the *Queen's Garden*. Thus he proceeded as far as the island of *Pinos*, near the westernmost end of *Cuba*, having discovered three hundred and thirty three leagues to the westward from his colony of *Isabella*. He suffered very much in this voyage by the continual storms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore resolved to return, taking his way more to the southward, and on the twenty second of July found the island of *Jamaica*; whence he directed his course to *Hispaniola*, and coasting about it, arrived at the town of *Isabella* on the twenty ninth of September, where he found his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who was come with four ships from *Spain*. The admiral built many forts in the island, and being much offended at

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the ill behaviour of many of the *Spaniards*, who began to use him disrespectfully, and sent complaints against him to court, returned into *Spain* to justify his proceedings, and secure his authority. Thus far out of *Herrera's* first decade, lib. I, II, and III.

The fame of these mighty discoveries being spread abroad throughout *Europe*, *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, but residing in *England*, made application to king *Henry* the seventh, to be employed in finding out a passage to the *East-Indies* through the north-west. The king admitted of his proposal, and

An. 1497. Ordered him two ships provided with all necessaries for such an undertaking, with which he sailed from *Bristol* in the beginning of summer (for here does not appear a particular journal) and directing his course north-west came into 56, *Herrera* says 68 degrees of north-latitude, where he discovered land running still to the northward, which made him despair of finding a passage that way, as he had projected, and therefore came about to the southward, hoping to meet it in less latitude. Thus he soon fell in upon the now much frequented island of *Newfoundland*, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees, where he found a wild people clad in skins of beasts, and armed with bows and arrows, as also bears and stags, and great plenty of fish, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the savages, whom at his return he carried into *England*, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his course along the *American* coast as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his provisions beginning to fall short he returned to *England*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 6. & seq. This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not prosecuted by the *English* in many years after; and *Cabot* finding little encouragement went away into *Spain*, where he was entertained.

An. 1498. On the thirtieth of May admiral Columbus having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and provided as he desired, sailed from *S. Lucar* with six ships upon new discoveries, and coming to the island *Gomeru*, one of the *Canaries*, on the nineteenth, sent thence three of his ships with provisions to sail directly for *Hispaniola*. He with the other three made the islands of *Cabo Verde*, resolving to sail southward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore steering south-west on the thirtieth of July, he felt such violent heat, that they all thought they should there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freshning they stood away to the westward, and the

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first of *August* came to an anchor in the island which he called *La Trinidad*, near the continent of south *America*, in about 11 degrees of north-latitude. Discovering land from this place, which he supposed to be another island, but it was the continent, he sailed over and came upon the point of *Paria*, and run many leagues along the coast of the continent, without knowing it was so, trading with the *Indians* for gold and abundance of pearls. However thinking his presence necessary at *Hispaniola*, he could not continue his discovery, but returned the same way he came to the island *Trinidad*, and found that he called *Margarita*, where was after wards the great pearl-fishery, and that of *Cubagua*, besides many others of less note, and arrived at *Santo Domingo*, a town newly built on the south-coast of the island *Hispaniola* on the twenty second of *August*, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1499. The news having been brought to *Spain* of the discovery *Columbus* had made on the continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was continent or an island; *Alonso de Ojeda* and some other private men fitted out four ships to make discoveries, and sailed from Port *S. Mary* on the twentieth of *May*. *John de la Cosa*, a *Biscainer*, went with him as pilot, and *Americus Vesputius* as merchant. They took their course to the south-west, and in twenty seven days had sight of land, which they supposed to be the continent. Being within a league of the shore, they sent some men in the boat, who saw abundance of naked people, who presently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the coast to find some harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to see the ships. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion: they covered their nakedness with leaves, or cotton cloths. Their wealth consisted in fine feathers, fish-bones, and green and white stones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. *Ojeda* ran along this coast till he came to a town seated like *Venice* in the water, but containing only twenty six great houses; for which reason he called it *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*, in about 11 degrees of north-latitude. Still he kept along the coast of *Paria*, before discovered by *Columbus*, for the space of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called *Cabo de la Vela*. Then turning back he came to the island *Margarita*, where he careened, and on the fifth of *November* arrived at the island of *Hispaniola*, where we may put an end to his discovery.

This same year *Peter Alonso Nino* and *Christopher Guevara* sailed from *Sevil* with

one ship to discover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coast where *Columbus* and *Ojeda* had been, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1500. *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was with *Columbus* the first voyage, set out four ships at his own charge, and sailing to the southward was the first *Spaniard* that ever cut the equinoctial line. Then sailing to the westward, on the twenty sixth of *January* he discovered land at a distance, which was the point of land now called cape *S. Augustin*, on the coast of *Brazil*, where he took possession for the king of *Spain*: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he passed on to a river, where landing, eight of his men were killed by the *Indians*; which made him remove again down to the mouth of the river *Maramon*, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with such force, that the water is fresh forty leagues out at sea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coast, he held on his course to *Paria*, whence he sailed over to the islands in the way to *Hispaniola*; and being at an anchor among them, a furious storm sunk two of their ships downright, the other two escaping repaired to *Hispaniola*, and having refitted returned to *Spain*. In this voyage they discovered six hundred leagues along the coast lying south-east from *Paria*.

In *December* this same year *James de Lese* sailed from *Palos de Moguer* to discover, and went some way to the southward of cape *S. Augustin*, but did little considerable, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. IV.

This year also *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* fitted out a fleet of thirteen sail for the *East-Indies*, commanded by *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, who sailing from *Lisbon* in *March*, to avoid the calms on the coast of *Guinea*, stood out far to sea; and being carried away further to the westward than he intended by a storm, on the twenty fourth of *April* fell in upon the coast of *Brazil* in *America*, in 10 degrees of south-latitude. He sailed along it one day, and going ashore found a tawny people; but the weather still forced him to the southward, to a harbour he called *Porto Seguro*, in 17 degrees of south-latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and *Indian* wheat. Here he erected a cross in token of possession, and therefore called the country *Santa Cruz*, but the name of *Brazil* prevailed, because of that sort of wood brought from thence. *Peter Alvarez* sent a ship to *Portugal* to give advice of this discovery, and he with the rest prosecuted his voyage to the *East-Indies*, as may be seen in the account of them, *Herrera ubi sup.* and *Faria* in *Asia*, part I. p. 53.

Again

Again this year 1500. *Gaspard de Cortereal*, a Portuguese, sailed to the north parts of America with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was said before to be discovered by *Cabot*, and gave his name to some small islands about the north of Newfoundland, bringing away sixty of the natives. He made a second voyage into those parts, but was cast away, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VI.

An. 1501. *Roderick de Bastidas* fitted out two ships at Cadiz; and taking *John de la Cosa*, who was best acquainted with the western seas for his pilot, put to sea in the beginning of February, following the same course *Columbus* had taken when he discovered the continent; and coasting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the Indians. Not so satisfied, he run to the westward, and discovered *Santa Marta*, *Caribagena*, and as far as *Nombre de Dios*, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ships being now leaky and worm-eaten, so that they could not long keep the sea, and having traded for a considerable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to *Xaragua* in *Hispaniola*, where his ships sunk after saving the treasure; and he after being imprisoned in this island got over into Spain with his wealth. He carried some Indians from the continent to *Hispaniola*, who went stark naked, only carrying their privities in a gold case made like a funnel, *Herrera ubi sup.*

An. 1502. Admiral *Columbus*, being through the malicious insinuations of his enemies removed from the government of *Hispaniola*, but still sed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ships to go upon some new discovery, and sailed with them from Cadiz on the ninth of May. On the twenty ninth of June he came before *Santo Domingo* in the island *Hispaniola*, where the governor refused to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of July he sailed away to the westward, and after driving some days with the currents in calms, struggled for sixty days with violent storms; after which he discovered the little island *Guenaja*, northward of cape *Honduras*, in 19 degrees of latitude. He sent his brother ashore, who met with a canoe as long as a Spanish galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats, and in it many men, women and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of several colours, short cotton shirts without sleeves curiously wrought, clouts of the same to cover their privities, wooden swords edged with flint, copper hatchets to cut wood, horse-bells of the same metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the cop-

per, coco-nuts, bread made of Indian wheat, and drink of the same. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged some commodities with them, and then dismissed them, only keeping an old man, of whom he enquired for gold, he pointed eastward, which made *Columbus* alter his design of sailing still westward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the first land he came to was cape *Cafinas* on the continent of the province of *Honduras*, where his brother landed and took possession, the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing short jackets of cotton, and clouts of the same before their privy-parts, and bringing him plenty of provisions. Sailing hence many days to the eastward against the wind, he came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the shore run to the southward, he called it *Cabo de gracias a Dios*, or cape *Thanks be to God*, because then the easterly winds would carry him down the coast. He run along trading with the natives, and touched at *Porto Bello*, *Nombre de Dios*, *Belen* and *Veragua*, where he heard there were gold mines, and sent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a considerable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconsiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement *Columbus* resolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houses for them; yet after all the Indians becoming their enemies, and the Spaniards mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then sailed away for *Hispaniola*. The ships being quite shaken with the many storms, and eaten through with the worms, could not reach that island, and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coast of *Jamaica*, close board and board by one another, shoring them up with piles drove in the sand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, because they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger he sent messengers in a canoo over to *Hispaniola* for some vessels to carry him and his men away, and after suffering much was at last transported to that island, and thence into Spain, where he died. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. V, VI. So that we have here an end of his discoveries, and all the continent of America made known from cape *Honduras* in 18 degrees of north-latitude, to *Porto Seguro* on the coast of *Brasil* in 17 degrees of south-latitude, being above fifteen hundred leagues, taking only the greater windings of the coast.

An. 1506. The news of *Columbus's* new discovery being spread abroad in *Castile*, *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon* resolved to prosecute what he had be-

gun;

gan; and coming to the island *Guanaja*, whence *Columbus* had turned back to the eastward, they held on their course still westward, running along the coast of *Honduras* till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called *Baia de Navidad*, now called the gulph of *Honduras*. Then turning to the north-east, they discovered a great part of the province of *Gucatan*, whereof little was afterwards known till the discovery of *New Spain*.

An. 1507. It being still unknown whether *Cuba* was an island or part of the continent, *Nicholas de Obando* governor of *Hispaniola* sent *Sebastian de Ocampo* to discover it: he sailed along the north-side of it, touching at several places, and careened his ships at the port now well known by the name of the *Havana*, which then he called *de Carenas*. Then continuing his voyage to the westermost end of the island now called *Cabo de S. Anton*, he turned to the eastward along the south coast of the island, and put into the port of *Xagua*, which is one of the best in the world, and capable of containing a thousand ships. Here he was most courteously entertained, and supplied with abundance of partridges and good fish. Having rested here a few days, he held on his way along the coast, and returned to *Hispaniola*, with the certain news of *Cuba's* being an island. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1508. *John Ponce de Leon* sailed over from *Hispaniola* to the island called by the *Indians Borriquen*, by the *Spaniards S. Juan de Puerto Rico*, and by the *English Porto Rico*: It is but 15 leagues distant from *Hispaniola*, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of *Puerto Rico*, or the Rich Harbour. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

This same year 1508. *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Ynnez Pinzon*, who before discovered the gulph of *Honduras*, sailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence to discover the south coast of *America*; and coming upon cape *S. Augustin* in about 11 degrees of south-latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coast, often landing, and trading with the natives till they came into 40 degrees of the same latitude, whence they returned with an account of what they had found into *Spain*. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1509. *John de Esquivel* was sent from *Hispaniola*, by the admiral *James Columbus*, son to *Christopher Columbus*, with seventy men to settle a colony in the island of *Jamaica*.

This same year *John de la Cosa* sailed from *Spain* with one ship, and two brigantines, to join *Alonso de Ojeda* in the island *Hispaniola*, thence to go and settle on the

continent. *James de Nicuesa* set out soon after him with four ships upon the same design. After some dispute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of *Darien* should part them, and then they set out towards their several governments. *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1510. *Ojeda* landed at *Caribagena*, where, after endeavouring to gain the *Indians* by fair means without success he came to a battle with them, in which *John de la Cosa* was killed, and he escaped by flight, having lost seventy *Spaniards*. *Nicuesa* arriving a few days after, and joining the other *Spaniards* belonging to *Ojeda*, revenged the death of the former seventy, and took a great booty. However *Ojeda* removed thence to the gulph of *Uraba*, where he founded the town of *S. Sebastian*, being the second built on the continent, if we reckon that before founded by *Columbus* near the same place, which did not stand as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after most of the *Spaniards* were consumed to *Darien*. Hence the *Indians* carried swine, salt and fish up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton-cloth. *Nicuesa* with his ships sailed to *Veragua*, and after many miseries and calamities, at last founded the town of *Nombre de Dios* on the small *Isthmus* that joins the two continents of north and south *America*, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. VII, VIII.

An. 1511. The admiral *James Columbus* from the island *Hispaniola* sent *James Velasquez* with about three hundred men to plant in the island of *Cuba*, where no settlement had yet been made.

An. 1512. *John Ponce de Leon*, before mentioned as first planter of the island of *Puerto Rico*, being grown rich, fitted out three ships in that island, resolving to discover to the northward. He sailed on the third of *March*, steering north-west and by north, and on the eighth anchored at *Baxos de Babueca*, near the island *del Viejo*, in 22 degrees and a half of north-latitude, and on the fourteenth at the island *Guana-bani*, which was the first discovered by *Columbus*. Hence he directed his course north-west, and on the twenty seventh, being *Easter* Sunday, discovered an island not known before; whence he proceeded, steering west-north-west till the second of *April*, when they came to an anchor near a port of the continent they had run along in 30 degree and 8 minutes of north-latitude, which he believed to be an island called *Florida*, that is, flowry, or flourishing, both because it looked green and pleasant, and because it was *Easter* time, which the *Spaniards* call *Pascua Florida*. After landing to take possession, he sailed south and by east till the twenty first of

of April, when he met so strong a current, that though they had the wind large, his ships could not stem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of *Babama*, through which most ships return out of those parts into *Europe*. Here he landed, and had a skirmish with the *Indians* who were warlike. On the eighth of May he doubled the point of *Florida*, which he called cape *Corrientes*, because of the great strength of the current there. Being come about, they spent many days along the coast and neighbouring islands, watering and careening, and dealing with the *Indians* for hides and *Guanines*, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In June he had two battles with the *Indians*, who in their canoes came out to draw his ships ashore, or at least to cut his cables. Having beaten them off he came upon the coast of *Cuba*, though he knew it not to be that island, and thence returned to *Puerto Rico*, whence he sailed into *Spain* to beg of the king the government of what he had discovered, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. IX.

An. 1513. *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who had subtilly wound himself into the government of the *Spaniards*, who were beforementioned to have built the town of *Darien*, having used all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold, and being told by an *Indian*, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had vast plenty of it, and that there was also an open sea, he resolved to venture over to find these treasures, and gain the honour of being the first that found this so long looked for sea. Accordingly he set out from *Darien* in September with *Indian* guides, and others given him by the *caciques* his friends to carry burdens. Entering upon the mountains, he had a fight with a *cacique* that would have stopped him, in which he killed the *cacique* and six hundred of his men. On the twenty fifth of September he reached the top of the mountains, from whence, to his unspeakable joy, he saw the South-sea; with this satisfaction he went down, and coming to the shore walked into the sea to take possession of it for the king of *Spain*. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a *cacique* his friend, went into nine canoes, and put out to sea, where a storm rising, they had all like to have perished; however, with much difficulty they got into a small island, where some of their canoes were beaten to pieces and all their provisions lost. The next day with what canoes remained they landed on the further side of the bay, where after some opposition from the *Indians* they made peace, and the *cacique* brought a good quantity of gold as a present, and two hun-

dred and forty large pearls; and seeing the *Spaniards* valued them, he sent some *Indians* to fish, who in four days brought twelve mark-weight of them, each mark being eight ounces. *Basco Nunez* would have gone over to the island of pearls, five leagues distant, but was advised by the *Indians* his friends to put it off till summer, because of the danger of the sea at that time. Here he had some information of the wealth of *Peru*, and was assured that the coast ran along to the southward without end, as the *Indians* thought. *Basco Nunez* having made so great a discovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to *Darien*, whence he presently sent advice to the king of what he had found, *Herrera*, dec. 1. lib. X.

An. 1515. *John Diaz de Solis* was sent out by the king to discover to the southward: he sailed on the eighth of October, and came to *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of *Brazil* in 22 degrees twenty minutes of south-latitude, whence he continued his course down the coast which lies south-west to cape *S. Mary* in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took possession. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of plate, which because it was so large and fresh, they called the fresh sea, and by another name, the river of *Solis*, he spied along the shore abundance of houses of *Indians*, and the people coming down to gaze at the ships, and offering what they had. *Solis* landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the shore, were set upon by the natives, who lay in ambush in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithstanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed them further from the shore, yet not so far but that the *Spaniards* aboard might see them, where cutting off their heads, arms and legs, they roasted the whole trunks of the bodies and eat them. Having seen this dismal sight, the caravel returned to the other vessel, and both together repaired to cape *S. Augustin*, where having loaded with *Brazil* wood, they sailed back to *Spain*. Thus ended the famous seamen *John Diaz de Solis*, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. I.

An. 1516. *Padrarias* governor of *Darien* before spoken of, sent the licentiate *Espinosa* with a good body of men over the mountains to *Panama*, who had some encounters with the *Indians* in those parts, and made some considerable discoveries along that coast. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of slaves, he returned to *Darien*, leaving *Hernan Ponce de Leon* with a small force at *Panama*. This commander lost no time, though he had no good vessels but some small barks, for

in them he ventured to run up to the north-west as far as the port of *Nicoya* in the province of *Nicaragua*, a hundred and forty leagues from *Malé*, which is at the mouth of the bay of *Panama*; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the first firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to *Panama*. At the same time *Basco Núñez de Balboa*, who first discovered the South-sea, cut timber at *Ada* on the north-sea, and having hewed it out, fit so put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by *Indians*, *Blacks* and *Spaniards*, and thence down to the South-sea, which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron-work and rigging for two brigantines, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. II.

This same year 1516. *Hackluyt* mentions a voyage made by Sir *Thomas Pert* and *Sebastian Cabot*, by order of King *Henry* the eighth of *England*, to *Brazil*, but gives no particulars of it, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 498.

An. 1517. *James Velázquez* governor of *Hispaniola*, gave commission to *Francis Hernandez de Cordova* to make some further discovery on the continent. He bought two ships and a brigantine, furnished them with all necessaries, and a hundred and ten men, and sailed from *Havans* on the eighth of *February* to the westward. At the end of twenty one days they saw land, and drawing near perceived a great town. Five canoes came to the ship, and thirty men went aboard, wearing short jackets without sleeves, and clouts about their waists instead of breeches, who being well entertained were dismissed: and the next day twelve canoes came with a *casique*, who said, *Conex Cotoche*, that is, come to my house; and the *Spaniards* not understanding it, called that point of land cape *Cotoche*, being the westernmost of the province of *Tucatan*, in 22 degrees of latitude. The *Spaniards* going ashore with this invitation, were set upon by *Indians*: that lay in ambush, whom they put to flight. Here they found three structures like little temples with idols, built with lime and stone, which were the first that had been seen in *America*. Returning to their ships, they kept along the coast westward till they came to *Campêche*, where they took water out of a well, there being no other, and retired to their ships, the *Indians* pursuing at their heels, yet without engaging. Further on at a place called *Potenchan*, being ashore again to water, they were beset by the *Indians*, who killed fifty of them, and the rest, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ships. Wanting hands for them all they burnt one, and

with the other two vessels in great want of water, stood over for the coast of *Florida*, where as they were watering the *Indians* fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, so that the *Spaniards* had time to carry off their water, and so returned to *Cuba*, where *James Fernandez* the commander died of his wounds, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. II.

An. 1528. The report of the discovery made in *Tucatan* pleasing the undertaker *James Velázquez* governor of *Cuba*, he provided three ships and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to prosecute that enterprise, under the command of *John de Grijalva*, who sailed from *Cuba* on the eighth of *April*, and driving to the southward with the currents came upon the island of *Cumusel*, in the 20th degree of latitude, not known before, and south of the cape of *Cotoche*; where keeping along its coast, they anchored at a place they called *Santa Cruz*, because that was the third of *May* and the feast of the finding of the cross. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the island good honey, swine with their navels on their backs, and several small temples of stone, as also an *Indian* woman of *Yamaica*, who went aboard, and was afterwards of great use to them. *Grijalva* sailed on to *Potenchan*, where *Francis Hernandez*, the first discoverer of that country, had been; and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name, saying this country was like a new *Spain*, because of the many structures he saw of lime and stone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of *Mexico*. Coming to the river of *Tahasco*, he treated with the natives, and a *casique* there with his own hand put upon *Grijalva* a suit of complete armour of all beaten gold, besides many other rich presents he gave him. Then coasting along, he saw the great mountains of *S. Martin*, and the rivers of *Alvarado* and *Banderas* on the coast of *New Spain*, at which last place he was supplied with provisions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders so to do from *Montezuma* the great monarch of *Mexico*, upon the news brought him of the first ships that appeared on that coast. He spent seven days at *S. John de Ulva*, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of *Panuco*, from whence he returned to *Cuba*, having in this voyage discovered all the coast of *New Spain*, almost as far as the province of *Florida*, *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. III.

This same year the licentiate *Espinosa*, by order of *Peter Arias Davila* governor of *Darien*, founded the town of *Panama* on the South-sea. *Ibid.*

An.

An. 1519. *Ferdinand Cortes*, with eleven sail fitted out at the charge of *James Valezquez*, sailed from *Cuba* in February, and landing on the coast of *New-Spain* before discovered by *Grijalva*, marched up to *Mexico*, made himself master of that mighty city, and subdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South-sea. Here were found those rich mines of silver, which with the others of *Pern* have ever since enriched the universe, not to speak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this country are the subject of large volumes, and too great for so short a discourse. Therefore we will proceed to the discoveries. *Ibid.*

This year also *Ferdinand Magalbaens*, or as we call him, *Magellan*, sailed from *Spain* to discover the strait of his name, the particulars of which voyage are the subject of the first of those round the world, to be found together at the latter end of this discourse, and therefore need not be repeated in this place, for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of those southern parts of *America*.

This same year 1519. An *English* ship of two hundred and fifty tun came to the island of *Puerto Rico*, pretending it came out with another to discover a passage to *Tartary*, and had been at *Newfoundland*, where there were fifty *Spanish*, *French* and *Portuguese* ships fishing, and that offering to go ashore their pilot was killed. They further said they came to load *Brasil* wood, and carry the king of *England* an account of those countries. Hence they sailed over to *Hispaniola*, where being fired at from the castle they returned to *Puerto Rico*, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of. *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. V. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 499. gives the same account out of *Ramusio*, only differing in that he says it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522. *Cortes* having subdued the mighty kingdom of *Mexico*, and greatest part of the provinces of *Mechoacan*, *Panuco*, *Guacaca*, *Tabasco* and *Socomusco*, a conquest above two hundred leagues in length, above a hundred and fifty in breadth in the widest part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north-latitude; and having discovered the South-sea, which washes the shores of several of the provinces mentioned, he resolved that way to send to the *Malucco* islands, and in order to it sent ship-wrights to the port of *Zacatula* to build two ships to discover along the coast, and two caravels to sail to the *Malucco's*, causing all the iron-work, sails and rigging to be carried upon mens backs from the *Vera Cruz* across the country, which is at least a hundred and forty leagues.

Whilst these vessels were preparing in *New-Spain*, *Giles Gonzales Davila* with incredible labour had built four in the island *Taravequi*, not far from *Panama*, whence he sailed on the twenty first of January this same year 1522. taking *Andrew Nino* along with him as his pilot. Having sailed an hundred leagues along the coast to the north-west, they were forced to send to *Panama* for necessaries to refit their ships, which being brought they proceeded. At *Nicoya* *Giles Gonzales* landed, and travelled into the province of *Nicaragua*, where abundance of *Indians* with their *cacique* submitted themselves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation, he was forced to retire to the sea. Whilst *Gonzales* travelled by land, *Andrew Nino* had sailed along the coast as far as the bay of *Fonseca* in the province of *Guatemala*, discovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before; which done, they both returned to *Panama* with great wealth in gold and pearls, *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. IV.

An. 1524. *Francis* the first, king of *France*, employed *John Verrazona* a *Florentine*, to make some discovery to the north-west. He set out from *Diep* with four ships, and after some time spent privateering on the coast of *Spain*, he steered to the island of *Madera*, whence dismissing the rest, he departed with one ship and fifty men upon his enterprise. The first twenty five days he ran five hundred leagues to the westward, after which followed a dreadful storm; and that ceasing, in twenty five days more run four hundred leagues, and then discovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the southward. He sailed fifty leagues along the coast to the south without finding any harbour, which made him stand about to the northward, and at last come to an anchor, where he traded with the *Indians*, who went naked, covering only their privities with furs like fables, and garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other *Indians*, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His short stay there gave him not leisure to learn any thing of their customs, but the country seemed delightful, with pleasant plains, and plenty of woods of several sorts of trees, great variety of beasts and birds, and some tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north-latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of *Florida*. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-east, they came upon another coast, where they took a boy, and so run on, seeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred leagues,

leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives, a *tacique* coming often aboard, and seeming well-pleased with the *French*. Hence they held on their course above a hundred leagues, and saw people clothed with feathers, and a very pleasant country; but passed on still to a great island, and anchored betwixt it and the continent, where the people were still naked, with only furs before their privities, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a view of the shores, till he came into fifty degrees of north-latitude, where his provisions falling short, he resolved to return into *France*, having discovered seven hundred leagues along the coast, and giving it the name of *New-France*, *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. VI. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 295. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1603.

The same year 1524. *Francis Pizarro* sailed from *Panama* in *November* with one ship and two canoes, in which were eighty *Spaniards*, and four horses to discover to the southward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had discovered on that side, he landed, and provisions failing sent back the ship for them, remaining himself ashore with most of the men, where they were drove to such extremities, that twenty seven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place *Puerto de Labambre*, that is, *Port Famine*. The ship returning with provisions, they proceeded on their voyage to the port they called *De la Candelaria*, where they again went ashore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the rest of his actions in this expedition were in the ensuing years, yet the summary of them shall here be delivered together, to avoid the confusion that might be caused by the dismembring of them. Hence they went on to a place they called *Pueblo Quemado*, where they had two bloody encounters with the *Indians*, and therefore proceeded to *Cibicama*, whence they again sent back the ship to *Panama* for provisions. Whilst the ship was returning, *James de Almagro*, who was at the chief expence of this enterprize, went out of *Panama* with a ship full of provisions, and sixty men in it, and running along the coast, at length found *Pizarro* at *Cibicama*; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to *Panama* for more men, whence he brought two ships and two canoes with arms, men, ammunition and provisions. Leaving *Cibicama*, they proceeded along the coast; and after many delays, and several times sending back to *Panama*, during which time

the rest of the men were left ashore, and suffered incredible hardships, *Pizarro* came to *Tumbez*, where he sent men ashore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, supplied with provisions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had seen stately palaces, and all sorts of vessels of silver and gold. Here he was invited ashore, and went twice, having much discourse with the *Indians*, who gave him an account of the great city of *Cusco*, and of the immense wealth of the mighty monarch *Guaynacapa*. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got some of the large *Peru* sheep, and other things to shew the wealth of the country, he returned to *Panama* to gather a force sufficient to make a conquest in that rich country, he had discovered. In this voyage he reached as far as the port of *Santa* in 9 degrees of south-latitude, having run above two hundred leagues, in which he spent three years, being detained so long by the misfortunes and wants above-mentioned, besides many more too tedious to insert here. The conquest and further discoveries shall fall in their due place. *Herrera*, dec. 3. lib. VII. VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.

An. 1525. The emperor *Charles* the fifth fitted out six ships and a tender at *Corunna*, under the command of *D. Garcia Jofre de Loaysa*, and well furnished with provisions, ammunition and commodities to trade, as also four hundred and fifty *Spaniards*. These ships were to pass through the straits of *Magellan* to the *Molucco* islands, and sailed from *Corunna* in *July*. On the fifth of *December* they came upon the coast of *Brazil* in 21 degrees and a half of south-latitude. *December* the twenty eighth the ships were parted in a storm, but met all again except the admiral. *January* the fifth they came to cape *Blanco* in 37 degrees, and thence to *Santa Cruz* in 51 degrees, where the admiral and another ship being missing, they put up some signs to direct them. Coming to the mouth of the straits, one of the ships was cast away in a storm, the other three with much difficulty got into the strait. *January* the twenty sixth the admiral, and the other ship that was missing, with the tender came to the mouth of the strait, where it was near perishing in a storm: and on the fifth of *April* the five ships being again joined, put into the strait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. *May* the twenty fifth they came out into the *South* sea, where a violent storm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little provision failed to the northward, till it came upon the coast of *New Spain*, where the men were plentifully relieved by the *Indians*; for the present, and afterwards by

Cortes

Cortes from Mexico. The admiral was parted from the other ships, and never saw them more, for he died on this side the line, and soon after him John Sebastian Cano his successor, who had brought the ship called the *Victoria* home, after sailing round the world in the voyage undertaken by Magellan. Then they chose Toribio Alonso de Sotomayor for their admiral, and so directing their course for the islands Ladrões, on the thirteenth of September discovered an island, which they called S. Bartolomeu; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their course to the Ladrões, and came to the two southernmost of them, where there came to them a Spaniard that had been left there when the ship of Magellan's company left at the Molucco's attempted to return to New Spain, as may be seen in that voyage. Five days, this which was the admiral's ship continued in the island Batavia, and then prosecuted its voyage to the Molucco's on the tenth of September 1526, and on the second of October came to the great island Mindanao, one of the Philippines, where they got some fresh provisions, and then failed away towards the Molucco's, and arrived safe at Tidore on the last day of December, and there built a fort, whence for a long time after they made war with the Portuguese of Ternate, where we will leave them, having ended their navigation, and shall hear of them again in the following years. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

An. 1526. Sebastian Cabot, who made the great discovery in north America for king Henry the seventh of England, being now in the Spanish service, failed from Cadiz with four ships, designing for the Molucco's through the strait of Magellan: but when he came upon the coast of Brasil, his provisions began to fail, and the men to mutiny, both which things obliged him to lay aside his first design, and run up the river then called of Solis, now of Plate, and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the island of S. Gabriel, and seven leagues above it to the river S. Salvador, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left some men, whilst he discovered higher. Thirty leagues further up he found the river of Zarcarana, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the same course, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river Paraguay, up which he turned leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not seen before, and they opposed him so vigorously, that he was forced to return down the river after losing twenty

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eight of his men: where we must leave him a-while, to shew that this same year James Garcia was sent from Galicia with one ship, a small tender, and a brigantine to discover this same river of Plate, and came upon that part of the coast of Brasil which for its many rocks and shoals is called Abrelojo, or Open your Eyes, at the end of the year.

An. 1527. At the beginning of the year he came into the river of Plate, and there found two of Cabot's ships, but sent back his own to carry slaves into Portugal. Then he run up the river, and found Cabot in that of Paraguay, where we said he left his men, whence they returned together to the ships. Cabot sent one of them back into Spain, with an account of what he had discovered, the reasons why he went not to the Molucco's, and some silver and gold, desiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till some time after, when it shall be mentioned in its place. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

This same year Cortes fitted out three ships on the coast of New Spain in the South-sea, and sent them to the Molucco islands, where they joined the Spaniards before-mentioned, and prosecuted the war with the Portuguese. One of the ships attempted to return with cloves to New Spain, but was beaten back to Tidore by contrary winds, where the continual wars reduced the Spaniards to only twenty, who were forced to put themselves into the power of the Portuguese, and by them were carried into India, where some of them returned into Spain. These ships were in several of the Philippine islands, and took possession of them for the king of Spain. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. I.

This year also Francis de Montejo failed from Seville with three ships, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of Yutacan, and Peter de Alvarado for that of Guatemala. Of the discovery of both something has been said already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The same year still Pambilo de Narvaez failed from Sanlucar on the seventeenth of June with five vessels, and in them seven hundred men, and spent much time at Hispaniola and Cuba, where, after escaping a dreadful storm, he was forced to winter. In March following he put to sea with four ships and above four hundred men, and on the twelfth of April after many storms and dangers came upon the coast of Florida; he landed his men and forty horses, and then travelled with them by land, sending the ships at the same time to coast along and find a safe harbour where they might settle a town. Those that marched by land,

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land, after incredible sufferings ashore, and losing their ships, built some barks to carry them off, making sails of their shirts, and ropes of their horses tails and manes. By the twenty second of September they had eaten all their horses, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the shore seven days in those creeks almost starved, till they found some dry fish in an Indian house, but after this suffered such extremity of thirst, that five of them died with drinking of salt water. They landed again and got some refreshment, but the Indians proving treacherous, they lost some men, and so put to sea again, where they ranged many days in foul weather, and were all parted. At last all the barks were cast upon the shore and several men drowned, those that escaped almost naked and starved met with charitable Indians, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears, fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houses, and giving them all the best they had; but this lasted not long, for the Indians though so loving were poor, and soon after suffered extreme want themselves, so that the Spaniards dispersed to shift, and the sixty that landed were soon reduced to fifteen. Such was their misery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that survived these calamities travelled some hundreds of leagues across the country, and with incredible hardships at length came to *New-Spain*, the rest with their officers all perished; and this was the end of the expedition, *Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. II, IV.

Before we proceed, it must be here noted, that this same year king *Henry* the eighth of *England* sent out two ships to discover to the northward, which sailed out of the *Thames* on the twentieth of May, and entering between the north of *Newfoundland* and the continent one of them was cast away. The other directed its course towards cape *Breton*, and the coast of *Arambec*, often sending men ashore to get information of the country, and returned home in October, which is all the account we have of this voyage, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1530. *Francis Pizarro* having been in *Spain*, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had discovered, sailed from *Panama* with a hundred and eighty five Spaniards, and thirty seven horses. At the bay of *S. Matthew* he landed the horses and most of the men, to march along the shore, whilst the ships coasted; and falling upon the town of *Quapel*, he took a vast booty of gold, silver, and emeralks: then he sent three ships to *Panama* and *Nicaragua* to bring recruits of men and provisions. Being re-

duced to great straits, and ready to abandon the country, a ship arrived with supplies. Hence they sailed to the island *Puna*, which lies between three and four degrees of south-latitude; where after much feigned friendship from the Indians, he came to a battle with them, and having gained the victory, continued there, setting at liberty six hundred Indians of *Tumbez*, kept there in slavery, which gained him the affection of those people. Two ships coming to him with recruits from *Panama*, *Pizarro* sailed over to *Tumbez*, of which place he possessed himself after killing many Indians, who used all means by open force and treachery to destroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatness and infinite wealth of the city of *Cuzco*, and of the vast power and large dominion of the emperor of *Peru*. Then moving still to the southward, he founded the city of *S. Michael*, and staid there long to settle that new colony, to get more supplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country; and though these things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of *Peru*: these were *Atahualpa* and *Guascar*, of whom the former had been successful in several battles. *Pizarro* resolved to make his advantage of their divisions. He therefore marched into the country with scarce two hundred men, and coming to *Caxamalca*, whence *Atahualpa* drew out with his army, he sent to invite him back. The *Ignas* came with an infinite multitude of Indians; and having filled the great market of *Caxamalca*, he ordered they should seize all the Spaniards, and take care that not one escaped: upon which as his horns and other warlike instruments began to make a dreadful noise, *Pizarro* gave the signal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the *Ignas* prisoner, and with him an incredible treasure of gold, silver, and cotton cloth. The *Ignas* being prisoner, offered for his ransom ten thousand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of silver; which he had almost performed, when new troubles arising, he was put to death. After which *Pizarro* marched to the great city of *Cuzco*, near two hundred leagues from *Caxamalca*, to the south-east; whence moving to the sea, he founded the city of *Lima* in 18 degrees of south-latitude, and subdued all that vast empire of *Peru*. *Herrera*, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and dec. 5. throughout the greatest part of it.

An. 1532. *Nunbo de Guzman*, sent out by *Cortes* from *Mexico* by land to reduce

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the province of *Mecboacan*, discovered and subdued the provinces of *Culliacan* and *Cinacloa*, extending to 28 degrees of north-latitude on the coast of the South-sea, and opposite to the south end of *California*; all which was done by land, and was a consequence of the former navigations, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. I.

Some ships were sent out these years by *Cortes* from *New-Spain*, to discover to the north-west; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needless to give any account of them.

An. 1534. *Simon de Alcazova*, a Portuguese in the king of Spain's service, undertook to discover to the southward of *Peru*; passing the strait of *Magellan*, and fitting out two good ships with two hundred and fifty men, he sailed from *S. Lucar* on the twenty first of September, and entered the mouth of the straits of *Magellan* in January following. Having spent some time in it, and being half-way through, the violent storms, which lasted many days, were the occasion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the strait, and put into port *Lobos*, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed a hundred men to discover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, because he could not himself, by reason of indisposition. They marched ninety leagues thro' a desert country, seeing scarce any inhabitants, and being ready to perish sometimes for want of water; and by this time all the provisions they brought from aboard were spent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ships, and some of them mutinying by the way, secured those that opposed their wicked designs; and coming aboard, murdered *Alcazova* their commander in chief and his pilot, designing to leave the rest that had opposed them ashore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themselves, the loyal party took the advantage to possess themselves of the ships, and executed many of them. This done, they directed their course for the islands of *America*. The greatest ship was cast away on the coast of *Brasil*, the other in much distress arrived at the island *Hispaniola*. Thus ended this enterprise, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.

This same year 1534. *Jaques Cartier* sailed from the port of *S. Malo*, by order of *Francis I.* king of France, to discover the north part of *America*. He set out on the twentieth of April, and on the tenth of May pur into the port of *S. Catharine* in *Newfoundland*; where having spent some days in refitting, he sailed all the length of the island from cape *Raz* to cape *de Grace*; and entering between the island and

the continent, run to the westward along the shore, till at the mouth of the great river *Canada*, he turned to the southward, came to the bay called *du Chaleur*, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along those shores on the back of *Newfoundland*, viewing all the creeks and harbours; till the fifth of August, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at *S. Malo* on the fifth of September, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 201.

An. 1535. The same *Jaques Cartier* sailed again from *S. Malo*, May the nineteenth, with three ships upon the same discovery; and after suffering much by storms, which parted them, *Cartier* on the twenty fifth of June came upon the coast of *Newfoundland* in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and staying some days, was there joined by his other two ships. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of *Newfoundland*, sailing to the westward, and foul weather coming on, anchored in the port of *S. Nicholas*, where they staid till the seventh of August; and then steering to the southward, on the fifteenth came upon the island of the *Assumption*. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coasting along it, came to the island he called of *Orleans*, in the country of *Canada*, where he traded amicably with the *Indians*; and leaving the ships there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he saw the town of *Hochelaga*, consisting of about fifty great houses, each capable of a great number of people, and the town inclosed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ships, he went to *Stadacona*, a town about a league from them, to visit the prince of that part of *Canada*. In these parts he found much fish, *Indian* wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, discovering what was nearest, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in May following returned home with a particular account of the great river of *Canada*, and the whole country called by that name, or *New-France*, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 212.

This year *D. Peter de Mendoza* sailed from *S. Lucar* with eleven ships, and eight hundred men in them, for the river of *Plate*, where he happily arrived, and settled the colony of *Buenos Ayres*, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greatest part of his people perished there for want, before they were relieved from Spain, *Herrera*, dec. 5. lib. IX.

An. 1536. Two ships were fitted out at *London*, under the command of *Mr. Hore*, with a hundred and twenty men, for north *America*; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to *Newfoundland*, where they were in such want, that

that they eat up one another; and those that were left, surprized a *French* ship that came into those parts, and so returned home, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1539. *F. Mark de Niza*, with his companion *F. Honoratus*, a *Black* whose name was *Stephen*, and some *Indians* for interpreters, set out on the seventh of *March* from the town of *Culiacan* at the entrance into the strait of *California* on the South-sea shore, to discover the country to the northward by land. *F. Honoratus* fell sick, and was left behind; and *F. Mark* proceeded to *Petalben*, sixty leagues from *Culiacan*; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary respect, and supplying him plentifully with all necessaries. Hence he went on to *Vacapa*, and sent the *Black* towards the sea to discover that port, who soon after sent messengers, desiring the father to come speedily to him, because he had received information of a country called *Cibola*, where there were seven great cities, built with stone two stories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. *F. Mark* set out towards this country, and all the way he went, the people offered him not only provisions, but *Turky* stones, earthen dishes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He passed through a desert of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the first towns ran to meet him clad in cotton cloth, or skins with collars and other ornaments of *Turky* stones. Having travelled a hundred and twenty leagues from *Vacapa*, he came into a most delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and six days journey over; and then entered into a desert of fifteen days journey, where an *Indian* brought him the news that *Stephen* his *Black*, who had gone all the way before, was killed at *Cibola* by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other *Indians* that went with him, and had escaped. *F. Mark* having with much difficulty persuaded some few *Indians* to follow him, went on till he came in sight of *Cibola*, which he viewed from a rising ground, and afterwards declared it was the best city he had seen in *America*, the houses being two or three stories high, and very beautiful; but durst not go into it, for fear if they should kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that discovery. He therefore returned, having seen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized; whereof he sent an account to the viceroy. He also was informed, that beyond *Cibola* there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called *Marata*,

Acus, and *Tontecac*, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. *Cibola* lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north-latitude, *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. VII.

Upon the news of this great discovery by land, *Cortes* set out three ships from *New Spain*, under the command of *D. Francisco de Ulloa*; who directed his course to the north-west, run along the back of *California*, searching all that coast as far as cape *Enganbo* in the latitude of 30 degrees: but here was no discovery of any consequence made, and *Ulloa* resolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ships had been lost before, and the third, which now left him, returned to *New Spain*. *Herrera* Dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1540. *Don Antony Mendoza* viceroy of *Mexico*, upon the information above-given by *F. Mark* of the country of *Cibola*, ordered *Francis Vaquez de Cornado*, governor of *New Galicia*, to march thither with some forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. *Cornado* set out from *Culiacan* in *May*, with an hundred and fifty horse and two hundred foot, and store of ammunition and Provisions. He directed his course almost north-east, and after a long march of many days came to the first town, where *Stephen* the *Black* above-mentioned was killed. Here they saw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houses of stone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in skins of beasts. Five days journey to the north-east of *Cibola* is a province called *Tucayan*. All these places gave the *Spaniards* friendly Reception, except the first town of *Cibola*. They travelled seven days further still north-east, and came to the river *Cicuque*, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here *Cornado* ordered all his forces to stay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward always among abundance of cattle, and on the feast of *St. Peter and Paul* came to the river to which he gave those names. Hence they turned into the province of *Quivira*, which is a finer country than most in *Europe*, and where they saw grapes and several sorts of *European* fruits, as also flax growing wild. Having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, because he came back the direct way. *Quivira* is in 40 degrees of latitude. *Cornado* was out two years upon his discovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

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The same year the viceroy of *Mexico* set out two ships at *Acapulco* on the South-sea, to discover on that element, whilst *Cornado* travelled by land, and gave the command of them to *Ferdinand de Alarcon*, who set sail on the ninth of *May*. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the strait of *California*, he sent his boats before to sound, and yet run aground; but the tide rising, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the *Indians* for provisions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, *Alarcon* heard tidings of *Cibola*, which was what he looked for, and of the death of *Stephen the Black*. He called the river *Buena Guia*, and returning to his ships, put aboard his boats abundance of provisions and commodities to trade with; resolving to join *Francis Vazquez de Cornado* that way. *Alarcon* went up this river eighty five leagues, and then hearing no news of *Cornado*, in search of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ships. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coast, enquiring for *Cornado* and *Cibola*, till perceiving at last there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to *New Spain*; having sailed 4 degrees further than the ships sent by *Cortes*. *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. IX.

This year still, *James Cartier* before mentioned sailed from *S. Malo* with five ships on the twenty third of *May* for the coast of *Canada* and *Saguenay*; and meeting with very bad weather at sea, were parted, and came together again after long beating at sea, in the port of *Carpoint* in *Newfoundland*; and on the twenty third of *August* put into the haven of *Santa Croix*, or the holy cross in *Canada*. Hence the lord of *Roberval* sailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the provisions and ammunition; and keeping three ships with him, sent back the other two into *France*. This is the first colony I find in north *America*, and the first in all that continent of any nation, except the *Spaniards* or *Portugueses*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 232.

There occurs another navigation this year, no less remarkable in its way, than any of those already mentioned. *Pizarro* having conquered the mighty empire of *Peru*, guided by his boundless ambition, travelled up into the inland, and wanting provisions, sent captain *Orellana* down the river of the *Amazons* with eighty men in a boat, and several canoos. He set out about the latter end of this year, and being carried two hundred leagues from the place where he entered, the violence of the cur-

rent driving the boats twenty five leagues a day, he thought he was too far gone to return against the stream, and therefore held on his way, till in *January* for want of provisions his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to perish, they came to an *Indian* town, where they found provisions, the *Indians* abandoning it at first; but *Orellana* speaking to some in the *Indian* tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furnished him with turkeys, partridges, fish, and other necessaries. Finding these *Indians* sincere, they staid here twenty days; in which time they built a brigantine, and set out again on *Candlemas* day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without seeing any town; when being again in great want, they spied some *Indian* dwellings, where they civilly asked for some sustenance, and had abundance of tortoises and parrots given them. In the way hence they saw good towns, and the next day two canoos came aboard, bringing tortoises and good partridges, and much fish, which they gave to *Orellana*, who in return gave them such things as he had. Then he landed, and all the *caciques* of the country about came to see and present him with provisions: so that he staid here thirty five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was supplied by the *Indians* with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty fourth of *April*, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike *Indians*, came to a desert country. May the twelfth they came to the province of *Machiparo*, where many canoos full of *Indians* set upon them; yet they landed some men, who brought provisions from the town in spite of the multitude of natives that opposed it, and repulsed the *Indians* from their boats. Yet when he went off, they pursued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he rested three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much provision, whereof he laid in good store. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the last, and where they saw much silver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon saving their lives. In fine, with such like accidents he run down this vast river, seeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this; fighting often with the *Indians*, till he came into the North-sea. These *Spaniards* judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over, that the fresh water ran twenty leagues into the sea, that the tide rises and falls five or six fathoms, and that they had run along this river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at sea, they coasted along by guess with their small vessels,

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vessels, and after many labours and sufferings, arrived at last in September at the island *Cubagua* on the coast of *Paria*, where was then a *Spanish* town, and great pearl-fishery. *Herrera*, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1542. *John Francis de la Roche*, lord of *Roberval*, whom *Francis I.* king of *France* had constituted his lieutenant in the countries of *Canada*, *Saguenay*, and *Hochelaga*, sailed from *Rochel* with three ships, and in them two hundred persons, as well women as men, on the sixteenth of April; and by reason of contrary winds did not reach *Newfoundland* till the seventh of June. Here he made some stay to refit, and there came into the same port *James Cartier* with all his company, who we mentioned went into *Canada* two years before. He left the country because he was too weak to withstand the natives; and *Roberval* commanding him now to return with him who had strength enough, he stole away in the night, and returned into *France*. The last of June the general sailed out of port *S. John* in *Newfoundland*, and run up the river of *Canada*, till four leagues above the island of *Orleans*, the place now called *Quebec*. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a strong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, provisions, and all necessaries, sending two ships back into *France* with the account of his proceedings. Being settled in this place they suffered much hardship, their provisions falling short, but were relieved by the natives. *Roberval* took a journey into the country of *Saguenay* to discover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 240.

The same year 1542. *D. Antony Mendoza*, viceroy of *Mexico*, fitted out two ships on the coast of the South-sea to discover to the northward, under the command of *John Rodriguez Cabrillo* a *Portuguese*. He sailed from the port of *Navidad* on the twenty seventh of June, and on the twentieth of August came up with cape *Engaro* on the back of *California* in 51 degrees of latitude, where *Cortes* his discoverers had been before. September the fourteenth they anchored at a cape they called *de la Cruz*, or of the cross, in 33 degrees of latitude. October the tenth they traded with some peaceable *Indians* in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called those the towns of the canoes, because they saw many there. On the eighteenth of the said month they anchored at cape *Galera*, and above it in a port they called *Of Possession*, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fishermen. From this time they had many storms, which obliged them to turn back to the island *Of Possession*, where they continued many days by reason of the foul weather.

At length they put to sea again, and sailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was so intense they could not bear it; and their provisions now failing, they returned to *New-Spain*; having failed further to the northward, than any had done on that side, *Herrera*, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1543. The viceroy last mentioned gave the command of two ships, a galley, and two small tenders, to *Ruy Lopez de Villalobos*, to discover the islands to the westward. He sailed from the coast of *New-Spain* on the first of November, and having run a hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and a half of latitude, came to two desert islands about twelve leagues distant from one another, which he called *S. Thoma* and *Anublada*. Eighty leagues further they saw another, and called it *Roca Portida*. Seventy two leagues beyond it they found an *Archipelago* of small islands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the sixth of January passed by ten other islands, which for their pleasantness they called the *Gardens*, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. January the tenth after a great storm, in which they lost their galley, they discovered another island, from which some *Indians* came in boats making the sign of the cross, and bidding them good-morrow in *Spanish*. February the second they came to an island they called *Cesarea Caroli*, about fifteen hundred leagues from *New-Spain*, where *Villalobos* would have planted a colony, but forbore because the place was unwholesome. This island by its bigness, for he coasted along it sixty leagues to the south, must be *Luzon* or *Manila*, the biggest of the *Philippines*, and he says it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compass. In a small island near to it he found *China* ware, musk, amber, civit, benjamin, storax, and other perfumes, as also some gold. Here they resolved to stay, and sowed some grain, which being little, they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the island of *Gilolo* near the *Moluccos*, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they sent two ships at several times to carry news of them to *New-Spain*, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the *Moluccos* and *Philippine* islands the *Spaniards* were long tossed, sometimes removing to one, sometimes to another, ever persecuted by the *Portugueses*, and suffering great wants; till being quite spent and without hopes of relief, they put themselves into the hands of the *Portugueses*, and were by them sent thro' *India* into *Spain*, *Herrera*, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1562. The French admiral *Cabotillon* fitted out two of the king's ships under the command of captain *John Ribault* who failed

failed with them on the eighteenth of February, and two months after arrived on the coast of Florida, where he landed at Cape Francis in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no stay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of May, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians, who presented him fish, Indian wheat, curious baskets, and skins. he proceeded still northward to the river of Port Royal, about which he saw turkey-cocks, partridges, and several other sorts of birds and wild beasts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he sailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives presented him Chamoi skins, fine baskets, and some pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of France. Having taken a view of all the shores of this river, he built a fort here but sixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty six men with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries, and called it Charles Fort. This done, he sailed some leagues further along the coast, and finding it dangerous, and his provisions almost spent, returned to France. Those left in the new fort discovered up the river, and contracted great friendship with five Indian princes, whose subjects when their provisions failed gave them all they had; and when that was spent guided them to other princes southward, who freely presented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the Indians of their own accord rebuilt it. The French had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themselves, and murdered their captain, choosing another in his stead. After which growing weary of the place, they built a small bark and put to sea in it; but their provisions failing, they were all like to perish, and eat one of their company. In this distress they met an English vessel which set some of them ashore, and carried the rest into England, Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 308.

This same year Mr. Hawkins made a voyage to Guinea, where having got three hundred Blacks, he sailed over with them to Hispaniola, and sold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon discovery, deserves no further mention, Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 500.

An. 1564. Captain Laudonniere had the command of three ships given him by the king of France, and sailed with them on the twenty second of April for Florida. He passed by the islands Antilles, and arrived on the coast of Florida on the twenty second of June. After spending some days along the coast, every where entertained with the

greatest tokens of affection by the Indians, he sailed up the river of May, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called Caroline in honour of Charles king of France. The fort finished, Laudonniere sent some of his men up the river, who at several times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendship. After some time many mutinies happened among the French, of whom several went away with two brigantines to the Spanish islands, and having committed some rapine were closely pursued and drove back to Florida, where four of them were hanged. Whilst these mutineers were abroad, Laudonniere sent some of his men up the river, who discovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain Apalache, in which the Indians said there were rich mines. The following winter the French having exchanged away all their commodities, the Indians forsook them, and they were reduced to great straits, being obliged to use force to get provisions. In the height of their distress, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to France in a small vessel scarce able to contain them, with very slender provisions; Mr. Hawkins before-mentioned, who this same year had made another voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West-Indies to sell Blacks, and in his way home run along the coast of Florida, coming to the river of May found the French in this distress, and therefore sold them a ship upon credit, generously supplying them with all they wanted, which done, he sailed away and returned into England. The French were now preparing to depart for France, this being

An. 1565. When in August captain John Ribault arrived with seven sail of French ships to take possession of that country. A few days after six great Spanish ships came upon the coast, and gave chase to four of Ribault's that were without the port, which being better sailors escaped; and Ribault made out with the other three after them, leaving Laudonniere in the fort with eighty five men, where the Spaniards attacked him, and made themselves master of the fort. Laudonniere with some of his men escaped aboard two ships they had in the river; in one of which he arrived in England, and thence into France. Ribault with his ships as soon as he was out of May river met with a dreadful storm, which wrecked them all on the coast of Florida, where abundance of his men saved themselves from the sea, but were afterwards destroyed by the Spaniards. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 319. and 349. and Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1567. Captain Gourges sailed from France with three ships, and coming to the river

river of *May* in *Florida*, revenged the death of his countrymen, killing all the *Spaniards* he found there, but did nothing as to discoveries. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 356. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1576. Mr. *Martin Forbisher* with two barks and a pinnace set out from *Gravefend* for the discovery of a passage to *China* and *Catbay* by the north-west, on the twelfth of *June*. Sailing about the north of *Scotland*, on the twenty eighth of *July*, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he discovered land, which he supposed to be the continent of *America*, called *Tierra de Labrador*, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the shore he found an hundred fathom water, and not being able to anchor flood to the north-east, as the coast there lies, and by reason of the ice could not come within five leagues of the shore. The tenth of *August* he landed on a desert island: the eleventh in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a strait which is called by his own name; the twelfth he came to *S. Gabriel's* island, and anchored in a bay which he called *Prior's* sound. The eighteenth having sailed north-north-west, he came to *Butcher's* island, where landing they spied seven boats. These people came aboard and looked like *Tartars*, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noses, of a tawny complexion, clad in seal-skins, the boats also made of seal-skins with a wooden keel. The twenty sixth one of these men came aboard, and the boat going to set him ashore, was taken by those savages with all the men. Having staid a day in hopes to recover them, and no signs appearing, he sailed homewards, and arrived at *Harwich* on the first of *October*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 29, 57.

An. 1577. Mr. *Forbisher* sailed the second time on the twenty sixth of *May* with a ship of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the same discovery he had attempted the foregoing year. *June* the seventh he arrived at the isles of *Orkney*, and *July* the fourth at *Friesland*: the sixteenth he came to his strait discovered the last year, and much ice appearing durst not venture in with his ship, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the savages ashore. *July* the nineteenth the ice driving away the ships, he run into the strait, and anchored in a bay which they called *Jackman's* sound: here he landed with most of his men, and having travelled some way and found nothing to satisfy his desires, he coasted a little in the barks and boats both east and west; and though he saw several people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of

August came to that he call'd *Anne Warwick's* sound and island. Here he used all possible means to bring the natives to trade, or give some account of themselves, but they were so wild, that they only studied how to destroy the *Engliff*. *Forbisher* this year did not run above thirty leagues up the strait, and the winter drawing on returned into *England*, having loaded his vessels with a sort of shining sand and stones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 32, 60.

An. 1578. The noise of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a passage encouraged people to prosecute this voyage; and fifteen sail of ships provided for it met at *Harwich*, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be set up in the golden country discovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty first of *May* they left *Harwich*, and the second of *July* came into *Forbisher's* strait, which they found choaked up with ice, and as they struggled to work through it, a sudden storm arose and so enclosed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all perish. One vessel of an hundred tons was lost, but the men saved; two others had not been seen in twenty days before, and four that were farthest out at sea best escaped the danger of the ice, clearing themselves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-west, and into sea-room, they were driven down by the current to the southward of *Forbisher's* strait, and run into another about 60 leagues, without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obstructing their making an observation. Returning out of it again, most of the scattered fleet met and made for *Forbisher's* strait, in hopes of those golden mountains, but found others of ice to obstruct their passage. After many other difficulties *Forbisher* with most of the ships worked his way through, and on the thirty first of *July* reached his long desired port of the countess of *Warwick's* sound. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the house or fort brought from *England*; but part of it being lost in the ship cast away, and more of it, as also of the provisions not yet come, being in four ships, the design of inhabiting them was laid aside. The other ships that had been missing, after hard struggling with ice and storms, joined the fleet. Here they set their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done, they directed their course for *England*, whither they returned in safety. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 39, 74.

The same year 1582, *Francis de Ovalle* sailed from *Acapulco*, and running to the westward

westward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the island *del Engano*, the farthest of those called *de los Ladrones*, in thirteen degrees of north-latitude: thence he held on his course westward two hundred and eighty leagues, to *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*, or the cape of the *Holy Ghost*, in the island of *Tandaya*, the first of the *Philippines*. He spent several days in the narrow channels among these islands, shaping his course diversely as they would permit; and coming out into the open sea run up into the bay of *Manila*, now the metropolis of the *Philippine* islands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coast of *China*, and arrived in the port of *Macao*. Here he furnished himself with necessaries, and turning again to the eastward passed through the islands called *Leguis*, whence he held his course east, and east and by north, never touching any where, or meeting with any land till he came upon the coast of *California* in 38 degrees and a half of latitude. From this place he ran south-east, and south-east and by south to cape *S. Lucas*, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called *Mendocino*, whence he continued his voyage successfully back to the port of *Acapulco*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 442. This voyage is inserted because it is the first from *New Spain* to *China*, and the first that found the way of returning to *New Spain* by the northward; for want of which knowledge, many ships that attempted to return from the *Molucco's* to *America*, were still beaten back, there being no possibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the easterly winds continually reign.

An. 1583. On the eleventh of June sir *Humphrey Gilbert* sailed from the west of *England* with five vessels, and in them two hundred and sixty men, designing to plant a colony in some part of north *America*. On the thirteenth the biggest ship stole away by night, and returned to *Plymouth*, there being a contagious distemper among the men. July the thirtieth he came upon the back of *Newfoundland*, which is about fifty leagues from the coast, and has at least twenty five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the sea, for on each side of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coast, and running along it put into *S. John's* harbour, where he anchored among abundance of fishermen of several countries, who were there before. Here he went ashore, and took possession. One of his ships had before played the pirate at sea, robbing a *French* vessel, and here his men run away with a ship laden with fish, and

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others hid themselves; so that finding too few men for his ships, some being sick, he put them into one of his vessels, and sent it home, remaining now with only three. August the twentieth he sailed from port *S. John*, and the next day came up with cape *Raz* in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the westward towards cape *Breton*, eighty seven leagues distant, they spent eight days in the passage; and coming among the flats, the biggest ship of the three was cast away, and nothing saved except a few men in the boat. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* was not aboard the ship cast away: The other two left resolved to return home, but by the way the small vessel sir *Humphrey* was in perished, the other arrived safe at *Dartmouth*. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 143.

An. 1584. Mr. *Philip Amadas* and Mr. *Arthur Barlow* sailed on the twenty seventh of April from the west of *England* in two barks, to discover in *America*. On the tenth of June they came among the islands of *America*, much more to the southward than they had designed. July the fourth they discovered the continent, and sailed along the coast four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going ashore took possession. This place they afterwards found to be the island of *Wokoken*, on the coast of *Virginia*, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, salisfras, cypress and mastich-trees. The natives from the continent repaired to the ships, and exchanged several sorts of skins, white coral, and some pearls, for tin things, and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very short time. The natives called it *Wingandacoo*, and the *English* *Virginia*. Going ashore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the country, but saw it not. They made no long stay here, nor proceeded any further upon discovery, only just to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to *England* in September, bringing two of the natives with them. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 246.

An. 1585. On the ninth of April sir *Richard Greenvil* departed from *Plymouth* with seven sail; and after touching at the islands of *Puerto Rico*, and *Hipaniola*, on the twenty sixth of June came to an anchor at the island *Wokoken* in *Virginia*, where the admiral's ship was lost through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. *Lane* was set ashore with above an hundred men to settle a colony, with all necessaries for that purpose. Then the admiral returned to *England*, and the new planters

made several discoveries up the country, finding it every where plentiful and pleasant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conspiring to destroy them, and no relief as yet coming from England, they returned home aboard Sir Francis Drake's ships, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the Spanish plantations. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 251. *Puribus*, vol. IV. p. 1645.

The same year 1585, on the seventh of June, Mr. John Davis sailed from Dartmouth with two barks for the discovery of the north-west passage to China. July the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty ninth discovered land bearing north-east of them in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went ashore, and found a tractable sort of people, with whom they dealt for seals skins, and several sorts of leather. August the first they proceeded on their discovery to the north-west, and on the sixth came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under a hill which they called mount Raleigh, where they saw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coasted on, and the eleventh found themselves in a passage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they sailed sixty leagues; and searching all about found many islands and several harbours, with all appearances of a further passage, yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth on the thirtieth of September. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 98.

An. 1586. Mr. Davis sailed the second time on the seventh of May with one ship, two barks, and a small pinnace, upon the same discovery. The fifteenth of June he discovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees; but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude, and went ashore on an island, where he traded very friendly with the natives for seals, stags, and white hares skins, and dried fish and some fowl. Here he continued some days trading with the natives, who were very thievish; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coasted southward again to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till September; and sailing thence in 54 degrees, found an open sea tending westward, which they hoped might be the passage so long sought for; but the weather proving tempestuous, they returned to England in October. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 103.

The same year 1586. Sir Richard Grenvil returned to Virginia with three ships to relieve the colony left by him there; which

being gone, as was said before, he left fifteen men on the island Roanok with provisions for two years, and then returned to England. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 265.

This year also was begun the voyage round the world by Sir Thomas Candish, which may be seen among the voyages about the globe after these West-India discoveries.

An. 1587. Mr. John Davis on the nineteenth of May sailed with three small vessels, upon his third voyage for discovery of a passage to the north-west. June the eighteenth they came to an anchor on the northern American coast, and the twentieth were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open sea; and then steering westward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly course, they were forced to seek the open sea again. The twentieth they had sight of the strait they discovered the year before, and sailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide sea: then they coasted along to the southward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 111.

The same year 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh provided three vessels to carry over to Virginia a hundred and fifty men to settle a colony there under the command of John White. They sailed from Plymouth on the eighth of May, and having spent several days among the Spanish American islands, arrived at last on the twenty second of July at Hatorask in Virginia; whence crossing over to the island Roanok, they found the fifteen English left there the year before were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were set ashore with all their provisions, goods, and ammunition, and the ships returned into England, carrying with them the governor to sollicite for speedy supplies to be sent to the new colony. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 280.

An. 1590. John White returned to Virginia to the place where he had left the colony, but found none of the men; only an inscription on a tree, signifying they were removed to Croatoan, another island on the coast, and many chests broke up, and some lumber belonging to them, scattered about the place. In going ashore here a boat was overset, and a captain with six men drowned; the rest with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them several casks they had carried to fill with fresh water. They had spent much time before they came hither, ranging about the Spanish islands; and the season being now stormy, they were forced to return to England.

land, without so much as knowing what was become of the colony, *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 288.

An. 1602. Captain *Gosnold* failed from *Falmouth* on the twenty sixth of *March*, and on the fourteenth of *April* discovered land in about 40 degrees of north-latitude; and having spent some days founding along the coast, on the twenty fourth came upon *Elizabeth's* island, in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the continent. This island was not inhabited, but over-grown with trees and shrubs of all sorts, and in it a pool of fresh water, about two miles in compass, one side of it not above thirty yards from the sea, and in the midst of it a small rocky island about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain designed to build a fort, and leave some men. The thirty first he went over to take a view of the continent, which he found a most delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this small view of the country, and the men refusing to be left on that desert place, he returned for *England*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1651.

An. 1603. Captain *Samuel Champlain* of *Brouage* failed from the port of *Honfleur* in *Normandy* on the fifth of *March* for *Canada*. The second of *May* they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland* in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth they came upon cape *S. Mary*, and the twentieth to the island of the *Assumption*, at the mouth of the river of *Canada*. He run up it a hundred leagues to the little port of *Tadoussac* on the north-side of *Canada*, and at the mouth of *Saguenay* river, where they contracted strict friendship with the natives. He ran twelve leagues up the river *Saguenay*, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of *Canada* as far as that of the *Iroquois*, and thence to the first great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the *Indians* told them there were ten more falls, though not so great, beyond the first. After discovering thus much, and getting information of several great lakes up the country, and of a boundless ocean at four hundred leagues distance westward, they returned to *Tadoussac*; and spending some days more in searching the great and lesser rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they sailed back into *France*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1605.

The same year 1603. Two vessels of *Bristol*, and one of *London*, made their voyages to *Virginia*, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the last of them run up into *Chesapeake* bay in about

37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going ashore, was killed with four men; upon which the rest presently returned home, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.

An. 1604. Monsieur *de Monts* having obtained a patent from *Henry IV.* king of *France* for peopling the countries of *Acadie* and *Canada*, he failed for those parts with two ships well man'd, and Monsieur *de Potrin-court* with him. They were kept long at sea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the sixth of *May* they put into a port in the south of *Acadie*, which they called *Rassignol*, because there they took a *French* ship, commanded by a captain of that name, and being confiscate for trading there contrary to the king's Patent. Then doubling cape *Sable*, the southernmost of that country, they ran up to the northward in a large bay to that of *S. Mary*, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called *Port Royal*; which Monsieur *de Potrin-court* demanded a grant of, to settle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded still further up to cape *Mines*, so called because of some found there, and into the river of *S. John*; and then turning back, erected a fort in a small island twenty leagues from the said river, resolving to settle there, and calling it the island of *Sante Croix*, or the *Holy Cross*. It is small, but very fruitful, and lies as it were hid among many others. Here winter coming on, and the fort being ill seated, as exposed to the north, the men suffered very much through extremity of cold and deep snows; and being forced to cross a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerously sick. This hard season being over, monsieur *de Monts* searched all the coast in a small vessel he built to discover a more convenient place to settle, and at last pitched upon *Port Royal*, where he left part of his men, and returned himself to *France*, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1620.

An. 1605, and on the last day of *March*, captain *George Weymouth* with one ship failed from the *Dowry*, and on the eighteenth of *May* came to an anchor in *S. George's* island on the coast of *Virginia*, where he found great plenty of fish; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called *Pentecost* harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty six miles, and found it fit to receive and secure any number of ships. The natives of this coast traded in a friendly manner for several days, but were found at last to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair shew of kindness to draw the *English* into their power; who being aware of them in time, broke

broke off the correspondence, and returned into *England* without making any considerable advantage of this small discovery. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1659.

An. 1606. Monsieur de *Monts* and monsieur de *Potraincourt* failed again from *Rochebelle* with one ship of an hundred and fifty tun. The twenty eighth of *June* they came upon the bank of *Newfoundland*, and making the shore, coasted all along to *Port Royal*, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty sixth of *July*. Here they found but two *Frenchmen*, the rest being gone with their small vessel towards *Newfoundland*; but soon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this last come ship, left to coast along close by the shore. Here they settled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient seat for their town, were most obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all sorts of *European* grain and garden-stuff: yet after all, the colony was forsaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been said; but because new measures were taken in *France*, and the supplies that should have been sent them were employed another way. *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1627.

The same year 1606, on the twentieth of *December*, three ships sailed from *London*, commanded by captain *Newport*, to settle a colony in *Virginia*; and passing among the *Spanish American* islands, on the twenty sixth of *April* came into the bay of *Chesapeake*, where they presently landed, and had some men hurt in a skirmish with the natives. The twenty seventh they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found shallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel six, eight, and ten fathom deep, which was a satisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it *cape Comfort*. The point at the mouth of the bay they called *cape Henry*. The following days they surveyed all the shores in their boats, being civilly treated every where by the *Indians*; and running up *Powhatan* river, found a place where their ships could lie moored to the trees in six fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of *May* they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themselves, resolving to settle their colony, as they did, giving it the name of *James Town*; which is the first plantation of the *English* in *Virginia* that continued, as it does to this day. *June* the twenty second captain *Newport* in the admiral was sent back into *England*. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little provision, and therefore they were soon reduced to

great extremities; many also dying of diseases peculiar to that country. But in their greatest distress, the natives, who before had been their enemies, supplied them with plenty of all sorts of victuals, which recovered the sick men, and was the saving of the colony. Every year after ships arrived from *England* with supplies, till the new town grew to a considerable body, and sent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought necessary, till they made themselves masters of that northern part of *America*. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be seen at large in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1705.

An. 1610. Mr. *Hudson* again undertook the discovery of a north-west passage, which had been laid aside for some years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done, giving names to some places, to be seen in the maps; as *Desire* provokes, *Isle of God's Mercies*, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's Cape*, and *Queen Ann's Cape*: but he could proceed no farther for ice.

An. 1611. Sir *Thomas Button*, at the instigation of prince *Henry*, whose servant he was, pursued the north-west discovery. He passed *Hudson's* strait, and leaving *Hudson's* bay to the south, sailed above two hundred leagues to the south-westward, through a sea above eighty fathom deep, and discovered a great continent called by him *New Wales*; where after much misery and sickness, wintering at *Port Nelson*, he carefully searched all the bay, from him called *Button's bay*, back again almost to *Digg's island*. He discovered the great land called *Cary's Swanhest*. He lost many men during his stay in the river called *Port Nelson*, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north-latitude; though he kept three fires in his ship all winter, and had great store of white partridges, and other fowl, besides deer, bears and foxes.

An. 1612. Mr. *Richard Moore* was sent in *April* with one ship and sixty men to inhabit the *Summer-islands*, otherwise called *Bermudas*, long before discovered by the *Spaniards*, who after some attempts to settle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by sir *Thomas Gate* and sir *George Summers*, who were shipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months, during which time they built a ship and a pinnace with the Cedar growing there, and in 1610 sailed away for *Virginia*, leaving only two men in the great island. A ship sent thither from *Virginia* left only three men in the island, who found there amber-greece to the value of nine or ten thousand pounds. Mr. *Moore* at his coming this year found those three men in per-

sett health. He settled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above six hundred inhabitants, who built several forts, but had like to have been themselves destroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increased from a few coming ashore out of a ship, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country, notwithstanding all possible means were used to destroy them.

An. 1612. *James Hall* and *William Bassin* returned into *England*, having discovered *Cockin's* sound in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at *Cunningham's River*, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615. Mr. *Bassin* went again, and the chief thing he discovered was, that there is no passage in the north of *Davis's Strait*.

An. 1616. Mr. *Bassin* was sent the third time, and entered *sir Thomas Smith's* bay in 78 degrees latitude; and returned, despairing of finding any passage that way.

An. 1620. A ship sailed from *Plymouth* for *New-England* on the sixth of *September*; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ship was of. It is also here to be observed, that all the northern coast from about 60 to 40 degrees of north-latitude, was first discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*, and afterwards at several times by *Cortereal a Portuguese*, as has been set down in their proper places, and by sundry *English* and *French* discoverers; to particularize every one of whose voyages would swell a volume, and therefore only the principal discoveries and plantations are here set down, as most suitable to the nature of this discourse, and the intended brevity. This ship we now speak of, anchored in the bay at cape *Cod* in *New-England*, and in 41 degrees and a half of north-latitude on the eleventh of *November*. Here they put out their boat, and landed men, who went some miles into the country several ways without meeting any people, and only found some little *Indian* wheat buried, the boat coasting along the shore. This they continued for several days, seeking out some proper place to settle. At length on the twenty third of *December*, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houses, dividing themselves into nineteen families, that the fewer houses might serve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an *Indian*, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This savage brought some of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they concluded peace and amity. The fol-

lowing year this new colony was reinforced with thirty five men from *England*, and supplied with provisions and necessaries, and called *New-Plimouth* in *New-England*. A war soon breaking out with another *Indian* prince, the *English* fortified their colony to secure themselves against all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees sent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account, *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1842.

An. 1631. Captain *James* sailing into the north-west, was much pestered with ice in *June* and *July*, and entering a great bay near port *Nelson*, he named the land *New South-Wales*. Roving up and down these seas, he gave names to these places discovered by him, viz. cape *Henrietta Maria*, *Lord Welson's Island*, *Earl of Bristol's Island*, *sir Thomas Roe's Island*, *Earl of Danby's Island*, and *Charlton Island*. He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year 1632. having discovered much beyond *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Bassin*. The *Danes* have attempted to discover in these northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667. *Zachariab Gillam* in the *Non-such* ketch passed through *Hudson's Strait*, and then into *Bassin's* bay to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence southerly into 51 degrees; where in a river called *Prince Rupert's River*, he had a friendly correspondence with the natives, built a fort, which he called *Charles Fort*, and returned with success, having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in those parts.

An. 1669. Captain *John Narbrough*, afterwards *sir John Narbrough*, failed in the *Sweepstakes* a man of war of three hundred tun, thirty six guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of seventy tun and nineteen men, both set out at the charge of his majesty king *Charles II.* and his royal highness the duke of *Tork*, to make a farther discovery on the coast of *Chile*. On the twenty first of *October* the year following, he came to the mouth of the straits of *Magellan*, and through them to the South-sea, about the middle of *November*; having taken a most exact survey of that passage, which is made publick in his voyage. On the twenty sixth of *November* he went ashore on the small island called *Neystra Senora del Socorro*, or *Our Lady of Succour*; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his course to the northward, on the fifteenth of *December* he sent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, ashore on the south side of port *Baldivia*, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of south latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going ashore

to a Spanish fort, were detained, and the ship sailed away without them. From hence captain *Narborough* turned again to the southward, and through the strait of *Magellan* returned into *England*, where he arrived in *June* following, having been out above two years. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679.

An. 1673. On the thirteenth of May *F. Marquette* a Jesuit, with only six other Frenchmen, set out in two canoes from the *Lac des Puans*, or the *Stinking Lake*, in the province of *Canada* in *North-America*, and passing through the provinces of *Folle Avoine* and *Iligois*, Indians in peace with *France*, sometimes carrying their boats by land, and sometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river *Mississipi*. They ran many leagues along this river through a desert country, their course always south, though sometimes bending east, and sometimes west. At the end of several days solitude, they came among savage Indians, were friendly received, and heard that the sea was within two or three days sail of them; which was the gulph of *Mexico*. Thus he discovered all that inland part of *North-America* along the river, from 38 to 34 degrees of north-latitude, lying on the back of *Canada*, *Virginia*, &c. down to *Florida*. The particulars of this voyage may be seen in *Thevenot's* small collection of voyages in octavo. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684. 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688. 1689. 1690. 1691. 1692. 1693. 1694. 1695. 1696. 1697. 1698. 1699. 1700.

An. 1680, and 1681. Captain *Sharp* having been buccaneering in the South-sea; and not able to recover the strait of *Magellan* to return home, he ran further to the south beyond *le Maire* and *Browers*, till he came into 60 degrees of south-latitude; meeting with many islands of ice, and abundance of snow, frost, and whales, and called a small place he found the *Duke of York's Island*. Thus he came into the north sea a new way, and made it appear that the *I*nd in the straits of *le Maire* and *Brower* must be islands, and not joined to any continent. *Introduction to the account of several late discoveries printed in 1694, p. 13.*

Here we may conclude with the *American* voyages and discoveries, having run along from north to south on the east side of that new world, or along that commonly called the north sea; and back from south to north along the west side, or south sea. It follows next, as was done after the eastern discoveries, to shew the extent of this vast tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation. The whole length of what has been discovered, is from 78 degrees of north-latitude, in which *St Thomas Smith's* bay lies, to 60 degrees of south-latitude, in all a hundred and thirty eight degrees; which allowing twenty leagues to

a degree, in a strait line amounts to two thousand seven hundred and sixty leagues, a thing almost incredible, were it not so well known, and stupendous that so great a part of the world should lie concealed so many ages; being never known since the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to descend to particulars; from 80 to almost 50 degrees of north-latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, six hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of *Europe* under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and consequently not inhabited by any *European* nation, though much of it be peopled by savages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of those northern nations is the fishery of whales and morse; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The next division beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is *Canada* or *New-France*; running up the river of *Canada* above two hundred leagues into the continent, and possessed by the *French*, who have there several colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to *Canada* is *New-England*, lying along the sea-coast north-east and south-west about seventy miles, subject to the crown of *England*, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and some corn. After it follows *New-York*, the trade much the same with those spoken of. Then comes *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, almost north and south for above a hundred leagues of *English* conquest, and the principal commodity tobacco. *Carolina* is next in course, being a part of the great province of *Florida*, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about a hundred and forty leagues in length: it has been possessed by the *English* but of latter years, in the reign of king *Charles II.* from whom it took the name; and being so lately subdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. *Florida* is a vast part of the continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to south, and above four hundred from east to west, besides a large province of it shooting out into the sea, where begins the channel of *Babama*: part of it is subject to the *Spaniards*, and a greater part not yet conquered; so that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of *Mexico*, running above a hundred and thirty leagues almost north and south, and about the same length upon a turn it makes in the fourth part towards the east, including the great peninsula of *Yucatan*,

tan, above three hundred leagues in compass. In this vast dominion, entirely subject to Spain, is to be found in great plenty all that is necessary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it Europe is supplied with great store of silver, cochineal, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to Porto Bello the coast runs partly near east and west, and partly almost north and south, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities abovementioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From Nombre de Dios to Cabo de Galera, taking it in a strait line, the coast runs east and west about four hundred and fifty leagues, all still Spanish, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fishery on the coast of Paria, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From cape Galera to Cabo de Conde, along the coast of Caribana, lying south-east and north-west about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to Caparare more southerly about a hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and seventy; all this for the most part unconquered, and peopled by savage Indians. From cape Caparare to Cabo do Natal about four hundred leagues east and west somewhat southerly, and from Cabo do Natal to Rio de Janeiro almost north and south near four hundred leagues, and so to Lagoa de Pernaba a hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of Brasil, and subject to the crown of Portugal, yielding abundance of tobacco and sugar, infinite quantities of Brasil wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it; which yields considerable treasure. From Lagoa de Pernaba to the river of Plate, about three hundred leagues south-west and north-east, under the dominion of Spain. From this mouth of the river of Plate, running up the continent on the back of Brasil, the Spanish dominions reach across to Peru, being at least four hundred leagues, and above as much north and south in the inland; being fruitful countries, almost overrun with flocks and herds of all sorts of cattle, whence they send abundance of hides to Spain, and much silver, which they have from Peru by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of Plate, to the entrance into the strait of Magellan, south-west and north-east four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by savage Indians, and was never subdued by any European nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. Terra del Fuogo, or terra Magella-

nica lying to the south of the strait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reason of its coldness, and therefore no more needs be said of it. The strait of Magellan is about a hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South-sea, from cape Victoria to Rio de los Gallegos, about two hundred leagues; all still the country of the Patagones, never inhabited by Christians, nor yielding them any benefit. But here begins the coast of Chile, extending above three hundred leagues; a country infinitely rich in gold, for which the silver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the most precious natural balsam in the world; all subject to Spain, as is the whole coast on the South-sea up to 40 degrees of north-latitude, for which reason it will be needless to repeat it. Peru reaches four hundred leagues north-west and south-east, well known for its inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi and Porco. Next is the province of Quito, about an hundred leagues along the coast north and south. Then the firm land, or continent so called peculiarly, and provinces of Panama and Veragua, above an hundred leagues north-east and south-west, and north-west and south-east. After this follows the government of Guatemela, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the coast north-west and south-east; and then that of Mexico two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, silver, all useful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Lastly, New Mexico reaching up to 40 degrees of north-latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in silver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other blessings for human life. Having run along both sides of America, and given a particular of each division, as to extent, product, and by whom possessed, as far as the brevity of this discourse would permit; it is fit to note that all the lengths are here taken in a strait line, and not winding with the shores, which would make them double what is computed: and, as in such vast extents, not pretended to be measured to exactness, but according to the general computation of sailors. The total thus amounts to six thousand five hundred leagues, taking only the greatest windings of the coast, and this along what is conquered by Europeans; excepting only the seven hundred leagues of the land of the Patagones about the strait of Magellan, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of Caribana, not so well subdued. And to sum up the commodities we have from these countries; the principal are gold, silver, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, cochineal of several sorts, indigo, anatto, logwood,

logwood, brasil, *Nicaragua* wood, brasilette, fustick, *lignum vitae*, sugar, ginger, cacao, bairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various sorts, snuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all sorts, bezoar, balsam of *Tolu*, of *Peru*, and of *Chile*, jesuit's bark, jallap, mechoacan, sarfaparilla, sassafras, tamarinds, cassia, and many other things of lesser note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the islands belonging to this mighty continent. The first of these beginning northerly, is *Newfoundland*, above three hundred leagues in compass, peopled by *French* and *English*, who have some colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the sea is an inexhausted treasure, furnishing all *Europe* with salt and dried fish; which yield a mighty profit to those that follow the fishery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the *Bermudas*, or *Summer-islands*, lying above three hundred leagues east from the coast of *Virginia*; the biggest of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much smaller: yet here is a strong colony of *English*, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is some cochineal, amber-greece and pearl; it used to send abroad the fairest oranges in these parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coast of *Florida* are the islands called *Lucayos*, the first discovered by *Columbus*; but they are small, and of no account. South of the point of *Florida* is *Cuba*, about two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the widest place; a pleasant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, sugar and cotton. East of *Cuba* lies *Hispaniola* an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about sixty in breadth, producing the same commodities as *Cuba*; and both subject to *Spain*. *Jamaica* lies south of *Cuba*, about seventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, possessed by the *English*, and producing sugar, indigo and cotton. The island of *Puerto Rico* is less than *Jamaica*, yields the same commodities, and belongs to *Spain*. The *Caribbe* islands are many, but small; some of them possessed by the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, others not inhabited: they produce sugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco, and run from the coast of *Paria* to *Puerto Rico*. The *Leeward-islands* lie along the coast of *Paria*, the most remarkable of them being *Margarita*, and *Cubagua* famous for the pearl-fishery. *La Trinidad* is a large island before the gulph of *Paria*, near which there are many small ones, but not considerable. All the coast southward has no island of any note,

till we come to the strait of *Magellan*, the south part whereof is made by *Terra del Fuego* and other islands, of which little is known. Nor is there any ascending again northward worth speaking of, till the mouth of the bay of *Panama*, where are the islands of *Pearls*, so called from a pearl-fishery there; they are small, and of no consideration in any other respect. The only great island on this side *America* is *California*, found to be so but of late years, running from the tropick of *Cancer* to 45 degrees of north-latitude, north-west and south-east, above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to the south. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the *Spaniards*, who have not had leisure to build colonies there till within these very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to *America*; it remains to add some few voyages to the isles of *Solomon*, *Terra Australis incognita*, and the land of *Yesso*, or *Jedso*, which being properly no parts either of the *East* or *West-Indies*, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reserved to be spoke of by themselves.

An. 1595. *Alvaro de Mendana* with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, set out from *Peru* for the islands of *Solomon*, whereof some uncertain knowledge was had before by ships that accidentally had seen some of them: he had four sail, with men and women, and all other necessities to settle a colony. In about 9 or 10 degrees of south-latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues west of the city of *Lima* in *Peru*, he discovered four small islands inhabited by very handsom and civiliz'd people. Hence holding on his course still westward, he found several other more considerable islands, where he intended to have settled his colony, but was hindred by many misfortunes, and among the rest sickness. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in *Spanish* taken out of *Thevenot's* second volume; which being inserted in this collection, it will be needless to add any more in this place, only that three of the ships perished, two were never heard of, a third cast away on the *Philippine* islands, the men saved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at *Manila*, with the men almost starved: and thus this enterprize was disappointed.

An. 1600. Four ships sailing from *Peru* for the *Philippine* islands, were by northerly winds driven south of the equinoctial, where they fell upon several rich countries and islands, not far from the isles of *Solomon*: They called one place *Monte de Plata*, or *Mountain of Silver*, because they found

found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpose, and saw these discoveries. This is all we have of it in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1432. only he adds two petitions of captain *Peter Fernandez de Quiros* to the king of Spain, suing to be employed in conducting colonies to those southern parts, alledging the vast extent and riches of the continent, and great value of the islands, which he speaks of as an eye-witness, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be seen more at large in *Purchas*, vol. IV. p. 1422.

An. 1618. On the twenty eighth of *October* the Dutch set out eleven sail for *India*, among which was the *Batavia*, commanded by captain *Francis Pelsart*, which being parted from the rest was cast away on the rocks near some small islands not inhabited, and having no fresh water, in upwards of 38 degrees of south-latitude, but all the people saved on the islands. This want obliged them to build a deck to their long-boat and put out to sea, where they soon discovered the continent, bearing north and by west about six miles from them. This was on the eighth of *June*.

An. 1629. And the weather being rough, and the coast high, they were forced to beat at sea till the fourteenth, when they found themselves in 24 degrees of south-latitude; and six men swimming ashore, saw four savages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to seek fresh water, but finding none, swam back to their boat. The fifteenth the boat made into shore, and found no fresh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almost choaked. The sixteenth they went ashore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth in 19 degrees, the twenty second in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus *Pelsart* sailed along this coast to the northward till he came among the *Indian* islands, and then struck over to *Java*, where he met two Dutch ships, which carried him to *Batavia*, whence he returned with a vessel to save as much as might be of the wreck. *Thevenot*, vol. 1.

An. 1642. *Abel Jansen Tasman* set sail from *Batavia* in the island of *Java* with a yacht and a flyboat, and *September* the fifth anchored at the island *Mauritius* in 20 degrees of south-latitude. The eighth they departed thence south till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away east somewhat southerly, till the sixth of *November* they were in 49 degrees. The twenty fourth in 42 degrees 25 minutes they saw land east and by north at ten miles distance, and called it *Antony van Diemens* lands, and after running along the coast came to an

anchor on the first of *December* in a bay they named *Frederick Hendrick's* bay: they heard some noise as of people, but saw none, and only the footing of wild beasts, and some smoaks. Departing hence, on the thirteenth of *December* they anchored in the country called in the maps *New-Zealand*; here they saw some natives lusty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffick, fell upon the men in the boat and killed four of them, for which reason it was called *Murderers Bay*. Here they seemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of *January* 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an island there, called it *Three Kings Island*; and going thither to refresh, they saw some large men, but could not understand them. Hence they directed their course north-east, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they saw a small island, which they could not come at, but called it *Philips's Island*. Jan. 21. in 21 degrees 20 minutes they called two islands, the one *Amsterdam*, the other *Zealand*: on the first they got many hogs, hens, and all sorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and seemed to know no evil, but that they would steal. In the latter of these islands they saw gardens with square beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place they saw many islands as they stood northward, and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty islands, which in the charts are called *Prince William's Islands*, or *Hemkirk's Shoals*. Directing their course now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty second of *March* in 5 degrees 2 minutes south-latitude they had sight of land four miles west of them, being about twenty islands, called in the charts *Ontong Java*, about ninety miles from the coast of *New-Guinea*. *March* the twenty fifth in 4 degrees 35 minutes they were up with the islands of *Mark*, found before by *William Schouten*, and *John le Mair*: the natives are savage, and have their hair tied up. *March* the twenty ninth they passed by *Green-Island*, the thirtieth by *S. John's Island*, and *April* the first in 4 degrees 30 minutes they reached the coast of *New-Guinea* at a cape called by the *Spaniards*, *Santa Maria*, and run along the coast to the promontory called *Struis Hook*, where the land bends to the south and south-east, as they did to find a passage to the south, but were forced to turn to the west. *April* the twenty eighth they came to the burning island, where they saw a great fire come out of the hill, and failing betwixt the island and the main saw many fires. At the islands *Jama* and *Moa* they got refreshment. *May* the twelfth in only 54 minutes of south-latitude, they sailed along

the side of *William Schouten's* island, which seems to be well inhabited; and the eighteenth they came to the west-end of *New-Guinea*, and on the fifteenth of *June* return'd to *Batavia*, having finished the voyage in ten months, *Thevenot*, vol. 2.

An. 1643. A *Dutch* ship sailing to the northward of *Japan*, came upon a coast in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they saw several villages near one another, and say there are about them many mines of silver. The land in some places seemed to bear no grass, but the sea was very full of fish. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went ashore in a mountainous country, supposed to be full of silver mines. In 46 degrees the land resembled the coast of *England*, the soil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are small hills covered with short grass. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an island which the *Dutch* call *Staten* island, and beyond it the companies land, another island: in this they found a fort of mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all silver. In 45 degrees they observed, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of several sorts, the sea-shore was covered with rose-trees, and on the rocks many large oysters, but on the land they saw no beast but one bear. The inhabitants of this land of *Ejo*, or *Yedjo*, for so it is called, are all strong set, thick, with long hair and beards good features, no flat noses, black eyes, a fallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not so black as the men, some of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They seem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who serve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like savages, but yet are very civil and obliging to strangers: their houses are only small cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all sorts of fish and herbs, and rose-buds are their greatest dainty. Their clothes are some of silk and some of the skins of beasts. They use bows and arrows to kill wild beasts, and they spin hemp. They trade with the *Japanese*, whom they furnish with train-oil, whales tongues smoked, furs, several sorts of feathers, for which they receive rice, sugar, silk, and other coarser garments, copper-pipes, tobacco-boxes, and varnished dishes and vessels for their meat and drink, pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, &c. The capital of the country is small, they call it *Matfmay*, where the prince or governor of the country resides, who every year goes over to pay his respects to the emperor of

Japan, and carry him presents. This is what the *Dutch* discovered, but a *Japanese* told them this land of *Ejo*, or *Yedjo*, was an island, *Thevenot*, tom. 1.

An. 1693. On the fourteenth of *January* captain *Dampier* in his majesty's ship the *Roe-Buck*, sailed from the *Downs* upon a new discovery, touched at the *Canaries* and isles of *Cabo Verde*, and the twenty fifth of *March* came to an anchor in *Bakia de Todos Santos*, or the *Bay of All Saints* in *Brazil*. April the twenty third he left this place, and the third of *April* saw the land about the cape of *Good Hope*. August the first having run from *Brazil* a hundred and fourteen degrees, he made in to the shore of *New-Holland* in 26 degrees south-latitude, thinking to put into some harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, stood out to sea again till August the sixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called *Sharks Bay*, where he could get no fresh water, but plenty of wood, and refreshed the men with raccoons, tortoisés, sharks, and other fish, and some sorts of fowl. He founded most of this bay, and on the fourteenth sailed out of it, coasting as the weather would permit to the northward, and then to the north-east, as the coast runs, where in 20 degrees 21 minutes he found several islands, and going ashore on some of them could get no fresh water, nor see any inhabitants so he continued along the shore as near as could be with safety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where he saw some of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for water none was found, and digging pits they got some that was brackish and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreshment on this coast, in the beginning of *September* he stood over for the island *Timor*, where he took in fresh water, and on the third of *December* arrived on the coast of *New-Guinea*, and had some commerce with the inhabitants of an island called *Pulo Sabuti*. Then passing to the northward, and to the easternmost part of *New-Guinea*, he found it did not join to the main land of *New-Guinea*, but was an island which he called *New-Britain*. Having discovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by *Timor* and *Java*, to the cape of *Good Hope*, an island of *S. Helena*. At the island of the *Ascension* his ship foundered, but the men were saved, and returned to *England* aboard the *East-India* ship called the *Canterbury*. *Dampier's* voyage to *New-Holland*, being his third volume.

The voyages round the world which, for so many thousand years as past from the creation till the discovery of the *West-Indies*, could never so much as enter into
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the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave just subject of admiration, do well deserve to be mentioned apart from all others, as being the boldest action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though several attempts have been made to find out others, as has been shewed in the fruitless voyages for discovery of the north-east and north-west passages: for this reason they have been reserved for this place, where something shall be said of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the first, as the most glorious and honourable, because it shewed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterprise was undertaken and performed after this manner.

An. 1519. *Ferdinand de Magalbaens*, or as we corruptly call him, *Magellan*, by nation a *Portuguese*, by descent a gentleman, and by profession a soldier and seaman, having served his prince well both in *Africa* and *India*, and being ill rewarded, renounced his country, disnaturalizing himself as the custom then was, and offered his service to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, then king of *Spain*. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to *India*, and particularly to the *Molucco* islands, besides the common track by the cape of *Good Hope* followed by the *Portuguese*. This he proposed to the emperor with such assurance of performing what he promised, that he had the command of five ships given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this squadron he sailed from *S. Lucar de Barrameda* on the twentieth of *September*, the aforesaid year 1519. Being come to the river called *Rio de Janeiro* on the coast of *Brazil*, and near 23 degrees of south-latitude, some discontent began to appear among the men, which was soon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of *S. Julian* in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew so high, three of the captains and most of the men being engaged, that *Magellan* having in vain endeavoured to appease it by fair means, was forced to use his authority, executing two of the said captains, and setting the third with a priest who had sided with them ashore among the wild *Indians*. This done, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the twenty first of *October* 1520, having been out above a year discovered the cape, which he called *Cabo de la Virgines*, or the *Virgins Cape*, because that day was the feast of *S. Ursula*, and the eleven thousand virgins; and there turned into the strait he went in search of, which from him to this day is called the strait of *Magellan*: it lies in 52 degrees of south-latitude, is about a hundred leagues in length, in some parts a league wide, in

some more, in some less, but all narrow, and enclosed with high land on both sides, some bare, some covered with woods, and some of the loftiest mountains with snow. Having sailed about 50 leagues in this strait, they discovered another branch of it, and *Magellan* sent one of his ships to bring him some account of it; but the seamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for opposing their design, returned into *Spain*, spending eight months in their return. *Magellan* having expected beyond the time appointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded through the strait, and came into the South-sea with only three ships, having lost one in his passage, but all the men saved, and another as was said being stolen away from him. The last land of the strait he called *Cabo Desado*, or the *Desired Cape*, because it was the end of his desired passage to the South-sea. The cold being somewhat sharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly steered west north-west. In this manner he sailed three months and twenty days without seeing land, which reduced them to such straits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink stinking water, of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were so weak, that they could do no service. After fifteen hundred leagues sailing he found a small island in 88 degrees of south-latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing considerable in them; and therefore held on his course, till in about 12 degrees of north-latitude, he came to those islands which he called *De los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*, because the natives hovered about his ships in their boats, and coming aboard, stole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he sailed again, and discovering a great number of islands together, he gave that sea the name of *Archipelago de S. Lazaro*, the islands being those we now call the *Philippines*. On the twenty eighth of *March* he anchored by the island of *Butuan*, where he was friendly received, and got some gold; then removed to the isle of *Messana*, at a small distance from the other, and thence to that of *Cebu*. *Magellan* having hitherto succeeded so well, stood over to the island *Matan*, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this disaster the rest sailed over to the island *Bohol*, and being too weak to carry home their three ships, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of use to them. Being now reduced to two ships, they made away to the south-west

west in search of the *Molucco* islands, and instead of them fell into the great one of *Borneo*, where they made some short stay, being friendly received; and departing thence, with the assistance of *Indian* pilots arrived at length at the *Moluccos* on the eighth of *November* 1521, in the twenty seventh month after their departure from *Spain*, and anchored in the port of *Tidore*, one of the chief of those islands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of *Spain*. Here they traded for cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ships leaky, and unfit for so long a voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then sailed for *Spain* as soon as possible. The other ship called the *Victory*, commanded by *John Sebastian Cano*, and carrying forty six *Spaniards*, and thirteen *Indians*, took its course to the south-west, and coming to the island *Malva*, near that of *Timor*, in 11 degrees of south-latitude, staid there fifteen days to stop some leaks they discovered in her. On the twenty fifth of *January* 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at *Timor*, whence they went not till the eleventh of *February*, when they took their way to the southward, resolving to leave all *India*, and the islands to the northward, to avoid meeting the *Portugueses*, who were powerful in those seas, and would obstruct their passage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of south-latitude before they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, about which they spent seven weeks beating it out against contrary winds, so that their provisions began to fail, and many men grew sick, which made some entertain thoughts of turning back to *Mozambique*, but others opposed it. In fine, after two months more hardships, in which they lost twenty one of their company, they were forced to put into the island of *S. James*, being one of those of *Cabo Verde*, where with much intreaty they obtained some small relief of provisions; but thirteen of them going ashore again for some rice the *Portugueses* had promised to supply them with, were detained ashore, which made those that were left aboard the ship hoist sail and put to sea, fearing the like treachery might surprise them, and on the seventh of *September* arrived safe at *S. Lucar*, below the city *Sevil*, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their shirts and barefoot to return thanks to God. The ship that performed this wonderful voyage was called the *Victory*, as was said before, the commander's name was *John Sebastian Cano*, who was well rewarded and honoured by the

emperor. This was the first voyage round the world, which we shall soon see followed by other nations; and this was the discovery of the strait of *Magellan*, which made the voyage practicable. The other *Spanish* ship we mentioned to be left at the *Moluccos* to stop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to *Panama*, but after struggling above four months with the easterly winds, most of the men dying, and the rest being almost starved, it went back to the *Moluccos*, where it was taken by the *Portugueses*; and the few men that survived after being kept two years in *India*, were sent to *Spain* in the *Portuguese* ships. *Herrera*, dec. 2. lib. IV, IX. and dec. 3. lib. I, IV. *Hackluyt*, vol. III. and *Purchas*, vol. 1.

The second voyage round the world was begun

An. 1577. By Mr. *Francis*, afterwards fir *Francis Drake*, with five ships and barks, and a hundred and sixty four men, who sailed from *Plymouth* on the thirteenth of *December*, and on the twenty fifth of the same month touched at cape *Cantin* on the *African* coast, in 31 degrees of north-latitude; on the seventeenth of *January* 1578, at cape *Blanco* on the same coast, and 21 degrees of latitude, and then at the islands of *Cabo Verde*. Departing thence, they sailed fifty four days without seeing land, and on the fifth of *April* came upon the coast of *Brazil*, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of *Plate* in 36 degrees of south-latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty seventh of *April* they put into a port in the latitude of 46 degrees, where *Drake* burnt a flyboat that attended him, after saving all that could be of use. On the twentieth of *June* he again put into a good harbour, called *Port S. Julian*, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the seventeenth of *August*, when putting to sea again, he entered the straits of *Magellan* on the twenty first of the same month. What sort of straits these are was described in *Magellan's* voyage, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an island they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geese, whereof they killed three thousand, which was good provision; and they entered the South-sea on the sixth of *September*. Hence they were drove by a storm to the southward as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain islands; whence removing to a good bay, they saw many men and women naked in canoes, and traded with them for such things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three islands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of *October* they lost sight of one of their ships commanded

by Mr. Winter, which the rest supposed to be cast away, but it was put back by the tempest into the strait of Magellan, and returned home. Some way it came. Drake with the rest sailed for the coast of Chile, and sending for water at the island Mocha, two of his men were killed by the Indians, which made him depart without it. This island is on the coast of Chile in 39 degrees of south-latitude. Coasting still along, he came to the bay of Valparaíso, where he found a Spanish ship with only eight Spaniards and three Blacks in her, whom he surprised and took, and then going ashore plundered nine houses, being all there were in that which they called the town of Santiago. At Coquimbo in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the Spaniards, the rest fled back to their ships. Not far from thence landing for fresh water, they met one single Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight Lamas, or Peru sheep loaded with silver, which they took. Running on thence to Arica on the coast of Peru in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was some quantity of silver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of Lima in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of 12 vessels that lay there, letting them drive wheresoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never seen an enemy in those seas. Near cape S. Francis in 1 degree of north-latitude he took a rich ship called *Cacafuego*, and a little further another. Then he plundered *Guatulco*, and after refitting his ship in a small island run away to the northward into 43 degrees of latitude, where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coast of California, which Drake called *Nova Albion*. Here he was well received by the people, and continued some time, and sailing hence directed his course for the Molucco islands, seeing no land till the thirteenth day of October, when he discovered the islands *de los Ladrones* in eight degrees of north-latitude. On the fourteenth of November he fell in with the Molucco islands, and came to an anchor in that of Ternate, the king whereof came aboard Drake's ship, offering him all the island could afford; and he having taken in what was most necessary and could be had there, went over to a small island south of Celebes, where he graved his ship, and fitted her to return home, which took him up twenty six days. Thinking to return to the Moluccos, they were drove by contrary winds to the northward of the island Celebes, till turning again to the southward for fear of the many small islands

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in that sea, the ship on a sudden sat upon a rock, where it was feared she would have perished; but lightning her of three tun of cloves, eight guns and some provisions, she got off. On the eighth of February 1579, they fell in with the island Barateve, where they refreshed themselves after their fatigues, and took in store of such provisions as the place afforded, the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furnished with all necessaries, they left this place, and again made some stay at the island of Java, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they steered directly for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land they came near from Java, yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to Sierra Leona, the westernmost point of Guinea, in 8 degrees of north-latitude, on the twenty second of July, and there recruited themselves with provisions. Departing thence on the twenty fourth, they arrived in England on the third of November 1580, and the third year after their departure. This relation is to be seen at large in *Hackluyt*, vol. III. p. 742. and in *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.

An. 1586. Mr. Thomas, afterwards sir Thomas Candish, undertook the third voyage round the world with three small vessels, one of a hundred and twenty, the second of sixty, and the third of forty tons burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and sailed from Plymouth on the twenty first of July 1586. On the twenty third of August he put into a bay on the coast of Africa, and destroyed there a village of the Blacks, because they killed a man with a poisoned arrow. After some days spent about this place, he sailed away south-west, and on the first of November put in between the island of S. Sebastian, and the continent of Brasil, in 24 degrees of south-latitude, where the men were set to work ashore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the casks, and fill fresh water, which took them up till the twenty third of the month, when sailing again on the seventeenth of December, they entered port Desire in 47 degrees and a half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpose careened their ships, and refitted what was amiss. The third day of January 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the straits of Magellan, the weather being very stormy, which lasted three days, all which time they continued there, but lost an anchor, and the sixth day entered the strait. The seventh as they drew near the narrow part of the strait they took a Spaniard, being one of the twenty three that still remained alive, which were all then left of five hundred landed there three years before to guard

guard the strait, the rest being dead with hunger. These had built a town, which they called king *Philip's* city, and fortified it, but they could make no works against famine, which consumed them all to those before mentioned, who except him that was taken were gone along the coast, hoping to get to the river of *Plate*. *Candish* having wooded and watered here, called this place *Port Famine*. The weather proving very boisterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and therefore did not get out into the South-sea till the twenty fourth of *February*. On the first of *March* a violent storm parted the bark of forty tons from the other two ships, and they met not before the fifteenth betwixt the island of *S. Mary* and the continent of *Chile*, in 37 degrees and a half of south-latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have, and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the island for the *Spaniards*, besides as many hogs as they could salt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fishes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the last of the month landed at *Punta de Quenro* in 33 degrees of latitude, but saw no man, though they travelled some miles, only spied some herds of very wild cattle; but the first of *April* going to water, the men were set upon by the *Spaniards*, and twelve of them cut off. Proceeding hence along the coast of *Chile* and *Peru*, they took some coasting vessels carrying provisions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the island *Puna*, in about 3 degrees of south-latitude, being a place famous for supplying all those coasts with cables. Here the *English* took what they found for their use, the island being inhabited by none but *Indians*, except some few *Spaniards* that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the *English*, but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This second loss of men obliged *Candish* to sink his bark of forty ton, that had attended him out of *England*. On the twelfth of *June* they cut the equinoctial line, and holding on their course to the northward all that month, on the first of *July* came upon the coast of *New-Spain*; where on the ninth they took and burnt a ship with seven men in her, and soon after a bark, whose men were fled to shore. The twenty sixth day they anchored at *Capalita*, in 16 degrees of north-latitude, whence they went with thirty men to *Aguatulo* a small *Indian* town, which they burnt and riled. Then keeping along that coast, they continued ravaging the *Indian* towns, till they came to a small island in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven

leagues from the city *Chiamellan*; where having watered, and staid till the ninth of *November*, they then stood over to cape *S. Lucar*, which is the fourthernmost point of *California*, and beating about it till the fourth of *November*, met then with the *S. Ann*, being the *Spanish* galeon bound from the *Philippine* islands to the port of *Acapulco* in *New-Spain*. After a fight of six hours the galeon was taken and carried into the port called *Puerto Seguro*; where setting ashore the *Spaniards*, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the galeon, and on the nineteenth of *November* sailed thence towards *India*. This night *Candish*, who was in the *Desire*, lost his other ship called the *Content*, and never saw her after. Being thus left alone he sailed before the wind, as is usual there, for the space of forty five days, and on the third of *January* 1588. came up with the islands *de los Ladrones*, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape *Espiritu Santo*, a great head-land of one of the *Philippine* islands to the westward in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the islands *Ladrones*. At the island *Cabul* he continued some days getting fresh provisions, and sailing amidst all those islands south-west and by south, on the eighth of *February* discovered the island *Batochina* near *Gilolo*, in 1 degree of south-latitude; whence he steered to the south side of the great island of *Java*, and touching there on the twelfth of *March*, traded with the natives for provisions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the sixteenth he set sail for the cape of *Good Hope*, and doubled it about the middle of *May*; having spent nine weeks betwixt the island of *Java* and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues distance. On the ninth of *June* he anchored at the island of *S. Helena*, about five hundred leagues distant from the cape of *Good Hope*, lying betwixt the coast of *Africk* and *Brasil*, in about 15 degrees of south-latitude. This island is generally touched at by ships going to and returning from the *East-Indies*, because of the conveniency of watering, besides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as also abundance of fowl, swine, and goats, the place being extremely pleasant, but very small. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ship, on the twentieth of *June* *Candish* sailed for *England*; on the twenty fourth of *August* he discovered the island *Flores* and *Corvo*, two of the *Azores*, and on the ninth of *September* after a terrible storm, which carried away part of his sails, put into the port of *Plymouth*. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 803. and Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.

An. 1598. The Dutch resolving to perform as much as had been done before by Magellan's ship, and by sir Francis Drake and sir Thomas Candish, they fitted out four ships under the command of captain Olivier d'Oort, as Van Meteren calls him, or Oliver Noort, according to Purchas. The rest proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of July; and to omit particulars of less moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of December they came to the Prince's Island, or *Isla do Principe* on the coast of Congo, in 2 degrees of north-latitude; where the Portuguese killed some of their men, and the Dutch commander in revenge assaulting their fort, was repulsed with greater loss. This made him desist; and sailing thence, on the fifth of February 1599. came on the coast of Brasil. Here they spent much time, seeking refreshment and water along the shore, and being much shaken by a storm, and abundance of the men sick, besides, that it was the winter season there, they put into a little island called *S. Clare*, on the coast of Brasil, in about 21 degrees of south-latitude. Here the sick men being set ashore, some of them presently died; the rest ailing nothing but the scurvy, were cured with eating four plumbs they found there. One of the ships being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of use had been taken out of her. On the sixteenth of July they left this place, steering for Port Desire in 47 degrees; and after many storms put into it on the twentieth of September, careened their ships, and took abundance of fowl. Some men were here killed by the Indians. Departing hence on the twenty ninth, they came to cape Virgines at the mouth of the strait of Magellan, on the fourth of November; where they met with storms of wind, rain, hail, and snow, besides much sickness and contention among themselves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the strait: so that it was the last of February 1600. before they came out into the South-sea. March the twelfth they lost sight of the vice-admiral, and sailed without him to the island *Mocha*, in 38 degrees south. Another ship missing the island of *S. Maries*, and being drove by necessity to make the continent for provisions, lost most of its men ashore, the rest putting to sea with the vessel. Being now in fear of the Spanish men of war, he directed his course with the two ships he had left for the islands *de los Ladrones*, which he had sight of on the fifteenth of September; and on the fourteenth of October discovered the island of Luzon or Manila, the chief of the Philippines. Near this island he met the two Spanish ships bound thence for New-Spain;

and after a desperate fight, Noort sunk one of them; but at the same time the other took his second ship, and he made all haste away to Borneo, but made no stay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore sailing hence, he traded for pepper at Java, and at length returned by the cape of Good Hope, and isle of *S. Helena*, arriving at Amsterdam on the twenty sixth of August 1601. Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 71. Van Meteren, lib. XXIII.

An. 1614. George Spilbergen, commander of five Dutch ships, sailed out of the Texel on the eighth of August, and entered the strait of Magellan on the twenty eighth of March 1615. but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the second of April. In the strait they continued going ashore on the south side upon the land called *Tierra del Fuego*, known since to be an island, till the sixth of May; when they came out into the South-sea, which received them with storms, and on the twenty sixth came up with the island *la Mocha*, on the coast of Chile, mentioned in all the former voyages. Here they traded with the Indians, exchanging hatchets, and other utensils, as also coral, for large Peru sheep, which serve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the island of *S. Mary* on the 29th, they had a skirmish with some few Spaniards, and got some booty of sheep. Running along the coast, they touched at Valparaiso, cape Quintero, and other places; but finding the Spaniards every where had taken the alarm, they durst not do any thing ashore. July the seventeenth keeping along the shores of Peru, they discovered eight Spanish ships set out to engage them. That very night they engaged, and after a hot dispute, three of the Spanish ships sunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and sixty wounded. Drawing too near the shore at Collao the port of Lima, the *Huntsman*, one of the Dutch ships, was almost sunk with a thirty six pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their course to the northward, they took the little town of Peita. Therefore August the twenty first they set out to sea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of October, when they put into the harbour of Acapulco in New-Spain, and there exchanged the prisoners they had taken for provisions. Which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty sixth of November stood over for the islands *de los Ladrones*. In January following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diseases. On the twenty third of the same month they discovered the *Ladrones*, and on the ninth of February cape

Espiritu Santo, the easternmost point of the Philippine islands to the northward; passing among which, they arrived at *Ternate*, the chief of the *Moluccas*, on the twenty ninth of *March*, which the *Dutch* in the island reckoned the twenty eighth; the fleet by following the course of the sun having lost a day, whereas they that sail round to the eastward gain a day. About these islands they continued some months, and arrived at *Jacatra* in the island of *Java* on the fifteenth of *September*, on the thirtieth of *March* 1617. at the island of *S. Helena*, and in *July* following in *Zealand*. *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 80.

An. 1615. *Isaac le Maier* a merchant of *Amsterdam*, and *William Cornelijon Schouten* of *Horn*, resolving to find out a new way to the *East Indies*, besides those already known by the cape of *Good Hope* and strait of *Magellan*, at their own charges fitted out a good ship of three hundred and sixty tun and twenty guns, and a smaller of an hundred and ten tun and eight guns, in which they fitted themselves out of the *Texel* on the sixteenth of *June* in the aforesaid year, resolving to find another passage into the South-sea, to the southward of the strait of *Magellan*, which their design they kept secret, till they came near the line, where they discovered it to the seamen, who were well pleased with the undertaking. To pass by all other particulars, as too like those in the foregoing voyages, on the ninth of *December* they sailed up into *Port Desire*, on the coast of *America*, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of south latitude; where bringing their ships ashore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the lesser of them, she took fire, and burnt till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet so that nothing of her could be saved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron-work. The thirteenth of *January* 1616. the great ship now left alone sailed out of *Port Desire*, and on the twenty fifth discovered the island they called *Staten-land* to the eastward, and the point of *Tierra del Fuego* to the westward, which they called *Maurice-land*, in almost 55 degrees of south latitude. Entering betwixt these two lands, they steered south south-west, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they stood south-west, and then south. Thus the twenty sixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty ninth discovered those they called *Barnevelt's* islands. The third of *February* they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the straits of *Magellan* lay east of them; and therefore being satisfied that they were in the South-sea, they called the new-found passage the strait of *Le Maire*. *March* the first they came near the islands of *John Fernandez*,

in 33 degrees 40 minutes of south latitude, and at some distance from the coast of *Cbile*: but tho' they endeavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being still beaten off by the wind and current, and therefore steered away to the westward to prosecute their voyage; and in *April* they discovered several small islands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. These islands were in about 14 and 15 degrees of south latitude. Sailing on still westward, they saw many more islands in *May*, and had some trade with the natives, who attempted to surprize the ship, or at least the boat; but were soon scared away by the fire-arms, where they saw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noise. Finding no continent, and perceiving they were at least sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of *Cbile* or *Peru*, they steered to the northward, for fear they should fall south of *New-Guinea*, and perhaps not be able to clear themselves of the coast, the winds being always at east. Many more islands are mentioned in the journal, at some of which they touched and got refreshment; but on the first of *July* they anchored near the coast of *New-Guinea*, whence they sailed still along the shore, and amidst a multitude of islands, till they came into half a degree of south latitude, where they saw a small island off the shore of the land of *Papous*, and called it *William Schouten's Island*, after the captain's name, and the westernmost point of it the cape of *Good Hope*. *September* the 17th they arriv'd at the island *Ternate*, and thence in *October* to *Jacatra*, or *Batavia* in the island of *Java*; where the president of the *Dutch East-India* company seized the ship and goods. Whereupon *William Cornelijon Schouten* the master, *Jacob le Maire* the merchant, and ten seamen put themselves aboard the *Amsterdam*, a *Dutch* ship homewards bound, and twelve others aboard the *Zealand*, and arrived in safety at *Amsterdam* in *July*; having discovered the new strait called *le Maire*, as was said before, and performed the voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days. *Purchas*, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 88.

An. 1643. *Brewer*, or *Brower*, went another way into the South-sea, by a passage called after his own name, which is east of *le Maire's* strait; but whether this was a strait with land on each side, or an open sea, is not known, his diary not being made publick: but most maps make it a new strait.

An. 1683. one *John Cook* sailed from *Virginia* in a ship of eight guns and fifty two men a buccaneering; and with him one *Cowley*, as master. On the coast of *Guinea*

they took a ship of forty guns by surprize, in which they failed away to the South-sea, meeting by the way another ship commanded by one *Eaton*, who joined them to follow the same trade. They ran into 60 degrees of south latitude, and passed that way into the South-sea, where *Cowley* says they discovered several islands about the line. Thence they sailed over to the *Ladrones*, whence they continued their course, and anchored at *Canton in China*. Departing *Canton*, they came to the island *Borneo*, where *Cowley*, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to *Java*. At *Batavia* the author, with two others, shipped himself aboard a *Dutch* vessel, and so returned to *Europe*. The relation of this voyage is shortened, because there have been so many voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the same ship; whereas in this there was much shifting. Those that desire may see it at large in the collection of original voyages, published by capt. *Will Hack*, An. 1699.

Captain *Dampier* in his first book of voyages gives an account of this same last mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the same *Cook*; and therefore no more needs be said of it, tho' there may be many circumstances which this discourse cannot descend to: wherefore here shall end the voyages round the world, it being time to proceed to what remains.

After so long a discourse of voyages and discoveries, it may seem superfluous to treat of the advantages the publick receives by navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being sensible of the other; and therefore a few words may suffice on this subject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is so visible and plain, and to save running out this introduction to an unreasonable length. What was cosmography before these discoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a science, scarce deserving so good a name? When all the known world was only *Europe*, a small part of *Africa*, and the lesser portion of *Asia*; so that of this terraqueous globe not one sixth part had ever been seen or heard of. Nay, so great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned persons made a doubt of its being round; others no less knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, desert and uninhabitable. But now geography and hydrography have received some perfection by the pains of so many mariners and travellers, who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have sailed and travelled round it, as has

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been here made appear; to shew there is no part uninhabitable, unless the frozen polar regions, have visited all other countries, tho' never so remote, which they have found well peopled, and most of them rich and delightful; and to demonstrate the *Antipodes*, have pointed them out to us. Astronomy has received the addition of many constellations never seen before. Natural and moral history is embellished with the most beneficial increase of so many thousands of plants it had never before received, so many drugs and spices, such variety of beasts, birds and fishes, such rarities in minerals, mountains and waters, such unaccountable diversity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politics, and religions. Trade is raised to the highest pitch, each part of the world supplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted most precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and scanty manner, as when the *Venetians* served *Europe* with spice and drugs from *India* by the way of *Turky* and the *Red Sea*; or as when gold and silver were only drawn from the poor *European* and *African* mines; but with plenty and affluence, as when the most nations resorting freely to the *East-Indies*, and the *West* yearly sending forth prodigious quantities of the most esteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of *Europe* is now extended to the utmost bounds of the earth where several of its nations have conquests and colonies. These and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of those who expose themselves to the dangers of the vast ocean, and of unknown nations; which those who sit still at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to stir up another to imitate him, whilst the rest of mankind, in their accounts without stirring a foot, compass the earth and seas, visit all countries, and converse with all nations.

It only remains to give some few directions for such as go on long voyages; which shall be those drawn up by Mr. *Roob*, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry professor of *Gresham* college, by order of the said society, and published in the philosophical transactions of the eighth of *January* 1665-6, being Numb. 8. They are as follow:

1. To observe the declination of the compass, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude and longitude of the place where such observation is made, as exactly as may be, and setting down the method by which they made them.

2. To

2. To carry dipping needles with them, and observe the inclination of the needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully the ebbs and flowings of the sea in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the tides; as, their precise time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the current runs, what perpendicular distance there is between the highest tide and lowest ebb, during the spring tides and neep tides, what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the highest and lowest tides fall out: and all other considerable accidents they can observe in the tides, chiefly near ports, and about islands, as in *S. Helena's* island, and the three rivers there, at the *Bermudas*, &c.

4. To make plots and draughts of prospect of coasts, promontories, islands and ports, marking the bearings and distances as near as they can.

5. To sound and mark the depth of coasts and ports, and such other places near the shore, as they shall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the ground at the bottom of the sea, in all soundings, whether it be clay, sand, rock, &c.

7. To keep a register of all changes of wind and weather at all hours, by night and by day, shewing the point the wind blows from, whether strong or weak: the rains, hail, snow, and the like; the precise times of their beginnings and continuance, especially hurricanes and spouts; but above all, to take exact care to observe the trade-winds, about what degree of latitude and longitude the first begin, where and when they cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and how much, as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, *ignes fatui*, comets, &c. marking still the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good scales, and glass-vials of a pint, or so, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with sea-water in different degrees of latitude, as often as they please, and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

This may suffice for sea-voyages; but in regard it may be expected something should be said for those who travel by land, a few instructions have been collected from experienced travellers, who are best able to direct such as design to follow them into remote countries. We will therefore begin

with *monsieur de Bourges*, who with the bishop of *Berytus* made a journey through *Turky*, *Perfia* and *India*, as far as *Cochin-china*. He advises such as intend for those parts to order their affairs, that they may come into *Turky* in *October*, to avoid the excessive heats of those countries for four or five months before that time. If our traveller will hold on his journey to *Perfia*, he must go with the carava: from *Aleppo* to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, which will take him up a month; thence he embarks upon the river *Euphrates*, which carries him down to *Bassora*, whence he proceeds by sea to *Bander*, where he may find convenience by land to *Isphahan*, the capital of *Perfia*: From *Isphahan* the difficulties of travelling by land to *India* are almost invincible, and therefore the proper way is to repair to the port of *Gomron*, whence there is a constant and safe passage to *Surat*, or any other part of *India*. All persons that travel in *Turky* must change their habit into that of the country, and must lay aside the hat, and wear a turban, and the meaner the habit the safer they will be from extortions and robberies: They must endeavour to have a *Turkish* interpreter on the road with them, who may own whatever goods they carry, and protect them against any affronts that may be offered them; but above all, they must endeavour to be well recommended to the captain of the caravan, which will be their greatest safeguard. This recommendation must be from some of the christian consuls, but generally the best from the *French*, who are much regarded in those parts. Such as will not carry all their stock in ready money, must be careful to carry those commodities that will turn to best account, amongst which the brightest yellow amber, and the largest red coral, are in great esteem. These, tho' not wrought, are profitable; and to avoid the duties paid at several places, may be carried in a bag, or portmanteau on the horse the traveller rides, for those are not searched. The best money they can carry are *Spanish* pieces of eight, provided they be full weight, and not of *Peru*, which are not so fine silver as the others. By this money they will have seven or eight *per cent.* profit in some parts, and ten *per cent.* in others, and the same in *French* crowns. As for gold, the greatest profit is made of the *Venetian* and *Hungarian*, and it is very considerable. There is so great an advantage to be made by those who rightly understand the best coins and their value, that those who are well instructed in it can travel for a very inconsiderable expence. It is absolutely necessary to carry good arms to defend themselves upon all occasions, but more particularly

cularly to fight the *Arabs*, and other rovers. Above all, it is requisite in *Turky* that travellers be armed with patience to bear many affronts the infidels will put upon them, and with prudence and moderation to prevent, as much as possibly may be, any such infolencies. They will do well never to go without provisions, because the caravans never stop to bait, and very often at night have no other inn but the open fields, where they lie in tents, and eat what they carry. When they travel with the caravan, they must take care never to be far from it, for fear of being devoured by wild beasts, or by the wilder *Arabs*. This in *Turky*, for in *Persia* it is quite otherwise; here we may travel in the *European* habit, and wear hats, which are better against the heat than turbants; the roads are safe, and the *Persians* courteous to strangers, especially the better sort. However, the traveller must watch the servants, and meaner sort of people of the country, who else will impose upon him in matter of payments, of buying and selling; and therefore his best way is, where there are missionaries to repair to them, who will assist and instruct him. He must carry no gold into *Persia*, because it bears a low price, and he will be a great loser by it: The best way is to change his money on the *Turkish* frontiers into *Persian* coin, or else to carry a quantity of good amber and coral, which will yield profit, as will also gold watches. In *India* *Spanish* gold yields some profit, tho' small, which the traveller may take notice of, in case he has no goods to carry that may yield a greater profit: This at *Suratte*; but further in *India*, and particularly at *Gokonda*, gold yields more, and especially old gold: however, at *Siam* again there is great loss in *Spanish* gold, and all other sorts, for there it is lower than in any other part of the *East-Indies* nearer to us, and still decreases beyond it, as in *Cochin*, *Tonquin* and *Cbina*. In *India* the way of travelling by land is commonly in carts drawn by oxen, and in some parts on elephants, but in *Cbina* the most common carriage is in *palankenes*, or chairs on mens shoulders, who travel swift and cheap.

These particulars may serve in relation to the eastern nations; and as for *Europe*, the methods of travelling are too well known to require any particular instructions, therefore it only remains to set down some general rules which may concern all travellers to observe. They are in the first place to consider, that they do not go into other countries to pass through them, and divert themselves with the present sight of such curiosities as they meet with, nor to learn the vices of those people for which they need not take the pains of going abroad, nor to observe their faults that they

may have matter to rail when they come home. If they will make an advantage of their trouble and cost, they must not pass through a country as if they carried an express, but make a reasonable stay at all places where there are antiquities, or any rarities to be observed; and not think that because others have writ on that subject, there is no more to be said; for upon comparing their observations with other mens, they will often find a very considerable difference. Let them therefore always have a table-book at hand to set down every thing worth remembering, and then at night more methodically transcribe the notes they have taken in the day. The principal heads by which to regulate their observations are these, the climate, government, power, places of strength, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufactures, wealth, bishopricks, universities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and arts, publick structures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, customs, habits, laws, privileges, strange adventures, surprising accidents, rarities both natural and artificial, the soil, plants, animals, and whatsoever may be curious, diverting, or profitable. It is not amiss, if it may be, to view all rarities in the company of other strangers, because many together are apt to remark more than one alone can do. Every traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of measures, to take the dimensions of such things as require it; a watch by which, and the pace he travels, he may give some guess at the distances of places, or rather at the length of the computed leagues, or miles; a prospective-glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take views of objects at greater and less distances; a small sea-compass or needle, to observe the situation of places, and a parcel of the best maps to make curious remarks of their exactness, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a traveller must endeavour to see the courts of princes, to keep the best company, and to converse with the most celebrated men in all arts and sciences. Thus much for travellers; but that every man may have his due, as we owned the instructions for the eastern countries to be those given by monsieur *de Bourges*, so we must here confess, that most of these general rules may be found in monsieur *Misson's* travels. Having given an account of the advancement of navigation, and all discoveries made by help of it, of the countries so discovered, of the advantages the publick receives by the relations of travellers, and some directions for them; it now only remains to subjoin a catalogue and character of books of travels, for the information of such as are addicted to this sort of pleasant and profitable reading.

The Catalogue and Character of most Books of Travels.

Latin.

Descriptio Africae, 8°. *Descriptiones Asiae. De Rege Mabumetica, and De Rebus Mabumeticis.*

These four by *John Leo*, a Spaniard by birth, and a Mabometan by education, but afterwards converted, who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of *Africk*, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as *Johannes Bodinus* affirms. He first writ them in the *Arabick* for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into *Italian*, and *John Florianus* into *Latin*. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs and manners of the people of *Africk*, but is too brief in martial affairs, and the lives of the *African* princes.

Epistole viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty six letters concerning the affairs of *Japan*, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historica relatio de legatione regis Sinesium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the embassy sent by the emperor of *China* to *Taicojima* king of *Japan*, *An. 1596.* and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, *Rome 1599. 8°.*

Historica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, An. 1596. à patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis: or an account of the proceedings of the jesuits in *Japan*, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by *F. Lewis Froes*, a jesuit, who lived forty nine years in the east, and thirty six of them in the island of *Japan* as a missionary. It is believed these relations were writ in *Portuguese* by the author, and afterwards translated into *Latin*.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ patriarchis, Lions 1615. 8°. The author was *F. Nicholas Godinbo*, a *Portuguese* jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by *F. Urreta*.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletanæ provinciæ usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of *Alcala* in *Spain* to *Rome*, by *Dr. James Lopez de Zuniga*, a pious and learned man.

Literæ annuæ. The annual or yearly letters out of *Æthiopia*, *China*, *India*, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

Atbanasii Kircheri de societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata, fol. This is a complete history of *China*, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appear'd writ by missionaries, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in *Kircher*.

Jobi Ludolfi historia Æthiopica, fol. This history of *Æthiopia* is written by a *German*, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an *Æthiopian* he was acquainted with in *Germany*, for he was never near *Æthiopia* himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the *Æthiopian* language, than of history.

Relatio eorum que circa S. Cæs. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum ablegatos anno eræ christianæ 1675. gesta sunt, strictim recensita per Adolphum Lysleck, distæ legationis secretarium, 8°. Saltzburg 1676. In this account of an embassy to the *Czar of Muscovy*, we have an account of his travels through *Silesia*, *Pomerania*, *Prussia*, *Lithuania*, and *Muscovy*, to the court of *Moscow*, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of, being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the embassy, *Giom. de Letter.*

Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponiæ, id est regionis Lapponum & gentis novæ & verissimæ descriptio, 4°. Lipsiæ 1674. An account of *Lapland*, which though it be not by way of travels, well deserves a place here, because we shall scarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a just relation of it. This however is authentick, as gathered from the *Swedish* writers, who are best acquainted with those parts.

Theodori & Joannis de Brye India orientalis & occidentalis, 6 vols. fol. Frankfurt 1624. This collection being three volumes of the *East* and three of the *West-Indies*, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of *Congo* in *Africk*, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been discovered before *India*; this account translated from the *Italian* writ by *Philip Pigafetta*. Next follow five voyages of *Samuel Bruno* of *Basil*, the three first to *Congo*, *Æthiopia*, and other parts round the coast of *Africk*; the fourth to several parts in the *Straits*, and the fifth to *Portugal* and *Spain*, &c. translated into *Latin* from the author's original in *Hight-Dutch*. The next are *Linschoten's Indian* voyages,

voyages, translated from the *Dutch*, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in those parts. Then three *Dutch* voyages to the north-east passage, and after them a great number of cuts and maps, besides very many dispersed throughout the book, and a considerable number at the beginning. These are the contents of the first volume. The second begins with a large account of *Bantam*, *Banda*, *Ternate*, and other parts of *India*, being a voyage of eight *Dutch* ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of *Hugh-Dutch*. After that the description of *Guinea* out of *Hugh-Dutch*. *Spilberg's* voyage, *An. 1601*. *Gaspard Balbi's* voyage, *An. 1579*. In the third volume *Jacob Neck's* voyage, *An. 1603*. *Jo. Hermon de Bree*, *An. 1602*. *Corn. Nicolas*, *Cornelius Ven*, and *Stephen de Hagen*, all to *India*. *Verbuff's* voyage to *India*, *An. 1607*. Dialogues in *Latin* and the *Malay* language. *Hudson's* voyage to the north-east passage. An account of *Terra Australis incognita*, by capt. *Peter Ferdinand de Quir*; and the description of *Siberia*, *Samoieda*, and *Tingoesia*. Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius* to the *East-Indies*. A very strange relation of an *Englishman*, who being shipwrecked on the coast of *Cambaia*, travel'd through many of those eastern countries; and the description of the northern country of *Spitzbergen*: the whole illustrated with a vast number of maps, and other cuts. Thus far the three volumes of the *East-Indies*. The three of the *West* are composed of these parts. Vol. I. an ample account of *Virginia*: The unfortunate expedition of the *French* to *Florida*, *An. 1565*. *Laudonniere's* voyage thither, *An. 1574*. Two voyages of *John Stadius* to *Brazil* and the river of *Plate*, where he lived among the *Indians*. *Leri's* account of *Brazil*. *Villagano's* voyage to *South America*. *Benzo's* history of the discovery of *America*. Vol. II. The second and third parts of *Benzo's* history of the *West-Indies*. *Fuber's* description of several parts of *America*, where he travelled. Voyages of sir *F. Drake*, *Cavendish* and *Raleigh*. *Dutch* expedition to the *Canaries*. General account of *America*. *Sebald de Weert's* voyage through the straits of *Magellan*. Noort round the world. Vol. III. Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius*. *Hamor's* account of the state of *Virginia*. Captain *Smith's* description of *New-England*. *Schouten* and *le Maire's* discovery of a new passage into the South-sea, called *Strait le Maire*: *Spilberg's* voyage through the straits of *Magellan*. *Herrera's* description of the *West-Indies*. These are the contents of the six volumes, the whole illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it, Vol. I.

that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at so excessive an expence. To be short, this collection is a small library, including all the voyages and discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi & viaggi, Raccolte da M. Gio Battista Ramusio, Venice, 3 vol. fol. 1613. *Ramusio's* collection of voyages and travels, the most perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatsoever: containing all the discoveries to the east, west, north, and south; with full descriptions of all the countries discovered; judiciously compiled, and free from that great mass of useless matter, which swells our *English Hackluyt* and *Purchas*; much more complete and full than the *Latin de Brye*, and in fine, the noblest work of this nature. The contents of it as briefly as may be set down, are as follow. In the first volume, *John Leo's* description of *Africk*. *Avoise de ca da Mosto's* voyage, and that of *Peter de Santra* to the coast of *Africk*. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian's* navigation on the coast of *Africk*. Voyage from *Lisbon* to the island of *S. Thomas*. *Gama's* voyage to *Cahcut*. *Peter Alvarez* to *India*. Two voyages of *Americus Vesputius*. Voyages to *India* by *Tbo. Lopez* and *Gio. da Empoli*. *Barbema's* travels to, and account of *India*. *Corfali* to *India*. *Alvarez* to *Ethiopia*. Discourse of the overflowing of *Nile*. *Nearcbus* admiral to *Alexander the Great*, his navigation. Voyage down the *Red-sea* to *Diu*. *Barbosa* of the *East-Indies*. Voyages of *Conti*, and *S. Stephano*. First voyage round the world performed by the *Spaniards*. *Gaetan* of the discovery of the *Molucco* islands. Account of *Japan*. Extracts of *Barros's* history of *India*. The second volume; *Marcus Paulus Venetus's* travels. *Hayton the Armenian* of the great *Chams*, or emperors of *Tartary*. *Angiolello* of the wars betwixt *Ussuncassan* king of *Persia*, and *Mabomet* emperor of the *Turks*; of *Ismael Sopby* and the sultan of *Babylon*, and of *Selim the Turk's* subduing the *Mamlucks*. *Barbaro's* travels to *Tartary* and *Persia*. *Contarino's* embassy from the republick of *Venice* to *Ussuncassan* king of *Persia*. *Campeffe* of *Muscovy*. *Jovius* of *Muscovy*. *Arianus* of the *Euxine*, or *Black-sea*. *Geor. Interiano* of the *Circassians*. *Quini's* shipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north-latitude. The same by *Christ. Fioravante* and *J. de Micbele*, who were with him. *Baron Herberstein* of *Muscovy* and *Russia*. *Zeno's* voyage to *Persia*. Nich.

Nich. and Ant. Zeni discovery of Frizeland, Iceland, and to the north-pole. Two voyages to Tartary by Dominicans sent by pope Innocent IV. Odoricus's two voyages into the east. Cabot's voyage into the north-west. Guagnino's Description of Poland, Muscovy, and part of Tartary. The same by Micheorus. In the third volume; an abridgment of Peter Martyr of Angleria his decads of the discovery of the West-Indies. An abridgment of Oviedo's history of the West-Indies. Cortes's account of his discovery and conquest of Mexico. Alvarado of his conquest and discovery of other provinces above Mexico. Godoy of several discoveries and conquests in New-Spain. Account of Mexico and New-Spain, by a gentleman belonging to Cortes. Alvar Nunez of the success of the fleet set out by Pamphilo de Narvaez, and his strange adventures for ten years. Nunno de Guzman of several cities and provinces of New-Spain. Francis de Ulloa's voyage to California. Valquez Coronado and Marco de Nizza of the provinces north of New-Spain. Alarcon's voyage by sea to discover the seven cities north of Mexico. Discovery and conquest of Peru, writ by a Spanish captain. Xerez's conquest of Peru. The same by Pizarro's secretary. Oviedo's account of a voyage up the great river of Marañon. Verazzano's discovery of north America. Jaques Cartier's first and second voyages to Canada or New-France. Federici's voyage to India, with a large account of the spice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in those parts. Three voyages of the Dutch to discover the north-east passage to China and Japan, in which they found the straits of Weygat and Nova Zembla, and the coast of Groenland running to 80 degrees of north-latitude. These, with many learned discourses and observations of the author's, are the contents of the three volumes.

Prima spedizione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Gioseppe di Santa Maria, 4°. Roma 1668. This author was sent by pope Alexander VII. to the Malabar Christians of S. Thomas, being himself a barefoot Carmelite, and has in this left a most excellent piece of curiosity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he saw, of birds, beasts, and other animals, and of the philosophy of the Brabmans, their secrets, and of all the other Malabars, as also of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vast empire of the Mogul, of the pearl-fishery, of the Sabeans about Basora, who pretend they received their religion from S. John Baptist, and concludes with the errors of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Greeks, Armenians, and other eastern sects.

Historia delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progressi dell' arme Moscovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moscovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Bellunese, 4°. Venetia 1672. Though the wars of Poland may not seem relating to travels, this work is inserted, as giving a good account of the Poles, Tartars, and Cossacks, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of Muscovy and Sweden, where the author travelled, and made his excellent observations.

viaggio all' Indie orientali, del P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. Roma 1673. A voyage to the East-Indies, performed by F. Vincent Maria of S. Catharine of Siena, procurator general of the barefoot Carmelites, and sent to India by the way of Turkey and Persia by the pope, together with F. Joseph of S. Mary, who writ also an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the first and last is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The second treats of the affairs of the Malabar Christians. The third and fourth of all the nations of India, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it.

Istoria descrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, & Angola, & delle missioni apostoliche esercitatevi da religiosi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, & nel presente stile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini, fol. Bologna 1687. An historical description of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola; the authors were Capuchin missionaries, who compiled it by order of the congregation de propaganda fide, and have given a most accurate description of those countries, and all things of note in them; as also of the missions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relazione della città d' Atene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queste passeggiate da Cornelio Magni l' anno 1674. 4°. Parma 1688. An account of Athens, and the provinces of Attica, Focia, Beotia, and Negropont, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of, and for further satisfaction conferred with Mr. Spon, who had travelled the same parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of Syria, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia, and principally enlarges himself upon the city of Athens, the condition whereof he describes more fully than any other has done.

Relatione

Relazione e viaggio della Moscovia del signor cavaliere D. Ercole Zani, Bolognese, 12^o. Bologna 1690. This voyage to *Muscovy* is writ by a most judicious person, and who had spent a great part of his life in travelling, and deserves to be highly valued, as coming from such a hand; and the more, because we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12^o. He performed this voyage to mount *Libanus* by order of pope *Clement VIII.* to inquire into the faith of the *Maronite* Christians; he describes the country, gives an account of the peoples doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, bishops, priests, and religious men. A work very curious and useful. It is translated into *French*, and the translator has added many useful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Costantinopoli, &c. da Gio. Benaglia, 12^o. Bologna 1664. This is an account of count *Caprara's* embassy to the great *Turk*, the author being his secretary, and has many good remarks of that court, and of the *Turkish* army, taken by him upon the spot, and therefore well worth the observation of the curious, *Biblioth. Univ.* vol. XV. p. 75.

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. Melchisedee Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a collection of curious travels in two volumes in folio. The first contains *Greaves's* description of the *Pyramids of Egypt*, and *Buralini's* account of the *Mummies*. An account of the *Cossacks*, another of the *Tartars*, another of *Mengrelia*, and another of *Georgia*. *Jenkinson's* voyage to *Cathay*. An extract of the *Dutch* embassy to the *Tartar*. A relation of the conquest of the island *Formosa* by the *Chinenses*; another of the court of the *Mogol*. *Sir Thomas Roe's* and *Terry's* voyage to the *Mogol*. A *Greek* description of the *East-Indies*. The *Arabic* geography of *Abulfeda*. The antiquities of *Persepolis*. The beginning of a book of the *Chaldeans of Bassora*. Relations of the kingdoms of *Golconda*, *Tanassari*, and *Aracan*, of the gulph of *Bengala* of *Siam*. *Bontekou's* voyages to *India*. The discovery of *Terra Australis*. The sailing course to *India*. Instructions upon the trade of *India* and *Japan*. *Beaulien's* voyage to the *West-Indies*. Accounts of the *Philippine* islands, of *Japan*, of the discovery of the land of *Jeddo*. A description of the plants

and flowers of *China*. Ancient monuments of christian religion in *China*. The second volume; the *Dutch* embassy to *China*; the *Chinese Atlas*. The state of *India*. The portraiture of the *Indians*. *Acarete's* voyage on the river *Plate*, and thence to *Peru* and *Chile*. Journey by land to *China*. The second book of *Confucius* the *Chinese* philosopher. The history of *Ethiopia*; and of some countries about it. Travels to the province of *Zaide* in *Egypt*. The history of *Mexico* in figures explained. *Tasman's* voyage to *Terra Australis*. Instructions for the navigation from *Holland* to *Batavia*. Two embassies to the emperor of *Cathay*. A chronological synopsis of the *Chinese* monarchy. *Barros's* *Asia*, or conquest of *India*. An account of the Christians of *St. John*. A voyage to *Tercera*. The elements of the *Tartar* language. A fragment concerning the isles of *Solomon*; another of the history of some eastern princes.

Thevenot has also composed one volume in 8^o, in which is an embassy from the *Czar* of *Moscovy* to *China* by land. The discovery of some countries in north *America*, and of the great river *Mississippi*. A discourse of navigation. The natural histories of the *Ephemera*, or fly that lives but a day, and the *Cancellus*.

Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, & aux Indes. These travels are printed in several sorts of volumes in *French*, according to the several editions, and have been translated into *English*. He is a faithful writer, and deserves full credit in what he delivers upon his own sight and knowledge; but in some relations taken from others, he was imposed upon, being a person of integrity, and not suspecting others would give a false information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great; having taken several ways in his six journeys. But above all, he gives the best description of the diamonds, mines and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the spot, as being a great dealer in those precious stones.

Recueil de plusieurs relations & traites singuliers & curieux de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, divise en cinq parties, 4^o. This is an addition to his voyages, in which he treats of the *Dutch* practices to exclude all Christians from *Japan*, negotiations of *French* deputies in *Persia* and *India*, remarks on the trade of *India*, an account of the kingdom of *Tunquin*, and the history of the proceedings of the *Dutch* in *Asia*.

Relation nouvelle de la Caroline, par un gentilhomme François, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau paiz, eu il par le de la route quil

qu'il faut tenir pour y aller le plus sûrement, & de l'état où il a trouvé cette nouvelle contrée. *A la Haye* 1686. 12°. This is a modern account of *Florida*, its estate in the year 1684, and the best way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as *Florida* is one of those *American* countries we have not the best account of, this is a considerable light into it.

Relation du voyage de monsieur l'évesque de Beryte par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes jusqu'au Royaume de Siam, & autres lieux, écrit par monsieur de Bourges Prestre, 8°. An account of the bishop of *Berytus's* journey by land through *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *India*, into *China*, by a priest that went with him; very curious in the description of those countries and manners of the people, with instructions for travellers to those parts, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 591.

L'Embassade de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa. This is a translation out of *Spanish*, and the account of the book is among the *Spanish* under the title, *Embaxada*, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertized that he may see more concerning this translation in *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 205.

Les voyages de monsieur de Monconys. Monsieur *Monconys's* travels in three volumes, 4°. The first through *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Constantinople*. The second into *England*, the *Low-countries*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. The third into *Spain*. Besides the general account of those countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary observations and secrets in physick and chemistry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the press, it is in some measure imperfect, and has many particulars of no use to any but himself; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. I. p. 339, and 424.

Description des costes de l'Amerique septentrional, avec l'histoire de ce pays, par monsieur Denys, 2 vol. 12°. The first volume is a description of the northern coasts of *America* and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by several stories related. The second is the natural history, very curious and learned, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. III. p. 141.

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, & les établissements de plusieurs nations, &c. 12°. This author set out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for several observations not easily to be found in others; but most for his account of the settlements of *European* nations, yet all short.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte, par le P. Vansleb en 1672, & 1673, 12°. The author to what he saw himself, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to *Egypt*.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, & du Levant, aux années 1675, & 1676, par *Jacob Spon*, 12°. 3 vol. This work, besides the general observations of travellers, is singular for its curiosity in the search of antiquities, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VI. p. 128, and 185.

Voyage de François Pirard de la Val aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, & au Brésil, &c. 4°. This is one of the exactest pieces of travels, and the most diverting hitherto made publick. *M. Pirard* the traveller furnished the materials, which were digested, and methodised by several very able men in *France*. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and yet he has some curiosities which others have not touched upon, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VII. p. 85.

Ambassade de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, *An.* 1641. fol. It is a perfect account of all that happened to the said ambassadors, and full description of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 130. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 499.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Constantinople, présentée au roy par le Sieur Grelot, *An.* 1680, in 4°. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the spot, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. VIII. p. 296.

Relation des missions & des voyages des eveques vicaires apostoliques, & de leurs eclesiastiques en années 1676, & 1677, in 8°. This is a relation of what those preachers observed in their travels in *Asia*.

Les voyages de Jean Struys en Moscovie, &c. in 4°. In these travels through *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *India*, the *isle of Madagascar*, and other places, being a vast extent of ground, and to be travelled many several ways, there are abundance of notable observations, not to be found in other books of this sort; the whole very instructive and diverting, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. IX. p. 260.

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez & de Maroc, en l'an 1681, 12°. Besides what these fathers did, as the peculiar business of their religious profession, this book contains many curiosities relating to the king of *Morocco*, and the customs of the country, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. X. p. 354.

a Character, &c. of most Books of Travels. lxxvii

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduite par M. Gomberville, sur l'original Espagnol du P. d'Acuña jesuite. This is a relation of the said father's voyage down this vast river; to which the translator has added a dissertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of *Manoa, Dorado*, and the lake of *Parima*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XI. p. 107.

Relation du voyage de Venise a Constantinople de Jaques Gassot, 12°. This author, though he writ above a hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious observations not to be found in later travellers, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XII. p. 139.

Relation du voyages des Indes orientales, par M. Delon, two volumes 12°. The author affirms, he has inserted nothing but what he saw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors: but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coast of *Malabar*; and concludes with a treatise of diseases in those parts, and their cures, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 121.

Histoire de la conquête de la Floride par les Espagnols, traduit du Portugais, 12°. This is a very exact account of that country, and all that happened in the conquest of it, writ by a Portuguese gentleman, who served in that war, and was an eye-witness of all that passed, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 394.

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, auxquels on a joynit une nouvelle découverte au Mexique, 12°. It treats of two journeys the emperor of China made into the eastern and the western *Tartary*. The other part shews the settlement made by the Spaniards in the island of *California*, *An.* 1683. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIII. p. 446.

Relation de l'ambassade de Mr. le Chevalier de Chaumont a la cour du roy de Siam, 12°. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an ambassador, and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often descending to things of less moment worth the general observation, as the description of the country, customs and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 396. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 521.

Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, & aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, & par la Colchide, fol. Though so many travellers as have visited those parts before him, seem to have left nothing new for him to write of, yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be seen in any other, and remarks no where else to be found, and particularly the exposition of several passages in scripture, which the author makes out by customs preserved in

the east from the time of *Moses* till our day, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XIV. p. 535. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. III. p. 520.

Ambassades de la compagnie Hollandoise d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon, 2 vol. 12°. It is an abridgment of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the first is the description of *Japan*; the second an account of the embassy there; and the third of five other embassies. To which is added, a relation of the civil wars in *Japan*, *Journ. des Scavans*, vol. XV. p. 139.

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monseigneur l'Abbe de Choisy, 4°. It is composed of several letters writ by this gentleman, who was sent by the king of France with the character of ambassador in case the king of *Siam* had embraced Christianity, as was hop'd; and does not only inform as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as *Tonquin* and *Cochinchina*, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the Dutch colony at the cape of *Good Hope*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 301.

Histoire des Indes orientales, 4°. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of the voyage to, and observations at cape *Verde*, of the isle of *Madagascar*, and several passages which happened in *Argier* and *Constantinople*. The second of two voyages into *India*, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 436. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. II. p. 307.

Histoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, 4°. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the situation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and customs of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monsieur *Gervaise* the author of it resided there four years, understood the language perfectly, read their books, and conversed with the most intelligent persons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made publick, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XV. p. 612.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12°. Contains an exact description of all the places where the principal passages of our Saviour's passion happened, and many other things well worth observing, being very short, and yet full enough, *Journal des Scavans*, vol. XVI. p. 204. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. III. p. 417.

Voyage en Moscovie d'un ambassadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12°. *An.* 1661. He describes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government and religion of the people, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 232.

Description historique du royaume de Macassar, 12°. It is divided into three books, the first the description of the country, the second the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion. *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVI. p. 532. and *Hist. des ouvrages des Scavans*, vol. V. p. 324.

Relation de la Nigritie, 12°. It contains an exact description of the kingdoms of the Blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country; with the discovery of the river Senega, and a map of it. By four *Franciscan* friars, who went thither upon the mission in the year 1689, from France, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 311.

Voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jesuites envoyez par la roy au royaume de Siam, An. 1685. 4°. This is an historical, physical, geographical, and astronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The first book is mostly astronomical observations in the voyage to the cape of Good Hope; the second a relation of the table-mountain, and many other things about the aforesaid cape; the third passages at *Batavia* and *Macassar*; the fourth of affairs of *Siam*, and others; the fifth continues the same matter; the sixth much natural history, concluding with the king of *Siam's* letters to the pope, king of France, and F. le Cbaize; the seventh the father's return home; and the eighth from thence to Rome, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 415. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. IV. p. 472.

Second voyage du Pere Tachard & des Jesuites envoyez par le roy au royaume de Siam, 1689. 8°. This father returned from his first voyage to carry more missionaries; and this second voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many historical, physical, geographical and astronomical remarks, besides abundance of other observations and curiosities omitted in the first voyage, *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIV. p. 445.

Histoire de l'Eglise du Japon, par Mr. l'Abbé de T. 2 vol. 4°. It was writ by F. Solier, a jesuit, and published by l'Abbé, who refined the language. This, though an ecclesiastical history, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being composed by those fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 486.

Journal du voyage fait a la Mer du Sud avec les Filibustiers de l'Amerique, en 1684. & années suivantes, par le Sieur Ravenau de Lussand, 12°. It is a bucaneeing expedition, containing very much of rob-

bery, with an account of the *Ibbmus* of America, and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVII. p. 721.

Histoire de monsieur Constance premier ministre du roy de Siam, & de la dernière révolution de cet estat. Par le P. d'Orleans, 12°. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in *Siam*, where he attained to be first minister to that great monarch in the year 1685. and those that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the persecution that ensued against the Christians, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XVIII. p. 373.

Du royaume de Siam. Par Mr. de la Loubere, envoyé extraordinaire du roy aupres du roy de Siam, en 1687, & 1688. 2 vol. 12°. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The first volume divided into three parts; the first geographical, the second of customs in general, and the third of manners in particular. The second volume begins with strange fables and superstitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary curious and remarkable, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 256, & 269.

Relation du voyage d'Espagne, 3 vol. 12°. Treats of the country in general, of the situation of its towns, of publick and private structures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquisition: with many pleasant adventures, in which there is much of the romantick, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 364. It is writ by the countess d'Aunoi, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie. Par le P. Chretien le Clercq. 12°. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the savages called *Gaspesians*, carrying crosses, and worshipping the sun; and other nations of Canada in north America. It was taken in twelve years, the author residing there as missionary, beginning An. 1675, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XIX. p. 395. and *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIII. p. 86.

Premier établissement de la sojdan la Nouvelle France. Par le P. le Clercq. missionnaire, 2 vol. 12°. It is the complete history of Canada, or New-France, from the first discovery of it till this time, containing the discoveries, settling of colonies, conquests, and all other passages from those northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico, with the battles with the *English* and *Troquois*, An. 1690, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 131.

a Character, &c. of most Books of Travels. Ixxix

Voyages en divers estats d'Europe & d'Asie, pour decouvrir un nouveau Chimin a la Chine, 4°. These travels were writ and performed by F. Avril, a jesuit, who spent five years traversing Turkey, Persia, Muscovy, Poland, Prussia, Moldavia and Tartary, and embarked in several seas to find out this way to China, to avoid the tedious voyage by the cape of Good Hope and India. The relation is physical, geographical, hydrographical, and historical, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 187.

Les aventures de Jacques Sadeur dans la de coverte, & le voyage de la Terre Australe, 12°. This is a very extraordinary account of Terra Australis incognita, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being cast upon that country after the loss of the ship he was in, and living thirty years among those savages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, studies, wars, of the birds and beasts, and other rarities, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XX. p. 256.

Voyages historiques de l'Europe, 8 vol. 12°. The first of these volumes treats only of France; the second of Spain and Portugal; the third of Italy; the fourth of England, Scotland and Ireland; the fifth of the seven United Provinces; the sixth of the empire; the seventh of Muscovy; the eighth of Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Island. These volumes are travels into the most considerable parts of Europe, and contain abundance of singularities not observed by other travellers and writers, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 93, 95, 276.

Relation du voyage, & retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691. par un garde de la marine servant sur le bord de M. Duquesne commandant de l'Escadre, 12°. It has many curious observations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the Squadron touched at, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXI. p. 177.

Les voyages du sieur le Maire aux isles Canaries, Cap Verde, Senegal & Gambie, 12°. In this are many particulars of those African countries, little known, and scarce to be found in other travellers, *Journ. des Scav.* vol. XXIII. p. 364.

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1668. par le R. P. Gabriel de Magaillans, de la Compagnie de Jesus, 8°. This was originally writ in Portuguese, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth translating into French first, and from that into English, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful

account, *Hist. des ouvrages des Scav.* vol. II. p. 203.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le Sieur de la Croix, 12°. 4 vol. Besides the chronology and geography, it has the customs, manners, religion, trade, plants and other particulars of the continent and islands, and what the king of France has done against the Barbary Corsairs, An. 1688. *A Lyon.*

Le Bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques & chretiens, &c. Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, & la Barbarie. Par le R. R. Jean Coppin, 4°. This father was first a soldier, then consul for the French nation at Damietta in Egypt, and lastly, a religious man. The design of his work is to stir up christian princes to make war on the Turk, and accordingly his first and second books are taken up in shewing of how great consequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the causes of the rise and decay of the Ottoman empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; first in Egypt, where he has many curious observations not to be found in other travellers, but more particular, in that he took the pains to travel the great desert of Thebaida, where few besides him have been in these latter times; and this is his subject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of Barbary, Phoenicia, and the Holy Land: and the work concludes with an exact description of the city Damietta, where he resided some years. His relation is faithful, and deserves all credit, especially in those things he delivers as an eye-witness. It was published at Paris in the year 1686, *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. V. p. 103.

Journal, ou suite du voyage de Siam, en forme de lettres familières, fait en 1685, & 1686. par monsieur l'Abbé de Choisi, 8°. It is the third account of the French embassadors sent to Siam; monsieur de Chaumont, and P. Tacbard, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that voyage, has all the sea-terms, much of the same as F. Tacbard, and several other remarks. He treats of the war in Bantam, of the island of Java, of Batavia, the power of the Dutch in India, of Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. VI. p. 274.

Histoire naturelle, & politique du royaume de Siam, par monsieur Gervaise, 1688. 4°. The author lived four years at the court of Siam, and affirms nothing but what he saw, or found in the best books of that country, as also by discourse with the best people there. He says little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other travellers to Siam, and adds much, which they, as be-

ing only passengers, could not observe. The work is divided into four parts: the first contains the description of the country; the second the laws, customs, manners and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth speaks of the king, royal family and court, *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. X. p. 516.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, ou description de l'état présent des lieux, où se sont passés les principales actions de la vie de Jéſu Chriſt. Paris 1688. 8°. This is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and therefore writ in a religious stile, and contains the account of all the holy places in *Paleſtine*, and description of *Malta*; and is a good guide for such as desire to travel into those parts.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot en Aſie & en Afrique. Paris 1689. 3 vol. 12°. It is to be observed, that whereas before mention is made of *Thevenot's* travels, that is a collection of other men, as appears there, but these are *M. Thevenot's* own travels, divided into three parts; the first of the eastern countries under the *Turk*; the second continues other eastern parts, proceeding towards *Persia*; and the third the *East-Indies*. It is one of the most curious and exact works of this nature hitherto published, and well deserving to be read by all that are curious of travels, *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XIII. p. 246.

Voyages d'Amerique, histoire des avanturiers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes, &c. Par *Alexander Olivier Oexmelin*. Paris 1688. 2 vol. 12°. This was a surgeon sent over in the service of the *French West-India* company, and sold in *America*, where he lived several years. The author of the *Biblioth. Univers.* gives a great character of this work, and says, no man has yet given so good an account of the manner of living in those parts, besides very good descriptions, and all that is requisite in such a work; of which see more in the said *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XVIII. p. 129.

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688. avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles a ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye, 1691. 2 vol. 12°. Par *monsieur Miſſon*. This author gives a general account of all things observable in *Italy*, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in *Holland*, of which he gives a short account; then crossing *Germany* and *Tirol*, he runs down *Italy* by the *Adriatick* shore, and returns on the other side through *Tuscany*, *Genoa*, *Piedmont*, *Switzerland*.

Voyage en divers états d'Europe & d'Aſie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine. Par le P. *Aril*. Paris 1693. 12°. The first book contains the author's

travels from *Marſailles* to *Ezriwan* in *Persia*; the second from *Ezriwan* to *Moscow*; in the third he gives an account of *Tartary*, but it was such as he received from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to *Poland*, thence to *Constantinople*, and thence for want of health to *France*, *Biblioth. Univers.* vol. XXIV. p. 203.

Histoire de la revolution de l'Empire du Mogol. Par *monsieur F. Bernier*, 8°. This history of the revolution of the empire of the *Mogol*, contains the whole account of *Aurenge Zeb* dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the description of *Agra* and *Delhi*, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, customs, &c. of the *Indians*, the *Mogul's* journey to *Cachemire*, and many other curious observations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie. Par le ſieur *Roland Frejus*, 8°. The author of this voyage into *Mauritania* was sent by the king of *France's* order in the year 1666, to settle trade in the kingdom of *Fex*, and gives a very just, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of *monsieur Charant*, who lived twenty five years in *Suez* and *Morocco*, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of those people.

Voyages en Aſie, Afrique, & l'Amerique. Par *monsieur Jean Mocquet*, 8°. See this among the *Engliſh*, 8°.

Voyage par monsieur du Quesne aux Indes en 1691, & 1692, &c. See more of this among the *Engliſh*, 8°.

Voyages hiſtoriques & curieux en Allemagne, Bobeme, Suisse, Holland, &c. de *monsieur Charles Patin*, 8°. See this among the *Engliſh*.

Voyage aux Indes, de Dellon, 2 vol. 12°.

Histoire de la Chine sous la domination des Tartares. Par le P. *Gresſon de la Comp. de Jéſus*, 8°. Paris 1672. We have here a succinct history of *China* from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a missionary resident there many years; his principal subject is the astronomy of *China*, which gained the first admission to the missionaries; of which, and all its parts, and how used and practised there, he treats very ingeniously and learnedly, *Giom. de Letter*.

Voyage du Levant. Par *monsieur de Loir*, 12°. A voyage to the *Levant* in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the islands of *Archipelago*, *Ephesus*, *Smyna*, *Constantinople*, *Scutari*, *Negropont*, *Greece*, the *Morea*, and all the coasts to *Venice*; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have said of them.

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them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no less learned than curious, *Giom. de Letter. An. 1673.*

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monsieur Sorbier, 12°. This account of England is not methodical, but contains some observations worth reading.

Relation universelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le sieur de la Croix, 4 vol. 12°. Lyon 1688. This is the fullest and most perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world, being a judicious and laborious collection of all the best that has been writ on the subject. *Giom. de Letter. An. 1689.*

Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan, par le capitain Jean Ribeyro, traduite du Portugais en François, 12°. Paris 1701. This short history of Ceylon, though writ originally in Portuguese, and published in the year 1685, is here inserted in the French translation, because the translator Mr. Le Grand has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors that have writ of that island. It is divided into three books: the first is the description of the island, its government, religion, product, &c. the second treats of the wars there between the Portuguese, the natives, and the Dutch: and the third, of the errors the Portuguese committed in their conquest of India, and the power of the Dutch in those parts. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 29. p. 389.*

Nouveaux memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine, par le P. Louis le Comte, 2 vol. 12°. Paris 1696. F. Le Comte's memoirs of China have appeared in English; they have abundance of very remarkable passages and singular curiosities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be said of them. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 25. p. 58.*

Dernieres decouvertes dans l'Amerique septentrionale de monsieur de la Sale, mises au jour par monsieur le Chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du fort S. Louis aux Illinois, 12°. Paris 1697. This is an account of a vast discovery in North America, being the whole length of the river Mississippi, from the French plantations in Canada down to the gulph of Mexico to the southward, and from the same plantation to the source of the said river northwards. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 25. p. 311.*

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696 & 1697, aux costes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & isles Antilles, par le sieur Froger. This is a relation of an expedition of six French ships fitted out during the war with Spain in those years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all sorts. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 164.*

Vol. I.

Memoires du Chevalier Beaujeu, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, & en Hongrie, 12°. Paris 1679. The author of these memoirs having travelled in Poland, Germany, and Hungary, undertakes to rectify many mistakes in the maps as to distances of places; he gives a particular account of these countries, and most especially of Poland, and all things relating to it. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 284.*

Relation du voyage du Sieur de Montauban capitaine des Flibustiers en Guinée, dans l'année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ship; but so that the captain escaped, and got ashore on the coast of Africa, of which he gives some account; thence he got over to Barbadoes, and thence into France.

Relation curieuse & nouvelle de Moscovie, contenant l'etat de cet empire, 12°. Paris 1698. This account of Muscovy is composed by Mr. de Neuville, envoy from the king of Poland to the Czar, who during his residence there collected the best account of a way through Muscovy and Tartary to China, as convenient as any for travellers in Europe, which he says he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the Czar at the request of the Dutch has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait & passe par l'esquadre de sa majeste, envoye sous le commandement de M. de la Haye, 12°. Orleans 1697. This is a voyage of a French fleet to the Indies in the year 1670. it describes Goa, and gives some account of those coasts, of taking the city of S. Thomas or Melapor, and the losing it again to the Dutch and infidels, with the return of the French.

Voyage d'Italie & de Grece, avec une dissertation sur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12°. Paris 1698. This author set out from France in the year 1691. and gives such a description of the countries he passed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflector upon the extravagant humours of men, whose behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleasant and diverting than solid. *Journ. des Scav. vol. 26. p. 535.*

Spanish.

Historia del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que Rup Gonzales de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del senor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Castilla. Sevil 1582. Fol. This is the first Spanish book of travels, at least of any reputation, now extant, and is of no less than 300 years antiquity; for tho' the book was published

as above, the embassy was in the year 1403. in which the author spent three years, saw a considerable part of *Asia*, following *Tamerlan's* camp, and besides what he saw during those three years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: It is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande Alphonso de Albuquerque capitao general da India, collegidos por seu filbo das proprias cartas, que elle escrevio ao rey D. Manoel. Lisboa 1576. Folio. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the first Portuguese conquerors of the *East-Indies*; and a particular encomium of it is given by *Anthony Ferreira* in his poems.

Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, y

Comentarios de Alvar Nunez Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Platta. Valladolid 1555. 4°. The first was writ by *Alvar Nunez* himself, wherein he gives an account of his shipwreck, and unparalleled sufferings in *Florida*. The second was composed by his order by *Peter Fernandez* his secretary, and is an account of the province of the river of *Plate*, where he was governor: both curious and scarce.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Catayo, o Reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by *F. Anthony de Andrada* a jesuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the most remote eastern countries.

Verdadera description de la Tierra Santa como estava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531. 8°. It is an exact account of the *Holy Land* at that time, writ by *F. Anthony de Avenda*, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim at that time.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654. 4°. The description of the *Holy Land* in a pious stile, for the help of pilgrims, by *F. Anthony del Castillo*, a *Franciscan*; who was superior of the monastery at *Betlehem*.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los Padres de la compania de Jesus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1620 y 1631. Valladolid 4°. An account of the travels and actions of the jesuits in *India* and *Japan*, by *F. Anthony Collaco*.

Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa D. F. Aleio de Menezes, &c. as serras de Malabar, & lugares em que moram os antigos Christaos de S. Thomae. Coimbra 1606. Fol. It was writ by *F. Anthony de Gouvea* of the order of *S. Augustin*, who treats very curiously of the inland parts of *Malabar*, and *Christians* of *S. Thomae* there.

Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las islas, y Tierra firme del mar oceano, escrita por Antonio de Herrera. Ma-

drid 1615. 4 vol. Folio. A most excellent and compleat history of the discovery and conquest of *America* by the *Spaniards*, not omitting to mention the discoveries made at the same time by other nations. It reaches from *Columbus's* first discovery *an.* 1492, till 1554. divided into four volumes, and those into eight decads, with a very just description of that vast continent.

Historia general de la India oriental, los descubrimientos y conquista que bon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Brasil, &c. hasta el ano de 1562. Valladolid 1603. Folio. This tho' ancient is the fullest account there was till that time of the actions of the *Portugueses* in the *East-Indies* and *Brasil*, writ by *F. Anthony de S. Roman* of the order of *S. Benedict*.

Historia de la conquista espiritual de la provincia del Peraguay. Madrid 1639. 4°. It is an account of the progress of the preaching jesuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of some colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra ano 1520. Coimbra 1565. 16°. A journal of *Antony Tenreiro's* travels from *India* by land into *Portugal*. It was more rare in those days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage desde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by *F. Augustin de Tordesillas*, a *Franciscan*, but published by *John Gonzales de Mendoza*, *an.* 1585. being a voyage from the *Philippine* islands to *China*; which I have not seen, nor met with any further account of it.

Historia del descubrimiento, y conquista del Peru, de Augustin de Zarate. Sevilla 1577. 8°. The author was an examiner or controller of accounts in the king's household, and sent over to *Peru* to enquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in those parts, where he gathered materials for his history, which has always been in good esteem where known, as appears by its having been twice translated into *Italian*.

Historia da Etiopia alta, do P. Baltasar Tellez. Folio. He was a Portuguese jesuit, who collected this history of *Ethiopia* from the writings of the jesuits, who resided there. He is highly commended by *D. Francisco Manoel* in his epistles and his history, and no less by *Georgius Cordofus* in *Agiologio*.

Conquista de las islas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola. Madrid 1609. Fol. This author was historiographer of the kingdom of *Arragon*, and the most accomplished master of the *Spanish* tongue in his time: So that his history is not only valuable for his excellent account of the *Molucco* islands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone most men.

Manual y relacion de las cosas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634. 4°. The author was a native of Peru, and bishop of Paraguay, so that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577. 8°. It is a short but ingenious treatise of the eastern voyages, and some affairs of China.

Historia de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lixana. The author was a missionary in the province of Yucatan, whose history he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Historia de las cosas antiguas que los Indios usavan en su infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sabagun. This history treats of the idolatry, rites and ceremonies of the Indians, and of their government, laws and politics. The same author also writ

La Conquista, or the conquest of Mexico.

Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana, por Bernal Diaz del Castillo. Fol. The author of this history of the conquest of Mexico, served in it under Cortes, from the beginning till the last; and therefore speaks as an eye-witness, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be present at from those that were. He says he finished his work in the year 1568. but it was not published till some years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angeles de Bernardo de la Vega. Mexico 1601. 8vo. This is only a collection of rarities in those parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of Tucuman in South America.

Sitio naturaleza y propiedades de Mexico, de Diego de Cisneros, 1618. The author was physician to the marquis of Guadalcacac viceroy of Peru, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas de Asia, de Joao de Barros. He finished three decades, in as many volumes, of the history of India; of which work the learned Nicolaus Antonius, in his *bibliotheca Hispana*, pag. 498. says it is a most compleat work, which will last for ever to the honour of the compiler. His 4th volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finished by John Baptist Labanba, historiographer to K. Philip II. But after that James de Convo undertook to continue the history from the third decade, where Barros ended, and writ nine more; so that the whole work consists of twelve decades, but of these only seven have been printed at Lisbon.

Relaciones del Pegu, de Duarte Fernandez. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de

Fernando de Quintana. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the first that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las islas Philipinas, de Fernando de los rios Coronel. The author was a priest in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the Philippine, but of the Molucco islands, representing at the same time what faults there are in the government of those parts to be redressed.

Verdadeira informacao do Preste Joao das Indias, de Francisco Alvarez. Lisboa 1549. Folio. The author, a man of great probity, was sent by king Emanuel of Portugal into Ethiopia, with his embassador Edward Gabvao, and resided there six years returning thence in the year 1533. and during his stay there had time to collect this historical account, in which he gives a description of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the stay of the Portuguese.

Relacao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. Francisco Cordim. The author was a Portuguese Jesuit, who had been in those parts; and his work was so well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be translated into French, and printed at Paris 1645.

Historia general de las Indias de Francisco Lopez de Gomara. This author wrote in a commendable stile; but his history is of no credit, being full of false relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of those parts, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the things he misrepresents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquista del Peru, por Francisco de Xeres. Salamanca 1547. Fol. The author was secretary to Francis Pizarro the great discoverer and conqueror of Peru, and wrote this account of the conquest of that vast kingdom, as an eye-witness which he presented to the emperor Charles the fifth.

Commentarios de los reyes Lucas del Peru. Lisboa 1609. Folio.

Historia general del Peru, 1617. Fol.
Historia de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695. 4°. These three by Garcilaso de la Vega, who calls himself Inca, as being the son of a Spaniard, who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of Peru, by an Indian woman of the imperial race of the Incas, from whom he took that name. The history of the ancient Incas he received from the natives, that of the actions of the Spaniards from his father and others, who had a share in them.

Trafado em que se contam muitas e estensas cousas da China, e assi do regno de Ormuz, 1610.

pelo P. Gaspar da Cruz. Ehora 1569. 4°. The author, a Dominican friar, travelled as a missionary in *India*, *Persia*, and *China*, where he made his observations, and dedicated his work to king *Sebastian* of *Portugal*. Several authors of note make mention of him.

Historia general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547. Fol.

Historia del Estrecho de Magallones, 1552. Fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marañon. These three by *Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo*, who after many honourable employments in *Spain*, was sent governor of the city of *Santo Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, where he resided ten years, and compiled his history of the *Indies* mentioned in the first place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume above-mentioned; to which is added one called, *Of shipwrecks*. The rest have not appeared, unless we allow his history of the straits of *Magellan*, the second here spoke of, to be his 20th book, which is published by it self. His account of the river *Marañon* is in the 3d volume of *Ramusio's* travels.

Tratado de la Conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diversas gentes, y estranas y grandes batallas que vio, por *Juan Angier*. Salamanca 1512. 4°. The author, of whom we have no further account, assures he saw all he writes, which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that it treats of the conquest of the islands on the coasts of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and of several nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Historia de las Cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586. 8°. This history of the most remarkable things, and the customs and manners of *China*, was writ by *F. John Gonzalez de Mendoza*, of the order of *St. Augustin*, who in the year 1580 was sent into *China* by *K. Philip* the 2d of *Spain*, where he gathered the materials of his history, and composed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de *D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles. 4°. This is a treatise writ in defence of the *Indians* by the good bishop, and gives an account of their disposition and manners, in opposition to those that represented them as brutal, and scarce endued with reason. This, tho' it seems not a book of travels, being the manners and customs of strange nations, and by a traveller to those parts, very well deserves admittance among them.

Ethiopia orientalis, e varia historia de couzas notaveis do oriente, do *P. F. Joao dos San-*

tos. Ehora 1609. Fol. It treats of the eastern parts of *Africk*, where the author, who was a Dominican, resided eleven years as a missionary, making his collections on the spot, which he after methodized in his own country.

Historia natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. *Joseph de Acosta*. Madrid 1610. 4°. This history is so well known and generally esteemed, that little needs be said of it; the universal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the history natural and moral of the *West-Indies*.

Descripcion del nuevo orbe, y de los naturalez del, por el P. *F. Luis Jeronymo de Ore*. Lima 1598. Fol. The author was an *American* by birth, a great traveller in those parts, an able scholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which render'd him capable to write well upon this subject.

Descripcion general de Africa, por *Luis del Marmol Caravajal*. 3 vol. Folio. This is the fullest account extant of *Africk*, generally esteemed in all parts, and has been translated into *French*. The author being a slave at *Morocco*, there read and heard those accounts he afterwards published, of the interior parts of *Africk* which remain inaccessible to *Christians*. *Tibanus* & *Ambrosius morales*, in their histories commend this work.

Historia de Ethiopia, y

Historia de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por *F. Luis de Urruta*. 2 vol. 4°. Both these generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by *F. Nicholas Godinbo* in his book of *Abyssinorum rebus*.

Historia de las islas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. *Morcello de Ribadencira*. Barcelona 1601. 4°. This history of those eastern countries was collected there by the author, who travelled the greatest part of them as a missionary.

Relacion del Nombre, Sitio, Plantas, &c. de regno de Sardenya, por el Dr. *Martin Camillo*. Barcelona 1612. 4°. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being sent by *King Philip* of *Spain* into *Sardinia*, to inspect all the courts there, travelled over the whole island of *Sardinia*, and took that opportunity to write this learned treatise of its name, situation, plants, conquest, conversion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Gobierno de los Quixos en Indias. 1608. 4°. An account of the province called *Los Quixos* in *South America*, writ by *D. Peter de Castro Earle* of *Lemos*. What more to say of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philipinas, por el P. *Pedro Cbirino*. Roma 1604. 4°. The author of this account of the *Philippine* islands, spent the

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the greatest part of his life, and ended his days there, so that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it consists of the actions of the Jesuits in those parts, he being of that society.

Primera parte de la Cronica de Peru, de Pedro Cieza de Leon. Antwerp 1554. 8º. It treats of the limits and description of the provinces of Peru, the founding of cities, and the customs and manners of the Indians. Only this first part is extant, the other four, which the author promises, and were historical having never been published; which is a great loss, for by the value of this first we may judge of the rest.

Historia da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil. The history of the province of Santa Cruz, vulgarly Brasil, by Peter de Magalhaens Gandavo. Lisbon 1579. 4º. It is commended by Antonius Leo, in his biblioteca Indica.

Relacion dos reyes de Persia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1504. An account of the kings of Persia and Ormuz, and travels from India to Italy by land, in the year 1614. 4º. The author Peter Texeira a Portuguese, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las misiones orientales, con una sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eastern missions, and of the empire of the Mogol. Rome 1649. 4º. Composed by Sebastian Manrique, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. Hernando Cortes Marques del Valle, de la conquista de Mexico, al emperador. The original letter writ by Cortes the famous conqueror of Mexico, giving the emperor Charles the 5th an account of his expedition. There is no need to speak of the value of such papers, than which nothing can be more authentick, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his sovereign.

Corta do P. Gonzalo Rodrigues do sua embaixada a Etiopia, e do que la le succedeo com o seu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embassy of F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, sent by the king of Portugal to the emperor of Ethiopia. It is to be seen in F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyssinorum, lib. II. cap. 58.

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitanes Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonfalo de Nodal hermanos al descubrimiento del Estrecho Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalbanes. This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above-nam'd to the straits of St. Vincent, which we call Strait le Mayre, and to view that of Magellan, in the years 1618, and 1619. Madrid 1621. 4º. It is an exact journal of their voyage and observations whilst they were out, which was 11 months; and they were

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both able seamen, who had served the king many years.

Viage a la santa ciudad de Jerusalem, descripcion suya y de toda la tierra santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. Bernardo Italiano. Naples 1632. 8º. A journey to Jerusalem, the description of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount Sinai, performed by the author, a Franciscan friar.

Relacion de los Sagrados lugares de Jerusalem, y toda la tierra santa. The author F. Blaze de Buiza, a Franciscan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the Turks the tribute for the privilege of those holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at Salamanca 1624. 8vo.

Tratado de las Drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. Burgo 1578. 4º.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque se navega por aquellas partes. Both these by Christopher da Costa, a native of Tangier, who spent many years in his travels in Africk and Asia, and was a doctor of physick, which enabled him to write that most excellent treatise first mentioned of these two, of the plants and drugs of the East-Indies. The second is of the East-India voyage, and of those seas.

Relacao da navegacao de Duarte Lopez a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or Lopez his voyage to Africk, and the kingdom of Congo, which is to be seen in Latin in Theodore de Bry's collection.

Viage de D. Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera a Jerusalem. Lisboa 1580. 4º. This is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem performed by this noble-man, who was marquis of Tarifa, and spent two years in it, setting out in November 1518. and returning in October 1520. when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de Fernan Mendez Pinto. Lisboa 1614. Fol. Pinto's travels in India, so fabulous that the general consent of the world has exploded them, tho' some few have taken the pains to defend those chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem Francisco Guerrerero. Sevil 1645. This is another pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of Sevil, and can only be a repetition of what we see in the others above mentioned.

Cborographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que fez Gaspar Barreiras, o ano de 1546, de Badajoz em Cassil la ate Milan en Italia. Coimbra 1561. 4º. The author gives an account of the places he passed thro' in his journey from Badajoz in Spain, to the city of Milan. But Andrew de Resende complains that he stole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inserted them as his own.

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Itinerario



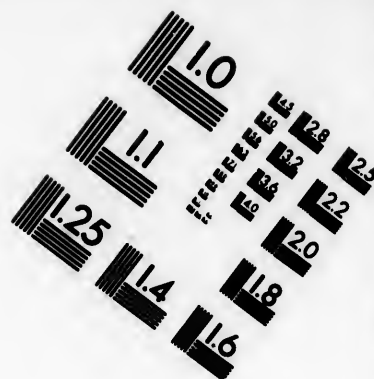
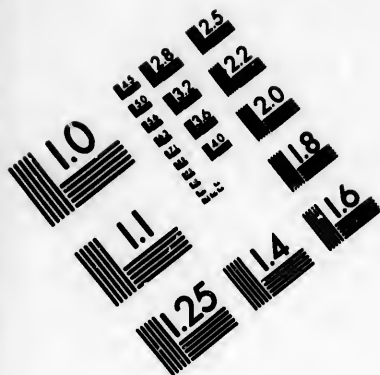
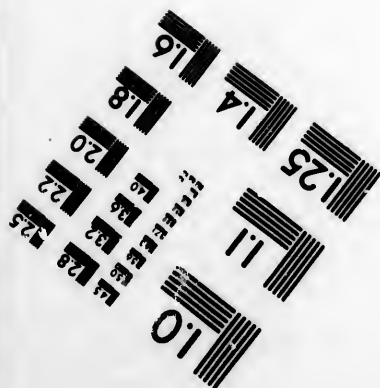
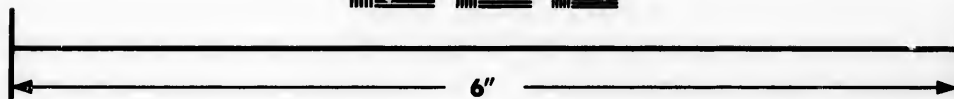
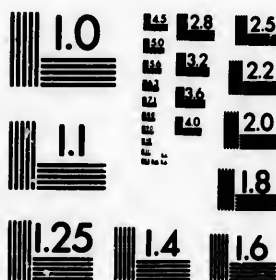


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Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a descripçao de Jerusalem. Lisboa 1611. 4°. This journey was performed and book writ by F. Gaspar de Sa, a Portuguese Franciscan, being a journal of his travels from India to Portugal by land, and a description of Jerusalem; but of this sort there are several, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de Jeronimo de Santistevan de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y sa buelta a Portugal. A voyage by Jerome de Santistevan from Genoa by the way of Grand Cairo to India, and his return to Portugal. It is to be seen in Italian in the first volume of Ramusio's collection.

Itinerario de Esparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. Martin Ignatius de Loyala, a Franciscan, who took his way from Spain to America, thence to the Philippine islands, thence to China, and so round home by the East-Indies. It is printed in F. John Gonzales de Mendoza's history of China, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585, but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. Nicholas Diaz, of the order of St. Dominick.

Itinerario da terra santa, e todas as suas particularidades. Another pilgrimage still to the Holy Land, by F. Pantaleo de Aveiro. Lisbon 1593. 4°.

Relacao de Pedro Alvarez Cabral da sua navegacao a India oriental. This Cabral was the next after Gama sent by Emanuel king of Portugal into India; and accidentally being drove thither by storms, discovered Brasil. This relation is to be seen in Italian in John Baptista Ramusio's collection.

Relacao de Pedro de Cintra, da sua navegacao a costa de Guinée, y a India. A voyage to the coast of Guinea and India, by Peter de Cintra, of which I find no more, but that it was translated into Italian by Aloisius Cadamustus.

Relacao do Viage de Pedro Covillam de Lisboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo. 1587. This Covillam was one of the first sent from Portugal to discover India by land, before the way to it had been opened by sea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to Grand Cairo.

Viage que hizo a Jerusalem el P. F. Pedro de Santo Domingo, de la orden del mismo santo. This was a Dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600. and printed at Naples in 1604. in 8°.

Viage de Jerusalem de Pedro Gonzales Galardo. Another Holy-Land voyage printed at Sevil 1605. 8°.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la Costa del Peru, de Pedro Goveo de Viñoria. This is an account of a shipwreck and travels in America by this Goveo in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610. in 8°.

Viage del mundo, por Pedro Ordóñez de Zevallos. 4°. This, tho' the author calls it the voyage of the world, only shews a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than America, a part whereof the author saw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India Tomas Lopez, el anno de 1502. This voyage to India by Lopez, is to be seen in Italian in Ramusio's collection.

Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new discovery of the great river of the Amazons, by Christopher de Acuna, a jesuit, who went upon that expedition by order of the king of Spain. Madrid 1641. 4°.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de Diego Ramirez. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers Bartholomew and Garcia de Nodal to the straits of Le Mayre; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by Anthony de Leon in his *Biblioth. Ind. occident.* p. 91.

Relacion del naufragio de la Nao Santiago, y Itinerario de la gente, que della se salvo el ano de 1585. This is an account of a Portuguese ship cast away, and of the great sufferings of those that were saved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed An. 1602. in 8°.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Fernando de Alarcon. The discovery of seven cities in the North America by Ferdinand de Alarcon, it is to be found in Italian in Ramusio's collection, vol. III.

Relacion del descubrimiento de las siete ciudades, de Francisco Vasquez Coronado. The discovery of the seven cities last mentioned by Coronado, and to be found in the same volume of Ramusio.

Tratado de las guerras de las Chicimecas. An account of those northern people in America, called Chicimecas, and the wars with them, by Gonzalo de las Casas, a native of Mexico, and lord of the province of Zanguilan in that country.

Relacion de lo sucedido a los padres de la compania de Jesus en la India oriental y Japon en los Años 1600, 1601, 1607, y 1608. This account was first writ in Portuguese, and translated in Spanish, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Historia ecclesiastica del Japon desde el Año 1602. hasta el de 1621. This is an ecclesiastical history of Japan for those years above-

a Character, &c. of most Books of Travels. lxxxvii

above-mentioned, composed by F. James Collado, and printed at Madrid, An. 1623. in 4°. It was continued to the year 1622. by F. Jacintus Offunel of the order of S. Dominick, as was the other.

Historia evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. Juan Baptista Morales. This history of China has been always in good repute; the author was a Dominican and missionary first in Camboja, and then in China, where he suffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then banished. Coming to Rome he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and spent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of Fokien. Thus much has been said of him, to shew that he was well acquainted with what he writes, and well deserves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa a la Persia. This ambassador was a man curious and knowing, and observed many considerable things which other authors have not spoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient historians have written of the eastern countries. He gives an account of the manners and customs of the people, and description of all places in the way he went from Goa to Spahan, the capital of Persia. The relation of the Persians taking Ormuz from the Portuguese, a description of Chelminara the ancient palace of Persepolis, burnt by Alexander the Great when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original Spanish, the French translation being vitiated by the translator, so that there is no relying on it.

Conquista y antiquesdades de las islas de la Gran Canaria, su descripcion, &c. Por el licenciado Juan Nunez de la Pena. 4°. Madrid. The conquest and antiquities of the Canary islands, being perhaps the best relation we have of them, both as to their present state and antiquities.

English.

Hackluyt, a minister by profession, is the first Englishman that compiled any collection of travels now extant: He himself was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was published in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, composing one thick volume in Folio. The first contains the following voyages: 1. K. Arthur to Ireland, An. 517. 2. K. Malgo to Ireland, Golland, &c. An. 580. 3. K. Edwin to Anglesey and Man, An. 624. 4. Berius to Ireland, An. 684. 5. Olber beyond Norway, An. 850. 6. Ol-

ber into the Sound. 7. Wolfstan into the Sound. 8. K. Edgar round his monarchy, An. 973. 9. Edmund and Edward into Hungary, An. 1017. 10. Harald into Russia, An. 1067. 11. An Englishman into Tartary, Poland and Hungary, An. 1243. 12. F. de Plano's wonderful voyage, An. 1246. 13. F. de Rubrici's journal, An. 1253. 14. F. de Linna towards the north-pole, An. 1360. 15. Hen. E. of Derby into Prussia, An. 1390. 16. F. of Woodstock into Prussia, An. 1391. 17. Sir H. Willoughby to Lapland, An. 1553. 18. Chancellor's discovery of Muscovy by sea, An. 1553. 19. Burrough to the river Ob, An. 1556. 20. Johnson to the Samoceds, An. 1556. 21. Burrough to Wardouze, An. 1557. 22. Jenkinson to Russia, An. 1557. 23. Jenkinson from Moscow into Baffria, An. 1558. 24. Jenkinson through Russia into Persia, An. 1561. 25. Alcock, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1563. 26. Johnson, &c. by land to Persia, 1565. 27. Southam and Spark to Novogrod, An. 1566. 28. Jenkinson to Russia, An. 1566. 29. Edwards, &c. by land to Persia, An. 1568. 30. Banister and Duckett by land to Persia, An. 1569. 31. Burrough to Livonia, An. 1570. 32. Jenkinson to Russia, An. 1571. 33. Burrough by land to Persia, An. 1579. 34. Pet and Jackman to the north-east, An. 1580. 35. Horsey by land from Moscow to England, An. 1584. 36. Russians to the north-east. 37. Voyage to Siberia and the river Ob. 38. Vanquishing the Spanish armada, An. 1588. 39. Voyage to Cadiz, An. 1596. Thus far the first volume; the first 16 of which voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two last are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among discoveries; the rest of the volume is filled with treaties, patents and letters. Thus it appears all these, except the two last, are northern voyages. The second volume contains voyages to the straits, coast of Africa, and the East-Indies. Of these the greatest part are pilgrimages to Jerusalem, many of very little moment, expeditions for the Holy Land, common trading voyages, that have little or nothing of curiosity, and sea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inserting here: the small remaining part are voyages to Guinea, and other coasts of Africa, and some few to the East-Indies; of all which there is a much better account in Purchas, and others, and therefore they are not inserted in this place. Besides, as in the first part, there are abundance of letters, discourses, patents, and such original papers. The third volume, not to mention many of no worth, has these considerable voyages, Sebastian Cabot's to north America, three of Sir

Sir Martin Forbisher to the north-west passage, two of Davis's to the north-west, Hare and Gilbert to Newfoundland; Grangre, and others to the isle of Ramea; three of Jacques Cartier to Newfoundland, Canada, &c. Roberval to Canada; Amadas, Balow, Greenvil, and others to Virginia; Verazzano, Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida; Marco de Nica, Francis Vaquez Coronado, and Antony de Espejo to Cibola, Culiacan and New Galivia; Ulloa, Alarcon and Drake to California; Ovalle to the Philippine islands, Lequeos, China, and back to Acapulco; Tomson, Bodenham, Chilton, Hawks, Philips, and Hertop to New Spain, Peru and Panuco; Peri and Cabot to Brasil; Tison and Hawkins to the West-Indies; Hawkins to Guinea, and the West-Indies; Drake to Nombre de Dios; Oxnam, Barker, Drake, Michelson to Mexico, &c. Newport to Puerto Rico, &c. May to the straits of Magellan; Dudley, Preston, Drake, Sherley, Parker, to several parts of the West-Indies; Raleigh to the island Trinidad, and to Guiana; Hawkins, Reniger, Hare, Lancaster to Brasil; two Englishmen and Drake up the river of Plate; Drake round the world; Silva through the straits of Magellan; Winter into the south-sea; Fenton to Brasil; Withrington to 44 deg. of south latitude; Candish round the world; Ship Delight to the straits of Magellan; Candish his last voyage. Thus have we briefly run over the contents of Hackluyt's collection, precisely setting down all in the first volume, to give the reader a taste of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad, which has been abridged in relation to the second and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The collection is scarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out; but it might be wished the author had been less voluminous, delivering what was really authentick and useful, and not stuffing his work with so many stories taken upon trust, so many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, so many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and such a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries.

Purchas was the next great English collector of travels after Hackluyt, whom he has imitated too much, swelling his work into five volumes in Folio. The whole collection is very valuable, as having preserved many considerable voyages which might otherwise have perished. But to particularize with him, as has been done before with Hackluyt; his first volume is divided into five books. The first contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the

apostles and philosophers, with the warlike expeditions of Alexander the Great, and other princes; to which is added an enquiry into languages, and an account of the several sorts of religions. The second book treats of navigation in general, the discoveries made by Henry prince of Portugal, King John of Portugal, Columbus of the West and Gama of the East-Indies: then follow Magellan, Drake, Candish, Noort and Spilbergen round the world, and le Maires discovery of the new strait of his name. The third book is filled with some private voyages to the East-Indies, and the seven first made by the East-India company, with descriptions, and an account of all those parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the first that resorted there and made no long stay, imperfect, and far short of what we have had since. The fourth book contains the 8th voyage of the East-India company, capt. Saris to Japan; Finch to India; 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th voyages of the company; observations for sailors; Steel to the Mogul's court; Milward to India; Peyton to India; an extract of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from King James to the Mogul, his journal; Coryat's travels. The fifth book still continues upon accounts of the East-India, of all parts thereof, and from many several hands, upon differences between the Dutch and English, wars of the natives, engagements of the English and Portuguese, and many other passages and occurrences to the same purpose. The sixth book, being the first in the second volume, begins with collections of John Leo's history of Africk, and R. C.'s history of Barbary: then follow Nicolay's description of Argier; an expedition to Argier under Sir Robert Mansel; and some relations of Africk. The seventh book begins Jobson's voyage to Guinea; Battie's account of Angola is next, then Pigafetta's relation of Congo, Alvarez's voyage to Ethiopia; D. John de Castro from India to Suex; Bermudez the patriarch to Ethiopia, and Nunbes Barreto of the same country. The eighth contains several pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Christian expeditions to the Holy Land; Barton's (Q. Elizabeth's ambassador to the great Turk) account of his voyage and the adventures of J. Smith. The ninth book consists of Sherley's travels into Persia; Benjamin the son of Jonas his peregrination; Terrey's voyage to the Mogul; Barthema's to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia and India; Collections of Asia out of Arabick; Meneses his account of India; Figueroa to Ispahan; J. de Sant' to Ethiopia; Jobson on Gambia river; account of the Grand Signior's seraglio; Sanderfon's voyages in the straits; Timberley from Cairo to Jerusalem; Newberry

Newbery of the eastern parts of the world; *Fran. Pyrard de la Vol* to the *East-Indies*. The tenth book has a collection of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* voyages out of *Galvan*; *Trigautius* his voyage to *India*; Letter touching *Japan*; *Frederick's* Indian observations; *Balbi* to *Pegu*; *Fitz* to *Goa*, and other parts of *India*; *Pimenta's* observations of *India*; *Linschoten's* voyages to *India*; relation of *Ormuz*; *Sir Rob. Sherley* to *Persia*; *Coryate's* travels; *Litgow Scot* to the *Holy Land*, &c. Intelligence out of *Turky*; *Brown's* Indian voyage; *Dutch* proceedings at *Amboyna*; and description of the bay of *Todos os Santos*. The third volume, book the first, contains as follows: *W. de Rubricis* travels into the east; relations of *Bacon*, and *Baluacensis*; *Wendover* of the *Tartars*; *Mr. Paulus Venetus* his voyages; *S. J. Mandeville's* travels; Extracts of an *Arabick* history of *Tamerlan*; travels of *Chaggi Memet*, a *Persian*; treatise of *China*, of *F. Gaspar da Cruz*; *Pereira* of *China*. The second book has, *Sir H. Willoughby*, *Chance*, *er*, and *Jenkinson's* voyages to the north-east; Extracts of *Fernan Mendez Pinto's* travels; Discovery and planting of the *Philippine* islands; *Goes* travels from *Labor* to *China* by land; *Jesuits* first entrance into *China* and *Japan*; *Pantoja's* account of *China*; Discourse of *China* out of *Riccus* and *Trigautius*. The third book, *Fletcher's* treatise of *Russia*; *Edge's* northern voyages; *Barents* into the north-sea; *Gerard de Veer* northern voyages; *Iver Boty* of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; description of *Siberia*, *Samoieda* and *Tingoesia*; *Gourdon* to *Pecora*; *Logan* to *Pecora*, and his wintering there; *Puiglove* to *Pecora*, and wintering there; *Gourdon* wintering at *Pustozra*; Voyages to *Cberry* island; *Hudson's* northern voyages; Discovery of *Nicobolas* and *Anthony Zeni*; *Quirino's* shipwreck; *Barkley's* travels in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africk* and *America*; *Broniovius* ambassador to the *Crim Tartar*; *Blesken's* voyages and history of *Iceland* and *Greenland*; *Angrim Jonas* history of *Iceland*. The fourth book, *Sir T. Smith* to *Cherry Island*; *Poole* to *Greenland*; *Bassin* to *Greenland*; *Fosterby* to *Greenland*; several northern voyages; revolutions in *Russia*; *Cosack's* travels out of *Siberia* to *Catay*; Discovery of the river *Ob*; *Cabot*, *Thorn* and *Weymouth* voyages to the south-west; *Hall* to discover *Greenland*; *Knight* to the north-west passage. Other northern voyages. The fifth book, *Herrera's* description of the *West-Indies*, *Acofta* and *Oviedo* of the *West-Indies*, *Mexican* history in cuts, conquest of *Mexico* by *Cortes*, other particulars of *America*. The fourth volume begins with the sixth book, and in it as follows; the first book, *Earl of Cumberland's* voyage,

Vol. I.

Cabot, *Pert*, *Hawkins* and *Drake's* voyages and sea-fights, *Carder* living among the savages in *Brasil*, *Candish's* unfortunate voyage to the straits of *Magellan*, *Knivet's* adventures with *Candish*, *Turner* in *Brasil*, *Parker* taking *Puerto Bello*, *Middleton* and *Geare* to the *West-Indies*. Description of the island *Trinidad*, country of *Guiana*, and river *Oronoko*, by *F. Sparrey*. *Leigh's* voyages to *Guiana*, massacre of *English* in *Guiana*, *Wilson's* relation of *Guiana*, *Harcourt* to *Guiana*, description of the river of the *Amazons*. The seventh book, a treatise of *Brasil* written by a *Portuguese*; extracts of *Leri's* history of *Brasil*; *Schiridel's* 20 years travels, *Hawkins* to the South-sea, *Ellis* of the same voyage, relation of an *Englishman* 13 years prisoner in *Peru*, *Urfino* of the coast of the firm land, and secrets of *Peru* and *Chili*; Notes of the *West-Indies* out of *Peter Ordonez de Cevallos*. New discovery in the South-sea by *Peter Fernandez Quiros*, *Lope Vas* of *American* affairs, extracts of *Benzo* of the new world, and of *Garcilasso Inca* of *Peru*; *Pizarro's* conquest of *Peru*, occurrences in *Peru* after the conquest. The eighth book, *Alvar Nunez* of *Florida*, *Soto* to *Florida*, Discoveries to the northward of *Mexico* by *Nuno de Guzman*, *Marco de Nica*, *D. Fr. Vasquez Coronada*, and *D. Ant. de Espejo*; *Cajas* of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, Voyages and plantations of *French* in *North-America*, *Gofnol* to *Virginia*, other voyages to *Virginia*, Description of the *Azores*. The ninth book, Description of *Virginia*, and proceeding of the *English* colonies there, Wreck of *Sir Thomas Gate*, and account of the *Bermudas*; *Argol* from *Virginia* to *Bermudas*, affairs relating to *Virginia*, fight of an *English* and two *Spanish* ships, voyages to the summer islands, and history of them. The tenth book, discovery and plantation of *New England*, *Chalton's* voyage for *North Virginia*, extracts of *Smith* of *New England's* trials, other accounts of *New England*; *New Scotland* the first planting of it, *Newfoundland* the first settlements there, and account of the island, warlike fleets set out by queen *Elizabeth* against the *Spaniards*, the duke of *Medina's* for invasion of *England*, Squadron of the galleons of *Portugal*; the expedition to *Portugal* by *Sir John Norris* and *Sir Francis Drake*, supposed to be writ by colonel *Antony Wingfield*; expedition to *Cadiz*, and the success against the *Spanish* ships, and in taking the town; the earl of *Essex* his fruitless expedition to the *Azores*, the conclusion of the work. The fifth volume is a theological and geographical history of the world, consisting of the description, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like *Harkluy*, as was observed at

An Introductory Discourse concerning

first, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable.

A voyage to *Surat* in the year 1689, giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants and factory of *English*, describing *Madeira*, *Santiago*, *Annoboa*, *Cablanda*, *Malamba*, *S. Helena*, *Bombay*, *Mafate*, *Mycale*, the cape of *Good Hope*, and island of *Ascension*, the revolution of *Golkonda*, description of *Arracan* and *Pegu*, an account of the coins of *India* and *Persia*, and observations concerning silk-worms. By *J. Ovington*, 8°. *London* 1696. This is the most modern *English* account of those parts, and by a person well qualified to make such observations.

Travels and voyages into *Asia*, *Africk* and *America*, performed by *monf. John Morquet*, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of *France* in the *Tuilleries*, in six books with cuts. Translated from the *French* by *Nathaniel Pullen* gent. 8°. *London*, 1696. For so many travels the relation is too short, however there are things in it worth observing.

A new voyage to the *East-Indies*, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a description of several islands, and of all the forts and garrisons in those parts, now in possession of the *French*, the customs, &c. of the *Indians*, by *monf. du Quisne*. It has also a description of the *Canaries*, and of *Senaga* and *Gambia* on the coast of *Africk*, with several cuts and a map of the *Indies*, and another of the *Canaries*. Made *English* from the *Paris* edition, 12°. *London*, 1696. Of the *French* factories in those parts we have no such account; and few better for the bulk, of all other places the author undertakes to speak of.

The voyage and travels of *Sir John Mandevill* Knt. shewing the way to the *Holy Land* and *Jerusalem*, to the *Great Cham*, *Prefter John*, *India*, and other countries, 4°. *London*, 1696. It is needless to say much of this book, as being so universally allowed to be fabulous.

Two journeys to *Jerusalem*, the first an account of the travels of two *English* pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to *Jerusalem*, *Grand Cairo*, *Alexandria*, &c. The second of 14 *Englishmen* in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in scripture; there are also ancient and modern remarks of the *Jewish* nation, the description of the *Holy Land*, captivities of the *Jews*, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promised, but the performance scarce answers, the volume

being too small, and looks more like a collection out of some real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through *Germany*, *Babemia*, *Switzerland*, *Holland*, and other parts of *Europe*, describing the most considerable cities and palaces of princes; with historical relations and critical observations, upon ancient medals and inscriptions, by *Charles Patin* M. D. of the faculty of *Paris*, made *English* and illustrated with copper cuts, 8°. *London*, 1694. For those who are curious in medals this piece will be most acceptable; yet this does not lessen the value of the descriptions and other relations.

A new discovery of a vast country in *America* extending above 4000 miles between *New France* and *New Mexico*, with a description of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, customs, and languages of the *Indians*, &c. by *L. Hennepin*; to which are added new discoveries in *North America*, and not published in the *French* edition, 8°. The promise is very great, but there is little or rather no proof of such a vast extent of land, which no man has yet seen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundless, idle relations of *Indians*; the other parts have more in them, yet only what is collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to *St. Kilda*, the remotest of all the *Hebrides* or western isles of *Scotland*; with a history of the island natural, moral and topographical, containing an account of the peoples religion and customs, of the fish, fowl, &c. As also of a late impostor there, pretending to be sent by *St. John Baptist*. By *M. Martin* gent. 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here the only history and account of this island, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being such, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to lessen it.

The history of the buccaniers of *America*, 8°.

A new account of *East-India* and *Persia* in eight letters, being nine years travels, containing observations of the moral, natural and artificial state of those countries, as the government, religion, laws, customs, soil, seasons, diseases, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and measures, in the principal places there. By *John Fryer*, M. D. with maps and tables, *London* 1698.

A voyage to the *East-Indies*, giving an account of the isles of *Madagascar* and *Mascarenbas*, of *Surat*, the coast of *Malabar*, *Goa*, *Gomron*, *Ormuz*, and the coast of *Brazil*, &c. and of the religion, customs, trade, &c. of the inhabitants, also a treatise of distempers peculiar to the *Eastern* countries.

countries. There is annexed an abstract of monf. *Reneford's* history of the *East-Indies*, with his propofals for improvement of the *East-India* company; written originally in *French*, by monf. *Dellon*, M. D. 8°. *London*, 1698. This work has been well received both in *French* and *Engliſh*.

A new voyage and deſcription of the *Iſthmus of America*, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coaſts, hills, rivers, wood, ſoil, weather, &c. Trees, fruit, beaſts, birds, fiſh, &c. The *Indian* inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, cuſtoms, employments, marriages, feaſts, hunting, computation, language, &c. With remarkable occurrences on the South-ſea and other places, by *Lionel Waſer*, with cuts, 8°. *London*, 1698. A work that has been well received by the publick.

A new account of *North-America*, as it was lately preſented to the *French* king; containing a more particular account of that vaſt country, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto published, 8°. *London*, 1698. We have here a *French* account of thoſe countries, but more particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

The new *Atlas*, or travels and voyages in *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, &c. 8°. *London*, 1699. A little volume, which ſeems rather ſome collections out of books and travels, than any real voyage.

An account of a voyage from *Archangel* in *Ruſſia*, in the year 1697, of the ſhip and company wintering near the north Cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: Their manner of living, and what they ſuffer'd by the extreme cold; alſo remarkable obſervations of the climate, country and inhabitants: with a chart deſcribing the place where they lay, land in view, ſoundings, &c. By *Thomas Allifon* commander of the ſhip. This is the lateſt relation we have of any ſuch northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with ſuch others as write of thoſe northern parts.

A relation of two ſeveral voyages made into the *East-Indies*, by *Chriſtopher Fryke* ſurgeon, and *Chriſtopher Schwartz*, particularly deſcribing thoſe countries that are under the *Dutch*, 8°. *London*, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a *Dutch* embafſy to the emperor of *Cbina*, writ by one of thoſe embafſador's retinue, *Fol*. It is a tranſlation from the *Dutch* original, and contains a deſcription of the country, and all places they paſſed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the ſpot; It treats alſo of the government of *Cbina*, and manners of the people.

The deſcription of the iſland of *Ceylon* by captain *Knox*. He lived 19 years upon the iſland, being taken, and kept there all this while by the *Dutch*, and had the opportunity of ſeeing the greateſt part, and being informed of the reſt by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that beſet him till he made his eſcape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the iſland. The *Dutch* who are maſters of *Ceylon*, have thought this account worth tranſlating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which muſt add to its reputation.

Travels to *Dalmatia*, *Greece* and the *Levant*, by Mr. *George Wheeler*. He travelled with Mr. *Spon*, who publiſhed the ſame travels in *French*, but Mr. *Wheeler* remaining there behind him, has ſeveral curioſities that eſcaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; ſo that his work ſeems the moſt complete, or at leaſt both together confirm one another.

Terry's voyage to the *East-Indies*, begun in the year 1615. 12°. He was chaplain to Sir *Thomas Roe*, embafſador to the *Mogol* from *K. James* the firſt, and gives an account of ſome things in that country omitted by Sir *Thomas* in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with diſcourſes of his own, very little to the purpoſe.

An account of ſeveral late voyages and discoveries to the ſouth and north, containing Sir *John Narbrough's* voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, to the coaſt of *Chile*, in the year 1669. Capt. *Wood's* voyage for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage, *An*. 1676. Capt. *Taſman's* round *Terra Auſtralis*, *An*. 1642, and *Frederick Martens* to *Spitzberg* and *Greenland*, *An*. 1671. With a ſupplement, containing obſervations and navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of ſeveral voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and ſeems very well to deſerve it.

Collection of original voyages, publiſh'd by capt. *Hack*, 8°. It contains *Cowley's* voyage round the world, which is the ſame with *Dampier's* mentioned in the next place: Capt. *Sharp's* voyage into the South-ſea, both buccanier voyages. The third is capt. *Wood's* voyage thro' the ſtraits of *Magellan*, which is the ſame as Sir *John Narbrough's* before-mentioned: And the fourth Mr. *Robert's* adventures among the *Corſairs* of the *Levant*; ſo that there is little new in them, the three firſt being in other collections, and the laſt a very indifferent piece.

Dampier's voyages in three volumes, 8°. The firſt a new voyage round the world, begun

begun *An. 1697*. It describes the *Isthmus of America*, and several of its coasts and islands, the passage by *Tierra del Fuego*, the isle of *Guam* one of the *Ladrones*, the *Philippines*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Celebes*, the cape of *Good Hope*, island and of *S. Helena*.

The second volume he calls a supplement to his voyage round the world, where he describes *Touquin*, *Atben*, *Malaca*, &c. Their product, inhabitants, manners, trade, &c. The countries of *Campeche*, *Yucatan*, *New Spain in America*; and discourses of trade, winds, breezes, storms, seasons, tides, currents of the torrid zone.

The third volume is his voyage to *New Holland*, which has no great matter of new discovery, but gives an account of the *Canary Islands*, some of those of *Cabo Verde*, and the town and port of *Baya de Todos Santos in Brasil*. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A collection of voyages by the *Dutch East-India* company, being three to the north east, two to the *East-Indies*, and one to the straits of *Magellan*. Little can be said in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be seen in several other collections. 8°.

An historical relation of the island of *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*, &c. illustrated with cuts and a map of the island, *Fol.* The author who lived long in that country, gives a general description of it, referring the reader to the map; and in the whole natural history.

Lafet's travels through *Italy*, first in one volume 12°. then in two. There were there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of most things of note there.

Relation of the discovery of the island *Madera*, 4°. This is a discovery before it was peopled, and it continued lost again for several years, and has little of certainty.

Gage's survey of the *West-Indies*, 8°. This book has gained some reputation.

The discoveries of *John Lederer* in three several marches from *Virginia* to the west of *Carolina*, and other parts of the continent, begun in *March 1669*, and ended in *September 1670*. 4°. This is a small account of the author's, who was a *German*, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; is contained in about four sheets, published by *Sir William Talbot*, in which there is much worth observing.

Relation of the travels and captivity of *W. Davies*, 4°. A small pamphlet of a few sheets.

Account of the captivity of *Thomas Phelps* at *Machabess* in *Barbary*, and his escape. Another small 4° pamphlet.

The golden coast, or description of *Guinea*, in which are four English voyages to *Guinea*. A 4° pamphlet and has several pretty observations.

Herbert's travels into divers parts of *Africa*, and *Asia the Great*, more particularly into *Persia* and *Indostan*, *Fol.* These travels have always deservedly had a great reputation, being the best account of those parts written by any *Englishman*, and not inferior to the best of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent description of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur, not to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

Brown's travels in divers parts of *Europe*, *Fol.* The author, a doctor of physick, has shewed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person, having spent much time in the discovery of *European* rarities, and that in those parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themselves with seeing *France*, and *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*; whereas his relation is of *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Austria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola* and *Friuli*; adding to these *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and a great part of *Italy*, of all which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.

The voyages and travels of *J. Albert de Mandelslo*, a gentleman belonging to the embassy sent by the duke of *Holslein*, to the duke of *Moscovy* and king of *Persia*, *Fol.* These are also known by the name of *Olearius's* travels; the first part, which is of *Muscovy* and *Persia*, being altogether his, who was secretary to the aforesaid embassy: But then the following part, which treats of all parts of the *East-Indies*, is solely *Mandelslo's*, who left the ambassadors and *Olearius* at *Ispahan*, and proceeded to view those remoter parts. It is needless to give any other character of this work, than to inform such as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the most accomplish'd books of travels now extant.

Blunt's travels to the *Levant*, is a very short account of a journey through *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Bosnia*, *Hungary*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Thrace*, *Rhodes* and *Egypt*. The whole very concise, and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions; his account of the religions, and customs of those people, only a brief collection of some other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A de-

A description of the present state of *Samos*, *Nacaria*, *Palmos*, and mount *Albos*; by *Jos. Georgirenes*, archbishop of *Samos*, 8°. This prelate resided long as archbishop at *Samos*, and saw *Nicaria* as being a dependance of his diocese; but being weary of that function, he retired to *Palmos*, where he continued some time, and after visited mount *Albos*; so that all he delivers of these places is as an eye-witness, and indeed the most particular account we have of them. The description is very exact, and what he says of the *Greek* religion may be relied on, as having so much reason to know it. All that can be excepted against, is what he says of the people in *Nicaria*, conversing at four or five miles distance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface the reader must observe is the translator's, not the author's, which is requisite to be known.

A voyage to *Constantinople*, by *monf. Grelot*, 8°. translated into *English* by *J. Philips*. This, tho' perhaps in the relation may not contain much more than what may be picked out of other travellers who have writ of those parts, yet it exceeds them in 14 curious cuts, the exactness of which is attested by several travellers that have been at *Constantinople*, and seen the places they represent; besides that all the ingenious people of *Paris* gave their approbation of the work, and upon their testimony the K. himself having seen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any scruple, to reckon it among the best books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to *Constantinople*, the *Propontis*, *Hellepont* and *Dardanelis*, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worship, government, manners, &c. of the *Turks*, are singular.

A description of the islands and inhabitants of *Færoe*, being 17 islands, subject to the king of *Denmark*, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in *Danish*, and translated into *English*, 12°. The description is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of those miserable northern islands; but the author was provost of the churches there, and had time to gather such an account, which is somewhat enlarged with philosophical observations on whirlpools and other secrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and favours more of affection than sincerity; but the worst part of this small book, is first a collection of some romantick stories of the ancient inhabitants of *Færoe*; and in the next place, what is yet worse, a parcel of insignificant tales of spectres and illusions of

Satan, as the author calls them.

Josselin's two voyages to *New England*, 8°. In the first of these there is little besides the sea-journal and common observations, unless it be an account of necessaries for planters. The second is a very particular description of all the country, its beasts, fowl, fish, plants and trees, the manners and customs of the *English* inhabitants, the time of their settling there, with many other matters well worth observing. Of the *Indians* he has very little or nothing. The relation is curious and faithful, but in many places where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddest uncouth expressions imaginable, which look very conceited, but that is only as to his style. He concludes with what he calls chronological observations of *America*, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the rest is of no great use, especially for that there are several errors in it.

Josselin's New England rarities, a very small 8°. is a more particular account of the fowl, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, plants, stones, minerals, metals, and earth of that country, than he has given in his voyages.

The adventures of *M. T. S.* an *English* merchant, taken prisoner by the *Turks* of *Argier*, and carried into the inland country of *Africk*, 12°. Containing a short account of *Argier* in the year 1648. of the country about it, and more particularly of the city *Tremizen*, where the author resided three years, going abroad with several parties which his master commanded, and relates some love intrigues he had with *Moorish* women, as also very strange metamorphoses of men and other creatures turned into stone. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn it out at the straits mouth with a westerly wind.

Wybe's relation of the river *Nile*, its source and current, a small *Ottavo*. This is only a translation of a *Portuguese* jesuit's account who lived in *Ethiopia* some years, being the same that is given by *F. Alvarez*, and others of the society who lived there, and no doubt is very authentick, as delivered by an eye-witness, who was a person of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradise, pelican and phoenix, he writes upon hearsay, which deserve not the same credit, particularly what he says that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have seen in *England* to be otherwise; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are also sufficiently known. But these are trifles: he discourses well of the reason of calling the *Ethiopian* emperor *Prester John*, on

the Red-sea, and of the palm or cocotree.

Ray's travels, or his observations topographical, moral and physiological, made in a journey through part of the *Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France*. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious description of every town he saw, observes some particulars of the customs and dispositions of the people; and curiously lays before us any thing that is rare in it self, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one so understanding in those particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuse for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. *Venice* he describes more particularly than any other place; but of all universities, as being himself a scholar, he says more than of other towns. Of *France* not much, as having made but a short stay there. He closes his work with a Latin catalogue of plants he observed abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in *England*.

He has inserted *Willoughby's* travels in *Spain*.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, *Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English*, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore those who miss any in the *English*, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of *Dutch*, because they are not very many, and all of them will be found, as they were translated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in some places it is quoted where they were had; but if such authority be not quoted, it is because the books have been purposely perused and examined, where such account could not be found of them. Lastly the reader must observe, that in this catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in this collection, which would be a needless repetition, they being all mentioned and characterized in the general preface.

AN
ACCOUNT

OF THE

Empire of CHINA,

Historical, Political, Moral and Religious.

A short DESCRIPTION of that Empire, and Notable
Examples of its Emperors and Ministers.

Also an ample Relation of many remarkable Passages, and Things
worth observing in other Kingdoms, and several Voyages.

There are added the Decrees of Popes, and Propositions defin'd
at *Rome* for the Mission of *China*; and a Bull of our most
Holy Father *Clement X.* in favour of the Missioners.

Written in *Spanish* by the R. F. F. *Dominick Fernandez Navarrete*, Divinity
Professor in the College and University of St. Thomas at *Manila*, Apostolick
Missioner in *China*; Superior of those of his Mission, and Procurator Ge-
neral at the Court of *Madrid* for the Province of the Rosary in the *Phi-
lippine* Islands, of the Order of Preachers.

VOL. I.

A

THE

T H E A U T H O R T O T H E R E A D E R.

TH E R E is no doubt but he who writes and aspires to the name of an historian, is obliged in the first place to shield and guard himself with truth, and the sincerity of what he designs to expose to the eyes of all men, otherwise he will gain the title of a fabulous author. S. Isidorus, lib. I. orig. cap. 40. says thus. History is a relation of a thing transacted, by which those things that were done in times past are known: it is called history either from seeing or knowing, for among the antients no man writ history but he who had been present, and seen those things that were to be writ.

If he who takes pen in hand is not an eye-witness, or is not fully inform'd of what he commits to writing, but only relies on and trusts to other mens accounts, which he credits without examining into them, his reputation will certainly be in danger, and the sincerity of his work be called in question. Thales being ask'd, How far distant is truth from falsehood? answer'd, A wise man was of opinion, that as far as the eyes are from the ears. Cornelius à Lapide in cap. i. Isai. ingenuously says, That those things are undoubtedly true, which a man sees with his eyes, not those he hears with his ears. *What the eyes see may be affirmed with safety, what is heard is told with mistrust and apprehension.* S. Jerom epist. ad Desid. says, There is a difference in relating those things which are seen, and those which are heard, and therefore he that has seen may write more certainly. Being wholly governed by these principles, I resolv'd not to make account in this work of any thing but what I have seen, read, and has gone through my bands. The penalty he incurs who does not stick to truth in all particulars, is, not to be believed when he speaks true. Aristotle being ask'd, What benefit liars reap'd? answer'd, Not to be believed when they speak

truth. S. Jerom epist. ad Jul. says, That credit is not given to liars when they speak truth. Ecclus. xxxiv. 4. speaks to the same purpose, *That truth will be spoke by a liar? A Punishment justly due to such as are governed by their own fancies or imaginations, or aspire to gain applause by fictions and dreams.* Laertius, lib. I. cap. 5. says thus, That this was the punishment of *Cassandra*, Priam's daughter, who practis'd the art of divination, not to be believed when she foretold the ruin of her country. *This woman by her false stories got such an ill reputation, that she was not believed when she truly foretold the destruction of her country.*

It cannot be denied, but that many false accounts have been sent into Europe, as well of China as other parts of Asia; for the missionaries themselves who are well acquainted with those parts, and are eye-witnesses, unanimously confess and affirm it. My own knowledge and experience, what I have seen and discours'd with others upon several occasions, are sufficient to make me agree with them, and assert the same, so that I shall with safety keep at a great distance from what some persons have published in these parts.

My design was to have first publish'd the antient and modern controversies that have been in the Chinese mission from its first beginning, till the year 1669, as being a more necessary and advantageous subject. But some persons thought this work ought to be immediately committed to the press, because some points in it help to make many difficulties more intelligible that are to be handled hereafter, as also because it treats of common affairs.

I do not question but the language is plain, and like a man that has spent twenty four years in studying strange languages, and those very different from any in Europe. The subject is uncommon, and therefore diverting, yet withal beneficial and profitable, which

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To the READER.

ought always to be aim'd at. S. Isidorus, cap. 40. of the above mentioned book, says thus. The histories of nations do not hinder the readers from making their advantage of what is profitable in them: for many wise men committed to histories the past actions of men for the instruction of the present.

The delight many take in reading history, as well as other things, cannot but be commended. Fasciculus Temporum, fol. 3. has these words: It is therefore very advantageous to know many histories, and be well acquainted with them, that we may be able to follow the good examples of others, and shun the bad. The Chinese teach the same doctrine. What I write may be applied to all those uses, this is all I aspire to; and tho' I attain not my end, yet my labour deserves to be still'd profitable. Salvianus in prælat. says, At least it is not unprofitable to attempt to do good. And Plinius Jun. lib. II. epist. 5. has these words; And I would have these things so taken, not as if I had compass'd my design, but as if I had labour'd to compass it. And lib. VI. epist. 17. he says farther, And truly I am wont to honour and imitate all men that perform any thing in study. Do you therefore, reader, accept of my labour and good wishes, and wink at my faults.

Some Particulars to be observed in these Books.

1. **I**t is well known there is no such method to be found in what the philosopher Confucius taught, and his disciples writ after him, as other antient philosophers observe: they are all loose sentences, not confined to any particular subject: however, being but a mere translator in this particular, I follow his steps without deviating in the least.

2. So in translating the Chinese book called, The mirror of the soul, I observe the author's method, which is the cause that one and the same sentence is several times received: but in regard we sometimes see the same in European authors, I do not look upon it as an objection of consequence, or so considerable as to oblige me to alter its order, especially because my design is no other but to make known what light of nature a nation so remote from conversation and commerce with all others as China is, has had for so many ages. This we have taken notice is the cause why some points relating to one and the same virtue are divided into several parts, but in my opinion it is better not to deviate from the method those authors follow, whose doctrine we write, than to reduce it to a certain number of chapters.

3. It is to be observed, that other nations

must not look upon those things as incredible, which are peculiar to any one in particular; otherwise only what we see in our own countries would be true, and all the rest fabulous, which is unreasonable. We must not be govern'd by passion, or private affection, but by reason, and the understanding, which we know does not comprehend all that is in the world. How many years did a certain philosopher break his rest to learn the nature of the ant, and at last made nothing of it? At Macassar, as I write in the sixth book, I saw a child that had twenty four fingers and toes, and was also an hermaphrodite, two distinct monstrous parts, perhaps seldom seen in the world in the same creature. The first part has infallible examples of its truth, one in 2 Sam. xxi. 20. where was a man of great stature, that had on every hand six fingers, and on every foot six toes, four and twenty in number. Another is in 1 Chron. xx. 6. where was a man of great stature, whose fingers and toes were four and twenty, &c. And though these seem to be but one and the same, yet they may pass for an example: but I know not that there is any in antient books of both these things together, and yet it does not follow that there is no such monster in the world. The same I say in other respects, for not to believe them argues no want of truth on their side, but it shows little knowledge and small acquaintance with the world. Those who are well read and curious, are safer, because they take better measures to go by, especially those who leaving their own country, have travell'd through strange countries, these have more lofty and universal ideas of things; they are less surpriz'd, and make a different judgment of what they hear or read, without rashly judging that doubtful and uncertain, which is new to them. True it is, he that writes submits his labour to the judgment of the multitude, who are wont to be more ready to condemn, because they are less capable of understanding. S. Thom. opusc. 27. writes thus, Thence it comes that many unexperienced persons upon slight consideration easily speak their mind. The only remedy in this case is, not to mind what they say.

I sometimes give my opinion in cases to appearance not belonging to my profession, where in I follow the doctrine of our Silvester verb. concil. tract. 2. and of Cajetan 2. 2. q. 45. art. 3. ad 3. Upon which you may also read the learned F. Sylveira, tom. 5. in evangel. lib. IV. cap. 4. quæst. 2. & 3. Besides, to speak to any business, it is enough that a man has knowledge and experience of it, which is absolutely necessary, according to Tully 11. de orat. That the main thing in counsel was to know the common-wealth. And Tacitus in Agric. expresses it yet better, Men acquainted with the manners and designs of the province. He who has gain'd especial and particular

TO the READER.

particular knowledge of some points by experience, may freely and without apprehension speak to them, especially where there are those who pretend to be heard like oracles, without any other reason for it, but that fortune has made them to be fear'd, so that no body dares oppose their opinions or fancies.

5. I now and then, as occasion offers, undertake to plead the cause of the Indians in the Philippine islands, as many more have done for those of America: this is tolerable, because grounded on compassion, mercy, and the inclination of our kings and their supreme council of the Indies, who love them as their children, and give repeated orders every day for their good, advantage, quiet, satisfaction and ease. There is no other fault to be found with those poor creatures, but that which S. Peter Chrisologus found in the holy innocents, whose only crime was that they were born. There is no reason for all their sufferings, but their being in the world; and it is worth observing, that though so many pious, gracious, and merciful orders have pass'd in favour of them, yet they have taken so little effect. Hab. c. i. says thus, Therefore the law is rent, and judgment came not unto the end, &c. So that though these wretches have been several times redeemed, yet they remain in perpetual servitude. Silvanus, lib. VI. de provid. says thus, All captives when once redeemed enjoy their liberty; we are always redeem'd, and are never free. This suits well with what we speak of. To which we may add that of St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 13. It is a subject deserves to be consider'd, and much authority and a big band must make the remedy work a due effect.

6. F. Vitorio Riccio, a Florentine, my companion in China, and a man of excellent parts, and rarely qualified for all business, especially for the Chinese language, in which, tho' doubtless the most difficult in the world, he made a mighty progress with much ease; in a short time writ one tome, containing an account of what relates to our mission from its first beginning, till the year 1665. we daily expect the means to print it.

7. I sometimes in this history name some persons, which is not by chance, but design'dly; for tho' it be in speculative affairs, it is proper to attribute them to their own authors, and not lay them to others. Oleaster in Num. xxv. on those words, Now the name of the Israelite, &c. writes thus: It often happens the good name of a whole community is in danger on account of the vices of one member, as long as he that is guilty of those vices is not known; therefore for the most part it is convenient to know his name, lest the reputation of all men suffer for him. 'Tis true, there is no such danger upon this occasion.

8. I most readily submit all whatsoever is contain'd in this book to the censure and correction of our holy mother the catholic church, and of its universal head the pope, successor to St. Peter, and CHRIST's vicar, whose faith I preach'd and taught pure and untainted for above twelve years to the Gentiles of China, and other nations in those parts, where I have lived, and through the goodness of God hope to die.

F. Dominick Fernandez Navarette.

BOOK

China.

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BOOK I.

Of the Original, Name, Grandeur, Riches, and other Particulars of the Great Empire of CHINA.

CHAP. I.

Of the Name of CHINA.

1. **T**HE utmost bounds of *Asia*, the noblest part of the universe, are the seat of the most glorious empire in all natural respects, the sun ever shines upon. We Europeans vulgarly give it the name of the *Great China*, and with good reason; for it is great in all respects; rich, fruitful, abounding in plenty of all things, and powerful, as will plainly appear by the short account I shall here give of it. But before I enter upon the matter, it will be proper to make known its name, and whence it is derived, for the more methodical proceeding, and to follow the example set me by many grave authors; who before they launch into the account of the great affairs of those empires and kingdoms they treat of, have first clear'd the original and etymology of their names.

2. It is well known that the name *China*, (which the *French* and *Italians* pronounce *Cina*) is not the proper appellation of that empire, but a name given it by strangers trading thither. The *Portuguese* first took it from them; and afterwards the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* islands. Father *Julius Aleni* a jesuit, in his book written in the *Chinese* tongue, speaking of this subject, says, That *China*, in the language of those strangers, signifies a country or kingdom of silk; which being there in such great plenty, those who sailed thither to purchase this commodity, used to say, *Let us go to the land of silk*, or to *China*, which signifies the same thing. Don *F. Gregory Lopez*, bishop of *Basilea*, who now governs the church of *China*, a religious man of our order, and born in that empire, affirmed the same to me. *Trigancius*, lib. I. cap. 2. and *Kircher*, fol. 3. seem to incline to this opinion: the first says, *China* is the ancient *Sericana*; and the latter, that it was formerly called *Sina* and *Serica*.

3. *Trigancius* adds, that he does not que-

tion, but *China* is the country of the *Hippo-NAVAPbagi*, or *horse-eaters*, because horse-flesh RETTE. is eaten throughout all that kingdom, as frequently as we eat beef. But I am of opinion it might more properly be called the country of dog-eaters; for though they eat much horse-flesh, they eat no less of asses, and very much more of dogs, as shall be said in another place. Others will have it, that the strangers trading in *China*, compounded this name of the two *Chinese* words, *Cbi* and *Nan*; which signify to point towards the south; and the merchants resorting thither, coming always upon the south coast, which the *Chinese* expressed by those two words above mentioned, these strangers made one of them, and called the country by that name. *F. Antony de Gouvea*, a *Portuguese* jesuit, was of this opinion; we several times discoursed upon this subject, and methinks it is well grounded.

4. *F. Lucena*, in his *History*, lib. X. cap. 3. says, the usual salutation of the *Chinese* is *Chin*, *Cbin*; which the strangers hearing, they understood *China*, and so took that word for the name of the country. This carries some resemblance of truth to credit it, especially because the manner of the natives accenting *Cbin*, is almost as if there were an *a* with it, which made it easy to apprehend *China*, when they heard *Cbin*: And though it is true the right word those people use in saluting is not *Chin*, but *Zing*, however in some parts the country people pronounce it *Chin*. Certain it is the name was given by strangers; and though they might take it from some words of the country, yet they corrupted, and made it to signify that empire; and this imposition continues to this day, not only in *Europe*, but in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and many parts of *Africa*. This may be further confirmed by many examples still practised in our own and other countries.

B

5. The

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NAVARR. 5. The Chinese merchants that sail'd to
RETTZ. Manila, being ask'd, who they were, and
what they came for? answer'd, *Xang Lai*,
that is, we come to trade. The Spaniards,
who understood not their language, conceived
it was the name of a country, and putting
the two words together made one
of them, by which they still distinguish the

Sangleys. Chinese, calling them *Sangleys*. Thus have
we Europeans corrupted many other words
in those parts: the name of the Philippine
island is *Liu Zung*; the Spaniards corrupted
the words, and call'd them *Luzon*. The

Luzon. city *Manila* is properly call'd *Mainila*,
which signifies a marsh or boggy ground;
our people left out the *i*, and there remain'd
Manila. The island the natives term *Mi-*
nolo, the Spaniard calls *Mindoro*. That of
Malindic, we name *Marinduque*, *Cavit*, *Ca-*
vite, and so of many others. The name

Japan. by which all Asia calls Japan, is *Ye Pan*,
which signifies the rise of the sun, because
this empire lies east of all that part of the
world: the Europeans have corrupted the
name, and call it *Japan*. The name of the
kingdom of *Coria*, is *Kao Li*; and with us
it is chang'd into *Coria*. *Kiao Chi* was con-
verted into *Cochinchina*, and *Sien Lo* into
Siam.

6. The Portuguese corrupted many names
in the East-Indies. The natives call an idol
Pagode. the Portuguese speak it *Pagode*.
That which we now name the coast of *Cher-*
amandel, or *Caramandel*, as the French and
Italians pronounce it, and runs from the
city of *St. Thomas* to *Bengala*, is by the
natives called *Toromandalun*, and *Toroman-*
dora; which denomination does not belong
to any kingdom or country, but was the
stile of the king who was sovereign of that
tract when the first Portuguese came thither:
they hearing the natives use that word to
express their prince, after changing and
corrupting it, took it for the name of the
country. They also corrupted the names of
Tragamban, *Nagapatan*, *Jasanapatan*,
Madraffapatan, *Paliacate*, *Musalapatan*, and
others, as I made out when I was in those
countries. By all that has been said, it
appears, that in probability the same may
have happened to the name of *China*, espe-
cially in regard that nation does not use or
own it.

7. The usual and most common name
by which those people call their empire,
both in their books and discourse, is *Chung*
Kue, i. e. the middle kingdom. Formerly
this denomination was peculiar to the Pro-
vince of *Hu Nan*, which is almost the cen-
ter of that empire. From hence in process
of time it communicated itself to all that
country. Others will have it, that the Chi-
nese meant, their kingdom was in the mid-
dle of all the world, being ignorant of the

rest. For this reason they also term it *Tien* *Tien Hia*,
Hia, that is, a world, or the greatest and
best part of it. They also give it another
appellation, and that common enough, call-
ing it *Hoa Kue*, or *Chung Hoa*, signifying,
a flourishing kingdom, a garden, a grove,
or delightful place in the middle of the
world. During the reign of the emperor
Xu this name was much in use, and is still
in writing. It is very proper for that em-
pire, because in truth it is all a beautiful
garden, and a most delightful grove.

8. F. Kircher says, China has no proper
name of its own, but takes it from the
emperor then reigning; yet afterwards,
fol. 165. he mentions the names *Chung Kue*,
and *Chung Hoa*, which are written as pro-
per denominations, and not as deriv'd from
emperors. I was more surpriz'd afterwards
to read the same in father Trigancius his
history, lib. I. cap. 2. I cannot conceive
how it comes to pass, that this father hav-
ing spent some years in the mission of China,
and travell'd that country, as he writes him-
self, should not distinguish between the
name of the empire, or kingdom, and that
of a particular reign. The names of the em-
pire are ever the same, and immutable;
but the denominations of reigns vary accord-
ing to the several families that govern: So
those this author quotes, are the names or
surnames of families that reign'd; as for
instance, *Tang* signifies the time the family
reign'd, which was call'd *Tang Hia*, when
the family whose name or surname was *Hia*
reign'd, and so of the rest: so that those
are the names of reigning families, not of
the kingdom; as when we say the *Austrian*
or the *Ottoman* empire, &c. which only
implies the reign of the family of *Austria*,
or of the *Ottoman* race. And tho' we say
the *Austrian* empire, it does not imply, that
therefore the empire itself is call'd *Austria*,
but *Germany*, where the house of *Austria*
reigns: and thus I think this point is suffi-
ciently clear'd.

9. As for China being the same as *Grand*
Cathay, I perceive Trigancius is of that opi-
nion, taking it from *Paulus Venetus*. Kir-
cher, fol. 47. supposes the same thing, ad-
ding, that all his order agree in this point;
but if he has no other ground for it but
that, it being false, concludes nothing. A-
mong those of his order in China, some
affirm, others deny, and others are dubi-
ous concerning it; and therefore it is no
easy matter to resolve which of them to
follow. It is possible that the name of *Cathay*
is corrupted by the Europeans, which
will make it a difficult matter to decide
this point. The Muscovite calls China, *Kin*,
Tai; which name seems to have some re-
semblance with *Cathay*. I think it the
wisest way not to decide a matter so doubt-
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ful, and which tho' it has been handled in *China*, cannot find any grounds to incline a man more to the one side than to the other; but to leave it dubious till some further light can be found to lead us into it.

10. In the history of *Tamerlan the great*, translated into *French*, it is written that he conquered *China*, and that when he was out of this empire, the king of *Cathay* met him with two millions of men. Now according to this *China* cannot be the same as *Cathay*. True it is, I do not look upon

this account to be infallibly certain, for as *NAVA-much* as the *Chinese* annals, which are very exact, make no mention of any such conquest; nor can this be the same as was made by the western *Tartar*, because it is much later than that. The subject of this chapter requires no further information, nor do I think there is any to be had; but this is sufficient to know somewhat of the name *China*. At the end of this book we shall again speak of what relates to *Tamerlan*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antiquity of the Empire of China.

1. THO' all men grant that the empire of *China* is of very great antiquity, yet I find some disagreement among authors; and no small difference between the missionaries, who are doubtless the best judges in this case, as having receiv'd better lights from the *Chinese* books, and convers'd with the natives. I am not ignorant that some have written that the empire of *China* was founded before the flood, which I do not relate as a probable opinion, but as a dream or fiction, it being a contradiction of the holy scripture, *Gen. chap. vii.* and *viii.*

2. Nor will I here insert what *F. Nieremberg* publish'd concerning the original of *China*, because he fails in so many, and such extravagant inventions, as cannot be outdone upon the subject. A sufficient proof hereof is, that all those of his society who live in *China*, do make a great jest of all he writ concerning this matter. *F. Antony Gouvea* has a particular aversion to this author; he censures his writings severely, and looks upon him as unfaithful, and fabulous. If he was misled by informations, he is the less to blame; but what I chiefly observed was, that on the 29th of November 1661, the aforementioned *F. Gouvea* told me, that *Nieremberg* was in the wrong in writing, that the *Chinese* had made *F. Matthew Riccius* a classick doctor. For tho' I and all the rest of us were satisfy'd of the mistake, yet I did not think they would have told it me so plainly. I further remark'd, that the good *F. Gouvea* looks upon the two apparitions (the same father says *F. Matthew Riccius* has of our Saviour, telling him, he would be assisting to him at the two courts of *China*) as mere dreams; and he blames *F. Julius Aleni* as the author and inventor of these things. And this father being so well vers'd, and of so long a standing in that mission, he cannot but have perfect knowledge of all these affairs. But in my opinion the first of these stories is the most unlikely, for the *Chinese* would not

admit of *S. Augustin* himself as a classick doctor, much less of *F. Riccius*, who, it cannot be deny'd, was a famous man, and therefore does not stand in need of any forged honour.

3. *F. Mendo*, lib. I. chap. 3. writes thus: it is look'd upon as an undoubted truth among the natives of this kingdom, that the grandsons of *Noah* were the first that peopled it after travelling out of *Armenia* to seek some land that might please them, &c. In the 5th chapter he repeats the same, adding, that what appears plain in the *Chinese* history, is, that ever since the time of *Vitey*, who was the first king, that nation has been reduced into one entire monarchy, &c.

4. As to the antiquity, this author is much in the right; but we must assuredly suppose, that the *Chinese* never had any knowledge of *Noah*, nor of his sons or grandsons. It is generally agreed in their books and histories, that the first man they can give any account of, was *Fo Hi*; they have no manner of knowledge of any time before him, which they themselves daily own to us, when we discourse of this subject, and so it appears in their writings. I fancy too that there is no such word as *Vitey* in *China*, nor is it known to that nation; it may perhaps be a corrupt word compounded of these two, *Vi, Tai*: but the name of the first emperor of *China*, as I have already observ'd, was not *Vi Tai*, but *Fo Hi*, as is expressly mention'd in their books, and they all unanimously agree. And I am of opinion there are few among them, tho' they be peasants, but know this; for as we have knowledge of our first father *Adam*, so have they of *Fo Hi*. Nay there have been missionaries who would make *Fo Hi* to be *Adam*, but that cannot agree with the *Chinese*, because their empire has continued from the time of *Fo Hi* till now.

5. The most receiv'd opinion is, that from this *Fo Hi* the first emperor of *China*, till

NAVARETTE. till this present year 1675, are four thousand five hundred and fifty nine years; and there being since the flood to this same year, according to the computation of the Antiquity. Roman martyrology, four thousand six hundred and thirty two years, it appears, that the Chinese empire had its beginning seventy two years after the flood, others say one hundred and thirteen. This makes out the probability of what F. John Ruiz the jesuit wrote, who is follow'd by the fathers Longobardo and Balat of the same society, and is, that the great Zoroastres prince of the Bafrians, who was the first inventor of magick in the east, was also the founder of the empire of China, and there left behind him his doctrine. There is some difficulty in this, for it seems most certain that Egypt was peopled first, which yet was one hundred and seventy years after the flood, as says *A Lapidé* in xii. *Genesis*; see there, and *Oleaster*, Num. xii.

See the supplement to Cajetan in Gen. xli. where you will find the same as is here written.

6. F. Emanuel Diaz a jesuit writ in the Chinese language, that Ham the son of Noab went into China, where he diffus'd his superstitious and wicked doctrine, which continues to this day. This makes not against what has been said above, but rather verifies it; for it is very usual to say, Ham and Zoroastres were the same man, as Berosus, lib. III. *Burgenfis*, master Matbias, Garcia de Loaisa out of *Isidorus*, the *Fasciculus temporum*, the lord of *Arausa*, *Kircher*, and many others affirm, as shall be shewn in the second tome: see *A Lapidé*, Exod. vii. 6, 11. *Laſtantiuſ Firmianuſ de orig. err. cap.* 4. writes thus of Ham; Ham flying, set-

tled in that part of the earth now call'd Arabia. This was the first nation that knew not God; because its prince and founder receiv'd not the worship of God, being curs'd by his father, therefore he left the want of knowledge of a Deity to his posterity. This agrees very well with what has been said above. Zoroastres was six hundred years before Moses, according to the same *A Lapidé*. Others would have this empire to be more ancient, but do not prove it.

7. What has been said makes out the truth of what is written by the fathers Ruiz, Sabatino, Longobardo, Diaz, Gourvea, and others of the society, viz. that the Chinese from the beginning wanted the knowledge of the true God. Those who have writ and publish'd the contrary, have suffer'd themselves to be led away, rather by their inclination, than been govern'd by their understanding; as will plainly appear in the book of Chinese controversies, where I handle this and other points very particularly.

8. It is therefore morally impossible absolutely to determine on what day, month, or year the empire of China was founded; but it is most certain that it is very ancient, and that the antiquity abovemention'd is made out by their books: tho' I find some disagreement among the missionaries in the computation, yet not so material as quite to take away, or much to lessen the antiquity we have spoke of. Read *A Lapidé* in Gen. ix. 6, 18. the same the Egyptians affirm of their nation, the Chinese say of theirs.

CHAP. III.

Of the Greatness of CHINA.

1. IN the first place, I give for granted that all the Chinese names mention'd in his history by father Mendoza, nay, and by some other authors, are altogether deprav'd and corrupted, and therefore not intelligible, even to us who have liv'd several years in that country, studied their language, and read their books: none of the names he writes is of the Mandarin language, nor can they be of any of the languages us'd in particular provinces, and therefore I shall never make use of any of them, but of those proper and genuine names us'd by the learned sect, and all the people of judgment and note in that country; and this does not infer but that many others of the commonalty do make use of them.

2. There has been much variety of opinions touching the north latitude of the empire of China. F. de Angelis of Lisbon

extends it to 48 degrees; the Dutch stretch farther to 52. F. Nieremberg goes on to 63. Orlandinus and Luzena stop not there; F. Trigancius, lib. I. cap. 2. places it in 42. This is the opinion I follow and approve of, because all the missionaries being assembled together in the court of Peking, we discours'd upon this subject, and they who had liv'd there several years said, they had examin'd and found it to be so, adding some minutes; so that the wall which is the bound of China stands in near 42 deg. 30 min. The most southern part is the island of Hai Nan (which signifies south sea) Trigancius places it in 19 deg. of north latitude; but I following some others fix it in 18, and so that empire contains above 24 degrees of latitude. Thus its extent from north to south is above four hundred and twenty Spanish leagues, allowing 17½ to a degree, and according to the French who allow

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allow 20 it is four hundred and eighty; but according to the *Dutch*, who assign but 15 leagues to a degree, the space from north to south is three hundred and sixty leagues. As to the longitude, it is easier to differ about it, some allow it 20 degrees, others extend it to 27; however it is, that country is near square, and the *Chinese* lay it down so in their maps.

3. By this it appears that *China* is not so long as *F. Mendoza* represents it, lib. I. cap. 6. nor are the grounds he goes upon to prove his assertion solid, nor is it strange there should be mistakes at first, when the accounts from thence were imperfect; nor is it yet agreed upon to this day whether ten miles of *China* make a league of ours; but on the contrary, the general opinion is, there goes thirteen or fourteen to a league.

4. *China* is divided into fifteen provinces, each of which in former ages was a large, rich and populous kingdom. I do not include in this number the kingdom of *Tung King*, which, tho' about three hundred and sixty years ago was a part of *China*, yet is not so now, tho' it owns a sort of subjection to the emperor, and the king receives his investiture from him, as we saw it practis'd of late years. Some say the kingdom of *Cochinchina* was part of that of *Tung King*, and that when this latter revolted from *China*, the governor making himself king, *Cochinchina* was then actually in rebellion, and had taken a king of its own. But I am confident in the opinion, that it was ever a separate kingdom: for in the reign of *Cheu Kung*, which is above two thousand years ago, *Cochinchina* was a distinct kingdom of itself, and its king sent presents to the *Chinese* emperor; and I remember he calls the present by these names *Chao Hien*, which signifies a royal present, gift or offering.

5. Some reckon *Leao Tung* as a province, but it never was one; it belonged to that of *Xan Tunc*, and the *Tartars* possessed themselves of it some years ago: nor do I here make any mention of the kingdom of *Coria*, nor of other islands which pay yearly tribute or acknowledgment; neither do I approve of what *F. Luzena* writes, that the *Chinese* was master of *Bata China*, for which he has no ground but the name, whereof we have spoken before, and this is visible enough in that the histories of *China* make no mention of that country. In the next place, since the *Philippine* islands, *Borneo*, *Macassar* and others known to the *Chinese*, are larger, nearer, and much more worth than *Bata China*, and yet the *Chinese* were never possess'd of them; to what purpose should they go to conquer poor unprofitable lands very far distant from their own? be-

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sides, which way should the *Chinese* steer *NAVY* their course to it? *Bata China* lies far south of *RETTE*. the islands of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, as I shall shew in my last book, which is a troublesome and dangerous voyage, by reason of the infinite number of islands that lie in the way, and the many channels, currents and straits not known at this day to the *Chinese*.

6. I am of opinion there is no ground at all for what the same author writes, viz. that the *Chinese* sail'd to the island of *Zeilan* (or *Ceylon*) where he lays many of them settled, whose posterity are now call'd *Cbingalas*; this he supposes only on account of the likeness of the names, and because the *Cbingalas* are men of valour. I have already said that nothing can be concluded from the names, because they are corrupted by the *Europeans*: and the *Cbingalas* being valiant men infers the contrary to what he would prove, for they could never inherit valour from the *Chinese* who want it. What may be said in this matter is, that as the *Indians* of *Manila* call'd *Pampangos* are courageous and resolute, and the *Tagalos* their next neighbours have no heart; so in *Zeilan*, or any other province, there may be a spot of ground may produce braver men than any other, tho' they be contiguous, and this spot may be call'd *Cbingala*. If this be not enough, give me leave to ask to what purpose should the *Chinese* go to *Zeilan*? what silks, garments or drugs could they vent there? what could they buy? no cinnamon I am sure, because they have a great deal, and that very good, in the province of *Hay Nan*, especially when they must leave behind them so many large kingdoms where they might dispose of their merchandise to content.

7. Others say the *Chinese* were masters of *Tutucurin*, which country lies east north east of *Zeilan*, but I find no likelihood of truth in this. The *Chinese* were never conquerors nor ambitious of possessing foreign kingdoms, and if they had been so they might have made themselves masters of many. Several *Portugueses* affirm that the *Chinese* traded by sea as far as the kingdom of *Narvinga*, and the ground they have for it is, that near the city *Calamina*, or *S. Thomas*, there is an idol temple call'd the *Pagod of China*, which I saw, and it nothing resembles those in *China*, nor can they who have seen the *Chinese* ships be persuaded this is at all likely. I ask'd an ancient native of that country who was a Christian, and a man of sense, whether they had any knowledge there of *China*? He answer'd, they had not. I ask'd him concerning that temple: he told me the name of it was, *Ta Se Le Na Pe Lo Mal*, which are seven idols that are in it: he also

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said

NAVA- said it was call'd *China Patalon*, which are
RETTE. all expressions us'd in that kingdom.

8. It is perfectly imposing impossibilities upon us to maintain, as some *Portugueses* do, that the *Cbineses* sail'd as far as the island of *S. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*; they had much better affirm they sail'd to *Suratte* and *Cambaya*, and thence to *Ethiopia* and *Persia*; but to *Madagascar*, to me seems not only morally but physically impossible. Any man would be of the same opinion that had sail'd those seas, and had experience of the terrible storms and boisterous winds they are subject to. If to this we add, that the *Cbineses* have no use of the *Astrolabe*, or cross-staff to take the meridian altitudes, nor are acquainted with the latitudes or longitudes, nor have any knowledge of the narrow channels, that their vessels are weak and want rigging, any man will rather credit what I now write. How would a *Cbinese* champan weather the furious storms about the islands of *Mauricia* and *Majacarenbas*? nay, tho' it could

Navigation.

sail thither, what merchandise should it carry, or what should it do at *Madagascar*? I am of the mind that a champan is not capable of carrying water and provision enough for that voyage, and much less to serve home again, the return being more tedious and difficult. It is my belief that the *Cbineses* never went beyond the straits of *Sincapura* and *Sonda*; nor do I think they have any knowledge of them at this time. They sail'd to *Manila* long before the *Spaniards* went thither, which is not to be doubted, because the *Indians* affirm'd it; they also went to *Siam*, *Camboja*, *Japan*, and other places that reach'd not to the narrow seas: so that we must take the extent great or small of the empire of *China* within itself, without going beyond its own borders, which, as I said before, contains fifteen great provinces, subdivided into 150 lesser, yet there is never a one of them but is much bigger than any of those of the *Low-countries*.

Provinces.

Cities.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fifteen Provinces in general, and the Cities of CHINA.

1. THE true and genuine names of the fifteen provinces of *China* are as follow, *Pe King*, or rather *Pe Cbi Li*, *Xan Tung*, *Xan Si*, *Xen Si*, *Ho Nan*, *Hu Kuang*, *Kuei Cben*, *Ju Nan*, *Zu Cben*, *Nan King*, *Cbe Kiang*, *Kiang Si*, *Kuang Si*, *Fo Kien*, and *Kuang Tung*. This last is corruptly call'd by the *Europeans* *Canton*. Every one of them has several cities, towns and villages, and its bounds set out by a fair large stone with an inscription on both sides, bearing these words, *here ends such a province, and begins the province N*. In their books is the number of the cities and towns in each province, with the names of them, all which I had taken notes of, and would have inserted here but that I cannot find the manuscript. *F. Mendoza* has writ the whole, and perhaps I would have follow'd him in some things, had I not observ'd that he is mistaken in several particulars he mentions concerning the province of *Fo Kien*; he says, *lib. I. cap. 8.* there are 33 cities, and 99 towns in *Fo Kien*, which is an unpardonable mistake; for *Fo Kien* is one of the least provinces of *China*, and all men there know it contains but eight cities; four of them are near the sea, I pass'd through them all, their names are *Cbang' cheu*, *Civen Cben*, *Hing Hoa*, and *Fo Cben* the metropolis; the other four are in the inland. Another of those in the second rank is call'd *Fo Ning*, where we have had a church,

Mendoza.

Fo Kien.

and there have been Christians many years since: the towns I think are not above 27, the villages and hamlets are innumerable, as they are in all other parts of *China*. In all other provinces he makes the number of towns and cities much greater, so that adding together all his cities he makes 591, and of towns 1593, which is no way to be allow'd of.

Cities.

2. *F. Trigancius cap. 2.* says there are 247 cities of inferior rank in *China*, and 1152 towns, all which may and ought to be call'd cities, since there is no distinction in their walls. See *Oleaster* in *Num. xxxii. ad lit.* towards the end. What I could make out is as follows, there are 148 cities of the first rank which they call *Fu*, 239 of the second call'd *Cben*, 1149 towns which they term *Hien*, 11 cities of soldiers, in which those military men live, to whom they have given lands for their maintenance paying a small tribute, and with them live some vassals, for which reason they are commonly call'd cities of soldiers, and vassals, *Kinn Min Fu*; 493 castles upon the sea coast, some of them so populous it is much to be admir'd. We pass'd by one as we came from court, that resembled a great city for its vast suburbs, populousness, number of boats and trade; we were all surpriz'd and astonish'd at the sight of it. There are besides 2910 boroughs on the coast equivalent to towns, as the castles are

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are to cities. In these sea towns there are 1974 commanders, who have all their commissions from the emperor.

Villages.

3. Their boroughs, hamlets, and villages are so numerous that the *Chinese* do not reckon them. Some of the villages are wonderful populous; about four leagues from *Canton* there is one very much noted, call'd *Foxan*, I have been several times in it, and all we missionaries were there together when we came away from court to our banishment: It is computed to contain as many people as the metropolis, to which some assign two millions of souls, others a million and a half. Every day in the year four great passage-boats sail from the metropolis to *Foxan*, all full of passengers, and every one carries 150, besides an infinite number of small boats hired by private persons.

Cities.

4. The difference between the cities of the first and second rank is, that the first have one body politick within them, which has its particular courts and government. Those of the second rank have none of this,

but some of the second are larger than 6-NAVATHERS of the first, as there are towns bigger than cities. In every metropolis there are two distinct corporations: and besides this there is another notable mark of distinction, which is, that in every metropolis there are two beautiful towers in several places, each nine stories high. Every other city has one but seven stories high, and every town one of five.

5. All the capital and lesser cities and towns are encompass'd with high, thick, and beautiful walls. All the gates I have seen are plated with iron; the ditches are deep and handfom. There is scarce any city or town but what is regularly built, and seated on some mighty river, or lake. So they are to be founded, says *S. Thomas opus. de Reg. Princip.* Now they being regularly built, the streets are wide, freight and even, very beautiful and orderly, wherein I am persuaded they have exceeded the *Europeans*. Thus much may suffice in general.

CHAP. V.

Of the several Families that have reign'd in CHINA.

1. **T**HERE must needs be much difficulty in deciding some points relating to this empire, which has been founded so many thousands of years. As to the matter in hand there is no great danger of erring since I follow the *Chinese* histories. Since the first five emperors there have been 22 reigning houses, or families; as if we should say the houses of *Austria* or *Bourbon*, &c. All these have made 238 emperors, besides some few whose reigns were very short. No mention is made of such as these, says *Hugo Cardinalis* in *Judit.* i. §. 2. I shall give some account of the greatest and most renowned of them in the following book. There was no proportion in the time of those families continuance, one lasted 400 years in a continued succession from father to son; another 500; a third to 600; and one extend'd to 800, which was the longest of any. The last before the coming in of this *Tartar* family, reigned somewhat above 260 years. All that while this empire enjoy'd a profound peace, but all was utterly subverted in a few years. We might say of *China* as *Philo the Jew*, in his book *quod Deus est immortalis*, said of the *Persian* empire; *Before the rise of the Macedonians, great was the prosperity of the Persians, but one day put an end to a mighty kingdom.*

2. By what has been said, which is beyond all controversy, it appears, they did

not rightly inform *F. Mendoza*, who gave him an account of the emperors of *China*. He handles this matter, *lib. III. cap. 1.* where he sets down so many names of emperors as is amazing. Among other things he saies, there were 106 kings of the race of *Vitey*, who reign'd 2256 years. I have always said *Fo Hi* was the first emperor and not *Vitey*, and that the longest continuance of the crown in any family was 800 years, which all the school-boys in *China* know, because it is written in their primmers; and therefore in these particulars I shall write not what others have written before me, but what I have read and received from the learned men of *China*.

3. All the reigns we have spoke of were tyrannical, tho' the kings were natives, excepting only this family now in being, and another call'd *Sung Chao*, which were both strangers, the latter coming from the *West*, and the other from the *East*. *F. Mendoza* writes that *Sung Chao* govern'd 90 years, *Sung* and us'd the natives tyrannically, making slaves of them: but he is out in both, for he reigned but 60 years, and gave such content, that the *Chinese* even at this day applaud, and bestow high commendations on him. In process of time a long possession, and the love of the subjects, it is likely mended their title, as has happened in other countries and families. And *Suarez*, *lib. III. cont. Reg. Angl. cap. 2. n. 20.* says, *It* often

NAVA- often happens that a kingdom is possess'd by unjust
 RETTE. war, but then it comes to pass, that in process
 of time, either the people freely give their con-
 sent, or else the heirs govern the kingdom with
 moderation and then tyranny ceases, and a
 lawful government begins. But certain it is,
 infidels will not be nice in this point. A
 missioner was us'd to say, that all the em-
 perors that ever were in *China* were right-
 ful and lawful, because it was settled and
 agreed that the strongest should carry it,
 and consequently every *Chinese* in the em-
 pire had a title to it. I never lik'd this
 doctrine which he only grounded upon his
 own opinion and fancy, contrary to the ge-
 neral sentiments of that empire and its laws.

4. The family now reigning is call'd
 Zing *Chao*, that is a pure and unspotted
 Chao. reign. The emperor's name is *Kang Hi*,
 Kang Hi. that is, joy, repose, peace, and tranquillity.
 Silveir. It cannot be deny'd but that he gov-
 6. p. 190. erns with some severity: he is hated by
 9. a. 10. the natives which is not to be wonder'd at,
 gitima du because he is a stranger, and his nation is
 ra legitima look'd upon as barbarous by the *Chinese*.
 affabili. This alone was sufficient to have made him
 odious, tho' there had not been besides such a
 mighty quantity of blood shed as was in
 the conquest; besides many cruelties and
 disasters that attended him. The *Chinese*,
 if they were unanimous, might with great
 ease destroy him: but it seems *Go d* made
 use of the *Tartar* as an instrument to crush
 the pride of the *Chinese*, as his divine Ma-
 jesty has often done to other powerful
 kingdoms. Let such as are curious read
S. Thomas, lib. III. cap. 7. de Reg. Princ.
 where he will find this plainly made out.
 In the 8th chapter the saint shews how *Go d*
 uses to punish those very men he has made
 use of as his instruments for the purposes
 above-mentioned; and so perhaps the *Tar-
 tar* may have his deserts in a short time.
 To this effect see *A Lapide* in *xiv Gen. v. 5.*
 in *xiv Exod. v. 1, 25.* and *Oleaster* in *xiv*
Numb.

5. The missioners do not agree about
 Tartara the *Tartars* title, I shall discuss this point
 that con- among the controversies; but it will be
 quer'd. convenient in this place to make it known
 in some measure who these *Tartars* are. I
 find many suppose them to be the same that
 make war on the *Poles*, the *Muscovites*, and
 others in that part of the world, which is
 a gross mistake. The *Chinese* call them
Ta Zu, and divide them into the *Eastern*
 and *Western*, and so distinguish them by
 the two words *Tung* and *Si*, signifying *East*
 and *West*, tho' the eastern lie north-east of
China, which is little to our purpose, espe-
 cially in regard the north-east is towards
 the eastern quarter. The *Chinese* ever
 looked upon all these *Tartars* as a rude,
 wild, and barbarous people; and so when

they would say a man is a *Barbarian*, they
 call him *Ta Zu*.

6. Here I take it for granted, that *Mus- covy* is six months journey distant from *Chi- na*, as we were given to understand by the ambassadors the *Muscovite* sent some years since to the *Chinese*. In this interval there are deserts, high mountains, deep valleys, and mighty rivers, whence may be gather'd how far it is to those we call *Tartars* of *China*, who inhabit near the great wall. It is agreed on all hands that their kingdom is small, mountainous, full of woods, but abounds in cattle and wild beasts. It is call'd *Ning Kue Ta*, by which the *Chinese* express, a kingdom of mountains, rustick and wild people: they have no houses or buildings, the people live in dens and cot- tages; of late they have begun to build af- ter the *Chinese* manner. They were always robbers and continually infested *China*, plun- dering towns and villages. They have great multitudes of horses, are themselves good horsemen, and skilful archers. These *Tar- tars*, so we will call them, never were pos- sess'd of *China*, as *F. de Angelis* has writ. He was also deceiv'd in placing them in 73 degrees of north latitude. As for their reli- gion, the same author says, they acknow- ledge one *Go d* in heaven, and another up- on earth; as also the immortality of the soul, which I suppose he took from *F. Mendoza*. But whence they both had it I know not, for even at this time, tho' that peo- ple is better known and discover'd, we can say nothing with certainty of them, saving that they incline of late to follow the sects of *China*, and are much given to worship- ing of idols.

7. This present *Tartar* who reigns in *China*, and his father have been the most fortunate men in the world, especially if he that is now living knows how to keep what he inherited. But this is no easy mat- ter, fortune is very inconstant; one day man is rais'd to the height of power, and the next he is cast down into an abyss of misery. Nothing that is violent is lasting; see *Ole- aster* in *xxi Num. in fin. exposit. moral.* This world is like the ebbing and flowing of the sea, said *Psalm*, *lib. quod Deus est immut.* I am very well satisfy'd no potentate in the world is greater than this. He is peaceably possess'd of the fifteen provinces we have spok'en of, his own kingdom *Leao Tung*, a great part of *Coria*, whence he draws a good quantity of silver, besides many king- doms that are tributary to him. I know no prince in the world that has such large dominions together, so many subjects, and such vast riches. It cannot be deny'd but the *Mogul* is a mighty prince, his empire very large; that he is powerful, and has kings that pay him tribute, as does he of

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Golconda; that he is at this time, not only sovereign of his own kingdom, but of the empire of *Narsinga*; yet I am fully persuaded he has not half so many subjects as the *Chinese*, nor near the revenue: But be it as it will, my business is not here to make comparisons, but only to shew how great the *Chinese* is, and hereupon every one may make such judgment as he shall think fit.

8. Enough has been writ concerning the irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*, and how in so short a time they made themselves masters of it. *F. Martin Martinez* publish'd a small book upon this subject, I have it by me in *Latin*, and translated into *Spanish*. I have read neither, nor have I any inclination to it, for reasons I shall give hereafter: I suppose they agree in substance, tho' in some circumstances not very material, I find there is difference and disagreement. I will write what I heard of the court of *Pe King*, from the missionaries and others of the natives. To pretend to make monarchies eternal, is like sailing against the wind. Which of them was ever permanent? None. Read the sacred and profane histories, and it will appear, that to mount to the greatest height, is but to begin to fall. Even now in our own days we experience this truth, without being necessitated to have recourse for examples to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. It was a good saying of a modern author, much applauded by preachers: when any thing is lifted up to a great height, you may know its downfal and ruin is at hand.

9. *China*, which was nothing inferior to those monarchies we have mention'd, tho' less known to the *Europeans*, rose to the height of majesty, grandeur, and wealth; it is plain then, it could not plead a singular privilege beyond all the world. A little worm destroy'd and consum'd the verdure and spreading greatness of the prophetic *Jonas* his ivy-tree. So a robber burnt, and pull'd up the delightful and flourishing garden of *China*, he was like a flash of lightning that fir'd and defaced all that beauty.

10. Certain it is the *Chinese* emperor hang'd himself upon a tree: and very credible persons told us at *Pe King*, as a thing out of dispute, that he himself fir'd hang'd a daughter he had, and his first wife. Consider what a dismal spectacle that was! what trouble must it raise in the hearts of men to see such fruit upon three trees! so great a monarch and emperor, and empress and their eldest daughter hung by the boughs. O inconstancy of worldly prosperity! O wonderful changes of fortune! O uncertainty of all that is temporal! seven thousand pieces of cannon lay on the walls of that renowned and beautiful

city, as the inhabitants affirm'd, and above *NAVA*-four millions of souls inhabited that mighty metropolis. The emperor liv'd within nine walls; numerous guards did duty at his gates, counsellors, ministers, and servants attended him in vast numbers, and nothing of all this could avail to save the lives of those wretched carcasses.

11. It is universally allow'd that the robber spent eight days, tho' some say but five, in conveying the gold, silver, jewels, and other riches, from the palace in carts, upon camels, horses, and mens shoulders; and that nevertheless there remain'd considerable riches in the royal treasury, which afterwards the *Tartar* seiz'd upon. It is also agreed on all hands that infinite numbers dy'd, and there is no doubt but many were their own executioners.

12. Some blame the emperor for living too retir'd, they say he never went out of his palace. They also tax him with covetousness. His predecessors heap'd vast treasures, and he increas'd them considerably, and he knew not for whom he gathered. Others blame the eunuchs for not acquainting him with what was in agitation: I am of opinion they were all faulty.

13. *Ufan Kuei* general of the frontiers, a most faithful and loyal subject to his sovereign lord the emperor, but ill advis'd, to revenge the mischief that robber had done, crav'd aid and assistance of him that ever was a declar'd and mortal enemy of *China*; he invited the *Tartar*, and made use of a tiger to be reveng'd of a wolf. The *Tartar* joyfully embrac'd the offer, he immediately rais'd an army of 80000 horse, and swelling with it, trampled down all *China*, which he already look'd upon as a prey expos'd to his barbarous fury. He join'd *Ufan Kuei*, and with their united force they pursued the robber, slew an infinite number of people, recover'd the rich booty he carry'd; and tho' the rebel with some of his followers escap'd, yet the *Tartar* remain'd victorious, and more proud and arrogant than before. In order to put in execution what he had before contriv'd, he resolv'd to go to *Pe King*, and entred the court, the gates being laid open to him; where making use of force, he possessed himself of all, without any better title than mere tyranny and usurpation. *Ufan Kuei* was quite asham'd and confounded to see how he was impos'd upon by the ill measures he had taken; for what could be worse than to call in thousands of robbers to reduce one? and his force being inferior to the enemies, he durst not encounter him. What afterwards happened in the conquest of the whole empire, the slaughters, the blood that run about the fields, the robberies, the outrages, the miserable cries and complaints which pierced

NAVATE. the clouds, have not perhaps been parallel'd throughout the world. Millions of *Chinese* were put to death, vast numbers flew themselves to avoid falling into the hands of the savage *Tartars*. Many cities and towns were left desolate. The men fled to the mountains, and thought not themselves secure in the caves. The women, who are as reserved and modest as the strictest nuns in *Europe*, ran about the fields weeping and tearing their hair, flying from the scourge that pursued them. Many virgins cast themselves into rivers and wells, thinking, through a mistaken zeal, it was lawful, by that means to shun their shame and the loss of their chastity.

Misery of the women.

14. That thunderbolt overran all *China* with fire and sword, and left not a foot of land unconsum'd; so that in the year 58, when I entered upon that mission, the *Tartar* was absolute lord of the whole, except a few holes which he soon subdued. There were such multitudes of men slain at the taking of some cities, and particularly the capital of *Po Keu*, that the dead bodies heap'd together equal'd the height of the wall, and serv'd the *Tartars* instead of ladders to mount up and possess themselves of the city. This was affirm'd to me for a truth, when I pass'd through that place, and they shew'd me the curtain of the wall, which was of a considerable height, that the dead bodies had been heap'd against.

Slaughter.

15. In *China* were verified the words of the first chapter of the first of *Maccab.*

According to its glory its disgrace is multiplied, and its loftiness is turn'd into mourning. And that of the fifth chap. y. 11. fits in this place, *She that was free, is become a slave.* Let no man confide in his own power, or forget to stand upon his guard, because he is rich, great and mighty. It is absolutely necessary to be diligent and watchful, especially when the enemy is at hand; too much precaution or diffidence cannot be too much security may. The *Chinese* even in my time liv'd in hopes that *Ulan Kuei* would still stand up for his country, his credit, and reputation, and endeavour to make amends for those losses and destructions caus'd by his oversight, and ill conduct; but now considering his great age, their expectation is vanish'd. I could not but think he has been the cause of infinite mischiefs. The *Tartar* was ever upon his guard, and jealous of this commander; thrice he endeavour'd by fair means to draw him to court, which had secur'd all danger that might be in him. He in not going, behav'd himself with more wisdom than he had don: before. We shall speak of the *Tartar* in another place, thus much suffices at present. But because this did not satisfy a great friend of mine, who thought it requisite I should enlarge upon this point, I resolv'd to do so, and write a particular chapter upon this subject, which is the last but one of the last book; there the reader will find what was omitted in this place.

CHAP. VI.

A farther Account of the Grandeur of the Chinese Empire.

1. FOR the more regular proceeding, we will here treat of the two courts now frequented and famous in *China*, without meddling with others in several provinces where many ancient emperors resided.

2. The southern court, for this very reason call'd *Nan King*, is most renowned in those parts, tho' the emperors have not these many years resided there. I never was within it, but have oftentimes heard some missionaries, who liv'd there several years, and other judicious Christians talk of its greatness. As we went from court to banishment, we came to an anchor very near to its first wall, where we lay some days. The wall is high, beautiful, and of a goodly structure, and the first I ever saw of that sort. It has no battlements as is usual, but runs in the nature of a scollop-lace, as is us'd in some buildings in *Spain*. The whole is very graceful to behold, and the *Chinese* say its circumference is a hundred and sixty of their miles, which, according

to some of the missionaries computation, make sixteen *Spanish* leagues, and according to others thirteen or fourteen. At the first entering upon the mission they allow'd ten *Chinese* miles to a league of ours, afterwards upon better consideration they assign'd thirteen, and some fourteen; and tho' we should allow fifteen, the compass of the wall would be very great.

3. I have mention'd, that every metropolis has two towers nine stories high. One of those at this court is so beautiful and sightly, it may cope with the fairest in *Europe*. There is some, but no great distance betwixt the first and second wall, by what we could discover through the gate; and the concourse of people is extraordinary. Those who were acquainted with it, and particularly *F. Emanuel George* who had liv'd there several years, said, that the second wall which is it that immediately compasses the city, was a common day's journey a horseback in circumference, which according

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according to the custom of that country is about eight leagues betwixt sun and sun; and so this father said, that a man going out at one of the gates at sun-rising, and compassing the city, would come to the same gate at sun-setting.

4. The number of people living within the two walls, according to the reckoning of the *Chinese*, is above eight millions, and herein the missionaries agree with the natives; but allowing only seven millions of souls, or something less, it is certain that no two cities in *Europe*, *Africa*, or *America*, can compare with this for number of inhabitants, considering the *Chinese* and *Spanish* million are the same. It must also be observ'd, in pursuance of what has been said before, that the number here mention'd is not ascrib'd to the city alone, but to it and the two separate towns corporate which are within it; but the whole is included within the two walls.

5. Among other remarkable things there are at this court, one is a vast prodigious bell. *F. Felician Pacheco* saw, and took particular notice of it, and assured us, that tho' one half of it was bury'd in the ground, yet that which rises above the earth is so high, that if two tall men stand one of each side, they cannot see one another. Another wonder is, that there are nine hundred ninety nine fishponds within the walls, in which they breed fish to supply the natives. There is the same number in the city *Kan Cheu* in the province of *King Si*; but we could not discover the mystery why they must not be a thousand, and yet I doubt not but the *Chinese* have something to say for it. And yet notwithstanding these fishponds, the city lies upon the mighty and renowned river, which they call *The son of the sea*, against whose streams we saw the porpoises swim above forty leagues up the river, so that none need admire there should be fish enough for such a multitude. Upon this river they yearly celebrate a festival in their boats, richly adorn'd and set out to the honour of an antient *Mandarin*, who is highly respected throughout all that empire, as I shall write in another place. It happened but a few years ago there started up such a furious gust of wind, that five hundred boats were cast away, a miserable object of pity and compassion.

6. In all courts of judicature throughout *China* they have a drum, either bigger or less, according to the preheminance of the court, and they beat it when there is any hearing. That which is in the supreme court of this metropolis is so large, that the head is made of an elephant's hide, and the drumstick is a great piece of timber hanging to the roof by strong ropes. They say it is incredible what vast quantities of

merchandise, silks, cottons, and other curiosities are to be had here, in such abundance, that whole fleets might be loaded at very reasonable rates. In this city they make flowers of wax, with the colours so exact and lively, that we could not choose but admire them; and till they told us they were made of wax, we could never guess at it.

7. Six missionaries of us came together on Saturday the 27th of June, being the eve of the feast of *St. Peter*, to the northern court, signified by the name *Pe King*, of *Pe King*, which many ridiculous falsehoods are written by *Romanus Mendoza*, *Nieremberg de Angelis*, and others. We saw a strange confusion and wonderful multitude of people. From the first gate we walk'd above two leagues to come to the eastern church of the fathers of the society. It is call'd the *Eastern*, to distinguish it from that which father *John Adamus* had in the *West*. This metropolis has three walls: the first which encompasses the other two, as the fathers who liv'd there told us, and we our selves perceived, is five leagues in circumference, little more or less, and not as *Pinto*, and the authors above-mention'd write of it. *Mendoza*, lib. III. cap. 2. says, it is a whole day's journey upon a good horse, and a man must ride hard to cross from one gate to another, without including the suburbs which are as large again; and yet he declares he speaks of the least. The *Chinese* impos'd upon him: I am satisfy'd none of those that go over to *Manila* have been at *Pe King*. In short, what I write is the very truth; and tho' I may as well as others err in some small matter, as for example, in half a league, yet I cannot deviate so grossly. Nor could the fathers of the society be mistaken, who had liv'd above twenty years in that city.

8. The second wall runs directly athwart from east to west; it is higher than the other, and so broad that two coaches may go abreast on it with ease. Within these two walls, towards the south, the *Chinese* live at present; there are the shops, tradesmen, and mechanicks; a man may there find all he can wish or desire, at the same rates as in any other part of the empire. On the north side live the *Tartars*, the soldiery and counsellors, and there also are all the courts of justice. The third wall is in the shape of a half-moon, and incloses the imperial palace, the temples of their ancestors, gardens, groves, fishponds, and other places for pleasure. This also is on the north side, and is almost a league in circumference. The *Chinese* reckon nine walls from the first gate to the emperor's apartment, and so tell it as a piece of ostentation, that their emperor lies within nine walls.

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Palace.

NAVARRA. They stood him in little stead against the robber. None lives within the palace but the emperor, his wives, concubines, and eunuchs. The Chinese observes the custom of other ancient monarchs, *Lapide in Gen. xxvii. §. 36, 37, and 35.* Only the viceroys, counsellors, great mandarins, and officers, can go into the palace. Among twenty four missionaries that met in the metropolis the year 1665, only father *John Adamus*, who was professor of mathematicks, had ever been within the palace. Afterwards about 68 and 69, the three that remain'd there went in, being sent for by the emperor.

9. They report the apartments and rooms are very stately and noble, especially the emperor's bed-chamber; but I never heard there were seventy nine, as bishop *Majolus* writes, wherein he follows *Mendoza* in his second chapter quoted above; nor are there any rooms of gold, silver, or precious stones, as the same author says, and *F. Lazena* affirms. How could these things be hid from us who liv'd so many years in that country, and some time at the court, enquiring diligently, and examining into the most remarkable things there? The Chinese history tells us, the arch'd roof of an antient emperor's state-room was of gold, which I do not find any difficulty to give credit to; and I am satisfi'd he that now reigns might have the like if he pleas'd. Nor are there tiles of gold, as others have reported, but they are glaz'd yellow, which is the emperor's colour; when the sun shines on them, they look like gold, or polish'd brass. The petty kings of the blood royal use exactly the same; and they are on the temples of deceased emperors. There are other tiles blew glaz'd, which I have seen on some temples, and look very graceful. I have sometimes seen the tiles with which the floors of the palace are laid, they are square, and as large as the stones on the floor of *S. Peter's church at Rome*; some were glaz'd yellow, and others green, as smooth and glossy as a looking-glass, and must doubtless be a great ornament to a room.

Yellow, the emperor's colour.

10. When *Xun Chi* father to the present emperor died, they turn'd out of the palace six thousand eunuchs, and I conceive they expell'd as many women, for every eunuch has a woman to wait on him. The emperor has as many concubines as he pleases; but the empire is obliged to furnish him as many as there are towns and cities in it. There are twenty four kings at the emperor's court, but they are only titular, and have no subjects, as among us the titular bishops in *partibus infidelium*: the emperor maintains them all. The missionaries call them *petty kings*, and they are

generals of the army. There are as many major generals, whom they call *Cusan*, these are introduced by the *Tartar*, the Chinese had none of them. When any service is to be done, only two or three of these receive the orders, and they convey them to their men, who are always in readiness; and they immediately march, and with great secrecy execute the commands they have receiv'd. Among many other things excellent in the Chinese government, one is, their great care in scouring their high-ways from vagabonds and robbers. As soon as ever there is the least rumour of thieves being abroad in any part of the country, immediate notice is given to the next town, thence it is carried to the city, and if requisite to the metropolis, whence they instantly send out officers and soldiers, who using their utmost diligence, never return home without their prisoners. This is the duty of those that have the power of government, says *S. Thomas, lib. II. de Reg. Prin. cap. 2.*

11. I find very extravagant and strange things in the authors abovemention'd, concerning the ceremonies us'd by the emperor at the reception of ambassadors; I do not set them down, because I would not countenance dreams and chimera's. The Portuguese and Dutch whose ambassadors have of late years been at *Pe King*, are eye-witnesses of what is practis'd there; and therefore why should we give credit to fabulous relations? *Mendoza* and *Mayo* write, that the emperor shews himself at certain times through glass-windows. Another says, he us'd to show his arm at a window. All this is subject to a thousand contradictions, for the emperor has no glass-casements, nor his rooms windows, nor is there one place where the people might assemble, and tho' there were, the subjects might not go into it. The same I say in respect of the soldiers they tell us are upon his guard. *Romanus* writes seventy thousand men; *Mendoza* allots ten thousand that day and night guard the palace without, besides many more in the courts, at the gates, &c. What I can say to it is, that the emperor might well have that, or a greater number; but he has not, nor is he so jealous of his subjects as that author makes him.

12. The emperor keeps six thousand horses in his stables, as I heard at court, and is able to keep many more. He has also twenty four elephants; these are carried to the palace with rich trappings every new and full moon, which are the times when the magistrates go to pay their respects to the emperor. An indifferent river runs through the midst of the court, being let in under the wall, and runs through the

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orchards, gardens, and groves, causing a continual spring. At small distances there are curious bridges over it: the best of them, which is almost joining to the yellow wall, was our road to the courts, and to *F. Adamus* his church. Besides all this, there is a bell at *Pe King*, which, as those fathers said, weighs more than the four biggest in all *Europe*, which they say are in *England*. *F. Adamus* weigh'd it, and it came to one thousand two hundred quintals (which is sixty tons). Within the hollow, which is all full of writing, he counted ten thousand great letters; *F. Kircher* has the cut of it in his book, p. 222. The use of bells in *China* is of great antiquity: it was first brought into the *Latin* church about the year 600, and into the *Greek* in 865, according to *Suarez*, lib. II. *contra Reg. Ang.* cap. 16. num. 13. There is also another great and famous bell hanging in a lofty and beautiful tower, which serves to strike the several watches of the night, and has an excellent found. In the year 1668, the news came to *Canton*, that it had rung of itself; some believ'd, others gave no credit to it: if true, *China* has a bell like that of *Belilla* in *Spain*.

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13. There is in *Peking* a very noted tower, call'd of the mathematicks; in it are sundry very ancient instruments, with admirable graving on brass-plates; with them they observe eclipses, and other observations belonging to this science. Some mathematicians always watch a top of it, who observe the motions of the stars, and remark any thing particular that appears in the sky, whereof the next day they give the emperor an account. When any thing unusual occurs, the astrologers meet, and make their judgments whether it portends good or evil to the imperial family. I was told in that city, that the number of its inhabitants amounts to four or five millions. Its situation is on a plain, as is all the country about. I ever heard it agreed, that the emperor's table was made up of fifteen, each answering its particular province, in the dishes and different meats it bears. In *China* they do not use table-cloths, nor other utensils common among us: The tables are beautiful, many of them varnish'd as fine as looking-glasses. They touch not the meat with their hands, but make use of little sticks about a foot long, with which they carry it neatly to their mouths: some are made of sweet wood, some of ivory, others of glass, which are in great esteem, and were invented by the *Dutch*; but now the *Chinese* make them curiously. Great men have them of silver, and only the emperor of gold, as are the dishes and other vessels serv'd up to his table. The *Royals* have them of silver tip't with gold. This

Eating.

way of eating has always been among the *NAVA-CHINESES*, the *Japoneses* learn'd it of them. *F. de Angelis* was mistaken in applying this to the latter. Table-cloths and napkins, and a great deal of soap might be sav'd in *Europe*, if this fashion were introduced; we missionaries like it very well.

14. The *Tartars* use the same sort of sticks, but their tables are little and low like those of *Japan*, and they sit not on chairs, but on cushions and carpets; which is also the custom of *Japan*, and other neighbouring kingdoms. Many of the ancients did the same, and others lay down to eat; so says *Valerius Maximus*, and *S. Thomas*, *lett.* 1. in 2 *Joan*. That it is an ancienter custom to eat sitting, may be gather'd out of *Gen.* xliii. §. 33. So authors affirm, see *Corn. à Lapid* and *Monobius*. In the following chapters we shall treat of other matters.

15. Here we might discuss a point common to other nations, which is, whether we must call the *Chinese*, the *Tartars* that govern them, the *Japoneses* and other nations in those parts, *Barbarians*. The original use of the word *Barbarian* is various; *Barbari* according to *Erasmus* all strangers and foreigners were formerly call'd *Barbarians*: cruel, fierce, ill-br'd, and unlearn'd people went under the same name. The *Greeks* it is certain look'd upon other nations as *Barbarians*, tho' *Strabo* says, the *Latins* were under the same predicament with the *Greeks*.

16. *S. Thomas* starts the question upon i. *ad Rom.* *lett.* 5. and upon 1 *Cor.* xiv. *lett.* 2. and upon iii. *ad Colos.* *Cajetan* in 1 *Cor.* xiv. resolves the question in few words, saying, a *Barbarian* is something relative, and no man is absolutely a *Barbarian*, because of all kinds of men communicating together in language, &c. Here he takes the *Barbarian* in the sense *St. Paul* speaks in, which makes him be look'd upon as a *Barbarian*, who speaks a language quite strange and unintelligible, so that the *English* are *Barbarians* to the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* to the *English*, *Irish*, &c.

17. But *S. Thomas* resolves the doubt more nicely, and says those are properly *Barbarians* who are strangers to human conversation, and who are strong in body, and deficient in reason, and are neither govern'd by reason, nor laws. Whence it follows that the blacks who live in the mountains of the *Philippine* islands, the *Chuchumecos* of *Mexico*, those of the islands *Nicobar*, *Madagascar*, *Pulicondor*, and the like, and others near the strait of *Anian*, are *Barbarians* in the strictest sense; and that the *Chinese*, *Tartars*, *Japoneses*, and other people of *Asia* are not so, for all these live politically and orderly, are govern'd by laws agreeable to

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reason,

NAVARETTI. reason, which those islanders above nam'd have not: nor ought a nation to be call'd barbarous because it has some customs that are contrary to reason, as may be seen among the *Japoneses*, who look upon it as an honour to cut themselves with their *Caland's*, or swords; for if we allow of this, there will be no nation exempt from some share of barbarity. The other *European* nations look upon the *Spanish* bull-fights as barbarous, and think it a barbarity for a gentleman to encounter a mad bull. How can the law of duel, so much in request among persons of quality, be exempted from barbarity? The *Chinese* look upon those men as barbarous that wear long hair, tho' it be their own, wherein they agree well with *S. Paul*, it is a reproach to him, he terms it a disgrace, shame and scandal. The *Germans* were formerly guilty of the barbarity of not looking upon theft as a sin, according to *S. Thomas* 1. 2. q. 94. art. 4. which the *Chinese*, *Tartars*, *Japoneses*, and others,

may even the *Indians* of the *Philippine* islands, could never be charg'd with, but they always abhor'd that vice. Some in *Europe* thought simple fornication no crime, and others believ'd the same of sodomy; so says *S. Thomas* 1. 2. q. 103. art. 3. q. 94. art. 6. and *Cajetan* upon *Acts* xv. in which the *Chinese*, *Japoneses*, and others are included.

18. What I most admire is, that but a little before I came to *Rome* there was some body offer'd to maintain and prove that voluntary pollution was no sin: who could imagine such a thing? Or who would not allow this to be barbarity in the highest degree among catholicks, after God has communicated so much light and learning to his church? In short, the case stands thus, that all nations and people look upon themselves as wise, politick, and judicious, and yet they call one another as they please, without being guilty of any sin reserv'd to the pope to absolve.

CHAP. VII.

Begins to give some Account of the Chinese Government.

Government.

1. THERE is a viceroy in every metropolis; in the province of *Nan King* which is large there are two, and three in that of *Xen Si*, because it is greater; every one of them has the cities, towns and villages belonging to his government assign'd him. In some cities there are supreme governors, whose jurisdiction is not subordinate to the viceroy's, but they are absolute in civil and military affairs, and upon all occasions. There is also a king's treasurer who receives all the tribute of the province, which is paid in the finest silver. There is besides a judge of criminal causes, and a civil who has three deputies subordinate to one another, and all depending on the judge. Each of the two corporations there are in every metropolis has its civil judge, with his three deputies, as above. In the capital cities on the coast there is a great mandarin, who has charge of the sea; besides these there are many in particular employments. The name mandarin was given them by the *Portugueses*, who deriv'd it from their own word *mandar*, to command. We the missionaries, though speaking in the *Chinese* tongue, give every one the proper name and title belonging to his office and quality, yet in our own tongue call all officers of justice mandarines, and so I shall generally use the word throughout this work. Where there are navigable rivers, which is in very many parts, there are mandarines who look to the boats that belong to the emperor, and to the publick.

Mandarines.

Canton and *Fo Kien* are govern'd by royals. Royalties, who in quality are above all those we have mention'd, but not in authority, tho' they take upon them more than is proper: there is no body to curb them, and they bear heavy on the subjects.

2. The multitude of military officers, as Military colonels, majors, captains, &c. is endless, officers. they also are included under the title of mandarines, and in the *Chinese* language have that of *Kuon*, as well as the rest.

3. The scholars, who are not subject to the common magistrate, have mandarines of their own over them: in every metropolis there is one great one like a school-master, and two under him, and so there is in every other city and town; they live within the universities: we shall say more in another place concerning them, and other things that relate to their studies.

4. The greatness of the metropolitan cities and some others is wonderful. I have already given some account of *Nan King*. The next to it is the capital of *Che Kiang*, call'd *Hang Cheu*: some modern authors will have it to be the same the ancient *Europeans* call'd *Kin Cai*: having been in and view'd it with particular care, I will here write some part of what I saw. When I and my two companions were carry'd prisoners to the court, we went thro' the principal street of this city, which is near four leagues of ours in length from east to west; some say it is longer, and allow two leagues to the suburbs on both sides; so that from the

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Prisons.

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the coming into one suburb till the end of the other they make it a day's journey for a sedan: the street is strait, wide, and all pav'd with free-stone, which is very beautiful: at every fifty paces distant or thereabouts is a stone arch, as curiously wrought as those I have seen at *Rome*. On both sides were an infinite number of merchants and shopkeepers, dealing in all things that can be thought of. The throng of the people was so great, that the chairmen were continually crying out to them to make way. About the middle of that street they told us the news, that the father of the society residing there was made a prisoner. The next day we three were convey'd to another goal, but our affairs being transacted at court, we had no other trouble but the spending of that little we had been saving all the year, and the want of liberty; and because all our suffering was on a good account, that is, the preaching of the gospel, it was so far from afflicting that it was a great comfort to us.

Prisons.

5. Before we leave this metropolis, it will be convenient to go through with what we have begun concerning our imprisonment. As for the good government, quietness, ease, and cleanliness of the goal, I do not question but it exceeds ours in *Europe*. As soon as we were brought into the first court we spy'd the head goaler, who sat in great state on his tribunal-seat; he presently ask'd for the criminal judge that sent us to him his *mittimus*, but him we had not seen, for he was not come to himself yet after a great feast he had been at the day before, and one of his deputies sent us to prison. Then the goaler began to examine us concerning our coming to *China*, upon what intent it was, what we liv'd upon, &c. We answer'd him with a great deal of freedom and ease, the consequence whereof was that they put us in through another little door which was lock'd, and had a porter at it; we went on through a lane, and they brought us to an idol temple. I don't know that in the prisons in these our parts there is any church of God so great, so spacious, so clean, so neat, and so much frequented by the prisoners, as that is. In all the goals, dungeons and courts of justice throughout the empire, they have temples richly adorn'd, and cleanly, where the prisoners, and such as have law-suits make their vows, offer candles, oil, silver, perfumes and other things: some beg to be deliver'd out of goal, others good success in their suits; but those wooden and earthen images neither hearing nor seeing, they give no relief to their suppliants. At night they turn'd us through another lesser door into a court, and then convey'd us into a great hall, quite dark and dismal, with-

out any window, and so full of people, that NAY- there was hardly room for them all to stand; RETTE. this was call'd the little prison to distinguish it from the dungeon, which was far enough from thence. Here we continued forty days, having always light at night, and there was an overseer who took care no noise should be made. All men were wonderful submissive to him, so that there was no roaring, or noise, or quarrelling, but all as hush as if it had been a regular monastery, which we did not a little admire. In the day time we went to the idol temple, and to a great court that was before it, there we sun'd ourselves, which was no small comfort. Sometimes we discours'd upon the subject of our holy religion, and answer'd the questions that were put to us, and then proceeded to convince them of the error of their idolatry and superstition; but they were so grounded in their follies, that tho' they own'd they lik'd our doctrine, yet they would presently go offer up their prayers to their idols. There were rooms enough in two lanes to be let to people of some note, who were in for small faults; there they live quietly and with conveniency till their business is over. There are also some houses in which marry'd people live, who keep the watch in the night; they walk about those lanes and courts continually beating drums and blowing little horns, so that it is impossible any man should make his escape, tho' the place itself were not so secure.

6. The women's prison is apart, and has a strong door in which there was a little gate, through which they gave them necessities. We took particular notice and observ'd that no man ever went to hold discourse there. The modesty of the *Chinese* *Modesty*. in this particular is not to be parallel'd in all the world, and no less the reservedness and precaution of the women. All things necessary for clothing and diet were carried thither to be sold: the barber goes in to trim, the cobbler to mend shoes, the taylor to alter clothes, the coalman, the wood-monger, the butcher, the seller of rice and herbs, and all other sorts of trades; so that there was every day a formal market kept there. There are also cooks, who for a small allowance dress the meat very cleanly. There is a good well, which all make use of to dress their victuals, drink, and wash their linen. Thus the whole resembles a well govern'd body politick. Every afternoon the head goaler with his clerk view'd the prisoners, calling them over by their names, and finding them all there, lock'd them up till next day.

7. To those that were poor they gave every day a portion of rice, half of it they eat, and with the other half bought wood, salt,

NAVAFALT, herbs, &c. This we much approv'd
RETTE. of, because without it many would be ex-
posed to miserable want, there being no
way to beg by reason they are not even
with the ground, and quite out of the way
for people to come at them. All the while
we were there, more came in than went
out: some had their thighs all gaul'd with
lashes, others their ancles disjoined by the
wrack, which is commonly us'd and with
great severity in that country. One day
we went into the dungeon, which is dismal
enough, without it was a large court, and
in the middle a temple like that of the lit-
tle prison: all those that were there had
fetters on, and their colour was unwholsome,
because the place is very damp. In the day
time they shew'd them some favour, suf-
fering them to come out into the sun, where
they air'd and lous'd themselves. They
once brought a parcel of them from thence
into our prison, so that we had not room
left to sit down: for eight nights I lay un-
der a cane bed, in which were two com-
rades: I slept well, tho' the boards were
my quilt, but I breaded left the canes should
break, and I be beaten as flat as a pancake.
These hardships oblig'd us to hire a room,
where we spent the rest of our time with
more ease. What we admir'd was, to see
how devoutly and incessantly those wretches
begg'd of their idols to deliver them from
their sufferings. Every day they lighted
candles, burnt perfumes, made a thousand
genuflexions, knockt their heads on the
ground and wept before them; others gave
themselves to mental prayer, others sang,
and particularly one who had been there
four years; this man took upon him to be
sexton, he swept the temple, cleans'd the
altars, look'd after the lamp, begg'd of the
others for oil and candles, and earnestly
exhorted them to ask the assistance of those
devils, and mov'd them so to do by his ex-
ample, for he was almost continually at
prayers. He utterly debauch'd one we
had just gain'd to embrace our holy doctrine,
persuading him, if he persisterd to implore
their gods they would deliver him out of
goal; the wretch it seems was not of the
elect. We also observ'd with how much
courtesy, civility, and respect those people
treated one another, and the flame they us'd
towards us. This is a thing incredible in
our parts. If two *Chinese*, *Japanese*, or
Tingquines were brought into our prisons,
how would the other goal-birds use them?
What tricks would they play them? How
would they force them to pay garnish?
Nothing of this sort is practis'd there, but
they treated us with as much respect, as
if we had been some persons of note among
them. In this and many other particulars,
that nation beyond all dispute surpasses the

rest of the universe. Another thing we made our remark of, which is much practis'd by all that nation, and was, that when any prisoner dy'd, having perform'd their ceremonies there upon the place, they put him into a coffin, but would not carry him out at the door by any means: they have a superstition in this particular, and therefore on the inward side towards the dungeon thy had a gap fit for the purpose made thro' the wall into a small orchard, thro' which they thrust him out.

8. At length the day of our departure came. The cause of detaining us so long was, because they expected all the missionaries that were in that province, to carry us together to court. The officers carry'd us before the judge of one of the two corporations, before whom our business lay. The father of the society had been fetch'd out of prison two days before, they had taken from him his house and church, and he was upon bail in a little loft he had over the gate. To make the way shorter they carry'd us on the outside of the walls. As soon as we were without them, we discover'd the finest lake in the world; two sides of it were hemm'd in by most delightful and verdant hills and mountains, on the sides whereof were many temples, palaces, and country houses wonderful pleasant to behold. The vessels on the lake were many, of sundry forms, and all graceful. The lake as near as we could guess was about six leagues in compass, and reach'd within ten paces of the wall on the south-side: it was in a plain full of vast fields of rice. We came tir'd to the judge's court, having walk'd almost two leagues, and waited for him two hours: during that time a multitude of men came about us, with whom we discours'd concerning our holy faith. The mandarin did not come, and a clerk who was employ'd in our business bid us go to dinner, nor he would answer for us: we travel'd almost two leagues more, all this while without breaking our fast. At length we came to the good jesuit, who was much indispos'd, yet we all rejoiced and eat together, and without resting I was carried in a sedan to hear the confessions of no small number of Christians, men and women, who waited for me in a house.

9. Some perſons too had confeſs'd in perſon, repairing thither with much fervor to that effect: among them was a taylor whoſe name was *Julian*, a moſt exact Chriſtian, tho' too ſubject to ſcruples, and therefore very often repeated his confeſſions. Some of the priſoners aſk'd this man one day, Whether he was a follower of our holy doctrine? He courageouſly answer'd he was. Then ſaid they, How can you being a taylor keep ſo holy a law? He answer'd, Gentlemen.

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**Hing
Cheu.**

Women.

Bonces.

Crown.

Gentlemen, when I cut out clothes, I do not keep the value of a thread; and for the fashion I demand no more than is reasonable, and what will keep me. This is it the law of God enjoins, so that neither this nor any other trade need hinder the fulfilling of it. They were astonish'd at his courage and resolution, and we being by were much edified. This poor man suffer'd much from ill Christians, and some apostates: they would go to his house and threaten, that if he did not give them some silver they would impeach him, and for quietness sake he satisfied them all. Next day they carried us to the river, and put us into a little boat, yet big enough for us four, three servants, and six officers. The soldiers travel'd a horseback by land, always in sight of the boat, and were reliev'd every two or three days journey: they were satisfied we would not attempt an escape, so that they took no great care of us all the time we were upon the water; and tho' we travel'd with them two hundred leagues by land, we had never cause to complain of the least incivility or affront offer'd us; and yet we never gave them a farthing, which indeed is very remarkable among infidels. The civil officers would have given us some trouble, thinking to get silver from us, but were disappointed.

10. When I write particularly of the perfection, its original and causes, other things to the purpose shall be added. Now to return to the metropolis *Hang Cheu*, I must observe that having gone through a great part of it with my two companions, the throng of people was so great, that we could scarce make way through the streets. We saw not one woman, tho' we look'd about very carefully, only to be satisfied of the great retirement of those women. Would to God the hundredth part of it were observ'd among us sober Christians; and scholars of repute told me, there were above six millions and a half of people in this city; and the millions of *Cbina* are the same of those of *Spain*. The *Bonces*, or idolatrous religious men, according to some, are above fifty thousand, and according to others far exceed thirty thousand. They all live upon charity, only some till a parcel of ground to help to maintain them. A temple was built within these few years in this city, which cost fifty thousand crowns in silver; the *Cbinese* crown is worth ten royals, as well as the *Italian*. The pillars of this temple are very high, straight, and

thick; and for the more security, the founder cased them with brass-plates as bright as gold. The house and church of the society was great and magnificent, and for that reason, as some of the fathers at times told me, was a help to forward the perfection. We saw it all that afternoon we came thither, we offer'd up our prayers in the church, and took particular notice of it. It had three isles, with each three pillars, besides two that join'd to the wall of the frontispiece. Yet *F. Matbias de Amaga* in his *Annua* writ it had three hundred, a pretty difference. This should have been inserted above, but it makes not much to the matter.

11. The *she bonces*, or nuns, are also very numerous, I forgot to ask the number. This city is so well stored (and there is none but what is so) that seventy thousand soldiers coming to it in my time, they all liv'd upon what was then actually in the shops, and sold about the streets, without raising the price of any thing, or causing the least scarcity in the city, no more than if only twenty men had come to it. There is another particular thing (tho' these are all common in *Cbina*, only varying according to the greatness of the place) which is, that six thousand countrymen come in every day with their covered tubs to carry out the human dung. A notable forecast! I had forgot to mention that the *Mabometans* have a sumptuous temple in this city, the gate, frontispiece, and tower over it, as beautiful and sightly as the best in *Spain*.

12. There is another renowned city in *Cbina* call'd *Su Cheu*, we came to it the fifth day after setting out from the last. Under its walls is a great river, along which we sail'd; an arm of it runs through the heart of the city from one gate to the other. This place is not inferior to *Hang Cheu*, for its greatness, trade, and commerce, but is not so populous. We cross'd thro' the middle of it, and lighted on the church the society had there, where five fathers were confined by the viceroy's order, that they might be sent to court with the rest: we made a halt there of five days, being well entertain'd and caref'd by those pious men, and indeed we stood in need of it. The reader may rest him too before he enters upon the next chapter, observing that this city pays two millions a year taxes, by which it is easy to guess at its riches and trade.

NAVATERRE.
Cburch.

Nuns.
Providians.

Mahometans.

Su Cheu.

Church.

Hang Cheu.

Women.

Bonces.

Crown.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Councils and Courts of Justice in the Imperial City.

NAVA- 1. IT is the common receiv'd opinion of
RETZ. Aristotle, S. Thomas, Albertus Magnus,

and many more, that the monarchical form of government is the most perfect: The *Chinese* are of the same opinion, and therefore do very much value themselves upon theirs being such. They generally say, that as in heaven there is but one sun which overlooks the world, from whom the other stars borrow their light; even so in their country there is but one head and emperor, who gives light, governs and directs all its actions and motions. But in regard a man cannot alone attend to all things, it is requisite he have ministers and officers to serve him. *Jehro* gave this advice to *Moses*, and it is the method all the monarchs of the world have hitherto follow'd, tho' some have excel'd others in the manner and order of governing. That which the *Chinese* did, and the *Tartars* at present observe, may vie with the best in *Europe*.

Exod.
xviii.
See what
Cajetan,
Oleaster,
and Corn.
à Lapide
write upon
this place.

2. The first and supreme council the emperor has in his imperial city for governing that vast monarchy, is answerable to that we call the council of state, and is therefore call'd *Kuei Juen*. It is held within the palace, and the *Ko Lao* sit in it, that is, the ancient men of the empire, masters and supreme counsellors who attend the emperor. They sit at a round table; to them the emperor commits the petitions that are presented to him. The ancientest divides them equally among them all; every one considers those that fall to his share, and writes his opinion: then they are return'd to the emperor by the ancientest of the board. If he approves of the answer, he signs them; if not, they are sent back, and order'd to be duly consider'd. Under the *Chinese* government there were seven *Ko Labs*, the *Tartar* added seven more; so that at present they are fourteen, seven *Chinese* and seven *Tartars*. The number of counsellors were doubled after the same manner in all other councils. It is well worth considering in this place, the emperor's and these men's mighty care and trouble. There is no business of consequence in all the empire but goes through their hands: and therefore for dispatching of all affairs, they must attend every day in the year without making any holidays, times of respite or vacation, which is an unsufferable toil. True it is, this assiduity is very advantageous to those that solicit them, for their suits are decided in a very short time, they conclude their business and go to their homes, without being

Councils.

Ko Lao.

put to such excessive charges as is usual in other countries. Read *Oleaster* in xviii. *Exod.* where you will find how indispensable a duty it is to hear those that have suits depending at all times.

3. The second council is call'd *Han Lin*, *Han Lin*, and is compos'd of the doctors of the imperial college. These are chosen by the emperor himself; when they are examin'd they live at court, but every one in his own house: they are assisting to the government, canvassing and resolving such things as by the emperor's order are laid before them. From this board they are chosen to be great mandarines, but till then have no command.

4. The third is call'd *Tu Cha Juen*, and *Tu Cha* this consists of visitors; when the emperor sends to visit the provinces which is very usual, he chuses the fittest persons out of this number; he gives them his seal, which they carry fastened on their right arm; they are as terrible as so many thunderbolts, and many of them do their duty to admiration. The mandarines quake when a visitor comes.

5. The fourth is call'd *Tai Li Zu*; this *Tai Li* is the tribunal that assigns suitable punishments to enormous crimes.

6. These two last and the president of the criminal court make up another call'd *Zan Fa Zu*, whose business it is to weigh *Zan Fa* and consider, whether the punishment assign'd by the criminal court be just or legal; and when once they have confirm'd it, there is no appeal or demur.

7. The sixth is call'd *Tung Zing Zu*, to *Tung* them it belongs to peruse the petitions that *Zing Zu* are to be presented to the emperor; if they approve of them they are prefer'd, if not they tear them.

8. There is another of great authority call'd *Ko Tao*, who have it in charge to *Ko Tao* correct, and check the mandarines, who behave themselves ill or negligently in their employments. If the emperor does not his duty, or gives ill example, or indulges himself too much in plays or sports, or does not regulate his palace, or permits excess in apparel, &c. the members of this tribunal reprove him over and over. They are properly monitors, and execute their office to the letter of the law.

9. Besides these there are the six famous courts, among whom all the business of the empire is divided. The first is *Li Pu*, *Li Pu* the court of offices; as soon as any employment falls, the members of this court

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Hu Pu.

Li Pu.

Ping Pu.

Hing Pu.

Kung Pu.

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give the emperor a petition, presenting two or three candidates, and he chuses one of them for the place. As soon as appointed, they prepare his orders, and deliver them to him if present, or else send them if he be absent, and he goes away to his employment. Those that are prefer'd pay nothing for their offices.

Hu Pu.

10. The second is *Hu Pu*, a court of *Exchequer*, takes care of all the revenues of the empire, of the receipts and expences the emperor is at. The royal treasures of the metropolitan cities are immediately subordinate to this court.

Li Pu.

11. The third is *Li Pu*, the court of rites and ceremonies, whose care it is to examine the doctrines that are preach'd, the business of ambassadors, to regulate court-funerals. The court of the mathematicks is subordinate to this; here our cause was try'd.

Ping Pu.

12. The fourth is the court-marshal, *Ping Pu*, which regulates all affairs relating to the army. It has some further jurisdiction, for we were turn'd over to it in order to our banishment, and we appear'd before it. They assign'd officers to attend us, boats to carry, and a guard to go with us.

Hing Pu.
Kung Pu.

13. The fifth is the criminal court, *Hing Pu*. The sixth *Kung Pu*, the court of works, which has the charge and care of raising and repairing ports, castles, walls, bridges, &c. Each of the courts has two presidents at this time, the one which is the chiefest a *Tartar*, the other a *Chinese*; the assessors as many *Tartars* as *Chineses*, as was hinted above. Each of them have four great rooms, in which several *mandarines* of inferior quality to those in the court sit, and transact affairs of less moment.

14. The ground each court takes up is too much. The shape and structure of them all is the same, all the difference is, that some are bigger than others. They all look towards the south, with their backs towards the north where the emperor resides. Every court has three doors, on which are painted horrible giants, ghastly to be look'd at, all to terrify the multitude. That in the middle is very large, and none but *mandarines*, or persons of great note come in at it. The two little ones are on the sides of it, at which those that have causes depending, and the commonalty come in. Before it is a great court big enough to bait bulls in. In it are three causeways, each answering to one of the doors; but that in the middle is rais'd above a yard higher than the others, with a stone arch, and another gate in the middle of it. On the sides are a vast number of

rooms, under piazza's, for clerks, solicitors, and other officers. A temple is never wanting. Opposite to the doors are very orderly great halls, and within them others as good; courts are kept in both of them.

15. There are at court two thousand four hundred *mandarines*, the emperor allows them all rice and pay in silver. By what has been already said, it is easy to guess what a number there is throughout the empire. Every province has its *mandarin* at court, who is in the nature of its protector and solicitor-general. And if the holy Ghost in the fourteenth chapter of *Proverbs*, says, *in the multitude of the people is the honour of the king*; then doubtless that of the emperor of *China* is wonderfully great: and if we reckon the vast multitude of his subjects, we shall be convinced there is nothing wanting that can make him one of the greatest potentates in the world, and that he is far from being liable to the disgrace the scripture mentions in the same chapter, *in the small number of the people is the dishonour of the prince*.

16. I will conclude this chapter with the relation of the state with which the emperor goes out of his palace, as it was told me by *F. John Balat* a jesuit, who himself saw the late emperor, when he went to *F. Adamus* his church. In the first place, the doors of all the houses in the streets through which he is to pass are all shut, and the people retire, so that not a soul is to be seen; and if any were, they would be severely punish'd. Before him come out a horseback all the petty kings, *ko lids* and great *mandarines*, who ride close to the walls, that the whole streets may lie open. Next follow twenty six colours of yellow silk, which is the colour of the emperor's livery, with golden dragons embroil'd on them for his arms. Then come twenty four umbrellas of the same colour, with treble coverings, which are very sightly; I have seen several of this sort and make. After them are twenty four great rich fans, of which I have seen some, and they would be much valued in *Europe*. Behind these marches the imperial guard, which is very numerous. These and the rest we shall speak of wear a yellow livery richly wrought, and sightly helmets of the same colour. Four and twenty men in the same garb carry the emperor's chair, or *palanquine*, which is of great value; and at certain distances the like number stand as relays. Then follow many musicians, and after them pages and footmen. This in writing seems little, but is prodigious to behold, as that father said.

CHAP. IX.

A further Account of the Grandeur of the Emperor and his Court.

NAVA- I. THE name the *Chinese* have found
RETTE. since the ancient times to honour
their emperor, is lofty and great; they call
Emperor's him *The son of heaven*, *Tien Zi*. It is most
titles. certain that nation has not attain'd to the
knowledge of any other god, or nobler
Material- object, than the material heavens. What
lists. others have writ, tho' some persist obsti-
nately in it to this day, is not so much as prob-
able; in the controversies this point has
its peculiar place. This then the *Chinese*
suppose and say, heaven punishes the wick-
ed, and rewards the good; gives crowns,
and takes them away, not through any in-
tellectual virtue it has, but naturally and
of necessity: for this reason they worship
Theology. it as the supreme Deity, and only the emper-
or sacrifices to it, as to his father. The
sun they say is his brother, and the moon
his eldest sister. They give the earth the
title of mother, and therefore the emperor
sacrifices to her. Next to heaven the *Chi-
nese* think there is nothing like their emper-
or, to extol whom they give him the title
we have mention'd. They also call him
great majesty, great father, common father
of the empire. This last name is very
proper. King *Theodorick*, of whom *Cas-
siodorus* makes mention, lib. IV. epist. 42.
was wont to say, *the prince is the publick and
common father*.

2. In a book of great account and fa-
mous in the school of letters, these peo-
ple call their emperor *Lord of heaven, earth,
spirits and men*, and that with those very
letters the same thing is attributed to God
in our holy faith. I charg'd them with in-
consistence thus, if the emperor be the son
of heaven, and sacrifices to it as to his fa-
ther and superior; why do they make him
superior to, and lord of heaven? We
might say to them as *Theodorick* said of
Darius, *their judgment being infirm, they at-
tribute those things to their king, which are on-
ly proper to God*. More might be said of
the title the *Mogols* give their sovereign,
which are strange and singular, as are those
the king of *Ceylon* has; it is no won-
der that people who have no knowledge of
any thing beyond this world should so do,
when other parts have shewn such an ex-
ample. *S. Augustin* complains of this, when
he says, *that either through too much submissi-
on, or a destructive spirit of flattery*, men
have been free to give to princes that which
was not just and proper.

Veneration 3. I have already observ'd, that the pet-
of the em- ty kings, magistrates, and great manda-
peror. rines,

come every new and full moon to
pay their respects to the emperor. They
kneel three times, and touch the ground
with their heads. If the emperor comes
not out to them, they perform the same ce-
remony to his imperial throne. They know
this is due to that place, which is not to be
question'd, as we shall make out in ano-
ther place. They go to perform this cere-
mony in their festival apparel; they wear
the distinctive mark of their employment
and quality on their breast and back, which
are richly embroider'd with gold. I saw
several in the metropolis, as they were go-
ing home after the ceremony was ended.

4. The imperial crown the emperor wears *Crown*.
upon some occasions, is beautiful and mys-
terious. Its shape, as I saw it several times in
some temples, is round and somewhat long;
there hang at it twelve strings of pearls,
four of them over the eyes, which signify
that the emperor's eyes must be shut that
he may not see those who have causes be-
fore him; and that he will neither favour
the rich nor pity the poor; nor be led by
affection for his friend, or hatred to his e-
nemy.

5. Four strings of pearls fall over the
ears, which they expound thus, that the
judges ears are to be stop'd to the intreaties
of great ones, and to the tears of the sui-
tors; and he must only give ear to reason,
law, and justice.

6. The last four strings hang behind, to
express with how much judgment, fore-
sight, premeditation, and stayedness princes
ought to weigh their resolutions, and how
they are to be vers'd in the affairs of the
government. The *Chinese* are singular in
both respects, they take care that their em-
peror give himself to study and practise
learning. It is a plain case, that if the
prince be ignorant, tho' he have learned
ministers, he will make many false steps.
This is the signification of the strings of
pearls that hang behind. The government
of man cannot but be without fault and
mistakes (it is a plain case, *our foresight is
uncertain*;) counsellors and learned men
make the miscarriages the less, and the
Chinese are well stock'd with them, as we
have seen already. Many men refuse to
take advice, and consult others even in cases
of difficulty, but must of necessity come
to ruin.

7. The salutation us'd to the emperor is *Salutation*
included in these two letters *Fuan Sui*; that to the em-
peror, is, may your majesty live thousands
years.

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Vol. I.

Beats.

Years. It is the custom throughout the whole empire, to have a little board set up in the temples before the altars, on which those two letters are written, and they make great obeisance to it. In every metropolis there is such a little board laid upon a table, to which the magistrates pay their respects at certain times; but they do not light candles, or offer flowers, perfumes, or any thing else to it; so that this worship is altogether political and civil, which must be taken notice of, because of what may be said in another place.

8. *F. de Angelis* writ, that in every metropolis there was the image of the emperor; perhaps he means this little board. *Mendoza* is under the same mistake, *lib. III. cap. 1.* of his history. When they speak of him, it is very usual to say, the royal or imperial palace, taking the thing containing for that contained, a custom us'd in *Europe* upon many occasions. From this way of talking of the *Chineſes*, some speculative persons would infer, that they use the same figure in naming of heaven, and that by that name they mean our *God*. This point belongs to another place, but I shall only offer one thing here, which *Bentancor* hints at in his loquacious apology, and is, that if the *Chineſes* are of a contrary opinion, as indeed they are, what credit will they give to half a score strangers who endeavour to persuade them it is not so? In short, the *Chineſes* grant the premises, and not only deny the consequence, but *ex professo*, and in particular treatises to that purpose, they endeavour to prove, tho' poorly, that there is no *God*, nor any thing more noble or worthy than the

Atvifm.

Heaven we behold. So that the ignorance and folly of the *Chineſes* in this particular, exceeds him *David* speaks of, saying; *Pſal. xiv. The fool has said in his heart, there is no God.* For this man was ashamed to speak it with his mouth, as being so palpable a truth; but the *Chineſes* without any shame deny it with their lips, in their hearts, and in their books. The difficulty we find in converting them to *God*, sufficiently proves our assertion; read *Cajetan* in *xvi. Adv. Apost.*

9. When they speak to the emperor, they generally make use of these two letters, *pi aia*; that is, I speak to the steps of the imperial throne, words full of submission, expressing that they dare not apply to him even by the name of majesty. When the emperor names himself, it is as if he said, a person of little worth, who does not deserve that honour. The *Chineſes* are very full of ceremonies, very humble in words, and very proud in their actions.

Ceremonies.

10. None must ride in sight of his palace, nor of those of the petty kings, all men alight and bow their knees to the ground. Some temples of ancient emperors, and that of the *Chineſe* philosopher, enjoy the same privilege. This was formerly us'd in *Europe* in passing by churches, and meeting priests in the street. It shall be mention'd in another place, let it suffice now to give a hint of it as a laudable custom, tho' difficult, or rather impossible to be observ'd at present by reason of the frequency of both, and because devotion is grown cold.

CHAP. X.

A farther Account of the Grandeur of the Emperor, and his Court.

1. **T**HERE is so very much to be said upon this subject, that something must of necessity be forgot, and good order inverted. The emperor has nine thousand nine hundred and ninety nine great boats for his own and the court's use: all the missionaries have observ'd, that the number was not complete ten thousand, and wanted but one, which I doubt not the reader will reflect upon, and therefore I will not delay giving him satisfaction as to this particular. We ask'd the meaning of this mysterious number; and the answer was, that the emperor who order'd those boats to be made, gave command for ten thousand, and accordingly it was perform'd. When they were all made, to find out how much iron had been us'd, he caus'd one to be burnt; which done, the iron was ga-

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ther'd and weigh'd, and thus he found out how much iron went to the making of them all, and so the number we have mention'd remain'd. His successors would not alter the number, out of respect to that emperor, so that there are always ten thousand wanting one. I cannot but commend the emperor's industry, doubtless imagining his officers would make their profit of that work, as is usual in all places. Good *God*! what a vast quantity of iron, tar, hemp, and other necessities are kings cheated of in the building of ships, galleys, and other vessels. It is incredible, and I would not write it if I were not well inform'd in the matter; it would be very convenient sometimes to burn a small pink, I am satisfied they would save more in iron than the cost of the vessel that was burnt.

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Boats.

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NAVA- 2. The boats we have spoke of serve to
 RETTE carry rice from the southern provinces to
 court: they make a voyage once a year all
 upon rivers; when the waters are low, they
 are sometimes detain'd several months. E-
 very boat carries six hundred bushels of
 rice, the remaining part of the vessel is for
 the use of the master and sailors, who stow
 other merchandize, the freight whereof
 pays them, besides their daily allowance of
 rice, and other small things they receive
 upon the emperor's account. Besides these
 he has eight hundred greater vessels, all
 very lightly, and varnish'd red, with dra-
 gons painted on them that have five claws:
 these serve to convey to the court the stuffs,
 silks and other rarities that the several
 provinces produce for the use of the court.
 There are three hundred more with dragons
 of three claws on them, which are far be-
 yond all the others, and are for the service
 of ambassadors, the great men of the em-
 pire, and such like employment. I know
 no prince equal to the *Chinese* in this parti-
 cular, and yet the best and greatest part of
 this is, that all these things are look'd upon
 as trifles. Besides all this he keeps his
 fleets at sea, which are very numerous.
 When the *Tartar* fought the *Chinese* of Ca-
 belle, which was about the year 1660. he
 put eight hundred ships to sea. True it
 is, they are neither so large, nor so strong
 built as ours, but they are like pinks, and
 he might have put out many more if he
 had pleas'd. The enemy set out twelve
 hundred, and gain'd the victory, as being
 the better seamen.

Fleets.

Ships.

3. Leaving aside the shipping as present,
 because we must speak of them again, let
 us return to court a little. During the
 time we continued at court, which was
 three months (tho' some staid not so long,
 and others longer) we went abroad but
 seldom, being order'd so to do by the
 judges, yet they did not absolutely forbid
 it. Those few times I went abroad (we
 went all together to the court of rites and
 ceremonies, and it was above half a league
 from the church) I observ'd some things
 which the others took notice of too. I
 pass'd sometimes by the palaces of petty
 kings of the royal blood, who for this rea-
 son had glaz'd yellow tiles; these and his
 other kindred the emperor styles *Kin Chi*
Pao Ye, that is, golden branches, and pre-
 cious leaves. The buildings are low, but
 as they said who have seen them, and I my
 self afterwards saw at *Canton*, very beau-
 tiful and airy, with fine courts, gardens,
 and other pleasant conveniences. The streets
 of the imperial city are, as I have instanced
 before, wide, numerous and long; so that
 it would be a great trouble to do any busi-
 ness, had not the forecast of that people

been so singular, that at every corner of
 a street, or little square, of which there is
 a great number, they have beasts of carriage
 ready saddl'd and bridl'd to hire to
 those that go from place to place; so that
 any man who has business, or goes a visit-
 ing, or to take his pleasure, may upon
 very easy terms be furnished with an ass,
 mule, or a calash that will carry three or
 four. The owner goes along with him
 and looks to his beast, whilst the other is
 about his business, or a visiting; and thus
 is he carried back, and for a very small
 expence does his business, and saves being
 tired. This convenience is to be had in
 such abundance, that if a man would have
 fifty, or a hundred, or more beasts, they
 shall be brought to his door in less than
 half an hour. That day we went out to
 banishment, being twenty five missionaries
 and thirty Christians that attended us, we
 were all furnish'd in a moment; and that
 afternoon we travel'd five leagues with ease,
 and in a short time; the country about the
 imperial city being all smooth as one's
 hand; the asses are excellent cattle to travel
 upon. I can find nothing in *Europe*
 to compare the multitude of people to what
 is afoot and on horseback about the streets.
 The *Tartar* women wear boots, and ride
 astride like men, and make a notable figure
 either afoot or a horseback, but are very
 modest in their garb; their sleeves are
 somewhat wide and cover their hands,
 their garment black and hanging on the
 ground, their hair braided without any
 other head-dress, tho' many of them wear
 on their heads those caps we all use there.

Carriage
in Peking.Tartar
Women.

4. We met with one very pleasant thing
 in the imperial city, which is abundance
 of ice; an infinite quantity is consum'd,
 and yet it is not worth above half a farth-
 ing a pound. The manner of using it is
 not the same as among us, but they take
 a piece as clean and transparent as the very
 crystal, which is put into a bason, and
 over it they pour some fair water, so by
 degrees it dissolves, and the water is so
 very cold there is no drinking of it: This
 drink is wholesome in that country, and
 very convenient because of the vast heat.
 Thus other nations us'd to drink with ice.
 Dr. *Monardes* writ a treatise upon this sub-
 ject. They have not got the way in *China*
 of making the ice cisterns as we do in *Eu-
 rope*, but it is very pleasant to see cart-
 loads of ice at every corner of a street,
 and men going about to offer it as you go
 by. Tho' this be a truth well known to
 all missionaries, yet *F. Martin Martinez* in
 his *Chinese Atlas* had the face to write,
 that the *Chinese* of the imperial city do not
 drink their liquors cool: his own brethren
 laugh at this and many other things he
 writ;

Ice.

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writes it will be fit the reader take notice of it, that he may read this author cautiously, and that he be inform'd, that one night after supper this question was put before the whole company: *F. Magallans a Portuguese*, and *F. Bullo a Sicilian*, were the persons that propos'd it, saying, the question is, who was most misinform'd concerning the affairs of *China*, *Marcus Venetus*, or *F. Martinez*, allowing they were both much in the wrong? Several opinions were given upon this subject, but *F. Bullo* clear'd the doubt, and said, both of them writ many mere chimeras; *F. George* found three in only what relates to the court, and many more daily come to light; and if he that is taken in one story is suspected ever after, what must he be who is catch'd in so many? *F. Adams* his saying, which I quoted in the preface, is pat to this purpose; to back which I will here insert a passage, which all the *East-Indies* and *Macao* can testify, and there are those that remember it at *Lisbon*, as was affirm'd to me in that city in the year 1672.

Impositions 5. A missionary returning out of *China* into *Europe*, brought with him a Christian *Chinese* servant, whose name was *Andrew*, in the *Chinese* language it is pronounc'd *Gan Te Le*, for they have no letters that will answer the name nearer: This man was all the sport and merriment of the ship: the father came with him to *Lisbon*, pretended he was the king of *China's* son, and as such carried him to King *John* the fourth, who ask'd him, What is your name? (he might have said your highness's name) the *Chinese* answer'd, *Gan Te Le*: Rise up *Don Andrew*, said the king, (now the emperor of *China's* son bows his knee to none but his father) I make you a nobleman of my household, and knight of the order of *CHRIST*, and taking off his royal cloak, threw it over Sir *Andrew's* shoulders. A very little honour he did him, if he took him for the king of *China's* son; for what addition was it to him to be one of the king of *Portugal's* noblemen? After this the father carried him to *Venice*, and made him known to the senate, who treated him honourably, and gave him a senator's gown. He return'd to *Macao* now a great lord, who when he came abroad was a servant and cook. Such is the course of fortune. When I came from *China* Sir *Andrew* was in *Cochinchina*, he sold the cloak and gown, and to get his bread ply'd as a porter. Thus he return'd to his natural being, for nothing that is violent can be lasting. Others made great princes of some merchants that came from *Japan* a few years since, which made a mighty noise throughout *Europe*, I read it in a paper of good repute.

And but of late years a great missionary *NAWA-* brought a servant whose name was *Dominick*, and had been baptiz'd by the religious of my order, whom he serv'd, and after them the *Franciscans*: the missionary made him pass for a man of quality in *Italy* and *Germany*; he gave out he was an able physician, whereupon he was much respected, and the emperor himself did him such extraordinary honour, that one who was then present at *Vienna*, and very well knew the *Chinese* and the missionary, assur'd me that the emperor spoke to him with his hat in his hand: doubtless they pretended he was a king, or son to the emperor of *China*. *F. Mathias de Amaya* wrote an annual letter full of such romances, that those of his order would not suffer it to be read before us. He speaks of the three hundred pillars I mention'd above, and says the towns upon the coast destroy'd in the province of *Po Kien* when the *Tartars* drove the *Chinese* up the country, amounted to the number of a hundred thousand. All this is doubtless look'd upon in *Europe* as gospel. This is imposing upon *Europe* according to *F. Adams*; let us leave it thus till another opportunity, and return to the imperial city.

6. *Pe King* is furnish'd with very good *Pe King* fruit, as plums, apples, peaches, pears, grapes, and abundance of fish and fowl at reasonable rates. Another thing we admir'd at, which was, the multitude of barbers *Barbers*. very expert at their trade, and extraordinary cheap; they go about the streets taboring on a little sort of flat instrument in the nature of a drum, by which they are known, and those call that have occasion for them: this is practis'd throughout all *China*. What is particular in the imperial city is, that every one of them carries on his back a stool, basin, water, fire, and the rest of his utensils; so that when any body comes to him, whether it be in the street, or market, in the open air, or under shelter, in a moment he sets up his shop, claps down his stool, takes out water, shaves the head all to a lock that hangs behind, orders the eye-brows, cleanses the ears with curious instruments for that purpose, stretches the arms, strokes the back, and plays other monkey tricks; after all they give him about a penny, or commonly less; then making many obeysances, he gathers his tackle, and falls again to beating his tabor. Before the coming of the *Tartars* there was little use for barbers, because the *Chinese* never shav'd their heads, yet not for that chimerical reason *F. de Angelis* assigns: he says the *Chinese* believe they shall be taken up to heaven by the hair, and therefore they preserve it; but that the *bonzes* hold the contrary opinion: *If they are atheists, how can they hold this opinion?* being on?

NAVA- being persuaded that they shall mount with-
RETTS. out hair. Such a folly has not been heard
 of in *China*. There are brides in the
 imperial city, and throughout all *China*,
 very many who exercise no other trade
 but cutting the nails of the fingers and
 toes. The people of *Cbaramandel* have
 the same custom, but it is a part of the
 barbers trade: these men carry tabors, but
 bigger than those the barbers use, and a
 little stool, but are very dextrous at their

Nail cut-
 ters.

business: they use no sissers, but little chi-
 zels, and they leave neither nail, loose
 skin, nor corn, without the least trouble.
 At one stroke they take off all the superfluo-
 us part of the nail: the purchase is small,
 and suitable to the trade. There are many
 other particulars which would take up
 much time. By what has been said, and
 shall be added hereafter, we may give
 a guess at the ingenuity and curiosity of
 that people.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Emperor's Revenue, Expences, and other particulars.

1. THE empire of *China* being so large,
 and so prodigiously populous, as
 we shall declare in its place, the emperor's
 revenue must of course be very great, tho'
Taxes. the taxes are easy, and there is no duty
 upon any thing that is for eating or drink-
 ing, which makes them so cheap. Not-
Revenue. withstanding all this, a person of undoubt-
 ed credit reports that after all charges
 borne, and the salaries and pensions to petty
 kings, counsellors, magistrates, officers
Officers. (whereof there are above eleven thousand
 of note) and the army paid, their comes
 yearly sixty millions clear into the treasury.
 This seems to me an excessive revenue, es-
 pecially knowing, as I do, that the emper-
Forces. or always kept a million of foot in gar-
 rison only upon the great wall, and there
 is no doubt but there was another million
 dispers'd about in the cities, towns and
 castles before mention'd. *F. Martin* said
 the whole revenue amounted to a hundred
 and fifty millions: he exceeds many of his
 brethren in the sum. *F. de Angelis* says it
 rises to sixty millions. I mention'd above,
 that the city *Zu Cbeu* yielded two millions
 a year: another in the same province call'd
Sung Kian pays one million: the town *Lan*
Ki, where I resided some time, raises sixty
 thousand ducats; another whose name is
Xang Hai, half a million. If all the rest
 were answerable to these, there's no doubt
 but the revenue must swell to a vast pitch,
 but they have not all so good a trade. I
 made out by their books, and have the pa-
 per still by me in *Chinese* characters, that
 the tax upon plough'd land alone amounts
 to twenty six millions: the duty on salt,
 silk, cloth, and other things is worth six-
 teen millions: The income by customs,
 toll and boats is very great, as I was in-
 form'd by an understanding *Chinese*, but
 not certain, and rises or falls every year.
 The poll tax paid by all from twenty to
 sixty years of age, tho' inconsiderable in
 respect of every person, yet rises to a great
 sum. The ground-rent of houses is very

considerable: so that we need make no
 difficulty of assigning him yearly above a
 hundred millions of fine silver. Then
 reckoning what the mandarines steal, not
 from the emperor, but from the subjects,
 the sum will be considerably advanced.
 The *Chinese* of *Manila* were the authors
 of what *Mendoza* writes, lib. III. cap. 4.
Triguacius reckons in his time above fifty
 eight millions and a half of persons that
 paid Taxes, which is a vast number.

2. Of late the revenue sunk above five
 millions a year, the reason of it was, be-
 cause the *Chinese* of *Cabello*, vulgarly call'd
Kue Sing, and at *Manila* known by the name
 of *Marotos* (who never would submit to the
Tartars, and afterwards took the fort in the
 island *Hermosa* from the *Dutch*) had the
 command of the sea and towns on the
 coast, where they rais'd as much money by
 taxes as paid the expence of their war,
 and the fleets they kept against the *Tar-*
tars. Besides they secur'd the trade of
 silk and other merchandise in *China*, which
 enrich'd them, and was a great loss to the
 emperor. He reflecting on his own dam-
 age sustain'd, and meditating how to
 weaken the enemy, sent absolute command
 to destroy all the open towns and houses
 that were near the sea, and for the people
 to retire three leagues up the country or
 more, according to the situation of each
 of those towns. This was executed with
 the utmost rigour, for when the time as-
 sign'd was elaps'd, they barbarously but-
 cher'd all that had not obey'd. Very
 many were kill'd, but many more utterly
 ruin'd, having neither town, house, or
 goods; and the emperor lost his yearly re-
 venue.

3. The *Tartars* contrivance, tho' costly,
 was soon successful, for the *marotos* hearts
 fail'd them immediately, and they were so
 cast down, that they have never been able
 to lift up their heads since; so that the
Tartars made no more account of them,
 and therefore in the year 1669, ordered all

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 by the last
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 from Ma-
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Sue King
 Maroto.

Almi.

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 Vol. I

persons to return to their towns, commanding the *mandarines* to be assisting to them, and to furnish them with oxen to till the ground. This year 1675, there came news to Madrid that the *Cbineses* of *Cabello*, who live in the island *Hermosa*, had possess'd themselves of some provinces of *China*, but it wants a confirmation. It is a justifiable and politick practice to lose a finger, or cut off an arm to save the head and whole body. To venture all to save a part is certainly pernicious; therefore it was a prudent and wise action of the *Tartar* to secure his empire, and overthrow the power of the enemy, with the loss of some few persons, and a small part of his revenue.

4. For this reason I shall ever commend the great wisdom and understanding of *Don Sabinianno*, *Manrique de Lara*, when he found himself threatened by the insolent *Maroto*, or *Kue Sing*. That proud haughty people aspir'd to have those islands pay them an acknowledgment and tribute, which was of dangerous consequence, considering how small a force there was in them at that time; but the governor's courage and conduct made amends for all. He to secure the head and main body of what was committed to his charge, with the general consent, advice, and approbation of all people concern'd, dismantled the forts of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, and convey'd the artillery, garrisons, and christian inhabitants to *Manila*, so strengthening the head to be in a condition to oppose those that should presume to invade it; and the consequences had been more advantageous had this been done some years sooner. But the policy of maintaining those places, at the expence of much *Spanish* blood, with great charge to the king, and loss of many ships, prevail'd then. And why, others better know, I can give no reason for it; but certain it is the profit did not pay the cost.

5. Let us return to our *Chinese*, or *Tartar-Chinese*. The alms the emperor gives every year, is one of the most magnificent things can be said of him; it exceeds four millions, an action worthy the greatest monarch in the universe. What I most admire'd in it, is, that the present emperor's father having been petition'd to apply that sum to his own use, on pretence that the exchequer was low, being exhausted by the wars, he answer'd, that since his predecessors had given a testimony of their piety, by distributing such large alms, he would neither cut off, nor retrench it. What could any catholic prince have done more glorious? In all towns and cities there is a number of poor maintain'd at the king's cost, a hundred in some, sixty in others, according to the greatness of the place. I pass over all that *Mendoza* writes in the tenth chap-

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ter of his second book: and tho' at the late *NAVATER* end he says, that those of his order, *RETTE*, and the bare-foot fryars, are eye-witnesses that there are no beggars about the streets; yet I avouch, that the rest of us who have liv'd longer in that country, have seen the contrary, and given alms to many that have come to beg it at our doors. As to what he says concerning blind men, that they work in the mills, where they get their bread, I own it, and have seen many of them.

6. The judges receive the taxes, as shall be said hereafter, and give every poor body his allowance; sometimes the manner of it is singular and pleasant. There are always some of those who pay the taxes so very faulty, that they can very hardly be brought to it with good lashing; others it is likely there are, who do not pay because they have it not. Now to oblige them to pay, it is an excellent method and course to give part of these taxes to the poor, and deliver them the *mandarines* note to recover it. As soon as they have their order away they go to the house of the party, produce their commission, and take possession of the house as if it were their own; there, like absolute lords and masters, they command meat, drink, beds, and whatsoever they please till they are paid. It is utter ruin and destruction to abuse them, or touch a hair of their heads; so that to save much trouble and charge, those people sell or pawn what they have to pay: and thus the judge, by the insolvency of the beggars, raises the duty he could not get with all his power and authority.

7. There are many poor besides those the emperor maintains; they are proud, troublesome, and saucy, and not satisfy'd with any thing. They have their judge that is their protector in every city and town, and they all pay him contribution out of their gettings. Whensoever any of them is brought before a court, this man appears, protects, defends, and pleads for them; and it is strange to see that judgment is always given for the poor, which makes people stand in awe of them; no body dares so much as give them an ill word, but rather will let them have any thing they ask for. Sometimes if they get not what they demand, they threaten they will starve themselves at the door, that their death may be laid to him who denies them what they ask. Both missionaries and *Cbineses* tell of strange encounters they have had with them. For my own part I must confess, that giving them good words and a little rice, I always got rid of them without being put to any trouble. Some there are that go about the streets praying, without begging of any body; but when the people hear them pray,

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they

It is not
confirm'd
by the last
Letters
from Ma-
nila.

Alms.

NAVARRETTE. they bring out their alms and give them. Others go about with dogs that dance and play tricks, particularly the blind men use this as they do in *Spain*. Others carry about monkeys which exercise their faculties. Others have frightful snakes which they show, and get alms. All this agrees well with what *Mendoza* writes.

8. Those who have read the books, or heard an account of christian doctrine, ask us, whether there are any beggars in *Europe*? We answer cautiously, saying, there are some whom God has left, that the rich may have wherewith to bestow their charity. Notwithstanding this evasion, they look askew and say, if all men in your countries follow this doctrine, there is no doubt but they are all as strictly united in love, as if they were one man's children; and consequently the rich man will share his wealth with him that wants, and so all men must have enough. Whatsoever we can say to them, they hold fast to this argument; and in truth it was so in the primitive church, when all things were in common, and none wanted necessities. The

allowance of the *mandarines* is very scant. *Mendoza* and *de Angelis* write the contrary, without any ground for it. This makes many of them suffer their palms to be greas'd, yet a great number preserve themselves untainted who live with great moderation, at which the *Chinese* are much edify'd. In other parts there are large salaries, and yet they grasp all they can; but this is the difference betwixt them and other nations, that if in *China* they once find any thing of bribery, the head infallibly falls for it; in other countries, tho' they be manifestly known to be guilty of taking bribes, they are conniv'd and wink'd at, and they dare confess and receive the holy sacrament. The soldiers pay is rather too great for that country, every private centinel has three crowns of silver a month; if he be a single man, he may maintain himself and save half. The army is not so great now as it was some years since, so that the expence is less. I was told the emperor spent sixty millions a year; it is a prodigious expence, but I insert it here, that every one may judge of it as he pleases.

Bribery capital.

Soldiers pay.

Canal.

CHAP. XII.

Other Particulars concerning the Emperor and his Court.

1. THE emperor of *China* was ever provident in laying up a treasure, a necessary precaution to be able to relieve the publick, and the subjects in their necessities; so says *S. Thomas Opus*. . . quoted above. But this must not be done, as the *Chinese* emperor who preceded the *Tartar* did; he gather'd much, and was very covetous, so that it only profited the robber, who seiz'd the royal city, and set fire to the palace. I mention'd before what vast riches he carry'd away, yet when the *Tartar* came he found a great quantity. After the palace was burnt, *F. Adamus* went into it to behold where *Troy* town stood, and walking through the rooms, found a manuscript book in our ancient character on vellum; and as *F. Francato* to whom it was sent told me, it contain'd text and comment; the character of the text was small and unintelligible, that of the comment was larger, and some of it might be read; The subject was divinity; it often quoted *S. Augustine* and *S. Thomas*, and no other author; but it is not known when or how that book was carry'd to *China*, and presented to the emperor.

2. When the robber first and after him the *Tartar* enter'd the imperial city, there were seven thousand pieces of cannon mounted on the walls, so we were inform'd in that metropolis, and I mention'd it above;

but there being nobody to play them, it was the same thing as if there had been none: I shall come to this subject in another place. The emperor wanted the love of his subjects, and eunuchs, who betray'd him; what then signify'd the cannon? what signifies a mighty army of resolute soldiers, and well provided, if they want faith and loyalty? I said before how broad the walls of the imperial city were; they are all of brick, and much higher than the ancient ones we see in *Europe*. The gates are very large, and all plated with iron, as are those of the other cities I have seen; but nothing avails where there is no loyalty.

3. It is a great honour to the *Chinese* emperor, that he can bring into the field a million or two, or more men, and maintain them for years, without any breach of the known liberties of the empire, or raising the prices of commodities, or laying new taxes; and if they had apply'd themselves to war, as they have done to learning, who is there in the world that could oppose them? God Almighty took off their edge from military exploits, and gave them no inclination to enlarge their dominions, perhaps that they might not give laws to the universe.

4. I ever liked the *Tartar* and *Chinese* soldiers, though heathens, many degrees beyond

They keep their soldiers as much disciplined as Moles did.

beyond guard like the natives them j I pass'd to say of riage the and very Being u night at fifty fold oufly th quitted h one and for me t endeavour to suffer fengers in any have might be

Non transibimus per agros. Num. xx. read Olear. iter.

5. The boats, and in that co stance of and no fr dred leag the water hundred i whole len nish'd fro dle of it, standing boats, w spring, w small bro the other enough f they are f there are times eigh the rain 1665, w perial city deavour t they have dient, wh where is t have eigh stone wall equal dista and closer ver, when capable o passage is every one a great m When the which run rises abov suddenly the vessel of a bow, tili the w forced to

beyond those of our countries. Those that guarded us to the imperial city, were not like them that had the great martyr *S. Ignatius* in custody. I met ten thousand of them just as I came in upon that mission, I pass'd through the middle of them; and to say the truth, by their courtesy and carriage they look'd to me more like Christians, and very religious gentlemen, than infidels. Being upon my journey, I came to lie one night at a little fort, in which were about fifty soldiers. It is incredible how courteously they treated me; their commander quitted his chamber, which was a very good one and warm, considering the cold season, for me to lie in; and though I us'd all my endeavours, I could never prevail with him to suffer me to stay among the other passengers in whose company I travel'd. Would any have done so among us? Such a thing might be, but is hard to be believ'd.

Non trans-
silius
per agros.
Num. xx.
read Olee-
ster.

Canal.

5. The river that is cut for the emperor's boats, and an infinite multitude of others in that country, reaches within a small distance of the imperial city. This is another, and no small wonder, it is above two hundred leagues in length; for one hundred the water runs away to the north, the other hundred it flows to the south. We sail'd the whole length of it when we came away banish'd from court. Being come to the middle of it, we found a great idol temple standing on the bank, and near it a good spring, which there divides itself into two small brooks, one turning to the north, and the other to the south. This water is not enough for large vessels, so that at times they are forced to stay for the rains; and there are sometimes five hundred, sometimes eight hundred boats stop'd there till the rain falls. This happened in the year 1665, when we were going up to the imperial city. To supply this defect, and endeavour to make it navigable at all times, they have found a useful but costly expedient, which is, that on the south side, where is the greatest want of water, they have eighty strong sluices. Two strong stone walls come down from the land at equal distances, which drawing on still closer and closer, reach to the middle of the river, where they form a narrow passage only capable of one large boat at a time; this passage is clos'd with mighty sluices. At every one of these there is a *mandarin*, with a great many men to help the vessels thro'. When the sluices are shut, that little water which runs in betwixt them in half a day, rises above a fathom and a half; then they suddenly throw open the flood-gates, and the vessels rush out as swift as an arrow out of a bow, and make all the way they can, till the water again failing them, they are forced to repeat the same thing again. As

some boats fall down, others are going up; *NAVA* and this being more difficult because against the force of the stream, such a number of men join to hale them with ropes, that it is wonderful to see how swift they drag a vessel of above eighty tun against the current of that impetuous torrent.

6. They observe great order, and have their precedency in passing. The king's vessels no doubt have the first place, and among them the worthiest, and those that carry ambassadors or persons of note. Many too that ought to come last, buy a good place. It is ridiculous and worth observing, to hear what shouts, and noise of little drums and horns there is when any great vessel goes through, especially if it be at midnight, as we did sometimes. These delays make the voyage tedious. We spent six months and twelve days between the court and *Canton*, which was time enough to sail from *Goa* to *Lisbon*. When there are great rains, the water gushes out in several places, and breaks down the banks that should keep it in. To prevent this mischief, there are always abundance of people employ'd in several parts to repair them with turf, fascine, and piles.

7. There is no doubt but the cutting of that river was a prodigious expence, and they are at no small charge in keeping it in repair; but it is as certain, that the land-carriage would be more intolerably dear than it is by this conveniency. Great art was us'd in cutting of it, for it is all full of turnings and windings to stay the current of the water. It is an incredible number of boats of all sizes that is continually going upon it; and the same may be seen in other places upon other rivers. The multitude we saw in this voyage was so great, that the missionaries who valued themselves upon their knowledge in the mathematics, computed it, and maintain'd, there were enough to build a bridge from *Macao* to *Goa*, which are distant nine hundred leagues from one another, or more, as some will have it. There are those who affirm, there are more vessels in *China* than in all the rest of the known world. This will seem incredible to many *Europeans*; but I who have not seen the eighth part of the vessels in *China*, and have travel'd a great part of the world, do look upon it as most certain. There is another thing very wonderful all along the way we have spoke of, which is, that there is great plenty of all sorts of provisions, not only at reasonable, but at very inconsiderable rates; and the passengers being without number, the prodigy is the greater. A good pigeon is sold for a half-penny, a large fat pullet with eggs for three half-pence, and where there is more scarcity, for two-pence; a pound

Boats.

Provisions.

NAVAPOUND of excellent large fish for three far-
RETTE. things, and sometimes lefs; beef, hares,
pork, and other sorts of flesh at the same
rate; and very often they came to the boats
to offer these and the like things to sale.

8. Before we got off this river it began
to freeze, and some days they were forced
to break the ice to be able to make way;
and if we had been stopp'd a fortnight longer,
there had been no avoiding travelling by
land, which would have been mighty trou-
blesome to us. When the cold weather
and frost came on, we all took notice of a
notable contrivance, and peculiar to the in-
genuity of the *Chinese*, for earning their
bread; which is, that to secure their fish-
ing in the rivers and lakes, and to be able
to cast their nets safe from the terrible frosts

that are frequent in those parts, they make
a case of *buffalo*, or horse hides well
few'd, with the hair on the inside, boots at
bottom, and gloves and sleeves of the same
all in one piece. Into this they go with
their clothes, shoes, and stockings on, then
girding it close about their waste, they
fasten it upon one shoulder. In this manner
they run into the river up to their arm-pits,
then cast their nets; and having drawn
them, they slip off the case, having all their
clothes on, and not a drop of water comes
through. We were all eye-witnesses of this,
and did not a little admire it. We saw
others in boats with the same cases over
them, and holding the oars with those gan-
lets, they row'd as swift as thought.

*Fishing
habits.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of other remarkable things in China.

1. THE wall of *China* so famous among
all authors, may deservedly be cal-
led the only wonder of the world. It is lit-
tle above twenty leagues from the imperial
city of *Pe King*. We being prisoners in
that city, it was then no time to take our
pleasure, or go to see it. I will write what
I have been told several times, especially
whilst I was in the said city, and will set
down what others have writ concerning it.
It runs along four provinces from east to
west. *Kircher* assigns it nine hundred *Ita-
lian* miles in length, which make three
hundred leagues of ours. *F. de Angelis* al-
lows it five hundred *Spanish* leagues. An-
other *Italian* gives it one thousand two hun-
dred *Italian* miles, which make four hun-
dred leagues of ours. *Mendoza*, lib. I. cap. 9.
allots it five hundred leagues: but he is in
the wrong when he says four hundred of
them are made by nature; and in telling
the world, as *F. de Angelis* does, that it be-
gins in the province of *Canton*. This mi-
stake was occasion'd by their ignorance in
the *Chinese* language. The province we call
Canton is spelt thus *Kuang Tung*, which sig-
nifies large, and stretched out east. The
country where the wall begins is in writing
call'd *Kuang Tung*, that is, bright east, and
is not the name of a province. The founds
are different, the accent of the one is single,
the other is not (*I suppose he means one is a
monosyllable, the other a dissyllable.*)

2. What I could make out is, that it is
three hundred and sixty *Spanish* leagues in
length, thirty cubits high; and the cubits
of *China* are larger than ours, and its breadth
is above twelve cubits. It rises and falls
according to the ground it runs over. In
the province of *Pe King* it breaks off for

some space because of the mountains. There
are many towers upon it for the centinels,
and some gates to pass through, but secur'd
with strong castles. All this monstrous pile
was rais'd in five years, and two hundred
and five before the incarnation of our Re-
deemer. The whole empire sent three men
out of every ten, who working in sundry
places at a distance, finish'd the work in so
short a time. The whole wall is of hard
stone, without any lime or sand, but so
closely knit and neatly join'd, that the
smallest nail cannot be drove in betwixt the
joints. The emperor *Cing Xi Hoang* or-
der'd it to be built after that manner. The
new *Rome*, built by *Constantine*, was finish'd
in five or six years. *Byzantium* extended
almost a league in circumference without
the walls, which was a stately and magni-
ficent work, but not to compare with the
structure of this wall. On that side of *Leao
Tung* where it begins, it runs a quarter of
a league into the sea; the foundation was
laid on a great number of ships full of iron
bars sunk there.

3. Who can chuse but admire this struc-
ture, especially if they consider all these
circumstances we have mention'd? The
wall the emperor *Severus* built for the *Brit-
tains* surpriz'd the world, and yet it was but
one hundred and thirty two *Italian* miles in
length, as *Spandanus* writes Anno 212. But
what is this to that in *China*? The army the
emperor of *China* kept to guard his wall,
consist'd of a million of men, others say a
million and a half. As in *Spain* we send
criminals to *Oran* and the galleys; so here
they are sent to serve at the wall. This
punishment was also allotted for sodomy;
but if all that are guilty of it were to suffer

*The temple
of Soli-
mon was
built in
seven years
and five
months.
Vid. Sil.
Tom. II.
p. 5. col. 2.
num. 107.*

*Water
turbid
how
clear'd.*

Sidney.

by that
people

4. The
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5. The
markable
River
HuangHo.

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6. It is a
sophers, wh
VOL. I.

by that law, I doubt *China* would be unpeopled, and the wall overgarison'd.

4. The building of this great vast and monstrous wall, the vast expence they were at in erecting it, and the great charge in keeping it up, are plain demonstrations of the *Chinese* want of courage: for if they were men but of indifferent resolution, they might with less than a million of men sent beyond the wall, though only arm'd with sticks and stones, in a small time destroy all the neighbouring kingdoms, and make them tremble that are at a great distance from it. The *Chinese* are only fit to study, to trade, to make curiosities, and to cheat, but not to fight. Now they say the *Tartar* has broken down half a league of the wall; perhaps he designs to have a clear passage, for fear any thing should happen amiss to him. False men and tyrants never think themselves safe.

5. The yellow or red river is another remarkable thing, and is therefore call'd *Huang Ho*. It springs in the west, runs many leagues without the wall, fetches a great compass about it, and returning again crosses through *China* till it comes into the province of *Nan King*, where it falls into the sea. Its course is above eight hundred leagues, it is very rapid, and from its source keeps a bloody hew, without changing, or altering its colour in any place. When we went to court, we sail'd on it two days and a half, and were surpriz'd and astonish'd to see its whirl-pools, waves and colour: its water is not to be drunk, and therefore we laid in our provision before-hand. Afterwards we observ'd a secret in nature, till then unknown to us, which was, that the watermen and servants fill'd a jar of this water, and putting into it a little allum, they shak'd about the jar; then letting it settle two hours, it became as clear and fair as could be wish'd, and was so delicate, that it far exceeded the other we had provided, though it was extraordinary good. In *Canton* I learn'd another easier and wholesomer cure for it, and it is only putting some small grains which make fish drunk (and in *Spanish* are call'd *coca*) into a jar, and the water will clear in a very short time. The city *Jang Chen*, to secure itself against the inundations of this river, which are very great, built a wall above two fathom in thickness, very high, and twenty four *Spanish* leagues in length. Sometimes the river swells so high that it reaches the top of this wall. The people take care of themselves before-hand; for if once it gets over, it certainly drowns all the country in an hour.

6. It is a dispute among the *Chinese* philosophers, why the water of this river should

always keep its colour from its source, without ever altering. The reasons they give for it are ridiculous. All the missionaries of us there were dubious about it, and had many arguments upon the subject, some whereof were concerning the whirl-pools. As to the first difficulty, I think there is no reason to be given for it, but that the earth it runs over is soft, and of that colour, and the current being rapid, it mixes with it. The cause of the second effect is, that some places are very deep, into which the currents fall with much violence. But it is very strange that in so great a distance there appears not the least alteration, either in the colour or the whirl-pools, tho' there are other clear and crytalline rivers very near to it. In the year 1668, it overflow'd the banks, the mischief it did was no more than usual upon such occasions; towns, villages, and country-houses were bury'd under its sand and mud.

7. There is one thing very remarkable in the province of *Kuei Chu*, that is a bridge of one only stone, and is twenty fathom in length, and three in breadth. *F. Michael Trigauicus* a jesuit, and my companion in persecution, had noted this down as a rarity; he told me of it, and I thought it worth writing. The manner of carrying that stone, and placing it on to pieces of wall, very high and broad, built on both sides of the river, was no small subject of discourse. Of all the men in the world, the *Chinese* only are the fittest to conquer such difficulties. They have excellent contrivances, and a ready wit for all worldly affairs.

8. For fear I should forget it, I will here insert another thing which is prodigious and great. When I was at *Macassar*, talking with prince *Carrin Carroro*, son to that great lover of the *Spaniards*, and unfortunate prince *Carrin Patin Galoa*, he told me they had not long since kill'd an alligator seven fathom long, and three fathom thick, in whose belly they found three mens heads, some daggers, bracelets, and other things the moorish men and women use to wear in that country. This prince kept some of the teeth, which were monstrous. I who have seen many, believe this was a terrible one to behold. He added, that he and several others knew an herb, which if a man carried about him, he might with safety come close to one of those creatures, play with, and get a top of it without any danger. He invited a *Portuguese* gentleman who was by, and me, to see the performance; we thank'd him for the favour, but those people being *Moors*, we presently consider'd there might be some superstitious practice in it. Since I have read much in *F. Raphael de la Torre*, I am inclin'd to believe there may be an herb may have such

River
Huang Ho.

Water
turbid
how
clear'd.

Alligator.

NAVARETTE. a rare virtue, as there are others that have wonderful effects. Therefore the said learned father in his second book, advises not to be rash in judging things to be done by witchcraft, or spells, which seem strange to us.

Bridges.

9. But to return to the bridges of *China*, on account of that I have mention'd of one stone. When I came into that kingdom, I went through and saw others, which for the greatness and structure may vie with the best in *Europe*. The first I saw had no arches, and I fancy'd the *Chinese* knew not how to build them; but afterwards I met with so many, and those artificial, that none in *Europe* exceed them. Many of them are so high, that their ships pass under with all their sails aboard. They have also many stately bridges of boats, I took notice of some of them; but when I beheld the renowned bridge call'd *Lo Yang*, because of the port of that name that is near it, I stood amaz'd, and quite forgot the others I had before observ'd with much care and curiosity. This bridge is two leagues from the famous city of *Cuen Cheu*, in the province of *Fo Kien*, whose walls may compare with the best in the world for strength, beauty, and greatness. The bridge is laid over a navigable arm of the sea, where abundance of people were wont to be lost. This moving *Cai Yang*, governor of that part of the country, to compassion, he caus'd it to be built. It is in length thirteen hundred and forty five of my paces, and those large ones. The cubes or piers it stands upon are above three hundred. The intervals betwixt them for the water, are not arch'd, but flat, each cover'd with five stones lock'd into one another, above eleven paces in length. The sides of it are adorn'd with graceful banisters, with globes, lions, and pyramids on them at equal distances, which make it very graceful to behold. The whole work and ornament is of a blue stone, so steep colour'd, that at first sight it looks black; and tho' founded in the deep sea, there is neither lime nor iron about it, only the stones are mortis'd one into another; and yet in many ages it has not been in any danger of falling. There are on it five stately towers at equal distances, with strong gates and guards of soldiers. As I was going over it they told me this story; that formerly when they cross'd this arm of the sea in boats, a woman with child went aboard, and the master of the vessel foretold her, that she should be deliver'd of a son,

who would come to be a great *mandarin*, and so powerful, that he would build a bridge there at his own charge. They say it fell out so, and he prov'd to be the same *Cai Yang* we have spoke of. Let it pass for a tale, tho' it is well known there have been heathen prophets.

10. When first I came into *China*, I met with a very diverting river. I sail'd down it five days together; the channel is deep, and on both sides of it are vast fields of rice, which requires to be always swimming in water; and therefore when they want rain, they draw it up from the river with an infinite number of mills they have for that purpose, which are all kept a going by the stream, so that they move continually, and throw up the water, which is convey'd as the countryman thinks fit, without any toil of his. By reason of this multitude of water-works, the river is call'd the river of water-works, *Che Ki*.

11. In our way to the imperial city, and province of *Nan King*, we saw another odd invention for drawing of water, which we could not but admire and laugh at. These sort of mills stood in a plain upon the flat ground, and were full of sails made of mat, as is usual in that country; and the wind twirling them about, they flew like lightning, and drew abundance of water without being attended by any body. Here we concluded, that those who say there are carts in *China* carry'd by the wind, as does *F. de Angelis*, doubtless meant these mills, especially considering they call a cart and one of these mills by the same name in *China*; and it is only distinguishable by the genitive case join'd to it, saying a cart of water, of mills, of oxen, &c. And unless it be made out thus, there is nothing to be said for it, though *Mendoza* vouches it, lib. I. cap. 10. In the island of *Kai Nan*, which is the most southern part of *China*, there is another great rarity, which is, that the fishermen who go with their nets a dragging of shell-fish, draw out of the mud a sort of crabs, which as soon as they come out of the water into the air, immediately turn into stones, together with the mud that clings to them. They are sold all over *China*, and are medicinal; but particularly they are good to clear the sight, and take away inflammations in the eyes; to this purpose I gave a piece of one I brought over to the most reverend father *F. Peter Alvarez de Montenegro*, confessor to his majesty.

Crabs turn to stones.

Fashion unalterable.

Majesty.

Clotting. Cotton and temp. as cloth.

1. That is treat of to give able, w bountie ple wh they ca to seek been th

2. I silk ma other p same o might b nough consum clothes the rest with w very litt men and shion.

of years of the r of year: teen pro doubtless long as u and *Tari* modest, the best fashion e hence, so they see their eye to shew a sure aga first chap the prince such as a looks like play, to the last st neses, *Tur* *Bengalans* *Turks*, M the same change ev are in the

3. It is coarse, fin there are There is different, as the hair apparel is

CHAP. XIV.

Of other particulars of CHINA.

1. THE empire of *Cbina* has such plenty and even superfluity of all things, that it would take up many volumes to treat of them in particular. My design is only to give some hints of what is most remarkable, which will suffice to make known how bountifully God has dealt with those people who know him not, giving them all they can desire, without being necessitated to seek for any thing abroad; we that have been there, can testify this truth.

2. I am very well satisfied there is more silk made there every year, than in several other parts of the world that deal in the same commodity; and I believe half *Europe* might be supply'd from thence, and yet enough remain for their own use, tho' the consumption there is great, as well in clothes as other things. One thing among the rest I observe in *Cbina*, which I could wish were followed among us, which is very little or no change in their apparel, men and women always go in the same fashion. The women's for some thousands of years never was alter'd in the least; that of the men had also continued thousands of years, the same throughout all the fifteen provinces. The *Tartars* chang'd, and doubtless mended it, and that will hold as long as they do. The drefs of the *Chinese* and *Tartar* women, tho' different, is very modest, and they may both be patterns to the best of Christians. They abhor our fashion even in the pictures that go from hence, so that both men and women when they see their necks and breasts bare, hide their eyes, and sometimes we are asham'd to shew them. God expresses his displeasure against the change of apparel, in the first chapter of *Zephaniab*, *I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel*. It looks like a farce, or rather like childrens play, to see every day a new fashion, and the last still the worst. The *Japoneses*, *Chinese*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchinians*, *Siamites*, *Bengalans*, *Golocondars*, *Moguls*, *Persians*, *Turks*, *Muscovites*, and others, always have the same garb and apparel, and only we change every day. Who can decide which are in the right, and which in the wrong?

3. It is prodigious what a quantity of coarse, finer, and most delicate cotton-webs there are in *Cbina*, and all very lasting: There is also abundance of ordinary, indifferent, and curious hempen-cloth as fine as the hair of the head. This their summer apparel is made of, and is very light and

graceful. There is some flax in the province of *Xen Si*, but they do not spin it, and only use the seed to make oil of. F. *Rette*.

Martin was deceived in what he writ concerning their linen. *F. Trigancius* in like manner writes, that *Cbina* abounds in wine and flax. If he means the wine made of rice, he is in the right; but as for our sort there is no such thing. There is enough of a very good and fine sort of flax, which they make of a sort of trees like our plane trees. They us'd to carry much of it to *Manila*; but that which we properly call flax, I am positive the *Chinese* do not work it. *Mendoza* is in the wrong. *Trigancius* owns the truth, lib. I. cap. 3.

4. In the province of *Xan Tung* there are wild silk-worms, which work their webs in the trees where they breed, and good strong stuffs are made of them. In the northern parts, all that can afford it, make use of lamb-skins to line their clothes, to defend them against the cold. They also make breeches, stockings, and blankets of the same. Breeches are very antient in *Cbina*; according to *Lyra*, in ix. *Genf. Semiramis* invented them. Who was the first inventor in *Cbina* I know not. The women wear black breeches, but over them petticoats. In the southern parts where the cold is not so intense, skins are not so generally us'd, but they quilt the clothes curiously with cotton and coarse silk, which is lighter and warmer. They have boots of all sorts, of cotton, of silk, of neats-leather, buck-skins, and horses-hides, which are the best and most valued. There are some as thin and soft as a sheet of thick paper: they fold into any shape, and then being pull'd out, are beyond the finest cordovan. Others are made with the rough side outwards, and very beautiful. They are excellent tanners, their soles last twice as long as ours. Their stockings are generally white, but all of an equal wideness; in winter they have them thick, or quilted, or as every one likes. Their clothes being all stop'd, they must have something to keep their necks warm in winter, for which they make use of collars made of the skins of foxes, hares, rabbits, cats, and other beasts. *Cbina* has many mines of gold and silver, tho' of late years they do not work in them, for very good reasons which I have read in their books. Abundance of silver has gone over from *Manila* into *Cbina*, but much more from *Japan*; at present they carry a great deal out of *Coria*. It would be a great saving to *Manila* if they would

Fajbin
unaltera-
ble.

Midejty.

Clothing.
Cotton
and hem-
pen cloth.

NAVY. we could plant mulberry-trees in those islands, and make silk, there is land very proper for it. Colonel *Don Laurence Lafo* design'd it, and there are some of the plants to this day at *Binnau*. Very much is made in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*, and in *Manila*; because the publick is neglected, they neither mind this, nor other advantages.

Metals. 5. Much gold is gotten in the northern river of *China*, which they make use of in some sorts of works, and sell it to strangers. It produces iron, brass, copper, and all other metals in great plenty. There is great abundance of wheat, rice, barley, beans, and several other sorts of pulse very cheap. In the year 1664, I bought wheat for three ryals (eighteen pence) which was brought to me to the door to chuse, very clean and good; and rice, every grain as big as a kernel of a pine-apple, at five ryals (half a crown) the bushel. In *Xan Tung* the same year they sold wheat for one ryal (six pence) the bushel. Tho' there are no olive trees, they have oil of several sorts for three half pence a pound. That made of a small seed call'd *Afonjoli*, is much us'd by the *Chineſes* for making of puff-paſt fritters, and some other such dishes they dress. Very good oil for lamps is in great plenty. That country abounds in all sorts of garden-ware. Parsley and burrage there is none. The *Europeans* have carry'd endive and hard cabbages. The cucumbers and melons are not like ours. Several sorts of pompions and calabasses, an infinite number of water-melons, and others not known among us, are in vast quantities there. In the southern provinces there is as much sugar-cane as they can wish. Throughout the whole empire they smoke much tobacco, and so there is abundance sowed: I have bought it for a penny a pound dry to make snuff. The *Japan* tobacco is most valued in those parts. Wine of grapes they use none, nor do they know how to make it, tho' they might have it very good, because their grapes are excellent. What they generally use is made of rice, it is very pleasant and palatable, red, white, and pale. The quince wine is very delicate. The *Chineſes* drink all their wine very hot; they like the taste, and will take a cup too much. They do not look upon drunkenness as any shame, but make a jest

Grain.

Plenty.

Oil.

Garden-ware.

Sugar.

Tobacco.

Wine.

Drunkenness is no shame.

of it. They are not without ancient and modern examples for what they do. *Alexander* the great, and *Cambyſes* are a couple that may stand for a great many; for modern precedents, let them but go towards the north, and they cannot mis; and if they draw nearer to the south, they will find some, the more is our shame. The emperor banish'd him that first invented wine in *China*; and their histories tell us, he shed many tears condoling the mischiefs that invention would cause in his empire. When I was at *Rome* in the year 1673, there came thither two *Armenian* fathers of my order, with the emperor of *Persia's* secretary, and letters from him for his holiness, in answer to those the archbishop of *Armenia*, who was also a *Dominican*, had carry'd four years before. These fathers said, that the emperor was a great drinker, and that he asking whether there were good wines in *Rome*? and being told there was, he said, if so, then your pope it is likely is always drunk and besides himself. The *Armenian* reply'd, sir, in *Rome* and those countries men drink wine, but they do not allow the wine to get the upper hand of the men. The *Persian* was satisfy'd. But observe what an unreasonable reflection he made, tho' so natural to his vice; because he would be drunk with wine, he concluded the monarchs in our parts must do the same. This makes good the saying, that he who is drunk thinks all others are so. His father was more zealous for his law, for he commanded abundance of vineyards to be destroy'd. It is a difficult matter to establish the precept of *Plato* in *China*, and other places, viz. that soldiers should drink no wine. The *Turks* observe it, and follow the example of the *Chineſes* in carrying no women to the war. We had the news in *China* of the numbers there were in the armies that went into *Portugal*. Nor would *Plato* allow princes, judges, or those that have publick employments, to drink wine, nor even married men, when they are to have to do with their wives, lest they should get children like themselves. Much has been writ against this beastly vice, and to no purpose; I shall speak something to it in another place.

CHAP. XV.

Of some Trees peculiar to CHINA.

1. GOD is wonderful in his creatures, and stupendous in the multitude, diversity and beauty of them; the variety of only plants he has created, were sufficient

for ever to express his great power and infinite wisdom. The trees, flowers, fruits, and plants I my self have seen in my life time, are so very numerous, they would

more

Trees.

more trees, of islands, mischief, ther tree, that cu it, and for't w from it, first str and the man re vecheme I saw t great tr 2. A doro, I Luban which turn'd i said tow upon the the Indi port. ded, th within t the spot and of a relate th that in there we leaves w converte the fame dible pe was true 3. Le principa led Kuei handfom the bank of a haz of a blossoms and look it appear kernel, that is o then all white lo ther it a or begin excellen wax, w long in they ke well. I a quant it is wor of their year in t is incre as has b them wi Vol.

Treat.

more than fill a large volume. There is a tree, or rather a shrub, in the *Philippine islands*, which is very strange, but withal mischievous; it commonly grows near other trees, and twines about them: they that cut wood fly as far as they can from it, and if they neglect so to do, they pay for't with terrible pains. There comes from it a sort of thick milk, which at the first stroke of the ax flies up to the eyes, and they drop out on the ground, and the man remains not only blind, but full of most vehement pains for the space of eight days. I saw this misfortune befall a man, to my great trouble and affliction.

2. At *Guiflin*, a town in the island *Min-doro*, I saw a tree, of which the curate of *Luban* had told us, that every leaf of it which fell to the ground, immediately turn'd into a mouse. Being come to the said town with other companions that were upon the mission with me, I enquir'd among the *Indians* concerning the truth of that report. They avouch'd it to be so, and added, that if any of the wild mice came within the shade of that tree, they died upon the spot. The tree is beautiful to look to, and of a very fine green. I happening to relate this in *China*, *F. Balat* the jesuit said, that in some parts of the lower *Germany* there were certain trees on the sea-shore, the leaves whereof falling into the water, were converted into ducks. I afterwards read the same in *F. de Angelis*, and at *Rome* credible persons of that country assured me it was true.

Kael Xu.

3. Let us go over to *China*, which is our principal subject. There is a tree there called *Kael Xu*, pretty large spreading, and handsome to look to; it always grows on the banks of brooks, as do the willows in *Cassile*. It bears a fruit about the bigness of a hazle-nut, of a dark green colour; it blossoms about the middle of *December*, and looks as white as snow; in the middle of it appears something of the blackness of the kernel, which is very beautiful: the green that is over it withers away by degrees, and then all that was within it appears. The white looks like tried tallow. They gather it about the latter end of *December*, or beginning of *January*, melt, and make excellent candles of it, resembling white wax, without any ill scent. They last very long in winter, but not in summer; tho' they keep all the year, and serve us very well. It is impossible to discover how great a quantity of these candles is consum'd; but it is wonderful great the first fifteen days of their new year, and all the rest of the year in the temples of their idols the expence is incredible. The natural colour of them, as has been said, is white; but they adorn them with several colours, flowers, silver

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and gold, as with us we set off the paschal *NAVA*-candles. The common price of them is *RETTE*. three half-pence a pound, but they that buy it off the tree save the one half. After the making the candles, from the grounds that remain they extract oil for the lamps. It is a very profitable tree, and no way costly to the owner. If we had it among us, oil, tallow, and wax would be very cheap. It has been disputed among the missionaries whether mals may be said with those candles: I guess there is no precept for their being made in wax, in which casuists agree; and bating the mystical signification of it, I find no reason why we may not make use of them.

4. There is no want of wax in *China*, but they use it in medicines, not to burn; the price of it is not the same in all places, yet it is no where above two ryals (a shilling) a pound. The emperor, and petty kings burn wax, but not of the common *Wax*. fort; it is made by great wild bees, and is naturally white without using any art to it; the candles made of it are much better than ours. They last long, and when lighted, are so transparent that the wick is seen through them. *F. Adamus* us'd these in his church very freely, for the emperors dowager supply'd him. In the northern provinces they also make use of tallow candles; an infinite quantity of them is consum'd, and they are very cheap. In the *Philippine islands* there is abundance of wax; the mountains are full of swarms of bees, who make it in the trees, where the natives take it. The trade of it to *New Spain* is very considerable, the profit very great, for it costs less than two ryals (twelve pence) the pound, and is sold at *Acapulco* for a piece of eight. This was so in my time.

5. There is another tree in *China* very much wanted in the gardens of *Spain* and *Italy*. It is call'd *La Moli Xui*, is not very large, but sightly, and greatly valued by all people. It bears no other fruit but only a little yellow flower, so sweet and fragrant, that I know nothing in *Europe* to compare it to; though very small, it may be perceiv'd a quarter of a league off. The learned men and scholars take great care of this tree, which blossoms in *January*, and the flower continues some months upon the tree. They usually wear it on the lock of hair that hangs behind.

6. The women are also much addicted to wear flowers on their heads, some of gold, some of silver, and some natural, which are very plentiful; and rather than lose the custom, they use the flowers of mallows, which they sow in their gardens for this purpose, and to eat. I have eaten them sometimes, and find they are good;

K

we

NAVA- we have none but what grow wild. It is
 RETTE. very comical to see some old women of
 threefore and ten almost bald, and full of
 flowers. We saw one at the beginning of
 the year 1668, as she pass'd by in haste
 from her own house to a neighbour's, that
 made us laugh heartily. And it is to be
 observ'd, that it was never known in *China*
 that they hooted men or women, however
 they are clad. The same is observ'd in
 the country whether you travel by land or
 water, and they never fail of their usual ci-
 vilities. These things very often made us
 stand amaz'd, and we could not but remem-
 ber the rude scoffing, and insolent expres-
 sions commonly us'd in our countries, in
 cities, upon the road, and in other places,
 to gentlemen, elderly persons, modest
 maids, and churchmen; and notwithstanding
 all this those must pass for *Barbarians*,
 and we be look'd upon as very much ci-
 viliz'd. In winter some people go abroad
 in such strange odd figures, that a man
 must be very much mortified to forbear
 laughing. Nevertheless the good carriage,
 modesty and civility of those people makes
 them pass by all, without any exterior de-
 monstration.

7. There is also something singular in the
 Moei Xu. tree they call *Moei Xu*, it bears a little four
 fruit, which women and children eat; be-
 ing dry'd and put into a brine, they sell
 it for a medicine, and give to sick peo-
 ple, because it sharpens the appetite. The
 tree is very large, and what I particularly
 observ'd in it, is, that it blossoms about
Christmas, when it freezes hard, and the
 snow falls and lies upon the ground: I ad-
 mir'd at it very much the first time I saw
 it, which was in the year 1663, on the 23^d
 of *December*. All the field was cover'd
 with snow, the tree hanging with jewels,
 and that flower shew'd its beauty in the
 midst of it all, vying in whiteness to outdo
 the snow.

8. The camphire tree the *Chinese* call
Chang Xu, is vastly big and beautiful to
 behold. The camphire the *Chinese* gather
 from it is somewhat coarse, the finest and
 best of it God allotted to the island of
Borneo. The wood of it smells very
 strong, of which they make tables, chairs,
 and other household-goods. The sawdust
 of it strew'd about the beds, drives a-
 way the punaises or bugs, which swarm
 in some parts; and five leagues round
 where these trees grow, there is not
 one to be seen, which is very strange.
 All the *Chinese* take a particular de-
 light in killing these nasty insects with
 their fingers, and then clapping them to
 their nose, an unaccountable and loathsome
 pleasure. A priest who had been some
 considerable time in *Borneo* and seen it,

told me the manner how they gather the
 camphire. In the dawn of the morning
 those islanders go out with clothes and
 sheets, which they spread under the trees:
 before the sun rises, a liquor sweats out
 through the pores of the stock of the tree,
 and the branches; it moves and shakes a-
 bout just like quicksilver, and then they
 shake the boughs as much as they can,
 whence there falls down more or less of it
 according as it came out, and to the mo-
 tion of the tree, there it consolidates; and
 having gather'd it, they put it into canes,
 where they keep it. As soon as the sun
 appears, all that is left sinks into the tree
 again. That people have an extraordinary
 affection for their dead, and therefore keep
 them several days in the house before they
 bury them, taking comfort in having them.
 To prevent their putrifying with the great
 heat of the country, they make use of cam-
 phire after this manner. They feat the
 dead person on a low chair open below, and
 from time to time they blow into his mouth
 a cane of camphire, which goes down into
 the body, and in a short time works out at
 the other end. Thus they preserve the
 carcases many days without the least cor-
 ruption. In the province of *Canton* there
 are many cinnamon trees; the cinnamon
 is good, so that they do not stand in need
 of that of *Ceylon*. But *China* produces no
 cloves, nor nutmegs, as *Mendoza* writ. In
 the northern parts there is *ebony*; but they
 that would have abundance of it, very
 good and cheap, must go to the *Philip-
 pine islands*, where they will find mountains
 cover'd with it. The *Chinese* highly value
 the sandal of *Solor* and *Timor*, and it costs
 them a great deal of plate. Of the red,
 which is less valued, there is some in the
Philippine islands. There are more than
 enough of all sorts of oaks, and pinetrees.
 The consumption of pine in ships, boats,
 and buildings, is immense, it seems won-
 derful that all the woods are not destroy'd,
 no small quantity is spent in firing, and it
 looks like a miracle that it should hold out
 for all uses.

9. In the north where wood is something
 scarce, God has provided coal-pits, which
 are of great use. There are infinite quan-
 tities of canes as thick as those of *Manila*
 and *Peru* in all parts of *China*, but more
 in the southern provinces. These canes
 are a great help to the *Chinese* and *Indians*.
 The latter build their houses, and make o-
 ther uses of canes. The *Chinese* make ta-
 bles, chairs, beds, presses, boxes, chests,
 and whatsoever they please. When we
 came banish'd to *Canton*, in two days time
 we furnish'd our selves with all necessaries,
 finding all those things I have mention'd
 ready made in the shops. The cane-chairs,
 table,

table, b
 I left th
 The bed
 the table
 of a ry
 chair the
 is a grea
 that plan
 and to m

Flowers.

Jasmin.

Sampagn.
 It is ob-
 serv'd
 hereafter
 that flow-
 ers are a
 great mor-
 tice for us
 in praise
 God.

Cinnamon.

Ebony.

Ref.

Mou Tan.

Hasty-fuc-
 kets.

1. I Hav
 mo
 member
 than tho
 of jasmin
 the natur
 carefully
 affords th
 so deserve
 parts, is
 the jasmin
 a great co
 to several
 ful propo
 and thof
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2. Ther
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Chinese c
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 cocks-comb
 great orn
 laurel, a
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 in Spain,
 province
 of good
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3. In th

table, bed, &c. lasted me four years, and I left them never the worse for wearing. The bed cost a ryal and a half (nine pence) the table a ryal (six pence;) three quarters of a ryal (four pence half penny) every chair the rest bought at the same rates. It is a great pity we have not in these parts that plant for all those uses I have mention'd, and to make scaffolds, arbours in gardens,

poles for orchards, and many other things. NAVA- Some are so big, there must be two men to ~~RETTE~~ carry one. The hearts or pith of them in vinegar, is an excellent thing for sick, or healthy persons to eat. In *Manila* they call it *acbor*. The young ones that sprout up when very small make an excellent boil'd fallad, which is very pleasant, wholesome, and gently laxative.

CHAP. XVI.

Of some Fruits and Flowers of China, and other Parts.

Flowers.

1. I Have seen abundance of flowers, and more sorts of fruits; if I could remember all, this chapter would be longer than those before. They have great store of jasmims in *China*, which they plant in the nature of vines; they look after them carefully, and sell them in nosegays, which affords them good profit. The *sampagu*, so deservedly famous at *Manila*, and other parts, is so in *China*. It certainly excels the jasmim, they have it in pots, and it is a great commodity, being carry'd about to several provinces. There are wonderful properties in the root of this flower, and those very opposite to one another. They say that part which grows to the east is a mortal poison, and that which grows to the west the antidote against it; this I was told in *Manila*, where there is great plenty of it.

Jasmin.

Sampagu.
It is ob-
serv'd
hereafter
that flow-
ers are a
great me-
dior for us
to praise
God.

Rose.

2. There is in *China* a sort of rose-tree, not to be distinguish'd from ours by the eye, which every month in the year puts out new roses, nothing differing from those we call a province rose. That which the *Chinese* call *queen of flowers*, in their language *meu tan*, is certainly the beautifullest in the world, and ought only to be handled by kings and princes. Its smell is very delightful, and it is thick of reddish leaves, which will divert even melancholy itself. That country abounds in sun-flowers, very fragrant lilies, much celebrated by their philosopher, pinks but of little scent, and other flowers usual among us. There are vast quantities of that they call *rocks-comb*, which is very beautiful, and a great ornament to gardens. Rosemary, laurel, olive, almond-trees, and others common in *Europe* are not known there. The honey-suckles of *China*, which grow wild in the northern provinces, may vie with those that are nicely rear'd in gardens in *Spain*, and are taller than they. In the province of *Fo Kien* there is a great deal of good origany, or wild marjoram, and much majericon grows about the fields.

Mou Tan.

Honey-suc-
kles.

3. In the *Philippine islands* I several times

saw a particular sort of rose, tho' at *Rome* *Rose*.

I was told some parts of *Italy* afforded it; to make it altogether wonderful, it wants the smell. They place a nosegay of them on an altar in the morning, till noon it preserves its whiteness, which is not inferior to snow; from ten till two it changes by degrees to a glorious red, and at five turns to a most perfect colour. I and others affirm'd it was an emblem of the mysteries of the rosary, and with good reason because of its three colours.

4. To come to the fruits, I dare avouch ^{Fruits.} there is not a man in *Spain* that has seen and eaten so many sorts as I have done. In *New Spain*, which affords all that our country has, I eat of the plantan, pine-apples, mameis, anona, *chicouapote*, *aguazates*, ^{Plantans.} and others. At *Manila*, *Majaca*, *Catle*, and other places, the plantans are much better. Others call them *planes*, but they are mistaken. There is none of the plane-tree, or its fruit in *Mexico*, or the *Philippine islands*, but in *China* there is; it differs much from those vulgarly call'd plantans. The pine-apples are also incomparably better. Among the great variety there is of plantans, those they call the bishops are best, the next to them are the dominicans. Those the *Indians* call *cambling jaguin*, that is, goats-horn, because of their shape and make, exceed all others in sweetness and scent, but that they are too cold. The great ones they call *tumduque*, roasted, boil'd, or otherwise dress'd, are an excellent dish. Some other sorts there are dangerous to eat much of them, but being dress'd they lose some of their hurtful qualities. The flavour, taste and sweetness of all we have mention'd, does without dispute exceed that of all the fruits in *Europe*.

5. The *ate* which is very common at *Manila*, and throughout all that *Archipelago*, even as far as *India*, is doubtless one of the prime fruits of God's creation in the universe. It is like a little pine-apple, when it grows ripe on the tree, and there distils from it the most excellent kind of rose-

NAVA-rose-water. No fruit that ever I saw has RETTE. such a relish, sweetness, and odour, it is highly valued in all parts.

Dorin.

6. There is none of the *dorin* at *Manila*, it is possible there may be in the neighbouring islands, and on the mountains. It grows in *Macassar*, *Borneo*, and other places; all men value, and many say it excels all other fruit; this I can say, that it is admirably good. Many observe that at the first bite it exhales a little smell of onion, and therefore they do not like it so well as others; I own I perceiv'd it, but it is gone in a moment, and there remains a sweet delicious taste. They look upon it to be of a hot nature. Its shape is like a little mellow streak'd; as they are cutting it upon those streaks, there lies betwixt every two a several mass of a white meat, and within it a pretty large stone. Every one has six of these several parcels, and each of them makes three or four good mouthfuls. At *Macassar* they keep them dry'd in the smoke; we bought them sometimes in that island, and always lik'd them very well, they are fit for a king's table.

Macupas.

7. The *macupas* of *Manila* may vie in colour and taste with our pippins; they are excellent for sick people, because they are watry and cool, and they are extraordinary, either conserv'd or preserv'd. The *milimbines*, or *carambolas*, in my opinion are beyond the *macupas*; there are of them sweet and four, when ripe they smell exactly like quinces; an excellent conserve is made of both sorts of them. The most famous are those of *Terranates*, whence plants were carry'd to *Manila*; there is nothing finer for a sick body that is very thirsty; its colour is very green, and when thorough ripe a quince colour. These are to be found in the southern parts of *China*.

Pabos.

The *pabos* of *Manila* are made great account of in that country, the tree is very lightly, the conserve of *pabo* very dainty; being kept in brine it serves instead of olives, and is very good with rice, which is the bread of those parts. They are much us'd, and with good success to get sick people a stomach; when ripe they are pleasant, tho' extreme sour, they are like the mangos I shall speak of hereafter, and I take them to be a species of it. The *santoles* is the fruit so much admir'd by the *Indians*; they are in the right, but it is eaten boil'd, and otherwise dress'd, never raw. They are also preserv'd dry or wet, or made like marmalade, and is good always. The tree is very large, and the fruit bigger than an apple, its colour purple.

Capotes.

Anonas.

Papagos.

8. The black *capotes* and *anonas* have thrive very well in *Manila*, where there are a great many sorts of oranges in abundance, and so of limons. The *papagos*

is a wholesom and pleasant fruit, they call it the *jesuits* fruit. I ever lik'd it boil'd or raw, they are good cut into a salad before they are ripe, or preserv'd. The tree is all soft and sappy, and casts a root with great ease tho' it be upon a rock. It bears a great deal of fruit, not on the boughs but the body, and in a very short time.

9. That which the *Portugueses* call *xaca* and we *nangas*, is the largest fruit I think there is in the world. Some of them weigh half a hundred weight. *F. Kircher* assigns this fruit to *China*, but he was misinform'd. There is of it in *India*, the islands and *Manila*. They cut it with an ax; within it are many nuts as yellow as gold, and in each of them a kernel. This roast'd is very savory, and the kernel delicious. The *Indians* dress it very well with the milk of the cocoa-nuts. This fruit grows on the body of the tree, and not on the boughs, for they could never bear it. The *xambos* of *Malaca* are in great vogue, they grow at *Manila*, but not so large. They are round, something bigger than a common plum. The stone is loose and stands off from the fruit, its taste and smell is like a fragrant rose.

10. The *Portuguese* highly commend the *Indian mangos*; they grow at *Macassar*, *Cambaja* and *Siam*, where they say the best are to be had. I know not how to describe them. The tree is very large and tall. They when ripe are yellow; the inside of some of them is all eaten, but of others only chew'd and suck'd, the rest remaining in the mouth like a rag. Both sorts are good, but rare in pickle. They are hot, and bite, and therefore they drink water after them; and the boys when they have fill'd their bellies with them, pour a pitcher of water over their heads, which running down about the body, prevents any harm they may take by eating so many. Let us leave other sorts not in such esteem, tho' good, and go over to *China*, where there are some very rare, besides those known in *Europe*. I will only say something briefly of the *lecbias longanes*, and *chiqueyes*, which are the most remarkable.

11. The *lechia*, which the *Chineses* call *licbi*, is in that country accounted the queen of fruits, and they are in the right, for I know none better, unless the *ate* exceeds it. And for the most part those things that are excellent are rare; there is such abundance of *lecbias*, only in two provinces along the coast, that it is wonderful, and yet they are not valued the less. They are small, being a little bigger than a large walnut, the shell green and thin, within it is as white as snow, with a stone as black as jet. The taste, flavour, and delicacy of

of it is them in they say they have drink a eat more to look a tains of *Sabinian* thither, large as plums;

Langanes.

12. *T lung jen*, stones w a dragon doubtless but so m fragrant. of much ten, and empire. and being nourishing

Xi Cu, or Chiqueyes.

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Elephants. 1. I N the very peror keeps said before. It is report that he kee makes use o the king of boxa has mar ger. I shall verlies of t *Siam*, and ing accomp sand priests belongs to V O L. I.

of it is to admiration; they usually put them into cold water before they eat them; they say they are of a hot nature: When they have eaten as many as they can, they drink a little water, and have a stomach to eat more. The tree is large and handsome to look at. I found them out in the mountains of *Batan*, near *Manila*, that year *Don Sabinian Manrique de Lara* came governor thither, but being wild they were not so large as those in *China*. *Mendoza* calls them plums; they deserve a better name.

Longanes.

12. The *longanes*, which the *Chinese* call *lung jen*, that is, *dragons eyes*, because the stones within them are just like the eyes of a dragon, as the *Chinese* paint them, were doubtless better than the *leccia*, if it had but so much meat, being sweeter and more fragrant. But tho' the meat is little, it is of much substance, abundance of it is eaten, and it is sold dry throughout all the empire. It is valued as a good medicine, and being boil'd, makes a pleasant and nourishing broth.

Xi Cu, or Cbiqueyes.

13. The *cbiqueyes* known in *Manila*, because the *Chinese* carry some thither, and call them *xi cu*, tho' the *Portuguese* give them the name of *figoague*, are of several sorts, or imperfect species, but all delicate. Some there are small in the shape of an acorn, but much bigger; they have no kernel, the shell alike in all of them, is like the rind of an onion; the flesh yellow and very soft when they are ripe, so that making a little hole at the top, they suck out all that most sweet and pleasing taste to the palate. There are other large ones bigger than burgamy pears, of the colour of a fine red poppy, so delightful to the eye, that it deserves to be bought for its beauty; before they grow soft they shrink considerably; but when they have lain a day in water they come out as fair as a pippin.

These two sorts are ripe about *September*, *Nava-* there is such plenty that the streets are full of them, so that they are very cheap. There are others very precious and larger, greenish and flat, ripe in *December*, it is charming to see and eat them. These two last kinds have kernels enough, but they are small, they dry them in the sun to keep. Every one is as broad as the palm of a man's hand, they last a great while, and are delicious; and being steep'd one night in wine eat delicately. These breed a powder over them like sugar, which is sold by it self, and being put into water in summer makes a pleasant drink. Abundance of *cbiqueyes* were carry'd to *Manila* in my time, but none of this last sort.

14. There are many kinds of *oranges* in *Oranges.*

China, some better than others, two sorts of them are common in *Portugal*. One species of them the *Chinese* make into dry flat cakes like the *cbiqueyes*, which are excellent good, cordial, nourishing, and well tasted. They are valued at *Manila*, and carry'd to *Mexico* as a great dainty. There are vast quantities of chestnuts, hazelnuts, walnuts, and *azufajjas* (a fruit uncommon, in *Spain* not known to us) they have a vast trade for these dry fruits. The *quabagas* the *Chinese* carry'd from *Manila* have thrived there to satisfaction. I do not question but olive and almond trees would take well, for I know no better land in the universe. Their apricots are not inferior to the best in *Spain*. Peaches, pears, and quinces are as plentiful as may be. There are but few cherries, yet some I have eaten, but the *Chinese* value them not. I never saw any heart-cherries, but there are many other sorts of fruit, of which we have no knowledge in these parts. Let this suffice for fruits and flowers.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the living Creatures China affords.

Elephants. 1. IN the province of *Jun-nan* there are very good elephants bred. The emperor keeps twenty four at *Peking*, as was said before. There are also many at *Tunquin*. It is reported of the king of that country that he keeps four thousand tame ones, he makes use of them in his continual wars with the king of *Cochinchina*. The king of *Camboda* has many, and he of *Siam* more and larger. I shall speak of them among the controversies of the white elephant that died at *Siam*, and of his royal funeral pomp, being accompany'd by above thirty thousand priests of the idols, for this account belongs to that place. A *Portuguese* inhabitant of *Macao*, who was an honest man, and a good Christian, told me he had seen an elephant's tooth that weigh'd above three hundred weight. What a mountain of flesh must that be which carry'd six hundred weight in only two teeth! There are wonderful ones at *Mozambique*. I shall speak more at large in another place.

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2. The tigers in *China* are very numerous, large, fierce and bloody; it is incredible what numbers of people they kill and devour every year. A Christian *Chinese* who had liv'd some years at *Macao* with the jesuits, and with me when I came first to the mission, told me that they were in troops

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NAVA- of a hundred, or two hundred together at RETTE, one certain place on the road from Canton to Hai Nan, that travellers durit not set out unless they were one hundred and fifty strong, and that some years they had destroy'd sixty thousand persons. I neither avouch nor deny this, but only relate what I heard from that man. I made some objections, but he persisted in what he had said. If this continued long, *Cbina* would soon be unpeopled. Some I have seen, one of them in truth was bigger than a great calf. A religious man of my own order who died upon the mission, told me he had seen one leap a wall as high as a man; and catching up a hog that weigh'd about a hundred pounds, and throwing it over his neck, he leap'd the wall again with his prey, and run swiftly away to the wood. In winter they come out to the villages, where there is no safety for man or beast; and therefore in country-houses, or villages that are not inclos'd with walls, and are near the sides of mountains, or in valleys, all men are at home betimes, and every one secures his door. I was some days in a place where they did so, and they would come to the door before it was dark, howling so dreadfully that we were not without fear in the rooms. The *Chineſes* do not take much pains to catch them, some gins they lay for them, and value the skin, of which they make a sort of coats which the captains wear, with the hair outwards; they look handsomely, and keep out the cold.

Leopards. 3. There are leopards, and ownces, but no lions, and many believe there is no such beast. Two braſs lions were part of the present the *Dutch* made the emperor in the year 1665. There being leopards, it is hard to believe there should be no lions, but they own the one and deny the other; and perhaps those they speak of are no leopards. Bears. Bears there are in abundance. In the province of *Xang Tung*, there is one species of them, which the *Chineſes* call men-bears, *biung ſin*. F. Antony de Santa Maria saw them; they walk upon two legs, their face is like a man's, their beard like a goat's. They climb the trees nimbly to eat the fruit; unless provok'd they do no hurt, but when anger'd they come down furiously, fall upon the people, and strike two or three times with their tongue, which is very odd, carrying away with it all the flesh it touches. The aforeſaid father often ſaid it, as did father John Balat a jesuit, and both of them had liv'd years in that province. Sure they are of the nature of the *Lamia*, Jerem. Lament. iv. y. 3. of whom St. Jerome ſays, *They have a human face, but a beastly body*.

Musk-animal. 4. The provinces of *Xen Si* and *Xan Si* breed abundance of those animals the musk comes from; in that country they are call'd

xe. Their books describe it after this manner; the body is like that of a small deer, the hair resembles that of a tiger or ownce; when hard drove by the hunters, it climbs upon the rocks, where it bites off the musk-bag which hangs at its navel, thinking thus to save its life by quitting the treasure to the hunters, but it soon dies. This account of the book agrees with the common opinion. The kingdoms of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, *Comboxa*, *Laos*, and others have vast numbers of these precious beasts; and if the *Europeans* through their covetousness had not enhanced the price of this commodity, it would be of small value, for there is great store of it in those parts, but that of *Cbina* is counted the best. In the year 1669 it went about a begging in the province of *Canton* at fourteen ducats in silver, consisting of twenty ounces, and no body would buy it. This was of the best sort, and they say so excellent, that the merchants make two ounces or more of one, and sell it in *Europe* as choice. F. Mendoza write some things upon this subject, which I find no ground for; 'tis likely he was impos'd upon by him that gave him the information, especially if he was any of the *Chineſes* that live at *Manila*, as plainly appears by other things he mentions in the sequel of his history.

5. There is another creature in the same province very like that we have spoke of, it seems to be an imperfect species of it, for it only differs in that it has no bag, all the rest is exactly the same. This beast is sold to eat. As we came away from court, our men bought one; it is wonderful what a scent the flesh exhal'd when it was roasted, for it diffused itself all over the vessel, and into all the cabins; when eaten, it tasted like the highest preparation of musk, and the smell was such as did not offend the taste, but if stronger there had been no eating of it for the perfume.

6. The *Chineſes* talk and write much *Unicornes* concerning the unicorn, they commend and look upon it as an omen of prosperity. They paint him very beautiful, but after all it seems to be much like the story of the phoenix. They write of him that his body is like a deer, his tail like a cow's, and his feet like a horse's; that he is of five several colours, the belly yellow; has only one horn, with flesh about it, is two fathom high, a merciful beast, and the emblem of all felicity.

7. In *Siam* and *Camboxa* there are *babadas*, vulgarly call'd unicorns; the *Chineſes* are acquainted with their qualities, and therefore value any thing that belongs to them. Those of *Mozambique* are very famous. The little horns of the females before the males cover them are most valued; they

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they make small account of the great horns there. Concerning this beast you may read *Oleaster* in *Num.* xxiii. 3 & *Lapide*.

8. There are two other strange and remarkable creatures in *China*, the one is called *lang*, its fore feet are very long, and the hinder ones short. The other is nam'd *poi*, or *poi*, whose hind feet are long, and the fore feet short; whence it follows that they cannot go singly apart from one another. Their Maker taught them how they should go from place to place to feed and seek their sustenance. Two of them joyn, and one helps the other, so that one sets down the long fore feet, and the other the long hind feet, so they make one body that can walk; thus they get their food and live. The *Chinese* call miserable poor wretches that cannot live by themselves *lang poi*, to signify that they want some assistance to get their living. This is not unlike a lame and a blind man, one finds eyes, and the other feet, and thus they help one another, and walk.

9. In the mountains of the province of *Nan King*, there is a beast call'd *jang*. It is like a goat, has ears and nose, but no mouth, and lives upon the air. I am not ignorant that many authors hold against *Pliny*, that no creature can live only upon air; yet others side with this grave author, and maintain the same of the *cameleon*, as do all the *Chinese* in general of the beast here mention'd, of which none can say what some urge against the *cameleon*, for it has no mouth as that has; so that we must of necessity have recourse to *Pliny's* opinion, or deny this account which I have self read, and is generally receiv'd and allow'd in that country. Read *A Lapide*, *Levit.* xi. 29, 30. where he speaks of the *cameleon*, and other creatures.

10. *China* breeds many good and able horses; vast numbers are continually carry'd thither out of the western parts, but they geld all; their saddles are somewhat different from ours, they have good bridles and stirrups. They have abundance of pads, some very small and finely shap'd. The *Tartars* are excellent horsemen and archers; they let fly an arrow, and running a full speed, take it up again with the end of their bow, and some with their hand. In the southern parts there are camels enough, in the kingdoms of *Golocondar* and *Narzug*

infinite numbers. There they make use of *Nava* camels for carriage, as we do of mules. *RETE. China* abounds in mules, asses, buffalos, oxen, sheep and goats. The swine are so numerous, that their flesh is eaten fresh all the year about throughout the whole empire, and is very good, and as wholesome in summer as in winter; a great deal besides is salted up. One would think it impossible for these creatures to breed so fast.

11. Insects and vermin there are enough in *China*, but not so much as in *Mamla*, *India*, and other places. I will in this place treat only of one which is very singular; in another place I will speak of those of *Mamla* and *India*. This is call'd *jeu ting*, *Jeu Ting*, *pie lung*, or *xeu kung*. It is a sort of lizard to which they have given the name of the *wall dragon*, because it runs up them, and it is call'd the *guard of the palace* on the following account. The emperor us'd to make an ointment of this insect, and some other ingredients, with which they anointed their concubines wrists; the mark of it continues as long as they have not to do with man; but as soon as they do, it utterly vanishes, by which their honesty or falsehood is discover'd. Hence it came this insect was call'd the *guard of the court*, or of the *court ladies*: a strange and singular quality. Here it is fit to remember what I said above out of master *Torre*, that a wise and learned man must not when he hears such things rashly attribute them to superstition, or art magick, but believe there may be some secret virtue answerable to such an effect, whatsoever it be. What I write was told me by a *Chinese* Christian who was a very able scholar, his name *Clement*, and in his own language *Chu Fi Cbi*; he was then expounding to me the *Chinese* words abovemention'd. It were a great happiness if all marry'd men had that ointment, it would make them safe, and they would have nothing to fear; and if the women had such another for their husbands, it would be some comfort to them, though they would be at a considerable charge in furnishing themselves with it. The *Chinese* paint dragons and serpents very frightful to look at, which they do to terrify the multitude. They are very mysterious in these particulars. The commonalty believe any thing, and therefore they quake where there is nothing to fear.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of some Birds and Fowls of CHINA.

1. THE bird the *Chinese* make most account of is our eagle, which they call the *bird of the sun*; and perhaps from what is vulgarly said, that it looks full at the sun. When it appears, they say it denotes good luck. According to their

NAVARRETTE. their learned men, one appear'd at the birth of their philosopher. Their books tell us, the body of it is like a crane, the neck like a snake, the tail like a dragon's; that it rests not upon any tree, nor eats fruit: that there is a male and female (therefore it cannot be the phoenix, as some missionaries imagine) and they sing to a charin; no man living in *China* ever saw it, but they hold it for certain there is such a creature. There are abundance of fine pheasants very cheap, the feathers are worth more than is given for them, the usual price is a penny a pound.

2. There is a very beautiful bird in the province of *Xen Si*: *F. Michael Trigaucius* used to say, that the tail feathers which are extraordinary gaudy, are a fathom in length. Turkeys are not yet brought into *China*, but they have increas'd mightily in *India*, *Pegu*, *Bengala*, *Golocondar*, and other parts. They carry peacocks from *Siam*, for they do not breed in *China*, but abundance of them do in some parts of *India*. They are also found in the island of *Madagascar*.

3. In *China* there are very many cranes; they are a bird that suits with any country, hot or cold. At *Manila* which is extremely hot there are abundance; they easily become tame, and are taught to dance. I never eat their flesh, but have heard it much commended. I look upon that as a mere chimera, which *A Lapid* in *Levit. xi. §. 13. p. 658. col. 2.* mentions out of *Paulus Venetus*, concerning the bird *rue* that takes up an elephant. I was six months in *Madagascar*, *Surat*, and other parts, and never heard any thing like it.

4. There are certain little birds in *China* in great esteem, they are like linnets, they breed them in curious cages, not to sing but to fight with one another; those that have been tried are of great value. The *Chinese* also fight cocks; but that is more us'd in the *Philippine* islands, and several kingdoms and islands of the *East-Indies*, where it is a great recreation, and much money is won and lost at it. The same is practis'd in some parts of *Europe*, as doctor *Laguna* writes, where he treats of this bird.

5. Many of the *Chinese* breed up sea-crows to fish with, and sell them from one province to another. It is the prettiest pastime in the world, I think, to see the manner of fishing with them. I will write what I saw myself, and observ'd at leisure. Ten or twelve little boats, at the first dawning of the sun, appear'd on a spreading and soft flowing part of a mighty river; just as I was sailing that way, I stopt to see the sport. Every boat had four or five crows at the head, they were stretching out their

wings, and picking themselves. Being come to the place they design'd, the boats drew up in a large ring, and they began with their oars to make a regular noise; then one or two of the crows leap'd off from the boat and div'd, catch'd a fish, and every one return'd to his own boat without ever mistaking, being led by the sound of their masters oars. Thus they plung'd into the water, and return'd to the boats, which was a great diversion to all that attentively observ'd them. Those that caught large fishes, brought them in their beaks, and the fishermen took them in their hands; they that took small fishes, swallow'd them, and when they were come out of the water into the boat, the men laid hold of them; and holding down their beak, gave them a gentle stroke on the neck, whereupon they immediately cast up all the fishes they had in their craw. Thus they went on till they fill'd their baskets with fish, which was not long a doing, and then they went away up the river to their homes, carrying the crows on the prow as they had done before. What I admir'd was, that when a crow had plung'd into the water, and came up at a great distance from his own boat, and near another, he immediately went away to his own without regarding the rest.

6. When they come home, they pick out the smallest fish, and give them to eat; thus their masters feed them, and maintain their families with the large and middle fish. There is a great deal of difference between seeing and relating of it. I must say again, it is one of the prettiest diversions in the world.

7. There is no end of the geese and ducks they have in *China*, for though infinite numbers are consum'd, there are never the fewer. The capital of *Canton* alone, according to *Ortelius*, spends fourteen thousand a year, and in my opinion, and that of others, twenty thousand, besides beef, pork, goats-flesh, hens, capons, fish, eggs, and other things. As we came from the imperial city, we sail'd by the side of a lake of so great an extent, that as far as the horizon terminated our sight, there appear'd nothing but water, and a considerable part of it was cover'd with these fowls. The *Chinese* catch them very artificially. They go into the water with their heads thrust into calabashes, and walk so slowly, that it looks as if nothing moved but the calabash upon the water: being come up in this manner to the goose, or duck, which they can see thro' the holes in the calabash before their eyes, they lay hold of it by the feet and pull it under water, where they wring the neck, and put it into a bag they carry for the purpose; then

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go out again as softly as they went in, without disturbing the rest. This way of catching them is more profitable than diverting, they that do not understand it, would think the ducks dive for food, as they do every moment. These fowl are dress'd several ways; they are frequently boil'd, and their broth is look'd upon as very nourishing; they are very good roast'd, and in sauce; but they are incomparably better salted and dry'd, there's no gammon can compare with them; and they are a dainty provision by sea, or for travellers at land. Infinite numbers of them are sold after this manner. Besides these they breed abundance in their houses, which are more valued because they are tame, though it is hard to distinguish betwixt them by the favour and taste. Leaving other common birds, let us proceed to others foreign to China.

Bird of Paradise.

6. There are some so strange, that they require particular mention should be made of them. The first is that which at *Ter-ranefe*, and in other places, the *Europeans* call the bird of paradise; its body is small, something less than a blackbird. It has neither feet nor wings, which seems incredible; but there being so many that have seen them, there is no doubt to be made of it. I have often view'd them carefully, but could never find any sign of feet they had; that they have no wings is more visible to every body. I have been told for certain there are two at *Madrid*, those who have seen them can testify the same. The beak of them is somewhat thick and large, fit to catch gnats, which is their food; their feathers are thick and beautiful, their tail very long, of several colours, and as fine as can be imagin'd. They never light, nor can rest upon the ground, as may easily be conceived, because they have no feet. Their first abode is in the region of the air, for which reason they are called birds of paradise. They light upon trees, and by the help of the wind, and their natural motion, they fly from one to another, making use to this purpose of their tightly tails. If the wind fails then they presently fall, and their bill being heavy, it is the first that lights upon the sand, where it sticks so that they cannot stir, but are taken with ease. The guts being taken out, the people dry and keep them many years, only to admire their beauty. A *Campango* captain of *Manila* presented me with a couple of them at *Macassar*; and I immediately gave them to a great lady, who had done me very considerable courtesies. Some are kept at *Manila*, and serve to deck the altars; that of our Lady and of the *Rosary* has some extraordinary fine; they look very glori-

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ous, and are beyond all nose-gays. I enquired after their nests, and how they hatch'd their eggs: they answer'd me, that the hen laid her eggs upon the cock's back, and there hatch'd them. I made several objections, but they could give me no more satisfaction; it is certainly so; it seems indeed impossible, but it is easy to him that made all things. *Behold, God is great, and we know him not*, Job xxxvi. And if we go about to search into the manner, how the limbs, fingers, eyes, nose, ears, &c. of a creature are form'd in its mother's womb, and how it is nourish'd and grows daily, with many other particulars that happen there, we shall be quite at a loss, and more astonish'd than we are at the bird of paradise.

7. At *Macassar* there are a great many of a sort of bird they call *cacatua*, they are all white, some bigger than hens, their beak like a parrot; they are easily made tame, and talk. When they stand upon their guard, they are very lightly, for they spread a tuft of feathers that is on their heads, and look most lovely. The *Portugueses* carry them to *China*, and those people give good rates for them.

Cacatua.

8. In the islands there are innumerable parrots, and paroquites; but those of *Ter-ranefe* carry the day from the rest. I saw one at *Manila* that cost two hundred pieces of eight, and would certainly have been worth two thousand at *Madrid*. It sang so distinctly that it deceiv'd me twice, and others oftner.

Parrot.

9. Along the sea-coasts of many of the islands, there is a very singular bird call'd *tabon*, the place where it lays its eggs is *Tabon*. call'd *Tabonan*. What I and many more admire is, that it being no bigger in body than an ordinary chicken, tho' long legg'd, yet it lays an egg larger than a goose's, so that the egg is bigger than the bird it self; and no man living would judge that the egg could be contain'd within it. In order to lay its eggs, it digs in the sand above a yard in depth; after laying, it fills up the hole and makes it even with the rest; there the eggs hatch with the heat of the sun and sand. When the chickens are hatch'd by natural instinct, they break thro' the sand upwards, and so get out of that dungeon their dam put them into; then they walk directly to the sea to seek for weeds to feed on. This creature might well say, *My father and mother have left me, but the Lord hath taken me to him*. That natural instinct God gave them is their life and food. Another thing in it is wonderful, which is that they are not stifled when they come out of the shell with the heat and weight of the sand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the strength to break thro'

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NAVARETTE. thro' so great a weight. They are prodigies of the Almighty's working.

10. The *Indians* to find out these eggs go about sticking sharp canes into the ground; when they find the sand light, they stop, and throw it up something above the length of a man's arm, and there they find them. They are sweet and of a pleasant relish, one of them is enough to satisfy a good stomach; the staler the egg the better it is. One morning having lain upon the shore, and near to the place whither these birds resorted, we repair'd thither carefully, and making a noise, a great company of them came out of their holes, in which we found many eggs, some hot, some cold, some white, some of the colour of the sand, which are the stale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of those that were fresh and warm, but in truth the stale ones were better. There were among them some with chickens, and I observ'd that the *Indians* lick'd their chops when they eat them; they courted me to eat, and prais'd them, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went against my stomach to think any body should eat them. Once they press'd me so much, that at last, not without much dread and aversion, I resolv'd to taste one; I did so and made an end of it, very much dissatisfied that I had not eaten a great many of them. I must own, that since I was born I never eat any thing more delicate, more pleasant and palatable, and I am convinced there is nothing in the world to compare to it. After this I seiz'd all that were found with chickens. I saw no locusts whilst I was in *China*, but they have them at times; I know not whether those people eat them, as the *In-*

dians of *Manila* do; so did the *Jews* and other nations, says *A Lapide*, in *Levit. xi. 22*.

11. In the island of *Calimaines*, belonging to *Manila*, and in others of that *Archipelago*, there is a sort of swallows not much unlike ours, they swim upon the sea, and build their nests in the rocks along the shore. These nests are mightily valued in *Manila* among the natives, and much more in *China*, where they give great rates for them. Those birds make them of the foam of the sea; when dry they look like a piece of ash-colour'd clay, but being boil'd with flesh they are excellent meat, and very nourishing, as they all say. Marry'd men, and those that have weak stomachs use it; it is no good food for those that are dedicated to God's service; but it is wonderful so delicious a morsel, as they who eat it think can never be sufficiently commended, should be made of such matter. *America* produces great variety of sightly birds. These they call *cardinals*, because they are all red, and are charming to the eye. Those of the *conception*, so call'd because they are clad like the nuns of that order, are also extraordinary beautiful. But the gayest and finest bird I have seen, is the king of the *Copilotes*, which I saw several times in the port of *Acapulco*, and never had enough of looking at him, still more and more admiring his beauty, stateliness, and grace. There are also most delicate nightingals in *China*, they are bigger than ours, sing to admiration, and are kept in curious cages. They breed many black-birds, prize their note, and indeed with good reason.

CHAP. XIX.

Of some Pools, Rivers, and Lakes in China.

1. THERE is no doubt but all we have and shall write, is a great motive to excite us to praise our Lord, and discover his infinite power and wisdom: for the more man knows of the creatures, the more occasion he has to bless and magnify his Creator. It is not in vain that *Ecclusiasticus*, cap. xlii. requires us to remember the works of the Lord, *Be mindful of the works of the Lord*. Remember then what God has created, it is a plain case, the end is to bless and praise his divine Majesty. We have sufficient matter for it, in that which God has so bountifully bestow'd on the heathen *Chinese*, and perhaps he has given them so much that they may have the less excuse for their ignorance of his Godhead. But now to talk of the

subject of this chapter, I must inform the reader that the *Chinese*, especially those of the learned sect, are great lovers of fish-ponds for their recreation, which is a good and commendable diversion. The fish they keep in these ponds are small, but the very perfection of beauty; they call them *kin ju*, gilt-fishes, because they are gold-colour'd, tho' there is some difference among them; some have two tails, others three, some have black fins, others red, and others gold-colour'd. The colour of some of them is like a rich brocade, of others like a fine damask. One of them put into a glass, as I have sometimes seen, is a most extraordinary beautiful sight.

2. There are abundance of great ponds in *China*, to breed fish to sell. I have already

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ready taken notice that there are nine hundred ninety and nine within the walls of the metropolis of *Nan King*, and the same number in the city *Kan Cheu*. We could not find out the mystery, why they must not be one thousand, but the *Chineſes* have ridiculous notions concerning even and odd numbers. The fish in them is large and good, but not to compare with that of the sea, or rivers. The whole kingdom being cut across by rivers, and full of lakes and ponds, there is vast plenty of fish, a great deal is sold alive, being kept in tubs or troughs full of water. What they don't sell, the owners put again into the ponds, to draw it out as they have occasion. The spawn carried about in little jars from one province to another to sell.

3. In the metropolis of *Xan Tung* there is a great idol temple, and in it a fishpond that has a thousand springs bubbling up; these form a river, which at a small distance carries many vessels.

4. In the province of *Xen Si* there is a lake of salt-water, whence all the northern provinces are supply'd with salt.

5. We pass'd by three very large lakes in our way from the imperial city; we have already spoke of the first, that has an infinite number of ducks and geese. The second has nothing remarkable. The third is in the province of *Kiang Si*, in the midst of it is a vast rock, upright, and very high, and on the top of it a temple of *bonzes*. A narrow, steep, and uncouth path leads up to it. That habitation to all appearance must be very painful. It is call'd the place of the penitent *bonzes*. At the bottom is a little pair of stairs reaching to the lake, where one of the *bonzes* stands to beg of the boats that pass by. This is all they have to live upon, but no vessel passes without giving something, tho' it be but a little rice. A league farther is another less rock, with another temple on it, and *bonzes*, who live after the same manner. Short of *Canton* there are certain rocks of a vast height, and shagged, rising out of the same river we sail'd on. In the midst of them is a large breach or cleft, and within it a stately temple. Stairs cut out of the rock come down to the water; about two fathom above the surface appears a large handsome balcony, well painted, that overlooks all the river and the boats that pass by, of which they beg. We went not up to the temple, but they told us it was well worth seeing and admiring, as well as its situation. *F. Kircher* mentions a lake in this province of *Canton*, but I saw it not, nor can I tell where it is, perhaps it may be on the west side, whither neither I nor any of us went.

6. At *Cbao Hien*, a town in *Fo Kien*, *NAVA-* there is one thing very remarkable, of *RETTE*. which it will not be amiss to speak in this place, tho' it be neither fishpond nor lake, but a mountain all hollow within. There is in that country a printed book, which is only an account and description of that mountain; I will here relate what is most material concerning it. Our *Chineſe* father, and *F. Coplet* of the society went into it. The mountain is half a league in length, all a hard rock, and quite hollow within. There is a door at one end to go in, and another at the other to go out. Close by the first lives a man, whose business it is to guide those that desire to see what there is within. If they go in in summer, they clothe themselves very warm, because it is rather cold than fresh within. In winter the heat is so great, that a few clothes will make a man sweat. At the entrance is a narrow lane, and at the end of it a large room built by nature; in the midst of it is a large pillar, which reaches not up to the arch, and so like a great burning wax candle, that all men take it to be one, therefore they call that room *cho tang*, that is, the room of the candle. The two fathers said, the very drops that fall from a candle were so natural upon it, that they could hardly persuade themselves but that they were true. The flame and snuff of it were so exactly to the life, that they had much ado to believe all they saw was not real. A few paces further is another room call'd *pu sa tang*, that is, the hall of the idols, because all the idols they have in *China* are there carv'd by nature, and so like and excellently done that none can chuse but admire them. Then follows another room by the name of the room of heaven, *tien tang*; in the roof of it are the sun, moon, and stars, so beautiful and bright, that our father told me he stood long in doubt thinking what it might be, for he was satisfied the sun could not pierce into that place, nor the stars shine with him. At last he ask'd, whence that light came, and yet to this day he cannot conceive the manner of it, or what it was he saw. He says, the water that dropt from the walls and run about the ground was as cold as ice, tho' it was in the month of *July* that he went in. He protests that every word they spoke there resounded like the echo of a canon; and when one of them call'd out aloud, they thought heaven and earth had been coming together. There is another greater mountain near to this, of which old men tell wonderful stories. The town, to save the expence they were at with *mandarines*, and other great men that went to see it, wall'd up the gates strongly.

NAVARETTE. 7. All *China* abounds in rivers, brooks, running lakes, and springs. The most famous river is that they call the *son of the sea*; they say it has no bottom: it is very large, and runs above five hundred leagues from east to west before it falls into the sea. They travel almost all over the southern provinces by water, which is a great convenience; sometimes a few robbers appear, but it is seldom. Not many years since they robb'd the fathers *Fabri* and *Augeri*, both jesuits, of things of considerable value, and wounded the first of them dangerously. The noise this made was great, the booty was worth four thousand ducats, and it was given out for thirty thousand, and that it was a present to the emperor. Advice was sent to court, no small search made; afterwards they took the ringleader of the robbers, and that very day twelve month they cut off his head. A few years after, as those very fathers and others of the same society affirm, the *Chinese* rais'd a temple in honour of that robber, so that he is now become an idol, perhaps because he was a great master of his trade; to make that out in *China*, which *Last Firm. de instab.* 5. cap. 2. says of others, *Therefore they adore their enemies, and appease murderers with sacrifice.* The roads are never without wells or springs of excellent water for travellers, and generally by the well is a fine earthen dish to drink out of, and no body dares carry it away; if that were among us, all the earthen ware in *China* would not be enough for one fountain. Besides, along the roads, about a league distance, and sometimes not above half a league, there are excellent resting-places, with good seats, and well covered with tiles. Here travellers meet, rest them, chat, and are shelter'd from the sun in summer, and from the rain and cold in winter. There are also at every step on the roads very decent, cleanly and convenient places where passengers ease themselves; and even to make water there are places no less decent. The ascents and descents of steep mountains are so handsomely cut out in steps, that nothing can be finer. There is scarce a stream, or a little brook without a handsome stone bridge; and if there happens to be none of stone, they build it of excellent timber. It cannot be denied but that the *Chinese* are curious, and provident in what relates

Isidry.

Roads.

to the publick good. They make these things their peculiar care, and in truth they prosper in their hands, for the people being numerous, there are enough to mind every thing. I have seen a road mended in so short a time that I stood amaz'd; such a work would not be finish'd in *Spain* in a year, nor perhaps in many.

8. I made a step from the rivers and fountains to the high-ways, the distance between them sometimes is not great. But to return to the springs: I must take notice there is one at *Macassar*, that has given me and others enough to talk and think of. This spring is on the sea-shore; when the sea flows it dries up, and as soon as it ebbs it abounds with excellent water, which all that sail by that place take in for their store. I was ask'd my opinion concerning this spring, and had some answers which did not well satisfy my own curiosity. What I thought might be likely was, that the source of that water did not lie deep towards the sea, which when it flow'd, the weight of the water which loads and oppresses the sand stopp'd the passage of the sweet water, and therefore at flood the spring was dry, but upon the ebb the sand grows loose, and much of the weight that lay upon it goes off, which makes way for the sweet water to glide thro' and flow into the hollow of the spring. If this be not satisfactory, let others give a better reason for it.

Spring
that ebbs
and flows.

9. Travelling in the island of *Mindoro*, I met with another strange little spring, which was on the shore too, but so close to the sea, that the flood came over and beyond it. When the tide ebb'd, the *Indians* made a little hole with their hands and took up fresh water, when the salt was quite about it. That port is very dry, and it would go hard with those that travel that way, had not God furnish'd them with this little spring.

10. I will conclude this chapter with *China*, acquainting the reader, that it is not destitute of hot baths. There are some in several parts, and the natives make use of them as they have occasion. There are baths in most cities and towns to wash themselves when they are in health: they say they are very curious, and that such as will are washed and cleansed at a small expence.

Baths.

Woollen-
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Fireworks.

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CHAP. XX.

Of other notable Things that are in this Empire.

Woolen-
manufac-
tures.

Salt
earth.

Soap.


Salt-petre.

Fireworks.

1. **T**HE subject I treat of is so full of variety, it is no wonder if I forget many things, some I am sure I must. As I was about to begin this chapter, I remember'd I had said nothing of the *Chinese* woolen-manufactures, and it is requisite to give some account of them. The *Chinese* having so much silk and cotton, have no great occasion for wool. However they weave very pretty stuffs, not so close as the *Spanish* serges, but thinner; they make them white, and somewhat faded colour'd, which is reckoned a grave sort of garment, lin'd with silk, with some other trimming. They make abundance of felts of several colours. It is a notable thing to see how they make a whole suit of one piece, breeches, caps, and other things. So they make carpets a fathom and a half, and two fathom long. They neither use nor weave any other sorts of cloth. When the *Dutch* some years since presented the emperor with scarlet, and other fine cloths made in *Europe*, he ask'd, how, and what they were made of. Being told the manner of it, he said, his subjects could make it, and therefore there was no need to bring it from so far. And I doubt not but if the *Chinese* give their mind to it, they will compass it. They have delicate wool, and work it so fine, that it looks like pure silk. Now let us proceed to something else.

2. In the metropolis of *Xen Si* there is abundance of salt earth; which being boiled, they extract from it very white salt, and the poor people dress their meat with it without boiling. Near that city is a town, about which the land produces three things: one is the soap they use there, called *kien*, they know nothing of ours. After it has rain'd, if the sun shines, there rise out of the earth certain bladders of thick froth, which are gather'd to wash and whiten linen. The second is salt-petre; and salt the third. Out of twenty pounds of earth put into a jar, and wrought after their manner, they get twelve pounds of salt, and three of salt-petre. There is a wonderful consumption of it in *China*, especially for gun-powder. The quantity of it spent there is so great, that some misfanners are of opinion it is more than all *Europe* together expends. The greatest consumption is the first and last months of the year, particularly in squibs and fireworks, which for show and ingenuity much exceed ours. The *Europeans* do not mistake the *Chinese* way of rejoicing. The

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beginning of the year 1668, some masks *NAVA-* *RETTE.* 
pals'd by our door, and we all thought the curiousness and gaiety of their clothes a noble sight, well deserving our praise, and even admiration. At the time of their full moon, and three days before, and three after, is the festival of the lanterns, which seems to me and others the finest in *China*; and I am almost in the mind to say, there is not a more pleasant, a more lightly, and more universal solemnity in the whole world. If such a thing were done at *Madrid*, I don't doubt but people would flock from all parts of the kingdom to partake of the divertisement. Their lanterns are nothing like ours in *Europe*, they are very large, and of a thousand several shapes and curious figures. Some are made of the glass they have there, with delicate fine workmanship about them. There are some of two, three, and four hundred ducats apiece. Many are made of thin silk, painted with variety of colours and figures of men, women, birds, flowers, and other things; besides men a horseback continually riding round within them. In others there are cocks fighting, with all their motions very natural; in others fishermen and gardeners; and in others soldiers giving battle; all so lively that it is surprizing. Many are made of paper of several colours, and curiously cut; some in the shape of roses and other flowers; some of fishes continually gaping and beating in their fins and tails; some with many puppets: in short, there is a wonderful multiplicity and variety. In the year 1663, I went abroad at eight at night to see this sight, and before I came to the great street, I stood astonish'd, or as we call it, quite besides myself with admiration: when I got into the great street, my senses and faculties fail'd me. The street was a league in length, which I walked always under lanterns, and scarce one of them but had something singular. I said to the *catechist* who went along with me, *Clement*, we have gone by above twelve thousand lanterns. He laugh'd heartily, and answer'd, father, they are above thirty thousand. With what we afterwards saw, they certainly exceeded eighty thousand. In the temples of their idols there were still greater curiosities. The *Chinese* themselves, tho' us'd to that sight, were surpriz'd, and many stood gaping like utter strangers.

3. Those in the metropolis of *Hang Cheu* are the most famous of all *China*. In the year

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year 1665, when I was in that city, I lay in the prison, and therefore could not see them, but those the prisoners set up before the temple that is in the goal, rais'd mine and my companion's admiration, both for the multitude, as also for the curiosity and orderly placing of them. That night I went out to see the lanterns, I curiously made some observations. The first was of an infinite multitude of people, but not one woman, for it would be look'd upon as a grievous sin if one were seen. The second, that tho' there was a great deal of jostling and hunching one another as they pass'd in the croud, yet I saw no offence taken, or ill language given, they made sport and laugh'd at all. The third, that there being a great many shops full of variety of fruit and cold banquets, no man presum'd to snatch away so much as a chestnut; so that the sellers were as easy as if it had been noon day. The modesty with which those infidels are bred, and the niceness of their carriage at all times is very remarkable.

Civility.

Festivity.

4. They have also their festivals at other seasons of the year; sometimes they keep holiday in honour of one star, sometimes of another; one day to one idol, and another to another. There are several brotherhoods in societies to this effect. Every quarter of a town has its peculiar patron. One general solemnity is kept throughout the whole empire on the fifth day of the fifth moon. This day they go out upon the rivers in boats finely deck'd and adorn'd, to solemnize the festival of a certain great magistrate, who was very zealous for the publick good. They report of him, that an emperor refusing to take his advice, he cast himself into a lake and was drown'd. Against this festival they provide a sort of cakes, and other meat, which they throw into the water in honour of that magistrate. Others say they do it, that he may have something to eat. I have before made mention how one year above five hundred vessels went out from *Nan King*, upon the river they call *the son of the sea*; but a sudden gulf of wind rising, they all sunk to the bottom, not one escaping. In regard of this magistrate we may say, we have in *China* another *Lycurgus*, of whom *Tertullian* in his *apology* says, that he kill'd himself, because the Lacedemonians had mended his laws. And we may still more properly compare him to *Absalom*, who hang'd himself because *Absalom* slighted his counsel and follow'd that of *Hushai*, 2 Sam. xvii.

5. *F. John Balat* the jesuit told us, he one year in the imperial city saw the publick procession of the players, and affirmed, it was one of the finest sights in the world. On the 11th of April 1663, there pass'd before our door a general procession

of many idols, so rich, sightly, orderly, and well contrived, as we had never seen the like. We all concluded it would have been very surprizing in any part of *Europe*. The figures were all alive, and consisted of about twenty four boys, every one borne on men's shoulders upon carriages richly adorn'd, and they most gorgeously clad, accompany'd by abundance of flags, streamers, and musical instruments. Every boy represented a several idol, and acting the parts of so many several statues; their garb and colours were also different. One was in the middle of a perfect rose, all of lively colours; another upon a serpent; some sitting, others standing upon both, and others upon one foot. Some carry'd spears, others bows in their hands; and one of them had a vial, out of which issu'd a wonderful flower. It is impossible to conceive the finery and gaiety of their clothes, feathers and garlands.

6. The private diversions of *China* are for the most part plays, eating and drinking. Cards are also common among them, the *Moors* carry'd them thither. There are great gamesters among them; when they have lost what they have, they make vows to their idols to play no more. Some in a passion cut off the tips of their fingers, to disable themselves, and be incapable of shuffling the cards. There are abundance of dancers, active tumblers, puppet-players, and musicians.

7. One thing we observ'd which is remarkable, and never fails every year, tho' it is more general in the southern than the northern provinces, which is a strange influence of some constellation, never known in our parts; for all garments grow damp and mouldy, and all stains that ever were in them, tho' never so old, appear again, tho' they have been several times wash'd, whether they are silk, cotton, or leather. This lasts for some days, and if they are not carefully air'd, hung in the sun, and often clean'd, they are utterly spoil'd. It is pleasant to see what care all men take during those days of their apparel, beds, caps, boots, and other things. Much has been written concerning the customs of this nation, something shall be said in the following books. Methinks those words of the *Proverbs*, xxx. v. 12. may be well apply'd to it, *There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not wash'd from their filthiness*. Yet there are *Europeans* who think there wants but little towards the canonizing of all *China*.

8. The common people are very superstitious, which is most certain; and none of them can indure to undertake any thing, without drawing their lots first to find out how it will succeed. *F. de Angelis* was very

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right in this particular. They are vain observers of the heaven, of the earth, the notes of birds, the barking of dogs; of dreams, and many other things. There is no temple without two like large castanets, with some characters on them, which they esteem very mysterious. After many genuflections made before the idol, they cast that instrument on the ground several times, till the characters they wish for turn up; then they look upon the calendars which are fixed on the walls, and by them make out their guests at the success they are like to have.

Law-suits.

9. That nation is wonderful sharp at contriving of law-suits, and exquisite at concealing the mortal hatred they bear any man for several years; and when an opportunity offers, they vent it to their hearts

content. It often happens in law-suits that the defendant hangs himself, only to ruin the plaintiff; for when he is hang'd, all his kindred repair to the judge, complaining that he had hang'd himself to avoid the trouble and vexation the plaintiff put him to, having no other remedy left him. Then all join against the plaintiff, and the judge among them; and they never give over till they ruin him and all his family. I must add that the Chinese sell their sons and daughters when they please; they use it frequently. The Slavonians had the same custom, and kill'd them too if they would. Read *A Lapide* in Gen. iv. §. 1. the Persians kept them as slaves.

Parents absolute power.

The End of the First Book.

BOOK II.

Of the Nature of the Chinese Government, of their Sects, and of the most remarkable Passages in their History.

CHAP. I.

Of the several Degrees of People into which this Monarchy is divided.

NAVA-
RETTE.

I Do not at all make any doubt but that the nature, method, and disposition of the Chinese government is admirable, and may be a pattern or model to many in the world. In regard all is so excellently order'd, that the whole empire looks like one well govern'd family; the Chinese call it a noble house, or family, *Kuei Kia*. Nevertheless they are defective in one very material point, as to the several states or degrees into which they divide their people, which is, in making no mention of the soldiery, as all monarchies that ever were in the world have done, and we shall mention in another place. It is a plain case, says S. Thomas in xi. ad Heb. lect. 7. that the soldiery is very necessary, and an essential part of the kingdom. These are his words, *Among all outward acts of moral virtues the acts of fortitude and justice seem to be the chief, because they principally relate to the public good. For by fortitude the commonwealth is defended from the enemy, but by justice it is preserv'd.* The Chinese cannot say they do not stand in need of defending themselves, for they never wanted enemies, and they have always maintain'd mighty armies, as appears by those that guard the wall. Yet for all this in their accounts of their government they make no mention of the martial men. Not only experience, but S. Thomas also, *Opusc. 20. lect. 2. cap. 1.* teaches us that the northern people, as the more sanguine, are fittest for war. God himself after creating all things taught us this policy, *Gen. ii. 9. 1.* the words are, *Thus the heavens and the earth were finish'd, and all the host of them.* Read Oleaster upon these words.

Ranks of
people.

2. They divide all their people into four states or degrees, which are these, *Zu, Nung, Kung, Zang*, that is, scholars, husbandmen, handicrafts, and merchants.

SECT. I.

Of the Scholars.

1. The scholars of China are the noblest and most respected people in that empire, they are the knights of the belt, or rather the *Pharisees*, their sciences reach no further than morals, history, rhetoric, and something of astrology, which they study for pastime, not *ex professo*, for only those that aspire to be among the court-mathematicians make a study of it. Their philosophy is full of errors and extravagancies.

2. They have the three degrees in use among us of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor. Our most learned *Passerinus, Tom. III. de statibus, q. 187. a. 1. 1. n. 1137.* speaks of the first original of these degrees, which is very ancient, there the reader may see it. He that arrives to be a bachelor, is no longer subject to the civil magistrate, but to the university, as it is us'd among us in such places. But tho' he has taken his degree, yet is he examin'd every three years, besides the ordinary yearly examinations; and if they do not improve every year, they punish them severely. Some they whip, others they turn down to a lower school, and others they degrade, and make incapable of being graduates for ever; which makes them pore on their books all their life-time. The same laws are in force among us, but they are not put in execution. See *Silb. v. Doctor. § 5.* where, after laying down the qualifications of a doctor, he concludes thus, *if afterwards he grows useless he must be degraded by the doctors, &c.* Our *Passerinus* says the same, *num. 1143.* But it must be understood he says, when he becomes useless through his own fault, not if it happen through sickness or any other accident. This method of examining scholars continually, is of excellent use to keep them

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Scholars
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VOL. I

them out of idleness, and to prevent the vast increase of them. The emperor *Justinian*, to obviate these inconveniences, took away the royal revenues from several cities that had schools. *Francis* the first of *France* was much blam'd for having founded many universities, because they vastly increas'd the number of students, and so there was a want of soldiers, husband-men, and handicrafts. *Narbona* handles this point very well.

3. The lord *Quieto de Llano*, being president of the university of *Valladolid*, was much concern'd that his majesty did not save the expence he was at in that university to supply the publick wants; for if the college of *S. Gregory* were incorporated into the university, there would be good schools of philosophy and divinity at a very small expence. The same method might be us'd in other universities. The method had been practis'd in *China* before now, were they under the same circumstances.

4. One that valued himself upon his politics, and good humour, us'd another argument, saying, that the number of scholars was very prejudicial to the soldiery, because since they increas'd so much, we see many more doctors and licentiates for their number, made knights of the military orders, than there are of captains, majors, and other military officers. To conclude, he added, either let the number of scholars be restrain'd, or else let them give soldiers doctors caps, for they will as well become martial men, as the military honours do civilians and canonists. He discours'd excellently upon this subject, and spoke very surprizingly and much to the purpose. There are notable wits in the world.

5. *Philip* the third of happy memory was about taking away some colleges in *Portugal* from the fathers of the society; the warrant was sign'd; one of them that had been present at the time it was agreed, discover'd the secret to those concern'd, who had recourse to the queen, she to the king, and thus the execution was stop'd. *F. Antony de Gouvea* a *Portuguese*, and superior of their missionaries in *China*, told me this, nam'd the party that discover'd it, and acquainted me with other circumstances relating to the affair. Let us return to *China*. The bachelors of the first rank who hold their degree twenty years, are privileged, and free from further examinations, so are those that rise to be licentiates, and of course the doctors.

6. During the reign of the family *Sung*, which is six hundred years ago, was the time when learning flourish'd most, the schools were increas'd, twenty bachelors were allotted to every town, forty to each

VOL. I.

city, and fifty to every metropolis. These *NAVA* they call *Lin Seng*, that is bachelors that have allowance from the king. After that they added sixty to a town, and a hundred and twenty to a city. They are stil'd *Ceng Seng*, that is additional bachelors. Afterwards they gave leave for all that would to take their degrees. These are distinguish'd by the name of *Fu Hio*, which signifies bachelors clapt to the school, so that there are three degrees of them. They either advance or put them back upon their examinations, according as they perform. Those who are privileg'd are call'd *Kung Seng*, and there are three sorts of them, one known by the name of *Pa Kung Seng*, which implies that they were such able rhetoricians, and their compositions so good and elegant, that they thereby merited their degree, without being oblig'd to wait the time that others do, which is a mighty honour in that nation. Others are styl'd *Cie Fuen Kung*, and are those we spoke of who hold the degree of bachelors twenty years. The last go by the appellation of *Ngen Kung Seng*, denoting they are bachelors privileg'd by the emperor's favour. The sons of carmen, butchers, hangmen and players, are incapable of taking any degree, and so are all baltards.

7. One good thing there is among others in the schools of *China*, which is that there are very few play-days, there are not eight throughout the whole year, and no vacations at all. They are continually at it, and consequently there are men admirably vers'd in their laws, history, and morals, upon which they compose most ingenious and polite discourses, prov'd and adorn'd with all imaginable elegancy and learning. It were well the scholars of *Europe* were like theirs, for they are the gravest, the modestest and the most orderly people in *China*. So that when they see a man in the street with his eyes fix'd on the ground, and very modest, all men know he is a student. The same gravity and stayedness is seen even in school-boys. I often saw and observ'd this with no little surprize. The *Tartar* has not shewn much favour to learned men, but has humbled them in some measure. We *Europeans* lik'd it very well, because they are vastly numerous, and proud, yet no hindrance to the army, for there are people enough for both uses, and to spare.

8. The books daily printed in *China* are numberless. The conveniency for it is very great; paper is so extraordinary cheap that I have bought above five hundred and fifty sheets for two ryals and a half, (fifteen pence.) There are a thousand several sorts of paper, some coarse, some indifferent, and some extraordinary fine, yellow, red,

Book.
Paper.

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and

NAVA- and of several gay colours, whereof they make most curious figures for their houses and temples. All the paper the emperor uses is yellow, no man besides him must use it. All the orders, bills and books that come abroad in the emperor's name are upon that paper. They have had printing among them, according to *Trigaucius* and others, above one thousand six hundred years. They do it with boards, those of pear-tree are best. They cut the letters on them, and when the book is printed the author keeps the tables, and then for a very small expence repeats as many impressions as he pleases. Having no alphabet, they cannot print as we do, but are forced to cut the letters of what is to be printed every time.

Printing.

Poesy.

History.

Maps.

Scholars' proud.

9. Poetry is of great antiquity in that nation; I think what *Laſſan. firm. de div. opific. l. VII. cap. 22.* writes of other countries, may well be apply'd to *Cbina*, viz. That in them poesy is of more antiquity than their historians, orators, and other writers. That which *A Lapide* writes in, xi *Genes. §. 7.* that the elements of the first tongue, &c. remain'd in all nations, cannot be verifi'd in the *Cbinese* language, because it is destitute of elements. Their history in like manner is most antient, and exact. There are imperial annals of the empire, and several abridgments of them, for the attaining an easy knowledge of all things without much trouble. They may serve as patterns to all other people in this faculty. Every metropolis has its peculiar history, and so every province, city and town. Every author very particularly sets down all the product of his country, what famous temples there are in it, their antiquity and founders, the tombs of note, the renowned men, the rivers, mountains, vallies, and every thing else worth remembring. Every town and city has curious maps of its territory and extent, by these the governors and judges of towns, villages, open countries and highways, easily know the bounds of their jurisdiction. All this relates to the learned men, who have one quality they do not deserve to be envy'd for, which is a hellish pride, fix'd in their very marrow and bones; and this is the reason they look upon those of the other nations of the world as scarce men. The *Greeks* accounted all other nations barbarous, and the *Cbineses* look upon us and them as such. This is the effect worldly learning produces. So are the words of *St. Paul* understood, *But learning puffs up. Lira* writes thus upon the first of *Ecclesiastes*: *In much wisdom (that is, human) is much anger, for such wisdom puffs up, and pride puff'd up is easily provok'd to anger.* This is verifi'd in the *Cbineses*, and *GOD* grant it be not in others who are under better circumstances.

L. terati.

10. I must lay it down as out of dispute,

that the body of the learned is a sect the ancientest, and most particularly *Cbinese*, professed by the scholars, as shall be said in another place; and it has the property of other ancient sects, which is to despise all others, and oppose them as false and pernicious. *Laſſan. firm. de divin. prem. lib. VII. cap. 7.* writes against this, and says, *for we do not so overbrow philosophy as the academicks do, &c. but we teach that there was no sect so far out of the way, nor any of the philosophers so vain, but they discern'd somewhat of truth. It is therefore an incredible error in those who when they approve of any sect, damn the rest as false, and vain, and arm themselves to fight, &c.* There is no doctrine but what has something of truth, says *S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 172. art. 6.* *As it is impossible to find any thing that is absolutely destitute of good, so it is impossible to find any doctrine and learning, which does not sometimes intermix truths among falsehoods.* If it were not so, sects and heresies would find no followers; but such is the vanity of the *Cbineses*, that with them nothing is of any value, or has the least shadow of truth or reason, besides their sects and doctrine.

11. I will say something in this place concerning the examinations of scholars, leaving other points to be handled among the controversies. In every metropolis there is one like a first professor, who has charge of all the schools of the province. This man spends most of the year going about to all towns and cities, where he yearly examines all the bachelors; such as advance he rewards, the others he punishes, as we said above. The students that have a mind to it are examin'd, and if they deserve, do take their degree. They are very regular in this particular, as to precedence of first, second, third, &c. which they look upon as a great matter of credit and reputation. Not all the bachelors, but only those who for their learning have got sufficient reputation to aspire to the degree of licentiates, resort to the general examinations, which are every three years in the capital cities of provinces; there usually meet four or five thousand or more. It is easy to imagine how great their colleges must be. That of *Canton* has five thousand little chambers, or cells, with a chair and table in every one. These rooms are so contriv'd, that the viceroy who is in a tower hard by has them all in his view. On the eve they all meet the viceroy, magistrates, examiners, and many mandarines of the province who come to assist the others. At every one of these examinations fifty are advanc'd to the degree of licentiates. As those that are to be examin'd come in, which is the day before examination, they search them even to their shoes and the

Scholar's examination.

Scholar's agents.

College.

seams of their shoes; if they find any thing in them; if they find his back; When the cell, they of them, them talk else. The of the far discover drum the sently loo the fault; offender a gistrates word of generally tience, hu heard the write, ext tions, con &c. accor skill. Ha they close name and care to p not be re appointed a room of mine it. go up to the rest are the one ha Those that where after go up again ther, when they pick elegant am first, second upon the all examin rited to ta names upon in some pu ple. By become g remony; many of clo consecration 21, 26. I tions wort names of mending t were more they deserv honour. about this the whole and to say because no this the vic

seams of their garments, to find out whether they carry any written paper about them; if it be found upon any of them, they whip him severely, degrade him of his bachelor's degree, and turn him out. When they are all, every man in his little cell, they place a centinel upon every two of them, who is to take care that none of them talk to one another, nor to any body else. Those that attend the viceroy take care of the same. If any thing of this nature be discover'd they make a noise on a great drum they have by them; the guards presently look out, and having found where the fault lay, they immediately punish the offender according to the crime. The magistrates who are examiners give them by word of mouth their themes, which are generally upon the moral virtues of patience, humility, &c. When they have all heard them, they immediately begin to write, extol the virtue, prove their assertions, confirm them by histories, similes, &c. according to the best of every man's skill. Having finish'd their composition, they close it up curiously, writing their name and country upon it; but they take care to put a cover over it, that it may not be read. Then it is deliver'd to those appointed for the purpose, and carry'd to a room of mandarines who read and examine it. Such compositions as deserve to go up to the second room, are laid aside, the rest are thrown out; of five thousand, the one half are rejected in this first hall. Those that are chosen, go up to the second, where after being view'd, about half those go up again to the third. Being come hither, where the magistrates examiners are, they pick out fifty of the best and most elegant among them, with precedence, as first, second, third, &c. Then they look upon the names (this is the manner of all examinations) call those that have merited to take their degree, and write their names upon large tables which they hang in some publick place to be seen by all people. By virtue of this very action they become graduates without any further ceremony; even as Eleazer, by only the ceremony of cloathing without any other union, or consecration, became high priest, Num. xx. 21, 26. If they find any more compositions worthy of the degree, they write the names of them they were made by, commending them, and declaring, that if there were more allow'd to take their degrees, they deserv'd it, which they account a great honour. They are three days lock'd up about this business. The emperor is at the whole expence, which is very great; and to say the truth, I do not name it here, because no European will believe it. After this the viceroy, examiners, and other great

mandarines receive those that have taken NAVA- their degree with much honour, entertain RETTE. them at a solemn banquet, and give every one a silver porringer, a blue silk umbrella, and a sedan, which is there carry'd upon men's shoulders. After receiving all congratulations, every man returns home with more honour than he came abroad. When the tables are hung up, there are a great many stand by ready to carry the news. As soon as they have read the names and countries of them, one goes away one way, and another the other, travelling day and night to get the reward of their good tidings. He comes into the town making a great noise, and the kindred of him that has taken the degree reward him bountifully for his journey. All the whole city, or town, makes publick rejoicing for the good fortune of their townfman. When he comes home, every body visits, joys, and offers him something according to their ability. What they give at this time is silver to bear his charges to court. Every licentiate is oblig'd to repair presently to court, where he makes his appearance, and his name is registred in the imperial books, that he may be made use of in the government when there is occasion. They that will rise to be doctors give notice they are examin'd before the emperor: he himself assigns them their themes, and chuses those he likes best. He that is first nam'd among them, obtains the greatest honour imaginable. Some of them are appointed for the imperial college, and of which I gave an account in the first book; others return to their own homes, where they must expect with patience till employments are given them.

12. Extraordinary care is taken that no bribes be given to get a degree. The Cbineses have their contrivances for every thing. In my time the emperor, father to him now reigning, caus'd a licentiate and his examiner to be beheaded, because it was prov'd there had been bribery betwixt them. As we were going to the imperial city, we overtook another licentiate, who was carry'd in irons for the same crime; and if upon enquiry it were prov'd upon him, there's no doubt but he lost his head.

13. Their manner of bribing is not always the same, but that most us'd is, to go out two or three days journey to meet the examiner: if they find their business like to take, they agree for five hundred ducats or more. Then they agree upon the mark to know the candidates composition, by which is commonly a dash or stroke, in one particular place or other; or else the examiner makes known to him the subject, that he may have time to study upon it, and add some particular letter, which when

NAVA- he fees upon exantination, he passes it, **RETTE.** and allows his rhetoric; so he gets the degree by his money, and not by his learning. Now this being not to be transacted only between them two, it is hard but something of the matter will be known; and if he that has thus taken his degree, is not look'd upon as an able scholar, they suppose the bribery, and they accuse him who promis'd to raise him by his merit.

Schools.

14. The schools are very antient in *Cbina*, they were far advanced long before *Plato's* time. Learning and the empire it seems began together. In *Europe* it is of later date. *Spondanus*, tom. 2. an. 535. observes it of *Rome*, and says, there were no Christian schools in that metropolis of the world till that time. As to which particular it is as well worthy observation, as to be admired, that there were not hitherto doctors at *Rome*, to teach divinity publicly in the schools, by which you may the more plainly discern the purity of the apostolical fountain incessantly flowing there, &c. yet afterwards, lest she should seem to have rejected learning, and avoided being examin'd, she also fairly propos'd the doctrines she taught to be discuss'd in the schools, especially upon account of the heretics, against whom the catholic managers were oblig'd to prove all points of Christian faith to be true and solid by all sorts of arguments. The articles of our holy religion were preserv'd in those first ages with holy simplicity, without the multiplicity of disputes that afterwards ensued, and continue to this day. Malice grew strong, and the number of enemies increas'd, so that it was absolutely necessary to oppose them. *Seneca* has an admirable sentence, which may well be applied to our times: In ancient days men were better; since learned men appear'd, good ones fall short, for we are taught how to dispute, not how to live. If it were not so, one would think as the number of learned men increases so considerably, life ought to mend daily. We have already given a brief account of the learned men of *Cbina*. Let us now go over to the next rank of people in that nation.

SECT. II.

Of the Husbandmen, and Husbandry.

Husbandry 1. The *Chinese* say, the emperor's principal care ought to be for the husbandmen, and to allow them as large privileges as may be, because all the empire subsists by their labour and industry. The same, and for the same reason ought to be done in all parts; and if this were practis'd in *Manila* the land would be more plentiful, with no small increase to the king's revenue. Many in those islands will not work, because all they reap goes away in duties; if they do

not sow, they don't reap, and so are free from them. So say the *Indians*, and so have I heard it said. *F. de Angelis* says the *Turks* do the same. We need not admire them; nor is it reasonable we should follow their example, but rather that of the *Chinese*; for they act very orderly in this and several other cases.

2. The husbandmen of *Cbina* are mighty numerous, and as to rank are prefer'd before merchants and mechanicks. They work without ceasing, and if they had the feeding and wine those of *La Mancha* in *Castile* have, no men in the world would outdo them at their business. They are continually about their lands; if they have any time to spare, away they go immediately to the mountains to cut wood, to the garden to look to their herbs, or to cut canes, &c. so that they are never idle. The land in *Cbina* never lies fallow; generally the same ground produces three crops in a year; first, rice; and before it is reap'd, they sow fitches; and when they are in, wheat, beans, or some other grain: thus it continually goes round. They manure it as much as may be, there is no dung but what is put to this use. Human dung is sold, and the countrymen go about the streets, crying, who will exchange this commodity for wood, oil, or herbs? all which they carry with them. To carry it away decently, they have small tubs very close cover'd. They carry them ingeniously on their shoulders; and thus the houses are cleans'd every day, and get something. They often cleans'd the prison I and my two companions were kept in, and the goaler was well paid for it. A great many go about the streets with baskets, and little iron shovels, picking up all the filth there is, whether it be dogs, swines, or any other creature's dung, so that all places are constantly kept clean. Besides this, as I hinted before, there are neat and decent places in cities, towns, and in the country, for all necessities; and so on the roads. The owners of them make use of all they find there, in their gardens and fields.

3. When they take up the rice from the first bed and transplant it, they use an extraordinary art to give it strength, which I would not dare to insert here had I not seen and examin'd it. They that kill swine, which most men do, carefully keep the hair. The husbandmen buy it, and when they plant rice, put a little of it made up like a ball into the ground with the plant. This they say strengthens the rice, and gives virtue to the earth. When the plant is grown up and begins to ear, they scatter unslack'd lime about all the rice-fields. This lime they say kills the worms, burns up the weeds, and at the same time fattens the land.

land. We we saw th it is as th fields are walk'd th herb, and seems inc the nouris there is su it is very

Urine.

4. At the rice a pifs mix'd We *Europe* cause in *C* greens are by pifs, w all plants.

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Rain.

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Publick de- vations.

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Rise.

6. They in *June*, a The southe of rice tha great abund in the north land in all till'd, the maintain s men are ge but a small others: Th lord pays t husbandma

Rent.

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land. We could not but admire every time we saw this practis'd, but experience shews it is as they say. By this means the rice-fields are so clean, that I have sometimes walk'd thro' them looking for some small herb, and could never find any; which seems incredible, so that the rice draws all the nourishment from the ground; and there is such tall lovely rice to be seen, that it is very surprizing.

Urine.

4. At certain times it is usual to sprinkle the rice and herbs, or water it with man's piss mix'd with some of the excrement. We Europeans thought this a riddle, because in China corn, rice, and all sorts of greens are nourish'd, fed, and kept alive by piss, which among us burns and destroys all plants.

Rain.

5. In regard the rice requires to be always swimming in water, in such places where there are not rivers, brooks, or springs, whose waters they contrive a thousand ways to convey into the fields, they have wells and great ponds made by hand to keep the rain, which generally falls in May in the southern provinces. When their ponds are full, the husbandmen are pleas'd, because that water will serve them if it should rain no more. This they use to water their ground with great ease, and have admirable engines for that purpose. I have often seen, and diligently observ'd them, yet I cannot describe how they should be made. They have been carried to Manila, and the Duke have them at Jacatra; I believe there is not a better invention in the world for draining of wells, springs, or ponds. If it does not rain about May, then begin the prayers, processions, and fasts, which are strange and astonishing. The magistrates and judges meet to consider of means how to appease heaven, and like blind guides run into follies. The conjurers act their devilish parts. The idolaters have recourse to their idols, the schoolmen to the mountains and valleys; and all of them are restless, and more diligent in making their application to devils and idols, than we are in praying to GOD upon the like occasions. In all publick necessities they make use of the same remedies.

Publick demonstrations.

Rice.

6. They gather rice twice a year, once in June, and the next time in December. The southern provinces have more plenty of rice than the northern; tho' there is great abundance of corn, yet more of this in the north. There is not a foot of waste land in all China; and if it were not all till'd, the product would not suffice to maintain such multitudes. The husbandmen are generally poor people, and have but a small parcel of land they farm from others: The general rule is that the landlord pays taxes and has half the crop, the husbandman tills the ground and has the

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other half for his pains. There is not a NAVA-horn, bone, or feather, but what they burn to make ashes to manure their ground. Horace and Cicero wrote much in praise of husbandry. See *A Lapide, Genes. xlix. §. 15.*

7. Husbandry is of great antiquity in China; one of their first emperors, by name Xin Nung, was the first that taught it. They sacrifice to him at this time, and he has magnificent temples.

Idolatry.

S E C T. III.

Of the Handy-crafts.

1. A great deal might be said of this rank of people. There are in China handy-craft workmen of all sorts that can be imagined, and such numbers of them that it is prodigious. The curiosities they make and sell in the shops amaze all Europeans. If four large galleons were sent to the city Nan King, to that of Cu Cheu, to Hang Manufac-
Cheu, or any other like them, they might be loaden with a thousand varieties of curiosities and toys, such as all the world would admire, and a great profit be made of them, tho' sold at reasonable rates. All things necessary to furnish a princely house may be had ready made in several parts of any of the aforesaid cities, without any farther trouble than the buying, and all at poor rates in comparison of what is sold among us. The Chinese are very ingenious at imitation, they have imitated to perfection whatsoever they have seen brought out of Europe. In the province of Canton they have counterfeited several things so exactly, that they sell them in the inland for goods brought from Europe. F. de Angelis was much in the wrong in affirming they have rare painters among them, for they are and Painting.
ever were very mean ones. They paint flowers, birds and trees indifferently, but fall short in the shadowing. They very much admire our paintings, tho' they are but ordinary ones. It is true, that some of them who have learn'd at Manila and Macao have prov'd great artists. The filigran the Chinese make at Manila, which they learnt of the Indians, has astonish'd the Europeans. They now begin to imitate it in some measure in Italy. In Canton they make very good spectacles, prospective, burning and looking glasses, so like ours that it is hard to know them asunder. Not long before I came from thence we understood they made them of pebbles ground small, for want of fine sand which they have not. The tools mechanicks use are much like ours, except here or there one. The tailors use no thimble, but only a rag ty'd about the ball of the thumb, and that serves them: they for the most part few standing, only leaning against a table on which their work lies. There are abundance of weavers. In Canton, where there was a free trade with

Imitation.

Painting.

Tailors.

Weavers.

NAVARETTE. the *Portugueses*, there were ninety thousand looms. The women work hard, many of them maintain themselves by their labour; they embroider delicately. A great many shoemakers go about the streets with all their tools about them; they go where they are call'd, mend shoes, and sole them for half a ryal (three pence) and they will last a year or two with those that do not go much. I know not after what manner, or what it is they use to tan so rarely. Smiths walk about after the same manner, and carry their little bellows, which are much more convenient, and as useful as those in *Europe*. They call them, and they will make nails, or any thing else. There are others whose trade is to mend broken earthen ware, which they do by nailing together the pieces with bits of brass; the dish is strong, and the crack scarce perceivable. Many carry about apparel to sell; others flesh, fish, herbs, so that no body needs go abroad for provision. There is meat ready dress'd to be had at any time of the day, and at all rates, in every city, or town, or even in the villages that lie in any frequented road: besides, there are many considerable eating-houses, where if any man will have a dinner for half a ducat, for one, two, three, or more, in an hour's time they will send it home in good order, cleanly, and on the finest earthen ware. The inns of *Italy*, or other parts, do no way outdo them.

Shoemaker.

Smiths.

Eating-houses.

Porcelaine.

2. I will here briefly treat of the earthenware of *China*, concerning which many groundless stories are reported in these our parts. It is neither made of egg-shells, nor of sea-snails, as *Mendoza* writes: nor is it buried under ground an hundred, nor yet twenty years. All the earthen ware that is us'd in *China*, and all that has been brought hither, is made in a town of the province of *Kiang Si*, call'd *Chao Hien*: Only the earth of that place is proper for it. They cleanse it very well, paint it of several fine colours; and after being bak'd, it comes out transparent, and no dish, plate, or basin has any knot. Of late years some in the province of *Fo Kien* attempted to counterfeit it, but what they made was not to compare with the other; and the emperor, at the request of those of *Chao Hien*, commanded the others to desist. That of *Japan* is good, but still inferior to the other; besides it has one great fault, which is, that boiling water cracks and breaks it, and it does not that of *China*. The gilding and varnishing of *Japan* is beyond that of *China*, though their gilders and varnishers are very skilful, and daily improve, particularly in painting of trees, birds, and flowers on the several works they make. The *Chinese* make abundance of fine paper-flowers, but those made of silk are better. At *Nan*

King they make them of wax to such perfection, that we were amaz'd at them, as I observ'd in another place.

3. The *Chinese* are great lovers of perfumes, spend much money in them; and therefore there are a great many who live by making sweets to burn. They use them in the temples of their idols, and about their dead. There are several sorts of them, some better than others. Of the ordinary ones which are wonderful cheap, they make things in the shape of a fardingale, mark'd out at distances as far as can burn in an hour, and so they make them for eight or twelve hours, or more or less. They hang them up in the temples, every man according to his devotion; others use them in their houses to watch, or rise by in the night; for looking upon the scores that remain, they know how many are burnt, and by that how many hours they have slept, and how long it is to day.

4. We may reckon the multitude of physicians they have among their handicrafts, and if they please we will allow them to pass among the men of learning. I forgot to give them a place there, and it is but reasonable they should have a good one, and we should all allow it them, for we all stand in need of their worships. Honour the physician for the need you have of him. There are good ones in *China*, and some very expert at discovering the indisposition by the pulse. Yet the greatest part are mere farriers, for tho' the *Chinese* are so fond of their life and health, especially the great ones, yet they have taken no care, nor made regulation for this faculty, tho' so necessary; so that tho' there are examinations, and degrees to be taken by scholars and soldiers (for these are made bachelors, licentiates, and doctors, and are severely examin'd, tho' their degrees are much inferior to those of the learned men) yet there is nothing at all for physick. Any man that will take upon him to be a physician, does it without controul. The physicians themselves are apothecaries, and therefore when they visit their patients, they carry a servant loaded with their medicines. When he has felt the pulse at leisure, he leaves what he thinks proper and goes away with the money. They never bleed, cup, give glisters or purges. They know nothing there of potions, their greatest cure is a regular diet, which is very agreeable to *Galen*: the greatest medicine is abstinence. *S. Thomas*, opusc. 60. art. 10. quoting *Galen's* words, says, the body of a man is oftener found to fall into mortal diseases through excess, than through want: So that it requires to be dieted. The first thing they do is to forbid fish, flesh, and eggs; they allow rice broth, rice boil'd thin, some herbs salted, and upon the recovery goose-

Perfumes.

Physicians.

Fortune-tellers.

Musicians.

China root.

goose-egg and roast serve in all other the *Mogu* is us'd in that it is pence) a they call

5. The antiquity emperors serv'd to treat of his success little or no have elsew asserter of there one translating provement study, nor this being physick,icians withon on chance perience, never see, water. In use cupping of them I made of br which they they lay th wick, mad appointed; sel upon it, stopping the air goes out of itself gen are many g sinels very instruments number goe so of music posely blind with gittar playing on and pretenc During the the fields p having the in that coin sign fortun observe the looks toward stances that cation with under the e and riches and this the

6. It rem root, passing that country

goose-eggs salted; as also salt-fish dry'd and roasted. This same method they observe in *Japan*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and all other kingdoms even as far as *India* and the *Moguls* country. Very little rhubarb is us'd in *China*, tho' there is so much of it that it is not sold for above half a rial (three pence) a pound. They use more of that they call *so lin*, and we *Cbina* root.

5. The practice of physick is of great antiquity in *China*. One of the first five emperors intro-duced it. His books are preserv'd to this day, with some others that treat of the nature of herbs. True it is, his successors have advanc'd this faculty but little or nothing. *F. Copley*, of whom we have elsewhere made mention, is a violent asserter of the *Chinese* physicians, here and there one is of his opinion; he is about translating some of their books for the improvement of *Europe*. The *Chinese* neither study, nor know any thing of philosophy; this being so very necessary an assistant to physick, how can there be any able physicians without it? In truth, there all depends on chance; they hit right perhaps by experience, not by their learning. They never see, nor ask for, nor understand the water. In some slight indispositions they use cupping; their manner and application of them I like better than ours. They are made of brass, have a little hole at the top, which they stop with a little wax; when they lay them on, they put a small lighted wick, made to stand upright, on the place appointed; then they clap the cupping-vessel upon it, it draws well; and then unstopping the little whole with a needle, the air goes out at it, and the cupping-vessel of itself gently comes off the flesh. There are many good surgeons, who do their business very well without all that variety of instruments us'd among us. An infinite number goes about telling fortunes, and so of musicians. Some blind women, purposely blinded by their parents, go about with gittars to get their bread. Others playing on instruments, calculate nativities, and pretend to understand physiognomy. During the rice-harvest many go about the fields playing to the reapers; and they having the rice and corn at hand, pay them in that coin. They are not a few who assign fortunate places for sepulchres; they observe the position of the place, that it looks towards the south, and other circumstances that may make it have a communication with the dragon they feign to be under the earth. Hence comes all honour and riches to their children and posterity, and this they call *sung xui*.

6. It remains here to speak of the *Cbina* root, passing by many other sorts of drugs that country produces. There are two sorts

of it, one perfect, which is fine and white, *NAVA-* and sold in *China* for four times the price of *RETTE*. the other. I guess none of this comes to us, it grows in the northern provinces. The other is a very imperfect sort, they call it *the root of the earth*; it grows in the provinces of *Fo Kien*, *Canton*, and others in the south, it is of a ruddy colour, there is abundance of it about the fields, it costs only the taking up and carrying home. Both sorts grow under ground, and have nothing above but some little sprigs with very small leaves, by which it is found out. This last sort is it they bring into *Europe*. In *India* it is very dear. I have seen that sold at *Malaca* for eighteen pieces of eight, which in *China* did not cost two. The *Portugueses* at *Macao* of late years fell into the way of preserving this root. The *Dutch* and *English* bring some of this preserve into *Europe*, it is very delicious. In the year 1674, discoursing on this subject with doctor *Requena*, he told me an *Englishman* had given him a little of it.

7. It will be proper to say something of the most famous root call'd *jin sen*. It is *Jin Sen*. valued above all things in *China*; it grows not there, but in the neighbouring countries on the north-side. The *Chinese* call it a *medicine that raises the dead*. The name is well due to it, for its admirable effects. It is much like small radishes without leaves; they sell it at an extravagant rate, generally for its weight in gold; and when scarce, double. Its particular quality is to comfort the stomach, and strengthen the whole body, so that it seems to inspire new spirits and life. When a man is quite spent with weakness, let him take a decoction of this root to the quantity of the weight of a silver rial (a six-pence) and he presently recovers more strength than if he had eaten a pullet. It is a wonderful thing how much virtue there is in so small a thing. The great men exceed in the use of it, in order to indulge themselves more freely in sensuality. Much more might be said in this place, but thus much will answer my design.

S E C T. IV. Of the Merchants.

1. The number of traders and merchants *Merchants* in *China* is excessive. Whatsoever town or city a man comes into, there seem to be more sellers than buyers. They are all very obliging and civil; if they can get any thing, tho' never so little, they don't slip the opportunity. They are the very antipodes of the *Japanese*, for these are rough, disobliging, and positive; when they once say a thing is worth twenty ducats, they will not abate a cross, tho' you argue it with them a twelve-month.

2. From

Fortune-
tellers.

Musicians.

China
root.

NAVA-
RETTE.Trade
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eigners.

2. From all antiquity the *Cbineses* have been forbid trading with foreign nations; but the people being covetous, have of late years by their money purchas'd leave to go to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Jacatra*, *Siam*, and other places within the Itrait of *Scicapura*. This has given many *Cbineses* the opportunity of settling in those countries. In my time it was most rigorously observ'd that none should go to sea, not so much as the *Por-*

tugueses of *Macao*, nor no ship of other nations should be admitted. This was observ'd during the time we were in custody, and they twice turn'd away the *Dutch* without suffering them to buy or sell. The *Cbineses* say they want nothing that foreign countries afford, and they are in the right. This is a good piece of policy. The same might be done in other kingdoms, but they do it not, because they will not.

CHAP. II.

Of the Coin of China.

Money.

1. IT will not be amiss in this place to treat of the *Cbinese* coin, and others I have seen. The current coin of *China* is plain silver without any stamp, but it goes by weight. It pass'd so in *Abraham's* time, *Oleaster* in *Gen. xxiii.* For which reason all buyers or sellers carry about them a little curious *Roman* beam, we call it the *Stilyard*; with which they weigh what they receive and pay. They reckon by crowns, every one worth ten rials plate, like the *Italian* crowns. They divide a rial into ten parts, as the *Romans* do into ten *bayoques*; that tenth part they subdivide into an hundred, but most commonly into twenty, the others are so small they do not weigh them. There is some silver very fine, in which they pay their taxes to the emperor, and no other is allow'd of for this use; there is another fine sort, another that is current, some coarse, and some coarser still, which is the cause of many cheats, to which most of the commonalty are much addicted. The leisure the *Cbineses* take to weigh half a farthing in silver, is intolerable to the *Europeans*. They make pigs of silver of what weight they think fit, to send up the taxes to court; usually they weigh fifty crowns, and they are curious in this particular, as in all other things. There are abundance of foundries in every city and town, who are all or most of them very expert at stealing the silver, and making up the weight with other metals. They have great shears of several sorts to cut the silver with, which all men are provided with, especially the merchants and traders; and because when it grows dusky it is hard to know silver, and bits of it are apt to drop down when it is cut, therefore as soon as the sun sets all the shops are shut up.

2. There is another brass coin round, and as big as a *Spanish quarto* (something broader than a farthing) in the middle of it is a square hole, which serves to hang it on a string by; it is more generally us'd in the imperial city than in any other place. The emperor's name is engrav'd upon it, but the value of it is not certain; in some places it

rises, and falls in others, but in all parts where I have been, the brass sold by weight is worth more than when coin'd. It was sometimes propos'd at *Manila* to make use of it for small expences. I have seen this project in print, its being good is cause enough why it should not be practis'd. It would be advantageous on several accounts, and it were no small benefit, that by this means his majesty would be furnish'd at easy rates with metal to cast guns.

3. I am persuaded the *Cbinese* coin is the ancientest in the world. The first we *Europeans* have any knowledge of, is that which they say *Terab*, *Abraham's* father, coin'd at the request of king *Ninus*, and the first pieces of it were those thirty for which *Judas* sold *CHRIST*, so says *Albericus de Rosate* in *lib. de contr. empt.* and quotes *Capola*, *Felicianus de Solis*, and others. The coin of *China* was invented and made by one of the first five emperors, who according to their annals without doubt liv'd before *Tyrab*. *Spondanus* writes they began to coin money in *France* about the year 549 after *CHRIST*; it was a gold coin with the effigies of their kings, not of the emperors, as others were. *Aristotle* in the fourth of his morals distinguishes the several species of coin. *S. Thomas* quotes him, *lib. II. de regin. princip. cap. 13.* and says, *Moneta* implies, *Monens mentem ne fraus committatur*; & *numisma*, quia nominibus principum, effigieque designatur. Whence it follows that the brass-money of *China* is *numisma*, and the silver which is weigh'd must be *Moneta*.

4. At *Macassar* they use a royal coin, for it is gold, they call it *bulay* and *copones*, it is us'd as low as the value of half a rial (three pence) and has their kings arms on it. True it is, for small expences, as buying of herbs, cocos, fish, &c. they have another little brass coin, which they call *abejarrucos*. In *Camboja* the current coin is of silver curiously cast. The stamp on it is a cock, and therefore the *Europeans* call it by the name of *gallos*, or cocks. At *Siam* they use very fine silver, known by the name of *ticals*, in the midst of it is a small

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Vol. I.

Sigueyes.
Money of
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small stamp with the arms. For small change they use some fine little shells, they call *sigueyes*, brought to them from the coast of India and Manila, of which there are vast quantities in the island *Luban*. I heard in *China*, they were given to the king, I am satisfied his majesty will be little or nothing the better. This sort of money passes at *Suratte*, whither the *sigueyes* are carry'd from the *Maldive* islands. The same is us'd throughout all *Guinea*, according to *Monardes*, fol. 134. In *Japan*, *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* they use silver-money.

Fanones.

5. At *Malaca* I saw five several sorts of coin, pieces of eight; *rixdollars* a finer silver than the pieces eight; crowns of a lower alloy; *caxa*, which is only one third silver, is like the *tarjas* of *Navarre*, current in all places where the *Dutch* are. The fifth is copper: at *Columbo* they have the same five sorts of coin, and the *roupies* besides, the silver whereof is perfectly fine. At *Cbamandel* they use *fanones*, which are of gold, seventeen of them make a piece of eight, and one *fanon* makes one hundred and ten little pieces of copper-money; there are also *pagodes* of gold, one of them is worth two pieces of eight. At *Goa* there are *seraphims* of coarse silver; *S. Thomas's* of gold, each of them is a crown of ours. They are call'd *S. Thomas's*, because they bear the effigies of that holy apostle. There are also *tangas* and *abejarrucos*.

Pagodes.

Seraphims

St. Tho-
mas's.

6. *Spondanus* in his second volume writes, that *Spain* is so exhausted, that for want of gold and silver it makes use of copper-money. What I can say to it is, that where-soever I have been, which is a considerable part of the world, I have seen our pieces of eight in great esteem, and I know they are so in *Turky*, *Babylon* and *Persia*. The *Chinese* value them at a great rate, for whereas they reckon but ten degrees or carraets of fineness in silver or gold, which answers to our twenty four; they allow the pieces of eight to be nine carraets and a half fine. Yet for all this we see brass-money in *Castile*, which amazes all the nations in the world.

The *French* missionaries in *China* said, they *NAVA-* did not doubt but that there were more pieces of eight in *France* than in *Spain*; and affirm'd, there went out of the port of *Marseilles* above six millions of theirs in pieces of eight to *Turkey*, and other parts where they trade. How then can the *Turk* want strength to make war upon us? What misfortune has the *French* of the *West-Indies*? Even as much as *Genoa* and *Venice*. A pamphlet that came from *Portugal* into *China*, rail'd much at the falling of the money in *Castile*; adding, that strangers brought in brass-money, and carried away the silver. This has been a grievance these many years, and it is very odd that no remedy should be apply'd to so grievous a disease. *S. Thomas*, speaking of the falling of money, says in the same place we quoted above; *He must be very moderate* (that is, the person at the helm) *in altering or diminishing the weight or metal, because it turns to the peoples loss*. Here he cites pope *Innocent* reproving the king of *Aragon* upon this account.

7. *F. Faber*, a *French* jesuit, discoursing with me concerning the plate that is every year carry'd out from *Marseilles*, told me, what disputes and controversies there had been in *France* about justifying that action, and bringing them off with a safe conscience who had a hand in it. He said the laws of the kingdom were very severe against it, and the ill consequences of it considerable; however he own'd his society maintain'd the action, and satisfied all persons in that point, because the laws made against it were not so binding in conscience. Those of the society in *Manila* say the same thing in regard to the factors in that city. In these cases I look upon it to be safer to have regard to the publick good, than to the benefit of private persons: besides that the intention of the legislators is sufficiently express'd without allowing any the least interpretation. The coin of *China* has drawn on this discourse, it may be allow'd of as a diversion, and change of subject.

CHAP. III.

Treating of the Chinese Government.

Govern-
ment.

1. Something has been said, tho' briefly, of the four ranks of people, into which the *Chinese* divide all their multitude. These again they place under five states or orders, viz. the emperor and subjects; parents and children; husbands and wives; elder and younger brothers, and friends. The whole *Chinese* government tends to make these five states or orders live regularly, and in decent manner; and to say the truth, if this can be perform'd,

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there is no more requir'd towards keeping a kingdom in peace and unity, which is the end we ought most to aim at in this life. The *Chinese* design is, that every person keep within the bounds of their vocation and calling, without exceeding the limits prescrib'd them. All their doctrine and books tend to prescribe rules and methods to practise what they aspire to. This is the ultimate end of all the labours and writings of the great *Chinese* doctor *Kung*

Q

Fu

NAVARETTE. *Fu Cu.* Tokings and emperors they prescribe the love of their subjects, compassion, mercy, and fatherly affection; for this reason they call him father, and common father of the empire. To the subjects, fidelity, loyalty, and obedience to their emperors, kings, magistrates, and governors: tho' they see the sword hanging over them, they are not to be deterred from speaking the truth, or performing their duty. To parents meekness, and upon occasion to use severity towards their children; to instruct, and chastise their failings, to do with them as *S. Paul* directs in his sixth chapter to the *Ephesians*. To children, that they be obedient to parents; disobedience to them is the greatest sin the *Chineses* know, as shall be said in another place. Parents usually accuse their children before the *mandarines* for disobedience, when they have not the heart to punish them, because they are grown up. The punishment inflicted on this account is very severe. In those places where there are no *mandarines*, they have recourse to the elders, who have authority to punish this crime. Generally the punishment is inflicted in the presence of the parents, and lasts till they say they are satisfied, and plead for their child. The practice in this case is comical, for any one takes upon him to be plaintiff, and complains that such a one is not obedient to his parents, and sometimes it falls out that the parents themselves maintain the contrary, and are at charges to clear their sons.

Wives. 2. They prescribe many rules for husbands and wives, some of them shall be mention'd in their proper place. The wives in *China* are half slaves, their subjection extraordinary; they do not know that God made woman of man's rib, and took her not from his feet. They are recluse in the highest degree, their modesty and reservedness is not to be parallel'd in all the world; they out-do all others upon earth in continual labour and industry. They write very much concerning the respect and courtesy due from the younger brother to the elder, and the love of the elder towards the younger. Little is said of sisters, because they make small account of them. Only the males inherit, the females are cut off; and so if they do not marry, when their father dies, they are left to the mercy of the brothers, or other relations. The missionaries discoursing one day about persuading maids to preserve their virginity, and become devotees, as is practis'd among us (the fathers of the society have made many, we had but few) I propos'd something of what has been said, and concluded with these words: Let your reverences secure them a dish of rice, or as we say a morsel of bread to keep them alive, and let it be so;

but if this can never be secur'd, to what purpose should we engage ourselves in affairs of very dangerous consequence? What must a young maid well born do alone in a room or house, under a vow of chastity, without any thing to maintain her, but her labour; under a confinement never to go abroad, or being able to beg, tho' she be in want? And if she fall sick, who must look after her? That vineyard is not yet at a growth to spread along the walls.

3. They give very pretty documents to friends, as shall be shewn in its place. They include *mandarines* and masters in the first rank or order, and therefore they call the viceroys fathers of the provinces, the governors of the cities, and the judges of the towns. The reverence and respect they pay their masters is scarce to be imagin'd, it lasts not only whilst they are scholars, but all their life-time; so that the ceremonies they use towards them are continual, and this they do tho' the scholar arrive to great preferment, and the master still continue a private person. I every day approv'd more and more of this respect, they far out-do the *Europeans*. The *Chineses* call the distinction and good order of these five states mention'd, *ta tao*, which is, great learning and wisdom. They also assign five virtues, prudence, justice, mercy, fortitude, and fidelity. For the attaining and practising of them, they set down nine general principles to those that are in authority, which are to compose and regulate themselves, to respect virtuous persons, to love their family, to reverence their superiors and great counsellors, to be in unity with ministers of state, and be of the same body with them; that is the meaning of the word *ji*, to cherish, love, and support the subjects, to treat strangers who come from far counties

with kindness, (this they perform but ill at this time) to give great honour to the petty kings, and suffer handicrafts to come from other nations. They comment largely upon this, and bring their reasons from convenience for it. They have reason enough not to admit of strangers, as having no need of them for any worldly affairs. *Narbona* advises princes not to prefer strangers to places of trust, or to their councils, because they are ignorant of the constitution, and void of affection, and because the subjects always resent it. He is much in the right, yet he is not minded. The *Chineses* shew'd it sufficiently in the case of *F. Adamus* the jesuit; for as much as he did rise, and the emperor favour'd him, so much their envy and hatred to him increas'd, and they never gave over till they ruin'd him, and all us with him for his sake. This is the fate of those that build upon sand. The *Chineses* found fault with him, for that he was very great

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great with the *Tartar*, and had not given any better tokens of his fidelity and affection to the *Chinese* emperor, who had honour'd and rais'd him to that height. The fathers are now returning thither with the mathematicks, God grant it may be on a better ground and success than *F. Adamus*

had. *F. Gouvea* us'd to say, *F. Matthew NAVA-Riccus* brought us into *China* by the mathematicks, and *F. Adamus* turns us out by his. More shall be said in another place touching this point, so that at present we will begin a new chapter upon the subject of this.

CHAP. IV.

Upon the same Subject as the last.

Execution
of laws.

1. **T**HE *Chinese* have taken an excellent course, for the executing of affairs which of themselves are regularly difficult, as *S. Thomas* terms it. For example, the emperor commands search to be made for a malefactor. Who is there but will say it is a difficult matter to find out such a one in so large a kingdom, and so spacious a region? yet for all that it is easy, as shall be made to appear in this place. The high court in the imperial city, to whom the business is committed, sends away orders by the post (which is very regular and well order'd) to all the capital cities. The *mandarin* who receives these orders communicates them to all the other *mandarines* there, and sends away an express to all the cities of the province; the cities do the same to the towns within their precinct. The *mandarine* of the town acquaints the headboroughs, every one of whom has charge of an hundred houses, and these make it known to their inferiors, which are like tithing men. Thus all the houses in the empire are search'd without any confusion or noise, tho' they stand upon mountains, in vallies or woods, so that most exact means are us'd to find out any man that is sought after. After the search the inferiors give an account to their superior officers of what they have done, these to the *mandarines* of the town, from them it is sent to the city, thence to the metropolis, and so to the court of justice in the imperial city; so that within two months time an account of all that has been done in the business throughout the whole empire, is return'd to court. The *Chinese* in their government follow the advice that *Jethro* gave *Moses*, Exod. xviii. read *Oleaster* and *A Lapid*, y. 25. and it will appear to be so.

2. This was the manner of proceeding against all us missionaries, to bring us together, so that it was morally impossible for any to lie concealed without great danger to the heads of streets and quarters. It was with the knowledge of the *mandarines* that four of my order were hid, or else they would not mind it, or thought the business would not have been carry'd on with so much rigor. When they saw the affair threaten'd danger, to secure them-

selves and their reputation, they omitted to use some means of discovery; and in truth things were in a very bad posture, but it pleas'd God to save up all, that some small comfort might be left a few Christians. One *F. Macret* of the society was newly come into *China*, and consequently not known; one that had known the tongue might easily have been left in his place to attend the faithful; it was not done, but they sent him away to *Macao*. Very many did not believe the persecution would have run so high.

3. Those heads we have spoke of are mighty watchful over the houses they have under their charge; none that comes from another place can live in them, without being examin'd, who he is, and what trade he follows. When they know from whence he came they acquaint the judge, who has a list of the names of all within his precinct. When I was sent away to the imperial city (I was one of those that far'd best) the judge came to my house, and sent for the head of the quarter I liv'd in. He kneeling, was ask'd before my face, How many *European* preachers are there here? he answer'd, Only one. Is there no more? said the judge again. No sir, reply'd the headborough. Then I deliver him into your custody, quoth the judge, take care of him till I send him away to court, whither the emperor calls him. The headborough was an honest man, so he took my word, and left me at full liberty. The judge was a man of honour, and gave good proof of it at this time. He was above seventy years of age, and as active as if he had been but thirty. The officer that carried me to the metropolis assur'd me (and I had heard it from others before) that he eat for his breakfast every morning thirty eggs, and a dog's leg, and drank *sest*. *A Break-*
two quartillos (it is about a pint and a half) of hot wine. The good old man look'd so fat and fair, it did a man good to see him.

4. Infinite number of dogs are eaten in *Meat*. *China*, they count their flesh delicate and nourishing, and have butchers and shambles, where it is sold; but more in the northern provinces than in the southern. It is comical to see what a multitude of dogs pursue

NAVARRETTE. pursue these butchers as they go along the streets; I suppose the smell of dogs flesh they carry about them provokes the other dogs. When they go loaded with half a dozen or more dogs to the shambles the sport is still better; for the noise those so carry'd make, brings out all the dogs in the town to take their parts, and attack their mortal enemies. Asses flesh is valu'd above any other. They also eat horseflesh, buffalo, cats, mice, and other sorts. I myself eat of a horse, dogs, and mice, and in truth I lik'd them very well. The *Chinese* value the sinews of deers feet brought to them dry from *Cambosa*, *Siam* and other places. The elephants trunk they affirm to be a mighty dainty, and a bit for a king; the same they say of a bear's paw.

5. Let us return to the matter in hand. All matters of moment that are transacted in the empire are communicated to the supreme governors and viceroys, who make them known to all the subjects, after the manner as was set down in the beginning of this chapter. Thus there are daily to be seen writings, set up in publick places, containing the business in hand at court, which has been laid before the emperor. Our case was managed after the same manner, and by this means it was known in the meanest village and farm-house that there were preachers of the word of God in *China*. True it is, this information came late, and after they had reprov'd and condemn'd that doctrine. In the year 1663 the *Dutch* went up to court by the way of *Fo Kien*, and immediately news was brought to *Canton* of their arrival, and a particular of the presents they made the emperor, which are valued at sixty thousand ducats. They sent advice from *Canton* of the arrival of an ambassador from *Portugal*, and soon after the whole empire had notice of his coming. But the emperor complain'd of the smallness of the present, which was immediately made known to him, tho' it was worth above thirty thousand ducats.

Ranks.

6. The several degrees, and the rank of superior and inferior courts, and magistrates, is very well settled and establish'd, so that there never is nor can be any trouble, or dispute about precedence, as happens very often among us, especially in the *Indies* and *Philippine islands*, which gives much scandal to new converts, and infidels. It often happens that a very mean soldier, and sometimes one of them that is banish'd from *Mexico*, rising to be governor, contends with a bishop, and holds his own stiffly; and unless the poor bishop gives way, or parts with his right (either through too much humility, or a destructive flattery, as saint *Augustin* said) to prevent the mischief may ensue to his flock, presently all is in an up-

roar, and that which began on a frivolous occasion, ends either in taking away his temporal revenue, or banishing the bishop. The *Chinese* order things better, every man positively knows what place and respect is due to him, and the certain extent of his jurisdiction, so that there is no room for any controversy on this or the like subject.

7. Every three months a book of considerable bulk is publish'd in the imperial city, which contains an account of all the emperor's revenue, and the names and surnames of all the mandarines in the empire at that time, with their rank and precedence, according to their employments. These books are dispers'd abroad every where, and by them they know every one's post, and how they are subordinate to one another. It is the custom of *China*, when any thing is laid to the charge of mandarines, which is not an offence that merits their being totally laid aside, to put them down to a meaner employment; and so it sometimes falls out, that he who but the other day was viceroy of a province, is now reduced to be governor of a single town. The supreme governor of a province, who has charge of the whole, is the chief man in it, and as such all kneel to him, and touch the ground with their heads, only the viceroy is exempted, who makes a shew of bending his knees. He, the emperor's treasurer, and the judge criminal, after paying their ceremonies, may sit down and eat with him. If the supreme governor is impeach'd when he is call'd to give account of the discharge of his office, he kneels down before the judge without boots, or the habit of a mandarin. We saw this done in the province of *Canton* An. 1668, to one who afterwards hang'd himself for mere rage.

8. All the affairs of metropolitan and other cities are under the like subordination, and generally pass through all their courts. The emperor order'd we should be maintain'd, whereupon we presented a petition to the supreme governor, who gave command, that what the emperor had allow'd should be given us; the order went down to the viceroy, who pass'd it; from him it went to the emperor's treasurer, then to the judge, and lastly to the judges of the two corporations which are within the walls. These gave their answer, which went up to the supreme governor in the same manner as it came down. All this mystery was made to pay us five *Maravedies* (about a half penny) in silver, which the emperor allow'd every one of us. They paid it in coarse silver, and not above half the value, for the officers of courts of justice are wicked all the world over; the difference is, that those in *China* are very

Mandarines discharged.

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courteous, give good words, and are satisfied with a small matter. In every government there are six clerks offices which are answerable to the six courts in the imperial city, where each spoke in the first book, each takes cognizance of its own particu-

lar affairs. There all orders that come from NAVA court are kept. Every two months the imperial Treasurers send up an account to the court of exchequer of what has been laid out of the revenue.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the same Matter.

Mandarin's discourse.

1. **T**HE method the mandarines use to be able to justify themselves in the discharge of their duties is very regular. It is a clear case they never go out of their houses, unless it be to pay visits, to invitations from persons of note, and about the execution of their office; they don't use, as we do, to go abroad a walking to take the air, or for pleasure. All their diversions consist in some treats, and plays acted whilst they eat and drink; upon which occasions the custom is thus. When the guests are all come together, the principal actor delivers a book of several plays to the master of the house, who gives it to his chief guest, to chuse the play he likes best. He names it, and it is acted, which shews no small skill in the actors. When the play is ended, he that chose pays for it, and gives some silver to the waiters and cooks. To say the truth, they pay dear for their dinner. Men of great note will lay out fifty ducats, others less, and some only ten, or twelve. The *Chinese* are great lovers of plays, but the mischiefs they cause fall heavy on them. *Scipio Nasica*, mention'd by the author of *Fasciculus temporum*, fol. 31. order'd, that they should not by any means erect a theatre in the city, because, he said, it was a pernicious thing to a warlike people, as breeding sloth, and encouraging lewdness. In our parts we mind nothing.

Plays.

Entertainment.

2. In the year 1668, the petty king of Canton invited us to drink a glass of wine (so they term it.) This was a mighty kindness, in regard we were confin'd by his emperor. We thought it not decent to go all of us, it was agreed four should go, and I was one of the number. We presently consider'd whether he would not have some sort of sport, because it was then newyears-tide. We had a good dinner, and some musick which oblig'd us to spend about six ducats, and truly with much regret, for our stock was then very low. These are unavoidable accidents; we could no way refuse so great an honour, which besides procur'd us no small ease and enlargement in our confinement. Those who will behave themselves like gentlemen, must take the expence upon them, if they would have the honour and credit it brings along

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with it; but this requires a good purse, which we missionaries want.

3. Every day, morning and evening, the mandarines sit in court in their own houses, except those of the imperial city, which are in a place apart; all the courts are after the same manner, as I observ'd before. Yet there is no imperial law to oblige the mandarines to sit every day. No certain times are prefix'd them, nor at what hours they shall go to the bench, or come off; tho' a missionary of a certain religious order asserted the contrary at *Rome*, to bring about not what was most convenient, but that which he desir'd and had a mind to.

Courts of justice.

4. The greater the mandarin, the seldomer he sits. The supreme governors and viceroys sit only twice or thrice every moon, unless some matter of great moment occur. All the missionaries that ever were, or now are in *China*, know what I write as to this particular to be true. What can we say or do if this be otherwise represented to the head of the church? When the chief mandarin comes to sit in court, they fire three great chambers; before that the musick and waits play, and trumpets sound, upon certain little towers near the gate before the court. They also ring a bell every half hour. When the court rises they do the same, save the ringing of the bell. If the supreme mandarin is absent, the next to him has the same ceremony perform'd. Whilst he is in court his officers attend him, standing in two ranks at some distance from him. The executioners wait, some with cleft canes, others with shackles. The martial mandarines, instead of canes use cudgels, round at top and square at bottom, thicker than a man's leg. The executioners stand below where the criminals are, at a good distance from the mandarin; as those were from king *Pharaoh* who saw and spoke to him: for this reason *Moses* excus'd himself from going into *Egypt*, saying, *Exod. iv. I am of a slender voice*, according to the *Septuagint*. *St. Augustin* upon this place, *quest. Read Hu-16. Perhaps the royal state did not allow them to talk near at hand.* The emperors of *China*, and their ministers, have always observ'd this method, either to make themselves the more dreaded, or to appear the greater.

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NAVARETTE. greater. *Abasuerus, Esther iv.* forbade any person coming into his presence upon pain of death: *That being monarch of a great empire, he might be thought something more than man, and look the greater, &c.* The Persians us'd the same custom, says *Rupertus de viit. verb. lib. VIII. cap. 9.* This custom was chiefly establish'd among the Persians. It is certain we cannot say of them as *Pliny the younger* says in his *Panegyrick upon Trajan*; *There is no difficulty in being heard, no delay in being answered; they are presently heard, and presently dismiss'd.* Nor what *Pacatus* said of the great *Theodosius*; *Nor is it more difficult to see our emperor than the day-light, or the sun.*

Sylvier,
t. 6. p. 170.
n. 105.

5. The mandarin being seated, and his officers placed, upon one cry made, the three outward gates are opened; and before the people that have business come in, a crier goes about the inner court with a written tablet, crying (for example) let those come in who have petitions to prefer. When these are dismiss'd, the crier again makes proclamation, saying, let those that are sent up from towns come in. Then I went in with the officer that had charge of me; and being on my knees, it was propos'd I should be sent to the metropolis. I begg'd to be allow'd a vessel, because I was poor. He granted it very courteously. This was the greatest mandarin in the city; I went out again and return'd home. He sat in much state, a great table before him cover'd with silk hanging down to the ground; he had by him pencils to write with, and black and red ink. They sign and seal with red. There lay a great many little sticks in a wooden varnish'd case; these serve to denote the number of lashes they will have given to criminals. Every little stick stands for five lashes; if they design twenty they throw down four of them, and six for thirty. The executioners snatch them up, and lay the wretch on his face upon the stone; drag down his breeches to his heels, where two stand to hold him down, and two more at his head. The executioner facing the mandarin, discharges the cane with all his strength upon the thighs. The standers-by count the strokes aloud, and at every five comes on a fresh executioner till the number is compleat. There is a difference in the strokes, and in the canes; the greater the mandarin, the thicker and heavier they are: to this purpose they put lead into them, so that the stroke is terrible. There lies no appeal in case of whipping, and very few escape it. When they have a mind to it, they kill a man at four or five strokes. The mandarines can put no man to death, without sending up to court about it; but it is common to lash men to death. The executioners can order it much

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as they please, for the great stress lies in striking in one place or another, in turning or bending the cane, wherein they always do the will and pleasure of their mandarin. They hold up some men's testicles, and fix them on a small cane; on them they let fall the stroke, and the second or third the patient infallibly dies. If he who is to be whipp'd has silver, he generally compounds with the executioners, and then they let fall the cane so, that it may make a great noise and do little hurt; and the better to carry on the cheat, the person suffering roars out hideously.

6. As terrible as this punishment is, there are some who hire themselves to receive the lashes for others; so that in some places there are people who keep ten or twelve of these men that hire themselves. Those whose cause is depending, and fear they shall be lash'd, have recourse to the chief of that society, give an account of the danger they are in, and ask for one to go along with them, giving security to pay four or five ryals (two shillings or half a crown) for every lash. The bargain made, he appoints one of his men, who goes with the criminal to the court: the executioners are spoke to, and when the mandarin orders the whipping, or rather bastinadoing, the other takes the place, and receives the strokes for money. This may be easily done without the mandarin's perceiving it; first, because of the many executioners there present; and in the next place, which is the best reason, because the mandarin is at a great distance; and as soon as he has thrown down the sticks, during the execution, talks of other affairs, drinks tea, and smokes tobacco. When he has been lash'd, his chief takes great care of him, has him dress'd, and makes much of him. Those that have been bastinado'd are generally sent to goal; there are those that dress them very well, but they pay for it.

7. The manner of wracking the ankles is yet more cruel, many die of it; two dy'd in Canton, an. 1668. *F. Magalanes*, a Jesuit, underwent it in the imperial city, in such a barbarous manner, that he had no shape of feet left; his offence was, that they found in his possession a quantity of silver belonging to a mandarin, who had been beheaded for some crimes. For this purpose they make use of a large pair of tongs with two dents below, into which they usually put rubbish, and bits of tiles. The ankles being fix'd there, they close above, striking with an iron hammer; and every stroke presses the instrument together, so that after a few strokes the bones are disjointed, and the feet remain as flat as a pancake, as I have seen sometimes whilst I

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was in prison; and truly it was enough to break one's heart.

8. When the trials are over, the *mandarine* goes in and seals his door with his own name, so it remains faster than if it had been secured with twenty padlocks. By the side of it is a wheel (like those of nunneries) and attendants to run of errands without; that way all the *mandarin* has occasion for is deliver'd in, and no body from abroad goes in, nor any within goes out; so the door is only open'd when the *mandarin* himself goes forward or backward. The gates of the courts are shut at sun-set; the greater the *mandarin*, the more strictly this is taken care of. Till the next day there is no looking to have them open'd.

9. When they go abroad, it is with excessive state and grandeur; the attendance is suitable to the quality of the *mandarin*. The supreme governor of *Canton*, without all doubt, goes abroad in more state than any king in *Europe*. Before him go two men with two bras-basons, on which they very leisurely strike nine strokes, which are heard almost a quarter of a league off. The governors of towns have but three strokes one after another, others have five, and others seven. Viceroy and supreme governors have both of them nine. Besides those two we have mention'd, three other couples go a good distance from one another. Then follow in two ranks the badges or ensigns of their post or employment. This is like the custom of the *Romans*, as *S. Thomas* says upon those words of *S. Paul*, in *Rom. xiii.* *For they carry not the sword in vain.* He says, *But he speaks according to the custom of princes, who as it were to be token their power, carry'd the instruments for punishing, that is, the bundles of rods to lash, and the axes or swords to put to death.* Read *Corn. à Lapid* on that place. They carry broad swords, axes, canes bloody with bastinadoing, and many chains dragging, the noise of which alone is irksome. Six men go by two and two, and a distance between them, crying out as loud as they can, but very leisurely, giving notice the lord *mandarin* is coming, and by this means the streets are clear'd. Those who bear the ensigns are richly clad, and carry at distances three fine silk umbrella's, of three folds each, of the colour that belongs to the employment. Then follows the sedan, in which the *mandarin* sits very gravely; it is carry'd by four, six, eight, or twelve, according to his quality. I have already

said the emperor is carried by twenty four, *NAVA-* and those of the petty kings by sixteen. *RETTE.* Whilst the supreme *mandarin* is in town, the rest, if they go abroad, do not carry the basons out of respect to him. In *China* they observe the same method the *Romans* did. *S. Thomas* in *John x. §. 41. left. 6.* says thus upon these words, *He did no miracle. This custom was observed among all the antients, viz. that the inferior power did not make use of the ensigns of its authority before the superior; for which reason the consuls laid down their ensigns when they came into the presence of the dictator.* This the *Chineses* observe in beating the basons, and firing the chambers. In the imperial city it is more strictly observ'd, for even the counsellors of state go without much attendance or grandeur, out of respect to the emperor. Their sedans are round, open at top, slightly, hadsomely adorn'd and set off. The *mandarines* sit in them with the greatest modesty imaginable. If at any time an inferior *mandarin* perceives that another his superior comes along the same street, he immediately alights out of his chair, and gets into a house, or strikes into another street if there be any near. All those that have the emperor's seal, which are many, ever carry it before them, wheresoever they go, though it be eight days journey, or farther. The seal is in a gilt urn, cover'd and carried upon men's shoulders next to the *mandarin's* chair. When they visit, there is a table with a carpet placed by the *mandarin's* chair, on which the seal is set.

10. That which *Herodian*, lib. III. writes of *Lucius Septimus Plautonianus*, may very well be said of the state of the *mandarines* of *China*: his words are these, *Wheresoever he went he was so stern and terrible, that he was not only not sought for by any, but even those that met him accidentally turn'd away from him; for some persons walking before gave notice that none should stand near, or presume to look upon him, but should all turn away and look upon the ground.* The same is done to a tittle by the *Chinese mandarines*. They proceed with great deliberation before they take away any man's employment. There is no doubt it ought not to be taken away for every failing. *Oleaster* observes it, *Numb. xii.* God the supreme legislator did not depose *Moses* or *Aaron* from the dignities he had rais'd them to, tho' they had offended him; and *Aaron* in most grievous manner.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Chinese Ceremonies and Civilities.

NAVA-
RETTE.

1. ONE of the great troubles we missionaries of *China* undergo, is to learn the ceremonies of that country. Some look upon it as a needless, tiresome, and impertinent business, but in truth it is not only convenient but absolutely necessary towards conversing with that courteous and polite people: According to the saying, *when you are at Rome, do as they do at Rome*. Which proverb the *Chinese* nation has, but more at large. The doctrine they call *li ki* speaks thus: "When a man comes into any precinct, he ought to ask what is forbidden there, that he may not offend the lord; when he comes into a house, he must ask for the master of it, to thank him for the courtesy and civility he receives there; the contrary is opposite to good breeding. When he comes into a kingdom, he must enquire into the customs and manners, for otherwise he will offend the people, who will imagine he blames and condemns them, so that all men will shun and avoid him." Now since, to attain the end the missionaries aspire to, it is necessary that instead of avoiding, the infidels should seek for and converse with them, it follows that to imitate their customs, and use all their ceremonies, is very necessary and advantageous. CHRIST our LORD left us a good example in this case, of whom *Thomas* upon *S. Matth.* says, that of his three callings to his disciples one was, *to familiarity*. This being procur'd by following the customs and ceremonies of the country, way is thereby made to discourse of the grand affair of the soul, which is it that carries us to regions so far distant from our native soil.

2. The *Chinese* ceremonies in point of civility are very numerous and diverse; they have several printed books that treat of this matter. I give it for granted that polite carriage and courtesy are virtues, and a part of prudence, on which subject you may read *S. Thomas*, 2. 2. q. 50. and in other places. The *Chinese* books teach what we are to talk about with a husbandman, and how to converse with him, how with a student, a licentiate, a doctor, a little or great *mandarin*, what words are to be us'd in naming them, what must be said and discours'd at the first visit, what at the second, what questions are to be ask'd, how the upper hand is to be given or taken, where the visit is to be receiv'd, and where leave to be taken. They observe so many niceties in this point, that to say the truth, it requires a great deal of patience to be

thoroughly inform'd in it, and much resignation to spend the time that is requisite in studying it. The fathers of the society have a book that handles this matter, and sets down the questions usually ask'd at visits; it came to my hand, and I and others made our advantage of it. One of the usual questions is, how many children have you, sir? I was inform'd that a father meeting with an eunuch ask'd him, How many children have you, sir? at which he was much out of countenance. It is a plain case that all questions don't suit with all sorts of persons. A *mandarin* ask'd one of my order, How many wives have you, sir? now the civil name for a wife and a church being the same, tho' the words going before vary, he understood the *Chinese* inquir'd concerning churches, and he answer'd, three. Yet afterwards he found his mistake, and they came to a better understanding. There are very few but what have made false steps in this particular, nor is it to be admir'd, for it is well known, the *Chinese* language has the most double meanings of any in the

Language.

3. That empire being of so great an extent, there is some tho' but little diversity in their ceremonies. In the northern provinces the right-hand is most honourable; in the southern the left. Among the *Romans* the left-side carried the preference; this same custom lasted some years in the eastern and western church. Hence it came that in the pontifical bulls *S. Paul* is on the right, and *S. Peter* on the left, as the more honourable place. The same was observ'd in the councils of *Nice* and *Calcedon*, as *Spondanus* writes ann. 525. num. 17.

4. *S. Thomas* upon *Galat.* i. le8. 1. speaking of the place *S. Paul* has in the bulls, gives another reason for it, these are his words: *In regard this present life is signify'd by the left, and the next by the right hand, for as much as this latter is spiritual and heavenly, and the other temporal, therefore Peter, who was call'd by CHRIST whilst he was yet in mortal flesh, is plac'd on the left-hand in the pope's bull, but Paul, who was call'd by CHRIST then glorify'd, is plac'd on the right.* Modern authors give other reasons for it. In short, there is no matter, tho' never so minute, but what the *Chinese* have writ upon, and practise punctually. What the missionaries most admire is, that the very same compliments which are us'd at court, are practis'd in the very words, not only in the cities and towns, but even in all the villages, hamlets and country-houses there

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Vol. I.

Civility. there are throughout all the empire, so that it is all a mere court, and its inhabitants all courtiers. The reason of it is, because all men study this point; and therefore it appears, and I have often seen it, that a child of eight years of age performs all points of civility as nicely as a man of fifty, which is very strange. *Children.* Lads at nine or ten years of age observe the same method among themselves, as gravely as if they were well in years. Our *Hugo Cardinalis* asks, why *Isaiab* was so eloquent, and *Amos* on the contrary so blunt? He answers, that *Isaiab* had been a courtier, and man of fashion, as we call it, but *Amos* was a shepherd, bred in the field, and a mere countryman. This distinction is to be found in those countries and in *Europe*, but not in *China*. The mechanics, plough-men, and porters, are all men of fashion, for they are all very full of civility, and express themselves in the same words, as they do in the capital cities.

Gifts. 5. In visiting, too many ceremonies are us'd. In the first place they take red paper, of which there are several sorts, and abundance of every one of them; on it they write the name of him that is to make the visit in very mysterious characters. This paper is sent in to the person intended to be visited, by it he knows the quality of the person, and what respect is due to him, and either receives, or excuses himself for not admitting the visit. The refusing a visit is sometimes look'd upon as civility, and is answer'd by such another paper. The receiv'd custom of all *China*, is to carry a present, at least the first visit, at the new year, and every man's birth-day, there is no avoiding of it. The *Persians* observ'd the same towards their kings, according to *Hamon on Mat. ii. epist. 17.* and others: *it was very usual among the ancients for the subjects to offer gifts to their kings; so Seneca, no man can salute the king of the Parthians without a present.* He goes on talking of the inviolable law the *Persians* had to this effect.

Present. 6. In *China* this custom is very ancient in regard to all the mandarines, the present is writ down on another red paper in very great order, and in choice characters. There must be at least four several things presented, and six, eight, twelve, or more to persons of greater quality. Having seen the paper, he receives the whole or part, and sends an answer suitable to what he takes. Afterwards he pays the visit, and returns a present of equal value. Sometimes they send it in silver, they are very careful that their present be curiously order'd and set out.

7. We, as being strangers, must of necessity present foreign things, and not such as the country affords, which requires some

care and charge. This is in some measure *NAVA* unavoidable, both in regard it has been so *RETTE.* establish'd, and to the business we have there in hand, which must of necessity be carry'd on after this manner, till it be resolv'd to do it as it was us'd in the primitive church, or as *S. Francis Xavierius* did in *Japan*. And if that vineyard were advanced and improv'd by this method, by silk clothes, sedans, and servants, the labour were not ill bestow'd; but our grief is the greater because we find no good comes of it. *F. John Balas* of the society, a very observant religious man, and laborious missionary, lamented the expence of many thousands of ducats his order had been at in *Japan*, *Ethiopia*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*, without any addition to the conversions of those parts. God grant a way may be made for all to go freely to labour in that vineyard; for if the presents are continued, and of such great value, as I have seen them, few orders will be able to maintain missionaries in those parts.

8. In the province of *Chan* there was a Christian, whose name was *John Li Re Ming*, in no greater circumstances than a mere bachelor, who, as he had need of a thousand ducats, yet to lay out only in presents.

9. There is no return for the birth-day *BIRTH-DAYS.* present. There is not a *Chinese* tho' never so poor but keeps his birth-day, with all the greatness he is able. All the children, kindred, neighbours and friends, know every man's birth-day; a mandarin's is known by all under his jurisdiction; that of a viceroy, or supreme governor, by all the province. It is an ancient custom to celebrate birth-days, but not for private persons, nor is it so universal as in *China*. *Pharaoh* celebrated his, and so did *Herod*. *Constantine* did the same, as *Spondanus* writes ann. 353. num. 11. By reason the *Chinese* are excessive in this practice, we might apply to them the words of *S. Augustine*, *serm. 12. in verb. Dom. in Matth. Silly men rejoice at many birth-days of their own, and their children; O wise man, if your wine shrink in your vessel, you are troubled, you lose days and rejoice.*

10. The *Chinese* out-do us in many particulars, one is, that there is never a one of them, great or small, rich or poor, but exactly remembers his age, the day and hour of his birth, and those of his parents, brothers and relations. The reason they give for it is very sufficient. One thing they say is, that they may rejoice for having liv'd to that age; the other, to be troubled because the day of their death draws every day nearer. Among us we shall find abundance of people, who never remember their age, either to give God thanks

NAVARRA- for having preserv'd them so long, nor to
RETTE. look forward what is to follow.

11. Upon the day of the new moon, which is their most solemn festival, the petty kings and court-magistrates, with the emperor a happy year; the great mandarines send their deputies from the capital cities to do the same, and they repeat the ceremony on his birth, and wedding-day. Every province once in three years deputed some person to salute the emperor in its name.

Women apart. 12. The women keep their birth-days, but the men are never with the women in any rejoicing whatsoever.

Reconciliation-ceremonies. 13. They have also particular ceremonies to make friends and be reconciled. One very much in use, is to take a cock, to draw blood from his comb, and the parties to drink it. This they perform in a tem-

ple with great solemnity. Another is to draw blood from their breasts, and each of them to drink the other's. The practice of the Egyptians was to tie the thumbs of those that were to be joyn'd in friendship; then they prick'd them with a lance, so both their bloods mix'd. *That action was to signify that both their lives became as one.* They gave it for granted that the life was in the blood.

14. In the time of the old law, according to S. Thomas in 1 Cor. xi. *lest* 6. there was a custom not unlike that of China, as shall be explain'd more at large in another place: *Among the ancients, says he, it was a custom to spill the blood of some creature offer'd in sacrifice, to confirm the contract,* Gen. xxxi. Exod. xiv. *A Lapid upon those places here quoted, treats of this matter, as does our Oleaster.*

CHAP. VII. Of the Marriage-Ceremonies.

Marriage. 1. THERE are whole books in China, and those no small ones, that treat of this subject, and an infinite number has been writ upon it. Before I enter upon the matter I will here set down the obstacles that make matrimony void, mention'd in their books. One is, if the woman be talkative, and given to prating; for this alone is sufficient to turn her out of doors, and dissolve the matrimony, tho' they have been long marry'd and have children. If this were allow'd in Europe, there's no doubt but many marriages would prove null, and it would be a great curb to restrain women from being so free of their tongue. The second is disobedience to the father and mother-in-law. In China the sons that are marry'd always live with their parents so that their wives are obedient, and live in great subjection to their father and mother-in-law. They endure much misery by this manner of life. The third is if they steal anything in the house. The fourth, if a woman has the leprosy after she is marry'd. The fifth, if she proves barren. The sixth, if she is jealous; a great mortification to a woman that is naturally subject to this passion. The men in China are more subject to it than the women, for they always bear with the concubines living altogether, but these acknowledge the chief lady as their sovereign; and it being usual for one to be better beloved than the others, they never are without discontents amongst them, and some hang, others throw themselves into wells. When the first wife has no children, she herself courts the husband to take a concubine, and thus she secures herself from being turn'd off. Sarah gave the same ad-

vice to Abraham, Gen. vi. *5*. 2. but upon a more noble motive. Rachel did the same, Gen. xxx. Others deliver'd their women slaves to their husbands, and took the children to themselves, as the Chinese women do.

2. By reason of these impediments, and the great ease in parting with their wives, especially among the common sort of people, many of whom pawn them in time of need, and some lend them for a month, or more or less according as they can agree; it has been a great dispute, whether it is really a matrimony or not, as us'd in China. So that the missionaries of the society with good reason doubted, whether they might be allow'd as natural, or only as conditional contracts. They consulted their college at Rome upon it, and their divines resolv'd that the marriages of the men of learning were valid, but not those of the common sort. Another time they answer'd, that neither of them were good. I saw and read both their resolves in China. We again argued the case among us all, were divided, and could not agree.

3. After our disputes were over, I found the case argued in the Chinese philosophy, *Traité* 52. fol. 2. the question is put, Whether the wife may be turn'd out of doors? The answer is, "That Zu Zu the son of their philosopher Confucius, turn'd his wife out several times, and that others whose names are there mention'd did the same. The people of this time, says the book, look upon it as an unseemly thing; the ancients did not so, and they were men of more sincerity and virtue. "When a woman has any quality that is
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"not good, it is but just and reasonable to turn her out of doors. It puts the question again: the ancients turn'd away their wives because the house was full of smoke, or because they frighted the dog with their disagreeable noise: was this reasonable? It answers, the ancients were hearty, sincere men void of malice (In all countries the ancients were best, for vice daily increases) they dissolv'd the knot of matrimony without a word speaking." This was rather barbarity than sincerity. Men of honour and gravity turn'd away their wives for small faults, without expecting till they committed great ones. By this we may know how good those people were. Frighting the dog in the husband's presence was a sufficient cause it seems to discard the wife; nor was it requisite to this effect that any person should be acquainted with her failing. The question is put further in the book. "When the wife is turn'd off, can the husband marry another? The answer is in the affirmative." and it further says, persons of note, such as the emperor, petty kings, and *mandarines*, who have concubines to attend, and offer sacrifice to them when dead, ought not to marry again, in them the knot is indissoluble, others may.

4. By what is here writ by the *Chinese* themselves, it is easy to infer what opinion they have of their marriages. The missionaries of the society, tho' there have been some differences among them, agree, that the marriages of *Japan*, *Cochinchina*, and other places, are not to be accounted as a natural contract. In the empire of *Cochinchina*, as I was told by the *Capuchine* fathers at *Madrasa Patan*, all men marry till they are weary of their wives, and for no longer. The same is done in the island of *Madagascar*; nay they go farther, for the women leave their husbands, whensoever the fancy takes them. In another place I mention the *Jews* divorce, upon which the reader may see *Silveira*, tom. VI. pag. 161. n. 51. and pag. 162. n. 58. *buæst.* 5. he discourses very well on this subject.

5. *Peter de Morales Pimienta*, an inhabitant of *Macao*, and solicitor for that city in their affairs of *Goa*, told me before a great deal of company, on the 16th of Feb. an. 1660, that a missionary of *Cochinchina*, whom he nam'd, gave a Christian *Japanese* a dispensation to marry his own sister. She died after the marriage was consummated, and he again granted the man a dispensation to marry another sister. This case shall be handled in the second tome. The greatest difficulty is, allowing there may be a dispensation in this case, as some will have it their way, whether there was

sufficient cause to use that power with a new *NAVA*-convert, shop-keeper, especially among the *RETTA*. Christians and infidels of *Macao* who were all scandaliz'd at it. These sort of marriages are us'd in *Siam*, that king is marry'd to his sister. Other nations have practis'd the same.

6. The marriages of the *Tartars* now possessing *China* are as disputable as the others. I desir'd this case might be argu'd in our disputes; they would not consent to it, the reason I know not. What we know is, that the emperor, father to him now reigning, put away his first wife, and sent her into her country when she was big with child. In the year 1668, the two fathers who remain'd in the imperial city, sent us an account by letter, that a *Tartar* man and woman, who were husband and wife, parted, and both of them marry'd again. After this they told me *F. John Adamus* was of opinion the marriages of that nation were not valid; and that writing to those of his society, he said, that the *Tartars* marry'd till they had a mind to take another wife; and that great men us'd to change wives, and marry one another's. It appears these are conditional marriages, contracted after the manner of the country, under a condition which is directly opposit to the very being of matrimony.

7. *F. Torrente* a jesuit, talking of *Tun-Missioners*, told me, that he going to hear the confession of a new made Christian, was inform'd by others, that his wife who was a Christian having left him, he had marry'd another Christian woman. The father told him he could not absolve him. The man reply'd, father *N.* absolves me, your reverence may do so too. Then do you confess to him, said the father, for I will not absolve you. This Christian went with the father to the imperial city, where the other father was, whom *F. Torrente* acquainted with what had pass'd between him and that Christian, and why he did not absolve him. The other father answer'd, your reverence may hear his confession, and leave him in his simplicity. That is no simplicity, but an error, reply'd *F. Torrente*, and I will not hear his confession. I commended *F. Torrente* for this action, and his behaviour in this case.

8. He told me further, that the *French* missionary who was at *Tunquin*, had sent an account to one of his order how all the Christians told him, that when the fathers of the society were in that kingdom, they allow'd the Christians who were there marry'd to infidel women to part from them, and marry Christians. Father *Torrente* told me, all have not permitted it, some have. If the marriages of that nation were void, there is no difficulty in the case.

NAVARETTE. 9. *F. Adrian Grelon* also told us, that those of his order in *France* were once of the opinion, that the *French* foldiers, who were marry'd in their own country, going over to *New France*, might marry there again, *causa conservandæ continentia*, in order to live continent. It is necessary to mention all these particulars, that the learned may give their sense upon it, the most material points shall be handled in tom. II. Let us proceed: the *Chineses* ascribe the having of children to the obedience they owe to their parents; as if this were a thing in their power, or that depended on them. They ground this opinion upon a sentence of their second philosopher *Meng Zu*, who left it written, that the greatest sin of disobedience, is to want children. (*I suppose he means the punishment of the sin.*) The *Chineses* are so strongly grounded in this doctrine, that because of it they receive concubines, some that they may have children, others that they may have more. But in truth the main drift is to satisfy their loose appetites. The petty king that liv'd in *Canton*, as the people there said, had above sixty sons. How many his concubines were I know not, there is no number assign'd, every one takes as many as he can keep. Sure this petty king was very obedient to his parents. This error is sufficiently impugned in our books, and they like the reasons, but improve little upon them.

Concubines.

Polygamy.

Sodomy.

10. Discourfing one day with a considerable *mandarin* upon this subject, he told me, he had ever thought it most consonant to reason, to have but one wife, which he had ever observ'd. One of the greatest obstacles to the conversion of those people, is the liberty they allow themselves of keeping concubines. The fathers of the society told me, that one of their order, for the removing of this impediment, had propos'd, his holiness should be mov'd to grant a dispensation to the *Chinese* Christians to have several wives. Divines and casuists must resolve whether this be practicable. More shall be said of this matter in the second tome. See *A Lapid* in *Gen. xvi. §. 1.* where he follows the common receiv'd opinion with *S. Thomas*. Every turn they tell us, by these and other means the way to their conversion is made easier; God grant it be not rather obstructed.

11. Sodomy is frequent in *China*, yet not so much as in *Japan*, as I have been inform'd. There have been other nations in the world that did not look upon this hellish vice as any sin. So says *S. Thomas, lib. II. q. 94. art. 6.* the people of *Crete* were of this opinion. The *Romans* so far countenanced it, that they had publick stews of this sort, which the emperor *Alex-*

ander, son to *Manea*, who had been *Origen's* disciple, could not suppress. The *Israelites* were infected with this vice, *Asa 1 Kings xv. banish'd* it. According to *S. Thomas, in prim. ad Rom. l. 8.* this vice had its beginning with idolatry in the time of *Abraham*. Those who look'd upon it as no sin, were such as believ'd that nothing is naturally just, and of consequence can be unjust, but is only so by the obligation of a human law; and by this rule no sin was regarded, as being against God, *Arist. 5. Ethic.* So it was with other vices, to which the *Chineses* are equally addicted. It is said of *Tafon* in the second chapter of the first book of *Macabees*, he presum'd to place the chief of the youth in stews under the very castle.

12. The unhappy and unfortunate prince *Carrin Patin Gaala* drove these wicked people, who went in womens clothes, as they do at this time in the kingdom of *Cail*, from *Macassar*. In the time of the *Chinese* emperors, there were publick stews of boys in the imperial city *Pekin*. The *Tartar* suppress it, yet it continues still at *Fang Chew*; they go gay, but dress like other men. They don't marry, as those do I saw at *Cail*, sixty leagues from *Macassar*, in the same island, where they told me, there were men would rather chuse to marry those monsters than women. Good God, in what darkness they live who know thee not! And how unthankful are we, who only through thy mercy know thee, for this benefit!

Cail.

13. We know there have been men so brutal, as to place their ultimate felicity in sensuality. *Aristippus* was one of them. The *Nicolaists* follow'd the same maxim, according to *Spondanus, an. 68. n. 5.* and many at this time are of the same opinion, most visibly those of the kingdom of *Champa, Champt.* situate betwixt *Cambaja* and *Cochinchina*. Those people wear the figures of the secret parts about their necks, as singular relics, which they worship and adore.

14. Leaving aside these things and such like, which may make known to us the miserable state of man, and the wretched condition he falls into, when the supernatural light fails him, let us proceed upon the subject of this chapter. I doubt not but I have deviated too much, but not upon vain and frivolous things, so that I am the more excusable.

15. The marriage-ceremonies are too many and impertinent, if perform'd according to the book which is a ritual, call'd *kia li*, order'd by the emperor to be kept throughout the whole empire. I must in the first place lay it down as a certainty, that from all antiquity in *China* no son ever did, or hereafter will marry without the consent of his parents. We see the contrary

Marriage of dead.

Marriage-ceremonies.

This is buying of them. See A Lapid in Gen. xix. ver. 18. & in Exod. iv. ver. 25.

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trary daily among stanch Christians. In the next place, I give this for a general rule, that the bride and bridegroom have never spoke to, or so much as seen one another till they meet in the house where they are to live together. These things never fail, unless it be among some poor peasants. It is also very usual for the parents to make matches for their children whilst they are yet very young; nay sometimes when the wives are with child they agree, if they prove boy and girl, they shall marry. This they call *chi so*, which signifies, to mark out bellies. The same custom is us'd in *Narsinga*, as I was told at *Patalon*.

Marriage of dead.

16. In the province of *Xan Si* they have a ridiculous custom, which is to marry dead folks. *F. Michael Trigancius* a jesuit, who liv'd several years in that province, told it us whilst we were confin'd. It falls out that one man's son, and another's daughter die. Whilst the coffins are in the house (and they use to keep them two or three years or longer) the parents agree to marry them; they send the usual presents as if they were alive with much ceremony and musick. After this they put together the two coffins, keep the wedding-dinner before them, and lastly, they lay them both into one tomb. The parents from this time are lookt upon not only as friends, but relations, as they would have been had their children been marry'd living.

Marriage-ceremonies.

17. The first thing they do, they go to the temple of their ancestors, there they acquaint them particularly, how such a one their grandson of such an age, designs to marry *N. &c.* therefore they beg their assistance for the performance of it. The wife's parents do the same. In *Cbina*, the *Philippine* islands, and other kingdoms, the husband brings a portion to his wife, which her parents keep. But sometimes they give the daughter part of it. *Lycurgus* king of *Macedon* ordain'd that women should marry without any portion: *That wives should not be chosen for money.* *S. Thomas* speaks of it, *Opusc. de Reg. Princ.* This was very convenient, more shall be said of it in another place. When the bridegroom's parents send the portion, it is carry'd in the greatest state they possibly can. Before it goes the musick, then follow the tables each carry'd by four men, in a very decent manner. Upon one of them are pieces of silk, pieces of cotton on another, fruit on a third; meat, dainties, and plate on a fourth. The shew and noise is much more than the substance.

Gifts in buying of them. See A Lapide in Gen. xxix. & in Exod. iv. ver. 25.

18. On the 28th of *August*, whilst we were still all of us in the imperial city, the emperor sent the dowry and present to the daughter of one of the four governors, whom he afterwards marry'd. He sent her

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an hundred tables full of several things, and *NAVA-* sorts of meat, two thousand ducats in pigs *RETTE.* of silver, one thousand in gold, one hundred pieces of silk of several colours, with silver and gold flowers, one hundred of cotton. This is their custom, and I don't question but he was able to have sent her twenty or thirty millions.

19. They make choice of a fortunate and lucky day to send the portion, and be marry'd on. The president of the college of mathematicks has the care of appointing these days, not only for marriages, but for every thing they take in hand. *F. John Adamus* of the society of *Jesus*, held his employment a long while; several stories went about among those of his order concerning this matter. It shall be handled in another place, and we will shew how the good father clear'd himself from the imputation.

20. Having notify'd the day the marriage is to be solemniz'd on, their ancestors departed, the bridegroom's parents send a kinsman, or some grave person, to conduct the bride. They carry a close sedan, with flags, squibs, musick, and brass-basons, more or less in number according to the quality of them both. Being come to the bride's house, where she is ready drest, expecting that time, she takes leave of her kindred; her parents give her good advice (which I writ at *Rome*, where I translated much relating to this subject, and left it with the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*) she gets into the sedan, where she finds a little rice, wheat, and other grain, to signify that the bride carries along with her abundance of goods; and that her husband's estate and income shall increase by her going to him. As the bride goes into the chair, they usually break an egg (this ceremony is not set down in the ritual) to signify that she shall be fruitful. In my time a Christian father to one that was going to be marry'd, seeing this ceremony performed, in a passion threw the egg against the wall, saying, Why is my daughter a hen that she should lay eggs?

21. The bride being come to the bridegroom's house, which is richly adorn'd and set out, the father and mother-in-law receive her with all possible state and kindness. Then they perform the obeysances, the bride and the bridegroom in the court make theirs to heaven and earth, and then to their kindred and acquaintance. Next follow the entertainments. The men eat in the forepart of the house, the women in the inner. At night they convey the bride into the bridegroom's chamber, as the *Spartans* and others us'd to do, according to *A Lapide* in *Gen. xxix. §. 23* On the table she finds fizers, thread, cotton, and

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NAVARETTE. other things, which is to denote to her that she goes to work, and not to be idle. An excellent practice, and good advice. The *Romans* when they carry'd the bride with great solemnity to the bridegroom's house, took along with her a spindle, a distaff, flax or wool, to the same intent as the *Chineſes* do, *A Lapide* in *Gen.* xxxiv. *ſ.* 1. The father-in-law that day ſees his daughter-in-law, and never ſees her face again till ſhe is dead, if ſhe happens to die before him. This ſeems incredible, it being well known they live in the ſame houſe; but it is very certain, and the greateſt perſons are moſt exact in obſerving it. In ſmall villages perhaps they are not ſo nice. It is never to be ſuppos'd that the father-in-law ſets his foot into the daughter-in-law's chamber. If ever the daughter-in-law goes abroad, the father-in-law hides himſelf, or goes out that he may not ſee her.

Women retired-neſs.

22. All relations are not allow'd to walk with a woman alone; it is allow'd to couſins that are younger than they, but not to thoſe that are elder. Thoſe that are younger, they ſay, will not preſume to be bold with them; but thoſe that are elder, may perhaps take the advantage of their

ſuperiority, and pretend to that which is not juſt or lawful. Sometimes in the year the wives go out to viſit their parents, this is the extent of their diverſions and recreations. When they perceive themſelves to be with child, they repair to the temple of their anceſtors, acquaint them with their condition, and beg their aſſiſtance in order to a good delivery. After they are brought to bed, they return to the ſame temple to give thanks for their happy delivery, and beg of them to keep and preſerve the child. Some time after that, they carry the child, and preſent it in the ſame temple, thanking the dead for having preſerv'd it till then, and deſiring they will prolong its life, and bring it to age of maturity. More ſhall be ſaid on this ſubject in the ſecond tome. Hence we may gather whether the *Chineſes* aſk any thing of the dead, or not. *F. de Angelis* was much in the right in this point; he ſays in his hiſtory, that the *Chineſes* adore their dead; whoever ſent him that account to *Liſbon*, knew it very well. Much ſhall be ſaid of this matter hereafter, and I ſhall give ſome hints in the following chapter, thus much may ſuffice for this.

CHAP. VIII.

Of ſome Ceremonies the Chineſes uſe with their dead.

1. THE rites and ceremonies the *Chineſes* uſe towards their dead, are moſt exactly ſet down in the book quoted in the laſt chapter, and in other claſſick authors. Neither do theſe books, nor I neither, ſpeak of the ceremonies the other ſects have brought up, but of thoſe peculiar to the learned ſect, tho' it be of no great conſequence if they ſhould be all mix'd here together. However I will endeavour to diſtinguiſh thoſe belonging to the *bonzes* for the more clearneſs.

They hang themſelves to accompany their dead husbands.

2. I muſt obſerve in the firſt place, that it is the cuſtom of the *Tartars*, when one of them dies, that one of his wives muſt hang her ſelf to bear him company in that journey. In the year 1668, a *Tartar* of note dy'd in the imperial city, a concubine of ſeventeen years of age was to hang her ſelf to bear him company. She was well born, and had good relations, her kindred were much troubled to loſe her, and without doubt ſhe was more concern'd her ſelf. They preſented a petition to the emperor, begging of him that he would diſpenſe with that cuſtom receiv'd and eſtabliſh'd among his nation. The emperor did it to the purpoſe, for he commanded that cuſtom ſhould be no longer in force; ſo that it was quite abolish'd and abrogated.

3. The *Chineſes* have the ſame cuſtom,

but it is not common, nor approv'd and receiv'd by their philoſopher. In our time the viceroy of *Canton* dy'd, ſome ſaid he poiſon'd himſelf; being near his death, he call'd the concubine he lov'd beſt, and putting her in mind of the love he had bore her, deſir'd ſhe would bear him company. She gave him a promiſe, and as ſoon as he dy'd, hang'd her ſelf. This is much us'd in *India*, as I will write in another place.

4. Among the *Chineſes* it is very uſual, when the ſick perſon is in danger, to call the *bonzes* to pray for him, or her; they come with little baſons, ſmall bells, and other inſtruments they uſe, and make ſo great a noiſe as might haſten his death. Nevertheless they confeſs that diverts them, and eaſes their diſtemper. If the diſeaſe increaſe, they ſay his ſoul is gone out; and therefore three or four of them go abroad in the cloſe of the evening with a large baſon, a drum, and a trumpet, and walk about haſtily, ſeeking that wandring ſtray ſoul. They make a little ſtop at the croſſing of ſtreets, play on their inſtruments, and then go on. I ſaw it ſeveral times, for they always ſtop'd by my church, becauſe it was the corner of a ſtreet; but I could never hear they found what they look'd for. The *bonzes* uſe to go into the fields

fields up about ſix inſtruments, turn find ſome ſay it is to carry it to and joy; been told ſuppoſe it, but he

5. According to a man is of his be that he m philoſoph live on e end his li ever the o ground, a vii. I bei Jud. lib. that the ch own it ſel acknowledged it had rec VI. ſays, return to c ſhould be rent, and thing S. B S. Mart. O earth we di neſes at this

General notes.

6. As ſc the ſtick in cloſe; we of it. This the dead m at the top ſtretching the dead pe ing it to re departed b name; if a not the pr down, and ſpreads it c three days he does not of any tha ritual they they go ab This cerem tion'd not c Confucius li It wants n word amon in its place day; but i at the door

7. Next and ſilver c open) rice,

fields upon the same errand; they walk about singing, praying, and founding their instruments, among the bushes and brambles, turning on all sides; and when they find some humble bee, or great wasp, they say it is the soul of the dying person. They carry it safe, and with a great deal of noise and joy, to the sick man's house. I have been told they put it into his mouth; I suppose they pretend so to do, I never saw it, but have heard it several times.

5. According to the *Chinese* ritual, when a man is ready to die, they take him out of his bed and lay him on the ground, that he may there end his days; for their philosophy teaches, that since he began to live on earth, it is reasonable he should end his life there. Formerly, as soon as ever the child was born they laid it on the ground, according to that of *Solomon*, *Wisd. vii. I being born, fell on the earth.* *Philo Jud. lib. VI. de opific.* says, it was done that the child by that exterior show might own it self the product of the earth, and acknowledge it as its mother, from whom it had receiv'd its first being. *Laertius, lib. VI.* says, it was to express how it was to return to earth, and that the same earth should be its tomb; *She is the universal parent, and truly our sepulchre.* Which same thing *S. Bernard* seems to imply, *serm. de S. Mart. On the earth we have our rise, on the earth we die.* This is the custom of the *Chinese* at this day.

6. As soon as he is dead they put a little stick into his mouth that it may not close; we shall presently shew the reason of it. This done, one of the family, with the dead man's garment in his hand, gets at the top of the ridge of the house, and stretching out the garment, calls aloud on the dead person's soul, desiring and intreating it to return to the body. If the person departed be a man, he calls the soul by his name; if a woman, he uses the surname, not the proper name. Then he comes down, and stretching out the garment, spreads it over the dead body, expecting three days to see whether it rises again. If he does not come to life, and I never heard of any that did, tho' to make good their ritual they might have feign'd it; then they go about putting him into the coffin. This ceremony is very ancient, it is mention'd not only in their philosophy, but in *Confucius* his books, which they call *kai ju*. It wants not for some to give it a good word among the missionaries, as shall be said in its place. It is kept and observ'd to this day; but in some places they perform it at the door of the house.

7. Next they put into his mouth gold and silver coin, (to this intent they keep it open) rice, wheat, and some other small

things. Rich and mighty men put in pearls. **NAVARETTE.** This ceremony, as well as the others, is in their books and rituals we have spoke of. They dress him in his best clothes, which they keep carefully whilst living against they are dead; the devil takes them very richly and warmly clad. In washing them they use strange ceremonies before they put them into the coffin: there is no body but *Coffins.* has one, and there are some of delicate woods, of twelve, twenty, fifty, a hundred ducats a piece, or more. In every city and town there are many coffin-shops, where they are to be found of all sizes. The great mandarines sometimes shew their charity in giving a dozen or twenty to poor people. There are very many who whilst they are yet living, endeavour to get a coffin, and make a treat the day it comes home. They keep it in sight for several years, and some now and then use to go into it, yet they do not mend their life. It is a custom or law for the emperor to have his coffin some time in the palace. The *Tartars*, people of *Cambexa*, and *Eastern-Indians*, bury the bodies, and keep the ashes. If any poor *Chinese* happen to have no coffin, they do the same by him. In the coffin they lay a small quilt, bolster, *Funeral pillows, coals, and wicks for lamps, which are there made of rushes; all these things serve to suck up the moisture of the carcase: they also put in sizers to pare their nails. Before the Tartars time they put in combs to comb their hair: since they brought them to cut off their hair they have no need of a comb, and therefore leave it out at present. F. Brancato a jesuit told me this; and from this change I deduced this argument: if they have left off putting the comb into the coffin, because they have lost their hair, it follows they thought there was some mystery in it. They place the parings of the nails they cut off from the decess'd as soon as expir'd, in little purses in the four corners; then they cast their lots, and lay in the body with great shouts and cries.*

8. Before they bewail the dead, they place a porringer in the middle of the room where the coffin is; having perform'd some ceremonies, they break it, saying, they open the gates of heaven, and then begin the lamentations; and if what the *bonzes* say were true, then their pleasure and joy ought to commence. Having nail'd up the coffin, which is done with abundance of ceremonies, they make a sort of an altar on it, and in the midst of it in a small tabernacle they place the name of the party decess'd, adorn'd with candles, burning perfumes and flowers; this shall be farther explain'd in another place. There is a great deal goes to the condoling; but after it they go where the dead body is, kneel down

Funeral rites.

Funeral rites.

Dying man.

NAVARETTE down before the coffin, and strike their heads against the ground with much devotion and tokens of sorrow. The *Franciscan* fathers and we could never condescend to do this ceremony. *F. Antony de Gouvea*, superior of the missionaries of the society, told me in the province of *Canton*, once I did it; that was the only time, I never would repeat it. Another of the society writ to ours thus; My hair stands an end to think that a priest of the true God should prostrate himself at the feet of a heathen carcase, whose soul I am positively assur'd is burning in hell; and this just after saying mass, when I believe the sacramental species were still in his breast. I heard of *F. Julius Alein*, that being reprov'd by a Christian of ours for performing the said ceremony, he again turn'd over the *Chinese* books, and not liking it, he sold the clothes he had for that purpose, never after daring to practise it.

9. And tho' it be true that most of the society have condescended to practise this ceremony, yet the reasons we have alledg'd are sufficient to prevail with us not to follow them, being grounded on the doctrine of the most learned *Suarez*, lib. II. cont. reg. Ang. cap. 5. num. 4. *We may give civil worship*, says he, *to our departed benefactors, or renowned men, tho' we are not assur'd of their salvation, at least whilst it is not demonstrable that they are damn'd.* I know *Sanchez* has the contrary, as I shall say in another place, which concerns me but little, because he speaks not to a case under those circumstances we write of. Nor is it to me that there are Christians, who give a more than civil honour to a dead elephant, and who think it may be done to a dog, cat, or other things, as shall be said in its place, for all this includes no small difficulties.

10. As soon as any person is dead, the next thing is to make a stick, which they call *Chung*; the design of it is, that the soul may have something to rest or kneel upon. The rituals, and books of *Confucius* above quoted mention it. This staff is hung in the temples of the dead. They also make those tablets, which we call of the dead. These are more mysterious; the *Chinese* call them the thrones and seats of the soul. This point has been three times sent up to *Rome*, and every time been condemn'd there, except only when one represented it much otherwise than indeed it was. I shall speak of them more at large in the second tome. It cannot be deny'd neither, but that the *Chinese* suppose the souls of their deceased friends to be there, and that they are fed and maintain'd by the steam of those things they leave there, since our adversaries own it, as shall be made out.

11. Funerals are attended with musick, and much magnificence. The *Jews* us'd musick at theirs, as *Josephus*, cap. xv. writes: to *S. Mat.* cap. ix. *S. Mar.* cap. 15. and *S. Luc.* cap. viii. speaking of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue; but they took it from the *Gentiles* according to *Spondanus*, an. 32. num. 18. And it seems very needless, according to *Ecclus.* cap. xxii. v. 6. *Musick among mourning is like a troublesome relation.* True it is, *Manobius* and *A Lapidus* write, it was doleful musick.

12. The *bonzes* go along with several instruments. Being come to the tomb, they offer sacrifice to the spirit of that place, begging of it to be kind to the new comer. I should be glad *F. Antony de Gouvea's* history were publish'd, that what I write might be seen there. After the funeral, they offer before the image of the dead person, and his tablet, for several months, a certain number of times every month, and every day flesh, rice, herbs, fruit, broth, and such like things. And *F. Gouvea* says, the *Chinese* believe the souls of the departed come thither to eat. We ever were of this opinion, for we have read it in the *Chinese* books, and had it from their mouths. I afterwards read the same in the manuscripts of others of the society, as I shall mention in its place.

13. Mourning is mightily observ'd in *China*, for parents it certainly lasts three years; for children, cousins, &c. longer or shorter according to the nearness of the relation, which is all ordain'd and settled in their rituals, and there is no man but what observes it with the greatest nicety. When a father or mother dies, if one or more of the sons are *mandarines*, tho' he be a counsellor of state, or general of any province, and live very far from home (for no man can be a *mandarin* in his own province, lest the love of his country, kindred or friends, should weigh more with him than justice) they presently acquaint him with it, and prefer a petition at court, begging leave for him to go home and lament his father's death. So he quits his charge, and for those three years does nothing but stay at home to perform the duty of the mourning. The three years expir'd, they give him another employment, but sometimes he stays for it. *Corn. à Lapidus* speaks of this point on *Ezek. i. §. 1.* but it must be understood as has been said already, and as *Trigancius* writes in his history. The *Tartar* dispenses with some. In my time he dispens'd with the supreme government of *Canton*; 'tis true, the dispensation cost him thirty thousand ducats. The three years mourning was exchang'd for one month's, and he did it to keep his post, which is worth to him above three hundred thousand ducats

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14. A years mourning but of last days. I writing for that cannot do or five dardines of meet in fweep, and when a de whether i mandarine per place decreed in

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17. The four boys v of the bier one of them body, which the great he This I my f

18. I hav the Chinese

ducats a year besides his salary, and this without the oppression I have seen in other places.

14. All men were oblig'd to wear three years mourning when the emperor dies; but of late this has been chang'd into a few days. I was there at the time of the mourning for the father of him now reigning, but cannot well remember whether it lasted four or five days. During these days the *mandarines* of every town, city, and metropolis meet in some public place, where they fast, weep, and perform the ceremonies usual when a dead body is present. I am doubtful whether it be allowable for the Christian *mandarines* to keep those fasts. In its proper place we shall speak of what has been decreed in this case.

Funeral
rites.

15. If the dead man was a person of note, the *bonzes* make great processions, the mourners follow them with candles, and burning sweats in their hands; they offer sacrifices at certain distances, and perform the obsequies, in which they burn statues of men, women, horses, saddles, other things, and abundance of paper-money. All which things they believe in the next life are converted into real ones, for the use of the party deceas'd. But the *Chineſes* kill no human creature to bear the dead company, as I have already observ'd, whoever writ the contrary in *Europe*, was, or would be deceiv'd.

16. In case the soul should go to hell, the *bonzes* have found out ways and means to fetch it out from thence. They have also found the way of bulls of plenary indulgences, and bulls for the dead, some of them cost fifty ducats. How well *S. Thomas* expresses himself upon *S. Matth.* chap. v. telling us the devil still continues in his first design of aspiring to appear like to God. This is palpably evident in *China*. In *Muscovy* it is the custom to put a note into the dead man's hand, containing, that the bearer was a *Muscovite*, kept his faith, and dy'd in it. This they send to *S. Peter*, upon sight whereof, say they, he presently gives them free admittance into heaven, and assigns them a better place than he does to *Roman* catholicks.

17. The Moors of *Macassar* usually have four boys very well clad at the four corners of the bier, which is very large. Every one of them carries a fan. and fans the dead body, which is to cool the soul, because of the great heat it endures in the other world. This I myself have seen.

Burying
places.

18. I have before taken notice that all the *Chineſes* are bury'd without the towns,

a custom, other heathens have observ'd, *NAVA-* and so did the *Jews*, as says *Corn. à Lapide* RETTE. in *Num.* xxix. §. 16. and on *St. Luke*, chap. vii. §. 12. I find some, and particularly *Spondanus*, abhor the custom of Christians of burying in the churches, because of the ill vapours may rise thro' the earth and be infectious, but it would be in vain now to persuade the contrary.

19. The *Chineſes* are extraordinary careful of keeping their sepulchers clean, and pulling up any weeds that grow about them. They often visit them, weep, offer meat, and burn seal'd paper. *F. Gouvea* in his history positively affirms, that the *Chineſes* believe the souls are near about their sepulchers. The antient *Europeans* were of the same opinion. *Laſtan.* lib. II. de orig. error. says it. *As the multitude believes the souls of the dead walk about the sepulchers, and relics of their bodies, &c.* There were three several opinions in those times concerning the soul, says the same author, cap. 16. de opific. Dei. Some thought the blood was the soul, because when that fail'd, man dy'd. Others said the soul was the fire, *Because whilst the soul is present, the body is warm, when departed, it grows cold.* Others, and among them *Varro*, said it was air. This is the opinion of the *Chineſes*, who with their philosopher allot a very refin'd slender air, of which they say the soul is form'd. They also affirm it is a celestial part belonging to heat, in which particular the *Chineſes* close with both the opinions we have mention'd. This shall be further explain'd in another place. *Fauftus* made our soul corporeal, this suits with what has been said; but he maintain'd another folly, which in substance is much the same the *Chineſes* hold, and said, *There was nothing incorporeal among creatures.* So writes *Spondanus*, an. 520. tom. 2. On the day of the new moon is their commemoration of the dead, and so is the winter solstice. The kindred meet in the temple of their forefathers in their best apparel; there making many genuflexions, they offer sundry sorts of meats and drinks, and prayers and petitions are made directly and immediately to those dead persons. What has been said may suffice for a general information as to these affairs. What remains shall be made out in its place, and the principal points wherein the missionaries disagree, shall be declar'd. I must in this place acquaint the reader, that in *China* the mourning is white, and not black. So it was in *Spain* before the death of Prince *John*, as says *F. Mariana*.

Mourning.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Sects, Temples, Fasts, and other Particulars of China.

NAVARRETTE. **T**H^O there be three thousand sects in China, yet all of them being deriv'd from three, and reducible to them; so all the temples and other things pertaining to them, are reduced to the same originals.

2. The principal, ancientest, and most honourable sect is that of the men of learning. Some missionaries have said, the *Chinese* have much of the *Jews*; and one more curious than the rest took notice, that this nation has above forty *Jewish* ceremonies. Certain it is, the *Jews* came into that nation many ages since, tho' there are some that deny it; it is no less certain that *China* is much ancienter than the dispersion of the ten tribes, that nobody may say *China* was peopled by the two tribes that were left. This learned sect professes down-right atheism, as shall be prov'd at large in its proper place. This is made out by the gravest, and most learned missionaries of the society, whom their historian father *Lucena* follows, and by the *Chinese* doctors themselves, who, as men learned in their own doctrine, are better judges of the sense of their books than the *Europeans*, more skillful and unbiass'd, and ought to be of more reputation in their own affairs than strangers; unless perhaps any one without regard to demonstration, will give more credit to his own imaginations than to the known truth. There were some in the province of *Canton* translating a *Chinese* book, and father *Gouvea* superior of their society, said to me, they translate and write what they fancy and dream. It is therefore certain, that in what relates to *China*, we are to follow the opinion and judgment of the *Chinese* doctors. Therefore *S. Thomas* said on *John* vii. *lect.* 2. *It is to be allowed that his judgment is to be stood by, who is expert in our art, to prove whether a man be good at that art; as for example, his judgment is to be taken who is skilful in the French tongue, to know whether another speaks French well. And that to be judge in this affair, he must lay aside passion, envy, hatred, and affection. The learned Chinese outdo us in all things.*

3. This is also grounded on the words of *Lactantius de fals. relig. lib. I. cap. 2.* *Whom then shall we believe if we do not give credit to those that praise? he that believes these lies, let him produce other authors for us to credit, who may instruct us who these gods are, &c.* If we do not believe the learned *Chinese*, who makes such account of his sect, that he extols it above the skies, will it be fit to give credit to one that came but the other day into *China*, and expounds things

contrary to the sense of the classic doctors of the nation, and contrary to all the antients of his own order and religion? there is no doubt but this would be a great oversight. In reference to this, it was daily said during our confinement, that in the matter of explicating *Chinese* characters, more regard is to be had to one *Chinese*, than to thirty missionaries. Allowing this for granted, which is very useful, I proceed.

4. Doctor *Michael*, as *F. Nicholas Longobardo* a jesuit writes, very much lamented, that the *Chinese* learned men had been defective in their sect, in not inventing some reward, and punishment after death, for keeping the people more in awe.

5. *Euripides* in *Phid. de placit. lib. I. cap. 7.* says, *It is a fiction of legislators to pretend some deity governs the globe of the earth to endeavour thereby to keep the people in awe.* *Senecca* 2. *Nat. quæst. lib. XLII.* expresses it better and more fully, where the reader may see it. The ancients and other sectaries of *China* observ'd this method, only the learned men of that empire were deficient in this point.

6. The learned sect talks too much of the temporal reward and punishment. The temples properly belonging to it, are those they dedicate to their dead, which was begun by the emperor *Xun*, who is of great *Xia* antiquity, and very renown'd in that nation. The philosopher *Confucius*, of whom the *Chinese* say (as the Holy Ghost said of *Salomon*) that there never was before, nor will be after him so wise a man, has temples dedicated to him in all towns and cities. *Ching Hoang*, that is, as vulgarly expounded, the tutelar genius, has temples throughout the empire. The bachelors adore a star, which they call *Tien Chang Sing*. The licentiates worship the north, and call it *Kwei Sing*. The magistrates give the same honour to *Confucius*. There are many other temples belonging to the learned sect; some of them shall be taken notice of as occasion serves. The temples dedicated to the spirit of fire, to the god of the waters, whose name is *Lung Yuang*, are common to all. The soldiers have their god *Mars*.

7. The second sect is call'd *Tao*, professes much of art-magick, is properly *Chinese*, and as ancient as the former. They report of its founder, that he was born grey, and sixty three years of age. His mother was deliver'd of him at her side, and dy'd in child-bed. This somewhat resembles

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what *Henricus Summalix* in his *Paradisus animæ*, quotes out of *Albertus Magnus*, cap. 5. For these reasons the *Chineſes* call that man *Lao Zu*, that is, old ſon. He liv'd in the time of *Confucius*, and is commended by him in the books call'd *Kia Ju*. This alone might ſuffice to make ſome men leſs admire *Confucius*. This ſect has very many temples throughout all *China*, they do not profeſs ſuch poverty as others do; ſome of them marry, others have coadjutors, who ſucceed them in their religious preferments. They let their beards grow, and in proceſſions wear copes of the ſame make as are uſ'd in the catholic church. What *Her* *ue Angel's* writes, viz. that the provincials of this ſect are carry'd in chairs of ivory and gold, is a mere invention. They have a great ſuperior, in the nature of a general, formerly he went in the apparel of a *mandarin*, at preſent he has the privilege of ſuch a one, and no more.

8. The third ſect is call'd *Foe*; we name it the ſect of the idols of *India*. It was brought into *China* about ſixty years after the birth of our Saviour. The founder of it his name was *Xe Kia*, he was born very many years before. This curſ'd ſect has ſo ſpread, that it certainly far exceeds the *Mahometan*. From *India* it pierc'd as far as *Japan*, without leaving any iſland or part of the continent all that way exempt from it. This helliſh infection has ſeiz'd the *Laos*, *Lequios*, *Tibet*, both *Tartaries*, *Siam*, *Camboxa*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunquin*, and all the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*. The firſt principle they aſſign and know does not go beyond the *materia prima*, wherein it agrees with the two former, tho' it differ in the names and terms. This is the opinion of moſt ſolid reaſoners, of the *Chineſe* docters, and of their claſſick authors, of which more in its proper place. For this reaſon 126 years ago, there ſtarted up a ſect of the legiſlators we have ſpoken of uniting them all, and making one of the three. This laſt ſect has its temples, on whoſe altars they place the three accuſed ſectaries aforemention'd. The worſt of it is, that nine years ſince a Chriſtian at court publiſh'd a book in which he parallels and calls our holy religion by the ſame name with all thoſe three we ſpeak of.

9. There are innumerable temples of the third ſect, all very ſtately, clean, and neat; ſome have five hundred, ſome eight hundred, and ſome a thouſand *bonzes*. Theſe are very much given to prayings, in ſome places they pray continually day and night. They have alſo their places of devotion on mountains, in woods and vallies, whither infinite numbers of people reſort at certain times, and to ſay the truth with more devotion, modeſty, and decency, than is ſeen

in our parts. There are every where hermitages with hermits, as well on mountains, as in vallies, and moſt uncouth places. There are alſo in ſome places houſes to breed up novices, where they live mighty retired. For food as long as they live they are forbid fleſh, whitemeats, and fiſh, as alſo wine; they live upon nothing but rice, bread, herbs, and fruit. An infinite number of their laity as well men as women keep this faſt, many of them handicrafts, labourers and ſailors, who never break it either on account of hard labour, ſickneſs, or age.

10. It is truly amazing to hear what accounts they give of the lives of ſome of them, and of thoſe of *Camboxa* and *Siam*; the very fathers of the deſerts ſeem to fall ſhort of them; and for abſtinenſe it may be ſaid they outdo that of other ancients mention'd by *Henricus Summalix* in the fifth and ſeventh chapters of *Paradisus animæ* of *B. Albertus*, and of others *Corn. à Lapide* on *Gen. ix. 21.* ſpeaks of.

11. Among the reſt of the famous idols of *Foe's* ſect, there is a woman they call *Kuon In Pu Sa*. Some ſay ſhe was daughter to a king of *India*: Others that ſhe was a *Chineſe* maid, who liv'd on the mountains near the city *Macao*. Doctör *Paul a Chineſe* put it out in print that ſhe is our bleſſed Lady; the ground for his opinion he ſays is, that the image has remain'd there ever ſince the preachers out of *Syria* preach'd the goſpel in that empire. When they were all dead, the *Chineſes* made an idol of it. It is poſſible it might be ſo, but very able miſſioners of the ſociety make a doubt of it, and they like that book as ill as I do. The moſt likely, as the Chriſtian men of learning make out, is that there never was any ſuch woman, but it is a fiction. The meaning of her name is, that ſhe ſees the wants of thoſe that bear devotion to her a thouſand leagues off; that ſhe hears their prayers at the ſame diſtance, and moſt readily ſupplies them. They repreſent her with a great many hands, one image of her in *Canton* has twenty four to ſignify the great favours ſhe does, and her extraordinary liberality. The multitude have a great deal of devotion to this monſter.

12. This ſame ſect has another idol they call *San Pao*, it conſiſts of three equal in all reſpects. Doctör *Paul* above mention'd ſets it down as an emblem of the bleſſed Trinity, which he might as well let alone. *De Angelis a Portugetſe* mentions theſe two things, and enlarges upon them too much without any reaſon.

13. The ſame ſect uſes holy, or rather curſed water, and other things, which doctör *Paul* ſays the *bonzes* took from the law of *God* which formerly flouriſh'd in that

NAVAMITAGES WITH HERMITS, AS WELL ON MOUNTAINS, AS IN VALLIES, AND MOST UNCOUTH PLACES. THERE ARE ALSO IN SOME PLACES HOUSES TO BREED UP NOVICES, WHERE THEY LIVE MIGHTY RETIRED. FOR FOOD AS LONG AS THEY LIVE THEY ARE FORBID FLESH, WHITEMEATS, AND FISH, AS ALSO WINE; THEY LIVE UPON NOTHING BUT RICE, BREAD, HERBS, AND FRUIT. AN INFINITE NUMBER OF THEIR LAITY AS WELL MEN AS WOMEN KEEP THIS FAST, MANY OF THEM HANDICRAFTS, LABOURERS AND SAILORS, WHO NEVER BREAK IT EITHER ON ACCOUNT OF HARD LABOUR, SICKNESS, OR AGE.

HERMITS. ABSTINENCE.

10. IT IS TRULY AMAZING TO HEAR WHAT ACCOUNTS THEY GIVE OF THE LIVES OF SOME OF THEM, AND OF THOSE OF CAMBOXA AND SIAM; THE VERY FATHERS OF THE DESERTS SEEM TO FALL SHORT OF THEM; AND FOR ABSTINENCE IT MAY BE SAID THEY OUTDO THAT OF OTHER ANCIENTS MENTION'D BY HENRICUS SUMMALIX IN THE FIFTH AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS OF PARADISUS ANIMÆ OF B. ALBERTUS, AND OF OTHERS CORN. À LAPIDE ON GEN. IX. 21. SPEAKS OF.

11. AMONG THE REST OF THE FAMOUS IDOLS OF FOE'S SECT, THERE IS A WOMAN THEY CALL KUON IN PU SA. SOME SAY SHE WAS DAUGHTER TO A KING OF INDIA: OTHERS THAT SHE WAS A CHINESE MAID, WHO LIV'D ON THE MOUNTAINS NEAR THE CITY MACAO. DOCTOR PAUL A CHINESE PUT IT OUT IN PRINT THAT SHE IS OUR BLESSED LADY; THE GROUND FOR HIS OPINION HE SAYS IS, THAT THE IMAGE HAS REMAIN'D THERE EVER SINCE THE PREACHERS OUT OF SYRIA PREACH'D THE GOSPEL IN THAT EMPIRE. WHEN THEY WERE ALL DEAD, THE CHINESES MADE AN IDOL OF IT. IT IS POSSIBLE IT MIGHT BE SO, BUT VERY ABLE MISSIONERS OF THE SOCIETY MAKE A DOUBT OF IT, AND THEY LIKE THAT BOOK AS ILL AS I DO. THE MOST LIKELY, AS THE CHRISTIAN MEN OF LEARNING MAKE OUT, IS THAT THERE NEVER WAS ANY SUCH WOMAN, BUT IT IS A FICTION. THE MEANING OF HER NAME IS, THAT SHE SEES THE WANTS OF THOSE THAT BEAR DEVOTION TO HER A THOUSAND LEAGUES OFF; THAT SHE HEARS THEIR PRAYERS AT THE SAME DISTANCE, AND MOST READILY SUPPLIES THEM. THEY REPRESENT HER WITH A GREAT MANY HANDS. ONE IMAGE OF HER IN CANTON HAS TWENTY FOUR TO SIGNIFY THE GREAT FAVOURS SHE DOES, AND HER EXTRAORDINARY LIBERILITY. THE MULTITUDE HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF DEVOTION TO THIS MONSTER.

12. THIS SAME SECT HAS ANOTHER IDOL THEY CALL SAN PAO, IT CONSISTS OF THREE EQUAL IN ALL RESPECTS. DOCTOR PAUL ABOVE MENTION'D SETS IT DOWN AS AN EMBLEM OF THE BLESSED TRINITY, WHICH HE MIGHT AS WELL LET ALONE. DE ANGELIS A PORTUGUESE MENTIONS THESE TWO THINGS, AND ENLARGES UPON THEM TOO MUCH WITHOUT ANY REASON.

13. THE SAME SECT USES HOLY, OR RATHER CURSED WATER, AND OTHER THINGS, WHICH DOCTOR PAUL SAYS THE BONZES TOOK FROM THE LAW OF GOD WHICH FORMERLY FLOURISH'D IN THAT

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NAVAKINGDOM. Other heathens used it, as says RETTE. à *Lapide* on *Num.* xix. 11. There are also temples to which men and women resort to beg children. In these temples there are usually many wooden and earthen little boys, without their privy parts; the reason is, because the women when they resort thither to perform their devotions in order to obtain children, take these boys in their hands and bite off those parts and eat them. Some keep them as relics.

Rumafel.

14. In the kingdom of *Tibet*, where the pope of that part of the world resides, whom they call the great *Rumafel*, there are the nastiest relics that can be expressed. That man is held in such mighty veneration, that all his excrements great or small are honoured as relics. In *China* they are valued at a high rate, the devil treats his people like filthy swine. *J. Kircher* pag. 51. writes some things which require more proof: 'tis a mere story that *F. Adamus* hindered the emperor of *China* from going forth to meet the great *Rumafel*, or *Lamasse*; nor was the *Tartar* emperor of *China* in the year twenty nine. *F. Adamus* was not sufficiently esteemed or accounted of by the father of the emperor now reigning, to have bowing and submitting to an ordinary *tonze*; and is it likely he should

have interest to do what was said above? besides that in such cases, they consult the court of rites and ceremonies, which answers according to the precedents they can find, and that is infallibly done; now how could *F. Adamus* have any thing to do there?

15. It is above four hundred years since the *Mahometan* sect came first into *China*, but has for the most part continued among them that brought it; but they marrying are vastly multiplied, they are above five hundred thousand, and have stately temples. We saw one at *Hang Cheu* so lightly, and with such a noble front, as might show well in *Rome*. The *Mahometans* study the *Chinese* sciences, take their degrees, and rise to be civil and military *mandarines*; but as soon as any of them has taken his degree or becomes a *mandarin*, they look upon him as an apostate from his faith: so that the *Mahometans* esteem the learned sect incompatible with theirs, which acknowledges one true God to whom they assign the same attributes as we do, tho' they admit of intolerable errors. Every temple of *bonzes* has a cock belonging to it, which they keep to be ruled by him, and rise at midnight to matins. *A Lapide* on *Deut.* vi. 8. 7. writes of the crowing of this fowl.

CHAP. X.

A Continuation of the same Subject.

1. A Considerable part of what properly appertains to these chapters, is spoke of in several parts of my works; therefore I shall here set down and give hints of such things as are most common. There is one very usual fast among the young people of *China*, which lasts only three years; this is perform'd to requite their mothers for the milk they gave them, and to repay the blood they spilt at their birth. This fast they observe most rigidly, inasmuch that no accident or excuse whatsoever can countenance the breaking of it; the manner of it is the same before mentioned in the last chapter, viz. to abstain from flesh, whitemeats, fish, and wine. The women, who in all parts are more devoutly given, signalize themselves for fasting in *China*, and bring up their children to it; so that there are abundance who live to old age, without having ever eaten any thing that comes from a sensitive living creature, except the milk they suck'd of their mothers. When any of these have a mind to become Christian, it is a very difficult matter to dissuade him from the superstition of that fast. There has been a very great variance between the missionaries of the society touching this point which shall be observ'd in its place.

2. But notwithstanding the general tenderness of women, especially of mothers, for those they have bore in their womb, yet there is the greatest cruelty imaginable among the *Chinese* women towards their daughters. Very many of them, as well rich as poor, when they are deliver'd of daughters, stifle and kill them; those who are something more tender hearted, leave them under a large vessel, where they let them die in great misery and pain. I saw one that had been three days in that condition, it cried and groan'd so as might move a stone to compassion, and only a few boards parted her from her cruel mother's bed. I saw her father, her grandfather and her grandmother, who often pass'd by the vessel; and she that had peirc'd my heart with her cries, could make no impression upon those monsters. I begged the child, they granted my request, sometimes they refuse so charitable a request; we lifted up the vessel, the child lay on her back crying to heaven for relief, her feet and arms drawn up, her back lay upon hard stones in wet and mud. I was amazed to see it had lived three days and three nights in that condition: her colour was so high it look'd like the very blood. I carried her away, baptized her

her, called Christian, and three days it appeared so ferable was sinews come *Moses* in the babe three her to hear baptized. *Her and m* *Lord bath* been saved book there much again an imperia to no purpo were about murdered of the city *La* how many thorough will wonder was practis females, of satisfying *Toledo, Car* rents in fo children the for want of

Narr.

3. The great fasters, nasteries, b Every one wear the s and make t women. T nion of eit therefore n the neighb wife, all m

Killing an animal a for. 4. All the cept the fir on it as a fi ny of the a on. See S. §. 3. he w flect, but a trary, Pau civit. Dei, beasts to m This I ver that won't q. 64. art. 4 ror, as do l ries plead h ing it a cru cannot give

See A La pile, on Gen. ii. ver. 23.

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her, called her *Mary*, and gave her to a Christian woman to nurse. Within a few days it appeared how much harm that miserable way of living had done. All her sinews contracted, and God who preserv'd *Moses* in the other basket, kept this innocent babe three days under the vessel, to take her to heaven within a month after she was baptized. She might very well say, *my father and my mother both forsaken me, but the Lord hath taken me to him*. Many have been saved after this manner in *China*: a book there is in that nation exclaims very much against this barbarity; there is also an imperial law, which forbids it, but all to no purpose. The Christians agreed there were about ten thousand female children murdered every year within the precinct of the city *Lan Ki*, where I lived some time: how many then must we imagine perished throughout the whole empire? But who will wonder at this, since we know the same was practis'd in *Spain* upon both males and females, only upon the beastly motive of satisfying their lust? the third council of *Toledo*, Can. 17. has these words, *That parents in some parts of Spain murder their children through the desire of fornication, and for want of tenderness, &c.*

Nuns.

3. The Chinese nuns called *Ni Ku*, are great fasters; they live retired in their monasteries, but sometimes go abroad to beg. Every one goes with her companion, they wear the same apparel as the *bonzes* do, and make their obedience like men, not like women. The *Chinese* have no good opinion of either the he or the *bonzes*, and therefore make no account of them. In the neighbouring kingdoms it is quite otherwise, all men respect and honour them.

Killing an animal a sin.

4. All the sects we have spoken of, except the first and the *Mahometans*, look upon it as a sin to kill living creatures. Many of the antients were of the same opinion. See *S. Thomas opusc. 5. 5. in opusc. 8. §. 3.* he writes that, *the Facians do not eat flesh, but altogether abhor it*. On the contrary, *Paul 1 Tim. iv. S. August. lib. I. de civit. Dei, cap. 20.* says, *That the killing of beasts to maintain human life is not unlawful*. This I verily believe, but it is a doctrine that won't pass in *China*. *S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 64. art. 4.* particularly impugns this error, as do his disciples. The *Chinese* sectaries plead humanity and compassion, thinking it a cruel thing to take that life they cannot give. According to that of *Prov. cap. xii. v. 10.* *A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast, but the bowels of the wicked are cruel*. *Lira* on this place says, *The Jews were cruel, and therefore the law sed them to have compassion, not only towards men but towards brute beasts*. But it is very well worth remarking, that they

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should endeavour to shew themselves so *NAVA-*merciful to beasts, and be so cruel to their *RETTE*. own daughters, murdering them inhumanly, as has been said.

5. In *India* they have hospitals, to cure all sorts of irrational creatures, and they let men die without assisting them in their sickness; such is the compassion of sectaries. One thing well worth observing, has been taken notice of in the fasting sectaries, which is, that at entertainments they presently make known their devotion, and so they serve them only such meat as they can eat; but if a Christian is invited upon a fasting-day, instituted by the church, he holds his peace, and eats all that is laid before him, without daring to make known the obligation he lies under. Before they are Christians they are very zealous for the devils fasts; after their conversion it is very hard to bring them to keep only nine days the church obliges them to. The *Indians* do much better, tho' their sustenance is but mean and small.

Converts.

6. Fasting is much accounted of in *China*. When they enquire into our holy doctrine, the first thing they do is to inform themselves of our fasts; we to make things the easier, tell them there are but a few, and those easy, and it is certain they don't like it. There are sundry opinions touching this point, and it is no easy matter to reconcile them. I always liked the sentiment of *Layman, lib. IV. trac. 8. cap. 1.* where speaking of fasting he says, *Therefore it is to be introduced among nations newly converted to the faith of Christ, as Navarrus observes, and Toletus, lib. VI. cap. 9. num. 1.* All have not taken this course: the branches that have spread from these sects are many, as I observed before. Some are more reserv'd than others, some have stricter fasts, and observe rigid silence. When our holy faith was condemn'd, the supreme governor of *Canton* presented a petition against the *bonzes*; upon which it was ordered, that only twenty should be allowed in every town, forty in cities of the first rank, thirty in those of the second. But when we came to *Canton*, they were all undisturbed in their houses and monasteries.

7. All the *bonzes* profess chastity, there have been some special cases. On the second of *April, 67.* we were told the petty king of *Canton* had condemned eleven to be burnt alive, for having taken them in sin, in which there was a complication of murder. It is reported of an empress of the last reigning family, who had a kindness for the *bonzes*, that she granted them a dispensation to have to do with women during three days, without committing any offence, or being liable to punishment; they also profess poverty, but not that of the gospel.

X

NAVARETTE. *pei.* If a bonzo has a good opportunity offered him to eat, drink, rob, or murder, he lets it not slip, for they are great hypocrites. We may well apply to the bonzes of China, what S. Augustin says, in *serm.* 21. *ad frat.* Blessed are the poor in spirit, but not those that counterfeit poverty; such as they are hypocrites, outwardly professing poverty, but refusing to endure any want. Such men in all their actions seek for the respect of honour, the glory of praise to be feared by their betters, and be worshipped like God; they covet to be call'd saints by all men; they extol poverty and abstinence only in words, but they design not to touch them with their finger. They outwardly clothe their bodies with despicable garments, but next their skin are clad in purple; they give out they lie upon ashes, but refuse not lofty palaces; they shew a heavenly face abroad, but we doubt not they have hearts like wolves. Such were those Sa-

rafates, concerning whom F. Hierome writes to us three times, whose race is most carefully to be avoided. They in fine were in Egypt, living in the clefts of rocks, clad in felines skin and oxes hides, only girt about with ropes made of palm-tree leaves, wearing thorns about their beads fastened to their girdles; and coming out of their caves bare-footed, and goaded with blood, they went to Jerusalem to the feast of Pentecost; and entering the holy of holies, zealously preached up the observance of poverty and abstinence; then they hastily pulled their beards, in the presence of men, without any mercy; and having thus gained renown, and made their profit, they returned to their own abode, rejoicing and feasting in solitude more than we can express. The bonzes of China are here well describ'd, all they do tends to gain renown and profit, without having any other end or prospect.

CHAP. XI.

In which the Sect of Foe is fully explicated.

Foe. 1. **H**AVING said something in general of this sect, it remains to declare what is peculiar and abstracting from others in it. Concerning that of the men of learning we shall speak in another place. This will be useful for the information of those that go over to those missions in these points; that they may be furnish'd with arguments against them, which will make them able upon occasion to handle with ease these confus'd matters so strange to Europeans, giving it for granted, that this sect is the greatest enemy we have to deal with in Japan, China, and many other kingdoms.

2. This hellish sect, as I observ'd above, came into China about the year 2899 of the Chinese empire, 3109 after the flood, and sixty after the birth of our Saviour. Its founder in Japan is call'd *Jaca*, in China *Xe Kia*; when they made an idol of him, they nam'd him *Foe*. He was born in the *Mid-India*, which kingdom the Chinese call *Tien Cho Kue*. His father's name was *Cing Fan Vuang*, his mother's *Mo Ye*; they say she conceived in a dream, imagining a white elephant enter'd her by the mouth; he was brought forth at the left side, his mother died in labour. As soon as he was born, they write, he walk'd seven steps, and with one finger pointed up to heaven, and with another to the earth, and said, I alone am holy and noble in heaven and on earth. Some say he was son to the devil, who bringing seed from some place, infused it into the mother in the shape of a white elephant. This is the reason that heath is so highly valued in India, that those kings make bloody wars for him.

3. *F. John Adamus* arguing against this sect, and repeating the words its first author spoke as soon as born, gives it for granted to be as we said in the last place, and adds, that the devil enter'd his body, which made him break out into that hellish blasphemy. Some Europeans tell us, his birth was in the twenty ninth year of *Solomon's* reign. At seventeen years of age he married three wives, by one of them he had a son, whose name was *Lo Heu Lo*; at the age of nineteen he forsook the world, and became an anchorit; twelve years he led that life, learning from four immortal men, so they call the hermits who lead a very exemplary life; at thirty years of age, looking on the morning star, he obtain'd a comprehensive knowledge of the being of the first principle, which rais'd him to the degree of the idol *Foe*; he preach'd his doctrine forty nine years, and died in the seventy ninth year of his age. Before his death he said, during more than forty years I have not made known the truth of what I know; for I have only preach'd the exterior, and most demonstrable part of my doctrine, by means of several comparisons, all which I look'd upon as false, not the interior which I judg'd to be true. Therefore he then declar'd, that the first principle, or beginning and ultimate end, was no other than the *materia prima*, or *chaos*, which they express by these two letters *kung* and *bin*, signifying a vacuum or emptiness, and that there was nothing further to be sought after or hoped for. He had eight thousand disciples, out of which he chose five hundred, and then one hundred out

of them those, who writ his several gath palm-leaf write to often seen idol in China. Hu Kuang ten, and from them was nine face to a the vacuum imitate the degree to the vacuum came.

4. Either the name, I have heard printed in was the apostle was in China, look upon I have a place, where for the pre Gonvea, and into China: the incarnation appears by the given me up be believ'd, come to China that country without gain the word of contrary opinion was in China have read no ground have.

Three hundred.

Foe.

5. *Xe Kia* his much I charging h we almost fa reason. F eagle-wood his relics, spirits, and the king of rea says at Constantine the same, b of Foe, or of false man; and brought forth land times, elephant. above.

White elephant.

of them; lastly, he took the tenth man of those, whom they now call the ten great ones. These after the death of their master writ his doctrine in above fifty thousand several gatherings; I suppose they were of palm-leaves, or that they call *nipa*, as they write to this day in *India*, which I have often seen and observed. *Ta Mo* a famous idol in *China*, whose principle seat is on the mountain *Vu Tang Xan*, in the province of *Hu Kuang*, is lineally descended from those ten, and is the hundred and twenty eighth from them. They report of him, that he was nine years in contemplation with his face to a wall. These contemplations on the vacuum or *ebaos*, which are directed to imitate that first principle, they call taking the degree of an idol, and then returning to the vacuum, or nothing whence they came.

Ta Mo.

4. Either by reason of the likeness of the name, or I know not for what reason, I have heard it said of this *Ta Mo*, and it is printed in the *Chinese* language, that he was the apostle *S. Thomas*, who they affirm was in *China*. The fathers *Luzena*, *de Angelis*, and *Mendoza* follow this opinion, I look upon it to be more than improbable. I have a word to this same point in another place, what has been said may suffice for the present; and it is the opinion of *F. Gouvea*, and convincing, that *Ta Mo* came into *Chin*: above three hundred years after the incarnation of the Son of God, as appears by the opinions of very learned men given me under their hands. Nor is it to be believ'd, that when the holy apostle had come to *China*, he would so soon depart that country, leaving so plentiful a harvest without gathering it, or sowing the seed of the word of God, as even they of the contrary opinion affirm. And if the apostle was in *China*, he was none of *Ta Mo*. I have read much on this subject, but I find no ground they of the contrary opinion have.

Three hundred.

Foe.

5. *Xe Kia* in his will left his doctrine to his much lov'd disciple *Mo*, or *Kia Je*, charging him to begin it with these words, *we almost saw it*, without shewing any other reason. His body being burnt without eagle-wood and sandal, his disciples divided his relics, and shar'd them among mens spirits, and dragons of the sea. They sent the king of *Ceylon* a tooth, which *F. Gouvea* says at last fell into the hands of *D. Constantine of Braganza*. *F. Luzena* affirms the same, but without making any mention of *Foe*, or *Xe Kia*. They tell abundance of false miracles wrought by this cursed man; and among the rest, that he has been brought forth into the world eight thousand times, the last in the shape of a white elephant. This alludes to what I said above.

6. In their books they take notice of another ancient idol call'd *OMi To*. He places paradise in *India*, which they call a quiet and calm country. Those who call upon this idol, they say, obtain full remission of their sins. It is wonderful to see how incessantly many call upon him, they name him oftner than we do God, *CHRIST Jesus*, or the blessed Virgin. Some for a long time after they are baptiz'd, have much ado to break themselves of that bad custom.

OMi To.

7. The books they call *sang pien*, give on this and *Xe Kia* the title of idols, because they represent the first principle. The rest, tho' they are the same thing as the first principle, are only stil'd *Pu Sa*, that is a step less. They represent only some attribute of that first principle; as for example, the goddess *Kuon In*, above mention'd. Those they call *Lo Hoan* are in the third rank.

Pu Sa.

Lo Hoan.

8. The substance of the exterior doctrine, which *Xe Kia* looks upon as false, is, that there are idols, which make satisfaction for men and save them; and being mov'd by compassion and pity, were born to shew the way to heaven to those souls that are born in the other world, where *Foe* is still upon a flower. Their glory consists in thirty two figures and eight qualities, which glorify a man. This sect has five commandments: the first, not to kill any living creature; the second, not to steal; the third, not to commit fornication; the fourth, not to lie; the fifth, not to drink wine. It has six works of mercy: the first and chiefest, to do good to the *bonzes*; to erect temples for them in honour of their idols, and always to call upon them, which is sufficient to obtain pardon of their sins. To burn for the dead paper-money, pieces of silk and cotton, to serve their souls in the other world, and that they may have wherewith to bribe the goalers and porters of hell. The burning of paper came not from the *bonzes*, they have appropriated it to themselves; the original of it shall be set down in another place. If they do not, as has been said, they assign six ways they shall go to hell, where they shall continually be coming again into the world, as men, beasts, devils, rich, poor, &c. All this the interior doctrine rejects, and so do the *bonze*. The purport of the interior doctrine is, that as before my parents were born, there was nothing but the vacuum, which is the being of all things, and gave us that which we have; so after death all things return to, and are reduced to that vacuum, or nothing, without leaving any other distinction betwixt creatures, but the bare figure and qualities they have. As for instance, the water that is in several vessels

Foe's commandments.

Foe's interior doctrine.

NAVATE. of sundry shapes, round or square, &c.
 RETTE. The learned men in their philosophy make use of this same simile to make out their doctrine, which in effect is the same as the interior doctrine of the *bonzes*. They also make use of the simile of the moon, which shews its figure in the water, or a glass, and it looks like a moon, but is only an image or resemblance, and mere nothing. So they say of creatures, that they are nothing but the first principle, which is the being of them all, whose substance they set down as a rule, has no understanding, will, virtue, power, &c. Yet they describe it pure, subtle, ingenerable, infinite, incorruptible, and most perfect. They place beatitude in this life, through meditation and mortification; so that their bliss is obtain'd by meditating on that first principle, and reaching to the height of contemplation, wherein a man is as it were beside himself void of reflection, and without any operation of the understanding, and further than this he has nothing to seek or hope for.

Beatitude.

9. To speak of the transmigration of souls, which error has infected all *Asia*; those of this sect say it happens four several ways; two of them true, and two false. The first false way, which belongs to the exterior doctrine, feigns six places in several parts of the world, where those men that die according to what they have acted in this life, are born over and over again in the shape of those who inhabit those places, till they are again born into this world, and afterwards come to obtain the perfection of the first principle. After this dying a second time, they go to paradise converted into idols *Foe*, without returning any more to those six places. This error supposes a set number of souls. Other ancients held it, whom *S. Thomas* opposes; see *part. 1. quest. 90*. The second manner feigns, that when a man dies, according to his actions, he is converted into one of six things, a beast, a fish, a bird; an angry, a hungry, or a heavenly devil.

10. The first true way is, say they, that

the first principle so often spoken of, is in continual transmigration from one thing to another, taking several shapes thro' four several ways of coming into the world; that is, the womb, eggs, seed, and conversion of one thing into another. *P. Antony Gouvea*, the ancientest missionary of his society, and their superior, says the learned and sect of *Tao* hold the same in their *in jang*, matter and form, *li* and *ki*. Which I look upon as an undoubted truth; and that it may appear how much *P. Longobardus*, a grave missionary of the society, is in the right, in saying, the *Chineſes* hold the same errors as other ancients did; I observe, that as the *Chineſe* men of learning call cold *in*, which is a word of the feminine gender; and heat *yang*, which is masculine: so did the ancient *Europeans*, as *S. Thomas* takes notice of *Job xxxviii*. call cold a female quality, and so the text names it, by the name of the womb, which belongs to the woman; but heat a male quality; and so he makes use of the name of the father about the generation of dew and rain, *Lactant. Firm.* said the same long before, *lib. II. de orig. error. cap. 10*. The second way, and that which is peculiar to this sect, is the continual rowling of the understanding, will, passions, and inward affections of man about his objects; and so when the understanding, or inward appetite is in action towards some object, then they say the heart is produced or brought forth; and when it desists from that operation, they say it dies. In this sense they affirm the understanding does all things, that is, that when it looks after them they are done; if it does not take care of, or think on them, they have no being. After the same manner as logicians speak of the *ens rationis*, whose being consists in the understanding's being fix'd in consideration; and it ceases to be when they no longer think on it. They reduce all objects relating to the state of man to ten heads; six are as it were hells, which belong to the secular state; the other four are like heaven, and appertain to the monastick state.

CHAP. XII.

The End of this chimerical Confusion.

1. THIS chapter is added to conclude with what this sect teaches, which will make it the more intelligible, and the chapters of this book not so long. It teaches, that our understanding, will, or appetite, which they call *ſin*, are continually employ'd, and rowl upon six objects or ways, and this employment or restlessness they call *bell*. Those hermits *Spondanus* treats of, *ann. 170. num. 5*. said almost the same thing; and ac-

II. II.

cording to the object the understanding is employ'd upon, the person is said to be in such or such a hell, and to become like the inhabitants of it. All insensibility and mortification in regard to these objects it calls *heaven*; he that goes to this place is born a *foe*, resembling the first principle in imitating it. Of the six ways they call *lo tao*, the first is that hell in which they assign three places of pain, which are the three passions, anger, covetousness,

touſneſs, the furies &c. To, that is a man is born into that is, he and so all in this life, torments, calamities, Another being hungry when he is rich he ind term'd Cho rude men w norant of w fourth is Sio when men are in the b ſth is Jin ſignifying t and the cult is Tien Tao belongs to k in heaven, w muſick and 2. To efc are to be aſo loſophers of that is, a faith, and i fore the ima is to conceiv The ſecond V is commonly former, and meditation; t Haon, that i ſubject of thei ſteps man ma The third Pu ſummate, wh with bowels o in inſtrucking ſide of Xe Kio have a ſort of that is, the n employs not H al reſpects li luteſt perfect, diſe, united w or with the re ble air, and be with it.

3. It only down ſome ſa ſect; and beca the ſame thing ings of two o ceiv'd my bein dium, or from teria prima) a it, ſo did man Vol. I.

Enſ prin-
aple.

roushess, and ignorance; they are properly the furies of this hell, which they name *San To*, that is, three venoms or poisons. When a man is born into this world, they say, he is born into hell with his head downwards; that is, he is born from his mother's womb; and so all noble persons are born in hell, viz. in this life, in which there are eight sorts of torments, life, old age, sickness, miseries, calamities, poverty, sorrow, and death. Another hell is term'd *Ngo Kuei*, signifying hungry devil; man is born into this, when he is inwardly troubled for the miseries he endures in this life. The third is term'd *Cho Seng*, a brute beast; it signifies rude men who act like beasts, and are ignorant of what they ought to know. The fourth is *Sieu Lo*, an angry devil; which is when men are passionate and quarrel, these are in the hell we have mention'd. The fifth is *Jin Tao*; that is, to be born a man, signifying the uneasiness of compliments, and the customs of the world. The sixth is *Tien Tao*; that is, heavenly way, which belongs to kings and princes, who are born in heaven, when they are in pleasures among musick and pastimes.

2. To escape these six hells, four steps are to be ascended, which are the four philosophers of this sect. The first *Xing Yuen*; that is, a beginner that travels through faith, and is one that stands upright before the image of *Xe Kia*, whose business is to conceive that all things are nothing. The second *Yuen Kio*, one advanc'd; he also is commonly represented standing, as the former, and his business is reflection and meditation; those of this rank are call'd *Lo Hao*, that is, men that meditate. The subject of their meditation is twelve; twelve steps man makes from his birth till he dies. The third *Pu Sa*, that is, perfect, or consummate, who can advance no further, but with bowels of compassion employs himself in instructing men. These sit on the left side of *Xe Kia*, almost even with him, and have a sort of beads. The fourth is *Foe*, that is, the most consummate idol, who employs not himself in outward things, in all respects like the first principle, absolutely perfect, which state is being in paradise, united with the *vacuum*, or nothing, or with the refin'd, thin, and imperceptible air, and become one and the same thing with it.

3. It only remains in this place to set down some sayings of the doctors of this sect; and because they all in effect express the same thing, I will only write the sayings of two or three. *Pi Xi* says I receiv'd my being from the incorporeal medium, or from nothing (he means the *materia prima*) and as all things came from it, so did man. The soul and understand-

ing of themselves are nothing. Good and NAVA-evil are also nothing, they have no place to exist in. *Xi Ki* says, to do good works of itself is nothing, and so to do evil; my body is like the lather of a wash-tub compacted together, my soul is like the wind. The chaos produced a white nature, without substance or solidity; therefore all things are but mere appearances, they are nothing but outward shape.

4. By what has been here said, we may frame to ourselves some idea of the extravagancy of this sect, if such wild chimeras can furnish us with any settled notion; but to this end I have made it as plain as possible I could. Perhaps our LORD may stir up some body to write against it; I doubt not but it would be very advantageous. The missionaries have writ much, but still more is wanting. I never could approve of the opinion of some men, who say, it is not proper to spend time in arguing against follies. I say I could never approve of it, because the holy doctors of the church spent much time in refuting other absurdities, very like, and not inferior to these. Among them particularly S. Thomas did so, and it was not mispent, but well employ'd. Besides, what reason can there be not to spend time in discovering and exposing these follies we have mention'd, since they are the means the devil uses to gain innumerable souls?

5. If we observe the first principle assign'd by all the Chinese sects, we shall find they do not much vary from other ancients, against whom the saints writ much. *Hesiod* treated of the chaos, and not of the cause which produced it, as *Lactantius* observes, *de fals. rel. lib. I. cap. 5*. The ancient poets placed the chaos in the beginning of the world, and said it afterwards separated and divided into many things, as the same *Lactantius* tells us, *cap. 9. lib. II. de orig. error*. The learned men of China maintain the same. S. Thomas, *opusc. 8*. says, that *Thales Milesius* assign'd water for the first principle; *Diogenes* the air. Something of both may be found in the Chinese sects. *Heraclius* would have a refin'd or subtile air to be the first principle, so will the Chinese men of learning. *Empedocles* assign'd the four elements; the Chinese allow five, and make them the immediate causes of all things, tho' at long run they reduce all to air, or a rarify'd vapour.

6. S. Thomas, *opusc. 15. cap. 9*. says, *For the first philosophers set it down as a maxim, concerning the nature of things, that it was only a change from one being to another. And therefore they assign'd as the first principle, A matter without any cause, for their understanding did not extend beyond the distinction betwixt the substance and the accidents.* All



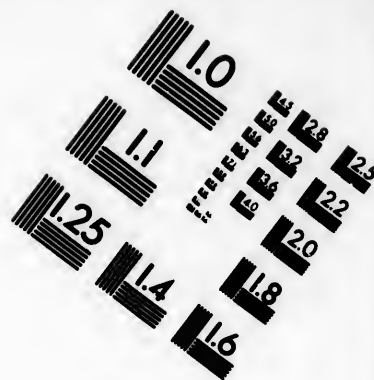
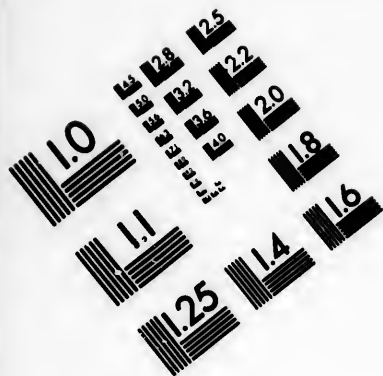
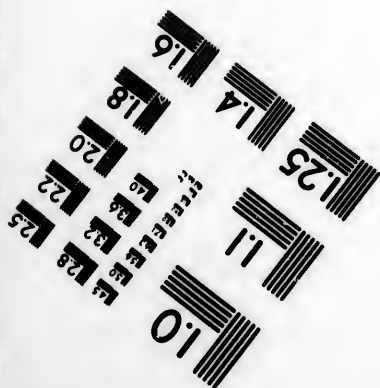
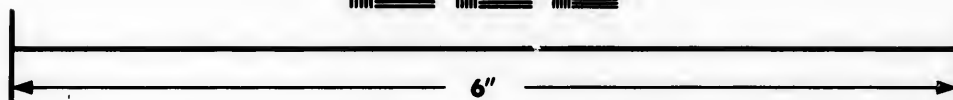
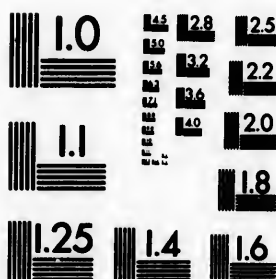


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NAVARETTE. this is plainly the doctrine of the sects we have spoken of. But others proceeding somewhat further, search'd into the origin of substances themselves, assigning some substance as the cause of their being; but because they could not frame a conception of any thing but bodies, therefore they resolv'd substance into some principles; yet such as were corporeal, laying it down as a rule that bodies were fram'd by the gathering of others, as if the origin of things consisted in only gathering and dispersing. Which doctrine the Chinese men of letters directly hold, as shall appear when we treat immediately of this sect. Later philosophers advancing further, reduced sensible substances into essential parts, which are matter and form; and thus placed the being of natural things in a sort of transmutation, according as the matter is alternatively under several forms. The Chinese draw somewhat to this notion, but after a manner very confus'd, for they have no thorough knowledge of matter and form, actual and possible existence. Then since the errors are common, it is not unreasonable, that as the ancients were oppos'd, so also the moderns be.

7. I us'd to say to the Chinese, as *Laërtius* does, *de div. præm. lib. VII. cap. 2.* The cause of all errors in philosophy was, because they did not comprehend the reason of the world, which contains all wisdom; but that is not to be comprehended by our own reason, which they attempted to do of themselves without a master. And he concludes thus; Wherefore of necessity all sects of philosophy must deviate from truth, because they were men that set them up; nor can they have any solid ground or stability, as not being supported by any oracle of the word of God. What has been said may convince any unbiass'd person.

8. Here we might discuss a point of great moment, which is, whether those sectaries we have mention'd were sav'd, or whether we may doubt of their salvation? In the second tome, which is the proper place, what was said to this point in *China* shall be declar'd. I never made any difficulty to maintain they were damn'd, as I affirm of *Mahomet*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, and others of the same heaven. I know those of the contrary opinion all hang by one another, and say the same of those we have mention'd, as they do of *Foe* and others. But I follow the opinion of *S. Peter Martyr*, mention'd in the *Martyrology* on the twenty first of February. He lying sick at *Damascus*, some *Mahometans* came in to visit him. The saint told them that those who did not profess the law of God went to hell, as *Mahomet* had done. The infidels kill'd him for these words, and he was a glorious martyr. Why might not he be so, who should say the same of *Foe* and others?

9. *Laërtius*, lib. VI. cap. 9. *de vero cultu*, speaking even of those who live a good moral life according to nature, whom some in *Canton* deny'd to be damn'd, has these words; But let us grant it may be, that any one person of a good wit and natural inclination, can be possessor of real virtues, as we have been told *Cymon* the Athenian was, who gave alms to the needy, treated the poor, and cloth'd the naked: yet when that only thing which is the greatest, viz. the knowledge of God is wanting, all those good qualities are superfluous and vain, so that he labour'd to no purpose in obtaining them: for all his righteousness is like a human body without a head. In confirmation of what has been said we may add what *S. Augustin* writes to the same purpose, *Traët. 43.* in *Joan.* which is the homily read *Feria 3. infra oct. pent.* That neither these nor those enter'd through the gate into the sheepfold. Tho' they were sectaries, they had followers, and disputed much concerning vices and virtues. I will here insert what *S. Chrysost.* tom. 5. *oration. de sigil.* says, It is better to despise false tenets, than by answering to lay them open.

10. Tho' there have been many Chinese who have liv'd good lives according to the laws of nature; yet there is little likelihood they should be sav'd, since they came not thro' the door into the sheepfold: much less *Xe Kia* and others like him. It is well known how that nation has oppos'd the law of God; and we have found by a long experience what an aversion they have against it. *Corn. à Lapide* discoursing on *Jerem. xlii. v. 18.* quotes *Mosheim* upon this subject, and says, That nothing so much obstructed the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity, as the vices and scandalous lives of some Christians. This being writ before our order, or that of *S. Francis* enter'd upon that mission, I can neither contradict, nor seem to countenance it. In my time there was no talk of any such thing; tho' I was not ignorant what a wicked action a convert of *F. Brancato* had done in perverting a good Christian woman, and others of his family. It is impossible, but there should be mis-carriages among new converts, especially considering we see so many where the faith is well establish'd.

11. I take it that the difficulties occurring in that and other missions, proceed from another cause. *S. Thomas* on *Rom. xv.* says, It is a difficult thing to convert those who are altogether ignorant to the faith. And tho' the Chinese, as to what relates to this life, know too much, yet in what belongs to the soul and next life they are most ignorant, as *F. Arias* writ; and of the same opinion was *F. Pantoja* cited by *Morales*, which we missionaries can well testify. Read *Sylveira*, tom. VI. on *John xii. p. 614, 615, and 616.* 12. The

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12. The same author on *Apoc. viii.* upon these words, *And all green grass, &c.* says, *By this they are signify'd who adhere much to worldly vanity, whom the verdure of the world has too much deluded and attracted. By reason of this adherence they are unfit for conversion, tho' not altogether under an absolute inability; for tho' now and then some men, who were before plung'd in vanity, be converted, yet it is seldom and with much difficulty.* See *Oleaster* on *Exod. xxxii.* ad mores.

Pride.

13. There is no nation under the sun more proud, vain, and given to the world than the Chinese. *CHRIST* said to the *Jews*, *John v. §. 44.* *How can ye believe which receive honour one of another?* *S. Thomas*, lect. 6. *Therefore they could not believe in CHRIST, because they proudly seeking their own praise and glory, that is, to be extoll'd above other men, &c.* Whence *Tully*, *man is to have a care of glory, which takes away all liberty.* Read *Cajetan* upon this point, where he concludes, that these men can never or scarce believe. The pride of the Chinese men of learning, and the contempt wherewith they look upon the rest of the world, is well known to us who have had to do with them; therefore it is no wonder we should speak of it. *How can ye believe?* &c. See *Sylveir. tom. II. cap. 3. §. 5. num.* 24. where he has other explications, which all make to this purpose.

14. Other reasons may be alledged, but they make rather against us than those infidels. The fathers, *Canavari*, *Balat*, and others agree, that the preaching of the gospel in that mission was deficient: In the second tome the grounds they go upon

shall be set down. *F. Claudius Matet*, with *NAVARETTE*, some others, declare, that the law of God is not sufficiently made known in any one city of China. It is no wonder then that they are not converted; and if to what has been already writ, we add what *F. Bervieft* us'd to say, which I shall mention in another place, those idolaters will be still more excusable.

15. Some say the Chinese would certainly be converted if they saw any miracles wrought. I answer, we can assert nothing upon future contingences. The *Jews* saw many miracles, and yet they continued obstinate; so did *Pharaoh* and many more. Besides, some mention several miracles God has wrought in this nation, and yet they have not produc'd the effect those persons imagine will follow. In another place we shall insert *T. Lubel's* answer to this point.

16. When the Chinese talk'd of miracles, I answer'd them out of *S. John Chrysostome*, and *S. Thomas*. Afterwards I observ'd *Sylveira* takes notice of it, *tom. II. cap. 2. num. 113.* *People believe for two reasons; some because they have seen miracles, others only by preaching: but they who only believe for the sake of the doctrine, are more commendable, as the apostles.* These last are the more intelligent and piercing, the others more rude and ignorant; and therefore I told them, there was no need of miracles for them, who have sense and judgment to understand the doctrine, the reasons and grounds of it. I hold, as did *St. Gregory*, in 30 *Moral. cap. 8.* that the working of miracles is no infallible sign of the sanctity of the minister.

CHAP. XIII.

Some Particulars of the History of China.

1. THE Chinese say, that past actions, or accidents, give man light how to behave himself in those present, and to provide himself against the future, they add, they are a mirror in which man ought to see himself. Our renowned *Spaniard*, *S. Isidorus* speaking of history, says the same thing. This it is that mov'd me to publish in the following chapters of this book, the most remarkable passages I cull'd out of the Chinese history, when I read it to be inform'd in the affairs of that empire, and to improve my self in the language and character.

Historians. 2. I must allow the Chinese authors to be sincere, and to have set down passages as really they were; they write one for their own people, not for other nations, so that neither affection nor hatred moves them to add, or extol what was not truly so. The

Chinese value themselves much upon keeping their words, even those that are spoken in sport and pastime they would have to be of some weight. To corroborate this rule they bring a singular example, mention'd in their annals. The prince went out one day to walk in the palace-garden, his preceptor and some little pages much about his age attended him; he began to play, and said to one of them, I make you king of such a place. The master started up immediately, saying, What does your highness? the prince answer'd, I speak in jest. There is no jesting among princes, nor no idle words, reply'd the preceptor; your highness has made this boy a king, it must be so, that it may not be said your highness talks in jest, and not in earnest. The business was debated, and was resolv'd, the page should be a king, lest it might be said,

NAVA- said, that the prince's words were vain and
RETTE. of no effect.

3. The actions, examples, and doctrine of that nation will make out the truth of the divinity of *S. Thomas*. 2. 2. q. 10. art. 4. as also *Chrysost. hom. de fide & lege naturæ*, *S. Hierome* ii. ad *Gal.* and *S. Augustin* in many places, viz. That infidels may do some actions morally good. The saint also says, that God rewarded the *Romans*, by giving them so large an empire, for being strict observers of justice. In his *epist.* 130. he affirms the same of *Polemon*, and I believe he would have maintain'd the same of the *Chineſes*, had he known any thing of them. And tho' in some places the holy doctor seems to suggest the contrary, his meaning is, that infidels seldom do actions really good, for want of the true and right intention, which in them is commonly corrupt. We missionaries may be allow'd our judgment in this case, and tho' we cannot be positive as to the good or evil intention, yet we may guess at it by the concurring circumstances we see. According to them, it would be a rashness upon several occasions, to judge their actions did not proceed from a right intention.

4. If any more modern proofs be requir'd, we have some very convincing at this time in the kingdom of *Siam*. I question not but there are many more in these parts, would to God I were in the wrong. It is a saying of the Holy Ghost, that he shall undergo troubles and persecutions, who sincerely gives himself up to the service of God. There are in that kingdom certain bishops missionaries, with some secular priests their companions, all men of known virtue, very exemplary for poverty, humility, and other circumstances of edification, unblamable in their duty of preaching the gospel, which all that part of the world highly extols. Nevertheless, for their good, and that of others, God has rais'd them certain opposites, members of Satan, who leave nothing that belongs to them which they do not belpatter. They give out their virtue is counterfeit, that they may lead the people after them, and gain applause; that they are *Jansenists*, and more to this effect. When I was discoursing concerning this matter with cardinal *Bona*, whose soul I hope is in heaven, he was out of patience, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, Is it *Jansenism* to be poor, to pray, to exhort the faithful so to do, to lead an exemplary life, and preach like the Apostles? O that we were all such *Jansenists*, the world would without doubt be in another condition than we see it is!

5. What has been said may be an instruction to us, to look upon the actions of our neighbours, tho' they be infidels, without

taking upon us to judge of their thoughts and intention in acting. This part belongs peculiarly to God; man must not presume to inroach upon his province. This doctrine also conduces to give us to understand, that as God will have what is good in virtuous men made known for the edification of others, so he is pleas'd the virtue of the infidel should be discover'd to the same end.

6. The first man and first emperor of that monarchy, the *Chineſes* take notice of, was *Fo Hi*. Before him the *Chineſes* confess *Fo Hi*, they knew nothing of the world, or what was done in it; and tho' others name another, who preceded him, whom they call *Puon Ku*, who they say separated heaven from earth, yet the sect of the *Literati*, or the learned, who are the wise men of that nation, all agree in what I have said.

7. *Fo Hi* was also the first that sacrificed to heaven, offering to it the blood of beasts. I look upon it as most certain that the *Chineſes* have ever worship'd and ador'd the sun, moon, stars, &c. and the fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, *Gouvea*, and others of the society, whom *F. de Angelis* follows, are of the same opinion. Some of our modern interpreters will have it, that *Fo Hi* in offering sacrifice to heaven, did it to God, who resides in it as in his palace, so that they take the thing containing for that contained. To confirm this their conceit, they mention the king of the upper part, very much celebrated by the sect of the learned. In the first place I might well say with *S. Cyril*, lib. II. in *Joan. cap. 34.* that contentious men are not so stiff in holding true doctrine. But the words of *Laſtanius de fals. relig. cap. 11.* where he speaks of the poets, suit better in this place: but they spoke of men, but to set off those whose memories they extoll'd, they call'd them gods. And then lower: hence men come to be deceiv'd, especially, because thinking all these things to be feign'd by poets, they worship what they know not, for they are ignorant of the extent of poetical licence, and how far they may go on in their fictions; whereas the business of a poet consists in this, that he changes those things which have really been, into other shapes by odd representations, yet with some grace. We shall write concerning the *Chineſe* king of above in another special book. What has been said is very much to the purpose, of the praises and encomiums the *Chineſes* bestow on their emperor *Puen Yuang*, who they affirm attends on the right and left side of the king of above, from whence he takes care of the advancement of his monarchy.

8. What I say is, that the *Chineſes* from all antiquity never knew any thing more noble than the material heavens we behold.

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So say their books, and their learned men own it, and they it is certain know more of this matter than the *Europeans* that go thither; for they are the masters and teachers of their sciences, and understand their own books incomparably better than we do. It being so natural to man to acknowledge some first cause, *Fo Hi's* judgment tended towards it, but he mis'd the mark, as many others did. Whether *Fo Hi* descended from *Ham*, according to the opinion of *F. Emanuel Diar*, or from the great *Zoroastres*, as the fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, and others of that society will have it (I have already observ'd that it is a common opinion that *Ham* and *Zoroastres* were one and the same man) he came to *China* without any knowledge of the true God, as *F. Gouvea* also testifies. *Lyra* on Gen. x. says, *The Gentiles were the off-spring of Japhet, the idolaters of Ham; and the worship of the true God came from Shem, the' all his children were not good.* Corn. à *Lapide* on Gen. x. §. 25. says, that *Noah* liv'd till *Abraham* was fifty eight years of age. Therefore *Noah* saw the tower of *Babel*, he also saw almost all his posterity deprave their ways, and turn away to idolatry; therefore *Noah* saw the world full of men, and those wicked, he God, he saw and sigh'd at it. On Gen. xxxv. §. 2. he writes thus: by this it appears there were idols and idolaters in *Jacob's* family, &c. Let the origin of *Fo Hi* be consider'd, and it may be judg'd whether he knew God, or not. We certainly know *Zoroastres* was the inventor of art-magick. *Pliny*, *Justin*, *S. Isidorus*, *S. Augustin*, and many others affirm it, he was six hundred years before *Moses*. *A Lapide* on Exod. vii. §. 11.

Whether the Chinese could have any invincible ignorance of God, he saw and sigh'd at it. On Gen. xxxv. §. 2. he writes thus: by this it appears there were idols and idolaters in Jacob's family, &c. Let the origin of Fo Hi be consider'd, and it may be judg'd whether he knew God, or not. We certainly know Zoroastres was the inventor of art-magick. Pliny, Justin, S. Isidorus, S. Augustin, and many others affirm it, he was six hundred years before Moses. A Lapide on Exod. vii. §. 11.

Articulate.

San. Temples and sacrificing to the dead.

Sacrificing to the hearth.

9. Not long after *Fo Hi*, *Xin Nung* came into the empire, he shew'd the people how to till their land, brought the plough and other instruments of husbandry. This man to the *Chinese* is instead of the goddess *Ceres*, or of the god *Sterculius*, of whom *Lactantius* de fals. rel. c. 20. writes thus: *Sterculius who first brought up the way of dunging the ground.*

10. There followed other emperors, of whom they say little. *Xun* was the eighth of them, but the first that erected temples to offer sacrifice to the dead. This shall be largely handled in the second tome. *Xun* is much applauded by the *Chinese*, and by their philosopher *Confucius*. Mention will be made of him upon some occasions.

11. The petty king *Li Xao* offer'd sacrifice to the hearth, that is to the spirit which they feign presides over the kitchen-chimney, and begg'd prosperity and long life of it. He persuaded the emperor to embrace this idolatry, telling him, if he worship'd the said spirit, he would soon get the medicine to prolong life, and the

art of converting yellow sand into gold. *NAVA-* From this time forward superstitions daily encreas'd in *China*. This was many years before the sect of *India* was brought into the country. A famous missionary of that country in a book he printed an. 1663, endeavours to justify the sacrifice we have spoke of, and reduces it to a mere civil action; I know many mislik'd the book, and *F. Anthony de Gouvea* often told me he abhor'd it. That sacrifice was instituted 2800 years after the foundation of the empire. The ancient *Europeans* had some tincture of this error. See *Lactant. cap. 20.* Hence it is the *Chinese* to this day give a great deal of respect and veneration to the hearths, or places where their meat is dress'd. They take a great deal of care they should be clean and neat, and they will upon no account do any unbecoming on, or near them. To make water there is look'd upon as a great disrespect, and a profaning of the place where the cook-spirit presides and has his abode.

12. I think it convenient all should be known; said *Lactantius*, cap. 23. de fals. relig. But the first step to wisdom is to know what is false, the second to know what is true.

13. At the same time an ambassador of the emperor *Vu Ti*, call'd *V Vu*, was prefer'd with great solemnity to be an idol, by the name of *Cbing Hoang*, that is, keeper of the walls and ditches, or guardian angel of the city; from such ancient times were those they call in *China* tutelar angels of cities and towns chosen from among men.

14. To these the governors recommend themselves, that they may execute their charges uprightly, and resort to their temples twice in every moon. *F. Trigautius* writ upon this subject, lib. I. cap. 10. *Lucena* in his history says, there were spirits of this sort in *India*. The ancient *Europeans* had them: *Theodorus*, lib. VIII. contra *Græcos*, says, *In like manner they worship the guardians of towns, and tutelars of places.*

This plainly makes out that the errors in *China* are the same that were in *Europe*, as I have already observ'd. This subject shall be handled in the second tome, and at the end of this. Concerning these spirits there have been several disputes in *China*, even before the *Franciscans* and our order enter'd upon that mission, of which we shall speak at large in another place. For the present it suffices to know that all the guardian angels of cities and towns they have to this day in *China*, were men, whose employments, names and families are known to all men there. They every year celebrate their birth-days, then how can they be angels?

NAVARETTE. 15. In the second year of the reign of the emperor *Chang Hoang Ti*, a proclamation was issued out forbidding the mandarines to wear rich clothes. The emperor gave for his reason, that the exterior ornament, tho' it seems good, is evil; to covet outward ornament and gaiety, and be inwardly vicious, is a thing abominable. The mandarin who is upright and just, seeks after virtue, not fine clothes. The people is not govern'd by the outward appearance in garments, but by the virtue which exerts itself in good actions. This I will have observ'd, says the emperor, and the excess there has been in this particular rectified, that my subjects may live at ease. This

A Lapide on Gen. 3. ver. 21. handles this point very well.

16. The method of making gold, mention'd above, has distracted and beggar'd many *Chineses*; they have made several trials, and have produced nothing but losses and troubles. They suspected some of the missionaries, especially the ancient ones, knew and practis'd this art, so they continued to have the same conceit of those that had scarce a moderate maintenance, *Corn. à Lapide* on the *Acts* has writ concerning this subject, and some ages before *Albertus Magnus*; and to this day there are those who maintain it practicable, *Torre Blanca* is one of these. In the year 1673, I lighted on a Portuguese at Rome, who was so thoroughly fatished he should in a short time make millions of pistoles, that I could never dissuade him from his design. A few years since, several met for the same purpose at Naples, they spent much money, and at last the workmen ran away, one of them was still living in India in the year 1670, when I was there.

17. *Jang Chin* a mandarin of note, and in great favour with the emperor, was very upright in his employment, and an utter enemy of bribes. This man got a mandarin's employment for his friend *Vuang Nie*. He in return went one night to visit him, and as an acknowledgment for the kindness receiv'd, offer'd him eleven ounces of gold. *Jang Chin* was offended at it, and said to him, Don't you who are my friend know me? how came you to do this? *Nie* answer'd, That makes me come by night, no body sees or knows it; to receive so small a trifle is not any thing of consequence. *Chin* reply'd, Heaven and earth see it, you and I know it, here are four witnesses, and can you say no body sees or knows it? *Nie* was convinced and took back his gold, without daring to say

bribes received.

any more to that point. No body saw us, said those youthful elders to *Sufanna*; they made not so much reflection as the mandarin *Chin*. There is much to observe in this action, that a heathen was not govern'd by worldly respect, nor did he regard whether he was seen or look'd upon, he only minded justice, and his duty, as a good minister. He took the advice of *Frederick* the third, who was wont to say, Do not that in private, which you would be ashamed to do in publick. It is the same *S. Bernard* teaches us, speaking of our angel guardian, *Jang Chin* has few disciples in the world at this time. Not only heaven and earth see and know the bribes many men receive; but all the world is a witness to them, and yet they are not ashamed, nor draw back their hands. *Oleaster* on Gen. xi. §. 7. speaks excellently to this purpose. This latter sort of men seem to be of *Cicero's* opinion, who said, *The sweetest thing in the world is to receive*. It is better to follow our Saviour's rule, *It is happier to give than to take*. It might also be a subject of reflection, that if this *Gentile* thought heaven and earth were witnesses sufficient to deter and make him abstain from receiving that small sum of eleven ounces of gold; what ought a Christian to do upon the like occasion, since through faith he knows, that *God* himself is looking, not only into his actions, but his very thoughts? It would be some advantage to us, if it were consider'd and observ'd that heaven, earth, and other creatures, shall be witnesses and severe accusers against us on the day of judgment. See *Corn. à Lapide* on Gen. vii. §. 9. in fine.

18. We might also here take notice, that the good counsellor conscience did not in this place forget *Chin*; she suggest'd to him, that he ought not to take any thing for having done the duty of his office: *Their conscience bearing witness for them, &c.* *God* gives all men this judge and witness, says *S. Basil*, in princip. Prov. That a certain tribunal is erected in the secret part of the heart, where all things that are to be done are weigh'd as it were in a balance. See *S. Thomas*, opusc. 60. art. 14. where he brings the words of *S. Bernard* very proper to the same purpose.

19. *Chin* had another very particular accident befel him. His friends observ'd he purchas'd no lands as others did; that his children were clad and fed like very ordinary people, and that he had neither horses nor sedans in his house. They told him it was convenient he should raise his house, make his family great, and get employments for his sons and grandsons. He who was of another mind answer'd them, There is no riches or estate like the uprightness, integrity, and disinterested carriage of a

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Example of moderation.

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magistrate. It is much better for my posterity, that those who are unborn should say, I was thus qualify'd, that I preserv'd my self from being corrupted, that I administered impartial justice, and faithfully serv'd my emperor, than that I should leave them great estates, and mighty treasure. By these means I shall leave them rich, noble, and with honour, and they want no more. Here the saying suits well, *A good name is better than many riches*. But where is this doctrine put in practice at present? who is there that does not raise an estate if he can? who is it that does not seek preferments, not only for his children, but for his kindred if he can? who does not aspire to a title of honour, if it be to be purchas'd for gold or silver, tho' got the Lord knows after what manner? If all ministers were like the heathen *Chin*, *China* would be in another condition. And had *Chin* been guided by that light which God has so freely bestow'd on others, what would he do, what would he say, how would he act?

20. The emperor *Chao Lie* was very careful in offering sacrifice to heaven, earth, his predecessors departed, and his subjects that dy'd in war; he shew'd himself very religious in all his actions, but it was in a false and idolatrous religion. He was merciful in his government. It is just and reasonable kings should do good for the souls of those that die in war. It is unreasonable the soldier should labour and fight till he loses his life, and when he has lost it there should be no care taken for his soul. Some accounts went over to *China*, in which they blame the negligence and remissness of our nation as to this particular. I am satisfied of the neglect of the *French* in *Madagascar*, above four hundred of them were left dead in the field fighting with the *Blacks*, and as yet the first mass is not said for them. The missionaries that liv'd there, and I among them, did what charity requir'd at our hands. A resolute and brave commander belonging to the aforesaid emperor, whose name was *Kuang Ju*, came to be an idol, and the god *Mars* of *China*; he is not the same I mention'd in another place by the name of *Tai Kung*.

21. *Chao Lie* being at the point of death, gave the charge of the prince his son, who was then very young, to a most faithful counsellor of state, call'd *Ko Leang*; he recommended the youth to him, and said, if my son does not approve himself capable of governing, do thou take his place, for such is my will and pleasure. The counsellor wept, admiring the mighty confidence the emperor repos'd in him, and promis'd to use all his endeavours to serve the young emperor, and continue the crown in his line. Then the emperor call'd the prince, and

said to him, When a man has liv'd to fifty years of age, he cannot complain that heaven has given him a short life, much less I who have liv'd to sixty. I might only be concern'd for my subjects, and brothers; but I trust you will protect them. Be of good heart, prince, and take this advice from a father who tenderly loves you. Commit no sin tho' ever so small and inconsiderable, and do not omit to perform any virtuous action tho' never so slight. Do not follow the example of your father, but imitate the virtue of the great *Ko Leang*, whom I leave as your counsellor, friend, and father; together with the crown, I leave you virtue, which makes the subjects submissive and pliable. Read *Oleaster*, num. 27. *ad mores in sin. cap.* The least good thought is pleasing to God. Read *Sylva. tom. VI. cap. 10. in Mat. q. 7. num. 36.*

22. What could *S. Lewis* King of *France* have said more to the purpose to his son and heir? if to be a king and monarch, is to be father of the subjects, *Chao Lie* sufficiently shew'd he was so to his, since it was such a trouble to him at his death to leave them. If to be zealous for the publick and kingdom be ever commendable in a prince, *Lie* gave abundant proof of his zeal, by preferring it to the natural love he bore his son; and therefore he said to *Leang*, If my son prove not fit to govern, do thou take his place. *He had no respect to flesh and blood*, but to the good of his people and subjects. And if goodness and justice raises a prince above mankind, as *Plato* said, lib. II. *A king is a certain human God*; and *Seneca*, *Through piety and justice princes become gods*: what was there wanting in *Chao Lie* towards deserving of such glorious titles? and if the king be the soul of the kingdom, *The king is in his kingdom as the soul in the body*, and God in the world; as the doctors say, and *S. Thomas* writes, *opusc. de reg. princ. lib. I. cap. 12.* Who does this better answer to than to *Lie*, who at the last period of his life was more sensible of his people's being left expos'd without a head, than of the distemper he languish'd under. And we look upon him as a father; who ever gave a son better advice? he bids not commit a fault, tho' ever so small. More of this in another place.

23. He also charges him not to omit any virtuous action, tho' never so small. He was not satisfy'd that his son should be good, he would have him attain to perfection. What pity it is the emperor had not the knowledge of God! as every fault is hurtful, so every good action, though light and inconsiderable is profitable and advantageous; and if done in a state of grace, is meritorious of life everlasting. If you doubt it, consider what God himself

has

NAVA- has promis'd to him that gives a draught of cold water to the needy for his sake.

24. If we regard the confidence a good king ought to have in his ministers, who is there in the world that can equal *Chao Lie*? he intrusted *Leang* with the whole empire, and left it to his own judgment whether he would not appropriate it to himself. The saints admire *S. John Baptist's* sincerity, when the *Jews* putting it into his power to declare himself the *Messiah*, he refus'd it when he might have assum'd that honour. *Lie* puts the empire into the power of *Leang*, he constitutes him judge of the prince's sufficiency, and leaves the whole decision of the emperor's, and wonderful loyalty in *Leang*. A good example to confound those ungrateful, disloyal, and false men, who usurp what they only had committed to them in trust. What matter is it tho' they live great and high, when their treachery and baseness is eterniz'd in the memory of man? what would this infidel say had he heard of your actions?

Example
of moderation.

25. The history of *Leang* says further, that he having always been a counsellor, father, master, and friend to the new emperor, ever seeking and studying the advantage of the crown, he fell sick and died in the army. Before his death he writ a letter to the emperor, in which he said; I leave eight hundred mulberry trees, and fifteen acres of land in the city *Ching Tu*, which is enough to afford my children a moderate maintenance, and they need seek for no more; therefore I beg it as a favour that your majesty will be pleas'd to give them nothing. Rich and mighty *Jews*, Sirs, are full of turbulent thoughts. *Oleaster* handles this point very well in *Num. xvi. ad mores in princip. cap.*

26. Enough might be said of *Leang's* letter, and his poverty, after having had such a hand in the government. The reader may without much trouble make his reflections on it, and consider whether he does, or ever did know any person that can equal this heathen. To excuse in some measure such as are directly opposite to *Leang*, we may alledge what *S. Thomas* says, *Opusc. 28. cap. 7. Wonderful actions are not to be brought as precedents, because weak men can better admire and commend, than imitate them.* But the truth is, they might imitate this heathen if they pleas'd; they neither want the power, nor divine assistance, but they overabound in covetousness and ambition. What has been said, is like to what is written of *Daniel*, cap. v. §. 17. *Leang* was not so singular, but he has had his equals in the world. *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, after he had been in mighty employments, and had great opportunities to grow rich, yet was

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extremely poor, tho' he had a wife and children. *Corn. à Lapid* writes the same of others, in *Gen. xlvii. §. 16.* I think we should find but few modern examples in our age that can bear company with those we have mention'd. Not that they are under less obliging ties, or want better light to walk by, but because being blinded with worldly affairs they suffer themselves to be led away, without considering they by those means draw on their own perdition. I do not say there are no upright and unbiass'd people, I could name some I have known in this place who have given a good example, as to this and other particulars, but they are few and rare. Precious things are always scarce in comparison of those that are mean and base. So good and virtuous men are scarce in comparison of the wicked. *There is an infinite number of fools*, says the Holy Ghost.

27. Prince *Sui* had a mind to build a tower to divert the sight, by the curious prospect of some groves. *Vuang Ki* a counsellor of state, presented a memorial to this effect: the ancients taking the simile from the water, taught the people this doctrine; the water serves the ship to sail on, and to sink it. The emperor is the ship, the people the water; whilst there are people the ship may sail, and the same water may sink it. Your highness may consider you are the ship, and your people the water; if you oppress them too much with taxes, and unnecessary charges, as it now maintains, it may sink you. The people is like a horse, it is rul'd by the bridle, without it the rider is in danger. If you rein him too hard only for sport, it is to be fear'd he will get the bit betwixt his teeth and become unruly. Your highness will do well to remember these two comparisons. The prince was convinc'd, and laid aside his design.

28. These are good similes, if we made our advantage of them. How much has been spent in the world on extravagant pastimes; how grievously has the people been oppress'd on the same account? consider, great men, that ye are ships and want water to sail; too much and too little water are equally fatal to vessels. If you hoist your sails (besides that you may fall short of sailors) at half run you'll be aground for want of water; a ship without water makes no voyage. We will set sail! let us have gardens, houses of pleasure, water-works, high towers, rich liveries, bull-feasts, plays, riding, and other pastime. I allow all this; but first take a view of your estates, territories, and kingdoms; take the depth of the water, sound, see how many fathom there are. Look upon the villages which are destroy'd, and towns unpeopled; see the miserable condition of your subjects, and you will

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29. The *Chinese* commonly ask, whether there are any poor in our countries? we answer, there are some whom God keeps among us to exercise the charity of the rich. This was hinted at in the first book; See *Oleaster* in *Deut. xv*. However they answer, that all being Christians, the rich of necessity must distribute what they have among the poor, and so all must live well. This is what those heathens say, grounding it upon what they hear and read concerning our holy faith; but they don't know how it is in these parts, and what extravagancy there is in expences. If they knew it, there is no doubt but they would bid us return to our own country to preach, as one who had been at *Manila* told me: what do you come hither for? (cry'd he as loud as he could) go preach at *Manila*, for I know very well how things are there, we have no need of you here, we know our duty. I must confess he put me out of countenance.

30. Not long before, as one of my order was preaching to some honest infidels, a merchant just return'd from *Manila* came in; he began a discourse concerning his voyage and trade, and said, I'll go no more to *Manila*, but to *Japan* I will. One reason is, because at *Japan* there are more commodities to lay out my money upon. Another, because the people of *Japan* are better than those of *Manila*. Those who were in company before fixed their eyes upon the father, who they knew came from *Manila*, for the merchant knew him not. I was quite out of countenance (said that

religious man to me) and as cold as ice: NAVA-I return'd home without the least courage or heart to prosecute what I had begun. I could make many reflections upon this passage, let it suffice at present that in the judgment of the heathen, the Christians of *Manila* are worse than the infidels of *Japan*. They are likely by example to forward the conversion of that vast number of Gentiles that resorts thither. All we missionaries say, it is God's special providence that the *Chinese* don't know what is done in Christendom, for if they did they would be never a man among them but would spit in our faces. It has been sufficiently observed and declar'd that none are converted in those parts where they converse with our people, that is at *Macao*, and *Manila*; and if it happens any one does, he proves so bad, it were better he had never been baptized. In the year 1669, a *Chinese* merchant well known at *Macao*, as well to the citizens as to the fathers of the society, after he had dealt with them above sixteen years, being too well vers'd in the *Portuguese* language, and having been often exhorted to receive baptism, for he was an honest man, and we all had a kindness for him, fell sick to death at *Canton*, when we were all there. A father who was his acquaintance went four times to his house, he spoke to the point he went about, but being sent away he return'd home sad and disconsolate. The rich man dy'd and was bury'd in bell. What has been written may suffice to humble the vanity of those who boast they go to people those countries, that they may contribute to the conversion of souls. Let us go on to another chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

A Continuation of the same Subject.

1. THE prince who forbore raising a tower for the reason mention'd in the last chapter, order'd an edict to be set forth, in which he commanded none but persons well qualify'd should be chosen into places of honour and trust. *Puang Chang* one of the council of state presented a memorial of this purport. There must be no precipitation in electing of ministers of state, if there be, such election will not prove good. The plant that springs up fast is not lasting, in the morning it is gay, and at night withers. The cypress and pine which grow but slowly preserve their greenness, tho' the snow and cold dew falls upon them. Therefore I beseech your highness that you will be cautious in chusing of ministers, and take time to consider on it. Your highness will do well to raise those that humble themselves and withdraw out

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of the way, and to make account of those that are not covetous, to esteem those brave, who are of an easy and good temper. Railing and commending proceed from love and hatred, and cause good and ill fortune. If I be censur'd, it is proper to examine my life and actions. If I am guilty of what is given out, they that take notice of it are in the right; if I am not guilty of it, no account is to be made of their censures, for being false it will vanish as clouds do before the wind. The proverb advises, to wear lambskins to keep out the cold; and to be cloth'd in innocence, and lead a good life to avoid being censur'd. This, sir, is the way to curb ill tongues. See *Oleaster* in *Exod. xviii*. *A Lapid* in *Exod. xxiii*. §. 8. and *Cajetan* in *Exod. xviii*. §. 21. *Oleaster* in *Num. i. Sylv. Tom. 6. pag. 495. quæst. 4. & pag. 500. num. 46. Caius Tiberius* made no account

Oleaster quoted above ch. first, that men pretend much poverty when they are to pay debts, or give alms, but not to game, or relieve luxury, &c.

Christians

RETTE.

What Oleaster says of Eugubinus in Deut. xv. is much to the purpose, excepting only the case of idolatry, we are worse than the Gentiles. See S. Thom. in 2. Pet. ii. 2. in fine.

NAVARETTE account of ill tongues, and us'd to say, *In a free city tongues ought to be free.*

2. This heathen left us excellent instructions to the two points he handles, and seems rather a Christian long vers'd in the schools of virtue. The first point shall be handled in another place. As to the second, the great *Sixtus* the third pope, could speak no better to it in his famous epistle, when a heinous crime was most fallily laid to his charge, it is set down in 11. q. 4. *inter verba*, his words are these, *Brethren, we are not to decline to the left, on account of the accusations, or reflections of malicious persons, or the opinion of those that commend us; but amidst commendations or affronts, we must look into our selves, (the heathen we speak of says the same thing) and if we do not there find the good that is said of us, it ought to cause us much trouble; and again, if we find not there what the ill men say of us, we ought greatly to rejoice. For what signifies it, tho' all men commend, if our conscience accuse us; or tho' all men accuse, if our conscience clears us? For what is it slanderers do, but blow upon dust, or throw dirt in their own eyes? Thus groundless reflections vanish like the clouds. Let him that has not seen this epistle read it, for it is very elegant, and affords much comfort upon such occasions.*

3. In the reign of the emperor *Hoi Hoang Ti*, all offices and places of trust were sold openly; then one *Lu Pao* writ a treatise call'd *Cien Xe Lun*, that is a discourse and argument concerning the virtue of money, reflecting on the emperor and his ministers; and he said thus, speaking in the person of money: I am like heaven and earth, my name is square-hole, (the brass coin has a square hole in the middle, and tho' this was writ above two thousand years since, the same continues to this day without altering the shape, or rising or falling) I am honour'd, tho' void of virtue; I am obey'd, tho' I have no power or authority; I wait at the imperial bed-chamber door, like a peer; I go without any opposition into the privatest parts of the palace; I ease the afflicted, I raise the dead, (that is, those that are condemn'd to death) I humble and debase the nobility; I raise mean persons; I kill the living in war, law-suits, and strifes; without me there is no victory; I lay open the goals in sight of the keepers; I abate hatred, and suppress anger and revenge; fame and renown is increas'd by me: I live lovingly with the great men at court, the nobility and commons; no man is weary, or has enough of me, all men carry me in their hands; from first to last I am well clad and close kept (this he says, because in *China* they carry their money in curious square cloths fast knotted) at present there is no body in greater power or

favour, I am the only concern of all people. A sharp thought; he pounds all he has said, but I need not explain it any further, for any man may with ease see into the meaning of it. The poet express'd it in few words: *In mundo summus rex est hoc tempore nummus.* *Albertus magnus* mentions it 1 *Polit. cap. 7.* And all things are obedient to money, says the Holy Ghost. *S. Augustin. 7. de Civit. cap. 12.* says, the ancients call'd *Jupiter, pecunia*, or money, because all things are his.

4. Here it is to be observ'd, that in so many thousand of years as have pass'd since the foundation of that empire, and always under paganism, employments were never sold but at this time. The *Chinese* abhor this abuse. *S. John Chrysostom* laments the mischiefs that ensue of selling places of trust. *Honours are become venal, a thousand mischiefs arise from it, and yet no body takes care to correct, none to reprove it, but this way of traffick has found admittance, and is follow'd.* *S. Thomas* in his opusculum to the dutchels of *Brabant*, handles this subject, so does *Tapia* in his *Catena Moralis*, and others. The *French* complain of their king for introducing so much of this practice, tho' it be upon such conditions, as may in some measure justify it; yet they say, not deserving, but rich persons carry all preferments, which ruins the publick. Be it as it will, what is good every where ought to be imitated; what is bad ought never to be propos'd as an example to follow. If this thing be bad in it self, will this man or the others practicing make it allowable?

5. I will not omit to insert in this place a false imputation laid upon our late king of happy memory, by his enemies. *F. Anthony Gouvea* a jesuit often us'd to tell me of it, he said and positively affirm'd, that even the bishopricks of *Spain* were dispos'd of for money, and brought examples of his time to make good his assertion. But this falshood is disprov'd by the great multitude of learned, pious, and most religious prelates there have been in this age, and are still living, who may vie with those of the primitive church. This truth is further made out by some of them generously refusing to accept of great dignities, and others, who did not admit of their promotion to the greatest churches till oblig'd to it by the supreme head. If any thing of this nature was done, I am perswaded it was by those of his nation (*Gouvea* was a *Portuguese*) and no others, or some persons perhaps aspir'd to it by that means, as was done at *Manila* by *Dr. Cabrall*, from whom four thousand pieces of eight were taken with this intent, as master *Girony Chueva* told me in the presence of the same doctor, which he own'd. But it will be convenient

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venient we make our benefit of the doctrine of *Sixtus* the third, and the counsellor *Cbang*, against slanderers. I only desire *F. Gouvea* to read the paper, four and twenty of the commons presented to his *Portuguese* king *Alonso*, where he will find things that ought to concern him nearer. We are all oblig'd, not only to eschew evil, but even those occasions that may be a motive or ground of evil.

Pre-
sents.

6. The emperor *Vu Ti* was a great admirer of idols, his counsellor *Tan Cbin* made it out to him that the idols were nothing (this is a proposition of *St. Paul's*, *An idol is nothing in the world*, but the *Chinese* speaks not in the same sense as the *Apostle*) and that all things in the world happen by chance (this is as bad as idolatry:) to be great, or mean, rich or poor, is all accident, even as the blossoms of a tree when shook by the wind, some fall in the dirt, and some in clean places; those that light upon clean spots are kings and noblemen, those that tumble in the dirt are the multitude. Hence comes the distinction betwixt nobles and commons, rich and poor, kings and subjects, and not from the idols. There is no pure spirit without a body, the spirit is the matter and basis of the body: spirits are nothing but the motions and actions of the body. The spirit is in the body in the same nature as the edge is in the sword; there is no destroying the sword, and leaving the edge without it. How then can the soul remain without the body, or the body without the soul? the body dies and the soul dies with it, for it was nothing but the actions and motions of the body; so there is no reward nor punishment, nor idols, nor spirits, nor any other life; all the *bonzes* teach is a mere fiction.

The Holy
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ver. 5.

Soul.

Literati.

Spirit.

7. *F. Anthony Gouvea* in his manuscript history, which was read in the presence of us all when we were confin'd in *Canton*, says, *Tan* spoke like a follower of the sect of the *Literati*, or learned men, which knows nothing of an immortal soul, or another life; there is nothing but living and dying, with good fortune or without it, which is all mere accident; when body and soul are dead, there is an end of all. What they call spirits are the corporeal souls of those that die, which eat and drink, and walk about the mountains and graves. Many believe not much of this, because since by the doctrine of their sect, the soul is nothing but air; *Ki* or *Li*, that is, the motion of a living body; as soon as this died, the soul vanish'd and dissolv'd into shadows, as the *Latin* poet said of a soul, *Fugit indignata per umbras*. This is the wisdom of atheists and wise ideots. Thus far *F. Gouvea*. This is to satisfy all men, that it was not only the two religious orders (*S. Do-*

minick's and *S. Francis's*) who conceited the sect of the learned held these opinions we have here mention'd, and that it was not without good grounds they asserted it, as has been given out in some parts. More shall be said to this point in the second tome, it was sufficient to give a hint of it in this place.

NAVA-
RETTE.

8. *Tan Cbin* in his way follow'd the example of those hereticks, of whom *S. Thomas* often says, that to avoid one inconvenience they fell into others greater. *Tan* undertook to argue against the idols, and to this purpose ran into all those errors we have mention'd. He that walks in the dark without the light of faith, must needs stumble and fall. Many ancient *Europeans* profess the same errors as this heathen. *Pythagoras* and *Epicurus* deny'd the providence of *God*. Read *Lactan. de fals. Relig. lib. I. cap. 2*. Like those who the book of *Wisdom* tells us said, *He walks about heaven, and regards not our affairs. Thales, Milesius, Democritus* and *Pythagoras* maintained, that all things came to pass of necessity, and by an unavoidable fate. *Democritus* and *Lucretius* taught, that all ended with the body. *Decianus*, and others, that the soul was not distinct from the body. The *Sadducees* deny'd any other life, own'd no immortality of the soul, angels, or any spirits; nor any other thing which they did not comprehend by sense and reason; says *Beccanus de Sestariis Synagoga cap. 12. q. 8. Tertullian lib. I. de anima cap. de morte* says of *Seneca*, that he was of opinion, death was an end of all things. *Zeno* said all things were accidental, as says *S. Thomas opus. de fato*. I look upon it as most certain, that there is no error maintain'd in *China*, but what has been in other countries, as appears by what has been said here, and is well prov'd by *F. Longobardus* a jesuit in the treatise I shall insert in my second tome.

9. The above-nam'd emperor was so taken with the idols and their doctrine, that he kept many *bonzes* within his palace, put on their habit in private, and pray'd, and perform'd the other ceremonies with them. The learned men opposing this religion both by word and writing, the commonalty became so averse to it, and conceiv'd so mean an idea of the *bonzo* priests, that tho' the emperor promis'd honours and preferments to those that would wear the habit of *bonzes*, yet no man embrac'd it, looking upon that as the meanest and most abject condition in the world. The emperor to compass his design, set forth an edict, pardoning all persons whatsoever that were under sentence of death, upon condition they should become *bonzes*, and as such serve the idols. The criminals accepted of the offer, but it being rather through constraint than out of any

Bonzes.

NAVARETTA. any inclination, they presently fell off, and absconded. The emperor hearing of it, order'd search to be made for them; and that they should be secur'd, and to prevent their flying for the future, he commanded their heads to be shav'd, laying an injunction under severe penalties that the bonzes, to be known from other men, should ever be shav'd. It was always thought convenient that we missionaries should not be habited or appear like the bonzes. Read *Oleaster in Num. vi. ad mores.*

10. This is the origin of the Chinese bonzes wearing no hair, and the end or design was that we have mention'd, not that fiction *F. de Angelis* writes. Hence it is, that when any bonzo presents a petition to a mandarin, he signs with these words, *cien feng*, that is bonzo imprison'd, alluding to the emperor's imprisoning those that fled. From that time they increas'd very much, and daily multiply.

11. The empress was also displeas'd at her husband's familiarity with the bonzes: to ridicule and laugh at them, she invited them to an entertainment of flesh, but so disguis'd that they might not know it. The secret was discover'd, they all started and would not eat, they caus'd those dress'd meats to be buried near a dead body: sometime after they gave out that garlick, onions and leeks sprung up in that place, and the bonzes in hatred to the flesh from which they sprung, eat none of them. So said *F. Brancato* an ancient missionary of the society.

12. About this same time the history of *China* gives a very singular account of *Kao Juen*, one of the council of state, which is thus: he having serv'd five emperors for the space of fifty years, was not found to have committed the least fault or slip in the execution of his office. This heathen was very much addicted to virtue, sparing, humble, upright, and uncorrupted; and tho' he enjoy'd revenues on account of his employments, yet he ever had the poverty in which he was born before his eyes, and died at ninety eight years of age. Great pity that such a man should not have the knowledge of God! But if he observ'd the law of nature, he could not fail of the assistance of his Maker. *S. Augustine, lib. I. de lib. arbit. cap. 6.* expounding those words of *Psal. iv. The light of thy countenance, &c.* says thus, *That a notion of the eternal law is imprinted in all men whatsoever.* And *lib. II. cap. 10. certain lights of virtues, to wit, that we ought to live uprightly.* *S. Basil*, whom we quoted in another place, *That there is in us a sort of natural judgment, by which we easily discern good from evil.* These were the causes *Kao Juen* liv'd and acted with so much integrity. We shall not find many such counsellors as this throughout the

world. It cannot be denied but that it is very extraordinary, that such men should be found in countries where the wicked do so abound. *S. Thomas, opusc. 18. cap. 7.* says of *Abraham*, *Abraham's virtue was very great, for that he possessing riches, had his mind estrang'd from them; and great was the strengib of Sampson, who without any arms, but only the jaw-bone of an ass, slew many of his enemies. For in truth he does wonders who living among riches, does not give up his heart to them: therefore it is Ecclesiast. so highly commends those that are rich after this manner, Blessed is the man that is found without blemish. The rich man (says the saint) appears to be very virtuous, and perfectly fix'd to God through charity, who contrails not the blemish of sin through the love of riches, who is not carried away after the desire of gold, &c.* *Kao Juen* preserv'd himself so many years poor, humble, and uncorrupted, among so many covetous and so many proud men as are in *China*. It is very rare. *S. Thomas in Job i. leſ. 2.* has these words concerning pride, *It usually springs from the abundance of temporal things.* *Kao* had an estate, revenues, and great places, and yet liv'd poor, and humble. Few are to be found among Christians that will imitate him.

13. In the reign of the emperor *Tang Hoang Ti*, a rebel took a captain whose name was *Xing Jeu Su*; he commanded him to write to a brother he had who was governor of a city, to deliver it up to him: and if you do it not, said he, I will this moment put you to death. *Jeu Su* writ to this effect, I poor-spirited and base man fell into the hands of these robbers, and perform'd not the duty of a subject, since I lost not my life in defence of the place the emperor intrusted me withal; be you true and faithful to the emperor tho' it cost you your life. The rebel took the letter, read it, and having a while consider'd on it, said to him, Thou art an honourable, noble, and loyal gentleman, thou deservest not death, but a thousand lives; thou hast won my heart by thy worth, valour, and loyalty; I will treat thee like an intimate friend, not as a prisoner; thou shalt eat at my table, drink out of my cup, and all I have shall be thine. This is the effect of goodness and virtue, that even the greatest enemies discern, value and honour it. Would to God others who are under much greater ties, would prove so loyal upon such occasions. Some news were carried out of *Europe* into *China*, but such, as it were better no memory of them were left to posterity. *Breidas* requires in a commander, valour, courage and fortitude; I know not why *Jeu Su* may not be well entitled to them.

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14. In the reign of the emperor *Tai Zung*, there was a king in *Canton* so powerful and haughty, that he disown'd his sovereignty. The emperor order'd levies to be made to subdue him. *Ngoei Chin*, one of the council of state, presented a memorial to the emperor, advising to send an ambassador to treat with him in a peaceable manner, by which they might save charges and bloodshed: it was done accordingly, and the king or *royalet* was so pleas'd at the honour the emperor did him, that he immediately sent his son to court with a rich present, paying homage anew to the emperor, and so all was pacified and made easy. This is a good policy.

15. In short, the emperor was thankful *NAVA-* for the good advice, and rewarded the counsellor that gave it with one hundred pieces of silk. I heard at times some rigorous proceedings against domesticks and strangers censur'd. What I most wonder'd at was, that in *China* a missionary, complaining of I know not what affront that had been given certain ambassadors of *Naples*, his native country, he said, If *Naples* had any of the royal family, as *Portugal* had, it would not have been so. I own I thought it strange to come from a missionary.

CHAP. XV.

Actions and Sayings of other Emperors.

1. THE emperor *Tai Zung* caus'd all the materials for building a stately palace to be brought together: afterwards he consider'd further upon his design, and having maturely consulted with his pillow, he broke out into these following words, The emperor *Tu* employ'd many thousands of men in draining the waters, which in his time had over-flow'd the country, yet no man complain'd, because the profit and advantage was common to all. The emperor *Chin* built a palace with the sweat of his subjects, who complain'd and groan'd grievously, because the benefit accru'd only to the emperor, and not to the people. I considering this late and fresh example of my predecessor *Chin*, tho' I have all things in a readiness for building of a palace, do desist from my design, and lay aside my inclination to this new structure. The subjects understanding how their lord and emperor had argued with himself, and the resolution he had taken, they so wholly addict'd themselves to his service, and with so good a will, that by their industry the royal treasure, and the publick good was much advanc'd. The emperor argued very discreetly and wisely, but had been more commendable for doing it before he brought together the materials, which would have sav'd his subjects no small trouble.

2. The aforesaid emperor went on and said, I have heard that the *Barbarian* of the west, call'd *Hia Hu*, accidentally got a stone of very great value; to secure it, he convey'd it into his bowels, and rent them to this effect. Those who heard of it laugh'd at, and made a jest of him, because he lost his life to secure a stone, valuing that jewel above his own being. Covetous kings and emperors are like him, they lose their dominions by gathering

treasures by tyrannical extortion. Now what is this but tearing their bowels to secure the jewel, and so losing their life and crown? The same is done by the *mandarines* that are corrupted, they receive the bribe and lose their lives.

3. Covetousness is a mighty evil, it ought to be kept at a great distance from kings and princes. *Samnitius* said, *I had rather rule over those that have gold, than to have gold myself.* *S. Thomas*, 3. *de regim. princ.* relates these words of *Marcus Curius*; Tell the *Samnites* that *Marcus Curius* had rather have the command of rich men, than become rich: and remember, I can neither be overthrown in battle, nor corrupted with money. *Fabrizius* said the same. There are few *Curii* and *Fabrizii* at present. *Caius Tiberius Nero* was advis'd to lay heavy taxes on the provinces; such are the projects of this world, such was the advice they gave to *Jeroboam*: he answer'd very discreetly and honourably, *It is the part of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not to devour them.* Another said, the king was made for the kingdom, not the kingdom for the king. There is a medium betwixt both extremes, by keeping the law of God. Let it be well consider'd what burden the people is able to bear, and what the present necessity is; the necessity must be understood to be absolutely pressing, not such as is contriv'd; that is, it must not be caus'd by superfluous, extravagant, and unnecessary expences.

4. It is but reasonable to lay a burden upon him that has strength to bear it; but it is a madness to place the weight upon him that is not able to carry himself. The *Chinese* oblige all persons, from two and twenty to sixty years of age, to pay taxes, supposing they are not able to bear that burden either before or after. This is something like the duty of fasting impos'd

NAVARETTE. by the church. To take a morsel of bread from him that has but two to feed four mouths, is not *sheering but devouring the sheep*. And what good can it do the sovereign, but breed ill blood, and oblige him to disgorge? Holy *Job* cap. xx. seems to say as much; *His meat in his bowels is turn'd, it is the gall of asps within him. He bath swallow'd down riches, and he shall vomit them up again, God shall cast them out of his belly.* Which verifies what *Eccles.* says of the covetous man, *chap. v. Riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt.* Read *Oleaster* in *Num. xxi.* he speaks admirably to the purpose.

Six hundred and thirty six. Christianity in China.

5. In the reign of this emperor, which was six hundred and thirty six years after the incarnation of CHRIST, the light of the gospel came into China. It continued two hundred years in great vogue, followed by many, and favour'd by this and other emperors, as appears by the stone found in the province of *Xen Si*. What seems to make against a thing so plain in our opinion, is, that tho' the *Chinese* are so very exact in their annals and histories, yet not the least memory of it is found there. This makes not only the heathens, but even the Christians doubtful in this case. For this reason, when the persecution was begun, the governors and our enemy, supposing it to be an invention of the missionaries, they sent trusty persons to that province to enquire into it; what the event of it was we did not hear. What we are assured of, allowing the said story to be authentick, is, that those servants of GOD did not escape without some trouble and persecution, tho' eight emperors favour'd them. *F. Kircher* speaks much to this purpose, *p. 1. 2.* and again *p. 34.*

Information necessary to a prince.

Ecc. vi. 34. If thou love to hear, thou wilt be wise.

6. *Tai Zung*, who was one of the famouslest emperors of *China*, ask'd the counsellor *Chin* beforemention'd; What it was that made a prince famous and renown'd among his subjects, and the contrary? He answer'd, That emperor who hears all men, is famous and renown'd; he that gives ear only to one man, is wicked, and cannot govern well. The reason of it is, because a favourite to secure his post, speaks what is pleasing to the prince, concealing the grievances of the monarchy and subjects, persuading him they are rich and in plenty, tho' they be starving; so that many kings have been ruin'd by being thus impos'd on. But when the prince hears all men, he cannot be deceiv'd nor flatter'd, for there are always some open-hearted and unbiass'd persons, who make the truth known, tho' many endeavour to conceal it; for there are always some zealous for the publick good, and careful of your majesty's honour. You are in the right, an-

swer'd the emperor, and added; All men say, the emperor is in so high a station, and has so much power, that he needs fear nothing. I am of another opinion: the emperor ought to fear heaven, as a son does his father, who can punish, take away his crown, and bestow it on another. (This is the common opinion of the *Chinese*, and the usual way of talking in that country. The ancients call'd *Saturn* the son of heaven, *Lactan. de fals. relig. cap. 20.*) On earth he fears his subjects, whose eyes are always on the emperor, censuring and railing at his actions, whence ensue the tumults and revolutions of states. Therefore it is requisite he live cautiously and with much moderation, always apprehending lest he does not perform what heaven requires at his hands, and his subjects expect. The counsellor commendeth his discourse, and exhorted him to act according to it. I think both of them spoke very discreetly. The saying of *Rodulphus* the founder of the *Austrian* family, agrees well with *Chin's* opinion: *Come to me all men, for I was not call'd to empire to be stout up in a chest.* He was for seeing and hearing all men. *Ferdinand* the first gave admittance to all men; and seeing once they stop'd a woman who desir'd to come to speak to him, he said, *If we exclude the poor from our presence, what will become of us before the tribunal of God?* A mighty expression, and admirable words! *Bernulaus* writes it. *Moses* spent the whole day in hearing the people. The emperor fear'd heaven, because he knew no other deity or god. Those who thro' the divine mercy have obtain'd a great share of light, have greater cause to fear and consider that GOD is their father, their king, their lord and master, who as he gave them crowns and scepters gratis, so he can take them away and inflict them on others, and besides, bestow everlasting punishments on the foul. Therefore it is said, that the first thing a king ought to conceive, is, that GOD is absolute lord of all things; and it is most certain that all things prosper with him that truly serves and honours him. My holy father *S. Thomas* has excellent lines to this purpose, *lib. I. de reg. princ.* he makes out his assertion by what happened to *Solomon*, for whilst he continued to worship the true GOD, his kingdom and glory still advanced. He fail'd in that particular, and soon found a general decay in all respects. The same happened to his son. In order to govern well, it is absolutely necessary to give ear to all men. There are some that have but one ear, which proves of very dangerous consequence; GOD gave two, and both ought to be made use of. *We have heard with our ears*, said *David*. I hear with both ears,

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9. G emperor exceeds, of his peace, quell'd, ages; if ligent and the with gre fore no for fear

ears, let both play their part, and let neither be stopp'd when the other hears. Others have never a one, for they hear with neither. And what is worst of all, others will not have them, for through a conceit they have of themselves, they fancy they know and understand all things: these are most likely to commit mistakes.

7. At this time there were great swarms of locusts in *China*. The emperor went out into his gardens, and taking up some of them spoke these words; The people maintain themselves on wheat, rice, &c. you come to devour and destroy it, without leaving any thing behind; it were better you should devour my bowels, than the food of my subjects. He went to swallow them; and some that stood by telling him they were venomous, he answer'd, I value not my life when it is for the good of my subjects and people; and immediately he swallow'd them. The history tells us, the locusts that very moment took wing, and went off without doing any harm that year.

8. Strange was the love this heathen bore his subjects, the consequence was wonderful. Why may we not say, God rewarded the compassion of this emperor, and his zeal for the good of his people? If it was not so, what can we attribute that prodigy to? We know for certain, there is no good action but what God rewards, as shall be said in another place; why then should that pass unrecompens'd? The emperor expos'd his life for his people. This is no more than a wise man said, viz.

A good king is the publick servant. The king is for the kingdom, and not the contrary. To shew his tenderness yet further, he afterwards made a law, that the magistrates should fast the day that any criminals were executed, that neither flesh nor wine should be put upon his imperial table that day, that no plays should be acted at court, nor there should be no musick, or other demonstration of joy. He said, It was a matter of high consequence, and a subject of much compassion, to take away any man's life tho' his crimes deserv'd it. The law was observ'd as long as he liv'd.

9. Governing an empire, said the good emperor, is like curing a distemper; if he that is upon the recovery is careless, or exceeds, he relapses with great danger of his life. The monarchy now enjoys peace, the *Barbarians* on the frontiers are quell'd, a happiness rarely known in past ages; if relying on this calm I grow negligent or unruly, a relapse will ensue, and the late rebellions will be renew'd with greater danger of utter ruin. Therefore no day passes but I am upon my guard, for fear this present prosperity should have

an end. For this reason I desire you my *NAVY*-counsellors, that at all times, and upon all occasions, you give me your advice, and reprove me for all the errors you judge I commit. Could *Philip* the second have spoken better?

10. He prefer'd *Li Xi Zu* his counsellor to a great employment, and he presently fell sick to death. The physicians said, that the hair of the beard reduc'd to powder (a strange medicine) and drank in wine, were the only remedy to cure that distemper. The sick man was much troubled to hear that prescription; (for the *Chinese* put a high value on their hair and beard, a great madness when his life lay at stake) the emperor heard of it, he presently cut off his beard, which being administer'd to the sick man, he recover'd. When recover'd, he went to return thanks; and the emperor said, I did it not for your sake, but for my own and the empire's, who stand in need of such ministers as you are, therefore thank me not for it. The *Chinese* make great account of the emperor's cutting off his beard to recover his counsellor in that extremity; and if it was such a man as he represented him, he acted as might be expected from his zeal for his people. It cannot be deny'd but a good minister is highly to be valued, a prince cannot do too much for him.

11. He left excellent instructions to his *Tai Zung* son in his will. In the first place he said to him; raise and make petty kings of your own family. This in *China* is excellent policy, perhaps it may not be so in other places; the more the emperor is supported by kindred, the safer he is. Secondly, Seek wise and virtuous men to employ in your councils and places of trust. A hard and difficult point; men change in high posts, and princes cannot divine; *No man is bound to divine*, says the civil law. There are many, says *Tacitus*, an. 3. who seem unfit for preferments, and yet being once rais'd to them, they discharge them with much zeal and uprightness. There are others who seem to be men of great parts and ability, and afterwards prove vicious and unfit for government. They conceal their vices at first, but having attain'd to the preferment, they return to their old customs. Others are contrary to these. *Otho* having been a loose liver in *Rome*, when prefect of *Lusitania*, alter'd, and govern'd very well. All men thought *Galba* worthy of the empire, and yet he was a wicked emperor; *Tit. Liv. lib. l. biff.* *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was extraordinary lewd, and when rais'd to dignities extremely modest; *Budæus*, in *l. fin. chart. 147.* Thirdly, Examine those that are to be *mandarines*. Fourthly, Receive all memorials that

NAVARETTE. that are to give advice. *Fifthly*, Remove from about you all slanderers and flatterers. *Sixthly*, Have a care of haughty and proud men. *Seventhly*, Honour those that are moderate and sparing. *Eighthly*, Reward the good, and punish the bad. *Ninthly*, Have special regard to the husbandman's labour. Read *Oleaster*, in *Num. i. ad mores & cap. ii. Tenthly*, Keep your soldiers al-

ways well disciplin'd, that you may not be surpriz'd by unexpected accidents. Thus you will establish your crown. After this the emperor dy'd, leaving behind him instructions and doctrine that all men may benefit by. What *European* could leave better precepts with all the learning that is among us?

CHAP. XVI.

Other Instances still upon the same Subject.

Hien Zung's bearing of reproof.

1. THE emperor Hien Zung had a counsellor who was so upright, that he reprov'd him for every fault. The emperor dreaded him on this account, and was very melancholy and drooping. The other counsellors said to him; Ever since Han Hieu (this was the counsellor's name) has taken upon him to give your majesty memorials of advice, you are melancholy and lean. Will it not be convenient, sir, that you give him some employment, and under that pretence send him from court, and so your majesty will be eas'd of him? The emperor answer'd, It is true, I am melancholy, and fallen away, I don't disown it, but my empire is fat and flourishing. Hieu's counsels, which by reason they are continual, sharp and quick, waste and perplex me, make the empire thrive. By my putting them in execution, the government is kept up, tho' I be somewhat impair'd. Other counsels that are given me, suite with my taste and relish, I shall grow fat if I follow them, but the people will grow lean; but Hieu's resolute and open-hearted remonstrances make me live in security, and advance my interest, tho' they somewhat weaken me; therefore I will always have him by me, not for my private satisfaction, but for the general good of my subjects.

2. Many arguments are generally alledg'd to prove that a minister of state ought not to be too rigid, and that he must not press too hard upon the prince (few are troubled with such ministers) that publick affairs must take their course, &c. but they may take such a course as may ruin all. I am for the practice of Hien Zung. *Oleaster* in 24 *ad mores*, writes with admiration, how usual it is to flatter the prince's inclination.

Emperor ploughs and reaps.

3. This emperor instituted a ceremony which continues to this day. He would go out to his orchard, there he plough'd the ground himself, sow'd corn, and when ripe, reap'd and carry'd it in. He commanded his sons and nobility to do the same, and gave two reasons for it. The first was, that the flower and bread being

us'd in the sacrifices they offer to the emperors departed, it was not proper any other but the emperor should sow and reap that corn, which shew'd his respect and submission to his progenitors. Observe here how great account the *Chinese* make of the sacrifices to their ancestors, neither the emperor, nor any other man of any worth does the like for any person living. The second reason was, to make his sons and nobility sensible of the pains and labour the husbandman takes in tilling the earth, and gathering in its fruits, on which all men subsist. Hence, said he, will ensue a moderation in expences, and privileges will be granted to them that live expos'd to the weather in the fields. It were good to bring up this ceremony, that some persons might not keep so many beasts, and that lords might have compassion of their vassals.

4. The emperor Ta Zung order'd, that Ta Zung's nothing which was rare and singular should be offer'd to the emperors, such as beasts, jewels, stuffs, &c. brought from far countries; and he turn'd out of his palace, all he found there of this sort. He said, the revenues of the empire were not to maintain beasts, or clothe the emperor, but to maintain the subjects, and clothe the soldiers and the poor. This expression, in my opinion, would have become a *S. Lewis*, or a *S. Ferdinand*.

5. A curious map delicately drawn was presented him, which he refus'd to receive, saying, The fruitful and abundant year, when my subjects have plenty of sustenance, is the map I love to divert my eyes on. The best map in my opinion, is to find wife, discreet, and virtuous men to put into employments. This heathen was very nice. Many will commend him, but I should be glad if it were but a few would follow his example. *A Lapide*, in *Gen. xlix. v. 15*. has something to this purpose, see it there.

6. He said to one of his counsellors, I would fain retrench unnecessary expences, and save charges, that my people might live in quiet and ease; but to the end my design may succeed, I must begin at my self. He did so.

7. This

7. in the and his first, & says, family, when i the libe Maced so that bad fir was a obediem chap. 7. said th it in y doctri a great Nazian ambition is more divine when t peror A peace, t tery, a no good tremity

See S. Greg. l. 4. in 1 Reg. i. iv.

Xi Zong provides for his people in a famine.

Infant-prince.

the peop ther; w will not them sta venues a wants a this nob care tha leaving ous actio plauded world e 9. Th near her Whence From m said the for her h from his son call'd you die I so when brother; peror w the gove children how to p danger. was a dif VOL.

7. This agrees with what *Tacitus* writes in the life of *Agricola*: *Beginning by himself and his family, he retrench'd his own family first, &c. Cassiodorus Lib. X. Var. Epist. 5. says, We will begin good order in our own family, that others may be afraid'd to do amiss, when it is known we do not allow our people the liberty of transgressing.* *Lycurgus* king of *Macedon* reform'd the commonwealth: yet so that he made no law to bind others, till he had first practis'd it himself. *Bias* said he was a good king, who himself first gave obedience to his country's laws. Read *Ecccl. chap. x. v. 21.* All depends on the head, said the philosopher. *S. Thomas* speaks of it in *Joan. xxi. left. 3.* where he has good doctrine to this purpose. To save forces is a great means to save charges. *S. Greg. Nazian. orat. 9. says, Wars proceed from ambition, from wars taxes, than which nothing is more severely condemn'd and blam'd in the divine judgment.* Arms must be taken up when there is no other remedy. The emperor *Marcian* said, *Whilst we can be in peace, let us not bring on war.* War is a canker, a bitter purge, which does harm, and no good, unless apply'd in the utmost extremity.

S. S. Greg. l. 4. in 1 Reg. i. iv.

Xi Zung provides for his people in a famine.

8. In the reign of the emperor *Xi Zung*, there was a famine in the southern provinces, he order'd a course should be taken to relieve that want. His council answer'd, it was impossible to relieve all that wanted, because they were an innumerable multitude. The emperor said, my subjects the people are my children, I am their father; what father is so inhuman, that he will not relieve his children, when he sees them starving? what do I value my revenues and treasures, but to supply such wants as these? The counsellors hearing this noble resolution, took such effectual care that all might be reliev'd, without leaving any one person in distress. A glorious action, which would be highly applauded in the holiest king or pope the world ever had.

Infant-prince.

9. The emperor *Tai Zu's* mother being near her end, call'd her son and ask'd him, Whence had you the empire? he answer'd, From my forefathers merits. It is not so, said the empress, (and she was in the right, for her husband had usurp'd it tyrannically from his predecessor, which violence her son call'd merit.) Hear me now, son, when you die leave your brother your heir; and so when he dies let him leave his younger brother; for that empire which has an emperor who is at age, and can enter upon the government, is safe; but if it falls into childrens hands, they neither can, nor know how to govern it, so that it is expos'd to danger. Her son did so. The empress was a discreet woman, and seeing that her

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predecessor having left a child but seven *NAVA*-years old his heir, he was dethron'd, she feared lest the same might happen to her son, if he should leave an infant-prince his heir.

10. This is not a precaution to be practis'd in all places. We have in our days seen great monarchies left to infants. That of *Spain* to *Charles* the second now reigning, whom *God* preserve. That of *China* to the present emperor, who was but five years of age, took upon him the government at thirteen, and in my time discharg'd himself of it to the general satisfaction of all people. They substituted one year, as the custom there is, that he might begin to govern at fourteen. The emperor of *Japan* was left but young.

11. The counsellor *Zao Pu* presented a *Constancy* memorial containing, that it was requisite to change the mandarines, to raise some, and put down others. The emperor was offend'd at it, and answer'd, I will not do at present as you advise. *Pu* reply'd, The reward or punishment of it depends not on your majesty's consenting to, or opposing it, but on the right and reason of the thing. A resolute expression, yet justifiable. No man ought to govern himself by his will and pleasure. Reason and judgment ought to give laws; the will is blind and incapable of direction and government. When the *Pharisees* said to our *LORD, Matth. xii. We will see a sign from thee;* *Cajetan* takes notice of the word, *we will,* and says, *observe the rashness.* It is a rashness for man to suffer himself to be led away by his will, to act according to it, without regard to the rules and law of reason.

12. The emperor was in disorder (for great men do not love to hear such naked truths) and in a pet retir'd to his apartment, (another would have vented passion after another manner.) *Pu* followed him to the door, where he waited a great while with much resolution and constancy, and without fearing to displease his lord, so he did the duty of his office. The emperor was pacify'd, and approving of his minister's zeal, perform'd all he had advis'd; telling him there at the door where he found him waiting, that he was well pleas'd at the zeal he had shewn. I know not which of them deserves most commendation, whether the emperor for his patience, or the counsellor for his constancy. *Ezop* said to *Solon, Kings are to be spoken to as little as possible, or in as soft a manner as may be.* *Solon* answer'd, *Not so, but it must be either with much integrity, or not at all.* So did *Pu*. He that is so bold exposes himself to much danger. *Tacit. lib. i. bis. It is a thing of much trouble to persuade a prince to*

C c

what

NAVA- what is convenient. You hazard your life
RETTE. and reputation, said Bravo.

13. A few days after he presented another memorial against a counsellor, it took no effect; he repeated it another day, to no purpose; he try'd again the third time. The emperor in a passion tore the memorial. Pu very calmly gathered all the pieces, and putting them in their places pasted them together, and so offer'd it again to the emperor. He yielding to the minister's resolution, did as he desired. Here it is worth discussing, which deserves most commendation, whether the emperor's patience, or the counsellor's resolution. Let the wife decide it.

Cien Vu's
care of his
soldiers.

14. Cien Vu, the emperor's general, was in the kingdom of Cho with a mighty army. One day it snow'd, and the emperor bethinking himself of the cold and misery his soldiers endur'd, said, It is not reasonable that I should be in my palace clad in silks and fables at my ease, faring well and sleeping heartily, and that my soldiers should be in the field, standing under all this snow that falls, and perhaps many of them have not wherewithal to cover their nakedness. This said, he took off his fables, and causing a vast quantity of skins and garments to be got together, sent them to the army. The soldiers rejoicing that their lord the emperor was so mindful of them, gave great acclamations, swore either to conquer or die in his service, and overthrew the enemy.

15. The action had been great in Charles the fifth: what the soldiers perform'd, well deserv'd the emperor's kindness, perhaps without it the victory had not been obtain'd. He purchas'd it with the garments and skins he sent. There is no doubt but soldiers are much encourag'd when they feel the effects of such a remembrance. Reward is a great heartner, says the philosopher in the third of his morals. *Those seem to be bravest in battel, among whom cowards are unregarded, and valiant men honour'd.* This is the same as Lysander said, when they ask'd him, *Which commonwealth he best liked?* he answered, *That which gives brave men and cowards what each of them deserves.*

His reform-
nation.

16. This emperor, in order to reform the people, began with himself and his court, according to what has been said above. His daughter the prince's was refractory; to bring her to his beck, her father said, What is done and practis'd at court is an example the whole empire looks upon; if they see virtue there, all men imitate it; if they discover vice and extravagancy, they all follow the same course. I receive the revenues and taxes of the empire, not to spend them in costly clothes

and excess, but to maintain the army, the civil officers, and to supply the people's necessities. The prince's submitted immediately. This was excellent doctrine. If the crown-revenues, taxes, and incomes, were only employ'd in this manner, much good would come of it. The ninth synod of Toledo observ'd the same method the Chinese emperor did, in order to the reformation it design'd, and has these words: *In regard be does not rightly judge his subjects, who curbs not himself first by the rules of justice, it has seem'd a proper expedient to us, first to moderate our own extravagancies, and then to mend the faults of the subjects, &c.* The council of Trent de reform. takes the same course. S. Epprem Syrus among other matters handles this point, tom. 1. de vii. spirit. num. 36.

17. This emperor overthrew the family *His de- Tang*; the king *Lo Vuang* submitted to him. The emperor seeing him prostrate at his feet, said to him with tears in his eyes, Alas, what miseries and calamities does a war cause! what murders, robberies and insolencies have been committed in the court of *Tang*! alas what pity! then he presently order'd a great quantity of rice to be distributed among the conquer'd people. The Chinese histories highly commend this compassion, and with great reason. He was little puff'd up in his victory and triumph. Read to this purpose what *Olea- ster* writes in *Num. xxi. ad mores in fine.*

18. The emperor *Tai Zung* brought eighty thousand volumes into his library, which was divided into three large rooms: richly adorn'd. Observe how much had been printed at that time in *China*, for all the books were in that language, and writ by Chinese authors. How much must they be increas'd since then? *Ptolomy Philadelphus* got together sixty thousand volumes, but they were of several nations and countries. Others say they were seventy thousand, gather'd out of *Chaldea*, *Egypt* and *Rome*. *Vincentius* his library had a hundred and twenty thousand volumes: that of *Pergamus* two hundred thousand. The *Fasciculus Florum* tells us a library of four hundred thousand books was burnt in *Egypt* in the time of *Hircanus*. A noble library, and great disaster! but what I affirm is, that there never was a library like that of *China*, of one only kingdom, and at present it might be made three or four times as large. The emperor was so addicted to reading, that he every day turn'd over one or two volumes. They are not so large as ours in *Europe*. A counsellor told him it was not convenient to take so much pains, or spend so much time in reading. The emperor answer'd, Reading is not troublesome, but profitable and diverting: This year I would read

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the council,
Act. viii.
ver. 27.

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Education
of their
emperors.

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Stile.

Alight
to letters.

22. The
to learning
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read a thousand volumes. Books teach how to govern, they give instructions for peace and war, without books we are all in the dark; this makes me so fond of them, because I desire to know how to govern my monarchy.

19. Histories by representing to us the punishment of vice, deter us from it; and by shewing the reward of virtue, excite us to practise it. So said the emperor *Basilus* to his son, exhorting him to read them. But that is true which *Tacitus* teaches us, lib. VI. *bist.* viz. That a prince's knowledge is not to serve to exert his learning, but to make him know how to govern, and to shew resolution in adversity: let him know as much as is necessary and no more; and that must be such a knowledge as is necessary to govern well, not a notional learning to distract him; or let him learn holy things, as *Robert* king of *Sicily* did.

20. *Tertullian* apolog. cap. 5. calls *Trajan*, a searcher into all that was curious. *Athanas.* lib. VIII. cap. 16. calls him a mighty lover of learning. The same may be said of *Tai Zung* for the reason above. Let the prince that finds his inclination lie this way check himself, as *Julius Agricola* did. Let him not follow the example of king *Alonso* the wife altogether. *Spondanus*, tom. II. says of him, that he read over the bible fourteen times with its comments: A wonderful thing in a man that had so much care and business upon his hands! *A Taspide* mentions the same *ex panorm. encom. S. Scriptura* sect. 2. num. 60. *Periander* said, Meditation is the life of a wise man, and to a learned man to think is to live.

21. In *China* they are very careful to bring up the emperors to study, because it is very necessary for that government, otherwise they cannot understand the memorials: they use so much rhetoric, such tropes and figures in them, that the emperors must be very understanding to dive into the meaning of them. When all we missionaries were confin'd in the province of *Canton*, a learned Christian form'd a memorial for us, to be presented to the supreme governor; it was so full of bombast and hyperboles, that none of us understood it, till we had heard it explain'd: he call'd the emperor, the heavenly palace, the governor we spoke of, the tribunal of heaven, and said they lifted up their eyes to him, as we did to heaven. Strange extolling of them, and humbling of us, under unusual similes and figures! they take great pains, and study these things very hard.

22. The *Chinese* nation is much addicted to learning, and inclin'd to reading. I have met men on the road in sedans or palankins on men's shoulders, with a book in their hands. In cities I have often seen

mandarines in the same manner. The *NAVY* tradesmen and shop-keepers sit behind their counters with books before them. To encourage the children to learn, in their primmers they have particular examples, and the cuts of men that rise to great preferment by their learning. Among the rest there is one of a man that kept cows; he rode upon one of them, as is usual in that country, with a book laid on her horns that serv'd instead of a desk, and so he studied all the day. After some years he grew so learned, that he took his degree, and came to be a great mandarin. They tell of another, who was so poor that he could not buy oil for his lamp to study by at night; and because he would not lose time in winter, he us'd to go out to study by the light of the snow. Another gather'd abundance of glow-worms, and studied by their light. There was another poor man had a little room which was parted but by a slender lath-wall from a rich student; and knowing the place where his table and light stood, he made a hole opposite to it, and studied by the light that came through it. These men and others they bring as examples, they all rise to high preferments. There have been abundance of authors among them, but none of them has writ of so much as the ancients of other nations. *Aristarchus* writ above a thousand commentaries upon several subjects. *Chrysippus* wrote above seven hundred volumes. *Dydimus Alexandrinus*, as *Hesychius* affirms, wrote three thousand five hundred books. *Dionysius Grammaticus* three thousand five hundred. *Trimegistus* thirty six thousand five hundred and twenty five. This authors affirm. The *Chinese* are much addicted to reading of their own histories, and to say truth, they are much in the right. *Cicero* said, History is the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistress of life, the record of antiquity. See *Marquez*, lib. I. of his Christian governor, cap. 4.

23. Prince *Juen Kie* rais'd an artificial mount with great expence and labour. The people, he feasted the mandarines upon it, and they were astonish'd at the work; one of them, whose name was *Chao Tan*, hung down his head, and seem'd pensive and sad. The prince ask'd him the reason, and he answer'd, Sir, my eyes will not bear to look upon a mount made of blood and sweat. Is this a mount of blood and sweat, said the prince? When I was in my village, answer'd *Tan*, I saw and heard the oppression of the people, who were forc'd to contribute silver towards this work, many wrought without being paid their hire, multitudes were lash'd, their complaints went up to heaven, the blood

NAVY
RETTE

Read Sylv.
tom. vi. in
Mac. vii.
q. 5. per
totum.

He read
every writ
in his cha-
rist, said
B. Jer. of
the council,
Acta viii.
vet. 27.

Elevation
of their
emperors.

Stile.

addicted
to letters.

NAVA- of those that were chafstid bath'd their bo-
RETTE. dies and ran down to the ground. Then
 how can your highness think much, I
 should call this we stand on a mount of
 blood and sweat? Let it be immediately
 demolish'd, said the prince full of concern,
 let it be all laid level, let not one stone be
 left upon another, nor any memory of this
 structure. I order'd a mount of pastime
 and diversion to be rais'd, not a mount of

extortion to my subjects. A mount of so
 much blood is no place of diversion, but a
 scandal to all the world; the very founda-
 tions shall be taken up. It was perform'd
 accordingly.

24. A brave action, but yet the execu-
 tion of it made no amends for past harms.
 It is common to apply the remedy when it
 can produce no effect. Many buildings
 might be raz'd for the same reason.

C H A P. XVII.

Other memorable Passages of Emperors and others.

*Counsellors to
 Xin Zung.*

THE emperor *Xin Zung* was an ene-
 my to idols, and caus'd abundance
 to be destroy'd: *Y Kien* a counsellor pre-
 sented him a memorial of advice, wherein
 he said, 1. Your majesty may be pleas'd
 to shut out sectaries and idle people, who
 introduce false doctrines, and outward
 prayers, in order to get preferments and
 revenues. (Who doubts but it is de-
 structive to monarchy to allow of several
 sects? God preserv'd *Spain*. *F. James Fa-*
ber in Canton said and maintain'd, that it
 was better there should be hereticks pub-
 licly allow'd in *France*, than an inquisition
 in *Spain*; I find no reason that he had for
 it, but the natural affection to his country.)
 2. Your majesty may be pleas'd to forbid
 and punish bribery, which disturbs the
 peace and government. 3. Not to admit
 of flatterers, in whose words there is no
 truth, and less in their actions. Of these
Rodulphus said, *That flatterers were not un-*
like to wolves; for as these devour asses by
ticking and scratching them, so flatterers make
use of fawning and endearing words to ruin
princes. They are the plague of kings and
 kingdoms, says *John Sarisber.* *It is lawful*
to flatter him whom it is lawful to kill. 4. Let
 your majesty order lewd women to be ba-
 nished. 5. Do not admit of eunuchs, as
 favourites. (From them generally have be-
 gun the rebellions.) 6. Do not burthen
 the people with much labour, taking up
 the time they should employ in husbandry.
 7. Moderate expences, for no revenue can
 suffice for those that are needful. 8. Let
 no offices be bought or sold, which will
 open a way to much extortion, and pre-
 ferments will be bestow'd on rich, not on
 deserving men. The emperor made great
 account of these counsels, and commanded
 them to be practis'd. All these instruc-
 tions are agreeable to reason, and have been
 hinted at in other places.

2. The casting down of idols by Chri-
 tians in lands of infidels is difficult, and
 meets with some inconveniences, as has
 been found by experience upon some occa-
 sions. *F. Gouvea* made his complaint to

me, that there was some disturbance about
 this business at *Xang Hai*, where *F. Bran-*
cato resided several years. The twenty sixth
 canon of the council of *Illiberis*, or *Gra-*
nada, has these words: *If any man break*
down idols, and be there slain, in regard it
is not written in the gospel, nor ever appears
to have been done by the apostles, it has been
thought fit that he be not receiv'd into the
number of martyrs. True it is, *S. Theodo-*
rus, whose feast is kept on the ninth of
November, suffer'd martyrdom for having
 burnt a temple of idols; and *S. Marcellus*
 bishop suffer'd martyrdom in *Apamea* of
Syria for having overthrown a temple of *Ju-*
piter. On the sixteenth of *June* the fathers
 of the society in *Canton* read of five martyrs,
 who suffer'd in the island of *Salsete*, and
 one of them died for having overthrown
 an idol temple. I doubt not but some
 would despise this action in another, and
 call it imprudent. The emperor *Xin Zung*,
 as soon as he was crown'd, ask'd a coun-
 sellor, which was the first thing appertain-
 ing to the government? He answer'd, To
 establish good laws. He ask'd again, Are
 such an emperor's laws good? The other
 reply'd, Sir, do not imitate that emperor,
 who had no virtue, but rather the em-
 perors *Jao* and *Xun*, whose laws and lives
 were both good. The council was good
 too, but had been better if he had said,
 that the love, fear, and dread of God was
 the first thing. Had the counsellor known
 God, I doubt not but he would have
 said it. *S. Cyril Alexandrinus de recta fide*,
That a glorious piety towards God is the
ground-work of regal honour; and that prin-
ces addit'd to piety, overcome and subdue
their adversaries without any labour.

3. The seventh year of this empire was Remitted
 a great dearth, a terrible famine and mor-
 tality ensued. An eunuch who govern'd
 some provinces caus'd the miseries and cal-
 amities of the people to be painted, and
 sent the piece to the emperor, writing
 along with it to this effect; Sir, be pleas'd
 to look upon that picture, and by it you
 will understand the condition of your sub-
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jects: if your majesty applies some remedy, heaven will soon send rain; if not, my head shall pay for it. The emperor lamented the misfortune of his people, slept not that night, the next day took off all taxes and duties. At these news the people took heart, and to make their joy the fuller, there fell so much rain, that the land was glutted, and the scarcity ceas'd.

4. The viceroys and governors in China take special care to acquaint the emperor with all that happens within their governments, whether good or bad. If there happens a famine, dearth, floods, &c. presently word is sent to the emperor. Thus he hears of all the misfortunes of his subjects, and the news is sent from court throughout all the empire. In the year 68 there were mighty earthquakes in the province of *Xan Tung*; advice was sent to court, and soon after the news came from thence to *Canton*.

5. The emperor *Xao Zung* was once ask'd, When the emperor would enjoy peace and quietness? he answer'd, When the *mandarines* pencils are clean, and when military officers don't fear death. He spoke discreetly, and like a man of sense in both particulars. There they write with pencils as we do with pens; the peace and tranquillity of the publick depends much upon magistrates carrying their pens fair, and taking no bribes. The second point is of no less consequence. It is well known the northern people fear death less than the southern; the reason of it is, because they are more sanguine, and therefore fitter for war. *Exammonidas* said, *death in war is most glorious*. This emperor ask'd *Chao Siuen* the general of his forces, What rules do you prescribe to your soldiers to make them always victorious in battle, as you ever are? My rules, sir, said he, are piety, fidelity, prudence, courage, and severity, these virtues make soldiers invincible. He gave them good weapons. *Brasidas* requires three things in a soldier, *will, fear and obedience*: Three other things in a commander, *wisdom, valour and watchfulness*. *Aratus* was wont to say, *it was the part of a soldier not to value his life*. Read *Liv. Dec. 1. and Caesar apud Valer. l. II. c. 8*.

6. The emperor *Tai Zung* refus'd to accept of some very curious mats certain peasants presented him. In the *Philippine* islands, *Japan*, *Cbina*, *Camboxa*, and other places, especially in *Ceylon*, there are some so fine, so curious and delicate, that they may well be presented as a rarity to the greatest princes in *Europe*. The treasurer told him that was a mere trifle, that he need make no scruple of accepting them. But the emperor who was wife and nothing covetous, answer'd, How shall he have the command of himself in great temptations, who can-

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not overcome the small? an excellent expression. The saying hits well in this *RETTE*. place, *trust not a dog with meat, that uses to lick ashes*. There was a strange example of this sort at *Manila*, the man got the name of the *just judge*, his memory will be lasting in that island, his name was *Major Andrew Perez Navarro*, he was my great friend, and would not accept of so much as a little fruit for all the world. But *Tai Zung* certainly outdoes all men living, or that ever will be; for he being supreme lord was above his own and his predecessors laws, and accountable to no man, which are the considerations that often restrain inferiors from holding out their hands to receive.

7. This emperor went out into the fields, *Husbandmen*. took the prince with him, and seeing the husbandmen busy at their labour, said to him, Son, take notice how much pains these poor men take all the year about to maintain you and me. This is the reason I always have been careful to favour these people, because without their labour and sweat, you nor I should have no kingdom nor empire. This saying deserv'd to be extoll'd, had it come from the mouth of any *European* prince. Another time seeing the storks and other birds building their nests, and looking to their young ones, he said to the prince, Don't you mind with how much tenderness and affection these birds bring up and feed their young ones? do you take example by them, and be careful to assist those that gave you your being.

8. In the third year of his empire there was an extraordinary dearth. The emperor cloth'd himself in sackcloth, put on straw buskins, went to a temple, where sacrifices were offer'd to the mountains and streams of rivers; in the day time he stood in the sun without any shelter, at night he lay upon the bare ground. After three days the history tells it rain'd plentifully. It is likely God look'd upon the compassion the emperor shew'd for his people.

9. Writing of buskins, I bethought my *Busi-* self of what I have often seen in *China*, which is, that on the roads, at a league or two, or sometimes less distance, there are men who weave buskins for the people that travel afoot; so that those who come to these places, if their buskins are torn or out of order, change them, or buy new ones, and need not carry more than they have on. Hundreds of them may be bought by the way at four-pence half-penny the pair.

10. The emperor *V Zung* design'd a progress into the northern provinces: a counsellor whose name was *Mao Ki*, oppos'd it, saying, it was not convenient. The emperor in a passion laid hold on his sabre, and said, Pass the order for my journey immediately,

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NAVARETTE. mediately, or you shall die. *Mao* without the least concern took off his *mandarin's* cap and robe, and kneeling said, Your majesty may strike, for I cannot do that which is not for the good of the empire. The emperor reflected on the answer, check'd himself and let alone the journey. Where shall we find out one *Mao* in our times? *Plato ad Diad. prop. Epist. 8. If the king or kingdom be in danger, then let no evil withhold the counsellor from crying out aloud.*

11. To take off the *mandarin's* cap and robe before the emperor or his ministers,

is as much as to own himself worthy of death.

12. I forgot in the foregoing paragraph to observe, that according to *Corn. Juss. & Lapide* and *Menochius*, the custom of putting on sackcloth upon publick calamities, is of great antiquity. The first, say they, that us'd it, was *Jacob* upon the imagin'd death of his son *Joseph*. It is an ancient practice in *China*, and frequent in holy writ, where we find many kings us'd it in the publick necessities.

CHAP. XVIII.

Other Passages like to those we have already mention'd.

Xi Zung's 1. IN the reign of the emperor *Xi Zung*, there was so great a famine in the northern provinces, that men eat one another. The emperor reliev'd his people with a great sum of money; the effect of his compassionate heart, said *St. Gregory*; for never does he who is truly compassionate, deny his neighbour that which is necessary. There is the same difference, says *S. Thomas*, lib. 1. de reg. princ. betwixt a legal king and a tyrant, as is between the shepherd and the hireling; read more of it there. *Xi Zung* acted like a good king, a good father, and a good shepherd, laying open his bowels to maintain his people.

Vuen Ti's 2. The emperor *Vuen Ti* was no less compassionate; he understanding that the sacrifices offer'd to heaven, earth, and spirits, were only to ask blessings and prosperity for him, put out an edict, commanding they should first beg his subjects happiness, and his afterwards. The governor of *Manila* was not so humble, for he us'd his utmost endeavours to have special mention made of him in the collect, & *famulus tuos*, which is sung in the mass. The case was bandy'd backwards, and forwards, not without some distaste. This happen'd before I came to the islands. This emperor was a great lover of husbandmen, and of those that broke up ground to sow; he forgave all taxes for the first years, and then made the duties easy. A good provision and form of government, to make provisions plentiful. Read *S. Thomas* on the first to *Hebr. Lett. 4.* where there is much to this purpose. It would be an excellent method for converting of thousands of heathens that live in the island of *Mindoro*, near to that of *Manila*, to forgive them some years taxes, and ease them of their personal duties. These burdens withhold them, and delay their conversion. *S. Gregory* the pope us'd the same method with heathens, and Jews, as I shall observe in the second tome. It is pity, that tho' it

lies so conveniently, no care is taken of a thing that so much concerns the service of God and the king. I have heard positive orders have been given to this effect; I know not why they are not put in execution. Some reasons were brought for not practising this method with the *Chinese* infidels of *Manila*, but they will not hold in respect of the *Indians*.

3. The emperor *Vu Ti* being left very young, two counsellors govern'd for him. The history tells us that one of them, whose name was *Ho Kuang*, going constantly into the inward part of the palace, talking and discoursing with the empress and ladies, on account of his employment, for the space of twenty years; yet the least objection could not be made against his carriage, nor was there ever any ground for jealousy of him as to the women. A thing to be admir'd, not only in a heathen, but in any very good Christian. Concerning *Ye Tan*, who was the other counsellor, the history says, that during ten years he continued in the same employment, he never lifed up his eyes from the ground, or look'd the empress, or any lady in the face. When he was upon business, he never stood near the empress or ladies, but at the greatest distance he could, hearing very sedately what they had to say. This it is the *Chinese* heathens did, whom among us they look upon as barbarians; perhaps some wicked perverse wretch may call this modesty and reservedness, barbarity. The legend admires in *S. Lewis Gonzaga*, and with good reason, that he never look'd the empress in the face, tho' he serv'd her two years. No doubt it was great modesty; yet comparing all circumstances, and the professions of both of them, it plainly appears it cannot compare with *Ye Tan's* modesty, without reckoning upon the principles from which they proceeded. No less reservedness is requisite to come off clear and untainted from such conversation.

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Read *Albert. Mag. 3. Ethic. Tract. 2. c. 11. in fine*, where he brings the story of *Helen*. That of *Perseus* in *Ovid* is very good. See *Oleaster* in vi. Gen. *The sons of God saw*, &c. These are dangerous encounters, the way to come off victorious is to fly and keep far from them, *Al. Lapid. in Gen. xxxix. §. 12.* These two counsellors deserve great commendations. What *S. Gregory* admires in *Job*, *There was a man in the land of Uz*, might be apply'd to the two heathens we speak of. *S. Thomas* his observation on *Rev. ii.* is not amiss here: *I know where thou dwellest, where the seat of Satan is.* Nor that of *Job c. xxx. I was the brother of dragons.* And it might be said to them with *S. Paul, Phil. ii. §. 25. In the midst of a deprav'd nation*, &c. Let the reader turn to *S. Jer. in Flor. Verb. Malum*, and to *S. Bernard, Ep. 24. ad Hugonem.*

4. The emperor *Kuang Vu* going out a hunting, was so intent on his sport, that when he return'd to court the gates were shut. The officer that commanded at one of them was call'd upon, and answer'd, according to the duty of my office I cannot open the gate at this time. The emperor hearing the answer, went away to another, which was open'd to him without any difficulty. The next day he that refus'd to open presented a memorial to the emperor, to this effect. The great emperor *Yuen Yuang* (they all look upon him as a great man and a saint) spent not his time in hunting and sports, being always employ'd in the affairs of the government. Your majesty employs not only the day, but a great part of the night in hunting, that is not the way to preserve the empire, and answer the business your subjects come to court about.

5. The emperor received the memorial, and perceiv'd he reprov'd him for coming so late, being the cause that out of respect to him the gate was open'd, which according to the inviolable practice ought not to have been done at that time of night. He thank'd him for his advice and reproof, and order'd him a hundred pieces of cotton as a reward for not opening the gate; then punish'd him that did open, turning him down to a meaner employment. This action was approv'd of by all the court, as was the memorial, and they all applauded his courage and resolution that presented it. The very preachers will not dare to say so much in *Europe*.

6. This emperor taking his progress through the southern provinces, remitted a year's taxes to the inhabitants of the town of *Nan Mou*; the inhabitants thank'd him for the favour and grace, and pray'd him to continue it for ten years longer. The people were no fools. The emperor answer'd:

The life of man is like an earthen vessel NAVA- that is not durable, or firm, to day he is RETTE. well and in good health, and to morrow is dissolv'd to nothing; how can I remit ten years taxes when I don't know whether I have one to live? The truth of the matter is, said the clowns speaking like themselves, that your majesty does not care to lose the taxes this town is to pay for ten years, and therefore you put us off with the uncertainty of your life. The emperor laugh'd, and remitted another year. A notable calmness and affability in a heathen emperor. *S. Thomas opusc. 17. cap. 13.* says, that meekness, affability and bounty win the hearts of men. *There are four sorts of men who easily gain friendship, the bountiful, the powerful, the meek, and the affable.* Affability and meekness, though but counterfeit, work the same effect. Holy writ tells us, *2 Sam. cap. xv. §. 7. that Absalom us'd those endearments to the people, that he entleg-vour'd to win the hearts of the children of Israel.* Another version has it, *he stole the hearts*, &c. To signify that by his counterfeit endearments, and affected kindness he stole and made himself master of all their hearts. It cannot be deny'd but these virtues are more visible in superiors. What was it but meekness and a mild government that gain'd such renown to *Moses* that great leader of God's people, and the pattern and mirror of all princes that ever were or shall be? And what is it Christ proposes to us in order to imitate him? not his mighty power, not the wonders he wrought, not the prodigies he shew'd, not his long fasting, and continual prayer, not the poverty and want of all things he endur'd in this world; he only requires of us that we imitate his temper and meekness. *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart.*

7. One of the emperor *Ming Ti's* brothers was a petty king, who came to court to kiss his hand. The emperor lodg'd him in his palace, and in discourse ask'd him; what is it you most delight in at court? the petty king answer'd, my greatest delight and pastime is, to act rightly; virtue is the thing I take the greatest pleasure and satisfaction in. The emperor was well pleas'd at his answer, and favour'd him highly. One heathen made this answer to another, 'tis fit it be known to the whole world, and that we Christians be confounded at it. The petty king valu'd not himself upon spending his time in play, music, hunting, sports, &c. his only care was to act uprightly, this was all his diversion.

8. In the reign of the emperor *Yuen Ti*, a mandarin was condemn'd to death, and he was guilty enough to deserve it. A daughter he had presented a memorial to Piety. the emperor, offering up her self for a slave in

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NAVA- in the palace to save his life. The emperor was mov'd to compassion, pardon'd the father, and left his daughter free. He also enacted a law, forbidding the punishment of castrating, to which the *mandarin* was also adjudg'd, to be never after inflicted.

9. Any body that had not known these emperors were heathens, would certainly by their actions have taken them for good Christians. We may learn compassion

from the emperor *Vuen Ti*, tho' a heathen, *Lælius* said, *We ourselves understand, that a sense of affection is bred in us by nature.* It is natural to man to love others, and to pity their misfortunes. The daughter's love for her father is very well worth observing, and more remarkable in *China*, where there is more indifferency betwixt fathers and daughters than in any other country.

CHAP. XIX.

More remarkable Passages of the same nature.

1. **I**N the reign of the emperor *Ching Tang*, there was no rain for seven years together. According to computation this happen'd in *China*, at the same time that the seven years famine was in *Egypt*, which the Scripture speaks of *Gen. xli. 8. 54. And the famine prevail'd all over the earth*, 1131 years after the flood, and above a thousand after the founding of the *Chinese* monarchy. The diviners advis'd to mix human blood in the sacrifices that were offer'd to heaven and earth. The emperor answer'd, I ask water of heaven that my people may live; if I kill men for the sacrifices, it is contradicting my self, killing those for whose lives I pray. A very good answer. The emperor fasted, cut his hair and nails (the *Chinese* put great value upon them both) he put his chariot into mourning, and clothed himself in white lambskins. Thus he went out into the field with a devout, penitent, and serious countenance. Then fixing his eyes on heaven, he ask'd six questions of it. *First*, Whether there was any miscarriage in his government? *Secondly*, Whether his people and subjects did not perform their duty? *Thirdly*, Whether due decency and modesty was not observ'd within the palace? *Fourthly*, Whether there was any extravagancy in apparel? *Fifthly*, Whether there was any frauds in buying and selling? *Sixthly*, Whether the dances and sports were unseemly? If there be any thing in these particulars, or any other, said he, which is a crime against heaven, I take it upon my self, here I am, and here I offer myself up to heaven to punish me, so my people may live. It looks as if he had acted king *David*, when he saw the angel with the sword in his hand. Having perform'd this famous and compassionate action, not heaven, but the Creator of all things sent him abundant rain. The action was strange, and the event yet stranger.

2. *Chang Ngo* a great *mandarin*, as an acknowledgment because the emperor *Cheu* had given him a considerable employment, offer'd him a very beautiful and modest

woman: she would not consent to actions that were against the course of nature, for which the wicked emperor caus'd her to be kill'd. *Chang Ngo* did not approve of the action, but it cost him his head, which was order'd to be struck off immediately. *Cheu* was one of the two cruel and wicked emperors there have been in *China*; and it is strange that in so many thousands of years those infidels should make mention but of these two. Nor is the bravery of that woman to be little admir'd, since she durst withstand the will of a cruel, wicked, and heathen emperor. It is a very common thing in *China* to make presents of women, especially to persons of note, and great *mandarines*.

3. A subject of good note, whose name was *Pi Kan*, mov'd by his zeal for the public good, argued thus with himself; It is want of loyalty, when the emperor is cruel and a tyrant, that no body should reprove him. It is want of courage to be silent for fear of death when the emperor is faulty; and it is the part of a brave soul to tell him his faults. If he is told, and will not give ear, it is he is to blame. It is the greatest loyalty to tell the truth, and to die for it. Upon this he resolv'd to go into the palace, and having found his opportunity, said to the emperor we speak of, heaven will deprive your majesty of the crown it has given you, if you do not mend your life. It is fit your majesty cleanse your heart of so much filth, leave off your cruelty, and change your behaviour. Your majesty wants to restore that decency to your family, which you have banish'd from it; if you do so, heaven will be pleas'd. A noble, resolute, and courageous speech of a subject to a cruel and tyrannical emperor: this may compare, *servatis servandis*, with what *S. Jobn* said to *Herod*. The emperor grew enrag'd like a tiger, and said to those about him, This *Pi Kan* takes himself for a saint; I have heard say, the saints have seven holes in their heart, I am resolv'd to see whether it be so or not. He command-ed him to be immediately cut open, and

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his heart taken out. The emperor acted cruelly, but his successor highly extoll'd *Pi Kan's* zeal, and for his sake honour'd his family. Had he been a Christian, that might well have fitted him, which *Ecclef. xlviii.* says of *Elias*, *In his days he fear'd not the prince*, and that in his life he did wonderful things.

4. The emperor *Vu Vuang* being sick, prince *Chen Kung* made a solemn sacrifice to the souls of his forefathers, and to that of the emperor *Vuen Vuang*, whom he inform'd and gave to understand, that he offer'd up his own life that the emperor might live. This prince is much applauded among the *Chineses*, and highly commended by *Confucius*. He found out in these parts the use of the loadstone in sailing, and liv'd about the year 1919 after the flood. It seems the use of the sailing compass is very ancient there. It is not so among us; *Monardes* in a dialogue upon iron, fol. 133. says, That a sailor born in the city *Melfi* in *Italy* was the inventor of it.

5. But observe how very ancient a custom it is for the *Chineses* to sacrifice to their ancestors departed, and that in temples, as *Chen Kung* did. *F. Gouvea* in his history, and *F. Intorceta* in *Sapientia Sinica*, mention what I have here writ; I will set down their words in another place.

6. *Chen Kung* sending his son *Pe Kin* as a petty king into the kingdom *Lu*, ask'd him what he design'd to do there? He answer'd, He chiefly intend'd three things; 1. To be very careful to observe himself. 2. To be diligent and vigilant in performing his duty to the subjects. 3. To be very resolute and bold. The father approv'd of what he said, and added, a vigilant care and circumspection is an ease to him that governs, and his diligence secures the subjects ease, and they being satisfi'd, think not of rebelling. To keep a watchful eye over himself, is, when a ruler is fearful, and does not suffer himself to be puffed up, apprehending that fortune may change. Therefore he uses his subjects well, and the greater his moderation and care of government is, the more they love him. When wicked men rail, it is best to make a virtue of it, correcting what is amiss, and bearing with their tongues till the people are convinced by experience: this is to have a resolute and stout heart. In short, son, govern yourself well, and you cannot govern your subjects amiss, all depends on the first part.

7. There are four sorts of persons, says *S. Thomas, opusc. 71. cap. 3.* that ought to be very cautious and careful: a priest in penance, a judge in giving sentence, a physician in looking to his patient, and a

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rich man of his treasure. The saint speaks *NAVA-well*. The *Chineses* are very careful in examining and calling to account those that have been publick ministers. The method many of their visitors have taken, is well worth observing and imitating. They go to the province they are sent to, and there travel *incognito* from one city to another, enquiring and prying into the manner of the government. Being well inform'd, on a sudden they make themselves known at the metropolis, where they perform the duty of their office uprightly, and without corruption. It is plain, that those who proclaim their business all the way they go, seek and covet what the *Chineses* are so fond of, which is gold and silver.

8. I knew an officer that had no regard to his duty, who was us'd to say, I fear no body, whoe'er comes, I'll lay him over the face with two hundred thousand pieces of eight. But in truth he was deceiv'd, and mistook his reckoning, for he died in a dungeon, yet after receiving the sacraments, for he was a Christian.

9. The emperor *Ching Vuang* ask'd of one of his wife men, What virtue it was that oblig'd the subjects to love their emperor? He answer'd, It was love and confidence in them. The words of *Cbrysof. hom. 13. ad populum*, suit well in this place. *Would you be prais'd? Praise another. Would you be lov'd? Love. Would you have precedence given you? Give it first to another.* The wife counsellor said further, That the imperial edicts should be consider'd and look'd over before they were made publick, with as much care as he would do if he were to go over a frozen river. How cautiously and circumspectly does a man set down his feet? How regularly does he tread on such a place? The same care your majesty is to use in enacting laws. The emperor lik'd the advice, and so do I. The *Tartars* themselves, tho' they have the *Chineses* under, do not practise the saying, *Sic volo sic jubeo*; on the contrary, whatsoever they order, is first consider'd in several courts, and so they stop the mouths of the subjects.

10. The emperor *Siven Vuang* grew Reproof to lewd. The empress throwing off her jewels and rich clothes, said, Your majesty gives yourself up to vice, and forgets virtue; forsakes the staidness and state which belongs to the crown, and indulges your self in feasts and pastimes. Your majesty must understand that these are the grounds of rebellions and insurrections. Vice is a venomous spring and lake, whence the poison of treason flows. The emperor gave ear to her, and the history says, he mended upon it, and made an absolute reformation in his life. She spoke more than could be expected from a heathen woman, and

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NAVA- deserves any commendation. Certain it is
RETTB. they can do much upon such occasions.

Queens and great ladies are more favourably heard than other persons; and what they say is better taken, because it is manifest it proceeds from love, and not from any private interest. The emperor Theodorick's wife acted her part well with him; *You are to consider, husband, said she, who you were, and who you now are; for taking this often into consideration, you will not prove ungrateful to your benefactor, and you will both legally govern the empire you have received, and worship him that gave it you.* Thus Bernulani.

Ingrati-
tude. 11. In the reign of the emperor Siang Yuang, prince Tung Ul, by reason of some troubles, retir'd to a neighbouring kingdom, and continu'd in banishment for some time. Afterwards returning towards the court, he found himself so spent that he was ready to die with hunger. Kao Zu Chui, one of the five servants he had, cut off a piece of flesh from his own arm, and gave it him to eat; by which means he recover'd strength and reach'd the court. When he was settled and in prosperity, he rewarded the four servants, but not Kao Zu whose flesh had sav'd his life. Strange forgetfulness and neglect in a prince! Diogenes being ask'd, *What it was that soonest grew antiquated amongst men?* Answer'd, *A good turn.* See Corn. a Lapide in Num. xx. v. 3. Kao with good reason resenting this wrong, pasted up a paper in the palace, containing these words. *A stately dragon quitted his den, and went into far countries; five snakes follow'd him. After some time he was at the point of dying for hunger, one of the snakes reliev'd him, giving him a part of his body to eat. The dragon recover'd strength, which brought him back to his first den. Being there at his ease and pleasure, he gave the four snakes places where they might live comfortably, only the snake that had fed him with her flesh was left without a den besetting in the wide desert.* The middle was read, the prince presently understood it, and being much concern'd that he was so much to blame, order'd Kao Zu to be brought to his presence, with a design to bestow something considerable on him. But Kao fearing the prince would be inrag'd at what he had writ, absconded, and was never heard of. In this part he was unfortunate: he ingeniously made the prince sensible of his oversight; but because there is no man loves to be told of his faults, especially the great ones, he wisely fear'd, and so shun'd the danger that might have threaten'd him. The dragon is the arms and device of the Chinese emperors, which is the reason Kao Zu made use of that emblem. The counsellor Vuen Hsu told Ngooi

Su, that he was a good king. How do *Agad* you know it, said the *royalet?* He answer'd, *king.* When a king is good and virtuous, his subjects are loyal and true. The words the counsellor *Lin Cho* spoke to your highness are honest and sincere, therefore your highness is a good king. The petty king was convinc'd by the argument, but not pass'd up, or vain.

12. The petty king *Vu Hen* having taken *Strength* a view of his dominions, found them all of *king-* well fortify'd, at which he was very well pleas'd. *Cai Te* his counsellor told him, Let not your highness rely upon that; for the strength of kingdoms consists in the virtue of those that govern them, and not in the walls or ditches that surround them: he prov'd it to him by many examples, whereof there are but too many in *Europe.*

13. *Agefilas* being ask'd, why the city *Sparta* had no walls? answer'd, Cities must not be secur'd with timber and stones, but by the valour of the inhabitants. The walls, and seven thousand pieces of cannon that lay on them, did not save the city *Peking* from being plunder'd by the robber, and afterwards taken by the *Tartar.* We may apply to the *Chinese* those words the same *Agefilas* spoke, when they shew'd him some mighty walls, *'Tis very well, but fit for women, not for men to live within.* *Agas* seeing the high and strong walls of *Corinth* said, *What women live within this inclosure?*

14. King *Hang Yu* took the mother of *As he had* *Vuang Ling* a great commander, but a rebel to his sovereign; he sent messengers with her, thinking by her means to draw the son to his party; she calling aside the soldiers that conducted her with tears in her eyes said, bid my son not to swerve a jot from the loyalty he owes his prince, and that he may not be perplex about me, and become a double dealer through the love he bears me, to his own and my discredit, I will be my own executioner: then she took a sword from one of those that stood about her, and kill'd herself before it was possible to prevent her. They all admir'd so heroic an action, and the cause that mov'd her to do it.

15. The emperor *Kao Zu* was very familiar, he went out once to meet his officers who were discoursing together, and lovingly ask'd them, What is it you talk of? A petty king among them answer'd; We were saying, that tho' your majesty was rais'd from an ordinary degree to be emperor, by the valour of your soldiers, yet we now find that none but your kindred and friends are prefer'd, which if you continue to do, the crown cannot sit fast. What remedy do you prescribe then, said the emperor? Who is your majesty's greatest enemy, said the petty king? *Ung Chi*, reply'd

ply'd the others, in the degree it is known your majesty an greatest or rest satisfy being dil on the co your maj Chi, you for what i to love an emperor d satisfaction cess for se his progres years.

16. The advice was that an em greatest en side! as R in pentat. a mind contin together w Besides, w brothers, the enemy. T extent of l The heathe out-do this, preferments fiftenth ch ing, thou u head. A mig Alon/o king makes frien ed. Being was that be answer'd, T ing easily as Gen. i. v. 2

Succes.

17. This leave the c wife, his s in them w every one c in to speak son of the fir all went in a ner. The c and ask'd th to repeat th hairs. The c aim'd at, a said, your r your ministe near expiring is rightful h second wife, empire, all th beseech your

ply'd the emperor. Then, sir, quoth the others, make him great, and raise him to the degree of a petty king; for when once it is known throughout the monarchy, that your majesty not only lays aside all animosity and hatred, but that you honour greatest enemy, all men will rejoice, and rest satisfy'd they shall not be punish'd for being disaffected to the family *Han*, but on the contrary, they will hope that since your majesty prefer'd and honour'd *Ung Chi*, you will not take revenge on them for what is past, which will cause them all to love and submit to your majesty. The emperor did as he was advis'd, to the great satisfaction of all men, and with good success for securing the crown to his family: his progeny held it above five hundred years.

16. The petty king's contrivance and advice was excellent, but it was most rare that an emperor should practise it upon his greatest enemy. We might say of this inside! as *Rupertus* said of *Joseph*, lib. VIII. *In pentat. cap. 40. Modestus*; and an humble mind continues in the victor and triumpher together with the height of honour and glory. Besides, what *Joseph* did was to his own brothers, the heathen emperor to his greatest enemy. To love an enemy is the utmost extent of love, says *S. Thomas*, *opusc. 61*. The heathen seems to have endeavour'd to out-do this, since he added honours and preferments. He did what is said in the fifteenth chapter of *Proverbs*; *But in so doing, thou wilt heap burning coals upon his head*. A mighty method to purchase friends. *Alonso* king of *Aragon* us'd to say, *Justice makes friends of good men, mercy of the wicked*. Being ask'd another time, What it was that best brought an enemy under? he answer'd, *The reputation of meekness, and being easily appeas'd*; see *Corn. à Lapide* in *Gen. i. v. 21*.

17. This emperor earnestly desir'd to leave the crown to a son by his second wife, his subjects oppos'd it as much as in them was. Four counsellors of state, every one eighty two years of age, went in to speak to the emperor, carrying the son of the first wife along with them; they all went in a very grave and solemn manner. The emperor was surpris'd at it, and ask'd them their meaning: they began to repeat their services, and shew their gray hairs. The emperor understood what they aim'd at, and was in a passion. They said, your majesty refuses to give ear to your ministers, it is a sign the empire is near expiring; to lay aside the prince that is rightful heir for the sake of a son by the second wife, is contrary to the laws of the empire, all that ever did it were ruin'd; we beseech your majesty to take our lives in

token of our loyalty, The emperor perceiving how resolute and upright his ministers were, alter'd his resolution, and spoke no more of that matter. The power of reason is great, it overcomes even the most passionate.

18. The counsellor *Siao Yu* presented a memorial, shewing reasons for easing the people of some imposts. The emperor took it ill, and commanded him to be thrown into prison. A petty king repeating what services *Siao* had done, told the emperor, that what he did was design'd for the public good, and not for any private ends, and therefore he rather deserv'd a reward for that action. The emperor immediately commanded *Siao* to be brought before him; and being come, said, I acted like a tyrant, who kills those subjects that acquaint him with the miscarriages there are in the government; when I refus'd your prudent advice, you shew'd your zeal, loyalty and wisdom; I will have the fault I committed in imprisoning you be made known to all the world, that my guilt and your innocence may appear. I know not whether this emperor can be parallel'd in this particular. No man loses his credit or reputation by owning his fault or oversight; they are accidents great and small, nobles and commoners are subject to. *Senec. ad Lucil.* says, *As I am a man, I think myself exempt from nothing that is human*. The words of *Innocent* the third, in *cap. qualiter* & *quando de accusationibus*, are very proper to the subject, confessing of faults and correcting them, they are these; *Be not ashamed to rectify your mistakes, ye that are appointed to correct the faults of others; for the same measure ye measure to others shall be measur'd to you by the upright judge*.

19. When *Kuang Yu* had taken possession of the empire, he bethought himself of a school-fellow of his, whose name was *Hien Kuang*, and caus'd diligent search to be made after him in order to give him some considerable employment: they found him not, but discover'd a man clad in lambskins angling by a river side: the emperor fancied it might be he, sent a coach with much attendance and equipage to bring him to court; and tho' the man did all he could to avoid it, there was no disobeying the emperor's order. He came to the suburbs of the imperial city, expecting till next day to make his entry. The emperor hearing of it, rose betimes and went to meet him at his lodging. *Hien Kuang* was then asleep in his bed: the emperor came in smiling, and said, Rise friend, for it is not fit that he who is to receive such favours at my hands should sleep so much. He rose very leisurely and calmly, and spoke thus, The holy emperor *Jao* could

NAVARETTE. could not persuade his philosopher *Chao Fu* to succeed him in the throne; to what purpose is it to put a man so reserv'd, that he looks after nothing but virtue, into employments and command?

20. Notwithstanding his excuse, i. e. offer'd him the greatest employments about the court, but he rejected them all, and begg'd leave to return to his village, where he spent the rest of his life angling with his rod. This heathen left us a great example of the contempt of worldly honours, which others so hotly pursue. His memory is preserv'd till this day, for the people of his village erected a tower in honour of him in that place; giving it the name of *Tiao Tai*, that is, the angler's tower. I pass'd by the place, and saw it. The officers who had me in custody told me the story, and afterwards I read it myself. There are examples peculiar for all purposes in China. This we have spoken of is singular for that nation, where ambition and avarice are more predominant than in others. *Ilhan Kuang* might say with *S. Peter* and his companions, *We have left all things*; but he wanted the best and chiefest part, which is, *We have follow'd thee*. *Crates* and others were deficient in the same, as *S. Jerome* says, lib. III. in *Mat. xix*. But we may apply to him what the same saint writ *ad Paulin. præf. de instit. monach.* *That Socrates the Theban, a mighty rich man, when he went to play the philosopher at Athens, threw away a great mass of gold, thinking he could not possess virtue and riches at the same time.* That suits yet better which pass'd betwixt *Diogenes* and *Alexander*, *Albertus Mag.* mentions it, *politic. cap. 1.* *Alexander offering Diogenes great things if he would return with him to court, whereas he was in a desert, and observ'd the course of the stars; he answer'd, he could offer nothing like the delight of philosophy.* The words of *Elianus* are good; *Alcibiades* shew'd his liberality in giving, *Socrates* in not receiving.

21. It is well worth observing, that *Kuang Yu* when rais'd to the imperial throne, should remember his friend, this is not usual with men who are lifted up to high places. *Cajetan* comments upon those words of our Saviour spoken to *S. Mary Magdalen*, *S. Job xx.* *Go to my brethren, &c.* He says thus, *That by his example we may learn to be more loving to our friends when we are pre-*

serv'd to some bigger station. *Kuang* did so. And tho' honours change manners, yet it seems so great a post and so noble a crown made no alteration in him; he still preserv'd his former affability and plainness. *S. Bern. lib. de consid.* says, *There is no jewel bigger than courtesyness, to wit, in all the pope's ornaments; for the bigger he is above the rest, the more glorious he looks even above himself by humility.* Some men think humility, affability, and sweet temper are incompatible with high dignities; but it were well they would consider that without it all honour is fading, and only more or less of vanity. When *Osbo* the third rose on a sudden to be the first of the electors, *Villegius*, that he might not give way to vain-glory, us'd to say to him, *Mind what you are, remember what you were.* It is humility that secures, establishes, and supports high dignities. The same *Osbo* was wont to say, *I am a man, I think myself exempt from nothing that is human.* *Gilimor* being a prisoner, laugh'd and said, *I see the uncertainty of fortune, in that I was but now was a king, am now a slave.* King *Francis* of France being *Charles* the fifth's prisoner, us'd to say, *'Tis my turn to day, to-morrow it will be thine.* This consideration is a great help towards bearing the vicissitudes of this world with a manly resolution.

22. Another notable passage happened between *Hien* and the emperor, which was, that being so very familiar, the emperor would needs they should lie together as they had done in their youth: when in bed they would call to mind things past, which diverted them, tho' *Hien* ever paid all due respect to his sovereign. It fell out that he accidentally set his foot upon the emperor's, just at the same time, says the history, that the astrologer who watch'd on the mathematical tower observ'd that the star they call *ke*, that is, the guest, removed from its place, and stood over that they call *ju zo*, which signifies imperial throne. *Alidius.* Next day the astrologer gave an account of it: the emperor reflected on what had happen'd, and smiling discover'd what had pass'd between his friend and him; adding, *There is nothing to fear, for between us all is friendship.* I write what is in the history, whether true or false.

CHAP. XX.

Other Chinese Examples, and the End of this Book.

Mutual love betwixt Jao and his people.

1. THE history tells us, that the emperor *Jao*, who is one of the ancientest and most renowned of the Chinese (I thought it not necessary to be regular

in speaking of them) when he saw any subject in want would say, he was the cause of that misfortune. If any man was cold for want of clothes, he blam'd himself.

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The his and serv and did any pur from the behav'd ing fath the peop towards subjects, this time some pla honour, their chi and disc swords a reign ma infurrect na, what

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The history adds, that the people supply'd and serv'd him in all things without any pay, and did their duty in all respects without any punishment inflicted, which proceeded from the tender love they all bore him. He behav'd himself towards his people as a loving father does towards his children, and the people towards him as dutiful children towards a parent. A good emperor and good subjects. O that we might see the same at this time throughout all Europe. We see in some places the kings are fathers, who love, honour, and raise to high posts some subjects their children; and these ungrateful, base and disloyal men, oppose, and draw their swords against their lawful lords and sovereign masters. Alas, if the rebellions and insurrections of Europe were known in China, what would those infidels say?

2. We may say of Jao's subjects, what Pliny did of Trajan's; *They lov'd him as if they had not fear'd, and they fear'd as if they had not lov'd him.* This love oblig'd the subjects to attend the emperor's service; where love is wanting, all is wanting. *Things cross and difficult seem easy to him that loves,* says S. Thomas, *opusc. 7.*

3. Certain peasants saluted him, saying, Heavengrant your majesty much riches, many children, and a long life. He answer'd very unconcern'd, What is it you wish me? to wish me much riches is to wish me much care; many children is much to fear; a long life is much trouble, and many diseases.

4. They write of the emperor Ju, that he would weep and be very much troubled, when he was to sign any dead warrant. Those about him would say, If he is wicked and deserves the punishment, why is your majesty concern'd? He answer'd, My heart is my subjects, theirs is mine; I am their father, they my children; how then can I chuse but be troubled at their misfortunes, tho' they deserve them for their offences? A very tender and compassionate answer. Ju said further, To live in this world is being as it were lent out, or left in trust; when a man dies, he returns to his first being. A good expression, had he not err'd as to the principle, beginning, or first being to which man returns, which in his opinion was nothing.

5. Cheu King favourite to Ching Vuang said to him, Your majesty will do well to stick close to your subjects, to shun flatterers, follow virtue and justice, employ virtuous men in the government, and then you'll be a good emperor. He said all that was requisite in these few words: *Tai Kung* said to *Cheu Kung*, The government will be as it should be, if virtuous men are honour'd, and those that deserve well rewarded. Another time he said, Though all the people be good, yet if he that is next the prince is bad, your majesty may

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conclude all is lost. An excellent expression! this doctrine is not unlike to that of *RETTE*. *Boetius*, cited by S. Thomas, *opusc. 3.* *§. sexta petitio, No plague more likely to do harm than a familiar friend.* What else is an ill minister and wicked favourite, but a sort of venom and plague that infects the whole kingdom, and the greatest monarchy?

6. The emperor *Kang Vuang* was wont to say, To fatigue the people and subjects, to save the emperor's taking the trouble upon him, is contrary to the practice of the great emperor *Vuen Vuang*. This proposition is not a little mystical. Dignities, honours, crowns, scepters, &c. are a heavy burden; if the sovereign lays the weight upon his subjects, and takes to himself the honour, glory, and satisfaction of that life, he does not discharge the trust repos'd in him. *It is natural, that he who receives the benefit, bear the burden,* says the rule 55. in *sexto*. They are deceiv'd who imagine they enter upon a place of trust to give themselves up to pleasure and pastime. Let them read the third chapter of *Exod.* and they will find it.

7. Jueng Hiang punish'd a minister of *Friend* to state severely; a friend of 'that minister right. reprov'd the emperor, who answer'd, Do you forsake the emperor, and side with your friend? He reply'd, If my friend does not obey the emperor, I will quit my friend, and follow the emperor. If the emperor acts contrary to justice, reason and law, I will follow my friend and oppose the emperor. Boldly said. The emperor was inore provok'd at the answer, and said to him, Unsay what you have said, and you shall live, else I will immediately send to order you to be put to death. *Tu*, that his first man is not to flinch for fear of death. A counsellor may inform, reprove and direct his emperor. *Tu Pe* (that was the name of him that had suffer'd) committed no fault, why then did your majesty order him to be kill'd? The emperor was struck dumb, seeing so much resolution.

8. *Kin Vuang* punish'd one for being disobedient to his parents, and said, It was a principal point in a kingdom that children should be obedient to their parents; and by inflicting that punishment, he taught all children to be observant of that virtue. The *Chinese* master sigh'd, and said, It is not reasonable, that the superior who is void of virtue, should punish the inferior for wanting of it. The greatest justice is to teach obedience, by giving a good example, not by punishing. When the superior does not instruct by his example, the fault committed is his, and not the inferiors. This good method the philosopher took to tell *Kin Vuang* he ought to be obedient to his parents; he was guilty of disobedience,

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NAVARRETTE. ence, and *Confucius* and others had taken notice of it. The *Chinese* have very notable written examples of childrens duty to their parents; we missionaries need not preach upon this subject, or give them any instances of ours. Among the rest there is one that tells us, that because a son was obedient, the wild cattel in the mountains would come and plow the fields where his parents set him to work, and the birds of the air would come down to rake them with their bills. They write of another who going to fetch water for his mother from a pond, fell into it through mere weariness, and slept a long time on the water without sinking. That nation looks upon these, and many more stories of this nature, to be as certainly true, as we do those which God wrought for *S. Isidorus, S. Maurus, &c.*

Refusal of the crown.

9. King *Kiu Zo* appointed his son *Xo Zi* his heir. The father dying, he would not admit of the inheritance, but generously resign'd it to his elder brother *Pe Y*. This brother refus'd it, saying, They ought to stand to what their father had order'd. The younger alledg'd that tho' his father had appointed him heir to the crown, yet it was but reasonable his elder brother, whose birthright it was, should enjoy it. *Pe Y* urg'd, It was unreasonable to contradict their father's orders. *Zi* answer'd, There was as little reason to oppose the decrees of heaven; and since heaven had made *Pe Y* the elder brother, it was justice he should succeed his father in the throne. He reply'd again, That obedience to parents was a natural duty, and as such ought to be observ'd. The younger rejoyn'd, That heaven ought to be obey'd in the first place as being the supreme father. Thus the two good brothers argued, not to possess, but to yield up the kingdom one to the other; and at last to reconcile this difference between them, they both agreed to resign to another younger brother, there being no other way to reconcile that difference.

10. The heathens of *China* have furnish'd us with an answer to *S. Ambrose* his question, lib. V. cap. xv. *Exod. What man can you find, who will voluntarily lay down his command, quit the ensigns of his dignity, and of his own free will of the first become the last?* Here are two heathens, holy saint, who of their own free will perform'd what you thought so difficult. Such an action would be much look'd upon among Christians, as it was in *S. Celestine* to resign the papacy. The magnanimity of the invincible *Charles the fifth*, in voluntarily abdicating two of the greatest monarchies of the world, will be in like manner ever applauded. But the circumstances we have mention'd make our example singular. It was afterwards ask'd of the *Chinese* master, What sort of men these brothers were before they resign'd

he kingdom to one another, and whether when they had both given up their right to the other brother, they had not repented of what they had done? He answer'd, They were good and virtuous men both before and after, and that the virtue of piety mov'd them to do that action. The elder would shew himself obedient to his father, and the younger to heaven. This was the reason they never repented, because the motive they had being good and virtuous, there could never be place for repentance, which can only proceed from something that is a fault.

11. It is also written of these two brothers, that they earnestly desir'd all men should be good and virtuous; and that if they saw any wicked vicious man, they hated his crimes, but not his person; for they said, that man might mend and be good another day. When a wicked man amended his life, they thought no more of his past crimes, nor threw them in his face, but only look'd upon what was present.

12. The names ceremony, deacon, *seria*, *fashi*, and many others, the church took from the Gentiles. See *Micheli Marquez*. Deacon signifies minister. *Mercury* was so call'd, as being the minister of the gods; and it is the same thing the *Chinese* call *Zi Fu*; that is, he who attends and administers to him that sacrifices to the dead. The *martyrology* us'd in the church was taken from the heathen *fashi*, as *Baronius* observ'd. It were endless to write all that may be said to this point.

13. I will conclude this book with a strange and odd passage the *Chinese* history makes mention of, which is thus: In the province of *Xan Tung* there was a mandarin, so upright, just and uncorrupted, and so loving and kind to the people, that he took care of them as if they had been his own children; for this reason he was belov'd, serv'd, and obey'd by them with singular affection and readiness. This produced an extraordinary and reciprocal confidence betwixt them, and a mighty respect and submission of the people to their head and ruler. It fell out of course, that according to the duty of his office he punish'd some, and imprison'd others. Those that were imprison'd could not follow their husbandry, so that they neither sow'd nor reap'd. The mandarin was concern'd at the misfortune of those poor men, and bearing them great affection, he resolv'd to give them the liberty of going out to sow, upon condition they should return to goal as soon as they had done their work. They went out, plow'd and sow'd, and all of them to a man return'd to prison the same day. The same thing they did at harvest-time. He continu'd to do the same thing every year, as long as he continu'd in his employment, and not a man ever fail'd of returning to prison. I am of opinion the like has not happen'd in the world.

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BOOK III.

Containing some political and moral Sentences of the Philosopher Kung Fu Zu, or Confucius.

S. *Antonius*, 4. p. iit. 11. cap. 4. sufficiently proves, that the morals of the ancient philosophers and *Chineſes* were very imperfect and defective, and that the authors thereof were not found and true. All the five paragraphs he writes in the place above-cited, are very well worth reading, for the multiplicity of learning he infers, and for the light he gives the reader and miſſioners to prevent their being led away by outward appearances, and the eloquence of the heathen books. In this place the ſaint explains the three ſorts of philoſophy, whereof mention ſhall be made in another place. And in *ſect.* 5. he ſays with *S. Auguſtin*, with whom cardinal *John Dominick* agrees, that the prophets were before the philoſophers, from the firſt of whom the latter took what they writ, that has any relation to our religion. And he explains how we ought to underſtand the words of *Triſmegiſtus*, *Monaſ genuit monadem*, &c. And thoſe of *Virgil*, *jam nova progenies celo dimittitur alto*. And below that again he ſays, *ſo many things are to be found in Plato's books ſpoken concerning the word of God, but not in that ſenſe the true ſaith acknowledges*. All this is very material to what ſhall be written in

the ſixth book. The fifth chapter follow-
ing, in which he treats of the origin of idolatry, and the multiplicity of gods the *Gentiles* worſhipp'd, is proper for the ſame purpose, and not a little uſeful to miſſioners, when they read heathen books, in which there is uſually danger, as the ſaint ſays he found himſelf. *Origin* ſpeaks to this point, *ſect.* 4. cap. 4. above-cited, where he quotes the proverb, *A great philoſopher is ſeldom a good catholic*. This ſubject has been handled in the nineteenth chapter of the ſecond book.

It is to be obſerv'd concerning the philoſopher *Confucius*, that tho' he was not the founder or inventor of the learned ſect; yet becauſe he explain'd, made it more intelligible by his doctrine, and explicated it, they gave him the title of their *bread and lawgiver*. So writes *F. Anthony de ſanta Maria*, a Franciſcan miſſioner, in a manuſcript of his. In the ſame manner, as the angelical doctor *S. Thomas* has gain'd renown above all divines, and obtain'd the name of *prince*, and *angel of the ſchools*, for having explain'd, digeſted, and divided divinity into parts, matters, queſtions, and articles; for the ſame reaſons the learned *Chineſes* have given their philoſopher *Confucius* the title of their *prince and maſter*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Birth and Life of this Philoſopher.

K *Ung Fu Zu*, whom in our parts we vulgarly call *Confucius*, is the greateſt oracle in *China*, and more celebrated and applauded there, than *S. Paul* is in the church. In order to give ſome account of him, I will here ſet down the principal paſſages of a book there is in that nation, intituled, *A deſcription of the wonders and miracles of Confucius*. The book is full of cuts, with the expoſition and account of every one of them. *F. Trigucius*, lib. 1. cap. 5. aſſigns the birth of this man to be five hundred fifty one years before the incarnation of the Son of God. Others of his ſociety, whoſe opinion I follow, affirm, that he was fix hundred forty five years before the com-

ing of our Redeemer. So that this preſent year 1675 is 2320 years ſince his time. And tho' ſuch diſtant antiquity buries the greateſt things in oblivion, yet this philoſopher lives at this time as freſh in memory of the *Chineſes*, as if he had been born but yeſterday.

2. The firſt cut in the book is a large, beautiful, and ſtately tree, whoſe branches ſtretch out largely on all ſides, hanging thick with ſtars inſtead of leaves: under the ſhade, and at the foot of this tree, ſtands the philoſopher *Confucius*; his hands are on his breaſt, and on his head a ſwelling or bunch ſomewhat large, the inſcription runs thus, *elogies of the moſt holy maſter*

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NAVASTETTE. master our predecessor, whose virtues were sufficient to bring to light the ancient doctrines concerning heaven and earth, well purg'd, explain'd and purify'd. A doctrine that honours and crowns the ancients and moderns, who gave laws to future ages.

3. The second cut represents an ancient countrywoman, under another starry tree of the same shape and form as the last was describ'd. Her employment is to offer perfumes in a fire on an altar. There is also the figure of a maid-servant, and two little boys attending her. The inscription is thus; A description of the prayer on the mountain, call'd *shé*. It is explain'd in this manner: The holy mother whose name was *Jen Xi*, offer'd her vows, and pray'd on the mount *Ni Kin*. When she went up to the mount, the leaves of the trees lifted and curl'd themselves up; when she went down, they bow'd to the ground. The first they did in token of joy and satisfaction, the latter signify'd submission and respect. She conceiv'd, and went with child eleven months. (S. Thomas, *opusc.* 28. art. 4. about the end, says, he saw a woman, who was deliver'd of a great boy the eleventh month of her going with child. *Aristotle* says he saw one who was brought to bed the fourteenth month. Thus it appears, *Confucius* might well be eleven months in his mother's womb.) *Confucius* was born of her; on his head he brought into the world with him a bunch, or swelling, in the shape of that mountain, and this is the reason why he had the name of that mountain, which is *Ni Kin*, given him for his surname. They very often call him so in the *Chinese* books.

4. The third cut represents an unicorn, casting a book out of his mouth in the presence of a woman. The inscription explicates it thus: A little before the philosopher *Confucius* was born there appeared to his mother a wonderful and extraordinary unicorn, which cast before her a small book, as it were of alabaster, in which were these characters; *Son of purity and rare perfection, who coming of a mean race, will come to be a wonderful man and most religious prince*. His holy mother *Jen Xi* (the *Chinese* write holy mother, with these two characters, *Xing Mu*; so they call this woman we speak of, a great idol, that was an emperor's concubine, and the empress dowager. The ancient missionaries took those two letters to express the blessed virgin *Mary*, which their successors and all Christians had follow'd) was surpris'd at the vision; the unicorn let fall from his horn a piece of stuff of most beautiful colours, and dropping it upon her hands, vanish'd.

5. The fourth cut contains two wonder-

ful serpents, and four venerable old men. The inscription is *Confucius* was born after night fall, and at the time of his birth two prodigious snakes were seen in his mother's chamber; five venerable old men descended from above, who were five bright shining stars.

6. The fifth cut is of heavenly musicians. The inscription contains: In the room where *Confucius* was born, sweet harmony was heard, and heavenly singing in the air, the voices expressing, That heaven it self congratulated and rejoiced at the birth of a holy son, and therefore celebrated his nativity with musick come from above. It adds, that after the child was born, strange things were seen in the room; and on his breast were five characters signifying, This child shall give peace to the earth, by the good laws he shall prescribe and establish on it.

7. The sixth cut is of his infancy, and expresses, that he being but six years of age, carry'd himself among other children with such modesty and gravity, as if he had been sixty; and that whilst they were employ'd in sports suitable to their age, he with a religious countenance was busy in making little altars. As to this man's stature and shape, they say, he was tall and brawny, of a grave countenance, and very humble of heart, and in his words and actions: His eyes sharp, and so bright, that they look'd like two stars; and he so discreet in his actions, that he seem'd to know all things. Being sixty years of age, after he had govern'd some provinces very prudently and uprightly, forsaking all employments, because he found the government was wicked, poor, and contemptible, he travel'd throughout the empire, preaching virtue and natural justice to all men. In some places they affronted, in others they beat him, all which he bore with meekness, and an even temper: And they say of him further, that he was merriest when most despised; and when they turn'd him out of any town, he would place himself under a tree with a smiling countenance, and play on a little guitar he carry'd about with him.

8. One of the last cuts tells us, that when he was seventy one years of age, having by that time made out and explain'd the *Chinese* doctrine, he retir'd home to his house, where he liv'd in the exercise of prayer, fasting, and alms-giving. As he was kneeling once, with his face lifted up to heaven towards the north, he saw a rainbow descend from above, which put a writing into his hands, carry'd on a substance, which look'd like the purest gold, and very transparent, but does not declare what was written. He receiv'd it, and dy'd at the age of seventy three. He is

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bury'd in town where carry'd pr in four lea *Maria*, a and seen it he saw on wall'd in there is a was a you that tree.

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bury'd in a stately sepulchre in the same town where he was born. When we were carry'd prisoners to court, we pass'd within four leagues of it: *F. Francis de Sancta Maria*, a Franciscan had been there before and seen it. Among other trees, he said, he saw one without any bark or branches, wall'd in with brick and lime half way; there is a tradition that *Confucius* when he was a youth us'd to study in the shade of that tree.

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9. The histories of *China* tell us, that the emperor *Cin Xi Hoang* (he reign'd three hundred years after the death of this philosopher) who was a mortal enemy to the sect of the learned, caus'd many scholars to be burnt alive; and the same he did by all the books of *Confucius*, and other masters, which treated of moral virtues. He also attempted to destroy the sepulchre we have spoken of, caus'd the one half of it to be ruin'd, and they say there was a stone found with these words on it: The emperor endeavours to destroy my sepulchre, and annihilate my ashes, but he shall not compass it, for he shall very soon end his life. So they affirm it fell out. This emperor was to the sect of the learned, as *Dioclesian* was to the church. The lineage of *Confucius*, by one only son he left, has been propagated and continued to this very day in the direct male line, without any failure in so many ages: And tho' there have been wars, rebellions and tumults, which utterly overthrow vast numbers of cities towns, and other places, yet *Confucius* his town, his house and family have ever continued. He that liv'd in the year 1668. was the three hundred and third grandson. They ever enjoy'd the privilege of nobility and revenues, they have been ever honour'd and respected by all men, they are lords of their country. When we came away banish'd from court, we were told that the *Tartar* had either taken away, or retrench'd the revenue of him that was then living. He is no great lover of learning, or learned men. I know not whether there be many families in the world ancients than this.

10. The *Chinese* make the same account of this philosopher's doctrine, as we do of the gospel. Some attribute to him a knowledge infus'd, but he himself confesses he had none but what is acquir'd. I have heard learned Christians say, that no beast, bird, or insect, ever came within the inclosure of this tomb, which takes up a large space of ground, nor was there ever found any excrement, or other filthy thing within that place. I discours'd concerning this subject with some missionaries, who do not agree to it, nor did *F. Antony* take notice of this particularity; but by this it

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appears that the scholars, tho' they become *NAVA-Christians*, have still their master in their RETTE. very bones, which is not at all to be doubted. However all agree that no man came near this man for elegance, sharpness, and brevity of stile.

11. Some missionaries there are who make a prophet of this man, and this is printed in Latin; but others more ancient of the same society, laugh at and condemn this notion. Even as in our parts there are *Thomists*, *Scotists*, &c. so in *China* among the missionaries in one and the same order there are *Confucians*, and *Anticonfucians*. The eulogies, encomiums, and praises, with which the *Chinese* extol and magnify their master, are beyond expression. The same Christ said of the Baptist, *Among the children of women there has not been a greater than John*, &c. the *Chinese* say of their philosopher which is as much as can be said. I shall treat at large of the worship and veneration they pay him in the second tome, where it shall also be prov'd that he was an absolute atheist.

12. Here I will only observe two things. *Confucius* an atheist. The first, that in order to prove his atheism, an unanswerable argument is made of the doctrine of *S. Thomas*, *2. 2. 6. in cap. x. Joan.* upon the words, *believe my works*. The saint forms this argument: *For there can be no such convincing proof of the nature of any thing, as that which is taken from its actions, therefore it may be plainly known and believ'd of Christ that he is God, soasmuch as he performs the works of God*. Then I argue thus; *Therefore it evidently appears that Confucius was an atheist, soasmuch as he taught the works of atheists*: Since as even those of the contrary opinion allow, he knew nothing of an immortal soul, or a reward or punishment in another life, and much less of God according to the opinion of his own disciples. The second is, That *Confucius* us'd the same expression which *Lactantius* relates, *Lib. III. de fals. relig. cap. 20. Socrates made use of this famous proverb; What is above us is nothing to us. But this is not to be taken notice of in religion*. *F. Longobardus* the jesuit most learnedly makes his observations on this particular, and more shall be said to it in the sixth book.

13. Who would imagine but that the *Chinese* seeing so many wonders as concurr'd in the conception, birth, and life of their most loving master, and all those circumstances we have mention'd, would not lift up their thoughts or heart to consider there was some great Deity that caus'd and directed them? They are so far from it, that they persist in asserting that all things came to pass naturally and accidentally, and nothing can persuade them to the contrary.

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NAVA- It is hard to say in *China*, that all we have mention'd above is mere fiction, for then they answer, It is likely all we write is so too. In these our parts it is very rational to think all those stories false and mere invention.

Rodriguez 14. I cannot agree to what F. John Rodriguez says in his art of the *Japoneses* language, lib. III. p. 234. viz. that *Confucius* was descended from some of the ten tribes of *Israel*, which *Sbalmaneser* carry'd into captivity, and placed among the *Medes* and *Syrians*. F. James Fabre, contrary to the opinion of others of his society, denies to this day that ever any *Jews* resch'd *China*. I gave an account before in a foregoing book, how *China* was ancienter than the captivity of the ten tribes.

15. It cannot be denied but *Confucius* had his failings and sins, which the *Chineſes* are sensible of. Read F. Morales, fol. 215. Morales. where it is plainly own'd both by his people, and very learned men.

16. What has been writ above, is only a repetition of what the *Chineſes* have printed; and since they believe it as they do, I know not why they should not look upon their master *Confucius* as a saint, and the greatest of saints: it were a madness rather, when they confess the first part, to deny the second. It cannot be denied but that he writ very good things, as will appear by the account shall be given of him.

CHAP. II.

Some Sayings of Confucius.

1. A Great deal of what this master writ is already translated into *Latin* by F. Prosper Intorceta; but several of his society like not the first volume. F. Antony Gouvea, superior of their mission, told me, that their fathers residing in the northern provinces, would not give it their approbation; and tho' I did, said he, it was with reluctancy and against my will, for I am of another opinion contrary to what is there written. These are the very words of that grave and antient father.

2. As I was talking in *Canton* concerning some opinions printed in that book, which are opposite to the ancient and modern missionaries of that society, F. Fabre, superior of that mission, said to the author; father Intorceta, I did not read that book when I gave leave to print it; but had I known it contain'd what has been said here, I would not on any account have suffer'd it to be publish'd.

3. This is the reason why they would give the *Franciscans* and us the second volume to read, which F. Intorceta, and three others of his standing had translated, tho' they had said before, we should all give our opinions of it; but I had sufficient intimation, that their own body did not at all approve of it, and F. Gouvea and F. Emanuel George utterly condemn'd it. As to the first volume, the translator is not so much to be blam'd, for he did it the first year he entred upon the mission; it was too much precipitancy, to take upon him so soon to translate a language so difficult and strange to *Europeans*. True it is, another had done the most considerable part before.

4. In the first book, whose title is, *great science or wisdom*. *Confucius* says, the wis-

dom of great men consists in cultivating the inward faculties, in making as it were a new people by their example and exhortations, and in following the rule of reason in all things.

M. This is as much as to say, that the speculative part is not sufficient to render man perfect, but it is requisite the practice go along with it, and that virtue be made known by actions: it also imports, as may be gather'd by the meaning and connexion, that he who has the charge of souls committed to him, must first take care of his own, and then of those of others.

5. M. In all business and affairs there is the first and principal part, and another which is secondary, and less considerable: as in a tree, the root and stock are look'd upon as the prime part, the branches and leaves as of less moment. To be virtuous, and endeavour to advance, and attain to perfection in virtue, is the prime and principal part of man; to labour that others may be good, is the secondary and less considerable part.

6. M. The emperor, and all his subjects, even to the meanest commoner, are bound, says *Confucius*, to adorn themselves with virtues, and to live holily and virtuously.

7. M. If the prime and principal part, says he, be amiss, how can that which is but secondary, viz. the government of the subjects, be right? if he takes no care of his own person, which is the first thing he ought to look to, and bends his thoughts upon that which is of an inferior quality, viz. the government of others, it will be absolute inverting all good order.

8. He goes on. M. The Emperor Tang had these words carv'd on the vessel in which he bath'd himself: *Let thy perpetual*

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and continual study be to renew thy self inwardly, each day thou art to renew thy self, and ever to endeavour this renewing by the practice of virtue.

The comment expounds, that the said words include the time past and to come, and that it implies he must repent of crimes committed, and have a full purpose and resolution not to fall into them again. That this emperor continually did so, and that he might not omit it whilst he was bathing, he had the words above-mentioned carv'd upon the bathing vessel, which put him in mind of this commendable exercise. This heathen was most singularly virtuous; had he attained any knowledge of God, he might vie with the best in Europe. Confucius and others write of one of his disciples, that he never committed the same sin twice. A bold saying of a heathen: he so heartily detested it, that he utterly forgot it, and only was careful to avoid it for the future.

9. The book entitled, *Kang Kao*, says, (Confucius proceeds) Take great care to renew the people, and break your rest that they may live well and uprightly. This is what follows after a man has renew'd himself.

10. The comment expounding this renewing, says, it consists in wiping off the stains of sin, and returning to the same state as before committing it; as when a cloth is wash'd, the spots are taken out, and it becomes white and clean as it was at first.

11. The emperor *Vuen Yuang*, says he, attain'd to the highest pitch of perfection. As emperor, he reach'd the top of piety; as a magistrate, the supreme degree of observance; as a son, the furthest extent of obedience to his parents; as a father, the greatest love and affection to his children, and the utmost point of fidelity and sincerity towards his neighbour.

12. He proposes this emperor as a mirror and pattern of virtue: the whole empire gives him great praise and commendation; and certainly, according to their histories, he was singular, and liv'd up strictly to the rules of right reason. It cannot be denied, but by that nation he is look'd upon as a very holy man.

13. I can hear and decide law-suits (says Confucius) as well as any other; but what most concerns us, is to order it so that there may be no suits. If it was as practicable as it is convenient, the courts would be shut up, and pens would take up some other employment.

14. *Zeng Zu*, Confucius his disciple, says to this purpose: wicked men cannot determine, or put an end to their law-suits, therefore it is convenient to subdue the hearts of the people, as well by punishment,

as good turns and instructions, exhorting them to mutual love and concord, which they that govern are oblig'd to do.

15. *Zeng Zu* will have these two methods observ'd towards the subjects, that they may live lovingly together, and have no suits nor controversies. That of punishing the *Chinese* sufficiently make use of towards their people, this is the cause they stand in such awe of the *mandarines*, and that they have no quarrels or fallings out, not that they want courage, or inclination; this sufficiently proves the assertion. The *Tartar* takes the best course, he pardons no man that is faulty. See *A Lapide* in *Exod. iv.*

The same author proceeds:

16. Wicked men when they are at liberty act wickedly, and there is no crime they will not attempt; when they see virtuous men they conceal their evil inclination, and feign themselves saints: but men know them, as if they saw into them. What then does their dissembling avail them? Therefore it is said, that such as a man is inwardly, such he will appear outwardly; and this is the reason why a virtuous man takes such care of his interior part.

17. *Zeng* says further on: If the interior part be disturb'd by any passion, when a man looks he does not see, when he hears he does not understand, when he eats he does not relish his meat: therefore the proverb says, men blinded with affection, are not sensible of the vices of their children; and blinded by avarice, they know not the greatness of their riches. It cannot be denied but that passion blinds men: therefore it was *Publius Æmilius* said, *It is hardly allow'd the powers above to love and be wise.* It takes away the use of reason, and even distracts: there are examples enough of it in all parts.

18. He goes on. As a mother embraces and lovingly hugs a new-born son in her arms, and eagerly satisfies her desires, made known only by looks and tears; even so is a king to behave himself towards his subjects, relieving their wants tho' they make them not known by words.

19. Many have written that the king is to be the father of his kingdom, but it is certainly much more, that he must behave himself towards it like a mother, and be a loving and compassionate mother to his subjects. If the king, says he, is covetous, it is certain the whole kingdom will be disturb'd, which will be because all men will follow the example of the head. *Bias* called avarice the metropolis of vice. He that would be acquainted with its deformity, may read *Corn. à Lapide* in 6. 1. *prim. ad Tim. y.* 9, 10.

NAVARETTE.

CHAP. III.

Containing other Sayings and Sentences of Confucius.

NAVARETTE. 1. THE emperors *Yas* and *Xun* governed with piety and affection, says he, and the subjects imitated them in those virtues. The emperors *Kie* and *Cheu* govern'd tyrannically, and the subjects imitated their wickedness; for inferiors are not so strict in following the laws, as the example given them: therefore if the emperor have virtue in him, he may require it of the rest; but if there be none in him, how can he blame his inferiors for being without it?

2. If the emperor (says the book of verses) does the duty of a father in his palace towards his children, of a son towards his parents, and of a brother towards his brothers, he will give example to all the empire, and all the subjects will imitate him.

3. Do not that to your inferiors which you dislike in your superiors; and what you blame in your inferiors, do it not to your superiors: what you abhor in your predecessors, leave not as an example to your successors; and what you detest in them that are gone, set it not as a precedent to them that are to come: what you judge ill in those that are on your right-hand, offer not to those on your left, nor *à contra*. And to say it in a word, do not that to another which you would not have done to yourself. This is call'd a good rule of government.

4. He is in the right in all he says: what is good is to be imitated in any man; what is evil is to be hated in all men. Observe whether such a one, or such a one did well in such or such an action; if he did well, let him be brought as an instance to be imitated; if ill, let him be an example to shun the like. The verses say, a kind and affable king is a father and mother to his subjects.

5. This is a good proposition, but it is to be observ'd, to be angry upon a just occasion is no breach of meekness. Some men would have superiors mere stocks. *S. Thomas on Rev. ii. Many evils spring from too much meekness and forbearance. S. Gregory, Let there be love, but not to fondness; let there be piety, but not more than is requisite; let him that is sparing of both be commended for one of them, so that severity may not be too rigid, nor meekness vicious. Seneca quoted by Hugo in Gen. i. Be kind to all men, remis to none, familiar with a few, just to all.*

6. He goes on. If the emperor has the love of his subjects, he is an emperor, and has an empire; if he loses this love, he loses his crown: so that his first duty is to

be watchful to acquire virtue; when he has that, he will possess the affection of his inferiors; when these are for him, he will enjoy lands; when he enjoys lands, he will be rich; and being rich, will have all that is necessary for his private use, and to secure his crown. Virtue is the prime foundation, riches are but the superstructure. If the emperor makes riches his chief aim, he will move the people to rebellion, and make way for theft and rapine. Therefore to heap riches unjustly, is to destroy and ruin the subjects. On the contrary, to distribute riches with discretion, is gaining of the people. It is certain ill-gotten wealth never comes to any thing.

7. The aforesaid book goes on thus. An author says, that only empire is not lasting; or permanent, because it fails when there is no virtue in the head of it. Hence it follows that a virtuous emperor perpetuates his crown, and a wicked one loses it. This doctrine is very agreeable to holy writ, *Ecclus. viii. §. 10. says, The kingdom shall be transferr'd from nation to nation, because of injustice, wrongs, slanders and deceits.* The Scripture is full of instances of this truth.

8. *Kuei Fan*, a petty king, was wont to say, I prize or value nothing in this world but my duty to my parents, and love and meekness towards my subjects. *Mo Kung*, who was king of *Cin*, was wont to say, (all this is doctrine taken out of the book *Ya Hie*) If I had an upright and sincere counsellor, open hearted and peaceable, free from the destructive vice of flattery, who would love men of worth and parts, and would heartily respect men of learning and wisdom, I should think I had enough to defend my kingdom, and perpetuate my crown. O what mighty advantages my kingdom and subjects would reap by such a man! On the other side; if my favourite, or prime minister is envious, and does not bestow preferments on wife and virtuous men, nor make use of them, he may ruin all. O what mighty mischief such a man would cause in my kingdom! I would remove him as far as possibly I could from me, and not suffer him to live within my dominions. Therefore it is *Confucius* says, that only a wise and pious king knows how to love men, and how to hate them: to love the good, and hate the wicked.

9. He wrongs a good and virtuous man, who sees and does not prefer him, and when he has done it, is not sorry that he did it no sooner. He sins and does ill, who see-

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ing a wicked man in high place, does not pull him down, and when down remove him at a distance.

10. It is not agreeable to human reason to love that which all men hate, or to hate that which all men love. It is always suppos'd that what all men do is good and real, tho' it is no infallible rule. In the first chapter §. 5. of *Tobias*, *When they all went to the golden calves, this man alone shun'd their company.* All men paid religious worship to *Nebuchadnezzar's* statue, but the three youths would not consent to follow the example. *There is an infinite number of fools.* For the most part the fewest in number are in the right, therefore it is the apostle advises us, not to suit our selves to the world, and particularly to the unruly multitude.

11. He goes on. If a man plac'd in a high post endeavours to be an example of virtue to his inferiors, he will secure his dignity; but if he proudly despise others, he will lose it. A strange example of what I now write was seen in my time at *Manila*.

12. The minister that is compassionate, and a lover of his people, makes himself respected, and is beloved of all men for the riches he dispenses among them: but the wicked ill man who oppresses his people, lives and dies hated by them all. It is ever found experimentally true, that when the king is compassionate, and a lover of his people, they make a suitable return of love, and are faithful to him, being truly loyal to their king; the business of the crown is done to content, and takes its due course. The people that love their king, in time of peace preserve his treasure, and in time of war defend it, as if it were their own.

13. *Sardanapalus* left forty millions of gold, *Tiberius* sixty seven, *David* one hundred and twenty: and the author of the holy court, *tom. IV. p. 79.* speaking of him, says, he offer'd to the building of the temple two thousand one hundred and twenty three millions, a sum to all appearance incredible. *Solomon* gather'd very much, and very much is implied by the words in *Ecclesiastes* ii. §. 8. *I gather'd me also silver and gold, &c.* The *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* took the same care. So do the *Tartars* and *Chinejes*. The present emperor's father, two years before he died, sent an alms of thirty thousand ducats to some places, where the harvest had prov'd bad. His grand-mother was more liberal, for she sent one hundred and fifty thousand. It is not bestowing charity, or relieving of subjects, that runs kings into debt; for the subjects once oblig'd, upon occasion will give their hearts blood

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to support their sovereign. This is it the *NAVA-CHINESE* master means, when he says, *That RETTE.* in peace the subjects keep the royal treasure, and in war defend it as their own. *S. Thomas, lib. I. cap. 10. opusc. ut supra,* says the same: *When the government of kings is pleasing to the people, all the subjects are as guards to support it, and be needs not be at any charge with them; but sometimes in cases of necessity they give kings more of their own accord, than tyrants could have forced from them.* This verifies that of *Solomon*, *Prov. xi. There are (viz. kings, says S. Thomas) that scatter their own (doing good to their subjects) and yet grow richer. And there are (to wit, tyrants) who take what is not theirs, and are always in poverty.* An excellent expression.

14. A great mandarin of the kingdom of *Lu* us'd to say, Those who maintain coach and war-horses, do not deal in poultry and swine; and if they do so, they hinder the people of their profit, to whom that trade belongs.

15. There were some great men, who through covetousness would stoop to mean and scandalous trades. This doctrine is very fit for governours, magistrates, commanders, officers and others, who monopolize in their provinces and circuits, wine, oil, vinegar, *Indian* wheat, and all other mean commodities; and by so doing, besides the breach of the king's orders, they taint and vilify their blood, which they so much glory in, and boast of; taking upon them, without any scruple, all the mischiefs they bring upon the poor people. It happened at *Mexico*, not long before I came to that city, that some gentlemen and merchants meeting on account of a brotherhood, a gentleman slept out, and very proudly said, It was not proper that the gentlemen should walk indifferently among the merchants in the procession, but that each rank should go by itself distinct from the rest. A merchant stood up and said: I like what Mr. N. has propos'd, for it is not proper that the merchants who deal in velvet, rich silks, cloth of gold, &c. should mix with the gentlemen, who trade in *Indian* wheat, roots, long pepper, and such like things. This was all true, and they were fain to take it for their pains. All the world grows more deprav'd every day. The learned men of *China* look'd upon merchandizing as a shame and dishonour; yet of late years even the great mandarins are fallen into it. They are in some measure excusable because having no other estates or revenues but the emperor's allowance, which is small, and their expenses great, they must of necessity find some other support, which is by trading, not in oil, vinegar, and such like things, but in

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silks

NAVARETTE. silks and precious wares. But why should they who have but too much pay, income, and estate of their own, foul their hands with those things that do not belong to their profession? The merchants in France told me, trade was much exalted in that kingdom, for even the king himself was concern'd in it. I do not speak of churchmen in this place, for there are an hundred impediments that render them incapable of this business. Besides the bull of Urban the eighth, there are three others of Alexander the seventh, Clement the ninth, and Clement the tenth.

16. Sovereigns, says the Chinese, do not harbour in their houses, or protect wicked tax-gatherers; if any one does, let him understand it is better to harbour and entertain a thief, than such a one. A thief wrongs a few, but a wicked receiver wrongs all. A certain person said, kings did not advance their kingdoms by their personal interest or profit, but by their goodness and love to their people, and the loyalty of their subjects. If a king employs himself in gathering riches, this doublets proceeds from the iniquity of his ministers. If it happen that such as these govern the kingdom of heaven, and of men, great troubles and calamities will ensue. And granting there be some good ministers, yet how can they hinder the ill government of the bad?

17. The design of Confucius, and the scope of all his doctrine, tends to make a good ruler; and his principle is, that he who knows how to govern himself, will govern his family well; he that can govern his family, will know how to govern a kingdom; he that governs a kingdom well,

will know how to maintain and keep an empire in peace. On the other hand, he that cannot govern himself is good for nothing. So says S. Greg. lib. IV. moral. cap. 20. For it is hard that he who knows not how to order his own life, should judge of another man's. And Cato, That he is a bad prince, who knows not how to govern himself. And St. Paul, 1 Tim. iii. He that knows not how to rule his house, &c. Read S. Thomas and Cajetan to this purpose. It appears by this and other books, that his aim is to have men live well, love virtue, and hate vice. Pythagoras his design was the same, and he according to chronology was contemporary with Confucius. For Pythagoras according to S. Thomas, lib. IV. de reg. princ. liv'd two ages before Aristotle. And Confucius, according to the fathers of the society, liv'd a hundred and sixty years before Aristotle, so that the difference is but small. S. Thomas, lib. IV. cap. 21. says of Pythagoras out of Justin, that, He daily prais'd virtue and run down vice, and reckoned up the disasters of cities that had been ruin'd by this plague; and he persuaded the multitude into so earnest a desire of frugal learning, that it seem'd incredible that any of them had been given to luxury. At one time he taught some of them (the youth) Continency, then others modesty, and application to learning. Then after much more to the purpose, he concludes: By which it appears, that in his polity all his designs and endeavours tended to draw men to live virtuously; which Aristotle also teaches in his politics. Nay and all true policy is destroy'd if once we swerve from this end. Confucius practis'd and aim'd at the same thing.

CHAP. IV.

Other Sentences of the same Author, set down in his Book call'd Lun Ju.

1. IN this book, which is divided into treatises, there are some sayings of Confucius, and of his scholars, all tending to the same end we spoke of above. I will here insert those I think most to the purpose. The masters I will distinguish by the letter M, and those of his disciples by the letter D, which will prevent any mistake in the reader.

2. M. It is incredible that a man should be obedient to his parents within doors, and not be so abroad to his superiors and magistrates. It is so too, that he who opposes his superiors, shall not be a lover of broils and tumults.

3. D. I examine my heart every day, says Meng Zu, to three points. First, whether in transacting any business for the advantage of my neighbour, I did it with all

possible care, and a sincere mind. Secondly, whether when I converse with my friends and companions, I behave myself with fidelity and truth. Thirdly, whether I benefit or not by what my master teaches me.

4. Most excellent doctrine! there have been other ancients who were careful of examining their consciences. Seneca writes of Xistus the stoick, that at night he retir'd to his closet, and acting the severe judge over himself, took a strict account of all he had done that day. Answer for thy self man, said he, what vices hast thou corrected in thy self this day? what is it thou hast mended thy life in? how hast thou fought against sin? how hast thou employ'd thy time? Certain it is, says Seneca, that the consideration of the account man is to call himself to, regulates and moderates his

actions.

actions. V. sun-setting concerning the whole of sayings; I ever nothing forgive myself, that three things what I said his thought Epigram. C.

5. M. It is his duty of a hand and It is his duty distributing to be mode he may ab subjects, as and if he be at a time tilling.

6. Faithful subjects, the cardinal Rich France; I of the society putation, se king oblig subjects and inf

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8. M. If a vity, he will And tho' our very requisit the main stre in him, that fairness of hi

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10. M. If actly observe interment of in sacrificing will advance and meaner s

11. M. Af in conversing first emperor and it help'd fairs whether

12. D. If d

actions. What did *Seneca*? he tells us, At sun-setting I retire to discourse with my self concerning my own affairs: *I search over the whole day by my self, and weigh over my sayings; I bide nothing from my self, I pass over nothing*: I let nothing escape me, I forgive my self nothing. *Cicero* says of himself, that he every night call'd to mind three things: *What I thought in the day, what I said, what I did*. He examin'd his thoughts, words and deeds. *Virgil* in *Epigram*, owns he did the same.

5. *M.* It is requisite for the good governing of a kingdom, that the king under hand and by the by look into all business. It is his duty to be faithful and just in distributing rewards and punishments. He is to be modest and stay'd in his words. That he may abound in riches, let him love his subjects, as a father loves his children; and if he must employ his people, let it be at a time that may not obstruct their tilling.

6. Faithful in keeping his word with his subjects, this is contrary to the doctrine cardinal *Ricblieu* would have established in *France*; I was told it by grave fathers of the society, and *Frenchmen* of great reputation, so that he would not have the king oblig'd to keep his word with his subjects and inferiors.

7. *M.* If a man loves wife and learned persons, as precious things are lov'd; if he uses his utmost endeavours to serve his parents, and ventures his life in the service of his prince, and is just and faithful in his dealings and conversation with his friends; tho' all the world should say of him that he has not study'd, I will always defend and maintain that he has been conversant enough in the schools.

8. *M.* If a man want stay'dness and gravity, he will have no authority over others. And tho' outward modesty and gravity be very requisite in a publick person, yet the main stress lies upon that which is within him, that is, upon his sincerity and the fairness of his carriage.

9. *M.* Have you sin'd? mend then, be not daunted at the difficulties that appear in forsaking vice, it behoves you manfully to oppose them all.

10. *M.* If superiors and governors exactly observe the funeral ceremonies at the interment of their dead, and appear careful in sacrificing to them, the virtue of piety will advance and increase in the subjects and meaner sort.

11. *M.* Affability is much look'd upon in conversing and dealing among men. The first emperors were possess'd of this virtue, and it help'd them to compass all their affairs whether great or small.

12. *D.* If the engagement made be agree-

able to reason, it ought to be fulfill'd; if *Navy* the service done to another is conformable *NETTE* to the law, and the honour given him is due, it ought all to be perform'd, and no other motives ought to obstruct it.

13. *D.* The man that endeavours to follow the dictates of reason, does not seek satiety in meat, eats to preserve life, and so makes use of food as it were of a medicine. He seeks not his own ease and conveniency in this life, he is diligent in business, sincere in words, he does not rely on his own judgment, but rather humbly desires learned men to govern and direct him. He that acts after this manner, may safely be call'd a lover of virtue.

14. *M.* Be not concern'd for that you are not known by men, be troubled because thou hast not known men. The curious reader may see *S. Augst. Conf.* 8. cap. 19.

15. *M.* The king that governs his kingdom virtuously and justly, is like the north-star, which being fix'd it self, is the rule the rest go by.

16. *M.* If the king governs only by the laws, and only inflicts punishments and penalties, it will follow that the people will be obedient to him for fear; but this government is not lasting of it self. If he governs virtuously and lovingly, it will follow the subjects will be obedient to him through affection, and will be asham'd to do amiss.

17. *M.* If you desire to know a man, examine three things in him. First, what it is he does. Secondly, to what end he does it. Thirdly, what it is he fixes his heart and mind upon.

18. *M.* The king that is void of virtue, and yet conceited, will easily incline to vice, and by that means will endanger losing his crown. If a king of great wisdom and abilities, thinks himself ignorant; if being virtuous and deserving, yields to others, thinking better of them; and if being strong and powerful, he judges himself weak and low; then will he secure his crown, and preserve his parts and good qualities.

19. *M.* The perfect man loves all men, he is not govern'd by private affection or interest, but only regards the publick good, and right reason. The wicked man on the contrary loves if you give, and likes if you commend him.

20. There are too many in the world who act and are govern'd by passion, and private affection. We were confin'd in the metropolis of *Canton*, four years the Christians had been destitute of priests, those of the metropolis of *Fo Kien* sent for one of those fathers that absconded, he heard their confessions, preach'd to, encourag'd them, reduced

NAVARETTE. reduced some apostates, baptiz'd many, administered the sacrament of the holy eucharist, and did all that belongs to the duty of a good minister. Another missionary to whom that church belong'd before the persecution had notice of it, and having complain'd several times two years before, because our religious *Chinese* had perform'd the same function among his Christians, he now writ

to the principal Christian, who call'd the said father, and chid him for what he had done for the good of his soul, and of the rest. Is this taking care of the publick good, or acting for private interest? It is to be observ'd that the sacrificer would not lend a chafuble to fly mass, and that tho' all the Christians had confess'd at that time, he alone would not.

CHAP. V.

Other Documents of the same nature.

1. *M.* He that studies, and does not meditate, ruminate and reflect, must needs forget and remain as ignorant as at first. He that meditates and considers, if he does not study, and labour that his study may be agreeable to good and wholesome doctrine, will always continue full of doubts, and be subject to many errors.

2. *M.* He that governs himself, and guides others by ill doctrines, forsaking those of holy men, is the cause of much mischief.

3. It is the doctrine of his ancient emperors he calls the doctrine of holy men, or saints; this name they bestow on them, and look upon them as such. All others but these are look'd upon by their learned men as heretical. More shall be said to this purpose in another place.

4. *M.* It is true knowledge for a man to affirm he knows what he knows, and flatly to declare he is ignorant of that he knows not.

5. This answer the master gave a conceited disciple of his own, who ask'd him concerning this point, and it is much the same as the *yea, yea, and nay, nay*, in the gospel, without using any double meanings or equivocations. Which is agreeable to what *S. Augustin* teaches tom. III. in *Incbir. cap. 17*. see more there.

6. *M.* If when you hear several things you doubt of some of them, do not make known your doubt, but keep it in your heart, that by study you may dive into the truth. In other respects talk cautiously and considerately, and by that means few faults will be found in your words. If you observe, in what you see in the world, that something is not suitable to your inclination, do it not, and be diligent and careful in all your actions, and in so doing you will have but little to repent of; and if your words do not offend others, and you have nothing to repent of in your actions, high places and preferments will drop into your hands, and there will be no need of your seeking after, or making court for them. He deduces a consequence suitable to the principles of his policy.

7. *M.* A petty king ask'd him, What he must do to keep his subjects under? He answer'd, Put good and virtuous men into employments, and turn out the wicked.

8. *M.* A governor ask'd him, What means shall I use, that the people may honour, respect, and not defraud me, or contemn my orders, and that they may love one another, and addict themselves to virtue? He answer'd, If you manage your people's concerns with gravity and modesty, they will honour and respect you; if you are obedient to your parent, and bountiful and compassionate to all men, your people will be faithful and obedient to you; if you reward good men, and give a good example in your behaviour, you will bring your people to live in peace.

9. *M.* If you offer sacrifice to a spirit to whom sacrifice is not due from you, it is acting the flatterer.

The literal sense of this doctrine shall be handled in another place. Here we must observe the words of the commentator *Chang Ko Lao*, which are, that *Confucius* his design is to teach us, that no man ought to meddle in that which does not belong to him, nor must he dive into that which is above his condition and capacity.

10. *M.* If you perceive or understand that a thing is good, just, and holy, and that in reason it ought to be done, and yet you will not do it, either for fear, or any other human motive, you are not brave, nor a man of courage.

11. *M.* In that great sacrifice which only the emperors offer every five years in the temples of their predecessors departed; I own, that tho' I like the first ceremonies, for which reason I am present at them with satisfaction; yet from the time they begin the ceremony of pouring the wine on the ground, with all that follows till the end, I have not the face to look on them, tho' I be present, because it is all done with little reverence.

12. This seems to have been a pontifical sacrifice, for the emperors play'd the priests; wine was offer'd nine times, and it was pour'd on the ground as often. The design

sign of this of the dead. They pray some mill proper pi reverence quired in offices. This mass.

13. *D.* *facius* sacrifice with as much reverence, as present.

All these souls which temples.

gross an error and full of

14. *M.* with reverence, it is the sacrifice.

15. What design of those who when observing a with less respect to a man of criminal oververts outdo many other the *Philippine* *China*, hear there are so respect and the ground. the ground,

16. *D.* What to the great *Chen Kung*, by the duty and inform'd ing all the error in the sacrifice agreeable to

17. I have some church not to regard in learning there are many and look upon it acquaint them to their profession this subject.

18. *M.* If under their cloak in their behaviour shew sorrow how will it be virtuous?

19. *M.* has regard to a thing is just Vol. I.

sign of this ceremony was, to invite the souls of the dead to be present at the sacrifice. They practise the same to this day, which some missionaries call *policy*. Of this in its proper place. Here we only observe the reverence *Confucius* himself had, and required in others that assisted at those sacrifices. This is good for us that say and hear mass.

13. *D.* The disciples report that *Confucius* sacrificed to his friends departed, with as much gravity, staydness and reverence, as if they had been there really present.

All these sacrifices only respected the airy souls which the living imagin'd met in the temples. Notwithstanding this was so gross an error, yet that man was so modest and full of respect in that place.

14. *M.* When I do not behave my self with reverence and devotion at sacrificing, it is the same thing as if I did not sacrifice.

15. What was said before, answers the design of this sentence, and hits them, who when they hear mass are prating and observing all that comes into the church, with less respect than when they are talking to a man of any worth. These are very criminal oversights. We find that new converts outdo the old Christians in this and many other particulars. The *Indians* in the *Philippine* islands, and the converts in *China*, hear two, three, or four masses, if there are so many, with all imaginable respect and modesty, and both knees on the ground. *Solomon* put both his knees to the ground, 3 *Kings*, cap. x. §. 54.

16. *D.* Whensoever *Confucius* enter'd into the great temple dedicated to prince *Cheu Kung*, where he was to offer sacrifice by the duty of his place, he enquir'd into, and inform'd himself particularly concerning all the ceremonies, that he might not err in the sacrifice, which he said was most agreeable to reason.

17. I have several times observ'd, that some churchmen make it a piece of policy not to regard ceremonies. They are exact in learning the *Chinese* compliments, which are many and troublesome, and yet they look upon it as a matter of less moment to acquaint themselves with those that belong to their profession. *Oleaster, in num.* handles this subject.

18. *M.* If superiors are affable to those under their charge; if they are too stately in their behaviour, and if they do not shew sorrow and concern at their death, how will it appear that they are wise and virtuous?

19. *M.* The prudent and perfect man has regard only to reason and justice; if a thing is just, he infallibly puts it in execution.

cution; if unreasonable, he forbears to do it. He is not fond of his own opinion and conceit.

20. *M.* A virtuous man thinks on nothing but what is good; he that is vicious and wicked, is wholly taken up with earthly things. A good man, in his bodily affairs, has regard to the laws, which he does not break for his own private advantage. A wicked man only regards his interest, without taking notice of the laws. He that only regards his own profit, and acts for his advantage, must of necessity find enemies.

21. *M.* A virtuous man is not troubled because he wants an employment, or preferment, he is concern'd that he has not the parts requisite for an employment. He is not sorry that he is not known by men, but because he is not so qualify'd as to be known by all.

22. *M.* A good man, when he sees any virtuous person, immediately endeavours to imitate him; if he sees a wicked one, he examines himself whether he is guilty of that failing, and labours to correct it.

23. *M.* Children ought to reprove their parents faults with affection: if they take not the reproof, let them repeat it with respect and reverence; if they find they take it ill, let them bear it patiently, without being offended at them.

24. Brotherly reproof, either among equals, or to superiors, or inferiors, is much applauded in *China*. *Confucius* makes it a duty towards parents, in which case there is no doubt much prudence and caution must be us'd, because it being a spiritual alms, must be so bestow'd that it may profit, and not do harm. If a father be somewhat haughty, all is lost.

25. *M.* Ill men cannot hold out long in poverty, for through impatience they fall into thefts and robberies. Nor is their joy and satisfaction lasting, for their crimes are discover'd, and they receive due punishment. But good men patiently and quietly persevere in virtue, in which they place their confidence, and not on riches.

26. *M.* If a man seriously and solidly embraces virtue, it is certain he will not sin.

27. *M.* A perfect man does not only patiently bear with poverty, and a mean condition, but he never swerves from virtue. In adversity he always values himself upon being near to that which is good, and not separated from it.

28. *M.* That learned man who aims at perfection, and is asham'd to wear mean clothes, and feed on coarse diet, does not deserve I should discourse with him concerning perfection and virtue.

29. *S. Thomas, opusc.* 19. c. 8. fully proves the duty of wearing mean apparel, especially

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NAVARETTE. especially in those who preach up humility, mortification and penance; which ought to be done by all that get into the pulpit, after the example of CHRIST our Lord, S. John Baptist, Elias, &c. All the difficulty is, whether this doctrine binds the missionaries in China, or not. Some, and chiefly the modern divines, affirm the negative; they positively maintain that country requires we should clothe our selves like gentlemen, and behave our selves like marquisses, according to the opinion of F. Augeri. Yet others, and they ancienter, of the same family, hold the contrary opinion; and even among the younger there are some, as the fathers Lubeli and Torrente, who abhor the first opinion; they

several times told me so. Certain it is, the two last preachers in the world shall be cloth'd, as S. John says, Rev. xi. *I will give to my two witnesses, &c. clothed in sackcloth.* The comment says, *preaching penance, and teaching it by their example.* And another; *and according to their example must ye preach.* And what is yet more, it is certain they will not change their apparel tho' they go into China. Read *Humbertus*, c. i. p. 3. *crudit. relig.*

30. M. The ancients were very brief in words; they were ashamed their words should go beyond their actions. All their care was how to act, not how to speak. A virtuous man must be slow in words, but diligent in actions.

CHAP. VI.

Other Sentences and Sayings of the third Treatise of the Book Lun Ju.

1. M. Nang Jung my disciple is such a man, that when the kingdom is in peace, he preserves his post; and when the kingdom is in an uproar, he is so discreet and of such sweet behaviour, that he always comes off free and in peace with all men.

2. It was no small discretion to know how to save himself in time of war or peace. Confucius lik'd this man so well, that he gave him his daughter to wife. He fulfill'd that of Eccl. vii. §. 27. *Give her to a wife man.*

3. M. A certain governor of the kingdom Lu, was so circumspect in his duty, and did all things so considerately, that before he would put any matter in execution, he would weigh it within himself three times, or oftner. Confucius told him, it was enough to pause upon business once or twice, and that would make it more easy.

4. M. He tells of another governor, who in time of peace govern'd very discreetly; and when any uproars were, feign'd himself a fool and mad; yet in private he gave the king good advice, to reduce the people, and bring them under.

5. M. They ask'd him, what it was he wish'd and desir'd? He answer'd, That all ancient men enjoy peace and quietness; and want neither food nor raiment; that there be no breach of trust, but fair dealing among friends; that youth be well taught and instructed; and whatsoever men wish themselves, I wish they may obtain. This is what I covet, wish and desire.

6. M. It is a great misfortune, that I have not yet known any man who truly is sensible of his faults, and heartily repents of them.

7. M. Those ought to look upon them-

selves as weak men, who tho' they make use of all their strength, cannot go through with what they have begun.

8. M. A virtuous and perfect man does not study to gain renown and grow rich; a base and ungenerous person does.

9. Few virtuous men will be found at present in China, or the rest of the world. Sciences are now become arts to get bread, and grow famous by. And God grant preachers do not cast an eye this way, which will be intolerable.

10. M. Who can go in or out of the house, but at the door? why then don't men endeavour to do their business by the way of the door, which is reason and justice?

11. The Tartars, Chineses, and Moguls, are very circumspect in not carrying women to the war, not to avoid the sin, but because they are sensible how opposite sensuality is to the end of war. I was told at Surat, that the Subagi Mogul was extraordinary careful that no woman should be in his army; and if he happened to find one, he immediately turn'd her out, first cutting off her hair and ears.

12. M. If the sincerity and plainness of the heart exceeds the outward ornament, a man will appear ignorant and savage. If the exterior ornament and polite conversation exceeds the candor of the mind, a man will be like an orator, whose whole care is on his words, and not on the substance of the matter. But if the outside and sincerity of the mind be equal, then will a man be perfect.

13. I believe the outward ornament is not taken care of so much in any part of the world as in China. Whatsoever they do or say, is so contriv'd, that it may have a good appearance, please all, and offend

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none. Doubtless that nation outdoes all others in modesty, gravity, good words, courtesy, civility, behaviour and good conversation; would to God their inside were as good.

14. *M.* All men naturally are upright, and are born adorn'd with a light, which teaches them to follow good, and eschew

evil; but if sinning, they darken this light NAVA- and live, it is a great happiness to escape RETTE. death.

15. *M.* Those who only know the value of virtue, are not to be compar'd with those that love it; nor those who only love it, with those that practise it.

CHAP. VII.

Of Confucius his Doctrine contain'd in the fifth Treatise of the Book Lun Ju.

1. *M.* I am a publisher, not the inventor of the doctrine I preach and teach the world. I love and honour the doctrine of the ancients, in which I resemble, tho' unworthily, the venerable *Pung*, upon being whose disciple I value my self.

2. The author *Pung* liv'd almost a thousand years before *Confucius*, who valu'd himself very much upon being reckoned disciple to him, and others of the ancients. *Confucius* observ'd what *Eccles.* teaches, *cap. viii.* *¶* 9, 11, & 12. and therefore said, his doctrine was not his own. He hated novelty, and only look'd upon what was ancient as true and solid.

3. *M.* It is the part of a master to read silently, and meditate over and over on what he has read, and never to be weary of studying and teaching all men, without exception of persons. This being so as it is, how can I presume to say, I am qualify'd for the degree of a master?

4. *Confucius* confesses himself unworthy of being a master; in this he expresses some humility, his disciples do not follow his example. There is an infinite number of masters and doctors in *China*; it is true, their examinations are severe, and that they are most mighty careful and circumspect in this particular: were it so in all the universities in the world, there is no doubt there would be a less number of graduates. In order to give their degree to fifty or sixty masters, there usually meet six or seven thousand bachelors, chosen out of many more. Degrees are the reward of those that study.

5. *M.* That I have not employ'd my self in acquiring virtue; that I have not employ'd my self in asking, and in discouraging upon what I have study'd; that I have not observ'd the good things I have heard; that I have not amended my faults, is the cause of my sorrow and trouble.

6. *M.* He says, his disciple *Jen Jung* is such a man, that if kings put him into any employment, he accepts of it without the least reluctance, and does his best in it to the utmost. If they slight and turn him out of his place, he goes home without

any concern, and lives there quietly and peaceably. I and my disciple have this good quality.

7. *D.* The disciples say, *Confucius* their master was very circumspect about three particulars. 1. Of the fasts he kept to sacrifice to his dead ancestors. 2. In war, when he serv'd there, or his advice was ask'd about military affairs. 3. In sickness; when well, he took great care of his health; but when sick, his care was extraordinary.

8. *D.* They also tell us of *Confucius*, that he was so eager at study, that he forgot his meat; and when he was satisfy'd about some difficult point, he was so overjoy'd, that he forgot all his troubles. He was so besides himself, with the exercises of learning and virtue, that he did not reflect, or consider on his great age.

9. It is no difficult matter to make out this truth, so that it is no wonder *Confucius* should be so much besides himself on account of his study. Of my self I must own, that when in *China* I apply'd my self to learn the *mandarin* language, I did it with so much application, that I sometimes went to bed with my spectacles on my nose, and the best of it was, that the next day I could not find them till after dinner, tho' I fought about for them very carefully: At another time I was a quarter of an hour looking for my spectacles, and had them all the while on my nose; I was a little impatient, my companion came to me, and I complaining that I could not find them, he very pleasantly took them off my nose and gave them me.

10. *D.* They also say he was a mighty lover of musick, at the hearing whereof he would be in a rapture and besides himself.

11. The musical instruments in *China* are neither so various, nor so good as ours: They have no organs, nor any knowledge of them; they who have seen them at *Macao* admire them very much; in my time a little one was carry'd to the emperor: *F. Matthew Riccius* presented another in his time. *Spondanus* says, the first that ever was in *Europe*, was presented to the emperor *Pepin* in the year 766.

12. *M.*

NAVARETTE. 12. *M.* I am not wise, says he, from my birth, but because I ever lov'd and honour'd the doctrine of the ancients, and because from my infancy I apply'd my self to the study of it, that is the reason I attain'd it.

13. This point has been touch'd upon above: By this it appears that *Confucius* his being born learned is false, tho' all the learned men affirm it; observe the reason he gives of his attaining to learning.

14. *M.* Some said virtue was very difficult, and requir'd much labour to attain it. *Confucius* answer'd, It is near and easy enough for those that have a mind to it.

15. *M.* Once when they rail'd at him he said, I am happy and fortunate; for if I happen to commit a fault, there is presently some body to proclaim my crime, so they help me to amend it.

16. *M.* A perfect man is not disturb'd or perplex'd at the changes of this world; a sinner and wicked person is ever restless.

17. *M. Tai Pe*, says *Confucius*, may be call'd a man of extraordinary virtue; there was nothing wanting that might make him so, nor could he receive any addition; he generously resign'd the crown, and that so privately, that his people knew nothing of his design, to give him the praises due to such an action.

18. King *Tai Vuang*, who lived seven hundred years before *Confucius*, had three sons; *Tai Pe* was the eldest, *Cung Jung* the second, and *Ki Lie* the third. The father attempted to usurp the empire; his eldest son oppos'd him, because he would not be disloyal to the emperor (a right noble son.) For this reason, and for that *Tai Vuang* had a great affection for his youngest son, the first and second met and agreed to leave the world, and privately retire into some remote region. They did so, and went away to the country call'd *King Man*, where they liv'd the rest of their days poorly and meanly. The *Chinese* master highly commends the elder for this action, and the second brother who bore him company deserves no less praise. The two youths were well convinc'd of the instability of worldly affairs. What wars and tumults would this have caus'd in another place? God forbid such a thing should happen in *Europe*.

19. *M.* If a man serves and does not do it as he ought, he brings himself into trouble, and is uneasy to him he serves. If a stout man wants discretion, he will cause tumults and discord: If a just and upright man is not prudent, he will prove harsh and severe.

20. The *Chinese* master treats of the obe-

dience due to parents, which tho' it be the most remarkable thing in *China*, yet some are faulty in this respect, especially when parents in their life-time divide their substance among their children, and leave themselves to their mercy. *S. Thomas opusc. 7. Præcept. 4. §. 2.* condemns this manner of proceeding, and urges against it the words of *Ecclesiast. c. vi.* Give not thy son, thy wife, thy brother, and thy friend power over thee in thy life-time; and give them not thy possession in thy life-time, lest thou repent thee. Many *Chinese* at this time repent them of what they did for their sons, being experimentally made sensible of their ingratitude, and the ill return they make to those that gave them their being. This is seldom seen in our parts; in *Jac. Speculum Exemp.* there is one much to the purpose, *John Basilus Sanctorum* brings it.

21. *D.* He that is qualified to be tutor to a young king, and his parts fit to be intrusted with the government of a kingdom, and behaves himself faithfully and loyally in both respects, without being discourag'd or dismay'd tho' there happen to be tumults and rebellions; he, I say, may justly be term'd a generous and perfect man.

22. Some examples of this sort have been written already. *S. Thomas opusc. 61. c. 1. §. de prudentia*, says, four things must concur to make a man steadfast in any thing; a bashful fear, fear of punishment, hope of praise, and hope of profit: And there are four things that make a man perfect; to worship God, to love his neighbour, to do as he would be done by, and not to do that to another which he would not have done to himself. The perfection the *Chinese* speaks of wants the first of these qualifications, which is the chiefest.

23. *D.* Those who have the power of government ought to be magnanimous and patient.

24. He is much in the right. I will here set down those four particulars *S. Thomas* mentions *opusc. 61. c. 2.* as requisite for a king to govern well; To govern his subjects with fatherly rule, to purchase friends by merit, to shew himself placable or affable to any that sue to him, to execute justice on delinquents with mercy. He assigns four other circumstances for the government of prelates, assiduity in duties of their office, decency in their actions, exactness in their government, meekness in reproof. The saint goes on discouraging curiously on what is requisite to every employment.

25. *M.* It is not easy to find any in this world that will labour and study eagerly many years, and not regard any thing that is temporal.

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The first was about the year 88. of Jacob ALA. rule in Gen. xlviii. ver. 27. The second in the sixteenth century of Moses.

CHAP. VIII.

Other Sayings of Confucius and his Disciples.

1. **M**O how great was the virtue of the emperors *Xun* and *Ju*! they rul'd this world, and thought not themselves great; they only priz'd virtue, and only valu'd themselves upon loving their subjects!

2. The emperor *Jao* excluded his son *Tan* from the succession, and left the crown to *Xun*; this man was a peasant on the mountains call'd *Lie Xan*; he fled from honours and preferments, and they pursu'd him. He wept much, because with all his endeavours he could not gain the love of his parents, of a sister-in-law, and a younger brother: His sister-in-law, attempted to kill him, and tho' he knew of it, he never complain'd of her. Being made emperor, he quite forgot that and other wrongs he had receiv'd. An excellent temper, good nature, and rare inclination! but it was a mighty pity he should want the knowledge of God.

3. *Confucius* prosecutes his praises, and says, he was a father and mother to his subjects, reign'd sixty years, and dy'd aged a hundred and ten, after he had taken a progress throughout the whole empire. He was the eighth emperor.

4. Their histories tell us great matters concerning *Ju*: The greatest action he did was to drain the land: all the plains were overflow'd, either with the waters of the universal deluge, or some other particular inundation that happen'd in that country, as well as in other places. About the year 2258 there was one in *Achata* call'd *Ogygeum*; about 2550 was that of *Deucalion*, which drowned *Theffaly*; such another might happen in *China*: However it happen'd the good emperor *Ju* made drains and trenches to carry off that water into the sea, which render'd the country habitable. Concerning this emperor *Confucius* says,

5. *M*. I find nothing that deserves blame in the emperor *Ju*, he was sparing in diet, very religious in his sacrifices to the heavenly and earthly spirits, his apparel mean, but rich when he offer'd sacrifices, his palace moderate; but he was very careful in digging ponds and trenches to hold water that might be useful in time of drought, and to carry it away when there were floods. He was a true dispenser of himself, and a sincere lover of his people.

6. The emperor *Xun* passing by his son *Xang* unregarded, left the empire to *Ju*; he hearing what employment was design'd him, fled and hid himself, but being dis-

cover'd and found out by the king, was NAVA- placed on the throne (this is like what hap- pen'd to *S. Gregory* the great.) Among his other good qualities one has been mention'd in another place, which was, his care and ease in hearing all men. That all men who had any business to communicate to him might have an opportunity, he caus'd a vast drum to be made and placed in the porch of the palace, ordering those that had occasion to beat it, and as soon as any did he immediately came out to hear him. One day it was beaten ten times whilst he was at dinner, and he rose from table as often to hear what they had to say; a strange action, and great disrespect of these men of business! Another day when he was in the bath, they beat the drum three times, and he as often put on his clothes and went out to answer those that beat it. This is not to be parallel'd in the world. He forbid the use of wine under severe penalties, and banish'd the inventor of it. His reign was fortunate and happy. The histories tell us it rain'd gold three days together in his reign; I suppose the *Chinese* thus express the plenty and riches of that age.

7. Tho' so many ages are past, the custom of having a drum in the palace is still kept up, but it is not to be beaten so easily as we have spoken of: He that presumes to beat it is to receive forty lashes, that no man may dare come near it unless his business be of great consequence. And because some die of the forty lashes or *Bastinadoes*, he that intends to beat it often carries his coffin with him. The *Chinese* who rais'd the persecution against us beat it, but they forgave him the lashes for the great service he did. Many of that nation value themselves so much upon being accounted true and loyal subjects, that notwithstanding the penalty they expose themselves, that they may give notice of something that is considerable, and if they die in the undertaking they are very well pleas'd, because they carry that honour along with them to hell. What was said above, that those who are rais'd from mean place to authority grow proud, is disprov'd by these two emperors. There is no general rule without some exception.

8. *Ju* had another quality, which was his religious zeal, tho' unlawful, towards spirits (these belong to the learned Sect) *Val. Max.* quoted by *S. Thomas*, lib. 1. c. 14. says, *Our city ever thought all things ought to give precedence to religion, even in those things*

The first was about the year 2258 of Jao. The second in the first century of Moses.

Read Ode. of these men of business! Another day when he was in the bath, they beat the drum three times, and he as often put on his clothes and went out to answer those that beat it. This is not to be parallel'd in the world. He forbid the use of wine under severe penalties, and banish'd the inventor of it. His reign was fortunate and happy. The histories tell us it rain'd gold three days together in his reign; I suppose the Chinese thus express the plenty and riches of that age.

NAVA- things wherein it would exert the greatest RETTE. shew of majesty.

9. D. They say the master had remov'd four things from himself. 1. His own will, for he was not govern'd by affection, or private inclination. 2. The love of his own profit, therefore he was always indifferent to all things that might happen to him. 3. Being fond of and positive in his own opinion. 4. Self-love.

10. These are good qualities for religious men. Those who are positive in their opinions have cold brains, says the trial of wits, a quality the *Sicilians* are much addicted to, as I have been told, and found by experience. That *Confucius* did love himself, I make no great doubt; else why so much care of his health, in curing his diseases, in not eating any thing ill dress'd or tainted, and not drinking wine fold in taverns, because it is commonly naught? The philosopher *Ethic 4.* says, *A virtuous man loves his life so much the more, by how much the better he knows it to be.* This love is so natural, that *S. Augustin* said of *S. Peter*, *old age took not from Peter the love of life.*

11. D. There was one who would commend *Confucius* his doctrine, and sighing, said, My master's doctrine daily appears to me more admirable and mysterious; I use all endeavours to dive into it, and it daily seems to me more profound; I think to take a full view of it, and it is so spiritual that it immediately vanishes. He is singular in all respects, in teaching he is methodical, in persuading to virtue he sweetly prevails; his method makes me exercise all virtues, and his brevity makes me practise all I have learn'd that is good. I am so taken with his doctrine, that tho' I would I cannot lay aside my books; and tho' I have employ'd all my wit to attain it, I cannot find out how to comprehend it.

12. The disciple commends his master too much, tho' he has left us little or nothing to benefit by in natural philosophy, and less in what relates to God; in which particulars the disciples have been as faulty as their master, without advancing the least step forwards, wherein they nothing resemble other ancients. *For from the beginning*, says *S. Thomas* in prolog. super Job, *they reach'd some small matter of truth, but afterwards as it were step by step they came to some fuller knowledge of the truth.* The *Chinese* are at this day as blind and ignorant as they were above two thousand years ago, nay rather more, since, according to the opinion of very grave missionaries (but not according to mine) those very ancient ones had knowledge of God, and some insight into eternity, all which thos. that have succeeded till this time have been destitute of.

13. M. He makes use of this simile to prove, that we must hold on to the end in the way of virtue. If I had a mind to raise a mount, and should leave off after much labour, when I only wanted one basket of earth to finish all, it is a vain case all my toil would be vain and fruitless. And if I design to raise a mount on a plain, tho' it rise but little every day, if I persevere, it will certainly be finish'd; if I give over, the work will remain imperfect.

14. The *Chinese* use many similes and parables, as the people of *Palestine* did. It is a very convenient method to explain ones meaning, says *S. Thomas*, and he proves it *opus. 60. art. 14.* where he has excellent doctrine to the purpose.

15. M. Honour and respect is due to young men, because they may come to be holy and learned; but if when they come to forty years of age, they are neither wife nor learned, there is little hope they will prove so afterwards.

16. M. May reproof, tho' it be harsh, be rejected? It is very reasonable to correct those faults we are told of. Can that reproof which is given in a florid rhetorical stile fail of pleasing? If a man is reprov'd and does not mend his faults, the fault will be his own, not his who admonishes and reproves.

17. We missionaries in *China* are put to no trouble to persuade the *Chinese* to brotherly reproof, it is well establish'd among them, and they are satisfy'd it is a duty.

18. M. He that is free from covetousness and envy, may live in any part of the world, and serve any employment.

19. M. A prudent man is not surpriz'd at any accident, because he provides for them; the perfect man is troubled at nothing, because he is conformable to heaven in all things. The resolute and valorous man fears not, tho' he see death before his face.

20. The rest contain'd in this and the following treatises, all of it almost tends to the same end as has been seen; its scope is to dispose and order those five ranks or states, which the *Chinese* master assigns to a kingdom, and which are, king and subjects, parents and children, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and friends. Its drift is also to direct the learned, the husbandmen, traders and mechanics, to live in peace and unity.

21. I observ'd in the first chapter of the second book, that tho' all nations in the world make special account of their soldiery in all their books of politicks, yet the *Chinese* do not mention them in theirs, tho' they have made use of them for some thousands of years. *Plato* and *Socrates* divide the commonwealth into five ranks of people,

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people, viz. princes, counsellors, soldiers, handicrafts, and husbandmen; *Romulus* into senators, soldiers and commons. See *S. Thomas*, lib. IV. de reg. princ. cap. 11, & 14. In the fifteenth he says, *All polities make mention of warriors, because all cities and countries are preserv'd in their splendor by warriors, and the commonwealth decays for want of the use of war, &c.*

22. I know not what reason the *Chingis* NAVA-HAD, when they treated so much about the RETTE: establishing of their monarchy, to omit and make no mention of a thing so material. The art of war is much improv'd in that kingdom at present; the *Tartar* holds it in esteem, but 't is not to compare with the military art in *Europe*.

CHAP. IX.

Of some Sentences taken from the Doctrine call'd Xu King.

1. **X**U King signifies a law, or written doctrine, it is a book of vast antiquity, is explain'd in the fifth of this volume, and contains several sayings of ancient emperors, I will here set down some of them.

2. "He that comforts, makes much of, cherishes and maintains me, is my king and lord; he that hurts and wrongs me is my mortal enemy.

3. By this he explains the duty of kings and superiors towards their subjects; and it implies, that then a man deserves the name and title of king, when he cherishes and makes much of his subjects, and that of a tyrant and enemy when he treats them ill. *S. Thomas*, opusc. 71. cap. 6. says, four faults attend a tyrant, *He breeds division among neighbours, oppresses the wife, drains the rich, and beats down the mighty*. See *Oleaster* in Gen. xli. *She cry'd to the king for bread*.

4. "He that is very virtuous, neither jests, nor is unmannerly, no man dares play upon, nor be disrespectful to him. His modesty, steadiness and gravity, does not allow of the first, nor give way to the latter.

5. "Do not oppose the emperor *Xun*, says one, nor truth nor virtue for a vain-glorious end; and do not contradict what all men do, to follow your own opinion and fancy.

6. Some men have the spirit of contradiction, and look upon it as unbecoming them if they do not oppose all the world; the beautiful sun-beams cannot escape their reflexions and arguments. The emperor *Xun* was the same to the *Chingis* as *St. Paul* is to us. His sayings are oracles, and great patterns of virtue; they will have all his actions honour'd, and no way cavil'd at. To this purpose you may read *S. Thomas* at the end of the sixth chapter of *Job*.

7. "Whether you meditate, talk, pray, or do any other thing whatsoever, says one, you ought to be very attentive and careful, without admitting any distraction.

8. "Be not sparing or niggardly in correcting thy faults, said an emperor; be generous in eschewing vice, and forgiving thy enemies. Be compassionate towards all men, and love them from thy heart. Let all this come from thy self, do not expect to be pray'd or sued to.

9. "He that looks for a prosperous event, must find out and make use of lawful means: he that would follow reason and the laws, must not put off the repentance of his faults till the end of his life.

Both these hints are very good and holy. 10. "The emperor *Tang* was wont to say, I am the cause of all the sins of my people.

11. This was a very humble and compassionate emperor, he attributed the faults of all the limbs to the head. Others might say so with more reason, and it is true, that *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*. Read *A Lapid* in Gen. xlii. & 16. who has much very good to this purpose.

12. "Virtue, says one, has no peculiar place, a man may be every where good and holy. Entertain no foul thoughts, and you will not smell their stink.

13. "He that leads his life carefully and watchfully, will have no troubles in this, or the life to come.

14. "He that is without a great sin will live free from many sins.

15. "Let the minister (says an emperor) who attends a king help him to be virtuous, he must not neglect this a moment. Christians may observe this heathen's doctrine.

16. "Another tells us, kings are oblig'd to honour virtue, and virtuous men; they ought rather to lose their kingdom and life than fail in this particular.

17. "That king who becomes a mirror and pattern of virtue in his kingdom, has a right and title to ask assistance and long life of heaven.

Plato said, kings committed more sin by their ill example than by the faults they were guilty of.

18. "Do

NAVARETTE. 18. "Do not aspire (says one) to appear wife and learned, forsaking the ancient and sound doctrine of the first kings."

19. "Whencever the *Chinese* fall upon this subject, they insist much upon this point; to which purpose the reader will find choice materials in *Arriaga*, tom. II.

20. "He that governs, let him govern before the kingdom is in an uproar; once in rebellion it is hard to govern. He that governs the commonwealth, let him do it before the danger comes, when once it comes there is much difficulty in applying a remedy."

Oleaster teaches the same divinely in *Num.* xi, and xiv. Read it there.

21. "The prince's favourite, says one, presently grows proud, it will be convenient for him to think what a fall he may have."

22. "Three sins, says the *Chinese*, will not admit of any diminution by circumstances, and do not deserve pardon. The first is, to make the people mutiny. The second to destroy the ancient doctrine of the faints. The third, to make any innovation in ancient customs and manners."

23. "We must bear with our neighbours failings, says the *Chinese*. This is the seventh work of mercy."

24. "He that has patience, and will attend, will finish his business." Very

well said. Read *Gajetan* in *Luke* xxi. and *Syl.* tom. VI. p. 510. q. 8.

25. "Let him that governs be constant; he that writes brief and sincere." Read *M. Arriaga*, tom. II. lib. II. c. 1. §. 1. concerning brevity in writing. *Apollonius* was ask'd, *Who are the best of men?* He answer'd, *They who are briefest in discourse.*

26. "What doctrine is that which does not descend from the ancients, or why has it the name or title of doctrine?"

27. "Superiors ought to be merciful, and to take compassion on the misfortune of their inferiors, relieving them in their distress."

Much has been writ upon this subject, and very much is said to it by our *B. Humbert. de erud. relig.*

28. *Chinese* began betimes, and were some ages before us in teaching the truth of what is daily preach'd among us, and printed by casuists and divines.

29. "They write of a counsellor that was always in fear, and full of doubts and scruples on account of his employment, and that he us'd to rise out of his bed at mid-night to consider how he should discharge his duty."

30. By what has been said we may gather and make out how ancient the knowledge of the light of reason is in *China*, and how strictly many of that nation have liv'd up to it.

CHAP. X.

Of other Sayings and Sentences which I read and took notice of in China.

1. Treating of those who addict themselves to virtue, a certain book has these words: "If they open their mouth to speak, devotion evaporates, and the spirit flies away; if they move their tongues, they fall into censuring, or at least idle words follow."

2. The *Chinese* call man a tree with the wrong end upwards. Others have said the same thing, so did *Socrates*, *bomo arbor inversa*. A certain token he was created for heaven and not for earth. *S. Augustin* *serm.* 55. *ad frat.* writes the answer *Ovid* gave the tyrant, *Met. lib.* I. when he ask'd him, *Why did God make you?* He answer'd, *That I may contemplate on heaven, and the Deity of heaven. For man is made on earth, not for the earth, but for heaven; and he was made of earth, nor for the sake of the earth, but for the sake of heaven.* Here the saint exclaims: *Who among the faithful, brethren, could have said more, or upon better grounds? I know not.*

The *Chinese* confess something of this nature. The brutes, they say, look to

the earth, and therefore their face is turn'd that way, but man looks towards heaven, and therefore was created upright, as tending thither.

3. "Few in number do not overcome many, nor the weak the strong, says the *Chinese*."

4. "When many are overcome by a few, it is either the work of heaven, or want of courage, or treachery."

5. "The counsellor's heart is by the emperor's side, in the same manner as a sheep stands by a tiger."

This sentence is much celebrated among the *Chinese*, and sufficiently verify'd among them, especially since the *Tartar* government. They further add to enforce it, that when the dragon, that is the emperor, is angry, there is no place for a subject to hide himself in. This is something like that of holy *Job*, *The lion roars, who will not fear?* And that of *Ecclus.* xvi. §. 14. *The anger of the king is the messenger of death.* The same is in *Prov.* xix. *As the roaring of the lion, so is the anger of the king.*

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6. "The lamb kneels down when he sucks, thanking the dam for the sustenance he receives from her. For the same reason the crow maintains his parents when they are old. If man is not grateful to his benefactors, he is worse than the brute beasts. *Enquire of the beasts and birds*, says the holy Ghost, that you may learn of them.

The *Chinese* make great account of this sentence, to recommend gratitude to those who do us kindnesses and good turns; that nation loudly condemns the vice of ingratitude.

7. *Meng Zu* the second master of *China* says; Tho' there are bad and sinful men, if they fast and mend, they will come to be good.

8. "Time passes away more swift than an arrow flies when sent from a strong bow; it hastens on years, and spurs on death." *S. Ambrose* in *Psalms*, *Thou sleepest, and thy time walks, nay it flies.*

Wicked false doctrine cannot overcome that which is good and true.

9. They report of one *Lu Pan*, who is now the patron of carpenters, to whom they sacrifice when they begin a building; that he was rare and ingenious in architecture, and that he made birds that flew, and horses that ran.

10. They tell of an ancient petty king, who was so brave, that he would fight hand to hand with a tiger, and kill him.

11. One man receiv'd a great kindness of another, and the benefactor going to the house of him that had been oblig'd, who was an inn-keeper; he to be grateful for the benefit receiv'd, after entertaining him well in his house, when it was time to go to bed, put his own wife into the room to him. She was twice dismiss'd, and he put her in the third time, and shut the door on the outside: A base and ungenerous way of requiting kindnesses! The guest perceiving how it was, desir'd her to go to bed and sleep; he sat up all night studying and writing verses, without speaking a word to her, or once looking her in the face. Among other verses he made after their fashion, some were to this effect: this man knows not me, nor do I know his wife. If I be not true to my wife, she will not be so to me. If I transgress with my neighbour's wife, my neighbour will transgress with mine. In the morning, when the chamber door was open'd, he watch'd his opportunity, and fastning the verses to the door, stole away privately, without being seen by any body. This agrees with what I quoted out of *S. Augustin*, *The pagans are become teachers of the faithful*. What Christian would not be applauded for such an action?

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12. "They say flatterers carry honey in their mouth, and a sword in their heart; their mouth is sweet, and their inside bitter; they have liquorice in their mouth, and wormwood in their bowels." It all imports as much as, *Wolves in sheep's clothing*. *Pliny* the younger says, *When a wicked man feigns himself good, he is worst of all.*

13. "They report *Confucius* was wont to say, Is there any that exhorts others to the practice of virtue? If there be, the best method is, to give a good example: he that uses such exhortation is sure of his reward; he that does the contrary, is sure of punishment.

14. "The second tyrant is worse than the first, and the third more cruel than the second.

15. "The *Chinese* have that rule of *Seneca*, *He that will be below'd, must rule with an easy hand*. And that of *Ammianus*, *He that rules, must shun all things that are too hard, as he would dangerous rocks.*

16. "And that of *S. Chrysostom*, *As to be always learning, is a token that no progress can be made; so always to seek a proof, is a sign of a resolution never to believe.*

17. "He that gives, ought in reason to give according to his quality and place.

18. "A slave must not be too tenderly kept.

19. "Women are not to manage business.

S. Thomas says the same, *lib. IV. de reg. princ. cap. 5. & 6. The master of the family minds business abroad, women attend the affairs at home*. No nation in the world observes this so strictly as the *Chinese*. No woman is employ'd upon business out of doors upon any account whatsoever; nor does it appear whether there is any woman, or women in the house. They are absolutely incapable of inheriting, or any sort of trade or dealings.

20. "They who teach, and as masters impart their learning to others, must be humble.

21. The *Chinese* has that proposition of some authors, *Fasc. temp. fol. 31. pag. 2. There is a sort of miserable victory, which is when the conqueror comes off with few or no soldiers; so that boldness is very hurtful when it is not govern'd by foresight.*

22. "As also that of *Parro*; He will teach nothing that is great, who has learnt nothing of himself.

23. "And that of *Augustus*; It is a great extravagancy to catch fish with a gold hook; for the loss of the hook cannot be repair'd by any success in fishing.

24. Concerning changing or continuing of governors, they say the same that *Tiberius*

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NAVARRINUS did upon the same account; "I saw
RETTE. "a man driving away the flies that were
upon a sick man's sores; and the sick man
rebuk'd him, saying, some that are thirsty
will come and suck, now these that are full
fill up the place." The sick man was
much in the right; but it is true too, that
there are some so covetous that they will
always suck, without ever being satisfy'd,
or satiating the hellish appetite of avarice.

25. Hecaton the stoick said, *All that is
good is difficult*; a common proposition
among the Chinese. All we Europeans have
observ'd, what a general content and agree-
ment there is among all the learned Chinese
in the doctrine of their sect; which ought
to be observ'd in all places, especially in
morality, and those things that relate to the
foul.

CHAP. XI.

In which some Hieroglyphicks of the Chinese Characters are expounded.

THE first Chinese letters or characters
began by painting of things; in pro-
cess of time they shortned it, leaving only
a part of the thing to signify the whole.
The letters or characters now in use were
invented whilst the family Han possess'd the
empire, at which time the Son of God be-
came man. The number of letters they
use is excessive. The dictionary I had,
and lost in my travels, which was that com-
monly us'd, contain'd thirty three thousand
three hundred and seventy five letters. There
is another center and fuller, which con-
tains seventy thousand. It is a dismal thing
for us that study there, to think on this vast
multitude of characters, it quite disheartens
a man, did not our LORD on the other
side encourage us. It is true, that he who
can make good use of twenty thousand is
a good scholar. I, whilst I was in China,
through God's mercy, attain'd to the know-
ledge of above ten thousand, which enabled
me without much difficulty to compose five
volumes concerning our holy faith; where-
of, according to the letters that came in the
year 1674, four are printed by this time.
Every letter or character is ingenious and
artificial; for the better conceiving where-
of, I will in this chapter expound the mean-
ing of some of them.

1. The word to express ancient and an-
tiquity, is *Kieu*; this is writ with the same
character as the mouth, and over it the
letter that stands for ten, which implies,
it is a thing that has been deliver'd down
by ten several mouths successively, which
is a sufficient antiquity.

To express a mouthing bawling man,
they write the letter that stands for nine,
and under it that which is for the mouth,
to signify he talks and roars as if he had
nine mouths. They also write the letter
that serves for the mouth, and under that
which signifies great, to express he has a
great mouth in a figurative sense, that is,
he talks much.

Happiness and felicity is express'd by the
same letter as the mouth, with the letter
that stands for master over it; for, say they,
what greater happiness can there be than

the mouth of a learned master? We might
here apply that of Prov. x. 13. *In the
lips of a wise man*, &c. And that of the
fourteenth chapter, *He shall be filled with
good things of the fruit of his mouth*. Which
is happiness enough.

Among the characters that signify a
king, one is compos'd of that which serves
for the mouth, and over it that which is for
guiding, directing, and putting into the
way: which imports, that kings are to
guide the people by their example, and to
rule and direct it by their words and laws;
but the example must be first, and next
the words must follow, which is the rea-
son the mouth is plac'd below.

The moveables and goods of a house are
express'd by the letter of the mouth four
times repeated, and that of the dog in the
middle of them; they say, dogs guard
them, barking and biting, that is, the
household-stuff.

A square with the letter of the mouth,
and that of arms in the middle of it, stands
for a kingdom. This denotes that it must
be fortify'd on all sides, and maintain'd and
defended by arms and good councils.

To live in some particular place, is writ
with a hand on one side, and the earth on
the other; which implies, that he holds
fast by that earth.

Sitting is signify'd by the letter that sig-
nifies the earth, and over it that which
stands for stopping or staying; that is, a
man stays upon the earth.

2. Walls are express'd by the letter of
earth, then that of strength or valour, and
that of arms: this imports, that earth, va-
lour, and weapons, defend the city.

To write weeping, they make the letter
for eyes, and that for water, which is very
plain.

The sea, they write with the letter for
water, and that for mother, that is, mo-
ther of the waters. It is also call'd the pool
of heaven, to which all rivers flow.

To signify what is plain and visible, or to
explain and make easy, &c. they write the
letters of the sun and moon.

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Companions and school-fellows are express'd by two moons of an equal growth.

3. Money is express'd by the letter of metal on the side, and that of arms twice one over another. An author says, I have often consider'd upon this letter, it has double arms, which are weapons to take away the life of man; so that it is money which kills us; but rash men, without taking notice of this danger, run all after it.

Fidelity is written with the letter man, and words, or a mouth by his side, to imply that man is known by his mouth and words, and that he who keeps not his word is no man.

They have many letters that signify to give, the most usual is a hand busied about a man.

Inconstancy and lightness is express'd by the letter man upon mountains, vainly aiming to get into the clouds.

To signify sun-rising, they make the letter tree, and sun over it, because when he rises he is first seen upon the trees. For his setting, they invert it, that is, hide him under the tree.

For a bargain or contract, they make the letter nail, and that of words by it, to denote, that the word is as fast as if it were nail'd.

4. For black, they write the letter fire, and smoke above; for white, the letter of the sun, and a point over it, which signifies brightness.

A prison and dungeon they express by the letter man between four walls.

Thief is written with the letter desire, and that of household goods. To desire what is in another man's house belongs to thief, adding the letter hand, the meaning is plain.

Arrows they write with the letter for body, and the arrow by it; this means, that the body casts the arrow.

Prayer is signify'd by the letter Xi, which imports to make known. By that of man, and that of mouth; this they explain thus, that man's mouth, by what it says, makes known to the departed spirits what he desires or aims at. Others say it is not a mouth that is placed next to the letter man, but the character of rejoicing (these two are very much alike) and it imports, that prayer rejoices the spirits.

The opposition of the moon is represent'd by a counsellor looking at the emperor, and bowing to him. The emperor is the sun, the counsellor the moon.

A magistrate, gentleman, or nobleman, that serves the emperor, is signify'd by the letter to drag, and a heart; this implies, that kings and emperors drag men, bringing them to their beck.

5. Night they express by the letter to NAVE-leave, because the labour of the day is left off, and the body takes rest. They say a virtuous man has four times, the morning to hear good doctrine and instructions; noon, to ask and enquire into what is necessary; the afternoon to retire, and think of perfecting his life; night to rest his body. Another book expounding the same letter says, That we must not stay till evening, much less till night, to serve a great lord, but must begin in the morning.

To express death, they have a letter compos'd of entering and hiding; he that dies, enters, *I enter the way of all flesh*. And he remains hid and conceal'd to this world. It may have another meaning, viz. That man enters into this life, and in a short time is hid in the next: As *Seneca* said, *I enter'd upon condition that I should go out*. I was born, and came into the world under an obligation of going out, and being hid.

A barren woman is written with a letter of a stone and a woman by it; that is, a woman of stone, barren, that does not break.

To signify counterfeiting, or falsehood, they write three women; well express'd.

To quarrel, is signify'd by the letter that stands for nails and hands, and a stroke from top to bottom, which imports to put out; because quarrelling is only putting out the hands, and making use of them and the nails against another.

6. Woman is written with the letter of submission or subjection, and the word is joined to that of man; it is pronounc'd *su jin*, to denote she is to be subject to man, whom she is to serve; and by the letter for woman, is that of broom, signifying that the wife must work in the house, even to cleaning and sweeping of it. That the wife may be the more subject, they brought up the custom that the husband should pay the portion. The people of *Crete* seem to have aim'd at the same thing, according to *Lycurgus* his law. *S. Thomas* mentions it, *lib. IV. cap. 18*. *He would have maids marry without a portion, that wives might not be chosen for the sake of money; and men might keep them the better within bounds, being under no obligation of portion*. They took care of all. *Cassiodorus*, in *not. concil.* writes the same. Read *Sylv. tom. I. lib. I. cap. 3. num. 27*.

Learning, wisdom, and knowledge, is written with the letter mouth, and that of arrow joining to its side; which means, that he who pierces into things, and sharply expounds them, is wise, learned, &c.

Mother is written with the same letter as suckling, and the breasts but cover'd with a stroke

NAVA- a stroke across them. This, say they, de-
RETTE. notes the modesty and decency women ought
to use in their apparel, for they must not
shew their breasts upon any account, which
the Chinese and Tartar women observe very
strictly. Would it were so in our parts.

We have never a Pythagoras in Europe,
to prevail with the women of our times,
to do what he persuaded them to do in his.
S. Thomas, lib. IV. cap. 21. mentions it,
Pythagoras obtain'd, *That the women should
lay aside garments set off with gold and other
ornaments suitable to their quality, as incen-
tives to luxury, and should carry them all to
the temple of Juno; where he persuaded them
to offer all to her, affirming, that virtue was
the true ornament of ladies.* Less would con-
tent us at present, and we should be satis-
fy'd if the clothes, carriage, and behaviour
were like the heathens and idolaters, Chi-
nese, Tartars, and other women of those
parts of the world; certain it is, such mo-
desty is not to be found in Europe.

7. To use and habituate oneself, is writ
with two wings, and the letter for day un-
der, to imply, that flying every day makes
it customary and habitual.

Among other letters which signify to
govern, one is *Chung*; it is writ with a
mouth and a stroke across it, which signi-
fies to pierce, and denotes that he who go-
verns must pierce and look into the orders
he gives. It also signifies, that he who
rules, must fix in the center of justice,
without inclining to one side or other.

They also say, the stroke across is a sword
in the mouth, to signify, that if the orders
he gives are wicked, and his judgment un-
just, he deserves a sword should be thrust
down his mouth and cut his throat.

To conquer, is writ with the letter for
a man standing, and by it that of arms,
that is, to go with sword in hand.

A foldier on the frontiers, is signify'd
by the letter for a man sitting, and that of
arms: this means a foldier that is settled
and does not march.

A greedy hungry man, is express'd by
the letter of heaven, and a mouth under it,
to imply, he would swallow and devour
heaven.

There is another character for a king,
the word is *Fuang*; it consists of three
strokes cross'd by another, which signify
heaven, earth, and men, to denote that a
king is to be like them all; he is to be
the common father of ail men, to cover and
protect them, as heaven does; and to be
like the earth, which bears and maintains
all men. The king is to do the same with
his people, as man; he is to look upon
himself as such, to esteem all others as his
brothers; and to remember the king is to
die as well as his subject. The Chinese say
the same of the earth that Pythagoras did,
when he call'd her *A common mother; the
earth is the mother, and the sun the father of
all that are born on the earth.*

Man who in speaking is call'd *nan*, is
written with the letter that stands for a
plough'd field, and under it that of strength,
to signify that man was born to labour;
Man is born to labour, Job v. and to seek
his sustenance with sweat and toil; *In the
sweat of thy brow.*

Fear and dread, which they term *ngao*,
in writing is express'd by a tiger's head, and
claws under it, which causes fear and ter-
ror.

Mercy, among them call'd *ven*, is sig-
nify'd by a man in prison, and underneath
a dish to eat in; this imports that prisoners
must have alms given them, and be main-
tain'd, which is a work of mercy.

The silk worm they write, making the
letter for heaven, and that for worm under
it: that is, calling it a heavenly worm, or
worm of heaven; which notably expresses
how beneficial God has made it.

It were easy to dilate upon this subject,
but what has been said may suffice to ex-
press the inventor's fancy, which was cer-
tainly very singular.

The End of the Third Book.

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VOL. I.

BOOK IV. Of the Chinese Moral Doctrine.

HAVING hitherto, tho' briefly, given an account of what is most material in the Chinese empire, and made some mention of the remarkable actions and sayings of emperors and their ministers, from which the reader may reap any benefit; I resolv'd in this fourth book to give an account of the Chinese book that nation calls *Ming sin pao kien*, i. e. the precious mirror of the soul; or, the precious mirror that enlightens and diffuses a brightness into the heart, and inward part of man. The said book is made up of sentences of several authors, and of several sects; the whole subject is morals, and I doubt not but any man may find enough in it to make profit of. A very good Christian of ours, and an able scholar, whose name was John Mieu, speaking of this book, said, As S. Thomas chose and gather'd what he lik'd best out of holy doctors to compose his *Catena Aurea*; so the author of this book extracted out of all our authors, what he thought most conducing to make known the way of virtue. This was the first book I read in that country, and which I took a great fancy to, because of its plainness and brevity. In the translation I observe the rule of S. Hierom. *ad Pamach. de optimo genere interpretandi*; That the Septuagint did not translate word for word, but sentence for sentence. The saint affirms the same thing of Symmachus on Jer. xxxi. That he did not render word for word, but sentence for sentence, and sense for sense. S. Thomas *opusc. 1. in principio* observes this method, and approves it in these following words: *It is the part of a good translator, that in translating those things which belong to the catholic faith, he preserve the sentence, but alter the manner of expression, according to the property of the language into which he translates.* I will endeavour to follow this course, and trust to so sure a guide, tho' I am satisfied my language will not reach the Chinese propriety of expression, nor their elegancy, which this nation has in an extraordinary measure for explaining and delivering their conceits. I will observe the author's method, tho' I will not always set down the authors he quotes, because it makes nothing to our purpose, and to save the trouble of words, which are harsh to Europeans, and hard to pronounce.

VOL. I.

It cannot be deny'd but that it is commendable in the missionaries to study heathen books, since the primitive saints and fathers did so; and sometimes this employment is absolutely necessary. S. Thomas handles this point elegantly upon *Boetius de Trinit. §. deinde queritur, ad 3. sic proceditur, & in opusc. 19. c. 11, 12.* there the reader may see this matter prov'd. I will only insert in this place, what the saint takes from the comment on *Dan. i. S. Jerom* also has it in the place above quoted, *But Daniel proposed in his heart, &c. He that will not eat of the king's table lest he be polluted, would never have learnt the wisdom and doctrine of the Egyptians if it were any sin: he learnt it, not to follow, but to judge of and disprove it.* How could we in China oppose abundance of errors those heathens hold, if we did not read and study their books and doctrine? It were absolutely impossible. It is also useful to make our benefit of what truth there is found in them, as says S. Jerom *ad Pamach. Monach. If you happen to love a captive woman, to wit secular learning, &c.* S. Thomas mentions it to this purpose in *opusc. 19.* quoted above. So that after clearing and cleansing the Chinese doctrine of what is destructive in it, we may reap some profit and advantage by it. The saint to the same purpose takes the words of S. Augustin 2. *de doctrin. Chrisi.* where he says, *If by chance the philosophers, especially the Platonists, happen to say any thing that is true and conformable to our faith, it is not only not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them for our use, as from those who have stood wrongfully possess'd of it.* Which was signified to us by the riches the people of God carry'd away from the Egyptians, as doctors expound it, and our Hugo declares in *Exod. xi. §. 2, 3.*

Besides, there is more in the heathen doctrine, says S. Thomas in the twelfth chapter quoted above, which is, that it often proves a powerful argument *ad hominem* against sectaries, and serves to confound and put catholicks out of countenance. In short, it is a very allowable employment (unless the ill end it is directed to corrupt it) if it be design'd for the benefit of the hearers, because by this means sometimes our adversaries are more easily and more effectually convinced and instructed, &c. The testimony of an enemy is of great authority.

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NAVARRITY, says S. Basil, hom. 15. de Christi-
RETTE. gener.

For these reasons I have given, I resolv'd to translate this little book, which in truth has among the *Gentiles* the same place that the devout à *Kempis* has among catholics. I slightly pass over the dogmatical precepts of sects, because it is a subject that requires to be handled by it self, and the main points of it have been discuss'd in my controversies, in the second book of this volume, and in the fifth more shall be said. In this place I treat only of the morals, to which I will add some quotations out of

our books relating to the same subject, to make this the larger and more copious, and that the reader may pick out what he likes best.

After having writ and observ'd what has been hinted above, I reflected that F. James de Morales of the society of *Jesuits*, handles the point at large in his *creatives*. But what I have alledged in this place, with what I write in several parts of my controversies, and shall urge hereafter, is sufficient to prove and make good my assertion.

CHAP. I.

In which the Heathen endeavours to encourage Man to follow Virtue.

1. HE enters upon his design, laying down the reward of labour, an excellent medium to compass what he aims at: reward disposes the will, quickens its desire, spurs it on to slight dangers, and overcome difficulties, and sometimes makes impossible attempts seem easy. Read *Sylveir, apoc. 1. v. 19. g. 34. num. 253*. But if this encouragement fails, and the hope of reward is taken away, man cannot stir one step. Therefore the *Chinese* says, "When the recompence fails, the heart sinks, the gaul is chill'd, the strength decays, and the spirits grow too weak to lift a hand."

The *Chinese* observe the same method *Moses* did. Our *Hugo* on *Gen. 1*. asks the question, *Why Moles began so high? The reason is this, That which is difficult, burdensome and harsh, is hard to be observ'd, if no reward is propos'd to him that keeps it, &c.* He proposes the reward to make the harshness of virtue easy, he proposes the punishment to banish idleness and sloth.

2. The *Chinese* philosopher says, "Heaven will reward the virtuous man with wealth and happiness, it will chastise the wicked with troubles and misfortunes."

3. Another author. "Heaven will send a thousand blessings upon him that acts well, and a thousand mischiefs on him that does ill."

A thousand blessings and evils imply all blessings and evils, the phrase is our own: *Job* uses it, c. ix. S. *Thomas* expounds it, *lect. 1*. The *Chinese* use the number 100 in the same sense.

4. Another. "He that lays up and heaps virtues, finds and reaps virtues; he that gathers wickedness, will find and reap wickedness."

That is to say, whatsoever a man sows, the same he shall reap.

5. "It is requisite and necessary to think

"well on this, for heaven is not deceiv'd.
"Bear in mind, that virtue and vice have their reward, which no man can escape, tho' he fly high, or into far countries.
"You are the best witness whether you do well or ill: the beginning of the reward or punishment is within you, you need not ask it of your neighbour: Do not doubt of its coming, all the question is, whether it will be to day or to morrow? Withdraw into your chamber, search your heart, mark out your life, and silently consider by your self with care what you have acted. Do not forget, that what is good has a good reward, and what is evil a bad one. Endeavour always to use virtuous exercises, and heaven will protect you; but if you are foolish and stiff-neck'd, you will receive the punishment you deserve.
6. The *Chinese* proceeds thus. "Endeavour always to go on in the right way, and to live with an upright and sincere heart, and so doing you need not doubt but heaven and earth will be favourable to you."

7. Another says: "That house or family which gathers virtues, will doubtless have plenty and even superfluity of wealth; that which heaps vices will be bound in misfortunes and troubles."

8. The emperor *Chao Lie* being at the point of death, said to the prince his son, (this was mention'd in another place, but here more exactly) "My son, you must not venture to commit a sin because it is small, nor omit doing a virtuous action because it is inconsiderable." This was as if he had said to him, Lead your life so cautiously that you may not commit one venial sin; for if you are not cautious how you fall into lesser sins, you will easily come to wallow in grievous offences: According to that of *Ecclus. xix. v. 2*. *He that makes no account of small*

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things, will fall by degrees: And to that which devout à Kempis writes, lib. I. de imit. Christ. cap. 11. *If you do not overcome small and light things, when will you conquer those that are harder?* "And do not forbear any thing that is good, tho' it seem to you but a trifle, said the emperor to his son, because when you have made small things habitual, the greater will daily grow easier to you. In short, my son, you are to understand that all sin whatsoever is heinous, burthenfome and hurtful to the soul, and any virtuous action is profitable and beneficial." What better advice could S. Francis or S. Dominick give their children, or what could they say beyond this?

9. Another author says. "If but one day pass away without meditating on virtue, it is enough to give way for all vices to sprout up.
10. A Chinese says, "Courage and resolution is requisite for the attaining of virtue, and every day this bravery must be renew'd. Ears that hear good words avoid falling into three sorts of sins.

The first part is not unlike to, *The kingdom of heaven suffers violence*, Mat. xi. v. 12. that is, those that take up the generous resolution of walking in the paths of virtue. A learned Christian expounded the second part to me, saying, It was meant of sins of thought, word, and deed. *It is not virtue, unless the courage encreases with the difficulty*, says S. Bernard quoted by Hugo Gen. xvi.

11. The same Chinese adds, "To do acts of virtue is like climbing a mountain, to sin is like coming down from above." This sentence is express'd three several ways in the Chinese books, but they all tend to the same, which is, that to act virtuously is difficult, and to act viciously easy. The difficulty lies in hitting the mark, 'tis easy to miss it; this is the opinion of the heathens. *It is princely to labour: to indulge luxury and sloth is servile*, said Alexander the great.

It is not much to be wonder'd that virtue should seem difficult to those that have liv'd without the knowledge of God, without a spiritual law, without hopes of a reward, without fear of punishment, as the Chinese have done. Original sin made them and all others subject to this misfortune.

12. A grave doctor of theirs says, "It is requisite that virtue be coveted and desir'd, and so that no man rejoice at vice, or delight in it.

The Chinese word *tan* is very comprehensive, it signifies covetousness, to covet, a covetous man, one that thirsts after

and is anxious about obtaining any thing, NAVA- it is to seek it with care and anxiety.

13. A disciple of the master Confucius says thus, "Virtue of itself is profitable and beneficial, vice of itself is hurtful: therefore a good man makes the first his business, and shuns the mischiefs the latter causes; which he does, not to gain the fame and reputation of being a good man, but to avoid the shame caus'd by sin.

14. "Virtue is to be look'd upon (says another) as if a man hunger'd and thirst'ed after it.

A king of Africk gave a Portuguese leave to take out of a mine as much gold as he could in a day for himself; the man got up early in the morning, and began presently to labour courageously, and with a covetous mind; and tho' the labour and toil was great, he felt nothing considering the gold he gather'd. Noon came, and he felt no hunger: a servant he had carry'd him his dinner, and he call'd upon his master, saying, Sir, it is late, come hither and eat a bit: the Portuguese was in a passion, and answer'd, Thou mad foolish fellow, is this a day to eat or drink? the king has given me this time to make my advantage of it, and get riches to serve me as long as I live, and would you have me lose it by going to dinner? stand out of my way, and don't talk to me of eating, or any thing else. He continu'd his labour till night, and return'd home rich. I was told this story in India.

15. The Chinese proceeds: "In hearing that which is evil you must be as if you were deaf; you must be deaf to hearing of detraction, and ill tongues. Good doctrine!

16. The same author. "Though a man exercise virtue all his life-time, it cannot be said, he has virtue to spare; but if he sins only one day, his wickedness and vice will over-abound.

17. Another said: "He that values himself upon being virtuous, must not slight the least atom of virtue he sees, nor give way to an atom of vice.

18. "It is not profitable (says another) to lay up gold and silver to leave to our sons and grandsons, because it is not certain they will know how to keep and make their benefit of it. To gather books to leave them by will is useless, and to no purpose, because you know not whether they will apply themselves to learning. There is nothing so safe and good as to lay up a treasure of virtue, this will be the best revenue and inheritance you can leave them. If your heart be upright, you live well and fortune favours you; your honour and reputation

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NAVARETTE. "putation will be great, and reach you
"betimes. If you live well, tho' fortune
"smile not, you cannot want an honest
"livelihood: if you have good fortune,
"and lead an ill life, it will be hard for
"you to be easy. An ill life and ill for-
"tune bring on troubles, miseries, and po-
"verty even to old age.

The *Chinese* make great account of fate and fortune. *Josephus*, lib. III. *antiq. c. 9.* says of the *Esseni*, *They affirm'd all things were in the power of fate.*

19. The authors of these sentences are not always several men, many of them belong to the same. One of them says, "Those children who inherit from their parents loyalty towards their king, and deference to their superiors, are rich and powerful, though they have not bread to eat. Those who inherit cheats and tricks shall not prosper. He that enters upon business, and comes off from it with humility, is brave. He that shields himself with virtue is meek and good. Where is it he will not live well who is just and free-hearted? Be not an enemy to any man, for it may fall out you may meet your enemy on the way, and it will be hard for you to escape him.

He seems to have much reason in all he says. The same points come over again hereafter.

20. Another writes: "When any man does me a good turn, it is fit I should deal fairly with him, and shew my self grateful: and if any man misuses and hates me, it is fit I use him well and love him. If I love and use all men well, who will hate me? no man.

Excellent instructions for loving our enemies! The *Chinese* write much upon this subject.

The saint says, Virginity is a virtue in common with the infidels, which cannot be deny'd. The *Greeks* and others held it in great esteem, according to *S. Jerom*, as *Spondanus* writes, *an. 21.* What *S. Augustin* writes *serm. 47. ad frat.* concerning the *Roman Tarpeia* is wonderful: This woman was a heathen, and finding her self tempted to sensuality, she put out her eyes that she might live chaste as she desir'd, and forsaking all the pleasures and pastimes of this life, confin'd her self to live upon bread and water. She did not hope for eternal bliss, says the saint, and yet she us'd such rigid means to preserve the jewel of virginity. This treasure is not valu'd or preserv'd in *China*, nor in other countries of that part of the world. But strange things have been done there by married women to preserve their fidelity to their husbands. It is but a few years since one, to be rid of the importunity of a *mandarin*, cut off her nose.

21. "A virtuous man, says a grave doctor, is master and pedagogue to him that is not so. A wicked man furnishes a good one with matter of merit.

22. "The soft out-does the hard, says the *Chinese*, the weak the strong; therefore the tongue which is soft lasts a great while, and the teeth, tho' hard, break and fall to pieces.

The meaning of this is, that a good and virtuous man with his patience and forbearance overcomes the obstinate and harden'd sinner, and a sweet and tender heart triumphs over the vanity of the proud. This was visible in the apostles, whom *CHRIST* sent as sheep among wolves, yet they by patience and sufferings overcame the cruelty of tyrants. *This was a new kind of war, and an unusual manner of fighting*, said *S. Chrysostom*, *Homil. 34. in Mattib.* The same has appear'd in many children and tender virgins, and of late years has been seen in *Cochinchina*, and what is yet stranger, in *Japan*, though there have been no priests in that country of late years; for in the year 1663, on the day of the *Ascension* of our Lord, two hundred and fifty suffer'd martyrdom; and every year since thirty, or forty, as I am most certainly inform'd.

What is there more violent and strong than the passion of an angry man? yet one sweet tender word disarms and conquers it. *A soft answer breaks anger.* Who would not imagine that a hard and angry word should check a furious man? yet it is not so. *A hard word breeds contention*, *Ecclesiast. xv.* And if we should say the softness of a sinner's tears softens the anger and wrath of *GOD*, it were easily made out; at present let it suffice to reflect on those shed by *S. Peter*, *S. Mary Magdalen*, and others.

23. Another says, "The merciful and compassionate man shall live many years, the cruel and wicked shall soon end.

24. One of these *Chinese* moralists said: "Virtue is compar'd to the nature of water; if it be oppress'd, it rises; being convey'd into aqueducts, it runs over hills, and crosses mountains; sometimes it is square, and sometimes round; here it runs straight, and there crooked, it does the will of him that conveys it in all respects.

25. The *Chinese* again: "The chief thing requisite in children is, that they be upright and obedient; if they be good and bountiful to their parents, their children will be so to them. When a man does good to others, he does it to himself. It is requisite to act well every day, and it is necessary at all times to express what is within by good works. To do good is the first quality of heavenly men.

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26. Another *Chinese*: "Good and evil, reward and punishment, have no peculiar gate or way of their own, man by his actions draws on the one or the other of them. If he acts well, he purchases reward and happiness; if ill, he brings on himself troubles, misfortunes, and the punishment of his sins. Virtue and vice have their recompence, which follows them, as the shadow does the body. Therefore when any person resolves to follow virtue, tho' he have not actually put it in execution, he immediately is sensible of the reward; if he resolves to be wicked, he presently finds the mischiefs that proceed from vice, tho' he have not yet practis'd what he resolv'd. But if when he has transgress'd in any things, he repents him of his fault, he recovers those advantages which he had forfeited by sin. This is according to the saying, That evil is converted into good.

27. "Another of them says, heaven and earth are just, upright, no excepters of persons, their spirits examine our actions, nor will they bestow blessings on us for offering them great sacrifices, nor will they punish us for omitting them. Whoever is in high place or dignity, let him not rely too much upon it. Whoever is great and rich, let him not rejoice too much in those goods. Let no man despise the poor and needy; for dignities, preferments, riches and poverty, are ever rolling from one to another, without being ever fixt or permanent. All dependance is in virtue. He who is once good, tho' he obtain not the reward of his good works, yet evil will fly from him; and he that is once wicked, tho' the punishment of his crimes do not immediately reach him, yet all happiness will presently leave him. He that lives well is like the plants in a garden in spring, which imperceptibly grow and increase every day. He that lives ill is like a grindstone, its decay is not to be discern'd, and yet it hourly grows less. To do hurt to another for one's proper benefit, must be carefully avoided. Tho' virtue be never so small, endeavour to advantage another by it; tho' sin be never so inconsiderable, dissuade men from committing of it. Let your meat, drink and cloathing be suitable to your condition and ability. If you do so, you will certainly live easy. Do not go about to be told your fortune, nor trouble your self with casting lots. To do ill to men is ill fortune; to do them good is good fortune. Heaven's net is large, its reward and punishment will come speedily.

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This book is made up of authors of all NAVA-the sects in *China*; and tho' it is true, they RETTE. all in the main agree in the same principle, yet they differ in some measure in the manner of delivering themselves, and exhorting others to virtue. He calls heaven and earth upright, and not guilty of making any exception of persons; for as we say of God, *That he causes his sun to rise upon the just and unjust*; so the *Chinese* says, heaven equally covers all men, and the earth, which they call the common mother, equally maintains all. In the first he speaks of the light of nature, which those people say, heaven infused into man. God infused it into them and all of us, that we might see our actions. *The law is light*, says the vi Chap. y. 23. of *Prov.* St Paul, *Rom. i.* calls it a witness, *Their conscience bearing witness*, &c. Which the *Chinese* had some sort of knowledge of, for in their philosophy they say, That man has two hearts within him, which meet and fight, because one abhors what the other desires. This is agreeable to that of the apostle: *I find in my body another law opposite to the law of my mind.*

28. Another says: "Those that are rarely qualify'd, are good without being taught; those who are indifferent, being taught, presently improve, and easily apply themselves to virtue; those who are dull, tho' they be taught and instructed, are never the better. He that is taught and does not improve, if he be not a brute, what is he? To know good is a great blessing and happiness; to be wicked is a great misfortune.

The author goes on: "Happiness consists in the eyes not seeing ill things, the ears not hearing undecent words, the mouth uttering no bad language, the feet walking in no unlawful ways, having no friendship with any but virtuous persons not taking any thing that belongs to another, flying from wicked men as we do from snakes and vipers. Unhappiness consists in speaking deceitful and false words, in suffering our senses to stray, in coveting what is not ours, in disguising evil, in desiring sensuality, and rejoicing at the harms of others, in hating good men, and in breaking the laws with as little regret, as if a man broke a water-pitcher. To be happy, is to be virtuous, but one day is not sufficient to obtain this. To be unhappy is to be wicked and vicious, if a man is so but one day, it is enough for all the world boldly to call him wicked.

The king of the kingdom *Zu*, which at present is the province of *Xan Tung*, was ask'd what pearls and precious stones there were in his kingdom? He answer'd, The

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virtue

NAVARETTE. virtue of my subjects is the jewels and precious stones of my kingdom, this it is I regard, this I value and prize, not those that are found under ground.

Really this king, tho' a heathen, may be master to many catholicks. The commentators write, there were very precious things, and of great value in that kingdom, but that the king minded nothing save that his subjects should addict themselves sincerely to virtue.

29. The great master *Confucius* says: "Virtue is to be seen in another, as we may believe ours is not equal to it; the vice and failing of our neighbour is to be seen, as a man would put his hand into boiling water. A virtuous man must be look'd upon, with a will and desire to imitate him. A wicked man must be look'd upon, after examining one's own heart, and seeing whether the fault we spy in our neighbour is not to be found there."

Excellent doctrine! How carefully will he do it, that is to put his hand into boiling water? if he can avoid it, no doubt but he will, and when in, how hastily will he draw it out? The same rule is to be observ'd, not to pry into other mens lives.

As to what has been writ concerning reward and punishment, most certain it is, the *Chinese* speaks not of what is in the other life, but of this. That nation never had any knowledge of the other, nor is there any account of it in their books. This point belongs to the controversies, where it is made out at large, and to the ensuing book. The *Chinese* hold the same opinion with *Job's* Friends: *S. Thomas* *Leff.* 2. upon the fourth chapter of it, says thus, *Where it is to be observ'd that this was the opinion of Eliphaz, and the rest, that misfortunes of this nature do not fall upon any man, but as a punishment of sin, and on the contrary prosperity to be the reward of righteousness.* And this, says the *Chinese*, falls out accidentally or naturally. The same saint, *Leff.* 3. on *Job* iii. says, the *Jews* held the

same opinion. *Leff.* 1. he says after *S. Gregory*, that *God scourges men five several ways*: But the *Chinese* conceive nothing further than that hard fortune naturally attends the wicked, and prosperity the just. So that there is no manner of argument to be deduced from their books to convince, or make them own a reward and punishment in the other life.

Whilst I was writing this book in *Canton*, a manuscript book was brought thither compos'd by a Christian *Chinese* of the *Literati*, or learn'd; he defends the law of *God*, but proves more than is requir'd of him, and does not make use of found arguments. I will here set down two instances. He proves the incarnation of the Son of *God* thus: Two of our emperors, the one call'd *Ci*, the other *Sie*, were conceiv'd without the help of man; then it follows *CHRIST* might be conceiv'd after the same manner. Concerning our blessed Lady he argues thus; Our empress *Kang 'Juen* conceiv'd and brought forth without the help of man; even so might our blessed Lady. Another queen conceiv'd with eating the eggs that dropt from a swallow; so might our blessed Lady without the help of man. This to me seems an ill defence of a good cause. Some would have the *Chinese* chimera's to be figures of our holy myteries, but there is no manner of ground for it, especially if we allow of what *S. Augustin* teaches, and *S. Thomas* quotes, *Leff.* 2. on *Rom.* i. That the prophecies concerning *CHRIST* began to be written by *Isaiah* and *Hosea*, after *Rome* was in being; *Under whose empire CHRIST was to be born, and his faith to be preach'd to the Gentiles.* What has been writ of the *Chinese* was thousands of years before. I do not treat of this subject in this place, but of their morals; which besides their being very ancient, contain some very good things. Concerning the manner of proving matters of faith, read *Cajetan* on *Acts* xvi.

CHAP. II.

Which treats of Reason, and the Light of Nature.

1. THE second *Chinese* philosopher, of whom I am to speak in this and some other chapters, was born three hundred years after *Confucius*. When we were carry'd prisoners to the imperial city, we came to pass the heat of the afternoon at the place of his birth, which is a village in the province of *Xan Tung*, not far from *Confucius* his native town. We went into his temple, after crossing a large court or church-yard, shaded with beautiful, lofty,

and very ancient cypress-trees. This seems to be one of those the scripture calls *groves*, *Deut.* xii. *Oleaster* and others expound it *streight trees*. The *Chinese* have much of this, they are set regularly, and kept in good order. Within the temple was the statue of this master on an altar, after the same manner as *her* idols are. Over him was a large inscription in stately gold letters, to this effect; This is *Meng Zu*, the second man of this empire in sanctity. His posterity

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terity continues to this day, are lords of that place, and have the title of *mandarines*. He writ much moral philosophy. All agree he was a man of great parts, but somewhat sharp and cynick. His books are of great authority in that nation, insomuch that the scholars, or learned men are often examin'd by them.

Among other remarkable stories they tell of him, take this that follows. The emperor *Leang Vuang* had certain groves and gardens that were a league and a half in compass, at which this master us'd to rail very much. The emperor came to hear of it, for there is no want of informers in *China*. The emperor sent for him, and being come into his presence, put this question to him; worthy and venerable master, is it true, that you are concern'd, and find fault with my gardens taking up so much ground? It is, sir, answer'd *Meng Zu*. If he had deny'd, and it had been prov'd upon him, he had certainly lost his head. I know, said the emperor, that my predecessor *Vuen Vuang* had gardens three leagues in compass, and yet no body rail'd at it. *Meng Zu* reply'd, *Vuen Vuang's* groves were as large as your majesty speaks of, and yet they were small; those your majesty has are but half the compass, and yet they are too big; so that there is reason to rail at and find fault with these, and there was none to do so by the others. How d'ye make that out? said the emperor. The master answer'd, Tho' those gardens and groves took up so much ground, the gates of them were open and free, and the subjects had leave to fish in the ponds, cut wood, gather fruit, and make use of the game; and the number of subjects being so great, very many could not come to furnish themselves in the imperial groves, therefore I say they were too small. Those your majesty has, tho' they take up less ground, are shut up, and it is forbid upon pain of death to fish, hunt, cut wood, or gather fruit in them; so that no subject has any benefit of what is within them, therefore, I say, they are too big. And since your majesty is the people's father, Why do you lay snares against your children's lives? What else is it, to make a law that none upon pain of death come in to fish, hunt, &c. but to lay snares to catch your children? The emperor was struck dumb, and had not a word to say for himself. What answer could be made to so excellent an argument? *Oleaster* speaks to this purpose on *Deut. iv. ad mores in principio*. But nothing prevails on the great men of *Europe*, tho' they value themselves upon their Christianity; it were well if the keepers they place in their forests would strip passengers, as I saw them do.

As concerning this philosopher's religion, I suppose he was of the sect of the *RETE*. learned, and as much an atheist as the rest of them; for in his books there is not the least appearance of his having any knowledge of God, the immortality of the soul, or reward or punishment in a future life. Whence it follows that the philosopher *Confucius* was no less ignorant as to these points, because *Meng Zu* having studied and learnt his doctrine, it is certain if he had found any thing in it concerning God, an immortal soul, &c. he must have mention'd it in his writings.

2. We may with good reason say of this, and the rest of the *Chinese* doctors, what *S. Augustin* writes, *lib. III. quest. evang. cap. 42. They may therefore not absurdly be supposed to be lepers, who being destitute of the knowledge of the true faith, profess variety of erroneous doctrine, for they do not conceal their ignorance, but expose it as great knowledge, and lay it open in baughty discourses. But there is no false doctrine without some mixture of truth, &c.* This is the same *Lactantius* writ, *lib. VII. cap. 7. de divino præmio*. And we know how much the ancient *Europeans* err'd, and the *Greeks*, who were the wise men of the world, from whom wisdom and knowledge was convey'd to the rest, as *S. Thomas* asserts, *Leit. 6. in i. ad Rom.* I know not upon what pretence we should endeavour to clear the *Chinese* from the same failings. *S. Augustin, de ver. relig. cap. 2. places Socrates*, tho' so eminent a man, among the idolaters. *S. John Chrysostom* does the same, in *iii. ad Rom.* *S. Abanasius, orat. cont. idol.* says the same of *Plato*, who usurp'd the title of *divine*. Many hold the same opinion of *Aristotle*, *Seneca*, and *Cicero*; to which purpose you may see *F. Arias, tom. 1. fol. 426*. What wonder then that the *Chinese* should fall into the like misfortunes? But farther, you'll say, the *Chinese* have writ incomparably, and are men of great parts. Still, I say, they have not writ better, nor so well as the others we have spoken of, nor are they to compare to them for wit and judgment. And we know *S. Chrysostom* says, *Good doctrine often comes from an ill man, as a base soil produces precious gold*. See *S. Thomas, Leit. 2. in iv. Joan.* and upon *Boetius, de Trinit. quest. 3. art. 2.* And *Corn. à Lapide, in Rom. 1. v. 27.* with what shall be said concerning *Xenocrates*.

3. The *Chinese* hold this man in great veneration; and that they look upon him as a saint, appears by their dedicating temples to him; this is an undeniable argument of the godhead they assign'd him. *S. Augustin, ferm. Arian. cap. 20.* uses this argument to convince hereticks, that the Holy Ghost is God. *If the Arians did but read,*

NAVARETTÉ. *read, that the temple of Solomon was built of stones for the Holy Ghost, they would not make any doubt of his being God, since the being of a temple belongs to the supreme adoration, call'd Latria; how then can they deny the Holy Ghost to be God, since he has the noblest temple? S. Ambrose, lib. III. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 13. handles this point at large, and concludes thus; God therefore has a temple, creatures have none. Bede on 1 Cor. cap. vi. deduces the same consequence; How then can he be no God who has a temple? S. Anselm on the same; The Holy Ghost is most plainly declar'd to be God; because unless he were a God he would have no temple. Read S. Thomas 2. 2. quest. 83. art. 2. ad 3 & 1. p. quest. 27. art. 1. where he says, To have a temple belongs only to God. Hence we may infer, that since in China there are many temples dedicated to Confucius, where they also worship this second master, and other doctors, they assign them holiness and a godhead. This and other points of the same nature are handled at large in the controversies.*

The first proposition deliver'd by this second master in this present chapter, is this; "Those who follow the rule of reason, and act according to it, will secure and perpetuate themselves; but they that act against it, shall perish."

5. There are many things in the *Chinese* books, which may be easily interpreted to our meanings, if we mind the sound and superficial sense of the words; but it is not convenient to print it in their language. It is but a few years since a little book was printed and publish'd in that mission, which I believe no man but the author lik'd.

6. Another *Chinese* doctor says thus; "He that adheres to the rule of reason, does not desire or expect any profit, and yet every thing is profitable and advantageous to him. He that follows the will and humour of another, seeks his interest, and aims at advantage, and sometimes meets with trouble and loss before he attains it."

7. Another of the *Chineses* has this sentence; "To contrive business is in the power of man; to bring it to a conclusion is the work of heaven. Man desires this thing, or that; but heaven does not always comply with his desires."

8. Another: "Heaven hears all; tho' the business be never so private, it will not be conceal'd from heaven. Do not trouble yourself to ask where heaven is; it is neither high nor far off, you have it in your heart, it knows your thoughts tho' never so inconsiderable."

9. To the same purpose another *Chinese* says; "What private discourses pass be-

tween men, heaven hears as plain as if they were thunder; it sees the hidden wickedness of the heart; as if it were as visible as a flash of lightning."

All this is literally meant of the conscience, and rational instinct, whose ears and eyes are sharp and piercing, that it sees and hears whatsoever man says or does, though never so private, as plainly as if it were known to all the world. This doctrine alone makes heathens afraid, and forbear committing faults.

10. A grave author says; "He that deceives and wrongs his neighbour, deceives and wrongs his own heart; and he that deceives and wrongs his own heart, deceives heaven. Can one's own heart and heaven be deceiv'd? One man seeks to deceive another, let him be satisfy'd he deceives himself. Do not say, heaven sees not; be assur'd you cannot deceive it; and that neither you nor any other man can excuse the faults you commit. Exhort all men to live well, wrong no man. The wicked man imposes upon, and cheats the good; but heaven is not impos'd upon. Man fears men, but heaven fears no body."

By these expressions they curb men, and restrain them from running into vice; and accordingly we see many of them live modestly and cautiously, and with such circumspection and fear of falling into any grievous sin, that one would think they were afraid of being accountable to God for their actions. It needs not be made out, that he who defrauds, or wrongs his neighbour, does more wrong his own soul; for it is most certain the sin sticks upon his soul, and the mischief it brings cannot be repair'd by nature, being infinitely greater than any it can cause to another man. This heathen asserts, there can be no excuse made for our sins; *S. Paul, Rom. ii.* teaches the same. If the apostle cannot convince, let the heathen confound you.

11. Another says; "If you act wickedly to purchase fame and honour, and men do not punish you, be assur'd heaven will. He that sows pompions, reaps pompions; and he that sows wheat, will reap wheat: heaven's net is very large, and tho' thin, no man can slip thro' it. Tho' the husbandman plow deep and sow in season, that alone will not produce and ripen the corn, heaven must help it with sun-shine, rain, and dew."

12. Another author says; "To endeavour to benefit oneself to the detriment of another, can never go unpunish'd."

All gain and advantage must be compass'd without wronging a third person, otherwise

otherwise gain, rather advantage speak the endeavour of the poor honest gain be abhorred who engage the poor support such men that has relishing devours are for they call tho' this many teeth makes it without h I have kn there was he was pos of *Salor*. cats, yet i eighty tho no heirs b ter. What having g benefit had it, of the of the trou hind for oth *Num. xxi.* trine is adri y. 20. 13. The "sends he "of.

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otherwise it is rather a theft than lawful gain, rather tyranny than convenience and advantage. S. *Augustin*, *serm. 3. ad Grat.* speak thus; *It is an excess of wickedness to endeavour to grow rich out of the slender means of the poor and widows: Therefore, brethren, honest gains are to be lov'd, but extortion to be abhor'd.* This is very pat to rich men, who engross all commodities, not allowing the poor to lay out their small stock to support their families. The *Chinese* call such men tigers without teeth. The tiger that has teeth, say they, eats leisurely, relishing its food; but that which has none, devours and swallows all whole: rich men are for swallowing all. In other places they call them crocodiles, or alligators; tho' this fierce and bloody creature has too many teeth, yet it wants a tongue, which makes it swallow its food immediately, without holding it any time in the mouth. I have known some of these in my time; there was a mighty alligator at *Macassar*; he was poison'd not long since in the island of *Solor*. He had lost many thousand ducats, yet in his will he left six hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight, and had no heirs but a nephew and a bastard daughter. What was this wretch the better for having gather'd so much money? What benefit had he of the toil wherewith he got it, of the dread with which he kept it, and of the trouble it was to him to leave it behind for others to enjoy? Read *Oleaster* in *Num. xxi.* *ad mores in princip.* His doctrine is admirable, as is that of *Ecclus. xi. 7.*

13. The *Chinese* master. "He that offends heaven, has none to beg pardon of."

CHAP. III.

That Man ought to be conformable to the Disposition of Heaven, and not to rely on his own Power and Ability.

THE *Chinese* with only two characters of theirs, which are *xun ming*, express almost all that is contain'd in the title of this chapter, which implies as much as, that fortune and fate are inevitable, and that we must be submissive and subordinate to them.

1. Therefore one of them says, "Life and death have their certain determinate bounds; riches and wealth are in heaven."

2. The second master. "To work, or cause to work, to go, or command to go, to stop, or make to stop, none of these things can man do of himself. The birds drinking a drop of water, or eating a grain of corn, is all settled and determin'd before-hand. The ordering and

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All the expositors make it out, but of *NAVA*-heaven itself. It somewhat resembles that of *1 Kings ii.* *But if a man shall sin against God, who shall pray for him?* This proposition some missionaries make their ground to prove that *Confucius* had knowledge of God: the contrary is most certainly true, as shall be made out in the controversies where this subject is handled at large, and it will appear by the fifth book. I will only say in this place, that as to this and other points, we must rather submit our judgments to the opinion of his disciples, than be govern'd by our own speculative notions, according to that of *Lactantius*, *Whom then shall we believe, if we give not credit to those that commend?* The words of cardinal *Lugo*, *disp. 1. de Eucb. sect. 3. num. 4.* is very proper to this purpose, and to some other points. *In disputes concerning the signification of words, no stress can be laid any otherwise, than in the expressions and manner the authors and teachers of the words us'd.* See *S. Thomas* to this purpose, *lect. 2. in Mat. vii.* The most that can be infer'd from that proposition, is, that he acknowledg'd a Deity in the material heaven, and not in statues of clay or metal; wherein he agreed with others of the ancients according to *S. Thomas*, *lect. 7. in Rom. i.* *And in this he condemns the wise men of the heathens, who tho' they never believ'd there was any deity in images, as the followers of Heracles believ'd, nor did believe those things to be true which were fabulously reported by the poets, yet they gave divine worship to some creatures.* Yet for all this I do not clear him from very many other superstitions, nor do some grave and ancient missionaries of the society.

"contriving of business is long since fix'd. Since it is so, why do men labour and perplex themselves for the things of this world? The things of this world do not depend on human contrivance, they are all regulated by the fate of heaven."

It is our duty to work and labour, and not to be misled in this particular by this heathen. *He that created thee without thee, will not save thee without thee*, said *S. Augustin*. And *S. Jerom*, *Labour is to be follow'd, solicitude to be taken away.* We are not to leave all to God, as the *Chinese* would have all left to heaven.

3. One of them says, "There is no wisdom like good fortune: there is no discretion like being lucky. Let no man think by his ingenuity to escape the

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"troubles

NAVA- " troubles of this world, and let none ima-
RETTE. " gine with little more or less industry to
" make themselves fortunate in it.

4. Another *Chinese* doctor. " When
" you see him that scorns, and bears you
" ill-will, do not hate him. When you
" see profit before your eyes, do not ima-
" gine it will presently fall into your hands.
The first proposition is good and holy,
the second against covetous persons.

5. Master *Confucius*. " He that knows
" the fate of heaven, is not moved or
" restless when he sees profit before his
" eyes, nor does he hate death when it
" is near. Whether you go fast or slow,
" the race of this life must have an end.

This is a good help to those that would
prove *Confucius* had knowledge of God.
This philosopher has few disciples in the
doctrine he teaches in this place. There

is never a *Chinese* that is not disturb'd and
restless if he has the least profit in sight.
The last part of this document may serve
those who are wholly resign'd to the will
of God, and have their accounts made
up.

6. Another of them says, " The igno-
" rant, the deaf, the dumb, the wife,
" the noble, the discreet and strong may
" all be poor. The sun, moon, time,
" day, hours and minutes are settled; con-
" sider then, whether these things depend
" on man, or on fate. Fate and reason
" have their limited time.

Only the outward appearance of a rich
man, without his being really so, gain'd
esteem among the courtiers: the same is
done in *China*, as well as other places, and
something beyond them.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Obedience of Children to their Parents.

1. THE book of verses, which is one
of the ancientest for instruction in
China, speaks thus; " My father begot
" me, my mother with sorrow brought
" me forth, and suckled me; if I will re-
" pay what I owe them, all heaven will
" not suffice.

2. The master *Confucius*. " I receiv'd
" body, skin, hair, and all from my pa-
" rents; not to wrong these things is the
" beginning of obedience: to labour to
" gain honour, and leave a name to pos-
" terity to make them renown'd, is the end
" of this virtue. What belongs to obe-
" dience is, whilst my parents live, to ho-
" nour, pay them the greatest respect,
" and maintain them with satisfaction, and
" cheerfully: When they are sick, to be
" sorry for their sufferings, to grieve at
" their death; and when I offer sacrifice
" to them, let it be with all possible atten-
" tion and devotion. He therefore that
" loves another, and not his parents, is
" opposite to virtue and reason. A man
" of honour must value himself upon be-
" ing obedient to his parents, and loyal
" to his king. He is oblig'd to serve his
" brothers, and be respectful to his supe-
" riors.

Upon account of the first words in this
paragraph of *Confucius*, the *Chinese* ever
made great account of their hair, and never
us'd to cut it, till the *Tartar* oblig'd them
to part with it: They wore it put up and
fast bound in a curious pouch made of
horse-hair, and account those *Barbarians*
who wear their hair loose. The *Chinese*
do not cut their beards neither. *Diogenes*
says it betokens man, virtue, courage,

and resolution. *Sichius*, that it is a sign of
perfection. *Eucherius*, that it denotes va-
lour. *Rodolphus* add^d that it also signi-
fies wisdom. In those that shave all off it
may express the contrary. All things are
inverted in *Europe*.

He expresses the sacrificing to parents by
the word *Ci*, which is us'd for all sorts of
sacrifices, concerning which I treat at large
in the controversies. The devil will act
the ape in all things, and endeavour to ap-
pear like God. We have bulls for the
dead, and indulgences; this fiend has
brought up the same in *China*. In religi-
ous orders it is customary to give letters of
brotherhood to their devotees and benefac-
tors, which are beneficial to the faithful.
They were in use among the monks of
China, and the *Cisterians* in the year 1118.
as says *Spondanus* upon that year, num. 13.
The devil has set up the same in *China*.
Many of the faithful are usually buried in
the habit of some religious order; this too
the devil has taught them in *China*. The
holy custom of burying priests in their
priestly vestments had its beginning, says
Lyra on *Levit. x. Because that Nadab*
and *Abiud were buried in the priestly garments,*
the custom came in force of burying the priests
of the new law in priestly vestments.

The *Chinese* transgress in excess of obe-
dience towards their parents; many *Chri-*
stians fall as short.

3. Let us go on with another *Chinese*.
" He that has parents must ask them leave
" when he goes out of doors, when they
" return they must make their appearance,
" and tell whither they go. The son ought
" to be employ'd in some business. When

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"he is bid to do any thing, let him not excuse himself; whilst his parents live, let him not go away into far countries: if he travel, let it be upon case of absolute necessity. It is not convenient children should be ignorant of their parents' ages: one reason is, that they may rejoice at their long life; the other, that they may be sorry, because age brings them the nearer to death. Whilst the father lives, let the son observe his actions; when he is dead, let him imitate his virtues, and wear mourning for him three years without intermission.

All this that has been written the *Chinese* observe, and are far beyond the *Europeans* in knowing the age of their father, mother, uncles, brothers, and other kindred: there is not one of them, tho' not full six years of age, but knows it; all from the highest to the lowest can tell their own age, the month, day, and hour when they were born. They look upon us missionaries as unprofitful, because we have left our parents, and travel'd so many leagues; and they think ill that we do not stay at home to serve and relieve them, but we give them reasons enough for what we do. Because they keep all their birth-days, they admire we do it not too; to this purpose they exactly keep in mind their parents age and birth-day. This furnishes us an opportunity of instructing them how such days are to be kept, and why the church celebrates the day that saints dy'd on, and not that they were born upon. Certain it is many celebrate their birth-day, others the ages, or every hundred years, as the renowned society of Jesus did piously and religiously; and the elector of *Saxony* and other *Lutherans* did sacrilegiously the hundredth year since the apostacy of the infamous *Luther*, stamping on their silver and gold coins, *Sæculum Lutheranum*. See *Spondanus* in his supplement. an. 1617. Others celebrate the coronations of their kings. I saw that of the king of *England* kept at *Madraſtapan*, that of the pope at *Rome*; I twice saw it kept for *Clement X.* who now steers *S. Peter's* boat.

4. Another *Chinese* writes: "If a son be obedient to his parents, his children will be obedient to him; if he is disobedient, how can he expect his should be obedient? He that is obedient breeds

"obedient children, he that is rebellious begets rebellious children.

NAVARETTE.

5. Another of them says: "He that breeds up children, knows how much he receiv'd from his parents: he that labours and watches, knows with how much pain and trouble his neighbour earns his bread.

6. The second *Chinese* master. "Disobedience has three consequences; the greatest, the want of children: he that has children provides against old age, he that lays up corn provides against a famine." In another place he says, "There are three sins belong to disobedience, the greatest is the want of children.

This doctrine, as I observ'd elsewhere, made way for concubines; which error has been sufficiently impugn'd, but it is very hard to be rooted up. They look upon us as disobedient because we do not marry: for this reason the *Chinese* are much concern'd at the want of children, and use all their endeavours to have them.

7. Another of them says: "When your parents express their love to you, rejoice, and forget it not; if they hate you, fear, but do not love them the less: if you discover any failings in them, reprove them, but be not disobedient.

Brotherly reproof is of very ancient standing, and much celebrated in *China*; it is to be us'd even towards parents, as the heathen says in this place, and shall be repeated hereafter.

8. *Confucius*. "Among all sins none equals that of disobedience.

9. One of his disciples: "Of all works whatsoever, obedience to parents is the chiefest, it reaches to heaven; for its sake heaven sends the obedient wind and rain in season. Come down to the earth, therefore it furnishes them with plentiful crops: come to men, therefore all blessings and felicities reach those that are obedient.

Had these authors known God, they had not certainly talk'd after this manner. Tho' *S. Paul*, *Ephes. vi.* says, Honour thy father, and thy mother, which is the first commandment in the promise. What goes before he allows as tending to God, which is in *Exod. xx.* and *Deut. v.* There is nothing to this point in the *Chinese* books.

CHAP. V.

How Man is to order and regulate himself.

1. THE *Chinese* philosophy. "When you see any thing that is good in your neighbour, consider whether the same is to be found in your heart; and

"if you perceive any defect in your neighbour, search your inside; if you do so, you will certainly improve: for if you find not the good you observ-

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NAVARETTE. "ed in another, you will strive to get it; and if you find the evil you saw in your neighbour, you will endeavour to cast it out."

2. A grave author says, "He that does not fear, draws on himself troubles. He that is not full of pride, will receive benefit. He that is not fond of his own opinion, will be wise."

3. Another *Chinese* has these words: "It is opposite to reason, that he who lives loosely, should pretend to curb others. He that is in himself good and upright, and instructs his neighbour by his example, will doubtless have disciples."

4. Another *Chinese*. "It is not lawful for him that has many good parts, to blame or carp at the want of them in his neighbour."

5. Another says, "You must not because you are noble, despise those that are not so; nor must you reproach others, because you are great in fame and riches; nor is it lawful to undervalue an enemy, because you are courageous and valiant."

He is in the right in every point. Before we proceed any further, we might here set down the origin, rise, and antiquity of nobility. According to *S. Augustin*, it began in *Sbem* and *Japhet*. The *Fasciculus Florum* in the first age, fol. 5. says the same. When *Noah* cursed *Ham*, *This is the first mention of servitude, and consequently of nobility. But this blessing and curse is in regard to virtue and vice, for the one or the other of which a man is truly call'd noble, or ignoble.* Fol. 5. p. 2. it says, nobility first came up in the time of *Pbaleg* the son of *Heber*, many reasons concurring to make it so. *Mankind increasing, and men being prone to evil, it was requisite to prevent the insolencies of the wicked towards the good; and therefore some good man, who was more upright and wise than the rest, was chosen to be over the community, to prefer the virtuous, to support the middle sort, and restrain the wicked; hence he was call'd noble, as being notable for virtue above the rest. Whereupon S. Jerom; I see nothing to be coveted in nobility, but that noblemen are in a manner constrained not to deviate from the probity of the ancients.* The second reason was to preserve the publick peace. In some nobility had its beginning from courage and valour, in others from tyranny and oppression.

However we see the families of the two masters have continued for many ages in *China*, and are very noble, being so ancient, that I believe there are few in the world can match them. The line of some emperors lasted six hundred, and even eight hundred years.

6. Another *Chinese*. "If virtue reigns in a man, he may be said to be brave and valiant; virtue is in the mind, not in the fortune. He that endeavours by violence to subdue another, shall perish."

7. The second master. "He that forcibly subdues another, tho' he have him under, yet neither his heart nor his will is subject to him. When virtue and reason are the weapons we fight with, the will submits, and the heart cheerfully complies."

8. Another author. "Whosoever sees any thing in his neighbour that is good, let him always endeavour to have it in sight, that he may imitate it: if he sees any ill, let him strive to conceal and hide it."

Those who do the contrary, either endeavour to make their own crimes seem less, or to prevent being reprov'd; as if this would avail them before the dreadful tribunal of Almighty God. *Oleaster* on the book of *Numbers* often observes, that God reprov'd *Moses* and *Aaron* in private.

9. *Confucius*. "To hide the good that is in a man, is to destroy virtue. To expose the faults of others, shews a vile temper in him that does it. To speak well of my neighbour's virtue, is as if I were the virtuous person; to lay open his failings, is as much as to own myself faulty."

10. One of their doctors. "A man should hear talk of the faults of others, as a son would hear his parents rail'd at. The ears may hear, but the mouth ought not to divulge it."

I heard a learned *Chinese*, who was a good Christian, commend this sentence, and he expounded it thus: When a man hears his parents rail'd at, he presently puts a stop to that discourse, or takes their part, or shuns him that rails: all which we ought to do upon any other case of detraction. To the second point he said, That as a son when he hears his father's faults mention'd, conceals it without revealing it to another; so ought we to suppress and hide the faults we hear our neighbour charg'd with. We know it is as bad to give ear to detraction, as to detract.

11. The second master. "What punishment does he deserve, who speaks ill of his neighbour, and discovers his failings? There is none equivalent to his fault."

Excellently express'd of a heathen. The *Chinese* severely condemns slanderers, and tells us how tender we ought to be of the reputation, honour, and good-name of all men. The scriptures and writings of holy men are full of this doctrine.

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12. Another *Chinese*: "Let him that knows he is slander'd, not be angry; let him that hears his praises, not be puff'd up: he that hears others ill spoken of, let him not contract friendship with those that rail, but let him contract it with those who have good tongues, and let him delight in their company. The book of verses speaks thus; It is pleasant to see a virtuous man, it is a great satisfaction to hear good words, it is very delightful to talk of holy things, it is an excellent thing to act with a good intention. To hear railing, is like loading one's shoulders with briers: to hear good words, is like taking a burden of roses and lilies. If the heart has no ill thoughts, the feet walk not in ill ways. If there be no ill friendship, nothing is heard disagreeable to reason or justice.

This last paragraph has been writ above three thousand years, and in substance it wants nothing I know of to make it doctrine worthy any great doctor of the church.

13. Another of them. "To remove to virtue admits of no delay, it must be done as nimbly as the wind flies; mending of faults must be perform'd with the celerity a flash of lightning breaks out of a cloud.

This sentence is written in the *Chinese* language very succinctly and elegantly. I read it so often, and was so taken with it, that I remember it and some others to this day.

14. *Confucius*. "Sin in a virtuous man is like an eclipse of the sun and moon, all men gaze at, and it passes away: the virtuous man mends, and the world stands in admiration of his fall.

All *China* has the same superstition in reference to eclipses that was among the ancient *Europeans*, which *Spondanus* gives an account of *an. 377. n. 5.* where he quotes those words of *S. Augustin* and *S. Ambrose*, which I writ in another place.

15. The same *Chinese* author. "He that knows his failings, will doubtless mend them; once mended, let him take care not to relapse.

16. Another *Chinese*. "To sin and not to mend, is to be wicked and a sinner. He that tells me my faults is my master: he that praises my virtues and makes them known to me, is a thief, who takes from me all I have that is good.

17. The same *Chinese*. "Having three friends, I must of necessity find one among them that may be my master; if I adhere to him that is good and virtuous, and shun those that are not so, I shall compass my design.

18. Another *Chinese*. "By talking little,

and adhering to good men, I shall save many troubles.

19. Another. "Care and solicitude is a jewel of inestimable value. Care preserves life, as the 'king's hand does.

The second proposition alludes to the custom of *China*; it is usual for those who travel to have letters of recommendation from some *mandarin* for those they shall meet. This was in use formerly in the church for bishops, priests, deacons, &c. In the thirty fourth canon of the apostles, and in the councils *Antiochensis*, can. 7. and *Remensis*, can. 4. this subject is handled. *Cassianus*, Conc. *Carth. 5.* writes the difference there was as to this particular, and in *Syn. Chalced.* p. 244. he puts down to whom the letters of recommendation were to be given, and to whom those of peace. And taking the proposition in its literal sense, it is a plain case that he who carries his king's pass, may go any where safe. Diligence, says he, produces the same effect. See *Spond. an. 142. n. 2.* where he writes the several names given to those letters. Some were call'd *Diplomata*, which they had who were call'd or sent by the emperors, who had all the necessities allowed them. This is much us'd in *China*, but is very prejudicial to the subjects. (*It is nothing but free quarters on the road, or as it is call'd in France a route.*) Eight years ago a petty king of the province of *Canton* went over to that of *Fo Kien*, to which purpose nine thousand boats were taken up. He carried along with him a hundred and ninety thousand people, all belonging to his family. In the next province they furnish'd him the like number of boats, and eighty thousand men to draw them. When we came from court, they gave us an order for boats and maintenance, though we had not the benefit of it, and shew'd it in every city and town, ninety men were allow'd for our boats.

20. *Lao Zu*, author of one of the principal sects in *China*, says, "Many sins are hurtful to the soul, much riches to the body.

21. Another author: "It is necessary that a man leave the pleasures of this life. It is best to be sparing in diet. Seek not nobility, covet not riches, and be not led away by interest. If you do so, you will have but few troubles. He that is patient will have rest.

22. *Confucius*. "All good things are to be examin'd, and so are the bad in the same manner.

23. A *Chinese* says: "He who rejoices when he is told of his faults, has doubtless somewhat of a holy man.

24. Another: "Every man desires and covets to be virtuous, and he would be

NAVA- "excusable for not applying himself to the
 RETTE. "practice of virtue, if for compassing of
 "it he were to use great force, tire him-
 "self, waste his fortune, and hazard his
 "life; but since nothing of this is requir'd,
 "why are not all men virtuous? If a man
 "because he employs himself in virtue,
 "were despised by his neighbours, hated
 "by his parents, and slighted by his kin-
 "dred and friends, he might be excusable
 "for not following it; but on the con-
 "trary, if he addict himself to it, his pa-
 "rents will love him the better, his kin-
 "dred, neighbours, and friends will ho-
 "nour and respect him every day more
 "than other. Why then are we not all
 "virtuous and good?"

25. The master *Confucius*: "When a
 "man speaks in due season, and to the
 "purpose, no body thinks much of his
 "words. When he laughs in laughing-time,
 "no man thinks much of his laughter.
 "He that takes a thing he has a good ti-
 "tle to, is not accounted covetous. He
 "that is silent amidst the healths at a feast,
 "is virtuous. And he who in dividing
 "wealth acts fairly, is an honest and con-
 "scientious man."

Silence at feasts is rare to be found. *Noisy drunkenness*, says *Ecclesiast.* c. xx. In *China* it is excessive, they begin their feasts with the greatest gravity imaginable, attended by a thousand ceremonies, and the middle and end of them is all noise and confusion.

26. The same author: "Riches strengthen houses; virtue makes the heart fruitful. A little well got, is better than a great deal wrongfully acquir'd."

27. Another author: "He that values himself upon being a man, must shew it by his actions. He that values virtue above riches is a man of honour, and he is bafe who prefers gold and silver before virtue."

28. *Confucius*: "A good purge is bitter to the taste, but beneficial to the health. A true and faithful word is harsh to the ear, but good to the heart. The surest way to be happy and fortunate, is to withdraw from sin. There is no better way to avoid troubles, than to shun committing faults. The perfect man is never satisfied with himself. He that is satisfied with himself, is not perfect."

29. Another *Chinese*: "There may be three faults in an honest man: 1. That he having a superior above him, and not serving him, expects to be serv'd by his inferiors. 2. That having parents, whom he does not obey, and to whom he is not grateful for the benefits receiv'd of them, he expects his children should be obedient and grateful. 3. That having a brother, whom he does not respect

"as he ought, he would have his younger brother be respectful to him. He that does so, is not guided by reason and equity."

30. *Lao Zu*: "He that follows his own opinion, is in danger of going astray. He that relies upon himself, has not a perfect knowledge of affairs. He that is conceited, has no merit."

31. A *Chinese*: "He that lays up corn and garments, fears not hunger or cold. He that hoards virtue, fears neither troubles nor misfortunes."

32. Another *Chinese*: "He that looks into other mens lives, ought first to look into his own. He that affronts his neighbour with ill words, may be assur'd he affronts himself first. Such a one is compar'd to a man who carries his mouth full of ink, to spurt it upon another, for he first dirties himself."

33. A *Chinese*: "He who talks much, kills his body."

34. Another writes thus: "The husband-man forbears not tilling his ground either because he has too much or too little rain; the merchant does not give over trading because he has had one or two losses: then why should a scholar leave his books, because he is poor, or a good man his spiritual exercises, tho' he have troubles or business."

35. "If a man employs himself only in eating and drinking, he will incur the contempt of all people, and it will come to pass, that for what is inconsiderable, as meat and drink, he will lose that which is of value, viz. his good name, and reputation. Plays, games and jesting, are frivolous and useless things, only diligence in doing well is of value."

All this I like very well, but especially the last proposition, which is good and holy. I have already said, that plays are very ancient, and much us'd in *China*. The players are not look'd upon at all; no woman is ever seen in their representations. They were not admitted in *Rome*, says *Scipio Nasica*, according to the *Fascic. temp.* fol. 31. *Because it was very destructive to a warlike people, breeding idleness, and introducing lasciviousness.*

36. A *Chinese* writes very elegantly: "Do not stoop to tie your shoes in a melon-garden; do not handle your hat in an orchard where there is fruit."

The author recommends us to circumspection in our actions, and cautiousness in our proceedings, that we may not give scandal, or an occasion to others to judge rashly. He tells us it is not convenient to do all that is lawful, according to that of *S. Paul*, *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient.* *S. Augustin* ferm. 43. ad frat.

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But take heed ye be not deceiv'd, for many ill things are done under the colour of good. See *Oleas*, in *Deut.* xii. xiii. It is lawful and just for a man to tie his shoes, tho' it be in a melon-garden, but another that sees it will suspect or judge he steals melons. It is also lawful to settle one's hat, but if it is done among cherry, or other fruit-trees, another that sees him lift up his hands will imagine he gathers the fruit. It is lawful to speak to a woman, especially if she be a sister, or near relation, but it is not convenient very often, because malice is so sharp, that what is only a point of civility may be improv'd to scandal. The same may be said in many other cases. Great regard must be had to circumstances of time, place, quality of persons, &c.

37. The second master: "For a man to love strangers, and not his own domesticks, is contrary to piety; to govern others, and not to govern ones self, is contrary to prudence; not to return a salutation, is contrary to civility and good manners.

As to what concerns not returning a salutation, there can be but two reasons for it among us, *viz.* open enmity, or rudeness. Among the *Chinese* there is none at all, for enmity is no cause not to make a return, and such rudeness no man is guilty of.

38. A *Chinese*: "When there are sins in thy house, it is soon known abroad among the neighbours. If a man is virtuous, there is none but will praise and extol his virtue. If a man is not honest and virtuous, make him not your friend. Receive not any thing without you have a good title to it. If your thought be not good, suppress it immediately; if your business be not just and honest, let it not come out of your mouth. He that is circumspect in all things, will have no cause to grieve. He that is patient, is affronted at nothing. He that is of a quiet temper, will live easy; and he that is sparing, will always have enough.

39. Another *Chinese*: "The mouth must not utter the neighbour's faults; the heart must not entertain evil thoughts, the ears must not hear detraction, the eyes must not see the faults of others. He who observes all this is near being virtuous.

40. A *Chinese*: "If a man fails in one thing, all he did before is lost and cast away.

41. "A good and virtuous man, says a *Chinese* doctor, does not grow proud; the wicked man is not ashamed to be puffed up.

42. A *Chinese* says: "He that is a

"sharp wit and great judgment, must not undervalue those who have not such good parts. He that is strong and powerful must not offend the weak and needy. He that knows not, let him ask. He that cannot compass what he aims at must have patience, and tho' he can and knows always how to go thro' with business, let him always take care to preserve humility. After all this he may attain to be virtuous.

43. *Lao Zu*: "Holy men heap up virtues, not riches. To adhere to virtue, preserves the heart; to adhere to profit, destroys it.

44. Another author: "Many benefits and much love are what makes a man esteem'd. To study carefully is the way to be powerful and wise.

45. "If rich and powerful men humble themselves to others, who is there that will not humble himself to them? If superiors love and respect their inferiors, which of the inferiors will not again love, honour and respect them? If he that is in high place and authority, carries himself stately and with rigour, who that is subordinate will not fear him? If he that speaks is in the right in what he says, and he that acts does it uprightly, who will dare to contradict his words, or carp at his actions? he speaks well.

46. "He that borrows a book is obliged to use it well; and if it comes to any damage in his hands before restoring, he is bound to mend it.

This belongs to studious persons, and the care the *Chinese* take in this particular, is worth observing. There are many *Europeans* who ought never to have a book lent them, till they have learn'd of the *Chinese* how to behave themselves. The same in other things, they look upon them as belonging to others, whereas they are oblig'd to use them better than their own.

47. One of them says, Virtue takes its original from humility; when a man declines in virtue, it is because his humility decays: misfortunes proceed from sensuality; disasters from covetousness; failings from much sloth and idleness. Acts of piety; to keep our eyes from looking on the faults of others; to keep the tongue from detraction; to keep the heart from covetousness; to keep the body out of ill company; not to speak without it be to advantage; not to meddle in other mens business; to serve the king, to obey parents, to respect superiors; not to grow proud in prosperity, not to be cast down in adversity; not to spend time in thinking on what is past, not to be in expectation of what is to come; not to rely on favour or preferment: these are the things man is to study and practise.

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NAVARETTA. Much might be said upon this paragraph, it is all good and holy, and there is nothing wanting but practising of it.

48. "To spend without measure, says the same author, is to forget one's family. A high place is often lost for want of frugality and moderation. He that is careful and diligent, provides for his whole life.

49. The second master; "Among the rest of the sins of disobedience or undutifulness, one is for a man not to maintain his parents; the second to be given to feasting and pastimes, and take no

"care of them; the third to marry without their leave; the fourth, to follow one's own will and pleasure; the fifth, to love broils and quarrels: These things either are hurtful to parents, or give them trouble, or fail of the respect due to them.

No son in China does, or ever did marry against his parents will. By what has been written, it appears how little need we missionaries have to instruct them concerning the malice of these particulars, this part is done to our hands.

CHAP. VI.

That every Man is to be contented with his Condition.

1. A Chinese says thus: "He that can be contented, has cause to rejoice; much covetousness brings sorrow. He that can be contented, tho' he desire something, may live easy; he that cannot be contented, tho' he have much, lives in sorrow. He that compares himself to mighty men, thinks himself poor; and he that looks upon the poor, judges himself rich.

2. Another: "Long life is decreed by heaven; troubles and poverty have their certain times; to be satisfied with his lot is the greatest conveniency of man.

In reference to the years of a man's age, the Chinese have the same proposition we read Eccl. xviii. *The number of the days of man, at most an hundred years.* See S. Thomas, 2 de generat. text. 57. left. 10. and in Job xxxviii. left. 2. and Oleast. in Deut. xxxii. Marcus Varro said, Man was like a bubble in the water. The Chinese says the same. Among us we write much of the misery of our life, they do so too; yet both we and they are too fond of it.

The Chinese sometimes asks us, Why God conceals the day of our death from us, We answer with the words of S. Bernard, serm. 69. *Trahit de modo benevivendi. Therefore Almighty God would keep the day of our death conceal'd from us, that we may always be ignorant of, and always believe it to be near.* Notwithstanding such great light as we have receiv'd touching this and other points, we live as negligently and unconcern'd as those infidels do.

3. One of them says, Nobility and riches

are coveted by all men, but are not obtain'd by the desire. Poverty and meanneſs are hated by all men, but hatred will not deliver us from them. A man grown rich with what belongs to others, and noble without deserving it, is to me like a little mist which easily vanishes.

4. Lao Zu: "He that sees himself rais'd very high, will do well to look to himself, and not forget he may be cast down.

5. Another writes: "He that knows himself, does not hate his neighbour.

6. The same author: "He that knows fate, and the decrees of the stars, does not hate heaven: he that hates it, is unwise. Have regard to justice in the first place, and to profit in the next. If you have a piece of brown bread, be satisfied with it, and don't look for white. Make your expence proportionable to your income.

7. Confucius: "A good and virtuous man is voluntarily poor; a wicked man is so by force, because he wastes his estate. He that saves charges, saves sorrowing. So says, very ingeniously and wittily, the Chinese Seng Kie Seng Jung, Sen Kieu Yin.

8. The same author: "It is but reasonable that the rich and noble should live according to their quality; and it is so that the poor and mean do according to theirs.

9. An author writes: "He that has not charge of the government, must not concern himself with it.

CHAP. VII.

How the Heart or inward Man is to be preserv'd.

1. A Chinese author says; "To preserve the heart well, we must endeavour to place it in the most retired part of man.

He speaks of the recollection of the senses and faculties. It is a very necessary, and a difficult affair, especially as to the imagination,

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imagination, which sometimes may very often roves like a mad-man, running through all things whatsoever. The *R. F. Lewis de Granada*, in his *Sinner's Guide*, speaks to this point with his usual judgment.

2. The same author; "Tho' a man be very ignorant and dull, if he is reprov'd and correct'd, he may come to be wise; and tho' he be very ingenious, if he does not study, he will be ignorant. Let care then be taken to reprove all men. To reprove and punish one for any failing, is to punish one's self, if guilty; to forgive the faults of another, is to pardon one's self their own. He that does not go through troubles, will neither come to be virtuous, nor rise to great places. Measure others with the same measure you use to your self, and desire not that to another which you will not have your self.

3. Another author; "He that would be very wise, must ask much. To speak lofty things, and act heroically, is the way to be in esteem.

Many admiring *Xenocrates* his eloquence, *Plato* said, What is it you admire at? Don't you often see lilies and roses grow up among nettles and briars? The same may be said of the *Chinese*.

4. Another; "He that is very wise, and has great parts, if he would preserve them, must appear ignorant and simple. He that is ingenious, and a great master at any art, being humble, may go safely through the world. He that is very brave, must not depart from military discipline. The rich and powerful man, by not growing proud, secures his treasures.

5. Another author; "It is hard to find a poor man that is not a flatterer, or a rich man that is not proud.

6. Another; "It is easier to find an humble rich man, than a patient poor man.

There be none of *S. Austin's* fifth sort of poor in *China*, there are very few patient. It were well if rich men would sometimes read the fifth chapter of *S. James*, with what holy fathers write upon it.

7. Another says; "Do not things hastily, when you meet with a good opportunity make use of it; tho' you get what you aim at, yet be not therefore negligent. Ancient men outwardly appear'd rough, but their life and inward man were virtuous. Those of this age outwardly appear men, but in their hearts are wild beasts. Let him that has money remember when he had none. Let him that is at ease, not forget past troubles: Let him that is well and in health, remember when he was sick.

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8. "He that asks, says another, must take care it be of one that can give. He that relieves the poor, must do it when necessity presses him. He that does not give, must expect no thanks. If the heart be free from passions, all the laws are plain.

It is all good. The second proposition is like that of *Ecclesi. iv. 3. Defer not to give to him that is in need.* If relief come not in time, the want is not supply'd. It is certain the *Chinese* are charitable. All men ought to be so. *Oleas. in Deut. xiv. ad mores.* Whilst I was writing these papers, the supreme governor came to *Canton*, only for the time till the proprietor could come from court; and the first day he came he distributed among the poor five hundred bushels of clean rice, which was a considerable alms, and had been so from any prince in *Europe.* Every bushel was there worth ten ryals plate (five shillings) upon the inland it is much cheaper. The last proposition is but too true; if passion be predominant, the laws are expounded, and made to speak after every man's fancy and humour, and as stands with his convenience.

9. "It is requisite, says another, always to think and imagine that the day draws near when we are to meet with our enemy: therefore we must live in continual fear and apprehension.

This is excellent doctrine with respect to death, which is our enemy. Every day, hour, moment, whilst we eat, sleep and laugh, it draws nearer insensibly. *Blessed is the man who is always fearful,* answers to the second part. See *Oleaster in Deut. xxxii. ad mores.*

10. "The perfect man, says another, has nothing to repent of, the peaceable has no enemies: the patient receive no affront: Fearing the laws, man lives pleas'd and satisfi'd. He that wrongs the publick, is always sad. The humble man may go safe all the world over; the proud and arrogant can scarce move a step without danger.

11. *Confucius.* "To think good and not evil, is to think.

12. Another says thus; "The mouth must be guarded and kept with as much care as we do a vial of precious liquor. Thought must be watch'd as narrowly, as we do the defence of a fort. Law-suits and quarrels proceed from much talk. Heats and animosities flow from positiveness, and every one standing in his own opinion.

Great designs have miscarry'd in the world for want of the mouth's being well guarded, and secrets flying out. The *Chinese Tartars* are notable at keeping counsel, which we know by experience.

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NAVARETTE. We were amaz'd to see the secrecy and vigilance us'd in their government, which is such, that there never appears the least token whereby to guess at their designs.

13. Another; "Covetousness and appetites spring from outward things: Desires proceed from the passions. If a virtuous man aims at temporal goods, it is because he has a just title to them. A virtuous man is sad for the sake of virtue, not for poverty; he thinks on virtue not on what he shall eat. Let no man aspire to be first. Let every man take care to sweep the snow off his own tiles, and not the hoar-frost off his neighbours. An innocent heart is not ashamed to appear before others.

14. Another *Chinese*; "The more wealth a man seeks after, the more harm it does him.

15. "Remember virtuous men, says another; raise those that fall, hide the faults of others, and reveal the good you see in your neighbour.

16. "Very few men, says the *Chinese*, live to an hundred years of age. The wicked man leaves behind him the remembrance of his wickedness, the good man of his virtue. It is cruel to divulge the faults of others. It is injustice to favour wickedness. To take the quarrels of others upon one's self is folly. One of the greatest troubles in the world is to bear with a fool. If you have no money, don't invite your friends.

There are foolish men every where, who take upon them other peoples quarrels. These heathens give us good instructions to all particulars. There are none of these propositions but has something mysterious in it.

17. Another; "Six sorts of men may have cause to repent. The judge, who discharges his duty unjustly, is fearful, and sorry when he is call'd to an account for it. The rich man, who knew not how to keep his wealth, has cause to repent when he comes to be poor. The merchant repents when he has let slip a good market. He that would not learn when he might, is sorry for his neglect and idleness, when an occasion offers that he might benefit by having study'd. He who gives ill language, when his passion

is over, and he comes to himself, is troubled for having done so. He that is healthy, and takes no care of himself, repents when he is sick.

He is much in the right; but it is to be observ'd, that in none of these cases man reaps any benefit by his repentance or sorrow, tho' it be never so great, it is only of force against sin. *Let us change the discourse* (says S. Chrysost. Hom. 5. ad Pop. Antioch.) *to sorrow, and we shall find it avails us nothing; but it only corrects sin, and it was given us only to blot that out. If a man is sinned, he is sorry, but it takes not off the fine. If he loses a son, he is sorry, but it brings him not to life. But if a man has sinn'd, is sorry for it, and repents for his offence, he retrieves all the damage he incur'd by it. This sorrow, grief, and confusion it is that produces bliss according to Ecclesi. iv. There is a confusion that brings glory.* The comment expounds it much to our purpose; so does S. Gregory, Lib. IV. Moral. cap. 21.

18. "It is better, says a *Chinese* author, to be poor without uneasiness, than rich with it. It is better to live in a thatch'd house without broils, than in a stately palace with 'em. It is better to eat hard bread in health, than pullets in sickness.

19. The master *Confucius*; "False words destroy virtue, impatience business. Humility puts away troubles, courtely gains love. Humility unites a man to all people, Truth gains good-will.

20. *Confucius* again; "Four things man is to avoid; being fond of his own opinion, acting upon mere constraint, shewing a reason for all things and endeavouring always to carry what he maintains.

21. Still *Confucius*; "A virtuous man fears three things. He fears heaven, he fears the judges, and fears the words of holy men. A wicked man, as such, has lost all shame, and consequently fears nothing.

22. Another; "Much eating and good clothing, cause sensuality.

23. "One quarrel, says a *Chinese*, breeds many. He that saves one quarrel, saves an hundred. Good temper and meekness preserves life, and gains affections. Hardness of heart, and pride is the source of troubles.

CHAP. VIII.

How to curb and bring Nature under.

1. A *Chinese* says; "The nature of man is like water, which once pour'd out of the vessel, never returns to it; so if nature once breaks loose, and slips away, it scarce ever is reduc'd to its

own bounds. They that would stop the waters, make use of dikes and dams. Those that would check nature, must make use of laws and punishments. One quarter of an hour's suffering, saves

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"an hundred years trouble. Let him that can attain the virtue of patience suffer. If a man does not bear, and curb himself, a thing that is no more than a straw, grows to a great heap. So that all troubles whatsoever proceed from impatience and want of bearing. Patience is the precious jewel of the heart; impatience is its ruin and destruction. He that always meditates on the characters of patience (*I have set down two in another place*) will live pleasant and easy. He that will not endure for half an hour, will have vexation every day.

2. The master Confucius: "Patience is the most necessary thing to live in this world.

3. A great Chinese doctor being ask'd, "What persons stood in need of this virtue? He answer'd, If the emperor is patient, the empire will be free from troubles. If kings are patient, they will thrive. If a judge is patient, he will rise to a higher post. If brothers are patient, they will increase their wealth. If husband and wife bear with one another, and are patient, they will live long together. If friends are patient, their friendship will be lasting. If any man is patient, he will be free from misfortunes.

4. He was ask'd about impatience, and answer'd, "If an emperor be impatient, he will lose his empire. If kings do not bear, they will bury their bodies. An impatient judge will meet with troubles. If brothers do not bear with one another, each of them will strive to live apart. If husband and wife are not patient, their children will be left fatherless. If friends do not bear with one another, friendship will cease. If any man is not patient, he will not escape trouble. He is no man that does not bear with another. He is not a man who is not patient. *Fi Yin, Po Goei Yin*: The first of these signifies patience, the second a man; the difference between the two words is very small.

The Chinese history tells us, that an emperor taking a progress through the empire, he came to a town, in which was a house where man and wife, children, grandchildren, daughters-in-law, servants, and all the family, liv'd in the greatest unity, love and concord. The emperor admiring it, went to talk with the master of the house,

of whom he ask'd, How such extraordinary NAVA-peace and quietness was preserv'd among so many persons? The old man without answering a word, took up a pencil, and dipping it in ink, writ *Yin, Yin, Yin*, that is, patience, patience, patience. The emperor understood him, commended his virtue, and rewarded it.

5. Another Chinese says; "He who humbles and submits himself, will live anywhere safely. He that is high, and will have every thing his own way, will certainly meet with an enemy.

If a man is proud, he will meet with one prouder than himself; and if he is positive, he'll find another as stiff as he. The learned Chinese who are so proud and haughty, like humility. Such is the nature of virtue, there is no man but is sensible of its beauty. S. Chrysostom takes notice of Herod's sadness, after beheading of S. John Baptist; *Why then does he grieve?* He answers, *Because virtue is such a thing, that even wicked men admire and praise it.*

6. Another says: "It is a base and vile courage that shews it self with passion and anger, attended by ill language. That is great valour, which exerts it self with anger ground upon reason and justice; it is not fit man should have the first, nor ought he to be without the latter. He that understands this difference, will easily perceive that there is an anger that is vicious, and another that is virtuous. A wicked man curses and persecutes a good one, but the good man must not answer him by any means; if he answers, it is a sign he wants prudence. If he does not answer, his heart remains clean and cool, and the tongue of the slanderer hot and burning; and he is like one that should spit at heaven, the spittle falls in his own face. If I know any man curses me, I feign my self deaf and dumb; and even as smoke vanishes in the air, so do the words of an ill tongue. But if I answer him, it will be adding of fuel to the fire; it is best to let him move his own lips.

7. Lao Zu: "A wise and learned man does not contend; a beginner does. Where contention is, the best course is to leave every man to his opinion, and not endeavour to carry a man's own, and by this means there will be no offence.

CHAP. IX.

An Exhortation to the Study of Learning.

1. Confucius. "He that will be learned, must ask many questions, must consider and meditate upon what he reads,

but he must not on that account omit actions of piety and mercy.

2. Another says: "He that studies and learns

NAVA- "learn much, must improve in knowledge
RETTE. "and humility; these two things make
"man virtuous.

3. *Confucius*: "He that is sedulous and
desires to improve in his studies, is not
asham'd to stoop to ask of others.

In their philosophy they say, The way
to learn is, to think on what is study'd, to
be diligent in asking, to meditate, and be
zealous in acting. They rise from one
point to another.

4. Another: "To aim at preferment
without studying, is like attempting to
climb heaven without a ladder. He that
studies and is wise, is like the clouds
drawn by the sun-beams, which mount
to the skies. He that does not tread
deep, knows not the gross part of the
earth; so he that wades not through the
documents of holy men, does not come
to be learned, nor to discover the pro-
found mysteries of wisdom.

5. Another *Chinese* says: "Unless a
precious stone be cut, it is not fit to
make a beautiful jewel; if a man does
not study, tho' he have a good wit, he
will never be learned.

6. "If a man does not study, he will
remain as dark as night.

7. A *Chinese*: "If a man does not study,
and spend his time in learning, he is like
a horse in breeches and doublet.

8. "Do not say, writes another, I will
not study to day, but will to morrow.
The sun, moon and stars pass away,
years do not stay; so that you can never
retrieve the time you lose this day. If
you are poor, yet do not for that rea-
son forbear studying. If you are rich,
do not rely upon your riches, and on that
account neglect to study. A poor man
that studies carefully, comes to be rich.
A rich man that is diligent at his study,
gets great fame and reputation. He that
shews learning gets a good name. He
that does not study will not come to be
a man. He that studies is a rich jewel
of the world. It is therefore requisite
that all men study.

9. An emperor said; "It is good to
study, and so it is not to study. To
study is like the ear of corn, not to study
is like the straw. Corn is the food of
man, and riches of the world; the husk-
bandman hates straw and chaff; and the
spade is tired with taking it up, yet af-
terwards he makes use of it to burn,
and make mud-walls, &c.

This is to signify there must be of all
sorts in the commonwealth. If all men
apply'd themselves to study, who would
till the ground, and work at so many trades
as are necessary to the publick, and to every
man in particular?

10. "He that lights a candle at night,
says a *Chinese*, would have the house
clear and bright. He that studies, seeks
light for the understanding.

11. Another: "The employment of a
virtuous man is quietly and with ease to
compose his life, to be sparing in all
things that he may increase virtue. He
that does not love virtue, does not love
his study; he runs over his time, as a
horse does his race. If man does not
make use of his time, what is it good
for?

12. The master *Confucius*. "He who
studies must always imagine, he does
not study enough to be learned." (*Sol-
on* said, *We are to learn as long as we
live*. Read *S. Thomas, Cajetan, and A
Lapide* in xlii. ad *Tim.* §. 13.) "It is a
folly to love wisdom and not piety;
to love justice and not wisdom, is the
way to be unjust. To think to be
strong and not studious, is only aiming
to be mad.

13. The same author: "A son within
doors must be obedient to his parents,
and abroad respectful to others. Let
him be true and diligent in his actions;
love all men, and if he has any time to
spare, spend it in study.

14. "Let him that teaches teach all
men alike.

This is good doctrine for confessors
and preachers. We seem always more in-
clin'd to the rich and mighty man, than
to the poor beggar, as if it had cost God
any more to redeem the one than the other.
I have heard of some passages both in *Asia*
and *Europe*, which if they were written
would not be at all edifying. On the words
of *S. John* iv. *The ruler said to him, &c.*
S. Thomas asks this question: *But the ques-
tion is, Why God when intreated by him to
go personally to his house, refuses it:* But pro-
mises to go in person to the centurion's ser-
vant? One reason according to *Gregory* is,
that by this he may reprove our pride,
who offer ourselves to serve great men, but
refuse to serve little ones, *Ecclus.* iv. *Make
thy self affable to the congregation of the
poor, &c.*

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CHAP. X.

Of the Education of Children.

1. A *Chinese* says, "To breed up children and not instruct them, is the parents' fault. To teach them, and not do it severely, is the master's fault."

2. Another *Chinese*. "These parents who bring up their children without learning, do not love them; and if they teach them without severity, they do not covet their good. The son who is taught by his parents, and does not learn, loves not those that gave him his being. If he learns, but does it not carefully, he does not love himself. How many sons of indifferent people by learning, have rose to be counsellors of state? And how many sons of counsellors of state, for want of learning, have degenerated into common people?"

This is often seen in *China*: nobility there is personal; so that if the son does not learn, when his father dies he becomes equal to the rest of the common people.

3. If the husbandman, writes a *Chinese*, does not plow and till his ground, his barns will be empty. If he that has children does not instruct them, they will be void of knowledge and learning. He whose barns are empty will suffer hunger and want; and he that has ignorant children will be void of equity and justice.

4. A *Chinese*. "Where children are not taught, it is because the master of the family is ignorant."

5. Though a business be but small, if it be not taken in hand, it is not done; so a son, tho' he have a capacity, if he is not taught, will not come to be a learned man.

6. Another. "It is better to have a son taught, than to leave him much gold. Of all the pleasures of this life, the greatest is to read good books. Of all necessary things, the most absolutely so, is to instruct children."

All he says is good. The *Chinese* always observe this for a rule, that a son must either be a scholar, or learn some trade; otherwise they say, they give themselves up to idleness and gaming, whence follow

other vices, and the ruin of their fortune, *NAVARETTE*. which their parents acquir'd with much toil. The story of *Robert* king of *Sicily* is agreeable to the second proposition; he us'd to say, he would rather quit his crown than his studies.

7. An honest man who does not give his children learning, *Ho Ye!*

These two *Chinese* words are very emphatical; they signify, what excuse can he give, what honest motive, design or end can there be, or can a parent pretend, for not giving his children learning?

8. Another. "If a son does not learn when he is little, when big he will be a fool. If a woman does not learn in her infancy, when grown up she will be good for nothing. The rule and method of teaching sons is to make them give ear to and follow the advice of their parents: to teach daughters they must be made never to stir from their mothers side. A son must not use himself to drink wine, nor to other worldly diversions. The daughter must be taught not to go. A severe father breeds beautiful children. A hard mother breeds pains-taking daughters. Children must be belov'd with a rod in hand. If the bough of a tree when tender is not streighten'd, when grown up it is hard to set it right. If a son is not put into the right way when little, who will be able to direct him when he is big? Men usually love pearls and precious stones, but I love learning and virtue in my children."

10. Another *Chinese*. "As soon as a child can feed himself, teach him to do it with his right-hand: when he is six years of age, let him learn to cast accounts: at seven separate him from the woman, that he may not be effeminate: at eight let him eat at table, and be taught manners and humility: at ten let him live like a man."

The *Chinese* are extraordinary careful to observe all these rules, and particularly in breeding their children mannerly; so that a child at eight years of age behaves himself like a man of forty.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Satisfaction of the Heart.

1. A Precious stone that has no speck nor blemish, is fit to be presented to a king; and a dutiful son is a rich jewel in a family. The use of precious

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stones has a certain period and end, but the benefit of a dutiful and obedient son lasts forever. That house in which there is peace and unity, tho' it be poor, is rich; and

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NAVA- "that poor, which is full of ill-gotten wealth.
 RETTE. "What should he covet any more who has
 "one dutiful son? The father lives at ease
 "when his son is dutiful; and so does the
 "husband, if his wife is discreet and prudent.
 "The wrestling of justice and parting of
 "kindred proceeds from interest. He that
 "has receiv'd an extraordinary pleasure,
 "must prepare himself for an unexpected
 "sorrow. Let him that lives at ease,
 "think on the trouble that may come
 "upon him. Great gains are follow'd by
 "great losses. He that has a great name
 "and reputation, must have much merit.
 "He that obtains a great reward must have
 "done considerable services. Great satis-
 "faction follows mighty love; great flat-
 "tery is attended with great destruction,
 "great worth with great sorrow, and ge-
 "nerally great shame with death. To
 "love and do good, sometimes causes un-
 "easiness and trouble.

2. The master *Confucius*. "He that
 "does not fix his eyes on the top of a
 "mountain, cannot comprehend what it
 "is to fall from thence. He that does
 "not go down to the bottom, will not
 "know the pain of sinking that threatens
 "him. He that does not go to sea, can-
 "not be sensible of the trouble of failing.
 "The very day I was writing this fame in
 "*China*, two hang'd and five voluntarily
 "drowned themselves: they found themselves
 "on a sudden seiz'd by such a mourning as
 "will last them to all eternity.

3. Thus says a *Chinese*. "If you would
 "have your understanding clear, reflect
 "on what is past, and think on what is
 "present: if you would know what is to
 "come, examine what is past.

4. The master *Confucius*. "A fair and
 "clear looking-glass serves to shew the
 "body. Things past are a mirror to what
 "is present and to come.

The meaning is the same as before.

5. Another. "Business, though very
 "plain, cannot be secur'd a year. Those
 "that seem safe for a year, cannot be de-
 "termin'd in a day, because there are so
 "many alterations in time, that nothing
 "is certain, and misfortunes befall men on
 "a sudden that can never be foreseen.
 "Husband and wife are sure of six foot
 "of land. It is not easy to preserve life
 "many years. The world is a monster
 "without a head: It calls an ingenious man
 "troublesome and offensive; him that is
 "dull, given to ease; him that is virtuous,
 "a sluggard and idle; him that is wicked,
 "pleasant. A rich man is envy'd, a poor
 "man oppress'd; an industrious man is ac-
 "counted covetous, he that is sparing is terr-
 "ed niggardly. Now do you consider
 "what you can teach a man that he may live.
 "In truth it is hard to live in this world.

6. A grave author says: "It is as if
 "water'd and prun'd, it roots itself
 "grows strong in the ground, whence it
 "brings forth an increase of boughs and blossoms,
 "and abundance of fruit; and in time it
 "comes to be a beam fit for any sumptu-
 "ous building. So man, if he has a good
 "education, will grow much, and be a
 "person of singular note.

7. Another *Chinese*. "A man without
 "learning and education is like a cart with-
 "out a wheel; as this cannot go on, so
 "neither can the other move or live in
 "the world.

8. Another. "A false man trusts no
 "body, and he that is real and sincere
 "trusts all men. Do not make use of a
 "man whose fidelity you suspect, and if you
 "make use of him do not suspect him.

9. The master *Confucius*. "When a
 "thing is rais'd to the greatest height it can
 "attain to, it returns to its first being:
 "The greatest joy ends in sorrow: great
 "friendship and unity in division. Digi-
 "nity and high place often has a fall.

10. The same *Chinese*. "He that go-
 "vern a province must take care that
 "there be no tumults in it: He that go-
 "vern a kingdom, if he designs to ela-
 "blish himself, must prevent misfortunes
 "that may happen.

11. Another *Chinese* says; "Those who
 "rule must foresee things, that they may
 "provide a remedy, and apply the neces-
 "sary medicine.

12. Another. "The fish dwell in the
 "bottom of the water, the cranes fly very
 "high; these though so high may be shot,
 "and the others though so deep may be
 "caught. Only two inches of man's heart
 "are impenetrable. The height of hea-
 "ven may be measur'd, the depth of the
 "earth may be taken, but none can guard
 "himself against the heart of man: it is
 "easy to know man's shape and mein,
 "but it is impossible to know his heart.
 "We see his face, and hear his words, but
 "his heart is a thousand leagues off.

13. A *Chinese*. "It is not proper to
 "measure water by the peck, nor to be
 "govern'd by the outward appearance of
 "man.

14. If hatred once take root, says a
 "*Chinese*, it is hard to pull it up. If you
 "bear your neighbour ill-will but one day,
 "it requires a thousand to dispel it. If you
 "requite your enemy with good deeds and
 "benefits, it will be like casting hot water
 "upon snow; but if you repay ill turns,
 "you will ruin yourself and him. When
 "I understand any persons are at enmity,
 "I use all my endeavours to make them
 "friends, and lay aside the ill-will they
 "bear one another.

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15. Another *Chinese*. "He that hates a man is said to bring a great trouble upon himself. He that forbears to act well is a thief to himself. I beseech you be merciful, and live carefully, that you may not rob your heart of the riches of virtue."

16. "Thefts and robberies proceed from hunger and cold. He who is rich and warm clad, thinks on leudness: the poor and hungry on stealing. He that considers the troubles of poverty, will not grow proud. He that earnestly fixes his thoughts on the bitter potions and medicines us'd in sickness, will not be sad."

17. Another. "The garland and laurel are for the virtuous, and fetters and shackles for the wicked."

18. *Confucius*. "Noble and virtuous men are compar'd to justice: the vile and base to interest: the former act for the sake of virtue, the latter only for profit."

19. Another. "He that is not virtuous values riches, the wicked man prizes the goods of the world."

20. *Lao Zu*. "Much wealth is not prefer'd with justice and integrity. Much reading causes what is studied to be forgot. How can he who is not very holy do all things to perfection?"

21. Another. "A poor man is look'd upon as of no judgment. He that is prudent to perfection governs well. He that does not hear, does not go to prate. He who speaks any thing good or bad, is certainly vicious, and has himself those faults he tells of others."

22. "No body will look ill upon him who does no ill action in his life. If you hurt another, be assur'd you will be hurt. Tender plants dread the frost. The frost dreads the sun. His own offence is an ill man's enemy. He that wears ambergreece about him diffuses a good scent, tho' he stand not in the wind. A good man, tho' his virtue be not made publick, exhales a sweet odour of virtue; but a wicked man sends forth the stench of his vices."

23. *Meng Zu*. "A virtuous man has many supports. He that loses his virtue, loses and destroys them all."

24. Another. "It is not reasonable a poor man should be despis'd, nor is it convenient a rich man should confide in his wealth and power. It may so fall out, that he who to day is rich, may be poor to morrow, and the contrary."

25. "He that avoids sinning gains many good things. He that saves charges has income enough. He that looks to what he has, does not want to give alms. He

"that saves and lays up, has something to leave his children."

Any man will say he knows these plain common truths well enough, and therefore there is no need of bringing them out of *China*. I say he is in the right, but let him practise them as the *Chinese* do.

26. "Those who keep close to them that are in high places, as soon as their business is done, forget them. Rich men have many friends, but very few when they fall into poverty."

27. "To serve a peevish master, is the way to be affronted by him. To be a friend to an impertinent man, is the way to be parted from him."

28. "A good word and good advice is worth more than many pounds of gold. It is easy to get gold, but hard to meet with good advice. A little ship cannot carry a great burden. It is not convenient to travel a deep and solitary road alone. He that treads dry land saves tiring himself. Man dies for money, and birds fall into the snare for food."

29. "A secret must be confin'd, not imparted to many. That business which is made known to many takes air, and the design fails."

30. "A poor man relies on his neighbour. Another book has it, a poor man is a leprosy to his neighbour. A poor man, tho' he lives in the middle of the market-place, is known to nobody. A rich man, tho' he live in a desert, is known by all men, has many relations, and they come to him from far countries. In all places a man's face is taken notice of according to his garb. If a horse goes not far, it is for want of strength: if a man rises not, it is because he is poor."

31. "If a judge has envious friends, wife and discreet men shun him. If the king has an envious favourite, the great men fly from him."

32. "Let him that rules a kingdom not make use of flattering counsellors. He that governs a house, must not be advis'd by a flattering woman. A good counsellor is the jewel of a kingdom. A good woman is the jewel of a house. A flattering and envious counsellor ruins a kingdom: and such a woman destroys a family. If the plough goes awry it spoils the field; and flattering words destroy virtue."

33. "Heaven, says a *Chinese*, has all things for man: man has nothing for heaven. Heaven creates no man without sustenance for him; nor does the earth produce any herb without a root. Heaven gives a very rich man all he has;

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NAVATE. "to him that has but a mediocrity, his care and industry." The verses speak thus, "The man that is very rich grows proud; he that is very poor is sad, he that is sad turns thief, and he that is proud becomes cruel. The sons of misers gather dung as if it were gold. Lavish men use gold as if it were dung."

34. "Life and death are always before our eyes. There is nothing bad in this world but man's sin."

35. "Envy and hatred, says a *Chinese*, bring mischiefs upon sons and grandsons."

36. The same author. "The first thing man is to do, is to mortify himself, and curb his appetites, to love all men, and be united to them through humility. Man ought always to think on his past offences, and endeavour not to sin in thought. If he act according to this rule, the crown of the empire will be establish'd."

This an emperor said to his subjects, what could *S. Augustin* have said better to his children?

37. *Meng Zu* said to an emperor; "To keep fat cattle, and fowls in the kitchen, and full-fed lusty horses in the stables, when the people are starving, shews more care is taken of brutes than of the subjects, and is destroying of men to save beasts."

He reprov'd the emperor for pampering himself too much, and maintaining horses, without relieving the people's wants. This philosopher was bold, and not given to flattery; there are but few like him.

38. Another author. "One spark of fire may burn a whole forest; and one bad word may destroy the virtue of one's whole life. He that wears cut-work is sensible of the pains the seamstres takes; and he who eats three times a day, ought to remember the husbandman's labour. He that gathers virtue secures piety, and a pious man gains a good name. Many by acting well come to be holy men."

39. Another *Chinese* says. "He that would know what his king is, must look upon those about him. He that would know a man must see what company he keeps. He that would know a father, must observe his children. The king ought to be holy, the favourite and counsellor loyal and faithful, a father virtuous, and a son dutiful. When a kingdom is in an uproar, then the loyalty of ministers exerts itself."

40. The master. "Water which is very clear has no fish; if a man is given to prying, and loves to know all things, he wants friends and disciples."

41. The same author. "A virtuous

and honest man is to think on three things: one, that if he does not study whilst he is young, when he grows old it will not be in his power. Two, That if when he is old, he does not make use of the short time he has, when death comes it will be too late to act. Three, That if he has wherewithal to give alms, and does not give it, when he is poor, tho' he would, he'll not be in a condition to give it: therefore he who being young hopes to live to be old, must apply himself to study. He that is old, and thinks on death, must take heart and do good. And if a man being rich is afraid he shall be poor, let him endeavour to give alms."

42. Another: "He who is a great lover of himself, will not attain to perfection."

43. "He that does not prevent things at a distance, will have troubles near at hand."

44. "The rain in spring, says a *Chinese*, is fruitful; it makes the plants grow, and the fruit increase; the husbandmen rejoice at the sight of it, but travellers hate it. The moon in autumn is as bright as a looking-glass, people divert themselves by her light, but thieves hate her."

There was a counsellor, who had great influence in the government, and the emperor had a great esteem for him. Envious men, who were no small number, spoke ill of him, and laid heinous crimes to his charge. The emperor sent for him, laid the accusations before him, and in a great passion blam'd his behaviour. He without any concern answer'd what has been writ in the last paragraph, which imply'd that wicked and envious persons hated his integrity and unbiass'd way of proceeding, because they could not defile him with bribes, and other ill practices, therefore they hated him, as a thief does the light, which hinders his ill designs. *He that does ill hates the light.* The emperor was satisfy'd with the answer.

45. A *Chinese* says: "To relieve him that is in distress, is to deliver him from danger. The heart of man is like iron. The mandarines are the forge to soften it."

The second proposition is much applauded by the *Chinese*. The mandarines take great care to mollify the hardness of some men by severe punishments. For the most part the people of that nation are the sons of fear.

46. "The heart of man, says another, is hard to be fill'd. If there be any alteration in the sky, there follows either wind or rain; if man feels any change in his body, he either dies, or falls sick."

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47. Another: "If the government of a kingdom goes in the right course, heaven protects and assists it. If the ministers are uncorrupted, the subjects live at ease. If the wife is discreet and virtuous, a husband has but few troubles. If the son is dutiful, his father's heart is easy."

48. "If a king takes the advice of his good counsellors, he will be holy."

49. Another: "The first sow, they that come after reap. If you reap do not rejoice, for a time will come, when others shall reap what you sow'd. How many have sow'd, that never reap'd?"

50. Another: "He who acquires great riches without a good title, may be assured of much trouble, if he is not extraordinary fortunate."

51. "When thirst rages, says a *Chinese*, a drop of water, tho' it be troubled, is sweeter than honey. When a man is drunk, the best wine drinks to him like vinegar. Wine makes not man drunk, man makes himself drunk. It is not sensuality that blinds a man, it is man that blinds himself."

The first proposition implies nothing comes amiss to one that is hungry or thirsty. I have too much experience of both sorts; I have sometimes drank foul water, and said I never drank any better in my life; as one said upon the like occasion, and he gave the reason, *Because I never drank when I was dry*. This agrees with that of Job vi. *But to a soul that is hungry, bitter things seem sweet*. The Holy Ghost speaks to the second point too.

52. "If any man should ask me to tell him his fortune, says a *Chinese*, I will answer him, that to wrong my neighbour is my ill fortune. For me to be wrong'd by others, is my prosperity and good fortune."

53. *Meng Zu*: "A merciful man is not rich, a rich man is not merciful."

54. "He that is obstinate in his own opinion, says a *Chinese*, cannot distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, nor betwixt what is probable and what is not."

55. The same author: "The more a virtuous man perceives he is advanced in perfection, the more he humbles himself. The more a wicked man sees himself prosper, the prouder he grows. A vile man is full with a small matter, a virtuous man is not satisfy'd with a great deal."

56. "He who has virtue has certainly words: It is not certain he that has words has virtue."

57. Another: It is rare to see little virtue and merit in high dignity, and little discretion in much business without great troubles."

58. The same author: "He that is in a high place must make ready to fall. He that has great places must watch to prevent his ruin. He that governs his superiors at will, must remember he may fall into disgrace."

59. The same author: "Kings and parents must be merciful. The king must look upon his subjects as brethren and friends. Only loyalty to the king, and being dutiful to parents, confer nobility and glory."

60. Another: "A merciful father loves not an undutiful son. A wise king makes not use of ill counsellors. The rich man must not scoff at the poor. The young man must not laugh at the old, for poverty and old age will soon come upon them."

61. "A vessel too full, says a *Chinese*, runs over; a proud man bursts. Lamb, though it be good, is hard to dress to several palates."

62. Another: "Though a diamond fall into the mire, it loses not its value, or luster. A virtuous man, though he be employ'd in mean or dangerous things, must not lose the purity of his soul."

63. The master: "He who is not merciful, deserves not to live long in this world."

64. *Meng Zu*: "That is the best time which man makes good use of. Peace and unity with our neighbours is the greatest profit."

65. A *Chinese*: "The water which is at a distance does not quench the fire that is near at hand. A good neighbour at the next door, is better than a rich relation afar off."

66. Another: "Though the sun, moon and stars are clear lights, yet they do not communicate their rays to that which is under a close vessel. The knife, tho' it have a good edge, does not cut an innocent person. Misfortunes do not follow the virtuous."

The first furnishes us with an answer to the Gentiles, who often ask, how it comes to pass, that God does not impart to them the light of the gospel? Certain it is, punishment was not design'd for innocent persons. God sends troubles to the good as well as the bad, but upon different motives.

67. "If a poor man, says a *Chinese*, lives uprightly, he is always merry. A rich man, if he behaves himself not uprightly, is sad. It is no matter whether the house stands high or not, all that is to be minded is whether it let in rain, if it does not, that's enough. All that is to be minded in the garment, is whether it keeps a man warm, there is no minding the curiosity of the stuff and making

ing. Mind not whether meat has spice in it, so it maintains and satisfies nature 'tis enough. He that marries must not look upon the woman's complexion, air and beauty; let him observe whether she is discreet and virtuous, and that's enough. It is not being a nobleman, or a commoner, that makes a man a good neighbour, he that is quiet and peaceable is best. He is not my friend that eats and drinks at my table, but he who relieves my wants. It is not being great or little that makes a *mandarin*,

but being upright and uncorrupted. 68. Another *Chinese*: "When death comes, the owner can make no advantage of his lands and tenements, though he have many good ones. When the last day comes, tho' a man have much money and wealth, he cannot carry it with him. 69. "It is easy to begin a law-suit, says a *Chinese*, but a hard matter to end it. 70. Another: "That husbandman who does not take care to till his ground, will starve."

CHAP. XII.

Of establishing Laws and good Instructions.

1. THE master: "There are rules and instructions to make one a man, but the principal and necessary point is that he be dutiful to his parents. There are certain funeral rites and ceremonies appointed, but compassion for the dead is the main circumstance. Warfare has its rules and discipline, but the courage and valour of the soldiers is the most material part. There are laws to govern a kingdom by, but the chiefest thing is to protect and take care of the husbandmen. There are laws and forms for living in a kingdom, or commonwealth, but the best is to be meek and merciful. There is a certain time prescribed for life, but the main concern is to banish idleness and sloth."

2. Another: "The most necessary property of a judge, is that he be upright and uncorrupted. The most necessary thing in a family, is to save charges, and be assiduous at study. The proper practice of an honest family is to conform to the laws. Care and industry produce riches, and saving prevents want."

3. The master: "The whole life depends on care and industry, the year on the spring, the day on rising early. He who in his youth is not diligent and assiduous at his studies, when old age comes will be a fool, and find himself empty handed. He who in spring does not till, in autumn will not reap. He who does not rise early cannot order his household-affairs well."

4. An emperor us'd to say to his subjects, "If you would live well, the father must be severe to his children, and the mother mild; brothers and friends must honour one another, children must be dutiful,

marry'd people love one another; men and women not to go or be together; kindred relieve one another's wants; no body hinder the husbandman's labour, no body take from another what does not belong to him; none play, or breed law-suits; the rich not devour the poor. When you travel, give the way to those that pass by; when you till your ground, strike not your plough into another man's field. If you observe this, you will live at peace and ease."

5. The *Chinese* philosophy: "The first thing a master that teaches is to endeavour, is, that his disciples be virtuous. He that rules, must chiefly labour to stir them up to humility, and to honour one another. This will cut off law-suits and variances, and will prevent lawyers growing rich."

Nothing can be better spoken; I must confess I am astonish'd at the great knowledge that nation has acquir'd of it self, without conversing with others."

6. A *Chinese*: "Your first care must be not to meddle with the emperor's government. The second, not to carp at the judges. The third, not to censure that which all men do. The fourth, not to have to do with those that seek for preferment. The fifth, not to publish your riches, nor cast an evil-eye upon the poor. The sixth, not to converse with, or hear those who talk immodestly. The seventh, not to pry into other men's business. The eighth, when you come into a house, nor to look into the papers you find. The ninth, when you eat, not to chuse the best bit. The tenth, when you are in company with another, not to take to yourself what is offer'd to both."

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Government.

1. "Three things, says a *Chinese*, make a good judge: first, being uncorrupted. Second, being watchful. Third, being careful and diligent. A man must serve the king as he would his father, his ministers as elder brothers, and must love all men as he does his wife. Ministers and judges must do the duty of the office, as they do the affairs of their house.

2. The master: "It is cruelty not to instruct and punish. He who in himself is upright and just, is obey'd, tho' he do not command. If he is not righteous in himself, tho' he command good things, he is not obey'd.

3. Another: "What makes a good judge, is observing the laws of his superior, looking upon his interior, and children, and making use of them only upon necessity, or when there is reason for it.

4. "No man will be disrespectful to him that is courteous and civil. He who is bountiful and free, will have many friends. He who is true and faithful will be honour'd by all men. He who is careful and diligent will always succeed well. He who gives much may make use of all men.

5. "A noble and virtuous man is free-hearted, but not prodigal, or a spend-thrift; is noble and not hated, loves things but is not covetous; is grave, but not

inaccessible; values himself, but is not proud; being virtuous, he endeavours to keep to a medium, and by all extremes.

6. "That king, lord, or judge, who hears reproof and will be corrected, is good, upright and just.

7. Another: "That counsellor who values not his life, and fears not the stroke of the scymitar, when he advises, deserves the name and title of a counsellor. A good counsellor is not afraid of death; he who fears death is not a good counsellor.

This doctrine is much applauded in *China*, some have practis'd it, as appears by the second book, and many did when the *Tartar* came in. There are also many in that country who kill themselves when they are in any great trouble. *Pliny* said, that the earth like a pitiful mother produced mortal poisons, that her children, men, may not die ignominious deaths, but might end their lives with one morsel or draught. Many have made use of this folly of barbarity, not only among the *Chinese*, but among others, as *Demosthenes*, *Democritus*, *Hannibal*, and *Aristotle*, as *Suidas* writes; *Cato Uticensis*, *Caius Plautius Numida*, and the *Messian* Virgins. The *Japanese* reckon it a point of honour to cut themselves with their sabres. It is a great misfortune that counsellors should be faint-hearted. Read *Sylva tom. lib. II. c. 9 g. 3. n. 13. & S. Thom. 1. 2. tom. I. q. 18. disp. 12. art. 5. p. 761.*

CHAP. XIV.

Of Oeconomy, or Family-Government.

1. "It is convenient, says a *Chinese*, to give the master of the house an account of any household-affair. Care and frugality make the family be always in plenty. In time of health, let them prepare for sickness. When the wife comes home, let her be taught to work immediately.

The *Chinese* observe this last instruction very punctually, all the women work, and curiously; we may say of the *Chinese* women, as *Prov. And she eats not her bread in idleness.*

2. Another: "A foolish man fears his wife, a prudent woman honours and respects her husband. He who keeps slaves must be very careful to see they have meat and clothes; let him always take care of his fire, and at night look to the thieves. If the children are dutiful, man

and wife live pleasantly. If the family lives in peace, all its affairs succeed well.

It is a point of conscience to take care of slaves. I am persuaded the *Chinese* outdo many *Europeans* in looking after these poor creatures both in sickness and health.

3. "He who is about making a match, must first consider whether the daughter-in-law's temper be suitable to those of his family. Let no man rashly take a noble or rich woman to wife, she that is virtuous and discreet is best, tho' she be poor. Tho' she be poor now, what do you know but by her labour and industry she may come to be rich?

4. "He that would marry his daughter must take care it be with her equal; if so, doubtless the daughter will be easily brought to serve her husband, and the husband will certainly respect her. A youth

NAVA- " youth who is grown up that does not
RETTE. " marry, is like a horse without a bridle.
" A woman grown up that does not marry,
" is like prohibited salt.

Prohibited salt is never safe any where, though it be never so much hid. This the *Chinese* are acquainted with, which is the reason of making the comparison. I before quoted the words of the Holy Ghost, *You have a daughter, keep her body.*

5. " He who is about marrying and considers the portion, is a barbarian.

Read *Sylv. tom. I. lib. I. c. 5. n. 27.* According to this rule there are abundance of barbarians in the world. *Pius V.* in his catechism, as *Parroch. 2. p. c. 8.* speaks ad-

mirably to the marriages of catholics, there the reader may see it.

6. " Let every man that has a family distribute the household-affairs according to every person's strength and capacity. Let him honour every one according to their merits. Let him use his fortune with moderation. Let him reckon his income, that he may know how to regulate his expence. Let him see that every one has their necessary food and raiment, according to their quality, endeavouring to carry an even hand in all things to prevent envy and contention.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Order to be observ'd in Families.

1. " **H**usband and wife are the first; " parents and children the second; brothers the third: these are the nearest relations, and the source of all other kindred.

2. Another. " Husband and wife are knit together by the fidelity and trust of matrimony: they must not curse, quarrel, or strike one another; if any such thing be among them, it is a sign they are not in perfect unity.

3. " The children, says a *Chinese*, are as it were their parents hands and feet: parents are as it were their childrens garment.

This implies, that children are to serve and maintain their parents, and they to protect their children.

4. Another. " It is the property of man to acknowledge and be thankful for benefits: to receive favours and make no returns, is the part of a brute beast.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Ceremonies and Civilities.

1. **T**HE master. " He who lives in a family, must be acquainted with the ceremonies and civilities that belong to it. Those within doors are, that there be a distinction between superiors and inferiors. For the securing of peace in the women's apartment, it is necessary there be several degrees and ranks. The same is practis'd in the palace, and so in the courts of justice, otherwise there would be much disorders.

The *Chinese* are most exact, and rather troublesome in their ceremonies; they observe them with the utmost rigour, they study them very carefully, and look upon any omission of this nature as a fault.

2. " If a superior, says one of them, does not observe order, he'll not have due attendance from inferiors; if the inferiors do not so too, they will not be able to perform their duty to superiors.

3. " A commander, tho' he be brave, will spoil an army if he does not keep good order. If a mean man is stout and not orderly, he will turn thief.

4. " A noble person is distinguish'd from

the vulgar by his breeding and civility. He that is well bred respects all men, and all respect him.

5. Another. " Courtesy and affability make way for a man all the world over.

6. " At court the emperor is the first, and next to him the counsellors. Among the people ancient men take place, among the rest virtuous persons have precedence.

7. The master. " If I desire to be valued by men, the sure way to compass it is to value them.

8. " When a man goes out of doors, says a *Chinese*, he must do it with the same gravity and modesty as he waits upon strangers; when he comes in, it ought to be as if there were persons of note waiting for him within.

This is advising men to modesty and decent behaviour, though they be alone in their houses. The *Chinese* are singular in this particular, and in the circumspection they use in all their actions and notions.

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9. Another says. "The father is not to make publick his children's virtues; children must not discover the failings of their parents."

10. "A man proceeds from three, says another, and ought to serve all three. From his parents that got him, from his masters who taught him, and from the emperors that maintain'd him. If there were no fathers, there would be no sons; if there were no masters, men would be mere beasts; if sustenance fail'd, he could not live."

11. The master. "Sacrifice to the dead as if they were present, sacrifice to spirits as if they were present."

This is not unlike what we find in *Wisd. xiv. They made him they would honour, that they might worship him that was gone, as if he had been present. As if present* imports the same as the Chinese *ju zai*: this proposition, because taken in one sense by

some missioners, and by others in another, NAVA- has caus'd much discord in that mission. I write upon this subject at large in the controversies, and therefore say no more to it in this place. I shall only observe here, that the church has improv'd in the knowledge of many truths, as I took notice when I treated of this subject, and *Cassabutus* did, 7. *synod. acum. pag. mibi 358, 359.* in these words, *And the church of God in progress of time is illustrated with new knowledge, whence it is writ in the Canticles, that she advances like the rising morning.* Then he quotes the words of *Castro, lib. 1. de heres. c. 27. We now know many things, which were either doubted of, or quite unknown to the first fathers.* Even so the church of China, though so small and tender, has increas'd in several particulars, as plainly appears by what is writ in the controversies, and I hope in God it will still increase more.

CHAP. XVII.

How to preserve Fidelity.

1. THE master. "He who is not true and faithful, knows not what he ought to know to live in this world. It is certain a cart without wheels cannot move, neither can he who is not true and faithful live among men."

2. Another says. "One single word coming from a man ought to be of such force that it should never fail. When the mouth has once utter'd a word, whatever comes on't it must be perform'd; therefore it is requisite to consider what

a man promises. If great and noble men do not keep their word, they fully their honour and reputation."

3. Another. "If there is not sincerity between the emperor and his counsellors, there can be no peace in the empire; if it be wanting between parents and children, there will be no peace and quietness in the house; if it be wanting between brothers, their minds cannot be united; if it be wanting among friends, their friendship will certainly fail."

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Words, and the manner of speaking.

1. THE master. "Among persons of learning and gravity, it is fit to discourse of serious matters, and speak weighty sentences; among inferior sort of people business of less weight may be discours'd of. He who speaks must suit himself to those that hear. When it is requisite to speak to any man, and he is not spoken to, it is losing of him; when it is not convenient to speak, and we do speak, it is losing of words; but a discreet man neither loses the person nor his words."

In my controversies I have writ, that it is not convenient to talk with infidels of all the mysteries of our holy faith, and I prov'd it out of *S. Athanasius*: since then I found this subject is handled at large by *S. Thom. sup. Boetium in Trinit. q. 2. art. 4. and lect. 6. in 1 Cor. xi. Angel Maria. q. 7. de fid. scilicet. 1.* does the same.

It is absolutely necessary to suit the discourse to the auditors, otherwise the words and labour are lost. *S. Thomas* makes it out *sup. Apoc. viii.* where he quotes the words of *S. Gregory* upon this subject. To avoid mistaking, it is requisite first to consider what *S. Thomas* teaches. *The preacher is discreetly to foresee what is to be said, and to whom, and how, and how much, and after what manner, &c.* Some get into a pulpit to let fall extempore sentences, and some of them plead for it the words of *Mat. xx. Do not think, &c.* But *S. Thomas* answers with the comment, *That the apostles were privileg'd persons as to this particular, because the Holy Ghost was present in them after such manner, that they ought not to premeditate. Sylv. tom. VI. p. 112.* writes notably to this effect. The words of *S. Aug. Serm. 26. ad frat.* answer to the rest of the pa-

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ragraph:

NAVARRAGRAPHS: For we must not lay open that
 RETTE, which is good every where, but in all things
 must observe the time of making it known.
 S. Thomas teaches the last in Mat. xxiv. For
 if he will speak words when it is not conveni-
 ent, he loses them.

2. A Chinese says, "When we talk with
 kings, the discourse must be that they
 may make use of good ministers and
 counsellors; if we talk with great men,
 it must be of the loyalty and duty they
 owe to their king: When we converse
 with ancient men, we must advise them
 to make use of their children: When
 we speak with young men, we must lay
 before them the respect and duty they
 owe to their parents and elders: When
 we speak of the commonalty, it must
 be concerning their loyalty to their
 prince: and if we discourse with judges,
 it must be of uprightness, justice and
 good administration.

3. The master. "He who says little,
 is certainly in the right in what he says.
 The same man. "If words are not
 agreeable to reason, one is too much;
 if one word goes astray, it makes way
 for many more.

4. A Chinese. "The mouth and the
 tongue are the passage for all mischiefs,
 and the sword to destroy life.

5. Another. "To talk to one's neigh-
 bour concerning things that are good,
 is warning of him to go in the way of
 virtue: Good words are sweet as honey,
 the bad are killing swords; a man is not
 good because he talks much. The
 wound of a spear or sword is easily cur'd,
 but a bad word is hard to digest. Good
 words warm the heart, as a coat of fa-
 bles does the body; the bad prick the
 soul, as thorns do the body: one good
 word is worth more than thousands of
 ducats, and a bad word is as mischievous
 as a poison'd arrow.

6. The master. "One word shews a
 man's prudence, and one discovers his
 indiscretion. One word is enough to
 save a kingdom, and one is enough to
 destroy it.

7. Another. "It is more delightful to
 hear good words, than to hear all the
 musical instruments in the world.

8. The master. "It is hard to enter in-
 to discourse with an ill man, the best
 way is to withdraw and keep from him.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Friends.

1. THE master. "To live among
 virtuous people, is like living
 among roses and flowers, where tho' a
 man do not discern the smell, yet by de-
 grees it works it self into the very bones.
 To live among wicked people, is like
 living in a storehouse of pilchards and
 fish, where if a man stays a while, tho'
 he be not himself sensible of the ill scent,
 yet he carries it about him and others
 perceive it. To entertain friendship with
 good men is like having to do with li-
 lies, which if they are kept in one house,
 the smell of them pierces to the next:
 To entertain friendship with ill men,
 is exposing ones self to danger of ruin.

2. A Chinese says; "He who leans a-
 gainst vermilion makes himself red; he
 that handles ink is black; he that keeps
 company with wise and learned men,
 partakes of their learning and doctrine;
 if he adheres to discreet persons he gains
 discretion; if he follows fools, he gets
 folly, &c.

3. Another. "The friends of our times
 do nothing but shake hands, and if a
 word slips from one, the other is angry
 and in a passion; the first answers, and
 there's an end of their friendship. Friend-
 ship must be grounded on virtue, there
 must be no omission of respect or ho-

nour from one to the other: to meet
 and encourage one another to do good,
 and imitate one another's virtue, is true
 friendship.

4. A Chinese. "Keeping good company
 is like walking in the fresh evening air,
 where a man is cool without wetting his
 clothes. Converse with ill company
 is like setting near a nasty stinking place,
 where, tho' the clothes are not dirtied,
 they stink. Converse with ill men,
 is like playing with naked swords; for
 tho' a man be not wounded, yet he is
 in danger of it.

5. Another. "Jen Ping (it is the name
 of a man of great antiquity) tho' he had
 many friends for a long time, yet he ne-
 ver was disrespectful to them, or us'd
 them without honour and courtesy.

6. Another. "Give respect to and
 keep far from wicked, pernicious and
 ill-minded people; honour and keep as
 close as you can to those that are good
 and virtuous. If any man come near to
 hurt, or give me ill language, I must
 give him good words, and remove him
 in a courteous manner. If a man comes
 to me with deceit and falsehood, I must
 reprove and put him away with the nak-
 ed truth: If I do so, it is impossible he
 should bear me ill-will.

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The first proposition the *Chinese* urge in respect to evil spirits as well as men. *Lactantius de falsi relig. c. 20.* writes the same of other nations, *That they worshipped some gods that they might do them good, others that they might not hurt them.* The people of the island *Madagascar* worship evil spirits very much that they may not hurt them, the good they take little notice of: They say, that being good, they require no ceremonies to do them good, and are not capable as such of doing hurt. The latter part of the paragraph I could wish were well observ'd by zealous Christians, who often frequent the sacraments. The author has more followers of his good doctrine among those heathens, than he would find in *Europe*. This is not a little confusion to us.

7. "Do not entertain friendship with a man who is fierce and cruel," is the advice of a *Chinese* doctor, and it is good.

8. Another. "A lady that has not a clear looking-glass cannot see the freckles in her face: A man who has not a good friend, will not be able to discover the false steps he makes."

9. "It is the duty and rule of friends to gather virtue, and act jointly therein."

Christians may observe what sort of

friendship there is among heathens, and what among themselves.

10. "If you would join friendship, says another, it must be with one that is better than your self, otherwise it is better to have no friends. All men are good enough for acquaintance, but there must be but a very few friends to whom you will disclose your secrets,"

11. Another *Chinese*. "If you would plant trees, do not plant willows; if you join friendship, do it not with men of little worth. The ancients were true friends, because their hearts were united; friends of these times are not so, because their union is exterior, and only consists in words."

12. "When a man is rich and great, he has friends and kindred without number; if the same man falls into troubles, you will not see one of them come within his doors. The friendship of lords and great men is as cold as water, that of the indifferent sort is sweet as honey."

13. "An upright and good man does not seek friendship for interest-sake; to be a friend on this account destroys piety. A long journey shews a horse's strength, friendship of long standing makes known the heart of man."

NAVARRETTE.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Women.

1. **T**HE master. "A marry'd woman must be subject to her husband, and therefore it is not convenient she should have absolute command. Woman is under three subjections, one to her parents before she is married, another to her husband when married; when he is dead, as to the government of the house and estate, she must be subject to her sons. She must not go out of her apartment to order what belongs to her. When she is at age to be married, let her always keep close in her chamber, and if she goes out of it, let her not walk in the court to be seen, which is very unseemly: If she goes out of her room in the night, let it be with a lantern, and not in the dark, otherwise he that meets her may suspect she is not going about any thing that is good."

Concerning the retiredness of women, read *Sylv. 2. tom. in Apoc. c. xii. q. 26.*

The words of *St. Paul*, *Women be subject to your husbands*, are to this effect. The *Chinese* women are incapable of inheritings, of managing business, and of any other power of government: Some there have been renowned in the world, and very unhappy in government. But because this

extraordinary, the philosopher said their government was the destruction of the family, as that of a tyrant is of the kingdom. *St. Thomas* quotes it in *1 ad Tim. ii. lect. 3.* and in *1 Cor. xv.* I have already made mention of the extraordinary retiredness of the *Chinese* women, and it is very strange, as appears by what has been writ, that they should maintain that rigor for above two thousand and fifty years.

2. A *Chinese*. "Four things are commendable in a woman: 1. Virtue. 2. Her face. 3. Her words. 4. Her work and employment. For the first it is requisite that she be very wise, discreet, and judicious; for the second, she need not be very beautiful; it is not expected her words should be very witty, or that she should speak in verse: It is not to be expected her work should be so curious as to outdo prime work men: Her virtues must be retiredness and modesty, that her garb be suitable to her condition, that in her mien and carriage she be grave and bashful, and that she be moderate in all her actions. Every married woman ought to be adorn'd with these virtues. She must first weigh her words, not rail, flie, and speak in due time."

NAVA- "time and season: It is enough that she
RETTE. "keep her face clean, and sober clothes:
"Her work and employment must be to
"spin, weave, sew, and the like: She
"must be watchful that the household af-
"fairs may be orderly.

3. Another *Chinese*. "What a woman
"is to observe is this, that if she speaks
"it be soft and mildly, without raising
"her voice; if she goes let it be gently,
"if she stops it must be with modesty, her
"ears must not hear ill words, her eyes
"must not look much, she must always
"be in fear and dread lest her husband
"should receive any affront, and have any
"trouble upon her account. That hus-
"band who lights of a good wife has no
"troubles, a virtuous wife keeps all the
"family in peace.

4. "A *Chinese* was ask'd, whether it
"was lawful for a widow to marry again?
He answer'd, "To marry, because she is
"poor and has no support, is lawful;
"but these are things of small moment,
"when compar'd to the good there is in
"continency.

By what has been said it appears, the
Chinese make no great account of women's
beauty.

For the retirement of women, we may
well instance the example of *C. Sulpicius*,
who put away his wife, because she went
out of doors with her head unveil'd. *A*
Lapide in *Gen.* xxiv. §. 28, & 67. says,
the women formerly had inner rooms, as
is now us'd in *China*.

I could easily have enlarg'd upon several
points. I have left out above half the
notes I took, whilst I was confin'd in *Canton*;
the matter we have in hand requires
no more, since our only design is to shew
how much that nation has receiv'd from
God, tho' it is so ungrateful. What has
been writ is enough for this purpose.

We daily reading *Chinese* books, always
found something new to make our reflec-
tions upon; and that our labour may not
be quite lost, I will here add a few. It
has been said already, that women do not
inherit, nor did they among the *Jews* till
Numb. xvii.

5. A counsellor said to the emperor *Vu*
uang, "It is a great happiness to over-
"come one's will and appetite with rea-
"son and justice. It is a great trouble
"and misfortune when the will sways more
"than reason.

6. "In the reign of the emperor *Keng*,
"says the history, the empire enjoy'd such
"peace, unity, and mutual love, that for
"above forty years there was no need of
"inflicting any punishment.

7. A *Chinese* doctor says, "The doc-
"trine which is taught must be firm and
"solid.

8. King *Kung* ask'd, "How he might
"govern his subjects well? A counsellor
answer'd, "By looking to his benefit and
"profit. He ask'd again, How that was
"to be done? The other reply'd, Teach-
"ing them to employ themselves in works
"of piety, and to observe justice; and so
"doing, every thing will be profitable
"and advantageous.

9. "Another ask'd, How it might be
"discern'd, whether the kingdom im-
"prov'd or decay'd? His secretary an-
swer'd, "When the counsellors do not
"often acquaint the king with what hap-
"pens in the provinces, it is a sign the
"royal patrimony wastes; because the
"disease not being known, the remedy is
"not apply'd. When the king being told
"of his ministers faults, does not punish
"them, it is also a sign all goes to ruin.
"When ministers grow great and rich
"with their employment, that is the last
"sign of destruction; for it is certain the
"body of the kingdom, that is, the sub-
"jects, are exhausted and drain'd.

10. *Min Yuen Chi* says, "The less is
"drawn from the people, the more a king
"will have in time of need.

This is singular policy, yet not so
strange, but it has been practis'd in *Eu-
rope*. We have an example in *Constantius*
Chlorus, Father to *Constantine* the great,
when he govern'd *France* and *England*.
This has been observ'd at the end of this
book.

The End of the Fourth Book.

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BOOK V.

Which treats particularly of the
learned Sect.

THOUGH something has been said in the second and third books concerning the sect of the learned in *China*, and some of their principles set down, which might serve to make known its design, and the end it aims at; yet because it is a matter of mighty moment, that missionaries be fully acquainted with all that belongs to this sect, I have thought fit to insert in this place, what has been writ concerning it by the R. F. *Nicolas Longobardo*, of the society of Jesus, an

ancient missionary, and renown'd in that mission: the understanding of which I am satisfy'd will be a great advantage to the ministers of the gospel; and with small labour will lay before them how they are to deal with the infidels of that region. The original manuscript was carried to *Rome*, and I presented an authentick copy to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, which is kept among the records. This good father writes thus.

NAVA-
RETTE.

A short ANSWER concerning the Controversy about Xang Ti, Tien Xin, and Ling Hoen (that is, the King of the upper Region, Spirits, and rational Soul assign'd by the Chinese) and other Chinese Names and Terms; to clear which of them may be us'd by the Christians of these Parts. Directed to the Fathers of the Residences in China, that they may peruse it, and then send their Opinion concerning it to the F. Visiter at Macao.

The P R E F A C E.

Giving an Account of the Original of these Controversies, and what has been done about them by Order of Superiors.

IMprimis. It is above twenty five years the *Chinese Xang Ti* (that is, the king of the upper region) began to be an eye-sore to me, and to go to my heart. For after having heard *Confucius* his four books, as we all us'd to do at our first coming hither, I observ'd by degrees, that the definition and account of several expositors of *Xang Ti*, was very opposit and repugnant to the divine nature. But having taken the notion from the ancient fathers of the mission, that *Xang Ti* was our God, I laid aside those scruples, and conceited, that perhaps some of those expositors might be mistaken, as being but particular authors who did not consent to the ancient doctrine. In this persuasion, and with this idea, I liv'd the first thirteen years, which time I laid at *Xao Cheu*, without having an opportunity to confer

about this point, as I ought to do, with the fathers of the other residences.

2. After F. *Matthew Riccius* died, I being left in his place with the charge of all this mission, receiv'd a letter from the F. visitor *Francis Pafcus* in *Japan*, in which he gave me to understand, that our fathers were there reflected upon, for bordering upon the errors of the *Gentiles* in some books they had compos'd in the *Chinese* language. So that the fathers and brothers in those parts met with great difficulty in confuting those errors, by reason their adversaries urg'd what they found in those books of the *Chinese* fathers. Whereupon he earnestly requested me that we should take great care what was done as to this particular: for tho' it was not easily to be imagin'd, that the fathers who write books in

Vol. I.

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China,

Xang Ti.

NAVARETTE. *China*, and are such able divines, could be deceiv'd as to the subject of the sects; yet it weigh'd much with him to see, that many of ours in that country affirm'd it was so; and these such men as had made those sects their particular study, and were very well read in the *Chinese* books. This advice from F. *Pascus* confirm'd me in my former doubt, and therefore I apply'd myself the more carefully to sift out the truth. Besides all this, going according to the duty of my office to *Pe King*, I found F. *Sabatinius de Ursis* labour'd under the same apprehensions concerning *Xang Ti*. Upon this we seriously discours'd with Dr. *Paul* and others we found well qualify'd, concerning the reconciling the difference there was between the texts and the comments; and they all unanimously agreed that there was no need of taking so much pains to reconcile them, but that we should always stick to the doctrine of the text when it made for us, and not concern ourselves with the contrary interpretations of expositors. The same answer was afterwards given us at several times, and in several places, by the doctors *John* and *Michael*. This made some of our fathers of opinion, that this was a sufficient means to decide the controversy, and therefore there was no need of any further canvassing the point. But F. *Sabatinius* and I, with several others, were of opinion we could not thus be safe and easy, in regard the learned *Chinese* Christians generally suit their sentiments to ours, and explicate their doctrines according as they think corresponds with our holy faith, without regarding of how great consequence it is to have the truth of these controversies brought to light, and that nothing be said which may have the least shadow of falshood or fiction.

3. Whilst we were busy upon these debates, F. *John Ruiz* came up to us, being lately arriv'd at *Macao* from *Japan*, and desirous to decide the same matters in controversy. His coming was very seasonable, and as far as I can guess, particularly ordain'd by God for the benefit of the Christians of *Japan* and *China*. And tho' those fathers, who thought the case plain enough and settled, would not argue it with the said father; yet the greater number of us, who judg'd the truth was not yet clear'd, were glad to confer with him about the difficulties that occur'd on either side. So we laid open the principal fundamentals of the three sects, *Ju*, *Xe*, and *Tao* (that is, the sect of the *Literati*, or the learned; that of the idols; and that of the wizards, so we usually call the third) which will open a way to decide these controversies.

4. F. *Ruiz* returning to *Macao*, gave a letter in which was an account of all these

affairs, to F. *Valentin Carvalho*, then provincial of both provinces; who writ to us, recommending the study of the sects as a most important and necessary thing to prevent mistakes in the opinions and terms we have introduced among the Christians of these parts; and with it he sent us a catalogue of the names he judg'd dubious & dangerous, that we might examine and appoint which of them are to be us'd.

5. After this F. *Francis Vicira* came visitor; and understanding what orders F. *Carvalho* had given us concerning the doubtful name, he confirm'd those orders, and directed us anew to send him our resolution upon that matter, and the opinion of the Christian *mandarines*. This I sent him by F. *Sabatinius*, when he went away banish'd with the other fathers to *Macao*: and besides I charg'd the said father by word of mouth to acquaint him with several other particulars concerning these affairs, he being a person well acquainted with them. The father perform'd his part very well, both in writing and by word of mouth. But the father visitor seeing there were then with him two fathers of the contrary opinion, who were F. *Pantoja*, and *Bagnoni*, he was of opinion these controversies could not be decided unless disputed in form. Therefore he order'd those three fathers, every one to write a treatise upon them. And for the better and clearer proceeding in the case, he commanded them to argue upon three points; the first, *de Deo*; the second, *de Angelis*; and the third, *de anima rationali*: making out whether in the *Chinese* doctrine there were any footsteps of these things, or not; for on that depended the concluding upon the *Chinese* terms that were to be us'd among these Christians. The fathers compos'd their treatises, dividing themselves into two opposite parties. For the fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni* undertook to prove the affirmative, alledging, that the *Chinese* had some knowledge of God, of angels, and of our soul, calling them by the names, *Xang Ti*, *Tien Xin*, and *Ling Hoen*. F. *Sabatinius* undertook the negative, urging, that the *Chinese*, according to the principles of their natural philosophy, and physicks, had not the knowledge of a spiritual substance distinct from the material, as we assign; and consequently knew not what God, or angels, or the rational soul were. This opinion was much applauded and approv'd by the fathers and brethren of *Japan* who were then at *Macao*, as better grounded on the *Chinese* doctrine, and the father visitor was near giving judgment for it. But the business in hand being of such moment, and he not a competent judge of the *Chinese* proofs alledg'd for either side, he resolv'd

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to send the said treatises up hither that we might examine them, not only with the assistance of the learned Christian *Chinese*, but of the heathens too, who are not suspected that they will comply with the fathers in giving the true sense of their doctrine.

6. At the same time the three fathers compos'd their treatises at *Macao*, *F. Ruiz* compos'd another large one, following the opinion of *F. Sabatinus*, so that there were two treatises on each side. This last writ by *F. Ruiz*, being read by the father visitor, and the gravest of that college, gave great satisfaction to them all; for which reason the father would have sent it hither to me with the other three: but because it could not be transcrib'd so soon, he made an abridgment of it in a letter he sent me of a sheet and a half, and very sufficient to decide what we are now about concerning these controversies.

7. Having receiv'd these four treatises in this city, tho' I did not question but the fathers, *Ruiz* and *Sabatinus*, had the true notion of the *Chinese* doctrine, conformable to what I had before discours'd with them; yet I resolv'd to make further enquiry into it, receiving new information from the Christian *mandarines*, and arguing further with the fathers of this mission, and I always found the opinion of those fathers the best and safest. As for the heathen learned men, I could not receive any information from them (as the father visitor earnestly press'd me to do) by reason of the persecution, which gave us no opportunity of conversing with them freely, and therefore I was forc'd to delay this answer longer than I was willing to have done, that none might complain judgment was given without hearing what they had to say for themselves. In short, having laid hold of the opportunities I met with, of conversing with several learned men during the last years I was in the south, and more particularly the two I resided in this imperial city: the business of the *Chinese* doctrine, as far as relates to what we have in hand, was made plain and perspicuous, and therefore I will in this my answer give my sense of it plainly and succinctly.

8. It is requisite that those fathers who are to see this answer, should first see the four abovemention'd treatises, for I here insert many things contain'd in them. It is also to be observ'd, that I make this answer short, because I deal with your reverences who are acquainted with these affairs, and therefore it is enough to touch upon the principal points. The same reason will serve *F. Visitor*, and other fathers who are out of *China*, who only desire a short decision of these controversies, approv'd of by the ancientest fathers, and who are most vers'd in this mission.

Notes upon what has been writ above.

Note 1. The king of the upper region, assign'd by the learned sect, went to the heart of, and was an eye-sore to the good father *Longobardo*. And yet there are some who have such cataracts over their eyes, that to this day they preach him up to be our God.

2. If a *Franciscan* or *Dominican* had writ what *F. Pafcus* did, what complaints would the world ring with against us? I take them for granted. It follows thence, that the preaching of the word of God was defective in *Japan*, as well as in *China*; what wonder then it should so soon be check'd in both places?

It is certain, the religion of *Japan* took its origin from that of *China*; the *Japanese* ever acknowledg'd the *Chinese* their masters, as to matters of religion. The *Chinese* merchants who sail'd to *Japan*, carry'd the books of our holy faith, printed in the *Chinese* language, to sell to the Christians there. They read them, and being well vers'd in their own sects, took notice of the errors they found in them. Now the *Japanese* making this reflection, is a powerful argument that the doctrine of those books was not sound. But the authors of them can at most be somewhat guilty only of a material mistake. I was told in *China*, that a missionary had printed a book full of extravagancies and errors; care was taken to get it up, if any copies remain'd in the hands of infidels, it is a plain case they will do harm. The worst was, that they did not examine it before it was printed. *F. James Collado*, in a memorial he presented to *Philip* the fourth, says, That in a book he read in *Japan*, he observ'd four several heretical expressions, which tho' they were not imputed to the author, yet the hurt they may do was great, and the consequences fatal.

By what has been and shall be writ, it plainly appears that the argument they daily use is bad, viz. That the ancient missionaries of *China* being grave, learned, and experienc'd men, the rest are oblig'd to follow and practise what they taught. If this argument does not take place with them, less ought it to do so with us. The more weighty matters are, the more examination they require; these are affairs that concern eternity, no care or industry is too great; we must not be satisfy'd with probabilities, nor are they sufficient upon such occasions. So say, the bishop of *Nan King*, disp. 4. c. 3. dub. 3. For sacred things which belong to religion itself, and are absolutely necessary to bliss, probability is not sufficient, but an undoubted certainty is requisite. He proves it very

NAVA- very well in the next doubt, and quotes
REITE. F. Vagotius a jesuit to make good his asser-
tion. F. Sirix was deficient in this point,
for which reason the pope forb'd his book.

As to the advice of the learned Christian
Chineſes, we all know their ſentiments, and
yet there are ſome who ſhut their eyes to
follow and approve them.

3. I never lik'd the ſentiments of thoſe
fathers; diſputes never do hurt, tho' the
matter diſcuſ'd be plain and eaſy, but it is
rather laid more open by this means, ac-
cording to the doctrine of S. Thomas quoted
in another place.

Besides, it is very conſonant to reaſon,
that where there are perſons learned and ex-
pert in an art, it ſhould be taken for grant-
ed they have ſome reaſonable grounds which
incline them to maintain the contrary to
what others think is certain and plain. Why
then ſhould they avoid hearing them, ſince
as men they may be deceiv'd, as actually
they were? And if the fathers Longobardo,
Sabatinus, Ruiz, and others, would not
lay aſide their ſcruple on account of what
the fathers Riccius, Pantoj, and others
taught; What reaſon is there that I and
others who are not of the ſociety, ſhould
reſt ſatisfy'd and give over, becauſe thoſe
fathers practis'd it?

The words of S. Auguſtin quoted by A
Lapide, Can. 2. in Penth. answer to the
advice of the Chineſe Chriſtians, that we
ſhould follow the texts, &c. *Philopby and
phyſicks are to be adapted to holy writ, and to
the word of God, from whom all method,
order, and meaſure of nature has its being.*

*Holy writ is not therefore to be wrested on the
contrary to the ſenſe of the philoſophers, or to
the light or diſtincts of nature.* This laſt part
is what the learned Chriſtian Chineſes aim at.
S. Thomas ſpeaks to the ſame effect in 1, 2
Pet. ad illud, *non fit propria*, &c.

4. Some, and thoſe not a few, would
perſuade us, that nothing has been alter'd
of what the firſt miſſioners decreed; the
contrary appears by what has been already
written, and ſhall be made out more plain
in the ſecond tome.

5. They divid'd themſelves into two
opinions; the ſame has been done in other
points, which I do not admire at, but I
am ſurpriz'd that the contrary ſhould be
ſpread abroad in the world. There were
two opinions oppoſite to one another; it is
impoſſible for us to cloſe with and follow
both, we follow the beſt and ſaſeſt, or ra-
ther that which is certain, which no man
can complain of.

6. I wiſh ſome men had taken half the
pains to prove their opinion that F. Lon-
gobardo did for his; but I am more than
ſufficiently ſatisfy'd it is not ſo. It is to be
obſerv'd too, that tho' thoſe of the contrary
opinion follow'd the advice of the Chineſe
Chriſtians, and of doctor Michael, that they
might curry favour with the learned men,
and gain them to their ſide, yet it avail'd
them nothing to prevent their being ſent
banish'd to Macao, and put up into cages.
F. Longobardo abſconded and ſtaid behind;
the LORD preſerv'd him to write this
treatiſe.

PRELUDE I.

*Of the claſſick and authentick Books of China, by which theſe Controverſies muſt be
decided.*

THO' in China there be variety of
books of ſeveral ſubjects and pro-
poſitions, in which many points of theſe con-
troverſies are touch'd upon: nevertheleſs
in regard they are not all of ſuch reputation
as is requiſite to decide matters of ſuch
weight, we have reſolv'd upon mature ad-
vice to make uſe only of the claſſick au-
thors, whom the learned ſeet follows;
which as it is the ancienteſt in this country,
having been profeſs'd four thouſand years
by all the Chineſe kings and mandarines, ſo
it is the moſt renown'd of all that have been
to this day.

Books.

2. The authentick books of this ſeet are
reduced to four ranks. The firſt of the
ancient doctrines, *Je King, Xi King*, &c. they
were left in writing by the firſt kings and
wiſe men of China, and therefore the learn-
ed are examin'd by them. The ſecond is,
the comment upon thoſe doctrines; which

is of two forts, one a ſhort comment made
by one author only, which always goes
along with the text of each doctrine, and
the ordinary gloſs which ſcholars ſtudy,
and maſters teach. The other is the great
comment call'd *Ta Zien*, which was or-
der'd to be made above two thouſand five
hundred years ago by the emperor *Jung Lo*,
he chuſing out to this purpoſe forty two
mandarines of great note among the learned
ſeet, of whom a conſiderable part of the
council of the court call'd *ban lin* was compos'd.
Theſe mandarines in the firſt place
examin'd and approv'd of the *Zu Xu*'s ſhort
comment, and the aforeſaid doctrines. Af-
terwards they compos'd the great comment,
bringing together the interpretations of the
principal expoſitors, who had writ upon
theſe doctrines for one thouſand fix hundred
years, that is, ſince the general burning of
Chineſe books in the reign of the family
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PRELUDE 2. Chinese learned Sect.

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Zin, by order of the emperor *Chi Hoang*. These ancient expositors are very numerous, for in *Zu Xu* alone are contain'd about 107, in the comment of *Ye King* 136, in that of *Xu King* 166; and so upon the other doctrines, as appears by the catalogues of them printed at the beginning of the works: and it is wonderful to see how they all agree in the understanding of the fundamentals and most essential parts of the doctrines, so that they seem not unlike our holy doctors in the exposition of scripture. Wherefore, not without reason, the comments are held in such esteem in *China*, that the compositions the scholars make upon the text are not allow'd of, if they answer not the sense of the comment. The third rank of books is, of those that contain the body of their philosophy, moral and natural, which they call *Sing Li*. The same forty two mandarines collected this body of philosophy, gathering together in it the several matters that lay dispers'd among the ancient doctrines, and those which were afterwards handled by several authors, a hundred and eighteen of whom are mention'd in this work. The fourth rank are, the original books of those authors who flourish'd after the general burning, that employ'd themselves partly in expounding the doctrines of the first philosophers, and partly in composing several things of their own. These are the classic books of the learned sect, from which we may gather whether the *Chinese* had any knowledge of the true God, Angels, or rational soul.

3. Here by the antiquity of the *Chinese* doctrines is to be observ'd, which took their origin from the first king of this empire, call'd *Fo Hi*, who according to the *Chinese* chronicles falls many years before the flood. But because this cannot be allow'd of, as being contrary to holy writ, it is certain at least that he was soon after the division of tongues. Therefore *F. John Ruiz*, in the treatise he compos'd concerning these controversies, very probably makes out that *Fo Hi* was the great *Zoroaster* King of *Bactria*, and prince of the

Chaldean Magi, who gave a beginning to all the sects of the *West*, and afterwards came into the *East*, and found the kingdom of *China*, and the sect they call of the learned.

4. Whence it is, that the sect of *Chiao*, and those of the other traditions of *China*, proceed from the same source, and by the contrivance of the deity, they have a great resemblance with one another, and lead men away to hell by the same art and contrivance. I do not enlarge upon this point, because the *afore said* father has done it amply, and learnedly in his treatise. I earnestly desire, and advise all to read it with attention, because it will give them much light and assistance for deciding these controversies.

NOTES.

1. I and the rest of us agree with much satisfaction to all that is written in *Num. ii*. In the third I must observe, that as to the chronology, there has been some disagreement among the fathers of the society. Some follow the computation of the *Septuagint*; others that of the *Roman martyrology*. It is a matter of moment, and must be reconcil'd, to oblige us to follow it.

2. What is said *Num. iv*. agrees with what I quote in another place out of *F. Arias*, and *F. Kircher* writes the same. And tho' the learned sect be so ancient, yet I like what *Tertullian* says in his apology; *But the doctrine of the prophets being much anterior than any of the philosophers*, it is therefore easy to believe that was the treasure whence all later wisdom flow'd. This is the opinion of *S. Augustin*, and others, whom *S. Antoninus* follows, 4. p. tit. xi. c. 4. *Sect. 5*. whom I quoted in the third book.

What has been said, disproves what *Morales* and others write, that the *Jews* of the ten tribes peopled *China*, and that the *Chinese* took their doctrine from the *Israelites*. If they agree not in this point, the discord will be among their own family, but not with us.

PRELUDE II.

Of the Disagreement sometimes found among the authentick Books; and that in such cases we must rather be govern'd by the Comments than by the Texts.

1. THO' in reality there be no disagreement between the authentick books of the learned, if their principles are rightly understood and conceiv'd; nevertheless, in regard sometimes there seems to be some between the several texts of the doctrines, and interpretations of the expositors, therefore this prelude is inserted, to

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show how we are to govern our selves in such cases; and in the first place I will give some instances of this disagreement. *V. g.* The doctrines tell us, or at least seem so to do, that there is a supreme king whom they call *Xang Ti*, who is in the palace of heaven, from whence he governs heaven, rewards the good, and punishes the wicked. X x But

COP.

Xang Ti.

NAVARETTE. But the expositors attribute all this to heaven itself, or the universal substance or nature, which they call *Li*, as shall be said in its place.

Spirits. 2. The doctrines further say, that there are several spirits which they call *Xin* or *Kuei*, or *Kuei Lin*, which preside over mountains, rivers, and other things in the world. But the expositors explicate this of the natural causes, or of the operative virtues which work in those causes.

Souls. 3. Lastly the same doctrines, speaking of our soul by the name of *Ling Hoen*, give us to understand, that it remains alive after man is dead. And they tell us of an ancient king whose name was *Yuen Yuang*, that he is in the upper part of heaven, and sits by *Xang Ti*'s side. But the expositors unanimously maintain, that *Ling Hoen* is nothing but an airy or fiery entity or being, which when separated from the body, ascends and reunites it self to the substance of heaven, with which it is one and the same thing. And this is the genuine exposition of those texts which affirm, that king *Yuen Yuang* is by the side of *Xang Ti*; for *Xang Ti* according to them being the same thing as heaven it self, when the soul returns to heaven, it is said of course, goes to unite it self to *Xang Ti*.

4. Much of this seeming disagreement is found in their texts and comments; and the texts seeming more suitable and agreeable to our doctrine, therefore some fathers are of opinion we should follow the texts, without taking notice of the comments. But the other fathers think it not enough to follow the texts only, but that the explications of the commentators must be taken with it; and when any doubt arises, we must govern our selves rather by the comment than by the text. Now this variety of opinions being known, it being of so great consequence for the clearing of what we are about, there is a necessity of explicating it here in the first place; and therefore I will assign the reasons of both opinions.

5. These that follow may be urg'd in behalf of that of the fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnohi*. 1. In the text of the doctrines is the truth of all the philosophy and knowledge of the learned sect; for which reason there is no doubt but their force and authority is greater than that of the comments. 2. The commentators for the most part liv'd in the time the family *Sung* sway'd the scepter, when the sect of the idols were already come out of *India*, and so they had imbib'd many new and erroneous opinions from that sect, which occasion'd them sometimes to swerve from the true sense of the ancient doctrines. 3. The principal Christians we have in *China*, who are great scholars and

mandarines, advise and persuade us to follow the doctrine of the text (if, as they are grave and great, they were virtuous and fear'd God, they would give no such advice) giving them such explications as suit nearest with our holy faith, as has been done ever since the society came into this kingdom. Therefore it is likely we ought to follow their sentiments, both because they are so well vers'd in the affairs of *China*, and that they know what agrees, and what disagrees with our holy faith. 4. We following the text, where it is favourable to us, as it is in many considerable points, we shall unite our selves with the learned sect, which will gain us the affections of the *Chinese*, and facilitate the propagation of our holy faith throughout this kingdom; especially knowing the saints have given us an example so to do, making their advantage of an small matter they found that was good among the heathens with whom they convers'd, as *S. Paul*, when being in the *Aceopagus*, he made use of the words of the poet, *ipsum enim & genus sumus*.

6. The contrary opinion is grounded on reasons much more strong. The ancient doctrines are generally obscure, and in many places the texts are faulty, either wanting or having too many words, as the learned themselves affirm. Besides, they frequently use enigma's, or parables, to conceal the mysteries of their philosophy, as shall appear hereafter. Therefore without the assistance and direction of expositors, they cannot be understood, or at least not without great mistakes; and this was the reason they made those comments with so much care, and such extraordinary choice of expositors; and besides, all the learned in their compositions are oblig'd to follow them, as we said before *Prelude* 1. n. 3. If the *Chinese* are govern'd by their comments in the difficulties of their obscure and doubtful texts, it seems a clear case that strangers ought much more so to do.

7. If we take the texts in another sense than the comment gives them, the *Chinese* will imagine we do so, because we have not read all their books, or do not understand them as they ought to be understood; and accordingly some learned men actually censur'd several places in *Xe'Je* (the name of a book) compos'd by *F. Matthæus Riccius*, among whom was that famous *Bonzo* of *Che Kiang*, who writ four articles against the said book, and at the beginning of them says, The stranger father might be excused for having misinterpreted the *Chinese* books, as understanding no better. *Kim Tai So*, a friar: to the society, and particular devotee of the aforesaid *F. Riccius*, with his own hand writ a pamphlet, in which he collected those things that ought

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to be said of the three sects, because the father was out as to them in his book. I forbear bringing any more instances, as being satisfy'd this I have brought is well known to almost all ours that belong to this mission.

As for the articles of the *Bonzo*, and the pamphlet of *Kin Tai So*, they are kept in the archive of *Kang Cheu*, he that pleases may see them.

8. It is certain, as I said at the beginning of this *prelude*, that the comments are not opposite to the texts; to say such a thing would be a mere heresy in *China*, forasmuch as these comments are receiv'd and valued in all their classes almost in an equal degree to the texts. But let us allow some contradiction between them, and that the texts were more consonant to reason than the comments: Yet the *Chinese* will never submit to us in that point, when we explicate the text contrary to the comments; for they take it for granted that the comments do not err, nor contain any thing contradictory to the texts. This therefore will be undertaking an endless quarrel with the *Chinese*, and at last we shall come by the worst of it, of which I am a sufficient witness, because of the great experience I have of my self and others entering upon these disputes with the *Chinese*. For at first when they hear us say, for instance, that *Xan Ti*, explicated as usually we do, is the Creator of the universe, &c. they laugh at us, as knowing that according to the doctrine of their sect, *Xang Ti* is heaven, it self, or its virtue and power; and therefore it could not be before heaven, but must have an equal beginning with heaven, or be posterior to it. And when we offer to carry on the argument, proving after our manner that the workman is before the house, &c. they will not suffer us to proceed, but presently put an end to the discourse, saying, that since our God is their *Xang Ti*, there is no need of explaining it any more to them, for they understand it better than we do. In short, tho' we contend never so much that the expositors ought not to define *Xang Ti* after that manner, they always stop our mouths with the same thing, which is, that we do not understand their books. And many of them take pet, and look upon us as foolish and troublesome, for attempting to teach *Chinese* how their authors are to be understood and explicated.

9. When the father visitor *Vieira* order'd the fathers of *China* to argue the three questions above-mention'd, father *Sabatinus* asking him, whether he would have them go upon the seeming sense of the texts, as the fathers *Pantoja* and *Baguoni* had done, or upon the explication of the expositors? He answer'd positively, he would know

the sense of the expositors, for that was the practice of all classes and professions whatsoever; for there is no concluding any thing, for instance of the Platonick, or the Peripatetick doctrine, but according to what their classick and approv'd commentators maintain. This method being assign'd, F. *Sabatinus* compos'd his treatise, and prov'd, that according to the authentick texts, *Xang Ti* could not be our true God, nor *Tien Xin* our angels, nor *Ling Hoen* our soul. These reasons seem sufficient to make us approve and follow the second opinion, which is, to be guided rather by the comments than by the texts. It only remains to answer the arguments brought for the first opinion.

10. As to the first; I grant all that is urg'd concerning the force and authority of the doctrine it self, beyond that of the comment; but I also affirm, that the sight and assistance of comments is necessary for the understanding of obscure texts. Nor can I forbear taking notice in this place, that I am much surpriz'd to see how much stress those fathers lay on the text of the *Chinese* doctrine, so that they seem to look upon it almost as reveal'd doctrine, which cannot err. And yet we know *Confucius* corrected several errors in the ancient doctrine, as our *Aristotle* did in the books of the philosophers before him. Therefore as in *Aristotle*, in process of time, there appear'd many things that wanted to be corrected, so they may be found in *Confucius*.

11. To the second answer, first, That the classick comments we now speak of, are not made only by the authors who writ after the sect of the idol was introduced, which was in the year of our Lord 65, but by many others who flourish'd before the coming in of the said sect, for two thousand years before the incarnation. All these profess'd they follow'd the pure and peculiar doctrine of the learned sect, without mixing any opinions of other sects, as appears by the comments themselves. I do not deny but there were many, and those very famous writers, who writ after the coming in of this sect of the idols, and seeing their errors; but these do not belong to the sect of the *Literati*, or the learned, which we now make use, but to the sect of the idols, owning themselves to profess it. In the second place I answer, that there is never a learned man in *China*, who will indure to hear it said, that their authentick comments deviate the least from the true sense of their doctrines. They are rather of opinion that the doctrines themselves will not bear any other exposition than that of the comments, if they be compar'd together, and the whole try'd by the principles of their philosophy.

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NAVARETTE. 12. To the third I answer. 1. That our Christian *Chinese* learned men give us that advice, partly, because they are not sensible how prejudicial it is that any small error should be found in the matters we treat of; and partly, because they are willing to shroud themselves under the cloak, that our religion borders upon their sect, so to avoid being reflected on for following a strange doctrine: but our fathers must have higher notions, not suffering themselves to be rul'd by, but ruling them, as they find most convenient for both parties. 2. These same learned men, when they make compositions on the texts of their doctrines, give them no other meaning but what agrees with the comments, for otherwise their compositions would be rejected as erroneous and faulty in the schools of *Confucius*. Therefore I see not why they should persuade us to follow the very contrary to what they practise.

13. To the fourth I answer, That the supposition is false, which is, that the texts make for us; for in truth they do not, when understood as they ought to be by the sect of the learned. Therefore to attempt by force to lay any stress upon it, that is, to oppose the comments, will be like building upon sand, and flying with *Icarus* his wings. As for the example left us by saints, it ought to be imitated, where it can be done upon good grounds.

NOTES.

1. It is not at all strange to find some things in books which seem contradictory, though in truth they are not so. This may be seen even in the holy scripture; and the holy doctors, and other ecclesiastical authors, have taken much pains to reconcile this seeming disagreement. *S. Augustin* writ *de concordia quatuor evangelistarum*. Others have reconciled many places of the old testament. *Peter Burgomensis* reconcil'd many of *S. Thomas*, and therefore it is no wonder the same should be found in the *Chinese* doctrines.

Souls.

2. The learned *Chinese*s speak and conceive concerning our soul, as is said in *Wisd.* ii. that it is a little air; And the word of a spark of fire. This according to *Alb. Mag.* *de bon. tract.* 1. q. 1. art. 2. is, *A natural heat, which when quenched, the body withers and falls away into ashes, and breathes out the corporeal spirit, which is dispersed into the air.* *Diogenes* said, the soul was a thin air, which seems to expire in death. The *Chinese* says the same. *Heraclius* said it was a vapour. *Tales* held the same, and so does the learned sect of *Cbina*, as shall be shewn hereafter.

3. The grounds mention'd in this same

number, are the only reasons the modern missionaries, who at this time follow the ancients, go upon, without adding any thing new, or answering to those the other side brings, tho' they are so weighty and strong, that in my opinion they will convince all that shall read them without prejudice.

4. I read the *bonzo's* book, but neither that, nor what our author mentions of the other learned *Chinese*, will convince some men; a strange undertaking! *F. Balas* often said, if a *Chinese* should go into *Europe*, and after having studied our sciences five or six years, should expound scripture, canons, and fathers, in a contrary sense to that of the saints, doctors, divines, and canonists, and should endeavour to persuade us that his exposition was the truest, should we not think him a mad man or fool? Who doubts of it? Then must not the *Chinese*s of necessity say the same of us, when they perceive we expound their texts contrary to the meaning generally receiv'd by all men, for three or four thousand years?

5. I shall say more to this point in another place, tho' I think what the author writes may suffice.

6. Our author with good reason admires to see his brethren lay such stress upon the *Chinese* texts. There are other persons who make no account of what the holy doctors of the church say and teach. Some fancies run after novelties, others cling to all that is ancient. The *Chinese* doctrines were erroneous, says he; nor can it be otherwise, being the works of heathens, as I have prov'd out of *Lactantius* in the second book. *Confucius* has innumerable errors, as the author of another treatise, which I shall insert in the second tome, affirms. Some late authors have taken upon them to cry up *Confucius* his doctrine at such a rate, that they justify it free from any slip or mistake whatsoever, without considering they oppose the opinion of their elder brethren. But such men, by express command from their superiors, ought either not to persuade strangers to follow their ancients, or reflect on the division they breed in their own family, to the great prejudice of those infidels, who say, that according to the exposition they who hold this opinion give their texts, they have had the faith we preach to them some thousands of years in *Cbina*, and therefore there is no need we should trouble ourselves, fail five thousand leagues, &c. for this purpose.

Besides, to be free from all error, is the peculiar privilege of the law of God. The bishop of *Nan King* expresses it very well, *de verit. relig. Christi.* c. 4. *sect.* 2. The same does *Proffer.* *Aquit. lib. cont. Colat.* cap. 26. Nor is it unknown, says he, how much the schools of Greece, how much the Roman elo-

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quence, and have labour'd the supreme and excellent themselves, darkening of none but *Antoninus* cap. 4. who rors of the ply the w those father of *Confucius* Gentiles wa ving the und ed from the that is in their heart themselves o uncleanness, malice bath mysteries of

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quence, and the curiosity of the whole world have labour'd in vain about the finding out of the supreme good, employing much hard study and excellent wit, and at last have only lost themselves in their own imaginations, 'o the darkning of their foolish heart, who make use of none but themselves to discover truth. S. Antoninus handles this point, 4 part. tit. 11. cap. 4. where he writes at large of the errors of the Gentiles. Why may not we apply the words of St. Paul, *Ephes. iv.* to those fathers who find our faith in the works of Confucius and his disciples? Even as the Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart; who being past feeling have given themselves over to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness, &c. And that of *Prov. ii.* Their malice hath blinded them, they knew not the mysteries of God.

7. It behoves us to follow the doctor of the Gentiles, *Tit. c. 1.* Not giving heed to fables. And that of *Heb. xiii.* Be not led away by various and strange doctrines. S. Thomas, *lett. 2.* expounds it thus, *That is divided. For truth consists in a mean, to which unity belongs, &c.* The doctrine therefore of faith is one, because from a point to a point but one right line can be drawn; all other doctrines are various, because it is usual to stray many ways from the right. To this purpose read S. Antoninus quoted above.

8. Some will say that the Chinese books are very agreeable to the law of nature, and that the Chinese wonderfully follow the track of nature and reason, and are courteous and apt to learn, as well as ingenious, great politicians, and therefore very capable of Christian wisdom, &c. So says Corn. à Lap. from F. Trigautius; wherefore it will be convenient to follow their books and doctrine. I answer, That I do not wonder this should be written, but I would have it compared with what I quoted above out of F. Arias, and what shall be said in other places. If their being so addicted to superstitions, sodomy, frauds, lying, pride, covetousness, sensuality, and many other vices, is following the course of nature and reason, then that father was in the right. Let the mighty advance in conversions; the constancy in the faith they have shewn, and the fervor of the learned in the service of God speak for them.

9. I cannot but admire the diversity of men's wits. Some will be grabbing in the doctrine of saints, assigning errors to them, on account of some little words that may be explicated in a good sense. Others approve the doctrine of heathens in the bulk, tho' they have not read it. St. Paul made use of the philosophers, *1 Cor. ix.* I am

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become to the Jews as a Jew, to those who were without a law, &c. But S. Thomas, *lett. 4.* says, *That he suited himself to the Gentiles, that is, by consenting to their reasons, and the sound propositions of philosophers.* It had been a fine contrivance indeed to follow them in all things, when they were so much out of the way. The saint in *1 Tim. iii. lett. 3.* speaks thus: *But in this they waver'd, because they had not the righteousness of truth, by reason their manners were deprav'd; also for that it can hardly be found among them, that they agreed in truth.* Let any man look into the manners of the Chinese, and from them as from an antecedent, let him deduce the truth is to be found in their learning; and if even in this the text and comments contradict one another, it manifestly proves they contain no truth at all. Nor is it reasonable that the preachers of the gospel should submit to be disciples of heathens (it speaks as to matters that concern our religion) we are to be their masters, their light, and their guides, and not to suffer ourselves to be guided by them. As our author says, Our notions must be of a more lofty nature. When they find ever a word in the texts, which in the gross sound, and superficial sense seems to be somewhat for us, they presently think our holy faith is signified by it, and imagin they have a strong weapon to convince the infidels; and they understanding those things better than we do, the consequence is, that they are farther than ever from compassing what they aim'd at. Our Albertus Magnus 2. *sent. dif. 1. art. 5.* instances in David de Dinanto, who said the *Materia Prima* was God. This was signified in the temple of Pallas, where it was written: *Pallas is whatsoever was, whatsoever is, and whatsoever will be, whose veil no man could ever lay open to another.* It were pleasant that we reading these words, should presently engage to maintain and defend that it is our God who is meant by them. It were absolutely necessary first to examine thoroughly whom they meant, and to whom they assign'd those attributes; it were not proper to be rul'd by the literal sound of those words, for they made the *materia prima* eternal, *a parte ante*, and *a parte post*, and gave it a divine being. This same the Chinese do with their *Li*, or *Tai Kie*. They also give the supreme attributes to their *Xang Ti*; must we therefore rely upon their books, and preach that to them for our God, which in reality is their creature? Ought not we to examine the point, inquire what it is they mean by these things, undeceive, and make them sensible that they take from God the glory due to him, and give it to creatures, as *Wisd. xiii.* says of others?

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NAVARETTE. Nor is what *Morales* urges of *S. Paul's* unknown GOD to the purpose, because it makes not for the case of *China*. In this particular I would have them read and follow *Corn. à Lapide*. To that of *Dinantus* may be added that of *Vergil* and *Trismegistus*, instance'd by *S. Antoninus*, cap. 4. §. 5. *ut sup.*

10. It is certain the learned Christian *Chineſes* propose to themselves the end the author mentions, in giving the advice they do, and no man can find any ground to maintain the contrary. These points are to

be consult'd about with good Christians, well instructed in our faith, and sincere. I one day discours'd with *Linus*, who doubtless is qualify'd as above, and he said: farther, there is no looking into or reading our books, in order to write or dispute concerning the law of God, for in our books there is nothing to be found but ravings, and nothing that relates to the law of God; do not you be govern'd by us, nor ask us any questions concerning this affair. This advice I took, and will always follow it.

PRELUDE III.

Of the Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks us'd among the Sect of the learned; whence it proceeds that they have two several sorts of Doctrine, the one superficial according to Appearance, and the other the true.

1. **A**S to the first part of this prelude, it is to be observ'd that almost all the ancient heathen philosophers invented several symbols, hieroglyphicks, or figures, to the end to conceal the mysteries of their philosophy, whereof the courier of *Coimbra* speaking tom. I. *Physic.* has these words: *The ancient custom of philosophers taken by Pherecydes, Pythagoras his master, from the Egyptians and Chaldeans, was, either not to write down the precepts of philosophy at all, or to write them obscurely, that is, under the obscurity of a deep bidden sense, and shrouded under mathematical figures, and enigmatical expressions. For the poets darkned and conceal'd the secrets of philosophy under fables, the Pythagoreans under symbols, the Platonists under mathematics, and Aristotle under the conciseness of his stile. For they thought it a crime to admit the base multitude into the secrets of learning, and to make known to the large and idle multitude those things which nature had hid from us. However Aristotle, though he thought not that philosophy was to be made common, yet he did not approve of that method, which left all things dubious, and sometimes conceal'd truth under a vain shew of falsehood.*

Even so the *Chinese* philosophers, who were the founders of the sect of the learned, have their symbols, consisting as well of several figures and numbers, as of metaphorical expressions, all of them tending to express the being of universal things, and their efficient causes. The principal symbols are even and odd strokes cross'd in the middle, black and white points, figures round and square, the six positions of places in their way of writing, and other metaphorical terms and expressions. The books of *Ye King*, which contain the speculative part of the *Chinese* doctrine, are full of these symbols. As to the mysteries and efficient causes of numbers, there are two whole

books, which are the eleventh and twelfth of *Sing Li*, by which it were easy to restore the science of *Pythagorical* numbers, which were lost in the *Great West*.

2. This use of symbols is also to be found in the sects of the *bonzes*, and *tao zu*. The *bonzes* began to use them ever since the sect of the idols was brought into this country, and brought at the same time the hieroglyphicks of the *Gymnosophists*, which consist of figures of men, beasts, clouds, serpents, devils, swords, bows, spears, arrows and other implements adapted to their designs. Those of the sect of *tao zu*, in imitation of the *bonzes*, make use of almost the same symbols of human figures, to express the first principle, the faculties of the soul, the elements man is compos'd of, &c. So that it is plain and visible, symbols are us'd in the three sects, tho' all men do not know them to be such, but only those that were better vers'd in the mysteries and principles of those sects.

3. As to the second part, it must be also observ'd, that by reason of these symbols there have been in all nations two several sorts of doctrine, the one true and abstruse, the other false and visible. The first was philosophy, and the knowledge of natural causes, known only to wise men, and privately handled by them in their schools. The other a false appearance of popular doctrine, which was the enigma of the first, and the multitude thought to be true, as the words themselves founded, tho' in reality it was absolutely false; and this they apply'd to their morals, the government of the commonwealth, and divine worship, as *Plutarch de placit. philos.* affirms, and so does *Pierius* in his hieroglyphicks, and others. Thus they made many gods, some good, some bad. The good were those they made to signify the *materia prima*, and the chaos, the four elements, as *Empe-*

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doctes writes, and is quoted by *Plutarch. de placit. philos. lib. I. cap. 3.* where he says, *In the first place I will shew you four roots of things, heavenly Jove, Juno that gives life; besides these Pluto and Nectis, who waters human channels with tears. Jove, that is fire and the sky; Juno that gives life, is the air; Pluto is the earth; Nectis under the name of human channels, is water and seed.* The bad and hurtful gods were those they feign'd under the names of furies, fates, &c. signifying the principal passions of the soul, which inwardly torment and disturb man. This holds in terminis, as the course of *Coimbra* observes, quoting *St. Augustin* in the subject *de anima*. The sect of the *Gymnosophists*, to denote that those men who suffer themselves to be led away by their passions, are like brute beasts, feign'd that the souls after death went into the bodies of several beasts, whence the ignorant vulgar suppos'd there were good and bad deities, angels and devils, and that our souls transmigrated through several bodies. *Plutarch* in the same book adds, that those who denied the Divine Providence over the world, and the immortality of the soul, because they could not by the fear of laws alone curb the private evil inclinations of the people, did therefore invent a deity and religion under symbols and hieroglyphicks, to check the people, and govern the commonwealth, thinking they could not live peaceably and quietly without some sort of worship and religion, though it were false.

4. *S. Augustin* plainly shews this in several places of his books of the *city of God*, where he sets down the three sorts of philosophy among the ancients; one fabulous, us'd by the poets; the second natural, peculiar to the philosophers; and the third political, which was common among the people.

5. The three sects of *China* absolutely follow this method of philosophizing, having two several doctrines; one private, which they look upon as true, and is only understood by the learned, and profess'd by them under the veil of symbols and hieroglyphicks. The other vulgar, which is the metaphorical part of the first, and is by their learned men look'd upon as false, in the superficial sound of the words; this they make use of for government, for their divine, civil, and fabulous worship, thereby inclining the people to good, and deterring them from evil. Now leaving those two sects, which at present we do not treat about; it is most certain that those of the learned sect, as has been hinted before, represent the general causes with their effects and influences, under numbers and symbols; and under the name of good and bad spirits, one of heaven, another of the earth, of stars, mountains, &c. they signify the universal

things of the world, as the faculties and passions of the soul, the habits of virtues and vices, as they imagine them to be.

6. That the sect of the learned has these two different doctrines, is prov'd as follows: 1. In the book call'd *Lun Yu*, lib. III. p. 5. *Zu Ku* a disciple to *Confucius* says, as it were complaining of his master, That he never understood by him, that he spoke to him of the nature of man, and the natural disposition of heaven, till last of all. 2. In the same book, p. 17. *Confucius* says, that the way to govern the people well, is to make them honour the spirits, and to keep far from them; that is, that they do not go about to search into what they are, or what they do, &c. 3. In the sixth book of the said *Lun Yu*, *Confucius* being ask'd by his disciple *Ki Lu*, What death was? He answers very drily, How shall he who does not know what life is, know what death is? *Lib. IV. p. 6.* four things are set down, which *Confucius* did not use to treat of. Of these, one was the spirits. The comment gives the reason, that he did not discourse of spirits, because there are several things hard to be understood concerning them, and therefore it is not fit to talk of them lightly with all persons. 5. In the book call'd *Kia Yu*, *Confucius* designs at once to rid himself of answering the questions many ask'd him concerning spirits, the rational soul, and things after death; he resolv'd to assign one general rule, saying That things that are within the six positions (that is, within this visible world, and are visible) may be argu'd and not doubted of; but those things that are without the six positions (that is, which are out of this visible world, and are invisible) must be let alone as they are, and not disputed about.

7. From these and such-like places of *Confucius* his doctrine, three or four other deductions or inferences over and above may be made. 1. That in the learned sect, besides the vulgar and visible doctrine known to all of them, there is another hid and philosophical, known only to the masters of the sect. 2. That *Confucius* shun'd talking distinctly and plainly of the spirits, rational soul, and things of the other life, for fear lest the multitude knowing the truth of their philosophy in relation to those things, would be quite deprav'd, and by that means the publick peace would be subverted. 3. That by the words of *Confucius* mention'd in the last quotation, the learned of *China* have their hearts darkned, and their eyes closed, that they may not see nor think any further than the visible things of the world. 4. That by this means the wisest men of *China* are miserably led away into the world of evils, which

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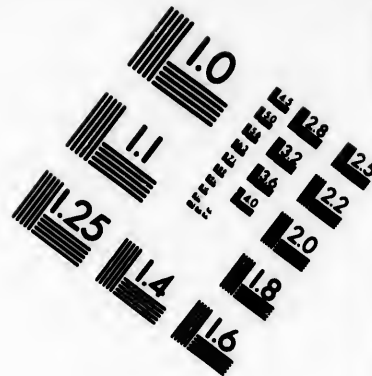
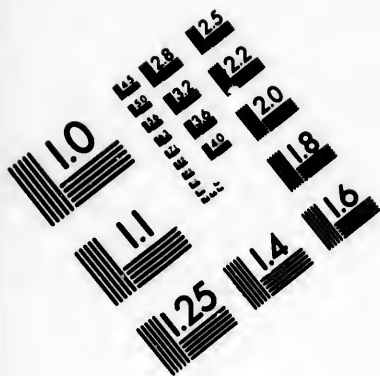
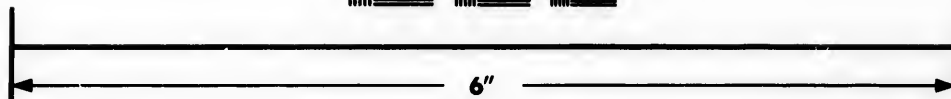
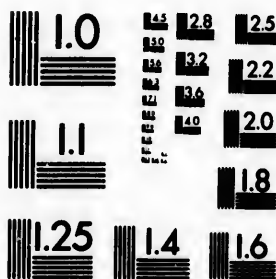


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NAVARRA. is atheism, as will more plainly appear in RETTE. the following *preludes*, where we will pry into and examine the principles and grounds of the doctrine, as well in physics, as morals.

NOTES.

2. Some allow of this doctrine in the learned sect (there is no dispute as to the others; as far as it concerns that of the *bonzes*, I writ enough of it in my relations to confirm what the author says) others will not allow of it, they think it does not answer their ends; and were it not so, there would not be the least appearance of disagreement between the texts and comments. There are some too who think, it lessens the value of *Confucius* his doctrine; yet allow he makes use of parables, wherein they are much deceiv'd, for we see that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who far exceeded the wisdom of the *Chinese*, observ'd that method, and the holy prophets did the same for other ends; and it is said even of the

author of life, that he spoke in parables, according to the custom of *Palestine*; to which you may see *Corn. à Lapide* in the canons upon the prophets, *can. 56. in Exod. ii. 7. 6.* S. Thomas says the same of the old law, in *Heb. xi. lett. 2.* Oleaster gives the reason, in *Exod. xxiii. ad mores.* Read S. Thomas in *2 Pet. iii. ad finem.* To deny this in *China*, is nothing but foreclosing the argument, to contend that the literal sound makes for our holy faith. Read the seventh chapter of F. Semedo's *Chinese* empire, and see Oleaster in *Num. xi.*

4. In this paragraph the author quotes S. Augustin at length; I think it not necessary to write his words. See the saint *lib. I. lib. II. c. 32. lib. IV. c. 27. lib. VI. c. 10. de civit. Dei.* He takes those three sorts of philosophy from S. Paul, *Rom. i.* S. Thomas expounds them, *lett. 7. 2. 2. q. 94. art. 1. Raphael de la Torre* on this place, *disp. 2.* And Suarez, *l. 2. de superfc. c. 4. n. 8.* Some of these points shall be hinted at again in another place.

PRELUDE IV.

Of the Learned Sect's Method of Philosophizing in general.

1. IT consists in seeking after the first principle of this our universe, and how general and particular things proceeded from it, with their efficient causes and effects; and particularly in enquiring concerning man, what he is as to the body, and as to the soul, of his way of understanding and acting, of the habits of virtue and vice, of every man's fate, influx and destiny, by the horoscope of his nativity, that he may order his actions according to his lot. These are the things they treat of in a great measure, as was observ'd above, under several figures, symbols, numbers, and enigmatical terms.

Philosophy 2. This their method of philosophizing is compos'd of two parts. The first is to reason concerning the first principle, and the universal causes proceeding from it, as to their own proper being and substance, with their places, qualities, and efficient virtues; not as they actually work, but in as much as they have the power of working. This science they properly call *sen tien bio*, that is, *a priori*. This *Fo Hi* treated of when he form'd the *kuas*, and the figures of their *je king*.

3. The second is, that supposing this first production, order, and constitution of the universe, and its general causes, they enquired in what part of the zodiack, according to their hemisphere and climate, the general efficient causes begin to exercise a predominant virtue, and to produce

things; and how far that predominancy reaches to the generation of things, and that they may return and corrupt, as appears in the course of the four seasons of the year, with the access and recess of the sun, the heat prevailing six months in summer and spring, and the cold six more in winter and autumn. This science they call *bien tien bo*, that is, *a posteriori*. *Vuen Vuang, Cbeu Kung, Confucius*, and other learned authors of note treat of this subject *ex professo*, because in it consists all their end, which is to imitate heaven and earth in their operations and government of the world, during the four seasons of the year.

4. Hence it is, that whilst the heat which nourishes and produces is predominant, they follow their business, sport, &c. and when the cold prevails, which corrupts and destroys, they execute such as are sentenced to death. According to these changes of the four seasons, they enquire into every man's horoscope, to the minute in which he was born. In this their science *a posteriori*, there are among them several opinions and ways of explicating. For some say the universal causes begin to have force in such a point of the zodiack, and according to it from thence forwards such qualities are receiv'd in the production of the thing, and such a fate is assign'd. Others say in such another point, &c. and therefore there are several sects, some following

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Vol. I.

Yuen Vuang's k'ua, others those of *Yang Xi*, others those of *Chu Zu*, &c.

5. This virtue or predominance of the general causes, they call *ti chu*, *chu zai*, *kiun*, *wang boang*; all which signifies to predominate, and they are the same letters us'd for king. The difference betwixt these two sciences is to be particularly observ'd as a matter of much moment to what we have in hand. Therefore I will explicate them more largely in two special preludes.

NOTE.

All that has been said in this prelude, is so far from deviating a jot from what the learned sect professes, that it is certain no man who has read but a little in their books can contradict it. What is mention'd in the first paragraph was one of the errors

of the Manichees. S. Thomas, Heb. xii. says, *NAVAThey ascribe the variety of accidents that befall man to his birth; so that every man's life and manners are order'd according to the constellation under which he is born.* This it is the Chinese affirm, and other antients believ'd. S. Isidorus, lib. IX. Orig. cap. 2. says, *The Aruspices, or soothsayers, were so call'd, as it were, for being horarum inspectores, or lookers into hours; for they observe days and hours in doing of business, and they mind how man is to govern himself at all times. The horoscopes took their name from the prying into the hours of men's birth, with various and different destiny.* We see all this is observ'd to a tittle in China, and almost all of it is publish'd in the kalender of the mathematicians of the court-print.

PRELUDE V.

Of the Science a Priori, that is, how the Universe was produced, according to the Chinese.

1. IN the first place, they not being able to imagine that any thing could be produced out of mere nothing; and knowing no infinite power, that could create it out of nothing; and on the other hand, seeing there are things in the world which now have a being, and anon have none, and that they were not eternal, they concluded there must of necessity be a cause eternally antecedent to all things, and which was the cause and origin of them all, which they call *li*, that is, the reason or ground of all nature. They also supposed that this cause was an infinite being, incorruptible, without beginning or end. For they hold, that as out of nothing comes nothing, so that which had a beginning must have an end, and the end returns to the beginning. Whence sprung the opinion receiv'd throughout all China, that this world must have an end, and be again produced anew. The interval from its beginning till the end they call *tai fu*, that is, great year.

2. This same cause, according to them, has no life, knowledge or power, and is only pure, quiet, transparent, subtle, without shape or body, only perceptible to the understanding, as we speak of spiritual things; and tho' it be not spiritual, yet it has not these active and passive qualities of the elements.

3. The manner of enquiring how this visible world proceeded from the first principle or chaos, call'd *li*, was thus: they seeing that of necessity there must be an eternal cause of visible things; and considering on the other hand, that this of it-

self had no manner of act or efficiency, without which things could not be produced from it; and perceiving again by daily experience that heat and cold generate and corrupt things, and that these two qualities are the efficient causes of all generation and corruption; they sought out, how from this chaos, or *materia prima*, call'd *li*, was produced the *materia proxima*, which things are compos'd of; and how heat and cold could be generated in the world, that other things might be generated of them. Therefore they imagin'd that from this *materia prima*, *li*, which is infinite and immense, this air naturally and accidentally proceeded through five several changes or conversions, which they assign, till it became material, as it now is; but still remaining confin'd within that infinite chaos, call'd *li*, *Chao* was reduced to a finite globe, which they call *tai kie*, that is, highly terminated, or *Tai Kie* confin'd. They also call it *boen tun*, *boen lun*, before things proceeded from it. And this air which flow'd from the first chaos, thro' the aforesaid five changes, is also incorruptible as to its substance, and the same entity with the first *li*, but is more material and changeable, by condensation and rarefaction, by motion and rest, by heat and cold, &c. This second chaos, *tai kie*, before things proceeded from it, they imagine and describe after their manner. It is needless to give the description in this place.

4. They perceiving that heat and cold are the causes of the generation and corruption of things, and that they are produced by motion and rest, imagin'd that the

NAVARETTE. the conglobated air in this second chaos mov'd either accidentally or naturally, by which motion heat was produced in the same body of the air; and that motion ceasing, the stillness naturally produced cold, part of the air remaining hot, and part cold, but extrinsically not intrinsically and of its own nature; so that the air was divided into hot and cold, which is what they call *leang i*, and *in tang*. The hot part is pure, clear, transparent, and light. The cold is impure, unclean, dark and heavy.

5. So that the most general efficient causes of the universe are *rest and motion, heat and cold*, which are call'd *tung, cing, in, jang*. The heat and cold united themselves together in a most strict union, amity and concord, as husband and wife, or father and mother, and produced the element of water, which belongs to *in*. At the second copulation they produced the element of fire, which belong to *jang*, and so they went on producing the five elements, (the Chinese assign so many) which are *tai kie*, or *in jang*, or the air qualify'd, as among us the qualities with their elements; which are water in the north, fire in the south, wood in the east, metal in the west, and earth in the middle.

6. *In jang*, and the five elements, produced heaven, earth, sun, moon and planets; for the pure, hot, transparent, and light air ascending, formed heaven; and the impure, cold, dark and heavy sinking down, form'd the earth. After this heaven and earth joining by their intermediate virtue, produced man and woman; man answering *jang*, or heaven; and woman *in*, or the earth. For this reason the king is call'd *tien zu*, that is, the son of heaven, and sacrifices to heaven and earth, as to universal parents. In these three things, heaven, earth, and man, all other things are contain'd, as in their source and origin.

7. Such was the creation of the universe, according to the ancient and modern Chinese, the whole frame of the world being form'd in three principal things, which are the cause of the rest. The first heaven, which comprehends the sun, moon, stars, planets, and region of the air, which is between heaven and earth, where their five elements are, being the immediate matter of which all things below are engender'd. This region of the air is divided into eight *kuas*, which are so many parts of the air it self, or qualify'd elements, having several qualities, answering to universal efficient causes, which they imagine. The second earth, which includes hills, mountains, rivers, lakes, sea, &c. and these are also universal efficient causes, which are

possest of virtues and effects. The earth is also divided into parts, which contain the *kang jen*, that is, strong and weak, or *hard and soft, barbs and smooth*. The third is man, of whom the rest are generated.

8. It is here to be observ'd, that this production of the universe was absolutely accidental, after the manner as has been shewn; for the first efficient causes of this *machina* were *rest and motion, heat and cold*; the *materia proxima* was the corporeal homogeneous air. The production of heaven and earth was also accidental, unforeseen, or natural, and not deliberate or advis'd; for it is said that the pure light air ascended and became heaven, and the impure and heavy became earth.

9. The form of the universe is this, heaven is spherical, and therefore moves and influences in *circulum*. The earth is square, therefore it lies still in the center, and influences *per quadrum*; and four elements answer to it, one to each of the four sides, and a fifth to the middle superificies. Besides, heaven they imagine that infinite *materia prima*, call'd *li*, from which *tai kie* flow'd; and they also call it *kung, biu, tao, yu, yu kie*; still, transparent, rare in the superlative degree, without knowledge, without action, nothing *mera potentia*. This air that is between heaven and earth, they divide into eight parts, as has been said; four of them they assign to the south, where *jang* reigns; and four to the north, where *in*, or the cold, rules. To each of these parts answer a portion of the air, which they call *kua*, because of the different quality it enjoys.

10. This production of the universe is assign'd by *Fo Hi*, and is represented in the figure of *je king*, call'd *bo tu*, which has black and white chequers, and was ever by tradition understood after this manner. It is also express in the figure of *jo xu*, which has black and white points in even and odd numbers, viz. odd, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9. and five even, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. which answer to the *kuas*, or general causes of the universe. Confucius specify'd this in writing in his exposition of *je king*, beginning with *tai kie*, as follows: the chaos produced heat and cold (which comprehend the five elements) these two became four, that is, heat and cold in an intense and a remiss degree. These four produced eight qualities, viz. hot and cold, hard and soft; four in an intense, and four in a remiss degree. They substitute these eight for the three principal causes, which are heaven, earth and man; and so these eight, or these three, produced all things in the world, which is all to frame the aforesaid three, which they say are the cause of the things that are generated, or corrupted in this world.

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11. The Confucius specify this production of the universe as finite matter, which comes into existence into which comes also call *tao*, *sest*, sets d exactly after call'd *lao z* phorical te produced *materia sec* which is *li*, ty, which earth and things. Sc doctrine, a Chinese.

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11. The learned men, who succeeded Confucius in their comments and glosses, specify this production of the world more minutely, beginning at the first origin, or infinite matter call'd *li*, as it is in the first entrance into their philosophy, call'd *ling li*, which commences from *wu kie*, whom they also call *tao*. Lao Zu the head of Tao Zu's sect, sets down the production of the world exactly after the same manner, in his book call'd *tao zu king*, in numbers, or metaphorical terms thus: *tao*, or the first chaos, produced unity, which is *tai kie*, or the *materia secunda*. Unity produces duality, which is *tang i*. Duality produced trinity, which is *tien ti*, *jin*, *jan zai*, heaven, earth and man; and trinity produced all things. So it comes to be the very same doctrine, as that of the *Literati*, or learned *Chinese*.

NOTES.

1. I have several times with care and attention read in the *Chinese* books, all that is written in this prelude; if any man makes a doubt of it, let him read a little, and he will be satisfy'd. Observe how true it is, that the *Chinese* hold the same errors that were formerly in *Europe*, as the author proves in the sequel, and I instanced in another place out of F. Arias and F. Kircher. Our B. Alb. Mag. tract. 2. de bom. quest. 89. art. 2. in fine, mentions the same that is writ in the first paragraph: Some said there were infinite worlds successively; the head of them was Empedocles, who said, that one motion of the heaven being perform'd according to the motion of the world, all things return to the first matter, and another motion beginn'g, are regenerated in like number as they were before, and another world begins. But that motion of the heaven is perform'd according to the progress or motion of the fixt stars, &c. in thirty six thousand years, and this space of time they call one great year. Who can chuse but observe, that this is what the *Chinese* teach to a tittle, though they add six thousand years to their great year, and some more, which is a small difference in so great a number?

2. There was another sect, says Albertus, which taught, That there were infinite worlds, one without another. The *Chinese* have not fallen into this error; for they own, they cannot tell whether there are any other worlds besides this or not.

3. The *Chinese* in their books assign five elements. This is a thing so universally agreed upon among them and their books, that the very school-boys know it. F. Matthew Riccius owns it, and argues against this error. So does F. Trigautius in his history, p. 177. and yet F. Intorceta being

a missionary of but a few years standing NAVA-will maintain, that the *Chinese* do not hold RETTE. that opinion; and he proves it with the same words that F. Riccius uses to confute that error. Whom must we follow, the old ones, or the young ones? those that are well vers'd and read in the *Chinese* books, and the most learned of the society in *China*, or F. Intorceta?

4. There are some men so open hearted, that wherever they find the least word which seems to have any resemblance to the mysteries of our holy faith, without further examining into the matter, they presently make the application very contentedly, thinking they have found a mighty treasure; as for example, what the author mentions in this number, they would appropriate to the blessed Trinity. So that though this mystery cannot be positively found throughout all the old testament, yet they will have it to have been reveal'd to the *Chinese*. A strange conceit! if they had not a revelation, as one of necessity must suppose, they could not attain the knowledge of it thro' creatures as divines teach, and with them S. Thomas 1. p. q. 32. art. 1. in 1. dist. 3. art. 2. & 1. contrag. c. 14. Reason shews it: for God has not the appearance of a cause to creatures on account of what is their own, but of what is appropriated to them; they might nevertheless have some revelation concerning God, either made by the devil, or from the doctrine of others, as Plato is said to have read the books of the law and prophets, by which he might attain to some sort of knowledge of the Trinity. So tho' Aristotle at the beginning of his book de celo & mundo, says, And thro' this number, viz. of three, we apply'd our selves to magnify one God above all the properties of things created: yet it is not to be inferred that he had any knowledge of this mystery. Because, says S. Thomas, The philosopher did not intend to assign a trinity of persons in God, but in regard that in all creatures perfection appears in the number three, viz. in the beginning, middle and end; therefore according to the ancients they honour'd him with treble prayers and sacrifices. And tho' Trismegistus said, One begot one for his own sake, one begot one, and reflected his own beat upon himself: yet we must not say he had this knowledge by any other means but by revelation, or being taught by others. We must always have regard to the principles of philosophy, and to the common sense of ancients and moderns, who having had no knowledge of one God, were less likely to have it of the Trinity. Did the *Chinese* speak like Trismegistus, it were a sufficient ground to go upon. Besides, the Trinity mention'd by our author, is produced and caus'd after other creatures, whose first principle is *li*, or *tai kie*.

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PRELUDE VI.

Of the second part of Science, which is a Posteriori, how things are engendred and corrupted in this World.

NAVARETTE.

1. **A** Nother method the *Chineſes* have of philoſophizing, is, allowing the firſt production of the univerſe, and order of general cauſes, to inquire into the cauſe of the generations and corruption which happen every year in the four ſeaſons, ſpring, ſummer, &c. and to ſearch into the heavenly influences that are prevalent upon our bodies on the ſame months, days, hours and ſigns of the zodiack; thence to gather every man's fate, deſtiny and natural inclination, thereby to know how he is to govern himſelf in his actions, that he may co-operate with his fate, and not oppoſe it.

Heat.

Cold.

2. The principal authors of this ſcience, are *Vuen Vuang*, and his ſon *Cheu Kung*; who ſeeing that things are engendred, and the life of animals, plants, &c. ſupported by heat, and that the ſame moves them to act for the attaining of their ends, and that on the other ſide cold corrupts and deſtroys them; they aſſign'd heat and cold as the cauſes of generation and corruption, and that heat was produc'd by motion, and the acceſs of the ſun, and by brightneſs and light; and cold by the reſceſs of the ſun, ſtillneſs and darkneſs. Moreover, perceiving that things began to be engendred and grow vigorous from the ſpring forwards, and that they were in a flouriſhing condition till the end of ſummer, and that from autumn forwards they began to change, decaying, withdrawing, and ceasing their operations, till the end of winter, therefore they aſſign'd the two firſt ſeaſons to the heat, and the two laſt to the cold. And accordingly they divided the zodiack round the horizon into eight parts, like eight points, which are the eight *kuai* of

this ſcience, whereof four belong to the heat, and four to cold. According to this doctrine, they ſay, that the influence of general agents, or predominancy, and activity in their hemisphere, begins at the *kuai* call'd *Cbin*, which answers to the Eaſt, and begins exactly with their ſpring, according to the courſe of the ſun, and is uſually on the fifth or ſixth of February. This actuality, predominancy or influence, they call it *chu, chu zai*, which is the predominancy of heat during the firſt ſix months, which again withdraws at the contrary ſeaſon about October. To expreſs the beginning and end of this predominancy, they make uſe of the words *cho, je*, that is, to come out, and go in; *kie, xin*, that is, to draw up, and ſtretch out; *uang lai*, that is, to go and come. All which bears the ſame ſenſe. And this being cauſ'd by the acceſs and reſceſs of the ſun, which always in reſpect to them performs his courſe to the ſouth, therefore they look upon that part as hot, and call it *tai jang*, and the north as cold, calling it *tai in*.

NOTE.

This good father deſerves a thouſand commendations, for having ſo exactly explicated theſe matters ſo difficult and obſcure, and made them intelligible even to *Europeans*; and though he had undertaken no other taſk in *China* but the compoſing of this treatiſe, he might think the years he ſpent in that miſſion well employed. He has by this his labour oblig'd us all to pray for him, though I believe ſuch was his piety and virtue, that he has little need of our prayers. He died at ninety years of age, and thoſe truly worthily ſpent.

PRELUDE VII.

Of the famous Axiom in China, Vuan Vue Je Ti, that is, all things are the ſame.

One ſubſtance.

1. **A** MONG the reſt of the *Chineſe* principles, which are to be obſerv'd to our purpoſe, one moſt material is, that they hold all things to be one and the ſame ſubſtance. And becauſe this opinion has much reſemblance with that of ſome ancient *European* philoſophers, who ſaid, That all things were the ſame, it will be convenient in this place to ſhew how they underſtood and explicated it. *Ariſtote* ſpeaking in ſeveral places of the famous philoſophers, mentions thoſe who ſaid, *That all things were continued, and are one and the ſame by nature,*

and the manner of their being, but various according to ſenſe, and no way differing.

22. The courſe of *Coimbra*, *Fonſeca* and others, relying on *Ariſtote*'s text, ſay, thoſe ancient philoſophers knew nothing beyond the material cauſe, and even that but groſſly; for they imagine that the matter it ſelf was the whole eſſence of natural things, and that they were all one continu'd thing, and very agreeable to outward ſenſe, without having any eſſential difference among themſelves. As if a man ſhould ſay, that air and water are the ſource of all things; he

muſt of their eſſence are diſtinct condense Juſt as wood, but are And in affirm'd ſame, and reſutes whom th

3. The ever ſincere opinion they not be p judgment the oppoſite ral interper them, be ſect, and held that tolle, as if did not m

4. The opinion, this place.

5. The ancients as the *Indi* of *China* w with his 5 above all higheſt to ent as moſt cienteſt the and all had magician, a ſo taught a the world, By which ancients, ar

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1. **T**HE of and both of is the infin the original which intrin ſtance of the is in all thin ter the pro the air that is the mater things, as t ic they are they return is the being things, they denation in Vol. I.

must of necessity own, that all things as to their essence, are air and water, but they are distinguishable as to the accidents, as condensefess, rarity, heat and cold, &c. Just as we say of artificial things made of wood, that as to the essence they are wood, but are distinguishable by the artificial form. And in this sense *Parmanides* and *Milito* affirm'd that all things were one and the same, and accordingly *Aristotle* quotes and refutes them. See *Fonseca* in 1. *Physic.* from whom this is taken.

3. The philosophers of our times, and ever since *Aristotle*, by reason of the opinion they had conceiv'd of the others, will not be persuaded that men of such great judgment should speak in the sense *Aristotle* opposes, and therefore give them several interpretations. Some say *Aristotle* blames them, because the words sound to that effect, and not that he believes they really held that opinion. Nay, they accuse *Aristotle*, as if he charg'd them with what they did not mean; but they are all deceiv'd.

4. That those philosophers held the said opinion, the author sufficiently proves in this place.

5. The fourth is prov'd, because others ancienter than they held the same opinion, as the *Indian Gymnosophists*, and the *Bonzes of China* who sprang from them. *Lao Zu* with his *Taos Zus* holds the same; and above all the learned *Chinefes*, from the highest to the lowest, as well the ancient as modern. These three sects are ancienter than the aforesaid philosophers; and all had their origin from *Zoroastres* the magician, and prince of the *Chaldeans*, who so taught and spread it abroad throughout the world, making the chaos eternal, &c. By which it plainly appears that the said ancients, and three sects of *China* conceive,

That all things are the same by nature and reason; and that the opinion of these and them is exactly the same.

NAVAF. RETTE.

NOTES.

1. I grant what the author writes concerning the opinion of the *Chinefes*, is very plain in their books, and is not in the least to be doubted; they so often repeat all things are the same, that it seems superfluous to argue about it. *Trigancius*, lib. I. c. 10. fol. 52. says, The sect of the *bonzes* hold the same opinion; but he was wilfully mistaken in saying, that this doctrine came from the *bonzes* within these five hundred years; forasmuch as the said proposition is found in *terminis*, in the ancientest books of the learned sect. To these points, read *S. Thomas*, 2 tom. in 1 p. q. 44. disp. 18. q. 1.

2. As for the ancient *Europeans* believing the same, he proves it very well, and it may be confirm'd by the opinion of *S. Thomas*, 1. p. contr. Gent. and especially *opusc.* 15. c. 6. where he mentions *Pythagoras* and others, and on *Heb. xi. lect.* 2. That the errors of the *Chinefes* sprung from the *Chaldeans*, shall be further made out in another place. As to what some men, guided only by their own fancies, say, that it is all false, denying what they please by the bulk, there is no notice to be taken of it, for it follows that what they so rashly utter must be false. So *Aristotle* confutes them, 4 *Metap. lect.* 17. *S. Thomas* expounds it; *It is equally manifest, that he who says all things are false, owns at the same time that what he says is false.* The faint out of the philosopher replies to the answerer that may be made to this conclusion; there the reader may see it.

PRELUDE VIII.

What Generation and Corruption is, according to the Sect of the Learned.

1. THERE were two sorts of matter of which the world was compos'd, and both of them incorruptible. The first is the infinite chaos, their *li*. The second the original air, or their *tai kie*, within which intrinsically is the being and substance of the first matter, and consequently is in all things and never quits them. After the production of heaven and earth, this air that is between heaven and earth, is the *materia proxima* of all corruptible things, as the elements are among us; of it they are made by generation, and to it they return by corruption: so that the air is the being, essence, and nature of all things, they being engendered of it by condensation in some corporeal figure, and pro-

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ceeding through several qualities, by virtue of heaven, the sun, moon, stars, planets, elements, earth, and other universal causes, according to the year, month, day, hour, and sign such thing was produced in; which causes are, as it were, forms and beginning of the interior and exterior operation of the *suppositum*.

2. Generation therefore, according to this sect, is the receiving of the being and substance from the air, or chaos actuated into figures and qualities, which are more or less pure, penetrating and obtuse, and are to it in the nature of form, the heaven, sun, &c. and the particular causes which apply and dispose the matter concurring. Corruption, or death, the destruction of Corruption.

A a a

NAVARETTE. the outward figure, and the qualities, humours, vital spirits, &c. which maintain'd the living creature; and being again dissolved into the substance of the air, the pure, light, and hot part ascending, and the impure, heavy and cold sinking down. Ascending answers to *xin* and *boen*, descending to *kuei* and *pe*. Here it is to be observed, that by the word *xin* are meant the spirits the *Chineſes* think pure; by the name *boen*, the souls of men ſeparated from the body; by the name *kuei* the ſpirits which are reckoned impure, and by *pe* human carcaſes.

NOTE.

Other ancients maintain'd the ſame doctrine here mention'd; it ſhall be ſhewn in another place. That it is a poſitive opinion of the learned *Chineſes*, appears by their books. The *Greeks* call the *materia prima*, *bile*, which is the ſame as chaos and conſuſion. See *S. Thomas opus.* 31. The *Chineſes* call it *li*. I have already quoted *S. Thom.* in 1 p. ſee him where he treats de *generations.*

PRELUDE IX.

Allowing what has been ſaid before, how things are diſtinguiſh'd from one another according to the Chineſes.

1. THEY making the air the whole eſſence of the thing, ſay, that all things are one and the ſame ſubſtance, and are diſtinguiſhed from one another by the outward ſhape, and the qualities of the very air: this that diſtinguiſhes them they call *ki cho*. As to figure, they mean the ſeveral ſhapes of corporeal things. As to the qualities, they imagine that this air may be qualify'd four ſeveral ways, which are *chin*, *pien*, *tung*, &c. The firſt, ſtreight, conſtant, pure; the ſecond, crooked, in- conſtant, foul; the third, ſoft and piercing; the fourth, obſcure and dull. *Ching* and *tung* are good, they who receive them become men. *Pien* and *ſe* are bad, thoſe that receive them become beaſts, plants, &c.

Men.

3. The two good ones are ſubdivided into perfect and imperfect, pure and ſullied. Thoſe who receive the perfect part of *ching*, and the pure of *tung*, are wiſe and heroes, who are naturally born ſuch, and act according to reaſon, never doing any thing contrary to it, in which they excel all other men, and are therefore held in great honour and veneration. They who at their birth receive the imperfect part of *ching*, and the thick part of *tung*, are ignorant men, ill livers, and of bad cuſtoms. They call them *ju jin*, who have nothing but the ſhape of men, and in other reſpects are like beaſts. There is a mean betwixt theſe two ſorts of men whom they call *bien jin*, that is, prudent and virtuous men.

4. After the ſame manner the two ill parts of air are ſubdivided. Thoſe that receive the perfect and pure part of theſe become beaſts, and even among them there is another ſubdiviſion; thoſe that receive the imperfect thick part, become plants, herbs, &c.

5. By which it appears, that they were ſo far from having any knowledge of the creation out of nothing, by virtue of an

infinite power, that they did not ſo much as underſtand the true generation of matter and ſubſtantial form, but only conceiv'd an accidental alteration and change of figure and qualities, pre-ſuppoſing the common homogeneous matter of all things, which is the very air, eternal, ingenerable and incorruptible in its ſubſtance; yet alterable by motion and ſtillneſs, heat and cold, rarity and condensation, &c. This air alone being the eſſence of all things, as was ſaid above out of thoſe philoſophers.

NOTES.

1. This doctrine I have read in the *Chineſe* books, where it is ſo plain that it may be ſeen with half an eye. There are material and ſenſible ſimiles enough to make it ſomewhat plainer. Of the pure flower of the meal is made the whiteſt bread, then follows houſhold bread, then brown bread, next to that dogs bread, and laſt of all bran. After this manner the *Chineſes* talk of their air, whereof there is a part pure and refin'd, he that receives it at his generation, becomes a hero and holy man; he who receives a more imperfect part is wiſe and virtuous; he that has leſs is ignorant, the reſt are beaſts more or leſs perfect. Swine, they ſay, receive the fouleſt part of this ſort, for they account them the meaneſt of beaſts; then follow the plants in like order, and ſo other things.

2. That which *Monardes* brings in his dialogue upon iron, fol. 129. may ſerve our turn. He ſays, after *Plato*, that the heavenly and earthly virtue are the origin of metals. *Triſmegiſtus* ſays, The earth is their mother, and heaven their father. The *Chineſes* ſay the ſame in regard to the production of things. *Monardes* after *Avicenna*, and other modern authors, is of opinion that ſulphur and mercury are the origin of all metals, the firſt as father, the

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ſecond

ſecond as mother, principles are So that gold, ſilver, receives principles. Silver takes the virtue from its origin after a manner follow the re

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ſpirit. 1. A Llowing ly ap nothing of any from the mate and the rationa firm'd by their ation out of n They only kne and infinite ſub ed their *rai kie*, contains the fa inveſting itſelf ſeveral qualitie immediate mat

2. This ſub parts, *ju* and poreal ſubſtance body, and is being ſtruck up ſounds. The material, ſuch has it any bod therefore cannot reaſon they call in *China* *yu kun* And advancing ration of this ſu cerns its entity, lity or accident *kung*, and other moſt pure, mo rify'd in the h ſent the ſpiritual

3. But let no ſtance which th ritual in the ſe things. For in exiſt of itſelf bu from which it 2. Becauſe it ſu

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second as mother. Metals vary as these principles are more pure, or more coarse. So that gold, which is the perfectest of metals, receives the purest part of those principles. Silver, which is more imperfect, takes the virtue or influence of the same origin after a more imperfect manner; then follow the rest. Thus it is the *Chineſes*

ſpeak of that univerſal air which they af- NAVA- ſign, and has been explain'd. I oppoſ'd RETTE. this error ſeveral ways in my books, GOD grant it may do ſome good. Other ancient *Europeans* affirm'd the ſame the author mentions in the fourth paragraph. See *S. Thomas, opus. 15. c. 1.*

PRELUDE X.

That the Chineſes know no ſpiritual Subſtance diſtinct from the material, but only one more or leſs material.

ſpirit. 1. **A**llowing what has been ſaid, it plainly appears that the *Chineſes* knew nothing of any ſpiritual ſubſtance, diſtinct from the material, ſuch as God, angels, and the rational ſoul; which is further confirm'd by their being ignorant of the creation out of nothing by an infinite power. They only knew of an univerſal, immenſe, and infinite ſubſtance, from which proceeded their *tai kie*, or primogenuous air, which contains the ſame univerſal ſubſtance, and inveſting itſelf by *motion and ſtillneſs*, with ſeveral qualities and accidents, becomes the immediate matter of all things.

ſubj. 2. This ſubſtance they divide into two parts, *ju* and *vu*. The firſt is all the corporeal ſubſtance with a material figure and body, and is condense and ſolid; ſo that being ſtruck upon or touch'd, it reſiſts and ſounds. The ſecond is a ſubſtance not ſo material, ſuch as this air they imagine, nor has it any body, ſhape, or ſound, and therefore cannot be ſeen or felt, for which reaſon they call it nothing and emptineſs, in *China vu kung, biu, vu bing, vu ſe*, &c. And advancing ſtill further in the conſideration of this ſubſtance, as far as only concerns its entity, abſtracting from any quality or accident, they call it *tai vu, tai kung*, and other names which ſhew it to be moſt pure, moſt abſolute, ſimple, and rareſt in the higheſt degree, as we repreſent the ſpiritual ſubſtance.

3. But let no man imagine that this ſubſtance which the *Chineſes* aſſign, can be ſpiritual in the ſenſe that we take ſpiritual things. For in the firſt place, it cannot exiſt of itſelf but in that primogenuous air, from which it can never be ſeparated.

2. Becauſe it ſupports all the material ac-

cidents and qualities, and therefore makes the being of all things, or to ſpeak more properly, is the being and ſubſtance of them all. 3. Becauſe they call thoſe things which ſeem ſpiritual both to ancients and moderns, *ki*, that is air, or airy qualities. And particularly *Confucius* being aſk'd by one of his diſciples what angels or ſpirits were; he answer'd, they were air. See the ſixteenth chapter of *chung jung*, which treats of this ſubject, and *ſing li*, tract. 28.

NOTES.

1. Other ancients held that opinion. *S. Thomas* mentions it, *opus. 15. cap. 7.*

2. From this doctrine of the learned ſect I infer, that we cannot make uſe of the word *vu*, to expreſs the mere nothing and creation of the world, becauſe the ſaid word does not exclude the *materia prima*; and if I ſay God created heaven and earth out of *vu*, I ſhall ſay he created them, not out of mere nothing, but out of that matter. Nor can we uſe the word *jeu*, to expreſs the nature of God, angels, and our ſoul, becauſe it ſignifies a corporeal ſubſtance. This point requires much attention.

3. The *Chineſe* books themſelves own, that *li*, the univerſal ſubſtance, cannot exiſt of itſelf. *F. Matthew Riccius, Julius Aleni*, and others, aſſert the ſame. Hence they infer it is a very imperfect accident or ſubſtance; but the *Chineſes* own it is no actuality or intelligence. Nevertheless *Clement Chu Fi Chi* a Chriſtian, contend'd with me that *li* was our God; if he is to be ſav'd by him, bad will be his lot. This is the benefit of following the *Chineſe* texts.

PRELUDE XI.

Of the Spirits or Gods the Chineſes adore, according to the Sect of the Learned.

1. **T**H^O by what has been already ſaid, it is eaſy to conceive what ſort of ſpirits thoſe are, which they reckon after their manner as gods; nevertheleſs becauſe this is the principal point as to theſe con-

troverſies, 'tis fit to handle it a little more at large, laying down what it is the learned ſect ſays of theſe ſpirits which relate to our purpoſe.

2. It

NAVARETTE. 2. It is to be observ'd, that according to this sect, all there is or can be in this world proceeds from *li*, which comprehends *tai kie*, i. e. the *materia prima*, or universal substance of all things; and the primogenious air, which is the *materia proxima* of all; and that from *li*, *quatenus li*, flow the five virtues, which are piety, justice, religion or worship, prudence, and credit or faith, with all their habits, and other spiritual matters. From the same *li*, qualified by the primogenious air, flow the five elements we mention'd, with all other corporeal qualities and figures. So that with the *Chineſes*, as well the moral as physical part proceeds from the same source, that is their *li*, which is the being of all things, as has been said. Whence came that sentence of *Confucius*, that all his doctrine was reducible to one point, *viz. li*, the most universal reason and substance.

3. Thirdly observe, that as *li* does not produce the things of this world but by means of *kie*, which is its conjunct instrument, so neither does it govern them but by the same means; whence it is that the operations as well relating to the production as to the government of things, are commonly attributed to *kie*, as the instrumental and formal cause to *li*. As for instance, we say, the understanding conceives, and the will loves, whereas it is the soul that conceives and loves by means of those her faculties.

4. Observe further, that according to this sect, when the years of the world's continuance are at an end, this universe will expire, with all that is in it, and all return to its first principle from whence it flowed; so that nothing will remain but only the pure *li*, accompanied by its helpmate *kie*. Then the same *li* shall produce another universe after the same manner, which ending, another will succeed, and so another without end.

5. Observe yet further, that the first ground of assigning spirits in *China*, as well as in other heathen countries, was for two reasons. First, Because they saw that heaven and earth, with the other universal causes, performed their operations very sure and orderly, and thence they conjectur'd there was some invisible author or principle that govern'd within them, which they call *cheu*, that is, *lord*; *cheu zai*, that is, *president*; *xin cwei*, that is, *the spirit going out and returning*; *ti kiun*, that is, *king or emperor*. The second cause was, the great benefits they perceiv'd men receiv'd by means of those spirits, and therefore they thought themselves oblig'd to honour and worship them with several sacrifices, as is said in the book *li ki*, lib. VIII. pag. 47. which is the name of their book of rites and ceremonies.

6. It is yet further to be observ'd, that the *Chineſes*, even from the origin of their empire, which properly had its beginning in the emperors *Jao* and *Xun*, ador'd those spirits, as appears by their doctrine call'd *xu king*, lib. I. pag. 11. where four sorts of sacrifices are set down, which us'd to be offer'd to four kinds of spirits. The first call'd *lui*, was offer'd to heaven, and to its spirit, which is *Xang Ti*. The second term'd *in*, was to the spirit of the six principal things, that is, of the four seasons of the year, of heat, cold, sun, moon, stars, rain, and drought. The third they stile *vuang*, to the spirits of mountains and rivers of note. The fourth *pien*, was offer'd to all the multitude of other spirits, belonging to all the small parts of the universe, and to the men of note in the commonwealth.

7. All the spirits the *Chineſes* adore, are the same identical substance with the things in which they are. This is made out; 1. By the common axiom, all things are the same. 2. Because *Cbung Zu* a classick author, speaking of *xang ti*, the spirit of heaven, positively says, it is the very same thing as heaven; then *a fortiori*, or at least *a simile*, the same must be said of the spirits of other things. 3. *Confucius* in *chung jung*, pag. 11. says of all spirits, that they constitute the being and substance of all things, and cannot be separated from them, but they must be destroy'd.

8. If any man object, that these spirits are often taken for the operative virtue and actuality of things: I answer, 1. That it is true, yet that does not imply but they are also taken for that substance, adorn'd with that operative virtue; but this rather is the most usual sense, inasmuch, that as I said, according to *Confucius*, they make the very being of things. 2. That taking the spirits for the pure virtue and actuality of things, the notion of them becomes the meaner, as of a quality or accident which cannot subsist of itself.

9. A second conclusion. All spirits had a beginning, because they all proceeded from *tai kie*, and the most universal substance of all things, and so they are posterior and inferior to it. Hence it is that the doctor *V. Puen Yu* said, that *xang ti* was the son and creature of *tai kie*, and that the same must be said of our *Tien Cheu*, that is, of our God, if he was the same as *xang ti*. It evidently appears then, that what the *Chineſes* conceive under this name *xang ti*, cannot be our God.

10. Third conclusion. All spirits will end when this world ends, and return to their first principle. This is prov'd by the doctrine of the third observation, and confirm'd by what doctor *Chey Keng Yu* one of the court of exchequer says, that as well

tien chu, as *xi* must have an end, the most universal he infer'd, the doctrine, therefore than the first.

11. Fourthly, gods of this sect, their being, with regard to preſide over. of water, which silver, copper, the difference, same they say of same *li*, or *tai* vessels, as heaven.

12. Fifthly, are void of life, or liberty. From that most according to all these things, 2. Secondly, B. p. 35. they posit is the chief thing hears, understand. Whence it follows spirit in heaven, same substance, neither fees, he.

13. Thirdly, ven and earth, lib. XXVI. p. 1 that is, of will a things by a certain as fire burns, and Fourthly, In di the earth is par the earth, 'tis n stands, nor has same must be s regard this is said tions which pro plainly appears, operations are n tional will, it m the spirits of l things, are voic liberty. Whic the general per he who does w rally and of ne ill shall be puni draws near the among the snow affairs of this w supreme provid according to th

For the better questions are 14. The first rits are one and Vol.

tien chu, as *xang* *ti* and all other spirits, must have an end, nothing remaining but *li*, the most universal substance; whence he infer'd, that according to the *Chinese* doctrine, there was nothing greater nor better than the said *li*.

11. Fourth conclusion. All the spirits or gods of this sect are equally perfect as to their being, and are one greater or less, with regard to the places and things they preside over. This is prov'd by the simile of water, which is in several vessels of gold, silver, copper, &c. The water is the same, the difference is only in the vessels. The same they say of spirits, which are the very same *li*, or *tai kie*, but placed in several vessels, as heaven, earth, mountains, &c.

12. Fifth conclusion. All these spirits are void of life, knowledge, understanding, or liberty. *First*, Because they all proceed from that most universal substance *li*, which according to the principles of this sect wants all these things, as was said *prelude* 5. Numb.

2. *Secondly*, Because in their *xu king*, lib. I. p. 35. they positively say, the heaven, which is the chief thing in the world, neither sees, hears, understands, loves, nor hates, &c. Whence it follows, that either there is no spirit in heaven, or if there be it is the self-same substance with it, and consequently neither sees, hears, nor understands.

13. *Thirdly*, This is prov'd, because heaven and earth, as is said in the philosophy, lib. XXVI. p. 16, 17. are void of reason, that is, of will and deliberation, but do all things by a certain natural propension, just as fire burns, and a stone tends downwards.

Fourthly, In disputing upon this subject, the earth is parallel'd with heaven. Now the earth, 'tis most certain, neither understands, nor has life; and consequently the same must be said of heaven. And in regard this is said with respect to the operations which properly belong to spirits, it plainly appears, that when they say such operations are not done by choice, or a rational will, it must also be concluded, that the spirits of heaven, earth, and other things, are void of life, understanding, or liberty. Which is further confirm'd by the general persuasion of the *Chinese*, that he who does well shall be rewarded naturally and of necessity; and so he that does ill shall be punished: as he is warm'd that draws near the fire, and grows cold who is among the snow. This implies, that the affairs of this world are not govern'd by a supreme providence, but by chance, or according to the course of natural causes.

For the better clearing of this point, some questions are here put and answer'd.

14. The first question is this; if the spirits are one and the same substance with the

things they are in, why do they assign the NAVA-name of spirits apart from the things? The answer is; That this name is given to denote the formality of acting, so far as much as the said action proceeds from an occult principle, which after some manner rules within the things in the nature of a spirit. And sometimes it denotes the very subsistence of the things, in as much as it is singular, pure, rare, and very near incorporeal, which is the reason the operations are wonderful and inscrutable.

15. *Quest.* 2. If these spirits, as to their essence, are the very universal *li*, how can it be said they proceeded from it? Answer; They were produced like all other things which proceed from the said *li*, which is superadding some accidental form or formality, whereby they become formally another distinct thing from the very universal *li*; and this is sufficient to justify the saying they are produced from it. The same argument holds as to what is said, that the spirits shall have an end, or be destroy'd, and the active virtue of *li* shall cease at the end of the world; and then only the substance of *li* shall remain, being stripped of all the qualities and formalities it was possess'd of before.

16. *Quest.* 3. If *li* of itself has no actuality, as has been mention'd before; how comes it to be said, that it is the something with the spirit whose nature is to be active? Answer; The substance of *li*, which consider'd in itself had no actuality, begins to have it after producing its *ki*, that is, its primogenuous air, which is its conjunct instrument. Thus the operations of the spirits radically belong to *li*, instrumentally to *ki*, and formally to the spirits themselves.

17. *Quest.* 4. If there be no spirit in things distinct from their substance, when sacrifices are offer'd to heaven, earth, &c. Who are these sacrifices directed to? Answer; The *Chinese* generally follow the customs they receiv'd from their ancestors, without examining who it is they offer sacrifice to, whether to the things they see, or to their operative virtue, or to some spirit that may perhaps be in them, inasmuch that *Confucius* set it down as a general rule to them, that they should not enquire into what cannot be seen. *Answ.* 2. The most learned and best read men in their sect, acknowledge no more in those things they offer sacrifice to, but the substance of *li* and its *ki*, as plainly appears by the doctrine of *Confucius*, in the sixteenth chapter of *chung jung*, where after shewing that spirits are composing parts of the being of things, and that therefore they cannot be separated from them without their destruction; he presently adds concerning the said spirits,

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that

NAVARETTE. that they cause themselves to be honour'd and respected by men, inducing them to compose themselves interiorly and exteriorly, and to offer them sacrifices. This point deserves particular observation, as the principal foundation of the learned sect.

18. *Quest. 5.* Granting that many think there are such spirits, and that they are a living and understanding being, and that this was believ'd before the coming of the sect of the idols, even from the time of the kings *Jao* and *Xun*, and so mention is made of them in the ancient doctrines, as if they liv'd and took care of human affairs. Granting this, what say the learned *Chinese* to it? *Answer.* All the learned *Chinese* of note, both ancient and modern, do unanimously deny there are any living spirits, and of a different substance from the places and things in which they are, because it would imply a contradiction in the very principles of their philosophy, according to which *all things are the same*, as has been said. As to the multitude, and the ways of speaking and expressing themselves we find in authors, it is to be observ'd, that there are two sorts of spirits assign'd, one that is call'd of generations and corruptions, the other of sacrifices. The first are physical spirits, by which they say are signify'd the natural things of the generations and corruptions there are in the world; and these are sometimes taken for the substance of the things operating, other times for the qualities and formality of acting. The others are the civil spirits which were brought in to the commonwealth, to restrain the multitude and keep them in awe, by believing there are several spirits in heaven, the earth, mountains, &c. which can do harm to men, as the ancients said of *Jupiter, Mars, &c.*

19. In short, it is requisite all our missionaries be acquainted with so essential a point of these controversies, which is, that in these sects there is a secret doctrine for the wise which they account true, and a plain doctrine for the ignorant which they look upon as false. For which reason there is no laying any stress on the texts of their doctrines, in which they designedly express themselves, so as the multitude may imagine there are living spirits and gods, and accordingly may reverence and fear them.

20. But it is requisite to hold fast to the principles of their philosophy, understanding every thing as the masters of the sects do, that is, according to the sense and direction of the classic expositors. And to shew this is the true *Chinese* doctrine, I will mention some famous authors, who handle this article *ex professo*, and conclude, there are no other spirits besides natural things themselves.

NOTES.

1. From what has been and shall be said it follows, that the sect of the learned has a religious worship; which is agreed to by the fathers *Gouvea* in his history, *Semedo* in his *Chinese* empire, pag. 73, and 115. and other authors. It is also a plain inference that the learned are idolaters. What matter tho' this man or the other of their own head deny it? *S. Augustin*, lib. XIX. cont. *Faust. Manich. cap. 1.* says thus; *Men cannot be united under any name of religion, whether true or false, unless they are knit together in fellowship by some certain seals or sacraments.* Since all nations in the world, tho' barbarous, have had their sorts of religion; why or wherefore will they deny this to the *Chinese* nation, which they extol above others, and even above the clouds? or what matter is it tho' they ador'd not images as if the idolatry without images were not the first and antientest? *S. Paul*, Rom. i. *They worshipp'd and serv'd the creature rather than the creator.* *S. Thomas*, lect. 7. *For they worshipp'd the heavenly bodies, and air, and water, and the like, according to that of Wild. xiii. Either fire or air, &c. And herein he blames the folly of the Gentiles, who tho' they never believ'd there was any deity in images, as Hermes his followers believ'd; nor did imagine the fabulous stories the poets told of the gods to be true; yet they gave divine worship to some Creatures.* See 2. 2. q. 122. art. 2. ad. 2. and *Cajetan*, in Rom. i. on the words, *And they worshipp'd and serv'd.* More shall be said to this point in another place. Tho' the *Chinese* were guilty only of observing days, hours, &c. which *S. Paul*, Galat. iv. forbids, it were enough to our purpose. *S. Thomas*, lect. 3. *You observe fortunate and unfortunate days, months, times, and years; that is, the constellations and course of the heavenly bodies, all which things take their original from idolatry, &c. Therefore they that observe such differences of times, worship the heavenly bodies, and order their actions according to the judgment of the stars, which have no direct impression on the will of man, &c. and in these to observe the course of the stars, belongs to idolatry.* Can any man in the world excuse the *Chinese* from this idolatry?

5. That doctrine is evidently plain in the twenty eighth treatise of the great *Chinese* philosophy. The same error is imputed to *Origen*. Something was said to it above, and more shall be added in the second tome.

6. Thence we gather it is groundless to say, that those are no sacrifices which are offer'd to *Confucius* and the dead, because they do it in acknowledgment for benefits

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receiv'd; for they sacrifice to heaven, the earth, &c. on the same account. And this is assign'd as the reason in the books concerning those sacrifices. See F. Semedo, p. 125.

7. According to that doctrine, the *Chineſes* were idolaters from the beginning. Read the ſame F. Semedo, p. 119, 125. and in other places of his empire of *China*. The fathers *Brancaleo* and *Fabre* may read this, and they will underſtand, that *lui* is to ſacrifice to heaven, not *chai*; and that the *Chineſes* have ſacrificed to famous men many ages ago.

8. That doctrine is ſo plain in the *Chineſe* books, that I think it needleſs to add any more concerning it. In my relations I mention'd what F. *Gouvea* writ to the purpoſe; it is in the foregoing book.

9. For the love of *CHRIST* ſee what a god has been preach'd in *China*, and there are ſome will ſtill preach him: how is it poſſible the learned ſect ſhould be convert- ed? how can they that are converted be ſaved through ſuch in ſuch a god? how can our holy faith chuſe but be check'd in *China* and *Japan*? and *Tien Cheu*, whom we have all preach'd up as our God, is in effect the ſame as that *King* above, or of the upper region; what can we ſay? in ſhort, it was not for nothing the learned *Chineſes* daily ſaid to us, *In fine, heaven is the Lord*; for thoſe words, according to their ſect, bear that ſound or ſenſe. *Then in vain have we labour'd and run*; light was forſaken, and we were left in the dark. This I ſay, becauſe ſo eſſential a point ought to have been ſent to *Rome*. That god was preach'd to comply with the opinion of ſome learned *Chineſe* Chriſtians, in order to gain the good will of the profeſſors of the learned ſect. The *bonzo* quoted above, very well obſerv'd and ſet it out, they would gain their good wills, but it ought to have been by enlightning their underſtandings. *Origen*, *hom. 3. in cap. xiii. Eſdr.* ſays thus, *God deliver us from ſuch maſters, who whereſoever they are, rend and divide the church, ſpeaking according to the inclination of the bearers*. He gives the reaſon, *Beauſe there are more lovers of pleaſure, than of God*. What is it to preach him up for god who is not ſo? do they call this prudence and wiſdom? *Wo unto you who are wiſe in your own eyes*! ſays *Iſa. v. 21*. And *Corn. à Lapide*, *Who govern your ſelves by your own human and politick advice, not by the law and will of God, not by the divine prudence and counſel; who rely more on your own judgment, than the prophets, &c.* Some ſay, that we Friars ſpoil and diſturb all through our ignorance and indiſcretion. But S. *Thomas* upon S. *Paul*, *Gal. vi. As many as deſire to make a fair ſhow in the*

ſhew, *lect. 3. For the Jews persecuted the NA- disciples of CHRIST for preaching the croſs, RETTE. 1 Cor. i. And this becauſe by preaching of CHRIST the rites of the law were aboliſh'd.*

*For if the apoſtles had, together with the croſs of CHRIST, preach'd that the ceremonies of the law were to be obſerv'd, they had never persecuted them, &c. Therefore, that they might not be diſturb'd about the faith of CHRIST, and might live in peace, they forced them to be circumciſed. But becauſe they may falſly ſay (S. Thomas goes on) that it was not for this reaſon they introduced circumciſion, but only through zeal of the law; therefore, excluding this, he proves what he ſaid, and adds, but neither they themſelves who are circumciſed keep the law, &c. For it is manifeſt, that if thro' zeal of the law they ſhould induce ſome to obſerve the law, they would alſo have commanded the law to be fulfil'd in other reſpects, viz. in morals, which are more excellent in the law, and in other obſervances. But therefore it is they will have you circumciſ'd, that they may glory among the Jews in your carnal circumciſion for making ſo many proſelytes. See Mat. xxiii. 15. There might be zeal, but it ought to have appear'd in obliging them to confeſs and receive once a year, to hear maſs in that time, to abſtain from fleſh, at leaſt upon Good Friday, and ſome other things; and not perſuade us what they do is thro' zeal of painiſg ſouls. God grant it be not (in ſom. I ſay) That they may glory in their making ſo many proſelytes. The ſaint, *lect. 3. c. 5.* obſerves that *CHRIST* ſuffer'd, and S. *Paul* was persecuted for not allowing the ceremonies of the law. It had not been ſo, if they had ſuffer'd them to be obſerv'd together with the evangelical law, but the Jews would rather have been pleas'd at it. So the learned ſect of *China* is pleas'd that the obſervation of our holy law be brought to condeſcend to ſacrificing to the dead, *Confucius*, and other things, which they obſerve according to their traditions. I adhere to the good F. *Longobardo*, and thoſe of his mind, who had no reſpect to fleſh and blood, nor to other motives, but only to truth.*

11. This number agrees with what *Sua- rez* ſays, *lib. II. de ſuperſtit. c. 4. n. 11. Whence it is likely they believ'd that every God had a ſupreme power and virtue in ſome employment, preſidency, or efficacy concerning ſome things, tho' ſome were called greater, others leſſer, according to the dignity of the things over which they preſided.*

12. It is the doctrine of S. *Thomas*, that every occult principle is call'd a ſpirit. So ſay the *Chineſes*, and add, that if the plants had not a ſpirit they could not grow, and be productive. Then the ſpirit they have is the operative virtue, which is the ſame I mention'd out of F. *Gouvea*. PRE-

PRELUDE XII.

Of several Authorities of classick Authors, who treat of the Chinese Spirits and Gods.

NAYA- 1. *C*hing Zu upon *Cbung Jung*, p. 11. explaining the nature and being of spirits, says, they are the operations of heaven and earth, and certain footsteps of the natural generations and corruptions. Where it is to be observ'd, that under the name of operations, he comprehends the operative power or vertue, and under the name of tokens or footsteps, he also means the being and essence of natural things.

2. The same author, *lib. XXVIII.* of the great philosophy, p. 37. says, that the spirits, *Ye King* speaks of, are the generations and corruptions; that is, are the causes of generations and corruptions, which is the proper subject of that book.

3. Here this author asks, what the clouds and rain are, which proceed from the waters? He answers, they are effects of the smokes and vapours of the air; and giving this for granted, he further infers, that when men sacrifice to the spirit of rain, they only sacrifice to the air, which is the true cause of it; and he further proves, that it is ignorance to go to ask rain at the temples of the statues of wood or clay, which have no rain, and to leave the mountains and water, which are the proper place for it. By which it plainly appears, that this author acknowledges no other spirits, but the air, of which the substance of the mountains and waters is compos'd.

4. The same author, *lib. XXIX. p. 11.* speaking of the difference betwixt heaven, and the king above, or of the upper region, says: Taken as to its shape, and celestial body, it is call'd heaven; in respect to its government it is call'd a governor; in regard to its great subtilty, it is call'd imperceptible; in regard to its operations it's call'd a spirit; in respect to its nature and property, it is call'd strong; and all these things in reality are the same, and are only distinguish'd by name and formality. This place ought to be taken particular notice of, because since it says that the king above, or of the upper region, which is the spirit of heaven, is the very same thing with heaven, the same must of consequence be said of the spirits of the mountains, waters, &c.

5. *Chang Zu* in the twenty eighth book of philosophy, pag. 38. says, the spirits are nothing but solidity and fulness; that is, the universal substance of the aforementioned *li*, and its primogeneous air, which is immense and infinite, and consequently fills all things. Therefore the expositor *Liu Kien Cbung* applies to it that of *Ckung Jung*,

pag. 11. that he is above on the right and left hand, that is, every where, as air is in all places, since there is no vacuum in nature.

6. The same author upon *Cbung Jung*, pag. 11. says, that spirits are the power or actuality of the hot or cold air, which they call *in jang*, and are the cause of the generations and corruptions that happen in the world.

7. *Cbu Zu*, *lib. XXVIII.* of the philosophy, pag. 2. asks the question, Are the spirits air? He answers, They seem to be the life, vigour, and actuality that is in the air.

8. Page 3. the same author says, that rain, wind, dew, hail, sun, moon, day and night, are all tokens and effects of spirits; and that there are clear, universal and good spirits. As for those that are said to found upon bridges, and beat in the breast (such as are in people possess'd) these are they that are call'd crooked, false and dark spirits, which sometimes are, sometimes are not, go and come, disperse and gather. There are also some spirits of whom it is said, that if you ask them, they answer; and if you treat them, they grant. These are also call'd spirits, and are the very *li*, that is, the universal substance and being of all things, as they are all this same substance; and all the difference betwixt them is, that one is gross, the other rare, one great, the other small.

9. The same author, pag. 38. proves there are spirits, thus: if there were no spirits, the ancients would not ask any thing of them; now we see they abstain'd seven days from the use of matrimony, and fasted three days, in order to make their prayers to the things that are seen, or are not seen; then of necessity we must suppose there are such things. Now the emperor sacrifices *sacrifices* to heaven and earth, therefore it is certain there is heaven and earth. Princes and dukes offer sacrifice to the famous mountains and rivers. Gentlemen offer the five sacrifices, therefore it is certain, that there is the great gate of two leaves, there is the way, there is the little gate of one leaf; there is a hearth and inward court. When any thing is seen now that is wonderful in the temples of our forefathers, it is nothing but the air of the mountains and waters that is gather'd there. After much time past, if those temples were destroy'd and cast down by men, then those wonders would cease. The cause of it may be, that the air of those places is spent. Hence it is plainly

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plainly to be infer'd, that spirits are nothing but the actuality of the air, and to it are directed the sacrifices which are made to heaven, earth, mountains, rivers, bridges, the hearth, and the temples of the dead.

10. The same author puts the question further: when sacrifice is offer'd to heaven, earth, mountains, and waters, and victims are slain, pieces of silk burnt, and wine poured forth; is this done to shew the affection of the heart, or because there is really any such air, which comes to receive those offerings? He answers, If we should say, there is nothing comes to receive what is offer'd, to whom then do we sacrifice? and what thing is it that is above, which moves to respect, and makes men offer sacrifice to, and fear it? nevertheless if we should say there is some chariot of clouds in which that thing comes down, it will be a great falsehood and lie.

11. *Pag. 39.* speaking of the name of the spirit of heaven, which is the same with the king of the upper region, he says it is call'd *xin*, because the air of heaven always spreads. By which it plainly appears there is no living or intelligent spirit in heaven, but only the substance of the air with its actuality and influence.

12. He further asks in the same place: When sons sacrifice to their parents and grandfathers, is it certain they look for them, as the very air of themselves? (that is, do they consider them as one and the same thing with the air within themselves?) When they sacrifice to the spirits of other persons or things, how is this done? do they come to receive the sacrifices, or no? He answers, that children are undoubtedly the same immutable substance with their fathers and grandfathers. When they sacrifice to other persons or things, they are oblig'd on some just account to do it. Wherefore *Confucius* says, sacrifice to your parents as if they were present. When the emperor sacrifices to heaven, heaven is a thing he ought to sacrifice to, and its very air resembles the emperor. Then how can it forbear coming and accepting of the sacrifice? When the dukes and princes sacrifice to the household-gods, and to the gods of the five nourishments, they offer equal sacrifice to them, because of the resemblance of the same air that is common to them; then how can they but come to accept the sacrifices? At present they sacrifice to *Confucius*, but this is only done in the schools of the universities, that they may conceive the likeness of his air. If any shall say, that heaven, earth, mountains, &c. are things permanent, and therefore when sacrifices are offer'd to them, it may be that their spirits may come to the sacri-

fices; but as for dead-men, their air is now *NAVADISERS'D*, can it then be made to come to *RETTE*. receive the sacrifice? He answers, that there is only one and the same air, which from the beginning was imparted to grandfathers, fathers, and thro' them to sons and grandsons. All this is taken from the afore-said author, by which it manifestly appears, that according to the sect of the learned, all spirits, as well of men, as of heaven, earth, &c. are nothing but air, an homogeneous body, and common beings of all things, and consequently that they know of no spiritual substance distinct from the corporeal, existing of itself, living and understanding.

13. *Chin Pe Ki, lib. XXVIII.* of the philosophy, *p. 40.* says, that when the ancients sacrificed to heaven, earth, &c. they always placed a statue; the reason was, because heaven, earth, &c. are only the being of the hot and cold air, which they call *in jang*; and by using this statue, they intended that the hot or cold air should gather in that statue, that so their sacrifice might not be offer'd in vain. When they shed the wine, burnt perfumes, slew victims, and offer'd pieces of silk, all was to express the true respect of their heart. This being done, immediately the air of heaven and earth met to fulfil the desires of those that sacrificed.

14. *Cbu Kung Zien upon chung jung, pag. 48.* says, the spirits the learned sect speaks of, are of two sorts; the first is that of natural generations and corruptions. We have already spoke of it.

NOTES.

1. All the author mentions in this place, I have often heard and seen, I wish others had done so too. It is a thing well known that the *Chinese* sacrifices are offer'd to the air; let him that denies it make out what he says, and answer the author.

2. Had he call'd those only that are offer'd to the dead, and to *Confucius*, sacrifices, we might have done the same, without deservng to be reflected on; and many others of the same society having done the same, who can justly blame or complain of the two religious orders? The same holds as to their temples.

3. Whoever justifies the sacrifices we have spoken of, and what is contain'd in the third paragraph answering to this, will also justify those which are offer'd to the dead; either they are all good, or all bad. Let it be well consider'd whether this may pass as a political ceremony; we say it cannot, and very grave missionaries of the society are of the same opinion. Others say it may, and practise it; let them look to it.

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PRELUDE XIII.

That all the Spirits, or Gods of China, are reduced to one, that is, their Li, or Tai Kie.

NAVA-
RETTE.

1. WE must observe in this place, that the *Chinese* idolatry in a great measure resembles that of *Europe*; and laying aside at present other things wherein they agree together, I will only mention that which relates to assigning one only God, which they imagin'd to be the substance and being of the universe. *S. Aug. 4. de civit. Dei, cap. 10, 11, 12.* proves out of the ancient *Roman, Greek and Egyptian* writers, that several gods the old philosophers introduced were in effect one and the same thing; that is, that there is but one thing, which is all things, all the gods, the soul of the world, and the world itself. Whence we may gather that the ancients thought all to proceed from the infinite chaos, as they imagin'd it to be the first material principle, and *materia prima*, persuading themselves it was the same thing with the particular parts of the world: and thus they grounded all their multitude of gods and idolatries on these physical notions. And it is evident, as the same saint says, that this opinion was receiv'd and current in *Asia*, thence communicated to the *Greeks and Egyptians*, and from them to the *Romans*. Read the saint's own words.

2. *Lewis Vives* upon the words of the saint, *cap. 12. If the spirit of the world is God*, &c. says, it was *Pythagoras* his opinion, that all things were part of God, which implies, that there is but one thing in the world, that is, the chaos, or *materia prima*, which they call'd God, or the mind. *This*, says he, *was the opinion of Pythagoras, which Virgil expresses, Æneid. 6. Principio celum ac terras, &c.*

3. This plainly shews what opinion they held concerning all things being one and the same, from which they proceed, and to which they return; which made them call it God, as knowing nothing superior to it. The *Chinese* have the same notion of their *li*, which is the same as, *the nature of a mind, and the directing rule of all nature*, &c. or their *tai kie*, which is the same as, *the bosom of all nature, containing in itself virtually or consensually all possible things*; imagining that the said *li* is the universal substance, which fills and governs the universe. They have a thousand passages in their books upon this subject, I will here insert two or three of the chiefest.

4. (1.) To prevent any mistake in the names, it is to be observ'd, that their *li*, together with their *tai kie*, are the same substance of the first principle, only dif-

tinguishable in some certain formality proper to every thing: for *li* denotes the entity in particular, without any other circumstance; and *tai kie* denotes the same entity, in as much as it is the ground and root of all things, being in the midst of them, as the north pole is in the midst of heaven, and the king in the midst of his kingdom.

5. (2.) In the twenty sixth book of the philosophy, *pag. 28. tai kie* is said to be the cause why the heaven moves, and the earth always stands still, and men and causes perform their operations without ceasing; and shewing the reason of it, says, that the *li*, or *tai kie* is within the said things, as governor and director of them, which is the very office assign'd to spirits. *Cbing Zu* expresses it in the definition of the king above, or of the upper region, saying, he is so call'd because he governs.

6. (3.) In the first book of the said philosophy, *pag. 31.* it is shewn how the *li* predominates over the things of the world, and therefore there is no defect in them, so that when the heat goes away the cold comes; when the sun draws off, the moon comes up: in spring things sprout, in summer they grow, in autumn they come to perfection, and in winter are preserv'd; which was ever so, because there was a predominancy and government of the solid and true *li*.

7. It is also said in *lib. XXVI. pag. 9.* that the *tai kie* is the ground and cause of the production, and end of the world. Before the world was produced, *tai kie* was the cause of heaven, earth, men and other things. *Tai kie* shall again be the cause at the end of the world, that men and things should have an end, and heaven and earth should again be united in the chaos. But *tai kie* is always the same at the beginning or end, it can neither increase nor diminish. From these and such like discourses there are in the *Chinese* books concerning *li* and *tai kie*, it may be gather'd, that there neither is, nor can be any thing greater in the opinion of the *Chinese*. Some queries of consequence may occur in this place.

8. (1.) If *tai kie*, or *li*, is so great, as has been said, why do not the *Chinese* sacrifice to it, and commend their affairs to it, as they do to lesser things? They answer, first, That sacrifices being instituted for the well governing of the people, it was thought convenient they should be offer'd to things that could be seen, and under-

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derstood by the multitude, such as heaven, earth, mountains, &c. with the spirits, and operative virtues they acknowledge to be in those things. As for *tai kie*, they leave it aside without any sort of worship, as being most occult, and which is not to be enquir'd into by the people, according to *Confucius* his rule. They answer in the second place, That the wisest of the learned sect think not themselves oblig'd to these sacrifices, judging them to be a mere political ceremony, or are satisfy'd with offering them to particular spirits, supposing them to be parts of the universal spirit. Therefore doctor *V. Puen Su* said, he might well adore the dish of *cha* he then held in his hand, as knowing that *tai kie* was in it, after the same manner as it is heaven, and in all other parts of the world.

9 (2.) The question is, how is it to be understood that *tai kie* is the universal spirit, and the spirits of heaven, earth, &c. are as it were parts of it? *Answ.* According to the doctrine of the learned sect several comparisons may be brought to make it out.

1. Of water in general, compar'd with particular waters, as the sea with rivers and fountains. 2. Of our soul which governs the whole body in general, and each limb in particular. 3. Of nature, and the universal essence, which may be look'd upon in its being abstracted from individuals, and conjunct, or concrete in regard to them. 4. Of the *materia prima*, which being a general *ens*, is divided into several second matters, according to the variety of qualities it puts on. 5. Of a lump of wax, which being melted, may be chang'd into several shapes of trees, flowers, beasts, &c. and after that being again dissolv'd, remains still the same original wax it was at first.

10. By these comparisons it may be easily understood, that *tai kie* is the universal substance and spirit of the whole world, and the particular spirit and substance of each part of it, which their philosophy in one place expressly declares thus: All things are one and the same *tai kie*; upon which the comment adds a more universal clause to this effect, which is that every thing has its *tai kie*. The very same thing in *terminis*, is said of the *li*, lib. XXVI. p. 1. *Li* is one, but its parts are many: speaking in general of heaven, earth and all things, there is but one *li*; but speaking of men, and other things in particular, each of them has its *li*.

11. The third query. By what has been said, it is only prov'd that there is one universal substance in the world, and all its parts; but it does not so plainly appear,

that the universal spirit is one and the same *NAVA* with the particular spirits; therefore the question is now ask'd, wherein consists the formal reason of a spirit according to the *Ching's* answer? It being prov'd that there is but one substance in the world, the same argument proves there is one universal spirit. The reason is, because the substance and spirit are not two things, but one and the same, taken under two formalities, one of the proper entity, the other of its operation, or of the entity it self, in as much as it is the principle of operation; therefore as the substance is the same throughout the universe, and in each of its parts, so the spirit is equally one and the same, tho' it be universal, in as much as it governs the universe, and particularly in as much as it governs its parts. This point I heard very well handled by doctor *Hoang Jun Tai*, and doctor *Chen Mo Kien*, both great mandarines, and by others well vers'd in the affairs of their sects.

12. The fourth query: Allowing what has been said concerning the universal spirit, the question is now concerning the spirit of heaven, call'd the king of the upper region, what proportion it bears to the other spirits? *Answ.* In some points they agree, and in some they differ. They agree first in the substantial entity, which is the same in them all with that of the first principle, for which among them there is no greater or less nobility or perfection, but they are all equal. 2. In their origin, because they were all produced from the *tai kie*, when heaven, earth, and other things were produced, and are the same thing with them, so that they cannot be parted. 3. In their final determination, because they must all have an end, when those things end whose spirits they were, which will be at the end of the world, when the great year shall expire, as has been said.

13. They differ, 1. As to the places in which they reside, for some are greater, some less. 2. In their qualities and other accidental dispositions, which are agreeable to the places they belong to. 3. In their operations, which are more or less perfect according to the places and qualities on which they depend. Let this suffice to shew that all the spirits or gods of the *Ching's* are reduced to one only, which is the first principle, call'd *li*, or *tai kie*; which being the *materia prima*, or the air, according to the learned sect, is a lively image of the European *Jupiter*, and therefore those verses of *Valerius Sorianus*, *Jupiter omnipotens*, &c. may be apply'd to them both.

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NOTE.

The same question, and with much more reason, may be put to F. Trigautius, and others who say the *Chineſes* had the knowledge of the true God. Notwithstanding all this, *lib. I. cap. 10. fol. 52.* he ſays, 'Tho' the learned *Chineſes*, as I have ſaid, know one ſupreme God, yet they erect no temple to him, nor appoint any place to worſhip him, nor have they any prieſts or miniſters of their religion, or any ſolemn or ſet ceremonies, &c. But he gives not the reaſon of it. It ſeems impoſſible and incredible, that if they knew God, they ſhould have no form or ceremonies to wor-

ſhip him. They have them for a thouſand other purpoſes, and erect temples to heaven, earth, other ſpirits, and the dead; and is it likely they would erect none to God? The god that father ſpeaks of in this place, is the *li*, or *tai kie*; but I believe in no ſuch god. In reference to the answer that mandarin gave, read cardinal *Hugo de incarn. diſp. 37. ſect. 1. num. 2.*

In the firſt treatiſe of philoſophy, there is the ſmile of a piece of quickſilver, which divides it ſelf into a great many parts, and again unites, the piece remaining as whole as at firſt. It ſeems to me pat to the purpoſe. All theſe points ſhall be handled in the ſecond tome.

P R E L U D E XIV.

Of ſeveral Attributes the Chineſes aſſign to this firſt Principle, we have already explained.

FOR the better underſtanding the nature of the firſt principle and univerſal ſubſtance of all things, I will here ſet down the names the learned ſect gives it.

1. In the firſt place they call it *li*, by which they ſignify it is the being and ſubſtance of things, imagining there is an infinite, eternal, ingenerable ſubſtance, without beginning or end. This ſubſtance with the *Chineſes*, is not only the phyſical principle of heaven, earth, and other corporeal things, but alſo the moral principle of virtues, habits, and other ſpiritual things, whence came the axiom ſo generally receiv'd, *All things are one and the ſame*; and the other, *viz.* To go to the bottom of things, is to exhaust their nature and being.

2. They call it inviſible principle, becauſe that univerſal ſubſtance, conſider'd of it ſelf, before it became viſible by ſome change or quality, was altogether inviſible, and is ſo ſtill, if we look upon it with a metaphyſical abſtraction, in as much as it only regards its eſſ'cy, ſtrip'd of all qualities and individuating conditions.

3. It is call'd the firſt and ſupreme principle, becauſe from it all things flow'd, and muſt be reduced to it at the end of the world. In its own being it is perfect in the higheſt degree, and perfection it ſelf.

4. It is call'd the great *vacuum*, and vaſt capaciouſneſs, becauſe in that univerſal being are the beings of all particular things, as the waters of ſeveral rivers are in the ſpring, and in a root is the body, branches, bloſſoms, and fruit of the tree.

5. It is call'd ſingular unity, becauſe as in numbers unity is the beginning of them

all, tho' it has no principle it ſelf and is indiviſible; ſo among the ſubſtances and beings of this world, there is one ſingular in the higheſt degree, which is not capable of being divided as to its being, and is the principle of all other beings that are or can be in nature.

6. They call it mix'd and aggregated, becauſe in the being of this principle the beings of all things are virtually together, as it were in the ſeed; and therefore when this aggregation was diſtributed in producing this world, the light and pure ſubſtance aſcended, and became heaven, and the groſs ſubſtance ſunk down and became earth.

7. They call it conglobated and round, becauſe before the production of the world, the firſt principle was like a round ball which has neither beginning nor end.

8. They call it great *vacuum* and emptineſs, becauſe it can receive and entertain all things within it ſelf, and there is nothing without it.

9. They call it primogenuous or original air, which is at firſt that univerſal ſubſtance, but diſpos'd and prepar'd by the five changes the *Chineſes* imagine (as was ſaid *prelude 5. num. 3.*) that it may act. So that this air on one ſide denotes the firſt quality which flow'd from the *li*, and ſerves it as an inſtrument conjunct; and on the other hand it ſignifies the very ſubſtance of the *li* already diſpos'd to act, ſo far as according to the rules of good philoſophy, *actioe ſunt ſuppoſitorum.*

10. They call it, a thing that is in heaven, or contain'd in heaven; becauſe tho' the univerſal ſubſtance of the firſt principle be in all things in the world as in its indivi-

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individuals, yet it is said to be chiefly in heaven, which is the most excellent thing in the universe, and more than any other shews its mighty efficiency and causality.

11. They call it the gift of heaven, because heaven (with regard to second causes) being the most general cause which always concurs, and has the greatest share in the causality of the production of things, it is said to communicate to them the universal nature and substance of the *li*, and therefore it is call'd the gift of heaven.

12. They call it the natural condition and rule of heaven, for as much as it causes all things to be guided and governed in due method or order; yet not by any intellectual sense or rational choice, but only by a natural order and propension.

13. They call it the nature of things, that is, in as much as that universal nature of the first principle is communicated to particular things; as for instance, if we should regard the matter of any metal as it is in several vessels.

14. They call it the supreme solidity and fulness, because nature and the universal entity fills all things, nay, is the entity and being of them all. This is discours'd upon from the twentieth to the twenty fifth chapter of their *chung jung*; where it is to be observ'd, that the said universal nature of the first principle is stretch'd out within and without the universe, giving their being to all things, both in a physical and moral sense.

15. To this solidity, or universal entity, the *Chineſes* attribute what we do to the *ens commune*, that is, unity, truth and goodness. All which the author makes out by positive quotations of the classic books of the learned sect, to number 18.

16. They attribute to it all manner of perfection, as that nothing can be greater; that it is the supreme *medium*, supreme rectitude, supreme cleanness, supreme purity, supremely spiritual, and supremely imperceptible; in short, it is supreme and perfect in all respects, so that it is capable of no addition.

17. On account of these perfections they said, it is of an incomparable excellency, not to be equal'd, as appears in their *lun ju*, lib. II. c. v. And tho' in this place the said commendation be given to heaven, yet regard must be had to the stile the learned sect use in their *li*, that when they would magnify the king of the upper region, they say he is the same thing with heaven; and when they magnify heaven, they say it is the same thing as the *li*; but when they speak of *li*, they say it is great of it self, because they imagine it ever was of it self from all eternity, and will be without end; and it is besides, the beginning and end of

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all things, even of the king above and heaven, as has been proved.

18. Methinks some man may entertain a thought, whether this *li*, or *tai kie*, might not be interpreted to be our God, since they assign it so many and such excellent properties, which can only suit with God.

Ans. 1. Take heed, take heed, there's a snake in the grass; and a cruel Leviathan lies under the smooth water. No man must suffer himself to be led away by these seeming specious and honourable titles, but thoroughly examine what it is they are apply'd to, which in short is nothing but our *materia prima*; which is manifestly made out; for notwithstanding they assign it so many perfections, they also attribute to it many imperfections, as our philosophers do.

19. In the first place they say, *It cannot exist of it self*, but stands in need of the primordial air, which is equivalent to our coeval quantity. 2. They say, consider'd as to it self, it is a stupid thing, without life, design, or understanding. 3. That it can do nothing, but by the means of the air, and our qualities, which accidentally flow from it. 4. That it is the subject of all generations and corruptions, taking on it, and casting off several qualities, which, like accidental forms, constitute and distinguish the being of things. 5. That all things in the world are material of necessity, and there can be none properly spiritual. All this may be seen in the twenty sixth and thirty fourth books of their philosophy.

20. *Ans. 2.* That from all antiquity, there was never any man in *China* that ador'd the *li*, or *tai kie*, or offer'd sacrifice to it, they being all of opinion that religious worship is not to be given to any but visible things, according to the doctrine of *li kie*, lib. VIII. pag. 42. Whence a most important inference may be made, that the learned *Chineſes* were either very stupid, or else invented an outward religion, without regard to the interior: For if the *li*, or *tai kie*, according to them, has no divinity, much less can heaven have it, which is but an effect of *tai kie*; and still less can the king above have any, being nothing but the operating virtue of heaven; and still less can other inferior spirits or gods have, any which belong to the mountains, waters, and other parts of the world.

NOTES.

I must inform the reader that whatsoever the author mentions in this place, he proves it by positive quotations of the learned sect, which are writ out in the authentick copies, and in the original, which I have seen and read.

The next thing to be observ'd is, that as well F. *Matthæus Riccius*, as F. *Julius Aleni*,
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NAVA- *Alqui*, and the rest of the society who have RETTE. writ concerning the *tai kie*, do unanimously own with the author, that it is our *materia prima*. Nevertheless *F. Intorcata* in his *Chinese wisdom* writ, that the said *tai kie* had been our God to the ancient *Chineses*. If the brethren of the same family differ about such material points, why do they complain of us? *F. Trigancius* and *Morales*, some of those that are now in *China* holding the same opinion, say, that no small number of the ancient *Chineses* found their salvation in the law of nature, being assisted by that particular grace which God does not use to deny him that does the best that is in his power. It may be so, but I know not how it can be prov'd, if they had no god, the *li*, *tai kie*, or king of the upper region. I will make a particular argument upon this subject in the second tome.

The author says, the learned *Chineses* were very foolish, or feign'd religion. When was not idolatry foolish? says *Corn. à Lep.* I say they were guilty of both, tho' *S. Aug. lib. II de doct. Christ.* says, *If the philosophers by chance spoke any truths agreeable to our faith, they are not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them as from unjust possessors, and to be apply'd to our use; as the children of Israel took gold from the Egyptians to put it to a better use.* But nothing is to be found in the books of the learned *Chineses* that makes for our holy faith; so that we may say of them the same that *Fascic. Temp. 4. estat. fol. 20.* writes of *Numa Pompilius*, and other *Romans*; *It is very much to be admir'd, that these men of excel-*

lent wits, argu'd so sharply upon almost all things that are done under the sun (let us freely apply it to the Chineses) and yet sav'd so wildly as to the knowledge of the true God. We may here add the words of *S. Isidorus*, lib. V. orig. c. 80. *The folly of the Gentiles, which had fram'd to it self such ridiculous forgeries.* The fictions and ravings of the *Chineses* have been seen in this and the second book, and shall appear plainer in another place.

The *Fascic. Temp.* in the place above-quoted, speaking further to the same purpose, adds: *Observe, that holy doctors do not make use of the sayings of the Sibyls and other heathens to confirm the holy christian faith, but declare they had no prophetick spirit, but were possess or sav'd.* Whence *Augustin* arguing against *Manicheus*, says, *If it be made out that either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, or any other of the heathen diviners and philosophers deliver'd any truth, it may avail for repressing the vanity of Pagans, but is not to make their authority the more.* For as much difference as there is betwixt the preaching of angels, and the confession of devils concerning the coming of *Христ*; so much odds is there between the authority of prophets, and the curiosity of sacrilegious men. *S. Antonine* quoted above handles the same point. There are those in *China*, who take chimera's and follies out of the books of that nation, as a principle on which to ground their proof of the incarnation of the Son of God. It is a plain case such proceeding is not justifiable.

PRELUDE XV.

What Life and Death is, according to the Sect of the Learned, to make out whether our Soul be immortal, and after what manner.

1. **W**E must presuppose, first, *That all things are the same*, and only differ in the outward shape or figure, as has been said. 2. That the substance or entity produces the said qualities, *per emanationem*, as the material cause, and therefore they cannot be separated from it without being destroy'd. 3. That the universal substance being qualify'd and dispos'd with its primogeneous air, is distributed among the second causes, which are heaven, earth, the elements, &c. And therefore when the second causes operate, the universal substance is operating in the midst of them as first mover, tho' the denomination of the operation is not taken from the universal substance, but from the second causes, as is usual among us; for when they combine to frame mixt bodies, we make no mention of the *materia prima*, tho' it be in the elements.

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2. We must further take along with us four denominations or formalities that belong to the universal substance relating to the matter in hand. 1. That with regard to its own being, or as it is in heaven, it is call'd *li*. 2. That as it is given by heaven the most general cause, it is call'd *ming*. 3. As it is receiv'd by things, it has the name of *ying*. 4. As to its operations, it is term'd *chu*, *chu zai*; and this last formality being apply'd to man, they say this *chu zai* is the heart, which governs all that is in man, whether physical or moral.

3. In the first place, I say, the life of man consists in the unity and agreement of the parts of the entity of heaven and earth in the same man. The entity of heaven is a most pure light air, of a fiery nature; of this the soul is form'd or the vital or animal spirits which they call *ren*, that is, soul.

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soul. The entity of the earth is a gross heavy air, and of an earthly nature, of which the body is form'd with all its humours, which they call *pe*, that is, a human body or carcase.

4. In the next place I say, death is the separation of those parts from one another, and they return to those places they belong to: so *boen*, or the soul, ascends towards heaven; *pe*, or the body, goes to the earth. *Xu king*, lib. I. p. 16. treats of this point, where the death of king *Jao* is describ'd in this manner. He ascended, and went down; *the comment*, that is, he dy'd; because when man dies, the fiery or airy entity ascends towards heaven, and the corporeal mass returns to the earth. It is to be observ'd, that the Chinese here gives our soul the name of air, and so in many other places; therefore it is a corporeal thing, tho' it be very much rarify'd.

5. Thirdly, I say, as to immortality, that when the soul is separated from the body, both parts lose the being they enjoy'd as such, and nothing remains but those entities of heaven and earth, as they were before they join'd to compose man; for which reason the immortality, or permanency belongs no longer to the parts of man that was, but to the two entities of heaven and earth, which as general causes ever continue in their substantial being, and are only chang'd as to accidental form. The same and much more is to be understood of the *li* and universal substance, which ever continues immoveable in the general causes, without suffering any change, either as to its being or place. All this is expressly set down, lib. XXVIII. p. 41. of the philosophy, out of which I will set down but one saying of *Cbing Yu*, which is this: When man is compos'd and made, which is by the union of the entity of heaven with that of the earth, the universal nature does not come; and when he dies, that is, upon the separation of those two entities, the same universal nature does not depart: but for as much as the pure air, which is the entity of heaven, returns to heaven, and the corporeal mass, which is the entity of the earth, returns to the earth, therefore it may be said, the universal nature departs.

6. By what has been said, we may gather the literal sense of their *xi king*, lib. VI. RETTE. pag. 1. where it is written that *Yuen Yuang* going up and down is by the sides of the king of the upper region; for in the first place, *Yuen Yuang* is not there, nor his soul, but that part of the heavenly air, which once was the soul of that king. 2. It is said of this air that it ascends and descends, and that it is by that king's sides, to denote that it is of the same nature with all the air of heaven; and for this reason they call the soul of man, after it is separated from the body, *jeu boen*, that is, a wandering and vagabond soul, like the heavenly air which runs through all quarters. 3. The air of heaven is in this place call'd by the name of king of the upper region, to express its similitude with the air of the soul; for as that predominates and rules in the heavenly body, so does this guide and predominate in man's body; so that this is the formality thro' which the substance of the thing comes to be call'd a spirit, as was said prelude 11. n. 15.

7. Fourthly, I say, that true immortality is not by the Chinese ascrib'd to any thing but the *li*, or the universal substance, which was before all things, and will remain after they are extinct, after the manner our philosophers us'd to say the same of the *materia prima*. What the author adds in this place has been set down already. Let *Trigaucius* and *Morales* read this answer to it.

NOTES.

1. F. Catanius in his Chinese dictionary, which is famous among the fathers of the society, says the same word for word, and with much reason.

2. Add to what has been said, that there is a place in their philosophy, which positively asserts, that the airy part which ascends to heaven, becomes the same thing with it, which makes our author's design more plain.

3. The Chinese books explicate that place concerning *Yuen Yuang*, and others like it, very plain; how can we turn them to a sense contrary to all their sect?

PRELUDE XVI.

That the wisest Men of all the learned Sect do all of them at last conclude in Atheism.

Alleg. I Will here treat, as well of the ancients as moderns. As for the latter, F. Matthew Riccius in his history, lib. I. c. 10. affirms, that they are almost all of them atheists. Ages afterwards passing on, that first light was so darkened, that if any

happen to abstain from the vain worship of their gods, there are few of them but make a greater fall into atheism. At the end of the same chapter he expresses it more plainly; see F. Trigaucius in this place. This is in relation to the modern Chinese, in which

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RETTE. Of the ancients, the father says in the same place, that they own'd and worship'd one supreme deity, call'd *Xang Ti*, that is, king of the upper region, and other inferior spirits, and that consequently they had knowledge of the true God. But I, with the good father's leave, and the leave of others of our society who follow his opinion, am persuad'd, that the ancients were as much atheists as they.

2. (1.) By reason of their most universal principle, *omnia unum sunt*, all things are the same; which may convince the masters of this sect, that either they did not believe there was a God, or else they assign'd a chimerical and monstrous thing for a God, which is as bad as assigning none.

3. (2.) An account of another principle receiv'd in all their schools, that all things in the world proceeded from the *tai kie*, and are to return to it; whence it follows that the king of the upper region, and other spirits, had a beginning, and will have

an end, which is all repugnant to the Deity.

4. (3.) Because of the common opinion of the learned, that this world was produced by chance, and is all govern'd by fate. As also, that men after death return to the vacuum of the first principle, without any reward for the good, or punishment for the bad; whence it is gather'd, that the gods they assign'd for the good government of the state, are to them gods of wood, or stone, without any thing but the outward shew of a deity.

5. To prove that the ancients were atheists, it is enough to say, the modern *Chineſes* are so, because these are but the mere echo of the ancients, on whom they build, and whom they quote in their discourses, as well relating to sciences as virtues, but chiefly in matters of religion. And to shew how good grounds I have for what I say, I will set down what I found practis'd, by conversing with several learned men and mandarines.

PRELUDE XVII.

Of what several learned Men of note said, with whom I discours'd upon the Subject of these Controversies.

SECT. I. Of the Heathen learned Chineſes.

1. **A**MONG these, our author says, that doctor *V Puen Yu*, a great Tien Chu. *mandarin*, made out, that our *Tien Chu*, that is, our God, as we call him in *China*, allowing that he has some resemblance with the king of the upper region, could not cluſe but be a creature of *tai kie*: that all things are one and the same substance; and tho' it is said there are several spirits, yet in truth there is but one universal substance; nor is the spirit a thing really distinct from the substance, but the very substance itself look'd upon under the formality, as it is acting and ruling within the things. Upon this I ask'd him, says he, concerning the difference assign'd betwixt these spirits, whereof some are superior, others inferior. He answer'd, that as to their substance and entity, it was the same as well in heaven as upon earth; but with regard to the operation and efficacy there was some difference, according to the several qualities and dispositions of things, as has been said.

2. Doctor *Cheu Mo Kien*, a *mandarin* of the court of rites, having read F. Riccius his books, ask'd us upon occasion, What we meant by *Tien Chu* (so we call God) and we explaining it as we use to do, that he is a living intelligent substance, without beginning or end, &c. and that he had created all things, and govern'd all things from heaven, as a king does from his pa-

lace: he laugh'd at us, and said, we made use of very coarse comparisons, in as much as *Tien Chu*, or the king of the upper region, is not in reality one like a living man that sits in heaven, but the virtue that has dominion and governs heaven, and is in us and in all things, and therefore we must imagine our heart is the very self-same thing as *tien chu*, or *xang ti*. Tho' we labour'd never so much to proceed in explicating our *Tien Chu*, he would not permit us, saying, He very well knew what *tien chu* was, since we said he was the same thing as the king of the upper region. Our F. vice-provincial was present at this discourse.

3. Doctor *Cien Lin Vu*, tho' he was our friend, and had often heard our fathers discourse concerning the true God, who came into the world to save us, yet he could never frame any other notion of it than that he might be then like their *Confucius*; which they ground on their erroneous opinion, that there is but one universal nature, which is so absolutely the principle of all things, that it is all of them. And as for what relates to men, they who are more perfect, either by their good natural disposition, or by their own industry, do best represent that universal nature of the first principle; and therefore it is said, they are one and the same thing with it: so that speaking according to this doctrine, our *Jesus* in *Europe* is no more than our *Confucius* in *China*, and *Foe* in *India*.

4. I

4. I will pen^t to me and doctor point of difference low the law presently probable it have given tors were the first principle this, but do pres'd me might not that it was nion in *Chi* time.

5. Doctor tively, That stance in which of it limit or bound of necessity, region, and operative virt of the things rates. He ment and or came altogether and of necessity on of universi tion of the pa we properly c

6. Doctor words to me, I shall end with you say, that in heaven? he because he cor the king of th the resemblance names. 2. Be the upper reg end with the answer'd him, proceeded fro king of the up then his argu was not so, an order of the f

7. Doctor A exchequer-cou That after dea nor punishment to the vacuum And when we mortal, living rewards every ons; he posit such God, hea heard of in his

8. We ask mandarin of according to t was any reward V O L. I.

Editors
Note.

4. I will not omit relating what happened to me one day with the said doctor, and doctor Michael. We coming to the point of discoursing how in Europe we follow the law given by God; the doctor presently put in his opinion, saying, It was probable it might be like that the Chinese have given by Confucius, since both legislators were the same thing as heaven and the first principle. I would have answer'd to this, but doctor Michael in a low voice press'd me to forbear at that time, that I might not trouble his friend, especially for that it was not easy to confute such an opinion in China. Observe this till another time.

5. Doctor Sui Jo Ko told me very positively, That there was but one only substance in the world, call'd *li*, or *tai kie*, which of it self is immense, without any limit or bound. Granting this, it follows of necessity, that the king of the upper region, and all other spirits, are only the operative virtue of things, or the substance of the things themselves, taken as it operates. He said further, that the government and order of things in this world, came altogether from the *lie*; but naturally and of necessity, according to the connexion of universal causes, and to the disposition of the particular objects, which is what we properly call fate.

6. Doctor Cheu Keng Su spoke these very words to me, That our God, call'd *Tien Chu*, shall end with the world. Then how can you say, that man shall enjoy him for ever in heaven? he said it for two reasons. First, because he conceived that *Tien Chu* was like the king of the upper region, considering the resemblance there is between the two names. 2. Because he knew the king of the upper region, or spirit of heaven, must end with the world, as has been said. I answer'd him, That if our *Tien Chu* had proceeded from the *tai kie*, as does the king of the upper region and other spirits, then his argument were good; but that it was not so, and then I laid before him the order of the four causes.

7. Doctor Li Sung Jo, president of the exchequer-court, told us several times, That after death there was neither reward nor punishment, but that men return'd to the vacuum from whence they came. And when we told him, that there is an immortal, living, and omnipotent God, who rewards every man according to his actions; he positively deny'd there was any such God, heaven, or hell, as things never heard of in his sect.

8. We ask'd doctor Ching Lun Ju, a mandarin of the court of rites, Whether according to the sect of the learned there was any reward or punishment in the other

life? he laugh'd at the question, then answer'd, That it could not be deny'd but there were virtues and vices in this world, but that all ended with death, when the man in whom those things were expir'd, and therefore there was no need of providing for the next life, but for this.

9. I accidentally met with Cheu Yang Tien, who was well vers'd in all three sects, and so was a master, gathering many scholars in all parts. Finding him so well read, I ask'd him first, What the king of the upper region was according to the learned sect? He answer'd, It was the spirit or god they adore, and distinct from *jo boang*, ador'd by the sect *Lao Zu*, and from *Foe*, the god of the bonzes. (2.) I ask'd, whether that king was the same thing as heaven, or distinct? He answer'd, It was the very same thing with heaven, as was said prelude 12. num. 4. as also, that he is the very same as the *li*, *tai kie*, *juen ki*, *tien xin*, *tien ming*, and *nan jin*, that is, the earth's husband. So that these and other epithets are only the several formalities of the substance, or entity it self.

10. (3.) I ask'd, Whether this king was of equal standing with heaven, or before or after it? He answer'd, It was co-eval, and both of them proceeded from *tai kie*.

(4.) I ask'd, whether this king was a living and intelligent being, so as to know the good or ill men do, to reward or punish them? He answer'd in the negative, but that he operates as if he were so, according to the words of *Xu King*, lib. I. p. 35. that heaven neither sees nor hears, loves nor hates, but does all these things by means of the multitude, with whom it has an inward conjunction in the *li* itself.

11. (5.) I ask'd, Whether the king of the upper region were only one? He answer'd in the affirmative, and that he is the spirit of heaven.

12. (6.) I ask'd, Whether there be one like a king, who proceeds from the parts of heaven, as is imply'd by the doctrine call'd *je king*? He answer'd, That king is the air, which causes the generation of things, 'till they are perfected, as is evidently gather'd from the changes the said air causes in the eight parts of the horizon; and this is the literal sense of that place under the metaphor of a king.

13. (7.) I ask'd, If the king of the upper region is not a living creature, but only the air, or virtue of heaven, how comes it to be said in some authors, that he convers'd with kings, who said, they had his orders for doing some things? He answer'd, There never was any such conversation in that nature the words sound, but that it is all a metaphor and figure, for as much as the said kings have an inward

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corref-

NAVARETTE. correspondence with the *li* of heaven, and therefore they acted as if they had receiv'd orders from heaven.

14. (8.) I ask'd, Whether the sacrifice the emperor yearly offers to heaven, be also offer'd to the king of the upper region? He answer'd, That heaven and the king of the upper region were one and the same substance under two formalities, and therefore when sacrifice is offer'd to heaven, it is offer'd at the same time to the king of the upper region; and the same may be said the sacrifices offer'd to mountains, rivers, valleys, &c.

Confucius 15. (9.) I ask'd, Why would not Confucius, when he was sick, suffer his disciple Zu Lu to pray for him? He answer'd, Because he was persuaded, heaven and its spirit and he were the same thing; and besides, he never did any thing opposite to reason, and therefore there was no occasion to pray for him.

16. (10.) I ask'd, If the wise men of the learned sect do not believe there are real spirits, why did they bring them up among the people? He answer'd, To curb the multitude, that they may not be unruly. Thus far the said doctor, which of it self were sufficient to clear all these difficulties.

17. In this paragraph he names eight mandarines more, all of the court and several provinces; and concludes, And others no less famous and learned at this court, whom I pass by for brevity sake. Nor do I mention another great multitude of learned men and mandarines, with whom I convers'd in other parts of *China*, during the many years I liv'd there, for I perceive they all agree unanimously.

NOTE.

1. I shall say something to these points in another place. Here I cannot but take notice, that if the doctor who was so learned had so mean a notion of the god the fathers preach'd to him, what idea could ignorant persons frame? Our God is as much in *Europe* as Confucius is in *China*. It seems our holy faith is well advanced in that kingdom.

SECT. II.

The opinion of the learned Chinese Christians.

1. Not only the heathens, but even the Christians, when the question is categorically put to them, confirm what has been said, as appears by what follows.

2. In the first place doctor Michael, whom I work'd upon to lay open to me all the secrets of his heart, without his being sensible what I was doing. I made use

of this stratagem: I acquainted him that our fathers in *Japan* and *Cochinchina* study'd the Chinese books as they did in *China*, and some doubts occurring to them, which they could not solve, they desir'd us, and it was really true, to send them the explication of them, receiving our information from learned men of note and esteem. But that he must observe, those fathers desir'd to see the pure doctrine of the learned sect, without any mixture of interpretations given by us Christians. He was very well pleas'd to hear this, and bid me propose their doubts, and he would answer them, as understood by the learned.

3. (1.) I ask'd, Which were the authentic and classic books of the sect? He answer'd, The five doctrines, *zu ku*, with its comments, *Sing Li's* philosophy, and the chronicle *tien chien*; and took notice, that in these books very often the words run one way, and the sense is taken in another. By which he would express that they made use of tropes and figures, to be understood only by those who are vers'd in the mysteries of their sect.

4. (2.) I ask'd, Whether the expositors of those doctrines, and particularly the learned that liv'd while the family *Sung* reign'd, were reputed of good authority at present in *China*? He answer'd, Their authority was very great, because they had corrected the text of the ancient doctrines, and had moreover commented upon them, without which they would be all in the dark. And therefore with good cause it is establish'd, that at examinations no composition be allow'd, that is opposite to the common explication of expositors. And though these sometimes vary among themselves, and err in matters of small consequence, yet they all agree in essential points, and hit the design of the ancients. He observ'd further, that the learned men of *China* discourse excellently upon those things they see; as for instance, the five ranks of men, the five universal virtues, the government of the state, &c. But of all things that are not seen, as of angels, the rational soul, &c. they spoke very wild and fallacious, so that there is no relying on them. All which ought to be mark'd with capital letters, for the better deciding of these controversies.

5. (3.) I ask'd, If the Chinese can give no account of invisible things, to whom do they offer their sacrifices? At this he shak'd his head, and smiling said, The Chinese properly offer sacrifice to the universal heaven, and to the earth, mountains, &c. which they all see, thanking them for the benefits and advantages they receive from them. As for the spirits, they don't certainly know there are any, but guessing there

there may be them, together of the universal substance and

6. (4.) I ask'd, If there be any good or wicked doctrine of the sect, that they mention things. Here of the profession so short, in another life; which is not encouraged. He concludes preaches up his

7. (5.) I ask'd, If the deity of the sect, *Yuang*, who is the upper region was no further than the earthly part, the airy ascent to that king, The poet endang, felting like a king, a loyal and well

8. By what that according to ed, there is a soul, &c.

9. Being after he shew'd us several pos'd of things with an exposition in which tho' he has heard from he flies out into the Chinese doctrine makes out the I will here infer introduction to that all things stance, which from one another by the outwardities; whence our Europeans *omnia sunt unum* same, till at last atheism.

10. In the first that all the ancient spirits, or angels after another. tion of the Chinese universal substance performs its work the other those is call'd a spirit operations are on mountains, and as also in man

there may be, they honour and respect them, together with the aforesaid parts of the universe, believing they are the same substance and entity with them.

Future
Sect.

6. (4.) I ask'd, Whether after death there be any reward or punishment for good or wicked men, according to the doctrine of the learned sect? He answer'd, That they make no mention of any such things. Here he sigh'd and complain'd of the professors of this sect, for falling so short, in not teaching the things of the other life; which is the cause the multitude is not encourag'd to practise virtue in earnest. He commended Foo's sect, which preaches up heaven and hell.

Immortal-
ity.

7. (5.) I ask'd concerning the immortality of the soul, and the place of *Puen Yuang*, who is by the side of the king of the upper region? He answer'd, There was no further mystery in it, than that the earthly part return'd to the earth, and the airy ascended to heaven, uniting it self to that king, who is the heaven it self. The poet endeavours to magnify *Puen Yuang*, feigning that the heavenly body is like a king, and he sits by his side like a loyal and well-below'd subject.

8. By what has been said it appears that according to the doctrine of the learned, there is no God, angels, immortal soul, &c.

9. Being afterwards in the imperial city, he shew'd us several treatises he had compos'd of things relating to our religion, with an exposition of the *ten commandments*; in which tho' he treats of many things he has heard from our fathers, yet every foot he flies out into other things taken from the *Chinese* doctrine, which more fully makes out the true opinion of the learned. I will here insert some of them. 1. In the introduction to the commandments, he says, that all things are one and the same substance, which is their *li*, not differing from one another, any otherwise than by the outward shape, and accidental qualities; whence follow all the absurdities our *Europeans* deduce from the principle, *omnia sunt unum*, or all things are the same, till at last they come to downright atheism.

Li

10. In the same introduction, he says, that all the ancient wise men of *China* were spirits, or angels incarnate, continued one after another. Which according to the notion of the *Chinese*, is thus, that the *li*, or universal substance, as on the one side it performs its wonderful operations, and on the other those that are beneficial to man, is call'd a spirit; and for as much as its operations are observ'd in heaven, the earth, mountains, and other parts of the universe, as also in man; therefore several spirits

are assign'd to those things, all which to *NAVA-* the wise men are but one, as the substance *RETTE.* is but one.

11. *Je Ko Lao* in the preface he writ to this very book, alludes to the same, when he says, the king of the upper region, or *lien chu*, was incarnate upon our earth. Which he proves thus: the king of the upper region did incarnate several things here in the east in the persons of *Yao, Xun, Confucius*, and many others, as well kings as subjects; ergo, he might as well incarnate in *Europe*, as the fathers of the society say he did in the person of *Jesus*. By which it plainly appears, that to the *Chinese* CHRIST in *Europe* is no more than *Confucius*, or any other wise man in *China*. This was the reason why doctor *Michael* would not permit me to reply to doctor *Cien*, as I observ'd, §. 1. *num. 1.* because he himself still entertains this *Chinese*, or rather this confused notion.

12. (3.) In the same place he says, That *Confucius* his doctrine is perfect in all respects, and the very same with gods, which is an inference naturally deduced from the two points we spoke of last, viz. That all wise men are spirits incarnate, and all spirits are the very self-same substance, and therefore have the same wisdom, power, &c.

13. In the exposition of the first commandment, he says, we are to worship heaven and earth; and in the exposition of the third, that sacrifices may be offer'd to our saints, as is done in *China* to heaven, earth, masters, and other dead persons. All which is grounded on the receiv'd opinion of the learned that all things are the same substance, or parts of it, as has been several times said.

14. In regard this opinion, that all things are the same substance, is common to the three sects; he endeavours in this treatise to speak well of them all, shewing that all *Sects* of them have the same end and design, which is to assign a principle to the universe; and that therefore they border upon our holy faith, and come to be the same thing with it in essentials. And if any man should object the many errors there are in the sects, all of them very opposite to our holy law: He answers, There were not at the beginning, when the sects flourish'd in their true and pure doctrine, but that they crept in afterwards by means of the comments made by disciples, who did not reach the design of ancient authors; therefore he often advis'd us in explicating things, to use a two-fold, or amphibological method, which may be easily apply'd to either part of the controversy; and thus, he says, we may please, and so gain all. This is the method and advice Dr. *Michael*

NAVA- *ebael* gives us to preach the gospel in *Cbi-*
RTTEE. *na*. Let every wise man consider what
consequences we may and must deduce
from hence.

15. I also ask'd our M. *Albanasius*, who
had so much study'd the learned sect, and
perus'd several of the best libraries in *Cbi-*
na. He answer'd in some short and com-
prehensive sentences: His words are these;
1. The learned treat of men, not of hea-
ven; of human, not of divine things.
2. They treat of life, not of death. 3.
They treat of this, not of a future life. 4.
They treat of corporeal, not of spiritual
things. 5. They treat of one principle,
not of diversity of species. 6. They say,
things must be done without any design,
and that there is no reward nor punishment.
7. They say, men and heaven are the same
li; and that for man to exhaust himself,
is to serve heaven. 8. They say, that the
height of goodness and perfection is the
height of nature, and that there is nothing
beyond her. 9. That the directive rule of
heaven is the entity of the supreme good-
ness, which has neither scent, nor sound,
that is, it is imperceptible. 10. That na-
ture supremely good has neither beginning
nor end, and is only in the body and heart
of man. 11. That if a man does his duty,
his life will be happy, and his end easy.
All these are the words of *Albanasius*, who
says, it is requisite to oppose these tenets
vigorously.

Nang Ti. 16. I put the same question to doctor
Paul, who answer'd very ingeniously, that
he was of opinion, the king of the upper re-
gion could not be our God, and he believ'd
neither the ancient nor modern *Chinese*s had
any knowledge of God. But since the
fathers upon good motives call that king
God, that the learned *Chinese*s might make
no objections, and because this epithet was
decent, he judg'd it good and requisite to
give him the attributes we give to God.
As for the soul, he said, he fancy'd the
*Chinese*s had some knowledge of it, but im-
perfect.

Abrijt. 17. Doctor *Leo*, the licentiate *Ignatius*,
and generally the rest of the learned *Cbi-*
nese Christians, ingeniously confess, that all
the modern learned sect are atheists, and
build on the common opinion of the expo-
sitors. But they further say, they are of
opinion, that to comply with the *Chinese*s,
we ought to stick to the text of the old
Chinese doctrines which make for us, with-
out minding the modern expositors. On
this very point depends the whole difficulty
of these controversies, for deciding of which
rightly we must beg the light of the holy
ghost. It being a matter of such conse-
quence, I will here add some considerations
of my own which occur at present, as shall

appear in the following prelude.

This prelude, which would be of great
consequence, is wanting; so that the trea-
tise remains lops'd, and imperfect, tho' it
contains enough for those that have an in-
sight into the matter.

NOTES.

1. What the bishop of *Nan King*, disp.
5. c. 4. sect. 3. quotes out of S. *Augustin*,
suits well in this place; *The phibosophers*
themselves who profess learning, scarce deli-
ver'd any thing relating to the worship and
love of God; and tho' many of them diligently
employ'd themselves in suiting the manners of
men to civil and political virtue, and writ
long treatises concerning the same civil virtue,
yet they either very lightly touch'd those that
concern'd the worship of God, or refer'd their
disciples to the country worship practis'd by
the idolaters.

2. The fathers *Morales* and *Martin Mar-*
tinez, call doctor *Michael* the pillar of the
Chinese church. If the pillar and his doc-
trine were no better, how cou'd the structure
chuse but fall?

3. Doctor *Michael* compares and unites
our holy law with that of *Confucius*, and
consequently with the other two, for they
all three grow into one, as F. *Matthew Ric-*
cius confesses. We will here set down what
Corn. à Lapide writes in *Encom. Sac. Script.*
sect. 2. num. 15. Our age, which has seen
all sorts of monsters, saw a fanatick, who pub-
lish'd a blasphemous triumvirate of the three
impostors of the world, *Moses*, *CHRIST*, and
Mahomet. In *China* they assign us a *Quad-*
rumvirate; *Confucius*, *Foe*, *Lao Zu*, and
CHRIST. Note that according to the opi-
nion of the society, as was said in my pre-
sence, Dr. *Michael* was one of the best *Chri-*
stian learned *Chinese*s.

4. He gives all the sects a good word, he
will be at peace with them all, and is a-
gainst disputes or persecutions. This is not
the peace of *CHRIST*; *I came not to bring*
peace, but the sword. The bishop of *Nan*
King, disp. 5. sect. 1. num. 2. *Moët*, if
not all the professors of superstition and false
religions, were generally of opinion, that seve-
ral religions might be allow'd of, nor did they
altogether condemn others which they did not
follow. But the true and lawful religion even
condemn'd all others, in so much that the fol-
lowers of it would never entertain any com-
merce with those who deny'd, tho' it were but
one tenet of faith and religion. Which he
there proves sufficiently. In *China* order
is taken not to oppose the sect of the learn-
ed, not to speak ill of *Foe*, to use double-
dealing to gain all men (to undo all men
were better express'd) not to provoke the
infidels, to prevent persecution, &c. This
was

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Vol. I.

NAVARETTE. was great prudence in doctor Michael. But the greatest mischief is, that his advice prevails with some men. A missionary in a book of his speaks thus; Tho' there are in this kingdom three laws, yet that of CHRIST is most holy and perfect. You should say, father missionary, That only the law of God and his Son JESUS CHRIST, is good and holy, that only that can save, that the rest are wicked and pestifential; otherwise I must say, you desire to be at peace with them all, and grant them to be good and holy.

5. So that it seems good motives and policy are allow'd some weight in these cases. Human policy and prudence has stretch'd so far, as to make him a true god who is not so, nay, even that which is destitute of vegetative life. The heathen policy extendeth not so far, for tho' it made and unmade gods, yet it knew no true deity; yet they that know one, take away its divinity to bestow it on a mere creature. This is the great power Trismegistus spoke of; *And that men had taken that great and wonderful power of making gods.* We have seen it of late years in China, as shall appear in another place.

6. I highly approve of Athanasius his opinion, that the learned sect ought to be vigorously oppos'd, yet it is not receiv'd nor made use of.

7. The learned sect is here excellently laid open and made known; it is expressly forbid to say it agrees either in the whole or in part with our holy law. If we observe the prohibition, and others do not, and any trouble or persecution should arise thereupon, we will give God thanks, and bear with it for his sake, rather lying under the scandal, than conceal or forsake the truth. Of how great authority all that has been writ by F. Longobardo is, may be gather'd by his many quotations out of the classick books of the learned sect, and the sayings of so many doctors, as well Christians as heathens, so that I do not see what could be added to it; our adversaries alledging for themselves none but the fathers, Riccius and Pantoja, and doctor Michael, it plainly appears they are far from ballancing of him. One thing I observ'd in China, which was, that tho' F. Longobardo was so great a missionary, so holy a man as all people own; and in method, stile, distribution, and variety of this treatise, shews himself to be a metaphysician, divine, humanist, and well vers'd in the Chinese sciences; yet those of his family who will not follow him, lessen his reputation, by saying, he was no great divine.

Here the words of Boetius are to the purpose; *Many men have often gain'd a great name by the false conceits of the multitude.* But

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allowing that others might excel him in divinity, does it therefore follow that they have more knowledge of the learned Chinese sect? Not at all; for then it would follow that any missionary must understand the said sect better than all the doctors and authors of it, in regard he must out do them all in divinity. I must add further, that this point may not be argued any more, that all the author quotes is in their books, and so understood by the Chinese.

8. I must add, that I was the first cause that brought all at length to agree, that the Chinese king of the upper region, neither is, nor can be our god. The compassing of this only thing makes me think all my sufferings well bestow'd.

9. In this place, among others one considerable point might be argu'd, which is, Whether the Chinese, who have hitherto believ'd this king of the upper region to be our god, have had a supernatural faith concerning him? according to what has been premis'd, I am something confident they had not. It will be requisite to discourse upon this subject in the second tome; for the present it will suffice to see what divines teach as to this point: They, as S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 1. disp. 2. art. 4. §. *resolutio hujus dubii*, are of the same opinion I have declar'd my self. Serra, art. 3. q. 1. decides the same with S. Thomas; so Gonet, Ferre, and others. What the consequences are may easily be infer'd, I will write them in another place. The chiefest, to which all the others tend and are reduc'd, is, Whether those who liv'd and dy'd in no other faith, but that that supreme king was our god, could be sav'd. I propos'd some doubts concerning it at Rome, drawn from the doctrine of this treatise, which I and others look upon as most true; but they at that court not understanding the Chinese letter, nothing was decided: I will set them down in my second tome.

It might also be here discuss'd, whether the Chinese, being as they are really atheists, and having no knowledge of God, angels, rational soul, reward or punishment in the life to come, are capable of oaths, or the like? The occasion of the doubt is taken from S. Paul, Heb. vi. that those who swear, *do swear by one greater than themselves.* The atheists own no superior being, or greater than themselves, and consequently are not capable of an oath. This is the opinion of Leander, tract. 1. de juram. disp. 6. q. 44. where he quotes, to confirm his opinion, Suarez, Fagundez, and Palao.

I must say I have seen the contrary, and taken notice of it in the Chinese atheists spoken of in this treatise. Which may be prov'd, first, because they sacrifice, pray

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to,

Let us call it a little more.

NAVA- to, and beg of heaven, the sun, moon, RETTE. and other things already mention'd; whence it follows they own a superiority in them. The consequence to me seems good: Then why may not this superiority suffice for an oath? We see that notwithstanding their atheism, they worship the heaven, earth, &c. as superior beings, as such they honour, reverence, and fear them; and in reality they swear and have certain ceremonies to render the oath more solemn. Nor do the Chinese atheists imagine there is nothing greater than themselves, none of them are

so extravagant; then consequently they own a superior, which suffices for them to bring him as a witness: this will hold in general, or absolutely, not if we come to determine of the nature of an oath. And if this be deny'd, why may not the sacrifices, prayers, and supplications be as well deny'd? have not these too respect to a superior? I find all the several species of oaths among those heathens, that for asserting what they say, that for threatening, and that for execrating.

The End of the Fifth Book.

B O O K.

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BOOK VI.

The AUTHOR's Travels.

CHAP. I.

His Voyage to New Spain.

1. **M**Y holy father S. Thomas, *lett.* 2. in *Rom.* i. teaches that only great things are to be written, that they may be continu'd in the memory of men. *It has not been the custom to write any but great things which are worthy to be remembered, and ought to be transmitted to posterity.* These words have much discourag'd me from writing this book, nevertheless the rarity of some things, and the novelty of others, made me resolve to take pen in hand, and give an account of what I my self have seen. Our *Oleaster in princip. num. 33.* says thus, *Posterity is pleas'd to bear, not only the famous actions of their ancestors, but also their dangers, sufferings, and other things of that nature, tho' they be toilsome.* I cannot truly say, that *I have compassed the earth, and walk'd over the sea and dry land.* But it was not thro' curiosity or covetousness, which usually encourage many to such undertakings. This work was much forwarded by the superfluous spare time I had in the island *Madagascar*, where, to divert it, and be less sensible of my long stay there, I made my benefit of the words of *Ecclus. xxxviii. 25. Write in time of leisure.*

2. I have read some printed travels, and observ'd several things in them, which as being common and trivial, deserve no reflection, nor making a mystery of, or magnifying them. I read an account of a journey certain persons made from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, which does so magnify the difficulties, hardships, sufferings, hunger, cold, and other calamities, that the author makes it sufficiently appear, he has far outdone the truth of what it really is: and if he takes such liberty to launch out in speaking of a road so well known, so much beaten, and so common, and than which there are certainly some worse in *Spain*, what will he do when he writes of travels through places less known to, and more remote from us? I will not follow this method, nor make a mystery where there is none; I will endeavour not to tire the reader with needless extolling of things,

and crying up that which is ordinary and common.

3. That certain and generally receiv'd opinion all men had conceiv'd (and no man either here or there does at all question) of the rigid and most exact regular observance of our province of the holy *Rafary* in the *Philippine* islands, was the motive that made me resolve to leave my kindred, country, and friends, and undertake so tedious a journey, and two such long voyages, as there are from *Spain* to the utmost bounds of *Asia*. This great part of the world commences at those islands. It is no small contradiction to human nature, to leave ones country. *Nazianz. epist. 108.* calls it, *The common mother.* *Lyra* in *2 Reg. cap. xx.* says the same. 'Tis true, that to religious men, all the world is their country. The same saint says so, *epist. 28. To me every land, and never an one is my country.* And *Hugo de Sanc. Viſt. lib. 3. de disſaſe. cap. ult.* writes thus: *He is still very tender to whom his country is sweet; he is brave who accounts all nations his country; he is perfect to whom the world is a banishment.* Here the words of *St. Paul* suit well; *We have here no settled city, but we seek after one to come.* So that of *Tertulian de martyr. cap. 2.* where he teaches and proves, by what *St. Cyprian* says, *epist. 18.* that this world rather deserves the name of a prison and dungeon, than of a habitation and native country. *Diogenes* was almost of the same opinion; *A worldly man, so he call'd himself, because I am a citizen and inhabitant of all the world.* To leave friends and kindred is more, a truth that requires not any proof, no more than to say, all this is nothing in regard of our duty to God. I do not mean in case they obstruct serving of him, for what *St. Jerome* teaches in this case is well known. *Go on trampling on your father, proceed treading on your mother, and fly with dry eyes to the banner of the cross.* *S. Bern. epist. 351.* In this respect it is the highest piece of compassion, to be cruel for the sake of CHRIST. *Be not mov'd by the tears of mad people, &c.*

NAVARETTE.

Read

NAVARETTE. Read Sylv. tom. 2. lib. IV. c. 8. q. 18. n. 137. Being then actually professor of philosophy in the famous and renown'd college of St. Gregory in Valladolid, I set forwards upon my journey on the 26th of January, 1646. Little remarkable happened then, though there wanted not some matter of merit. The author of the book that treats *de conversione gentium*, says, the first thing a missionary is to arm and provide himself with is patience, and truly he is much in the right. So many provocations occur every moment, that if this virtue be wanting, the bravest and most resolv'd spirit will soon dismay. *It is patience, says he, which causes the mind in adversity not to depart from the love of God, and the righteousness of justice. And when the manners of others are insupportable, says the apostle, bearing up one another, granting, that is sparing.* Read Tertullian, cap. 8. *de patientia*. where he has much to this purpose; and let every man endeavour to provide so good a companion.

4. The second night we lay at *Salamanca*; the scholars were at variance, and that night one of them was kill'd. I look upon it as most certain, that no scholar has dy'd a violent death in *China* these two thousand years, tho' there are above three millions of them in that kingdom. I spoke of their modesty and good carriage in the second book, in this place I might write of the lewdness and debauchery of the *Europeans*. If that were observ'd in *Europe* which is in *China*, as I have mention'd before, many mischiefs would be prevented. That murder caus'd trouble, some fled, others absconded; the dead man was bury'd, I saw him in the church of our lady *de la Vega*.

5. Two or three days we travell'd in rain and cold, and the comfort we had the last night, was to lie upon the stones. On the first of *February* we set out from *Placentia*, to lie that night at a lone inn, call'd *Venta de la Serrana*. We soon met with a trooper, who began to molest us; he committed barbarities in the inn, abus'd the innkeeper and his wife, and two poor youths that were there much worse; because at eleven at night they would not wash their hands and faces; he turn'd them out of doors, the ground being then cover'd with snow. The fellow did such things, as a wild *Arab* would not have been guilty of, and there was no possibility of bringing him to hear reason. God mortify'd him a little, or else neither I nor my companions had far'd well. After this two other religious men came the same way, they had a little ass betwixt them, and barely as much money as would serve them to *Sevil*; they met with two soldiers, who took all from them. These workmen of our LORD begin to suffer before they preach in *China*

or *Japan*. When I travell'd in so much safety among infidels, as I shall shew hereafter, I call'd to mind these passages, and reflected on them by myself; in short it is, *A man's own family are his enemies.*

6. Being to cross the river *Guadiana*, we met two watermen with each of them his sword and pistol; they freely offer'd us our passage, but when half way over, they gave us to understand, that as for our selves the passage was gratis, but each beast was to pay a piece of eight. There was no appeal from them, nor any writ of error to be brought. We had recourse to intreaties and tears, through which God softned their hearts, and it was brought about that they should be satisfy'd with half a piece of eight a head. At *Villanueva* no body would give us a lodging, they were so kept under by the soldiers. Coming one evening in *Cbina* with a great number of passengers to a village where lodgings were scarce, the master of one of them turning away his own countrymen, entertain'd me and three servants I had with me. I then remember'd what happen'd at *Villanueva*, how well those two passages agree. Having spent that night uneasily enough, next day we went to dinner to a reasonable good town. As we came to the inn, the innkeeper came out to meet us very gravely, and with tokens of great admiration, ask'd, Fathers, whence came ye? We satisfy'd his curiosity, and he clapping his hands together, said, Blessed be God, I have gone out of my house three times, and return'd home every time beaten, rob'd, and stript, and your reverences and those gentlemen come safe and sound in all respects. Blessed be God: We gave God thanks, and had compassion on him.

7. As we came into *Berlanga*, we saw a troop of horse marching along another street: the captain was a man of a graceful presence. The chaplain rode with his church-staff before him; and the captain's mistress veil'd, follow'd the chaplain upon another horse. I like it very well that there should be publick prayers in time of war to implore the divine assistance, without which no victory can be obtain'd. Read *Corn. à Lapide* in *Exod. xvii. 15.* but *One praying, and another cursing; whose voice will God hear? one building and another pulling down, what does it avail, but mere labour? Why should God hear the voice of priests, and not the crys of open and scandalous sins? If the soldiers with their wickedness pull down all that the servants of God build with their prayers, what can we expect, or what can follow, but labour, toil, and weariness? Some say, it cannot be remedy'd, or that the redressing of it will cause greater inconveniences.*

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It is a great misfortune that the *Chineses*, *Mogols*, and others can remedy it, and in our parts they cannot. Something to this effect has been said in the fourth book. *Ferdinand* the first, and *S. Pius Quintus* were us'd to say, *Let justice be done, and let the world perish*; what a happy end it would have. There is no doubt, but the *Spanish* nation is more fierce and unruly than some others; there are instances of this truth. It is but a few years since two soldiers short of *Badajoz* met a father and his son, who carry'd a little saffron to sell; they took it away, and resolv'd to murder them. The son pray'd them to kill him and spare his father to be a comfort to his mother and brethren. The father desir'd them to be satisfy'd with his life, and to let go his son, that he might maintain his mother and brethren. They would not compound, but inhumanly butcher'd both the father and the son. One of them paid for it with his life, and confess'd what has been said, the other fled. If such an account were sent from the *Mogols* country, *Siam*, *Japan*, or *China*, should we find ever a man amongst us that would not abhor such nations, and rail at them, saying, they were barbarians, pagans, and had no fear of God? then let them be very well assur'd that these and the like barbarities are to be found among us, but not there. Here we might apply what in another place I quoted out of *Evangelinus* and *Oleaster*.

8. We come to *Santillana*, our supper there was light, our breakfast next morning none at all, for our *viaticum* was quite spent. At the passage of the river we took no notice of our condition, till we were over, and this contrivance stood us in good stead. I told the waterman how things were with us, a companion of his was offend'd at it; but the first of them who seem'd to be more courteous and pliable, said to him, These fathers have it not, what can we do to them? There are many passage-boats in *China*, and some over deep and wide rivers, but there is no obligation of paying at any of them; they ask something as free gift, and none give but such as please. We made haste to get to dinner to *Sevil*; by the help of God we got thither, hungry enough. We continued but a few days in *Sevil*, and kept for the most part within. *It is better to be at home, but it is hurtful to stray abroad*, says *Hesiod*. And *S. Anthony*, *A Monk out of his cell is like a fish out of the water*. There our vicar gather'd some alms. At *S. Lucar* we got some more, and his excellency the duke of *Medina Celi* reliev'd us according to his generosity, and the particular affection he bears our order. We had need enough of all this, for tho' his majesty supplies us

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bountifully, and orders we should have decent accommodation in his ships, nevertheless we are at incredible expence to get some little hole, where we may be by ourselves, and free from the noise of the sailors. The gun-room cabin cost us two thousand pieces of eight. Who would imagin it? Where shall we have it, if we do not beg and pinch our selves for it? They kept us seventeen days aboard in the river *S. Lucar*, spending our provision, melting with heat, and eaten up with flies and mice. Every day they founded the bar, orders came from the council to put to sea, but they did it not for want of water. A good clergy-man of *Saldanna*, who had experience in sea-affairs, came to me one day, and said: Father, your reverence may assure your self, that till the admiral has his wine, there will not be water enough to carry out the ships. He proved a prophet. As soon as ever he had got six-thousand jars of wine he wanted, the water rose wonderfully, so that we got to sea to the great satisfaction of us all. The council, added that good clergy-man, is very sensible of these contrivances, and that is the reason they send such positive orders. True it is they avail but little, and these men are the cause that the king's revenue is wasted, and passengers consume their provision; and what is worst of all, these delays upon their private account sometimes endanger a fleet. Allowance was then given for officers and seamen to ship a certain quantity of wine. *D. John de Mansilla* one of the directors of the trade went aboard, I waited upon him, as being my country-man and friend. He examin'd them upon oath, whether they had stowage of their own to carry the allowance that was made them. They swore they had. *D. John* said to me, I am satisfy'd they are forsworn, but I do my duty. The admiral took up all the ship; even the gunners made their complaint to us, that the cabin of the gun-room was taken from them, to sell it to us; they had as little mind to part with it, as we to give two thousand pieces of eight for it. We put to sea in *June*, and had we sail'd as they did before the flood, it had certainly been a great diversion. *S. Thomas* from the gloss on 2 *S. Pet. chap. iii.* says, *Then the air was more serene and still than now, for then there were no storms*: Tho' there are some of another opinion. Our method was, at break of day we sang the *Te Deum*. After sun-rising, having first consulted the master, four or five masses were said, and all the crew resorted to them; In the afternoon the *Salve Regina* and litany of our Lady was sang, then the rosary was said by gangs, some miraculous stories were read, and there was some discourse of religious matters. On

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NAVA- fundays and holidays there was a sermon. **RETT.** An hour after the *Angelus Domini*, (which is before night-fall) a man went out at the hatch (for he was continually almost under deck) and having rang a little bell in the saddest and most doleful voice that ever I heard, said, *Death is certain, the hour uncertain, the judge severe. Wo unto thee who art slothful! do that thou couldst wish thou hadst done when thou diest.* He rang the bell again, and praying for the souls departed, withdrew, and all the crew repenting for their sins went to rest without the least noise. During the voyage there was frequent confelling and receiving, little gaming, scarce any swearing, save only the master who transgress'd in this particular; he certainly fasted every saturday upon bread and water. The purser us'd to say to him, What are you the better for fasting, when you swear every moment? He said *Lazaro Beato*, that was his name, answer'd, And what would become of me, if I did not fast? That employment is provoking; but I have observ'd aboard *Portuguese, French and Dutch* ships, that their masters command with more ease and calmness than ours, nor are they so severe towards the steer-men as with us.

9. We were once talking of the disorders there had been in the *West-Indies*, about distribution and propriety of the *Indians*, things little talk'd of in old *Castile*, especially but little known among young people; the *Spaniards* call every division subject to a lord or proprietor, under whose command the *Indians* are, a vicarage. Several opinions are deliver'd, at last the clerk of the check deliver'd his thus: *If I were the king, all the vicarages should be in the hands of religious men, for it is certain it would be more for his majesty's, and the Indians advantage. If I were general of the religious orders, religious men should possess never a vicarage, for it is better for religious men to be in their monasteries, free from troubles and disputes.* I have since read what the lord *Solorzano* writes upon this subject. I have heard others say, and found it to be true by experience, that the clerk of the check was in the right, and in few words decided the case, which I think all men must of necessity own, if they consider the point with the least piety.

10. The first day we discover'd four sail, we gave them chase, they soon put out their boat and came aboard. They prov'd to be *Dunkirkers*, who had taken two *French* Ships, and were carrying them to *S. Lucar*. The eighth day we had sight of the island *Lanzarote*, and left it a stern. On *S. John's* or *Midsummer* day, we made great rejoicing, all our colours and streamers were hung out, the cannon were fir'd,

there was high mass, and an excellent sermon preach'd by the father commissary of the order of our father *S. Francis*, in the afternoon. There was a bull-feast aboard our ship, and so diverting, that I never saw the like in all my life. A *Mulatto* hand-somely dress'd went out to strike the bull with his spear; he rode upon two foremast men ty'd back to back, betwixt them he had placed a saddle, which one of *Peru* carry'd over; the *Mulatto* did wonders. The bull, tho' he had but two feet, was well furnish'd with horns, and laid about him at such a rate, that no man could stand upon the deck: all this while we were under sail, which was the best of it, the day pass'd away very merrily. This may serve to divert the reader. We read in *2 Macc. xv. 40.* *For as it is hurtful always to drink wine, or always water, but it is pleasant to drink sometimes the one, and sometimes the other; even so, if speech be always finely fram'd, it will not please the reader.* There must of necessity be variety in a voyage, and that of it self is agreeable, and sharpens the appetite of reading. On the feast of the scrappick doctor *S. Bonaventure*, in regard the father commissary, to whom we were much oblig'd, bore that name; and to honour the saint, the day was solemniz'd, we all said mass (being twenty nine priests) there was high mass, an excellent sermon preach'd by one of our order, a professor of divinity of *S. Thomas* in *Sevil*, a man great in all respects. He dy'd the first year he came into the *Philippine* islands; but, *Being perfect he soon run out a long time.*

11. Captain *Balladares*, a *Galician* by birth, being somewhat a head of the fleet, took two small *French* vessels. That captain was much applauded by all men; his joy was not lasting, for another day giving chase to a great *French* ship, he spent his main-mast, and all men rail'd at him without mercy or modesty. He went into *Vera Cruz* with drums beating, colours flying, and his prizes a-stern, and within three or four days dy'd lamented by many.

12. The feast of our father *S. Dominick* was kept solemn. On the eve vespers and compline were sung, with as much grandeur, as if we had been in *Sevil*. The chapel was so beautify'd both within and without, that we all admir'd it. The officers and passengers vy'd in bringing all they had to adorn it. That night they spent in honour of the saint, with music and hymns. Next day there was high mass, the father commissary was to have preach'd, but excus'd himself upon account of indisposition, and it fell to my lot to dishonour the feast.

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13. We arriv'd at *Vera Cruz* after sixty days sail, having endur'd but little fatigue, no storm, aboard our ship only one dy'd, aboard all the rest I think none but one dropt over board. There was scarce any distemper, save a little sea-sickness at first, all the voyages I have made since I have never been subject to it. We endur'd some thirst because we took in no water upon the voyage; the reason they alledg'd was, that his majesty had given strict orders that no time should be lost: thus they disguise their contrivances. It is likely the delay we made seventeen days at *San Lucar*, was the king's pleasure too. The vermin man uses to breed, as soon as we came to the Leeward island, dy'd all away, so that there was not one left; it is very strange but common to all Europeans. I am sufficiently inform'd concerning it by *French* and *Portuguese*, so that when they had pass'd that sea no European breeds lice. This I can safely vouch of my self, that during twenty six years I liv'd in the several parts I shall mention in this paper, I never bred one; whether I wore cotton, or woollen, whether I shifted me once a fortnight, or oftner, or seldomer, I was always in the same condition without so much as a nit. After I return'd through *Portugal* to *Casile*, the old habit of body return'd. I cannot dive into the secret of it. If the natives of the *Philippine* islands, *Cbina* and *India* bred none, it were reasonable; but that they should breed them, and yet the Europeans go free, I can give no reason for it, it is some particular influence. A religious man of the barefooted friers of our father *St. Augustin* happened to embark at *Manila*, designing for *Spain*, and *Rome*; he was troubled with several tetters, which many Europeans are subject to in that country; but having sail'd forty leagues north-

ward, he on a sudden found himself free from that distemper. Five years after he return'd to the islands, and before he could get ashore, that ill habit of body return'd upon him, and he had the distemper, tho' during that time he had been wholly clear of it. This is certainly very singular.

14. Another thing no less strange happened to another religious man of the same order, which I will infer here that I may not forget it. He sail'd to *Persia*, and travel'd thence by land. One day he alighted from his camel hastily to ease nature, and did it as hastily because the Caravans never stop; he happened to find a leaf of some plant at hand, which he made use of instead of paper; and he prov'd so fortunate, that it absolutely cur'd him of terrible Hemorrhoids that tormented him, so that he continu'd some years in Europe, and return'd to the islands, yet never had more of that disease. When he observed how he was mended, and reflected on the cause, he could never find what leaf or plant that should be, which he was much concern'd at, and blam'd his oversight, tho' the eagerness of overtaking his company was his excuse; it was pity he knew it not, it being a loss to those who labour under this distemper. These two passages, and what I said before, prove there are unaccountable influences. On *S. Laurence* his day we landed, dirty, full of tar, and in a scurvy posture, but well pleas'd we left so much sea behind us. We thank'd all that belong'd to the ship for the kindness they had shew'd us. To say the truth, we did them all the service we could, and they deserv'd it for their kind entertainment and civility towards us, the Lord reward them for it.

CHAP. II.

The Journey to Mexico, stay there, and further progress to Acapulco.

1. IT cannot be deny'd, but that the Spanish nation has been renown'd for extending the faith of *JESUS CHRIST*, and making it known to mortals. This truth is plainly made out by the many conversions they have made, the blood it has shed in defence of the doctrine it preaches, and the great number that daily leave their country and parents on this account. This seems to be peculiar to Spain, says *Gilbertus Genebrardus* a French man, lib. VIII. *Chronolog. An. 1492. Which year, says this grave author, the war of the Spaniards against the Moors was begun, and their expedition to the West-Indies began, as if it were the work of the Spaniards to subdue pagans and infidels.* The same spirit continues to

this day; and so we see that almost every year religious men go to several countries and provinces, without being discouraged by long voyages, difference of climates, and other great inconveniences they meet with every moment. My order has had no small share in this undertaking, as is well known to the world, for much is written of it, which I allow as receiv'd. To this purpose twenty eight religious men of us came into *New-Spain* in the year 1646. Four and twenty upon his majesty's charge, the rest upon charity, and retrenching our allowance. Being come to *Vera Cruz*, we soon found lodging upon charity till we went from thence, which was a great goodness of God. We presently borrow'd

NAVA- borrow'd a thousand pieces of eight to pay RETTE. for the gun-room cabin, for it was our bargain to pay a thousand at *S. Lucar*, and a thousand at *Vera Cruz*. They were lent us without any interest, and the owner waited till we found means at *Mexico* to get the sum, which we honestly repaid. For the better convenience of travelling, we divided our selves into three companies. All was new to us, the country, the trees, the fruits, and all other things. We pass'd through places infested with mosquito's, or gnats, which are very troublesome over mighty waters, heard terrible thunder, but met not with those uncouth roads, or mighty cold, which others who travel'd the same way the next year so mightily magnify'd; much whereof I mention'd at the beginning of the first chapter of this book.

2. At *Puebla de los Angeles* we repos'd our selves a little, and were very charitably entertain'd in the monastery and college of our order. We saw the city, the church of our holy father *S. Augustin*, which is one of the best in the world; we had the blessing of the most illustrious lord *D. John de Pallofax y Mendoza*, a prelate great in all respects, insomuch that it will not be in the power of any man to eclipse his grandeur: He was mighty obliging to us, and behav'd himself like a loving father. We went on to our *hospitium* of *S. Hiacinth de Tacuba*, without the walls of *Mexico*, where we found the very learned and venerable *F. F. Sebastian de Oquendo*, of the monastery of *Oviedo in Asturias*; he had been some years before at *Manila*, where he was long professor of divinity, preach'd much, and that with singular spirit and fervour. He was prior of the monastery of *S. Dominick*, and labour'd indefatigably in that province, honouring it with his learning and virtue. He had writ a comment on *S. Thomas*, several tracts of morality, and likewise matter for sermons; was a man singular in all things, never drank chocolate, never eat flesh, spent most part of the night in prayer, was held in great esteem in that country: after death his reputation still increas'd, for when he had been bury'd six years, his body was found uncorrupted. At this time he was vicar of that house; it is easy to guess how he receiv'd us, and what tender affection he shew'd us. Being altogether there, we began to live according to the custom of our holy province, without any other bed but only two blankets upon boards, two hours mental prayer, our choir duty, time of study, and the rest that belongs to our profession. On sundays and holidays we preach'd and heard confessions, and every week had publick disputes. It was our misfortune that the following year 1647, the ships from *Manila* miss'd com-

ing, so that we were forc'd to stay till the year 1648. That country was govern'd by the count de *Salvatierra*, a religious and affable person, who did us great honour. We made use of a precedent that had been to furnish the second year's maintenance and clothing; and the viceroy in pursuance of it resolv'd to relieve us. The assessor who was to pass the order, expected we should present him. Among the rest of the king's officers, there was one *D. Peter Zarate*, a man uncorrupted and consequently poor; he had a great kindness for us, and was wont to say, These gentlemen here understand their own methods; but I don't conceive nor comprehend them, let them look to it, for I hope in God I shall not go to hell for leaving my heirs plate. Three of us went to see the desert of the barefooted *Carmelites*, who entertain'd us as might be expected from their great charity, and the affection they have for our order. We saw it all, and judg'd it to be what it really was: Every part exhal'd virtue and sanctity. In our return we call'd at *Santa Fe*, and saw the house of that prodigy and wonder of virtue, the venerable *Gregory Lopez*.

3. At this time happen'd that terrible storm against the lord bishop *Palafox*; God blest me, what was it they did not lay to his charge! These are things well known, and therefore I will not insist upon them. Two things I could never dive into, tho' I took pains about it; one is, the mask made by the scholars belonging to the society (it is a plain case, that the fathers who are so circumspect in all their actions had no hand in it) in which one of them carried a crozier ty'd to a horse's tail; another a mitre at the stirrup, and the figure of the bishop with the men he had on his head. All men dislik'd, and none could approve of it; the scholars deserv'd to be severely punish'd. The other thing is, that I make no doubt of the many privileges granted to the *Mendicant* orders to preach, and hear confessions; which grants have been made by popes, who have done it upon mature deliberation, in regard to the extraordinary services they have done and daily do the church. Now what I observe is, that in *Japan* and *China*, the fathers of the society have, and do still pretend that the orders of *S. Augustin*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Dominick* can neither preach to, nor hear the confessions of even the *Gentiles*, without leave had of their order, who are *Vicarii Foranei*; upon which church-censures have been let fly: And that they attempt to do the same in *Puebla de los Angeles*, contrary to the will of the bishop of that diocess. I say again I do not understand, nor can I dive into it, and yet this does not imply that they have acted wrong-fully.

1647.

Cuernavaca.

R. de las Indias.

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fully. There was a great disturbance, and no little scandal given in that country at this time; who was the cause of it does not belong to me to determine. I look upon what *S. Bernard* says, *Epist.* 78. to be true, *He is to himself a cause of scandal, who did that which ought to be reprov'd, not be who reproves it.* No doubt but the good bishop suffer'd very much. Some boasted afterwards at *Manila* (there are always impertinent people) that they had got the better, and thrust up the said bishop into a hole at *Ojima*. All I know of it is, that he liv'd and dy'd in that hole as they call it, with great reputation of piety, and that his body is at this time held in great veneration. The rest is left to God.

4. Leaving aside many things which are not material to the reader, I will go on with my travels. In *Novemb.* 1647. three of us set out for *Acapulco*, to expect the ships from *Manila*, and provide necessaries for our voyage. We went no doubt too soon, but our eagerness to be at the end of our journey made things appear rather as we wish'd, than as they were. We soon came to *Cuernabaca*, from the top of which place we discover'd that famous vale from which the marquesses *del Valle* take name. It look'd like a terrestrial paradise, and *Cuernabaca* seem'd no less. In every street there were two crystalline brooks, shaded on both sides with most beautiful plantane trees; these are not planes, as was observ'd before. A little beyond this place, upon crossing a small brook, the temperate air changes into excessive heat. This road is indeed bad and troublesome, there are mountains that reach up to the clouds, and as uncouth as may be; mighty rivers, and the summer then beginning, high swollen. Bridges there are none, but abundance of musqueto's, o. gnats, that sting cruelly; some nights travellers lie in the open air. To secure our selves against the snakes, we beat the grass very well all about, and then set fire to it a good distance round; then got into the middle of it, where we rested as long as time would permit. We came to the place of the two brooks, where we pass'd the heat of the day expos'd to the sun. There are infinite gnats in that place; I placed my self in a small island between the two brooks to say my office, arm'd my self with gloves, and a cloth before my face, yet was it impossible to continue there two minutes. I us'd other methods, which avail'd neither my companions nor me, so that we were forc'd to make haste away; some places were tolerable. Being come to the river *de las Balsas*, we arm'd our selves again with patience; it is well known that river is very large, people pass over it on canes, which are supported by only

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four calabashes they are fastned to; at first *NAVA* it is frightful to see so ridiculous and weak *RETTE* an invention; an *Indian* lays hold of one end of it, and the passenger being upon it with his mules furniture, he swims, and draws it over after him. There I saw a thing that appear'd odd to me, every *Indian* wears a long towel over his shoulders, and with the end of it are continually driving away the gnats, and yet I saw their legs were raw with their rings.

5. I was told another thing no less strange: One of my companions went down the river to see for some fowl, he found the curate of a town, who, to escape the gnats, was in a little room close shut, and covered all round with clothes; they go not into any dark place. The heat was *Heat.* intolerable; discoursing of it, the curate said, That a few years before it had been so violent, that the thatch of the houses took fire, and the whole town was burnt. They were thatch'd with straw, and palm-tree leaves. Nothing could be beyond this.

6. We pass'd by night through the cane grove of *Apango*; in summer no body passes it, becau' the heat is so great people are stifled with it; it is six leagues long, and as many over, two cannot go abreast. At break of day my mule spy'd a lion, which made her start, so that she had like to have thrown me; at our shouts the lion went away slowly into the thickest part. At sun-rising we came to the town, where we were well receiv'd by the curate who was born in *old Castile*, his name *Santoyo*. He wore a cloth upon his shoulder to defend himself against the gnats, and ceas'd not beating with it a moment. Discoursing about the cane grove we came through, he told us how troublesome and dangerous it was to pass when the waters were out, as well because they met there, as by reason of the snakes that bred in the trees; so that when he went to the town on the other side of it to say mass, or to any sick person, he carry'd two *Indians* before him with hatchets to cut down the boughs, or could not go through, because certain small green snakes bred upon the boughs among the leaves, which by reason of their colour were hard to be discern'd, and as any one pass'd, would let themselves down upon his hat or cap, and then make to the face, sting, and immediately a man falls down dead. Their poison must needs be very strong.

7. Short of the river *del Papagayo*, or of the parrot, there are some fugar-works; *R. del Pa.* we arriv'd at them just as a poor *Indian* putting the cane into the mill, had his arm drawn in and ground to mash: He made his confession, with the assistance of an interpreter, because he would have it so, and dy'd soon after.

H h

8. At

Cuernabaca.

Apango.

R. de las Balsas.

NAVA-
RETTE.
Tifla.

8. At *Tifla*, because the place was com-
modious, we rested two days and a half,
without spending our time idly. We vi-
sited the curate, who then kept his bed,
having been sore wounded with a spear
by a villanous *Mulatto*, and the curate being
old was very weak. The governor *D. Jo-
seph de Casten* was not able to turn him-
self in his bed, because his leg was broke.
Other *Spaniards* labour'd under spiritual
distempers, because all of them having had
a great falling out with the curate, they
would not be reconcil'd to him, tho' he
from his bed heartily begg'd their pardon
for any displeasure he had done them. The
governor was willing to comply, as be-
lieving the misfortune he labour'd under
had befallen him for having quarrell'd with
the curate. Fathers, said he to us, I was
going to a small town, and rode my mule,
which is a good temper'd beast, the road
as plain as my hand, I was discoursing
with my friend concerning our quarrel with
the curate, and said, before *George* I will
furnish the curate with matter of merit. No
sooner had I spoke the words but my mule
stumbled, down I came in a moment, and
my leg was broke. It was certainly a judg-
ment, I'll have no more falling out with
priests. The ensign *Valenzuela*, who was
as deep in the mire as any, prov'd obsti-
nate, ill-natur'd, and inflexible to all our
exhortations to him to speak but a word
or two to the curate, by way of condoling
with him for his distemper, which was as
much as we desir'd of him. He agreed to
it with an ill will, and we went together
to the poor curate's house. The ensign went
in stamping, and in a haughty tone said;
No more quarrelling, master curate, let
every man stay in his own house and look
to it, let us not scandalize the town. We
were out of countenance, and the curate was
struck dumb, that he had not a word to say
for himself. In this posture we left that
business. The *Mulatto* was fled, and we
contin'd our journey on the day of the
conception of the blessed Virgin, when there
was a bull-feast. I shall never forget *Val-
enzuela's* perverse temper. *D. Joseph* the
governor was of a generous disposition,
and was a genteel person; I heard some
years after that he was not cur'd, but walk'd
about *Mexico* upon crutches; it is likely he
did not forget what he said to us when he
was in bed. Remembling the very words
Valenzuela spoke to the curate when he vi-

sited him with us, I thought good to set
them down, for it is no small rarity that I
should keep them in mind twenty five years.
Master curate, said he, since what's past is
past, let us have no more trouble about it.
An excellent way of begging pardon, es-
pecially considering his way of delivering
himself, which cannot be describ'd.

7. We saw abundance of pheasants by
the way, and some trees peculiar to that
country; particularly one the *Spaniards* call
the organ-tree: It is a very proper name,
for the shape of it is exactly like an organ.
I never saw such a tree in all my travels but
only on that road. At a little town the
Indian governor spoke to us; among other
things he told us in broken *Spanish*. That
he had a son whose name was *D. Francisco
de Aragon, Portugal, Mendoza, Gulman,
Manrique, y Campuzano*. We were pleas'd
at his noble surnames, and the *Indian's* va-
nity. It pleas'd God we came safe to *Aca-
pulco*, which in the country language signifies *Acapulco*.
mouth of bell. I must here insert one thing
which I happen'd to omit in the foregoing
chapter: The monastery of the religious
men of the order of *S. John of God* was
at this time building at *Mexico*. The church
was finish'd and finely contriv'd; the work
went on, and yet it was not known who
was at the charge. Some endeavours were
us'd to discover it, but without success.
Only the prior knew the founder, under
this tie of secrecy, that whensoever he dis-
cover'd him the work should cease. I ever
lik'd this action, he fought for no reward
in this world who so carefully conceal'd his
charity, he reserv'd all for the next life,
where doubtless he receiv'd great interest:
Read *Oleas*. in *Exod. xxv. ad mores* to this
point. I have often ask'd, whether this
benefactor was yet known, and was at last
told that after his death he was, and that
he was an honest man of no great account
in that new world. About that same time
Lorenzana built the renowned monastery of
the incarnation. I am inform'd others have
been built since. *Mexico* is one of the no-
blest cities in the world. I saw and hand-
led another rarity, which is the crown of our
Lady of the rosary at our monastery, it cost
twenty four thousand pieces of eight. They
tell me another of the very same sort, tho'
less, is made for the child *Jesus*, which
he holds in her arms. A religious man
of note gather'd alms to pay for this work.

CHAP. III.

The Author's stay at Acapulco, and Voyage to the Philippine Islands.

1. WE had a house hir'd for us at *Aca-
pulco* ever since the last year, a-

gainst the season came to go to sea: It is
usually hired for eight or ten days, the
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religious men use to stay there for two months to provide necessities. The houses are all low, without any upper floor at all; the best of them are mud-walls, and all thatch'd; nevertheless they made us pay four hundred pieces of eight for ours; this seems incredible, but to me who paid it, is most certain. Our landlady was a good ancient widow, whose name was *Mary de Esquivel*; she had a son a priest of a most exemplary life. He was excellent company for us: the curate's name was *N. Anjo*, born near *Osona*, above seventy years of age, he was something poor, yet the report went, that he had hoarded above twenty thousand pieces of eight. He once own'd to me, that one year his benefice had been worth to him four thousand pieces of eight. The governor of the fort was *D. John de Bracamonte Santistevan*, born at *Avila de los Cavalleros*, an affable, meek, courteous and accomplish'd gentleman. He held not that post as proprietor. The port is the best and safest in the world, as they who had seen many others affirm'd. Of all I ever saw, and they are not a few, none can compare to it. The fort is good, has a battery of excellent cannon; no ship can come into the harbour, but they can sink her. The temperature of the air is hellish, according to the name it bears; and therefore in the rainy season, which is the summer in *Spain*, all persons retire up the country for better air, excepting the blacks, some poor people, and the soldiers. Whilst I was there my two companions fell sick, and I continu'd in health to attend them, and do our other business. That is such a country, that if a man will keep a servant, it will cost him at least a crown a day, besides his diet; and if there are ships in the harbour, three pieces of eight will not do. I never saw a dearer country in all my travels. I was forc'd to do all our business my self, because our money would not reach to servants, and therefore I took care of the poultry, and fed them. The drinking water was brought from a little spring, about a musket-shot from our house; they call it *Chorrillo*, the little stream. Every year then vessel cost me two ryals (a shilling.)

2. Two misfortunes befel us in that place. One was the death of the governor of the castle, who was a real friend. I heard his confession, and attended him as much as I could. He dy'd in my arms, and was a great loss to us. They went about burying of him, and five hundred pieces of eight were demanded. I was astonish'd at it, especially because there was but one priest belonging to the church: at last they agreed for a hundred and fifty. At his funeral the cannon were fir'd, and it was strange that it was heard fourteen leagues

up the country. I would not have believ'd *NAVA*-it, had not the man who heard it, and was a person of worth, vouch'd it in my hearing. He was a particular friend to the deceased, and was going to visit him that very day the cannon were fir'd. He had lain fourteen leagues from the port, and hearing the cannon, said, Either *D. John* is dead, or some ship is come from *Manila*. This he told us after his arrival there. Several made interest for that employment: the viceroy gave it to a *Biscainer*, whose name was *D. Martin*—he prov'd a good man; he had been before at *Manila*, and liv'd not long, as shall soon appear.

3. The second and greatest misfortune was, that the church of *St. Nicolas*, which was at the end of the town, a great way from our house, took fire. It broke out about one of the clock, and about four all the town was almost reduced to ashes. The wind carry'd the fire, the houses were thatch'd, and dry as tinder, there is no doubt but it burnt fiercely. The rarity was, that the wind would carry a spark two hundred paces, which no sooner fell upon a house, but the flame blaz'd up to the clouds. The bells of the monastery of *St. Francis* fell down; their fall and the hole they made in the ground, were the cause of discovering eight pieces of cannon hid there by *D. Sebastian de Corcuera*, who had been governor of the *Philippine* islands, and was then kept prisoner at *Manila* by *D. James Faxardo*, who succeeded him in that government. The loss of the royal apothecary's shop was deplorable, all the pots and vessels were of fine *China* ware; and tho' the house was slated, yet that would not save it from utter ruin. In the yard of our house there was a shed in which there were thirty six long heavy chests belonging to *D. Sebast de Corcuera*, the six least were sav'd with much trouble, the other thirty were burnt, and the fire held there three days. All that was brass remain'd, but much disfigur'd; a thousand curiosities were burnt, abundance of rich *China* ware, which to save it from breaking, was pack'd up with cloves, pepper, and *China* ink. *Corcuera* lost several thousand ducats. Some have writ great commendations of this gentleman, as well in regard to his being uncorrupted, as upon other accounts, which might be very well sav'd; many truths may be conceal'd, but it is not lawful to maintain and publish the contrary, especially when the fact is notorious. To undertake for private ends, to give the lie to all the world, who were eye-witnesses of what was done, is to convict one's self of flattery and deceitfulness. According to the vogue of all men in the *Philippine* islands, he was no good man; some

NAVA- some in these parts will have him to be so,
 RETTE. God rest his soul, and give us grace. The
 fire went so far, that it got into our hen-
 roof, and burnt near three hundred. So
 that we lost the refreshment of our voy-
 age. One thing mov'd me to compassi-
 on, and made me shed some tears. Every
 man upon such occasions looks to his own
 house, without regarding his neighbours.
 The guardian was left alone in his mona-
 stry, and being sensible of the danger of
 the fire, put a stole about his neck, and
 carry'd out the blessed sacrament. The
 old man walk'd about weeping, without
 knowing where to secure his heavenly
 treasure. He went away to our house; we
 placed our Lord in our oratory. The
 fire came on, F. guardian took him up a-
 gain. We set a chair under a tree, where
 it stood some time, till at night it was
 carry'd to the governour of the castle's
 house. We three, with what little we had,
 stay'd in the open field, expecting some
 body would give us house-room. The
 governour was every where, he walk'd a-
 foot, and being fat overheated himself,
 which turn'd to a fever, of which he dy'd
 after we were gone to sea, as we were af-
 terwards inform'd. That town was so ruin'd
 and all men so sad, that no body spoke a
 word. Near to our house there were two
 large stately trees, the fruit they bear is
 like dry beans, they are an excellent purge:
 we saw the experiment try'd upon a little
 black; it was very remarkable, it never
 ceas'd working till he wash'd his hands in
 cold water, which stops it. Opposite to
 the house in the old fort were, as I suppose
 Tamarind. there still are, the tamarind trees, which
 are beautiful, and the fruit wholesome and
 very medicinal; there I took provision
 of it for the ship. In that place I several
 Zopilotes, or Vultures. times saw the king of the Zopilotes, which
 are the same we call *Vultures*, it is one of
 the finest birds that may be seen. I had of-
 ten heard it prais'd, and, as I thought,
 they over-did it; but when I saw the crea-
 ture, I thought the description far short of
 it. I mention'd it in my first book. There
 are in that country abundance of terrible
 Scorpions. scorpions. We were told a good and easy
 remedy against them, which was when we
 went to bed to make a commemoration
 of St. George. I continu'd this devotion
 many years. God be prais'd: the saint al-
 ways deliver'd me both there and in other
 countries from those and such like insects.
 We used another remedy besides, which
 was to rub all about the beds with garlick.
 We were assur'd there, that it was a try'd
 and certain remedy against this sting, and
 the pain of it, to stroke the part that was
 hurt with a child's private member, which
 immediately takes away the anguish, and then

the venom exhales. The moisture that comes
 from a hen's mouth is good for the same.
 I once catch'd another little insect that di-
 sturb'd the poultry, it was very deform'd,
 and of a strange shape. As soon as it was
 known, several women came to beg its
 tail; I gave it them, and they told me,
 that it was of excellent use dry'd, and
 made into powder, being a prodigious help
 to women in labour, to forward their deli-
 very, if they drank it in a little wine.

4. There is another little creature in
 Mexico, which they call *zorillo*, of a hel- *Zorillo*.
 lish nature, for when it breaks wind, it in-
 fests all the ground about with the stench.
 The greatest trouble we all of us had dur-
 ing this time, was, that no ship came from
 Manila, tho' the season was well advanced.
 At night whales would come into the bay,
 and make such a noise in the water, that it
 sounded like cannon; at first we fancy'd
 some ship was coming in, the neighbours
 undeceiv'd us, so that we took no more no-
 tice of that noise. About the middle of
 March a ship pass'd before the harbour to
 the northward, every body was alarm'd; we
 expected it should tack about, as being of
 opinion they had not made the mouth of
 the harbour. It accordingly tack'd, a
 boat went out and brought it in, but it
 came from Panama to fetch the viceroy,
 who was prefer'd to the government of
 Peru. There was some dispute, whether
 the viceroy should go away to Peru in that
 vessel, or should send relief in it to the Phi-
 lippine islands, whence no ships had come
 in two years. There were some troubles
 in Peru at the same time. A consultation
 being held, they agreed it was best to re-
 lieve the islands. The plain truth is, they
 had no mind the bishop of Campeche, who
 had been at Mexico some time to that pur-
 pose, should take the government upon
 him. What the consult had decreed, was
 put in execution; the pink was taken up
 for the king's use, for thirty six thousand
 pieces of eight. There is no doubt but in
 the East-Indies they would build four ves-
 sels as big again as that for the money.

5. This secur'd our voyage. I began
 with fresh courage to make my provision,
 and secure water, which is a main point;
 there was enough of it, but the putting it
 aboard only cost me thirty six pieces of
 eight. The blacks monopolize this trade,
 and it must be as they please. The vessel
 was small; the men, merchandise, com-
 modities sent by the king, provision, water,
 wine, &c. in so great a quantity, it seem'd
 impossible so little a ship should contain;
 and in short many bails were again brought
 ashore for want of stowage. The com-
 mander was our friend; he made the best
 provision for us he could, and we were
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much better accommodated than we had been the first voyage. Thirty priests of us went aboard upon Palm-sunday, the 8th of April, 1648. One of the king's officers never return'd me twelve fowl I had lent him, tho' he had no manner of right, for he did us no kindness, nor had we the least favour from him or his companions. F. guardian kept back six upon charity, that was the reward I had for the sermon I preached upon St. Joseph's day. As we were going aboard, a letter from the lord bishop Palafox came to our vicar, telling him, he received news from Spain, that the islands were in the hands of the Dutch, that he would do well to look to it. This news was spread abroad: I don't doubt but there was sufficient ground for it, as shall be said hereafter. And tho' it was enough to discourage any man, yet none were dismay'd the least, but we all resolutely declar'd we would see how it was. If we consider it rightly, it was a rashness, at least to human appearance; but God seem'd to have a hand in't, we were eager to go, and therefore valued nothing. S. Thom. in i. ad Rom. *lett.* 5. says, *That whatsoever a man eagerly desires, he seeks to gain it at any rate, whether easy or difficult.* He never considers obstacles.

6. On Palm-sunday we din'd aboard the vessel upon what our landlady sent us; for having receiv'd four hundred pieces of eight for the hire of two little pitiful houses she furnished us, after the fire we spoke of before, she now shew'd her self grateful, and treated us well. There is a lake near that place, which breeds an excellent sort of fish call'd *almojarra*, this it was we din'd upon that day. I put to sea with much satisfaction, and tho' the land we left astern was high enough, yet we lost sight of it that afternoon. Eight days we lay by for a wind; the heat during that dead calm was extraordinary. Upon Easter-day one mass was said, the pink was not convenient nor big enough to celebrate that high mystery, so that was the first and last. We never mis'd the *Rosary*, *Litanies*, and *Te Deum* at break of day; besides these, other devotions, and spiritual discourses. That day the wind freshen'd, and held without abating the least twenty four days. The sea beat hard upon the side of the little pink, which made it and us very uneasy. The commander, who was us'd to that voyage, said it was a strong current coming down from *Calipornia*. And though afterwards discoursing on this subject with one who thought himself skilful in navigation, he deny'd that any such thing could be, yet I believe what I heard from him that understood it, and am the better satisfied in it, in regard how ill the said per-

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son came off, when his opinion was thwart-
ed. All the jars and pots that were emp-
tied aboard the vessel, were cast into the
sea; a chest of biscuit and hen-coops were
immediately burnt to make us some more
room. We had hardly room to stand. No
body could live under deck, it was so full
of provisions and commodities. All men
lay expos'd to the sun and air. We had
the steer-ridge, which was no small comfort;
the cabin was very little, yet a great ease.
Having sail'd eight hundred leagues, we left
St. Bartolomew's island to the northward,
but saw it not; they say it is small, and
destitute of all things. We had a dead
calm for eight days again. The seamen
and soldiers would leap into the sea to cool
themselves, but would sometimes return
hastily to escape the sharks they discover'd.
A very strange, and to appearance miracu-
lous accident befel us. Some men went
down for water, to give all people their al-
lowance; when they came up, I and many
others observ'd they were as pale as a clout,
we ascrib'd it to the great heat under deck.
They kept their counsel, without taking no-
tice there was anything more than ordinary;
among the rest one Belasain a captain of
foot had been down: when we were ashore,
we understood that they going to look with
a candle what water there was in the cask,
lit upon a barrel of powder, in which the
candle went out, without giving fire to it.
This seems incredible, but certain it is,
that had it taken fire, we had all flown up
into the air, before we could say, LORD
have mercy upon us. When we do not
watch, our guardian angels watch for us,
and succour us in distress. When they told
it us, though we were ashore, it made our
hair stand an end.

7. There was another extraordinary ac-
cident, but of no danger. The master was
a Portuguese, his name Antunez, who no
doubt understood his business; he daily
computed how many leagues we ran, ac-
cording to his judgment, for in sailing from
east to west there is no certain rule. This
is a subject has employ'd many, and does
at present, to find the fixt longitude, but
I believe to no purpose. Some who slept
more than the master, would have it we
had run more leagues, and said, we were
past the islands *de los Ladrones*, or of thieves,
now call'd *Marcanas*: there was much de-
bate, and wagers laid. The master was
netled, and swore they should not be seen
till next funday. Every body look'd upon
it as a piece of Portuguese politiveness. Tri-
nity funday came, at sun rising he sent up
to the round-top, and said, This day be-
fore eight of the clock we shall discover
the islands *de los Ladrones*. It was very
strange; about half an hour after, he that

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was

NAVA- was at the top-mast cry'd out, Land a
 RETTS. head, land. They all stood amaz'd, and
 not without cause. That afternoon they
 discover'd four sail from the topmast-head,
 which caus'd a great consternation, but it
 was a mistake of the sailor. A small ves-
 sel made up to us; we lay by for it, to
 take in some refreshment it likely brought,
 which the natives of those islands exchange
 for nails and old iron. About night-
 fall it quite vanish'd astern of us. How
 that came to pass, and who was aboard,
 shall be said in another place. Three days
 after was a great calm, and after it follow'd
 a terrible storm. They lower'd the top-
 masts, and the commander was for cutt-
 ing down the masts by the board. The
 master's mate, who was an excellent sea-
 man, oppos'd it. The violence of the
 wind put us by our course. We stood for
 the channel of St. Bernardine, and were
 forced to steer away for *New Segovia*. Hav-
 ing discover'd the land of the islands, we
 kept our coasting along, and towards the
 shore perceiv'd high land-banks, shoals,
 and rocks. The master gave the steer-
 man directions what course to hold, and
 lay down to sleep a little. Fresh islands
 and shoals were discover'd ahead, and our
 commander order'd the man at helm to
 stand in to shoar. The purser presently
 step'd up and cry'd, A shoal ahead. They
 shifted the helm, and we weather'd it won-
 derfully, the vessel almost glancing upon
 it. The master wak'd with the noise,
 was in a mighty passion, and he had good
 reason, because they had not follow'd his
 orders. He stood directly from the land
 till we came into fourteen degrees and a
 half latitude. Thus we arriv'd safe on mid-
 summer-day at *Casigura de Baler*. Next
 day some people went ashore, but late,
 for which the commander was blam'd.
 They advanced to hear how things stood,
 the *Dutch* having been there with four
 sail, which had not the storm prevent'd. It
 had certainly taken us; the natives thought
 our men were enemies; being satisfy'd
 they were not, they receiv'd them. There
 they had a short account of the posture the
 islands were in, of the victories his majes-
 ty's forces had obtain'd over the *Dutch*,
 and that the enemy still infested those seas.
 They brought aboard with them two *In-
 dians* who spoke several languages, and
 knew how to carry a ship to *Lampun*. Hav-
 ing heard this news, and receiv'd these
 pilots, we sail'd that night, and the next
 day within musket-shot of the shoar, which
 was very delightful. That afternoon we
 came to an anchor in the port. About
 midnight the wind blew furiously at south
 west, and tho' it came over the land, it
 made our anchors give way, and was driv-

ing us out to sea. That wind seems to
 have been the effect of a special providence,
 to keep off the enemy. Next day the plate,
 and other goods belonging to his majesty
 and private persons, were secur'd, and it
 was propos'd to lay up the pink upon the
 back of a small island, that the enemy
 might not discover it, tho' he should come
 into the port. We set out for *Manila*, and
 by the way were inform'd how much all
 men were overjoy'd at our unexpected ar-
 rival. That great satisfaction was in some
 measure allay'd, for the enemy by mere
 accident discover'd the pink, and made to
 it. Our men being ill provided, at vari-
 ance, the commander but an indiffer-
 ent soldier, they set fire to it sooner than
 there was occasion; so that in half an hour's
 time his majesty lost thirty six thousand
 pieces of eight, and they that were aboard
 some reputation.

8. We travel'd four days afoot, not along
 a road, for there is none, but over hills,
 rocks, and inaccessible places. Some rivers
 we swam over, others we waded breast-
 high. On the mountains, which are very
 high and thick of trees, we found such
 multitudes of leeches, that there was no
 possibility of avoiding them; the blood ran
 from us all as we went. I declare it for a
 certain truth, that I saw one making its
 way thro' a shoe; I call'd upon others to
 observe that strange sight, as accordingly
 they did, and stood amaz'd at it. It rain'd
 very hard; we halted wherever night over-
 took us. The *Indians* made huts cover'd
 with the leaves of palm-trees, in which we
 lay upon the grass with the water flowing
 over it. The last day we went down a hill,
 whose ascent was two leagues, some said
 more; that day we descended as much as
 we had ascended in three. Some part of it
 was very rough, the rain continual, so that
 we tumbled every step, and could not a-
 void it; and I avouch it for a truth, that
 I saw some of my companions sitting down
 carry'd some little way by the water, and yet
 so well pleas'd it is hard to be imagin'd.

9. We came to *Apanguiel*, where there
 is a fine monastery of our father St. Francis,
 but were so wet, dirty, weary, and hungry,
 that nothing less than all the kind enter-
 tainment we met with there could have
 made us appear like men. Our cheer was
 such as agreed with those holy men's cha-
 rity. The next day two fathers arriv'd
 there from *Manila*, which was still fresh
 comfort to us. Another F. guardian, who
 was F. Luke, carried four of us to his mo-
 nastery; the church was beautiful, the house
 indifferent, the seat the finest and most de-
 licious that can be imagin'd. It stands
 high, and from a balcony there was a full
 prospect of all the lake *Bai*, which is thir-

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ty leagues in circumference, has some islands in the middle, and is encompass'd on all sides with mountains, groves, palm and plantane trees, rivers and marshes, extremely pleasing to the eye. We afterwards visited other monasteries, and still found every thing new and rare. We fet out in two vessels for *Manila*, cross'd the lake, lay that night at *Binanga*, where the guardian *F. Francis* made very much of us. The next night we continued our voyage to the mouth of the lake, where ten vessels from *Manila* expected us; in them there were *Chinese*, *Indians*, and the *Mungrels*. We sail'd mals, and getting aboard, sail'd down the river, being notably entertain'd with fireworks, beating of basons, and firing of muskets. The *Chinese* basons made us gaze, for tho' they are no bigger than an ordinary bason, they sound like a great bell. It is a strange instrument. The river is one of the finest in the world. That of *Goa* is wider and deeper, but this is better

set out with great houses, orchards, towns and churches. We went into some palaces, which would surprize any *European*. Being come to the bridge of *Manila*, a notable structure, we saw it cover'd with people of several nations. We were receiv'd into our monastery with ringing of bells, where we immediately visited the miraculous image of our Lady of the *Rosary*, the comfort of that and all the other islands in their afflictions and distresses. The sight of it rejoiced our souls, and made us forget all past toils. The father provincial, as a singular favour and indulgence, granted us eight days exemption from mattins. Those that came at other times said, he had dispens'd with them but for three days, and that the privilege granted was very great. To say the truth, there wanted not some that went to the choir that very night, but I had not so much fervor of spirit as to perform so much.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's Stay at Manila.

1. *D. James Faxardo Cbacon* govern'd the islands at this time; this gentleman was excellently qualify'd for government, because he hated money and women. *F. Andrew Gomez*, a religious man of my order, carry'd him a little bit of the holy cross set in gold. He valued it at a great rate, but would not accept of the relic till the gold was taken off. He retir'd too much, and gave ear to none but *Emanuel Estacio de Venegas*, who grew so proud of his power and preferment, that he govern'd absolutely. He was no less dreaded by all men, than *Nero* was in his time, but he suffer'd for it afterwards. *D. James Faxardo* had now kept *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* in prison five years. A strange turn of fortune! *D. Sebastian* had been the most absolute, the most dreaded lord in the world. In his time happen'd the banishment of that archbishop so much talk'd of throughout all those nations. He undertook the war of *Ilo*, where the gentry of *Manila* perish'd. The island *Hermosa* was lost, by his neglecting to relieve it, as all men there say. He gather'd vast wealth. He was sent a prisoner to *New Spain*, and afterwards to *Madrid*, where it is said he came off well. They expected other sort of news than they heard of him at *Manila*. Some body has writ that he was a man that regard'd not interest, but the author gives no proof of it but his bare word. I read it in a pamphlet that *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* clear'd himself, alledging, he had gather'd his riches out of his majesty's allowance. But

another pamphlet argues against him thus. First, That governors cannot deal or trade with his majesty's allowance. 2. That it is impossible he could with his allowance gain as much as the *Custodium* cost, which was lately brought to his majesty; what he lost in the ship that was cast away upon the islands of *los Ladrones*; what was burnt at *Acapulco*; the plate he had at *Mexico*; and what was taken of his at *Burgos*. Nor does it follow that he was a good governor, because he has since behav'd himself like a good Christian: nor is there any ill consequence can follow of speaking the truth out of a true zeal, only that they are displeas'd to hear it, who do not desire to know it. *Estacio de Venegas*, whilst a private man in *Manila*, was belov'd by all men, when a favourite he was hated: there is a great deal of difference between being in a post, or being in none, to make a man's actions be the rule of honesty. *D. Sebastian* was the inventor of the *vandalas*, (it is a name given by the natives, and signifies a division, or rather assessment) which has been the ruin of all men. For the better understanding of it, I will explain it in a few words. In the first place I must declare it is a great piece of ignorance to make *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* the author of this division. How could this gentleman be the author of the *vandalas*, when there was fourteen years pay of the *vandalas* due to the *Indians* when he enter'd upon the government? The revolt of *Pampanga* for want of paying these divisions, happen-

NAVARRA. ing during this gentleman's government, perhaps was the cause some men talk'd as they did. True it is, that insurrection oblig'd *D. Sabiniano* to give them a great number of pieces of eight, in part of what was due, as they told me afterwards; but this was paying; and what was that to prove him the inventor? in short, after the *Indians* have paid their taxes, attended the *cortes*, and other personal duties, which are many, they rate every province yearly; as for instance, that of *Pampanga* at twenty four thousand bushels of rice, at two ryals, or two and a half, a bushel, because it is for his majesty, and this they are to trust God knows how long. The *Indians* of the province are rated how much every one is to furnish to make up this quantity, which is exacted with great rigour, besides the frauds of the masters of vessels who carry it; so that he who is assess'd three bushels, must give half a bushel over; and he who is assess'd six, pays seven, &c. This is it they call *vandalas*, and this is what was not paid for so many years, which makes the *Indians* quit the islands, and go to other places, and forbear sowing, as I my self have heard them confess; and it is most certain, that if this assessment were sometimes taken in lieu of the other taxes, or they were exempted some personal duty, they would be very well pleas'd. But it is hard that this should be continued every year, and that there should be plate to pay ministers, officers civil and military, and other expences, and never any to pay what is bought of the *Indians*. If these and the like proceedings cause the *Indians* to quit the country, where will be the advantage of those lands, or what will the *Spaniards* do there?

3. The greatest trouble we religious men meet with in the towns of the *Indies*, is to see their sufferings, and find out how to comfort them. It sometimes happens, as it did in my time, that the rice is destroy'd in some parts (this is frequent, sometimes the mice eat it, sometimes for want of rain, and sometimes the sea breaks in and drowns it) so that there was no possibility of paying the usual tax. This was made known to the lieutenant of the province, the governor of the island was petition'd, but to no purpose; so that the *Indians* bought rice at four ryals the bushel, and sold it to his majesty for two and a half upon trust never to be paid. It is plain our catholick kings bowels of compassion would not allow of such practices, were they sensible of them. It were better for the *Indians*, that the governors should maintain them, and they work all the year for the taxes and *vandalas*, than to be handled as they are now. It is a great misfortune that the *Tartar* should

take such care of his *Chinese* subjects, and that we should make it our business to take no care of our sovereign lord the king's subjects, having receiv'd such frequent intimations of his will. It is no wonder those islands are so exhausted, though the soil is as good, as fruitful, and as kind as can be wish'd.

4. It were endless to descend to particulars. I know that in my time a governor of *Ilocos* in two years made fourteen thousand pieces of eight of his government; what a condition did he leave the *Indians* and their country in? It were well that those who write from thence would speak plain, and point at persons and things, and not do in general terms, leaving room to blame those that are innocent, and clear the guilty. This must be either a design, or malice. All the world knows how clear our province has always been, and still is, from seeking after any worldly interest in that country; they have never consented to possess the least revenue, they have never receiv'd duties from the *Indians* they serve, they have always been satisfied with the alms freely given by *Spaniards*, or natives: thus have they been maintain'd, and have cloth'd themselves out of the alms his majesty gives them, and have wanted for nothing. It is requisite to discover who are guilty, that all may not suffer. Read *Oleas. in xxv. Num. & nomen viri Israel, &c.* One year a certain governor writ a complaint against our fathers at *Pagasinan* (one while he was for us, another against us, so changeable is man) that they had burnt some woods, whence timber was to be had to build shipping. It is easy to imagine the effects this letter from a governor produced in the council of the *Indies*. Now if this man would go about to burn the hundredth part of one wood, he would not be able to compass it in a year with the assistance of ten thousand *Indians*. This is well known to those who have seen the woods in the *Philippine* islands, and the proofs are convincing. The blacks who live in the midst of those woods are very numerous, and burn a great deal, yet it is never mis'd. In the island *Mindoro*, where I was twice, I was an eye-witness to what the *Indians* practise. They have no lands to sow, and to get some little rice they fire part of a wood; after they have labour'd at it some days, they clear and cut down the under-wood, they heap them together, and set fire to them again; when all that is burnt, they set fire to the great trees, till they waste them by degrees; and they are so hard, that the *Indians* are forc'd to ply it eight days or longer, stirring and raking up the fire. When an *Indian* has labour'd two months from morn-

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ing to night, he has clear'd about as much land as he alone can manure. How then could a vicar with four *Indians* burn whole woods? Were not this true I would not write it, but would rather have pass'd it over since it is now forgot, but it is fit to be known in case any thing of the same nature may happen again that no man may rashly give credit to that which is in it self incredible. *D. Sebastian Cavallero de Medina*, being his majesty's attorney general, either to shew great zeal, or gain reputation, sent a complaint of the excessive duties religious men exacted from the *Indians* in these parts; there is no doubt they were all thought guilty. He ought to have explain'd it, and not make the innocent liable to be blam'd for the fault of some.

5. Eight days after our arrival, we were distributed into several provinces to learn languages, that we might administer to the *Indians*. I remain'd in the province of *Manila*, where with some others I learn'd the language *Tagala*, without much difficulty. If in *Europe* grammar and other arts were follow'd with such application, as we there learnt languages, Men would soon be learned. At the end of five months we all heard confessions and preach'd, and at the year's end did both with great ease, and convers'd with the *Indians* about their affairs. During this time we employ our selves no other way save only in the business of the church and choir. Our whole time is taken up in defending to cafes and tenets of strange tongues, for the benefit of souls. If the climate were not so opposite to that of our country, we should take double the pains. The heat is excessive, to ease it we use baths, and the fruit which is most delicious, but in time we grow sickly. I always lik'd the *Indians*, they are not harsh and stern, like those we saw at *Mexico*, but civil and tractable; they have wit enough, and are very dextrous at any thing. There are among them excellent penmen, painters, carvers. They are apt to learn any mechanick trade, and above all very willing to learn, and submissive to priests; as for their understanding in what concerns our holy faith, they may vie with most of our countrymen, and out-do them all. They have excellent books in their language, which the religious have printed, and they love to read them; so this is owing to our labour, and their aptness to learn. The *Indian* women are very devout and modest, and frequent the sacraments with great zeal. There is no holy-day great or small but abundance go to confession, and receive the blessed sacrament. I us'd to say, that the fervour of the ancient people of *Castile* was gone over to the *Indian* men and women at *Manila*. The *Indians* celebrate festival days

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very well, there are few among them but *Navadance* very well; and so in processions they use dancing and play well on the harp and guitar. His majesty allows every church eight singing men, who enjoy privileges, are employ'd at the divine office, and sing well; there being always some aiming at those places, the number is greater, but only the eight that are appointed enjoy the privileges granted. The ornament of the churches is decent, curious and cleanly; and there being abundance of roses, flowers, and sweet herbs all the year, these things are great helps to set out the churches.

6. The *Indians* are great archers, especially those they call *Zambales*, and those that live in the mountains; they have no other arms offensive or defensive. I heard ancient men tell such feats of them, as I judg'd incredible, till I had an opportunity of convincing my self. Men ought not presently to believe all they hear, nor should they be as incredulous as I have been. I once met a company of mountain-*Indians*, and among them four, of about seven or eight years of age. I took an orange, which are very plentiful there, and threw it up into the air, as high as I could, saying, shoot that orange, my lads. They all four hit it in the air, and beat it to pieces. Another new comer and I were astonish'd, and he who had been longer there, and told us of it, laugh'd at us. This I was my self an eye-witness to in the little town they call *Abucanantaas*. This shews they are good archers.

7. Whilst I continued in the islands I perform'd all the duties obedience laid upon me; I ministr'd to the *Indians*, I taught in our college and university of *S. Thomas*, and preach'd, tho' I was never healthy; for after two years being there, the country disagreed with me very much. During this time some particular accidents happen'd, a few whereof I will put down, that I may not extend too far. Col. *D. Lorenzo Lazo*, a good soldier, very brave, and of a giantick stature and presence, was governor of *Terranate*; he was at variance with *Emanuel Estacio*, and was impeach'd of holding correspondence with the *Dutch*, a mere soper. He was brought away prisoner, and dy'd aboard the ship somewhat suddenly. His death was laid to *Estacio's* charge, I know not how he clear'd himself. His death was much lamented, and the manner of it suspected, for he was very well belov'd, and much fear'd and honour'd by the *Chinese* infidels; because at the rising under *Corcuera*, he alone with his sword and buckler on a bridge, stop'd a world of *Chinese* he met there, as *Horatius Cocles* did upon the like occasion. Admiral *Sebastian Lopez a Portuguese*, and brave soldier, liv'd

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NAVY- at Manila, and did wonders in the victories
RETTE. we obtain'd over the Dutch. He dy'd sud-
denly, and was thought to be poison'd.
This also was laid to the charge of *Emanuel Estacio*, besides many other things sent into Spain.

8. The *Hollanders* some years before having done much harm in that country, entered the territory of *Batan*, where those of my order exercis'd the spiritual function, and possess'd themselves of the churches, rather through our fault, than any valour of theirs; the governor resolv'd they should be demolish'd. The greatest mistake was in suffering them to be built, but once finish'd, they could stand the enemy in no stead, as having no harbour, or so much as water enough for their ships within a league, nor any safe way to travel by land. Our cowardice gave them the opportunity to break in, and was the occasion of demolishing those buildings, in which the natives suffer'd much, because they did not only work, but all the timber, which was very good, a considerable quantity, and their own, was taken from them, without allowing them a cross for it, and *Emanuel Estacio* made his presents of the very stone. If the materials had been left to the *Indians*, since they were their own, they would have demolish'd the churches for the value of them, have had money to spare, and time to attend their tillage, and other labour. This brought those poor people into some distress, and among their other misfortunes the enemy took some of them, and two religious men of ours well vers'd in the *Ta-gala* language.

9. Upon the death of *D. Lorenzo Lazo*, *D. Lorenzo de Ayala* succeeded as colonel; he was a *Castellan*, or governor of fort *Santiago*, or *S. James*, a most amiable person; there was no body in *Manila* but lov'd him tenderly. The lady *Anne Tellex* his wife was a saint-like woman, they were call'd the loving couple, and each was above seventy years of age. *Estacio* took not this in good part; a proud man cannot endure that any body should rise above him, he thwarted the old gentleman, which soon put an end to his life, to the great regret of all that knew him. From him that command went to *D. Peter de Almonte*. This gentleman had been some time banish'd *Manila*, he was not of *Estacio's* faction, and therefore it was fear'd he should be chous'd of the post; but the governor having by this time a jealousy of *Estacio*, because *D. John de Saraos* had done him an ill turn, he sent for *D. Peter* and gave him his commission, and made him knight of the order of *Santiago* at the same time. The publick rejoic'd at this, and *Estacio* was very much troubled and in care for his fortune,

which having rais'd him so high through so many wrongs, he had cause to fear would soon cast him down. *St. Thomas* in *Psal.* xxxvi. says thus, *The order of falling is, because they are lifted up that they may fall the heavier; but the manner is like smoke, which once scatter'd is no more to be retriev'd.* So it prov'd with this man. On the fourteenth of *September*, being the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, it was whisper'd about the city that he was apprehended. Every man was struck dumb without daring to speak out; for had it not prov'd true, any man that had mention'd the least word would have paid for it. The news grew hotter, and it appear'd they had carry'd him away prisoner to the fort of *Santiago*, or *S. James*. The city began to breathe, and was eas'd of the heavy cross it had bore some years, and that day he began to bear that which God sent him: *When he was in honour he did not understand.* He neither understood himself, nor knew how to sit fast in the saddle. Much of what he had was seiz'd, but he had much more conceal'd, as well in *Manila*, as at *Mexico*. He suffer'd and came to misery, and some years after dy'd in the dungeon. It were better for him to have been contented with his first fortune of a merchant, and inhabitant of *Manila*, in which quality he was belov'd by all men. This is he who said he would stop the mouth of any governor that should succeed *D. James* with one or two hundred thousand pieces of eight. He was very much deceiv'd.

10. Upon *Corpus Christi* day, in the year 1653, a considerable misfortune befel me, which was that a flash of lightning fell upon the house of *Batan*, where I then was; our Lord deliver'd me, the religious men and others belonging to the monastery. That day sevennight another flash of lightning fell two musquet-shot from the house, where it kill'd a black and an *Indian*, who were gone out a hunting. That disaster struck a great terror into me; till then I own I dreaded thunder but little, or not at all, but ever since nothing can be more fearful than I am. Soon after upon *S. Barnabas's* eve, as I was carrying our collegiates of *S. Thomas* out to recreation, in crossing the river, the wind blew hard, overset the boat, and we were all in the water. The waves were so strong that we holding fast by the sides of the little champan which was overset, they drove us away as if we had been but a straw. The danger was great, therefore I took care to absolve them all, tho' with great trouble and anxiety. There was no body to absolve me, and I had scarce presence of mind enough to lift up my heart to God. An infinite number of people look'd on without being able

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to succour us. It pleas'd God some canoes ventur'd out, which tho' they over-set too, yet they sav'd our lives. I was in most danger because of the weight of my habits. Two blacks who stuck by me, under God sav'd my life. We all returned safe to the place where we took boat, clothes and other things were lost; but the bottle of wine to say mass, being two fingers breadth empty'd, was thrown ashore. God in his mercy was pleas'd to deliver me from all these dangers.

11. About the same time we receiv'd the news of a dismal accident which had happened at *Cagayan*, to one of my fellow travellers, whose name was *F. Luiz Gutierrez*, born at *Almagro*, and a very good religious man. On *Candlemas-day* that year he had said two masses in two several towns; there was another three leagues off, and therefore for the satisfaction of those *Indians*, that they might not be left without mass on so great a day, he resolv'd to go thither and say the third. He was sailing along a creek very dangerous, because of the *alligators*; they observ'd one stirring in some particular place, the *Indians* in the boat took heart, and endeavour'd to keep on their way, making a noise with their oars and shouting; but it avail'd nothing, for at the second terrible stroke the *alligator* gave with his tail, he over-set the vessel, so that they were all in the water. The *Indians* being more active, and having less hindrance from clothes, easily got to shore. The poor religious man loaded with his habits, and not over skilful in swimming, became a prey to that cruel bloody monster, who fed on him, and he was bury'd in his bowels.

12. We know for certain that some deaths, which to the eyes of men are unhappy, are happy before God, and to them that pass through them. A good death, says *St. Augustin*, is that which follows a good life, be it of what sort it will. It is a bad death which comes after an ill life, tho' it be quiet and peaceable in bed. The good *F. Lewis Gutierrez* having liv'd so virtuously, said two masses that day, and being about to say the third, who is there that can doubt of his good disposition? Why God should permit that misfortune, is to be try'd in another court, it is our duty to be always ready; *Be ye ready, because ye know neither the day nor the hour*. Read what *A Lapide* writes concerning *Lot's* wife in *Gen. xix. 24.* and that of the prophets, 3 reg. xii.

13. I several times saw fierce and terrible *alligators*, especially one morning as I was coming down from saying mass in a town, and went down the river towards the sea; the *Indians* began to cry out *Caiman*,

Caiman, that is, *Alligator*, *Alligator*; I *NAVA-* look'd all about and saw him not, they pointed at him, and yet I was not satisfy'd; and the truth was I saw him, but he being so vastly big, that I could not persuade my self it was an *alligator*, or that there were any so large in the world as what they shew'd me. We drew nearer, and then I plainly discover'd and distinguish'd him: He lay asleep upon a little island of sand at the mouth of the river, and I thought it as big as the main mast of a good ship; and before I thought that bulk had been some tree carry'd thither by the stream of that great river. I saw others afterwards but not so large. They are terrible to look to, and have four eyes, two above and two below; there are abundance of them in the lake *Bai*. In dry seasons they carry the great cattel to feed theabouts, it being excellent pasture. The horses and cattel graze; and tho' they are watch'd, yet an *alligator* comes out and carries away one of them every now and then, as a cat does a mouse.

14. Some small time before I came to the islands, there happen'd a remarkable accident, which was that a couple of *Indians* being marry'd, and ready to go to dinner, the bride took a fancy to go down to the river to wash her feet, as they do every now and then. The house was built, as is common there, partly over the river. As she was washing, an *alligator* snapt at, and carry'd her away: Her cries brought out the people, who saw her betwixt the *alligator's* teeth, and he making away with his booty. The bridegroom seeing that dismal sight, blinded by love, and overrul'd by passion, rashly cast himself into the water, with his dagger in his hand, and follow'd the robber that carry'd away his love. He overtook and fought with him, recover'd the woman and return'd victorious with her in his arms, but she was dead. He return'd a widower, sad, and full of tears: It was a famous and heroick action. Many *Indians* have escap'd these monsters, they have found by experience that they are very tender in their eyes, therefore those who are not in a consternation, attack that part, and the *alligator* flies to save himself. In those countries all people report, that when the female spawns, she always does it where there is a current of water: When the young ones come to life, they drive down the water, where the old one expects them with her mouth open, and eats all she can catch, that which slips by on either side saves its life. This they say is the reason the rivers are not all full of those creatures, tho' there are many of them. I shall return to them in another place.

15. I will end this chapter with the account

NAVA- count of a most strange accident, tho' of
 RETTE. another nature, that fell out in my time in
 the port of *Cabite*. I was told it, but made
 a doubt of the truth, inquir'd further of
 Mr. *Quinnones* the curate of that port, and
 was satisfy'd and assur'd of the certainty
 of it. An *Indian* woman sent her daugh-
 ter to the sea-shore, which was about thirty
 paces distant from her house, to gather
 some sticks which the water throws up: The
Indian girl saw something on the shore like
 the paunch of a sheep or goat. She went
 and told her mother; her mother bid her
 fetch it. When the *Indian* woman saw it,
 she perceiv'd it was the off-spring of a wo-
 man, she open'd it and found the child alive,
 carry'd it with all speed to the curate *Quin-
 nones*, who baptiz'd it, and it soon after
 died. It was always suppos'd, that some

wicked woman, to conceal her crime when
 she was deliver'd, had thrown the child
 after-birth and all, into the sea; and by the
 place where it was found, and the time it
 was computed, it must have been at least
 five or six hours in the water; and yet nei-
 ther the cold nor length of time kill'd it,
 which is very strange. All men admir'd
 at it, and I am amaz'd every time I think
 on it; and as with regard to God nothing
 happens accidentally, we are bound to
 praise and adore the inscrutable mysteries
 of his divine providence, which as it pre-
 serv'd *Moses* in a wicker-basket on the ri-
 ver *Nile*, so it preserv'd for his glory this
 child in its natural swathing-bands, in
 which its cruel and wicked mother brought
 it forth.

CHAP. V.

What Observations I made, and how I was employ'd during that time.

Sabiniano
 Manrique
 de Lara.

1. IN the year 1653, *D. Sabiniano Man-
 rique de Lara*, brother to the earl of
Friginiano, arriv'd at *Manila* as governor
 of those islands. With him went *D. Mi-
 guel de Poblete*, an *American* born at *Puebla
 de los Angeles*, as archbishop: The lord *Car-
 denas*, a native of *Peru* of my order, a
 very learned man, and greater preacher,
 as bishop of *new Segovia*: The lord *N. S.
 Gregorio a Fr. nescian*, as bishop of *new Ca-
 ceres*; and doctor *Ucles* dean of the cathe-
 dral of *Manila*, as bishop of *Zibu*: they
 brought men and plate, which was new life
 to the islands. All men were consum'd,
 poor, sad, and tir'd out with *D. James
 Faxardo's* severity, and overmuch retire-
 ment. The new governor's familiarity was
 very pleasing, he spoke to every body,
 heard all men, walk'd about the city, vi-
 sited the monasteries, never fail'd being
 present at festivals and sermons of note.
 He was pleasant, and held a discourse ve-
 ry wittily; he was not the least proud or
 vain, but religious and godly, and several
 times I heard him speak of spiritual affairs,
 and the contempt of the world; I was as-
 tonish'd, as well at the words he spoke, as
 at the spirit and energy with which he spoke
 them. He was never partial towards any
 particular religious order; he honour'd, re-
 spected, and lov'd them all, behaving him-
 self towards them as a prince ought to do.
 He shew'd himself very devout upon sun-
 dry occasions, going himself in the proces-
 sions that were made in the city. He was
 charitable, and endeavour'd to have the
 people multiply; to which effect many
 marriages were concluded through his
 means, he forwarding them by giving some
 employment. When the new archbishop

absolv'd that country from all ecclesiasti-
 cal censures it had incur'd on account of
Corcuera's banishing the bishop, as was
 said above, *D. Sabiniano* himself conducted
 the lord *Poblete* to the potters of the store-
 houses, which way the archbishop had
 been thrust out, to give his blessing there.
 When he had done it, *D. Sabiniano* cast
 himself at the archbishop's feet, and said,
 your most illustrious lordship may be as-
 sur'd I will not cause any such troubles.
 This action of his gave an excellent exam-
 ple to others.

2. He was unfortunate in some things,
 particularly in ships being cast away in his
 time, but I don't see why he should be
 blam'd for this. What was *D. Sabiniano*
 to blame, because the ship which *D. Peter
 de Villaroll* commanded was cast away?
 What fault was it of *D. Sabiniano's*, when
 the commander *Vgaide*, and *Thomas Ramos*
 lost another of great value? All I can say
 is, that this gentleman took a great deal
 of pains, built good ships, and fortify'd
 the city well to oppose the *Chinese*. I
 heard afterwards of some things which were
 laid to his charge, when he gave an account
 of his employment, which are fitter to make
 a jest than any thing else of. That little
 sharp humour he had, was the best thing
 he could shew in that country. I observ'd,
 and carefully took notice of one thing,
 which was, that if in his haste and passion
 he happen'd to speak a hard word to any
 body, he was so much concern'd and trou-
 bled at it, that he would omit no pos-
 sible means to satisfy the party that was
 griev'd; so that for the future he was ex-
 treme kind, and express'd his affection to
 him in all manner of ways; a great proof

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of his good temper. Much more might be said, were it suitable with my design.

3. Yet I cannot bear that this gentleman's services and merits should be altogether buried in oblivion, and therefore I resolv'd in this place to give some small touch upon them. I will not play the panegyrist, nor the historian, my pen will reach neither, but will only in plain terms relate what I know of certain. It is not my business to blazon his family, or deduce the genealogy of *Manrique Lara*, or give an account of its several branches, which honour many houses in *Spain*; for besides that it is an undertaking above my reach, it would be holding a candle to the sun. *Pbilo Alexandrinus* said of the sacrifice of *Abel* and *Cain*, *For neither the sun, nor moon, &c.* These beautiful planets which govern the day and night, need no orators to commend their beauty; their own light makes them known, and recommends them to all the world.

4. I must also own, that if he I spoke of had nothing greater than his birth to recommend him, I should not be so much led away by that. It cannot be deny'd but nobility native is commendable, but that which is acquir'd exceeds it, and raises a man above the clouds. And tho' *Ovid* in his epistle to *Piso* lessen'd the former, *Perit omnis in illo gentis bonos, cui laus in origine sola*: yet others with good reason extol it; but there is no man who does not cry up that which is gain'd with dangers, labours, troubles and fatigue. Read *S. Thomas* his first book, *de erudit. princip. c. 4. & 5.* where he says much to the purpose. Therefore I say this gentleman by his piety, good example, and service done his majesty, had added new splendor to the family of *Manrique de Lara*, and increas'd its glory.

5. Being at the port of *Cabite* in the year 1656, I heard him say he was a colonel at nineteen years of age. Some men by their valour and resolution, gain more in a few years than others do in a great many. *S. Jerom.* and after him *Lysa* in *Dan.* 1. says, *There is this advantage in a noble birth, that it imposes a sort of necessity on noble persons, not to degenerate from the worth of their ancestors.* Nobility influences men to act as becomes their descent. It is no matter tho' a man be young, if courage and resolution guide him.

6. Her highness the princess *Margaret* governing *Portugal*, and having fitted out a fleet of eighteen sail against the *French*, *D. Sabiniano* was made admiral of it for eighteen months. This was a post of great honour, and imply'd that he who was prefer'd to it was better qualify'd for it than others at that court. There was no action,

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for tho' the storm threatned *Portugal*, it *NAVAL* fell upon *Biscay*. RETTE.

7. But the time when he shew'd the greatest constancy and courage, was, when he carry'd supplies to *Portugal*, at the time that crown began to cast off the dominion of our monarch. How often was his life in danger? How many straits was he reduc'd to? But how great resolution and valour did he shew upon all occasions? He set out of *Cadiz* with the command of two vessels, in which were three hundred foot, six reformed captains, provisions and ammunition for the castle of *S. Julian*, at the mouth of the river of *Lisbon*; there he resolutely landed, to be inform'd of the state of the place, tho' his officers oppos'd it. It is in vain to withstand a man who runs on with zeal in his prince's service. He understood the castle had surrendered. He was forced to strip from the waft downwards to get to his boat, which when in it overset; *D. Sabiniano* sav'd his life by swimming; they cannonaded his ships from the castle; and he because they lay by for him, made signs to them to make off, without regarding the danger he was in himself of falling into the enemies hands. This it is to regard the publick; not one's private good. The ships set sail, not knowing how to take up their commander; so that he, wet and almost naked, together with capt. *Baribolomew Antonio*, took into a little cave to dry himself and attend his fate. That little repose, such as it was, lasted not long; the danger so much increas'd, above three hundred men passing that way in a body, that the captain and he gave themselves for dead. *GOD* deliver'd them that they might begin to suffer afresh. Here begin the disasters of *D. Sabiniano* in that kingdom: He was taken and carried to the castle, and tho' the count *de Prado* his friend us'd him well, yet that did not deliver him from what *GOD* had ordain'd he should endure for his king and for his honour.

8. The news of his being taken coming to *Lisbon*, abundance of people flock'd to see him, because he was so well known at that court. Being at dinner, one rose, and drawing his sword half way, said, I hope in *GOD* I shall enter the *Retiro* (that is, the king of *Spain's* palace at *Madrid*) and kill the king of *Castile*, and the count duke. To talk thus in the presence of a prisoner is great folly. The *Coinjels* say, A dog that barks much is ne'er the better for it. That *Portuguese* was talkative, and without doubt a coward: Had he said that when *D. Sabiniano* was crying himself in the cave, and had his little sword, I suppose he would have had cause to repent it. *D. Sabiniano*, who will put up nothing that

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NAVARRA concerns his king, tho' never so considerable, answer'd, I trust in God I shall see you hang'd in the great market-place, call'd *Realto*, with other impudent traitors like your self. It is no great matter to give such an answer, when a man is at liberty with his sword by his side; but it is a sign of great courage and loyalty to break forth into such expressions, being a prisoner among enemies. That pass'd, and five days after one of the four corregidores of the city carry'd him away prisoner to *Lisbon*. When he entered the city, the mob lording it, threw every thing that came to hand at him. He was committed to the castle of *S. George*, where being feverish with what he had gone through, he laid down upon a mat. The constable of the castle took pity on him, gave him a bed, and order'd the officer commanding to use him well. A month after he was carry'd to the prison of the court (it answers to our *Marbalsea*) because there had been a report that certain captains design'd to take him out of the castle: There he continued five days, was then remov'd to the city goal, lay eight months in a dungeon, which threw him into a dangerous distemper. This did not move the goaler to give him the least ease, he had certainly banish'd all sense of charity. The heathens in *China* treated me and others much better. Money prevail'd, for that is the god of such people; he put him into a little room, where he recovered of his indisposition. Nor was this comfort lasting, for on account that a prisoner had made his escape, a new goaler came into place, and the prisoners fear'd the worse. He order'd *D. Sabiniano* back to the dungeon; some words pass'd upon it, so that the goaler went to make his complaint to the *Alcaldes de Corte*. One of the alcaldes came down, words pass'd between them, he commanded him to go into the dungeon. *D. Sabiniano* excus'd himself, saying, There were orders he should be alone, and that in the dungeon there were a great many. The alcalde said, Go in *fidalgos* (that is, nobleman) for there are other honest men there as good as you. Had the alcalde not known *D. Sabiniano* he might have been excusable, but knowing him, he was certainly very brutal, and deserv'd the answer *D. Sabiniano* made him, who in a rage told him: He was an impudent villain, and that but for dirtying his hands, he would beat him to death. It was boldly spoke of a prisoner to the judge; but ill usage provokes generous souls.

9. The alcalde being in power, and affronted, order'd him to be put into the hole, to which he was let down through a trap-door, and there lay six months in misery. These sufferings nothing discourag'd him,

but rather added to his resolution; his body so tenderly bred, suffer'd, but his heart surmounted all difficulties. Next follow'd that famous conspiracy carry'd on by the archbishop of *Braga*, marquis of *Villareal*, duke of *Caminka*, and others who were executed. *D. Sabiniano's* opinion was not follow'd in it, I doubt not but his was the just and right method, for he was a person of excellent judgment. He writ to the late king concerning that affair, and gave a note of directions how his letter should come to the king's hands, but this paper was found out. He was brought before a court compos'd of sixteen judges, and went with a resolution to break thro' all that stood in his way, if they did not shew him the respect due to his quality. His reason was, that he was not carry'd before that assembly as a criminal, but as a prisoner of war, and therefore ought to be treated with all respect. At his coming in he found them all bare-headed; it is likely he had declared his intention, and they were acquainted with his resolution; they all bow'd, and gave him a seat. Being examin'd upon oath, he own'd that note was his. Being ask'd who the letter was for mention'd in the note? He answer'd, For a woman. They ask'd, Whether she was marry'd, or a maid? He wittily reply'd, That question did not belong to the court, but to the confession-seat. After some other interrogatories, that ceremony ended. He was return'd to the same place, and order'd to be taken care of and secur'd.

10. A fortnight after the corregidor, with four alguaziles, conducted him to *Santarem*; a great many removes, and all bad ones. He was there delivered to a goaler, who was well qualify'd to execute that place in hell. Five days he kept him in a room convenient enough, but then carry'd him down to a dark and strait dungeon. There he was under two locks, with a guard of twenty five soldiers, and their commander, without being allow'd ink, or to converse with any body. His diet was search'd; a window there was with strong iron bars they shut up every night; and us'd so many precautions, that he had need of all his courage not to dismay. Five or six months after king *John* the fourth pass'd that way, the prisoners implor'd his mercy, which they obtain'd, who had no body to oppose it. The corregidor had advis'd *D. Sabiniano* to do the same; but he boldly refusing the advice, shut his window, which was as much as throwing of it in his face that pass'd by: a resolute action for one that was in a dungeon. The rabble rose, and cry'd, Let the traitor die. King *John* order'd the window to be fast barr'd

barr'd with immur'd; but what with a strength kept, that once could sign'd his

11. He repented he in *China* had added, the death for he was exiled to *Portimão* the 25th of the 8th of his suffering *Madrid*, of the capital, but nothing at services. the *Philipp* post in the related, and More he not. I ver once at *M* please *Gom* rance shall endeavour t out concern fairs.

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barr'd without, so the poor gentleman was immur'd for nine months, without any light but what came in at a little hole he made with a small knife he had, and was so close kept, that a captain who was his acquaintance could not give him such relief he design'd him.

11. His shutting the window was much resented by the *Portugueses*. I was told it in *China* by some of that nation, and they added, they were about putting of him to death for it. After so many misfortunes, he was exchang'd for the count *de Villanova de Portimano*. *D. Sabiniano* was taken on the 25th of *December*, 1640. and releas'd the 8th of *May*, 1645. Who can imagine his sufferings in five years? Being come to *Madrid*, he was soon after made constable of the castle of *Acapulco*, an honourable post, but I often heard it said, there was nothing at that time greater to reward his services. Next he had the government of the *Philippine* islands, the best and greatest post in the *Indies*. He govern'd as I have related, and shall further write hereafter. More he has not had, because he would not. I very well remember he said to me once at *Manila*; *F. Dominick*, if it shall please God to send us to *Spain*, your reverence shall see I will retire to *Malaga*, to endeavour so to live as I would die, without concerning my self with worldly affairs.

12. About the time the new governor came to the island, I discover'd upon the mountains of *Bataan*, that fruit so much esteem'd, and so delicious there is in *China*, which the *Spaniards* call *lechias*, and the *Chineses*, *li cbi*. It is one of the best in the world. I carried some to *Manila*, and they were the first that ever came fresh to that city. Those they carry thither from *China*, are dry'd, and do not shew what they are when new gather'd. I spoke of this in the first book.

13. About the same time, I being then gathering strength after a fit of sickness, offer'd to go companion to one of ours, who was design'd for the island *Luban*, and thence to *Mindoro*, to visit some Christians, and do the best service we could to those poor *Indians*. The isle of *Luban* is twelve leagues distant from that of *Manila*, it is small but beautiful, has abundance of coco-trees, much cotton, and very good use is made of it; the town contains about two hundred families that pay taxes: it has a very good fort, with an excellent ditch, for the inhabitants to defend themselves against the robbers they call *Camucones*, who, through our great negligence, every year infect that and other places, to the great detriment of his majesty's subjects. Whilst we were there, an alarm was given; we

fled to the fort, but it prov'd a false one. *NAVA*. The church is indifferent, and well adorn'd. *RETTE*. The curate had order'd, that as soon as the *Angelus Domini* bell had rung, it should ring again to the *Rosary*, and all the town resorted to it. Some persons assur'd us, that since the introducing of that devotion, no enemy had ever come thither, whereas before there were many that infested them, and carry'd away all they had. Before they neither said the *Rosary* nor had a fort, afterwards they had both, but the first had sufficed to secure them. We heard confessions, and preach'd there till after *Christmas*, which was kept with great solemnity. About that time a most terrible storm rose, which made us go down to the porch, as believing it would bear the house down. Not far from thence one of the king's champions was under sail, and in it the governor of *Caraga*, with his wife, and three barefooted fathers of *St. Augustin*; they ran right before the wind, without knowing whither they went. The night was dark, the sea swell'd, they concluded they should be cast away, but knew not whether near or far from land. Two of the fathers of *St. Augustin* consulted together in private, and as it is suppos'd, said, it was better to be in a readiness, and not stay till all fell into the sea together, where it is hard to get loose from one another. Each of them ry'd up his little quilt full of *varo*, which is a thing like cotton, that bears above water a long time, call'd his boy, and so they cast themselves into the sea, without being taken notice of by any body; but what we have written was guess'd to be done by their being missing with their quilts. Their companion and the rest were much troubled at it, but they were never heard of; it is likely the first plunge into the sea they lost their quilts, and perish'd. At break of day the little vessel was cast ashore upon a small island, half a league from that of *Luban*. All the people were sav'd, except one woman-slave, who throwing her self into the water to get to shore, was drown'd before any body could come to her assistance. They came to *Luban* so thin and poor, that any one might guess what they had suffer'd. The curate treated them well.

14. Upon the day of the *Epiphany* we cross'd over to *Mindoro*. That afternoon we went up to the town of *Calaviti*, it is above a league from the sea, and all the way steep and craggy. Three days after we came down to go to *Guistin*, where we were to reside, thence to repair wherever there was occasion. That day we travell'd above six leagues afoot, along the hellishest road imaginable. In some places we climb'd up the rocks, in others we could scarce get up

Luban.

Camucones.

NAVARETTE. up with the help of the *Indians*. We saw a place where the rocks were pointed, and so sharp and piercing, that in truth they pierced the soles of our shoes, and the poor *Indians* feet, which were bare, really ran blood, that it broke our hearts to see them. We came to the foot of the mountain of *Guislin*, without having broken our fast: there we found some *Indians*, who had roasted *batatas*, but cold; we eat a little of that dainty, and began to mount the hill: it is as high as the other, but much more craggy. For a good space we did nothing but crawl upon all four, holding by the roots of trees, then we walk'd, but every now and then laid our selves on the ground to get breath. By God's assistance we came to the top, found the church, but without being able to get into it, fell down at the very door flat upon our faces, where we lay a great while to rest. That done, we found our selves in such a sweat, that our very outward habits were all wet. The wind was cold, and blew very hard; that night's lodging was in a little thatch'd house, where the air came in at every corner; our supper was a morsel of bisket dip'd in the wine we had to say mass, because of the cold; we slept sitting, and one leaning against another. The next day, which prov'd fair, we made use of the sun to dry us. Having said mass, we went about our business, which was to take care of the souls of those *Indians*. All our cheer was some eggs, rice, and *batatas*, whereof there is abundance, and good ones in those mountains. Upon *Candlemas*, after saying mass, and preaching, I return'd to *Calaviti*, all the same day travelling the second time that blessed road I spoke of before. The weariness, sweat, wind, and ill provision, made me so sick that night, as I lay alone in my little hut made of cane and straw, that I thought I should die, and yet in truth I was pleas'd. Some days I continued there doing my best. I went to two other little towns, and the road bad enough; there I preached, catechized, and baptized some. One day I had nine marriageable young men, who were come down from the mountains to desire baptism. They had never seen priests; after being instructed, they were christened. An old man, in appearance above fourscore years of age, came duly to the catechising; he appear'd very devout; and when I went to say the divine office, he would go after me. Once I call'd him, and ask'd, What he would have, and why he always follow'd me? He answer'd, Father, I hear you say, we are oblig'd to know the Christian doctrine, and I being ignorant of it, seek an opportunity for your reverence to instruct me. How long have you been a

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Christian, said I? He answer'd, A year. And I thought he had been so from his infancy. I farther ask'd him, Who baptiz'd thee, and how? He gave me a full account of all, and told me, they had not taught him a word, giving for their reason, that he was old and could not learn. It troubled me much, and I began immediately to instruct him. I us'd to take him with me to the sea-shore, and both of us being seated, I explicated the belief to him the best I could, according to his capacity. I would say to him, Do you see the sea and the sky? God created it all. He then reply'd, Is that possible? is God so great, that he could do what you say? I repeated and explain'd it, and would again say to him, so that this sky, this earth, this sea, &c. is all the work of God. And he admiring still, went on; Is God so great, so very great? which he often repeated. I took care of him, and he was diligent, for he understood things better than the young ones. I afterwards heard his confession, and found some difficulty to absolve him. I ask'd, *John*, have you ever sworn, or told any lie? He answer'd, To what purpose, father, should I swear or lie? Have you had any words, or been angry with any body? Father, said he, I live alone, mind my tillage, I see nor converse with no body; tho' I had a mind to quarrel, I have no body to fall out with. Thus he answer'd to all I ask'd. I gave him a few rags, and bid him call himself *John of God*. He went his way very well pleas'd, and I remain'd with great comfort. Having catechized that little town, and baptiz'd the children, with those I said were grown up, I return'd to *Guislin*. The curate of *Nan-Naboa*, thirty leagues southward, sent for one of us, and I resolv'd to go thither immediately.

15. As we were sailing along in sight of shore, the *Indians* discover'd a *Carabao* or *Buffalo* near the water. We put to shore; I was left in the vessel: the *Indians* fell upon the *Buffalo* with their spears, and he defended himself wonderfully; at last he ran raging into the sea, and came furiously up to the vessel in which I was; he struck the canes on the outside, or else I had been in danger of my life. At length they kill'd and cut him in pieces. I went ashore to wait for the men, and presently we discover'd a company of mountain-blacks; we perceiv'd they were friends, so that I rested satisfied; and that the sight of me might not disturb them, I slept in among some trees. They came up to us, being about thirty men, women, and children, all of both sexes with bows and arrows, and stark naked, only their privities cover'd with leaves of a certain tree. The men

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were painted with white, the women with other colours, and wore great wild flowers in their ears. To say the truth of it, they all look'd like devils. When they were in discourse with the *Indians*, I came out on a sudden, talking to them in their own language, and offering them leaf tobacco, which they make great account of. As soon as they saw me they started, and almost all the women and some boys fled so nimbly, that they seem'd to fly. The rest were pacified: I gave them tobacco, and talk'd to them with all possible kindness, and endearing manner. Two women went to bring fresh water to drink, and the *Indians* having done with the *carabao*, they staid there with the ossal, paunch, and bones. The *Indians* told me, as soon as we are gone, all these people will gather about here, and will not stir till they have gnaw'd the bones, and eaten the paunch and all that is in it.

16. At ten of the clock at night we went up the river *Bacoo*, which is at the main point of that island. The rain was so vehement, that the town was drowned: there I stay'd twenty four hours. In sight of the town is a vast high mountain, whence a river tumbles down, which being look'd upon from below, looks like a mountain of crystal; the water runs near, which being so soften'd with the fall and running over much *carza parrilla*, is extraordinary good. This island has some notable things. First, abundance of *civet cats*, of which they might have a considerable trade; abundance of *wax* upon all the mountains; they make no account of the *boney*; plenty of *bataas*, *cometis*, *ubis*, *names*, and variety of fruit; an infinite number of *cedars*, whose blossom, which I often saw, exhales a most fragrant scent, and reaches far; a multitude of *coco-trees*. There are besides abundance of other trees, from which they extract honey, wine, vinegar *tuba* and *chan-caca*; a sort of trees like *plantans*, of which they make a sort of black hemp for rigging. There is another sort of white hemp, taken from another tree, they call *abaaca*, it is excellent for cables, the more it is wetted, the stronger it grows. There is another tree, of which they make stuffs as white as snow, and delicately soft, which the *Indians* use for their beds and clothing, tho' they do not want cotton, of which they make excellent cloth.

17. The sea and rivers abound in excellent fish: that sort is found there which is commonly call'd *pifis mulier*, of the bones whereof beads of great value are made, because they have a singular vertue against defuxions; that which has been try'd is worth much money. The licentiate *Francis Roca*, curate of that place, told

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me a very extraordinary passage that happened in his division. An *Indian* going a fishing every day, found near the water a *pifis mulier*, they say it is like a woman from the breasts downwards. He had actual copulation with her, and continu'd this beastly whoredom for above six months, without missing a day. At the end of this time God mov'd his heart to go to confession; he did it, and was commanded to go no more to that place, which he perform'd, and that abomination ceas'd. I own, that if I had not heard it myself from the person I have nam'd, I should have doubted of it.

18. The next day late, the curate, governor, and I set out in three boats for another parish, which was it I design'd for; they three were to be reconcil'd, having had some falling out, and that was the reason of undertaking this voyage. The curate made us very welcome; they embrac'd and became good friends, putting an end to the festival with a noble treat he gave us. Upon such occasions, and great rejoicing, it is no sin to add something extraordinary. St. *Thomas* observ'd it, speaking of *Isaac*. After him *Lyra* made the same reflection in *Tob. ii.* upon the words; *When it was the festival-day of the LORD, and a good dinner was made in Tobit's house: he says, By this it appears, that upon festival-days it is lawful to drink more, and more delicately, in respect to the feast, not out of gluttony, &c.* Even God himself seems to have intimated the same formerly. Read *Oleaster. Num. xxviii. ad mores, v. 3.* There is no doubt, but upon a day of entertaining guests, and making a reconciliation, there ought to be a dish extraordinary. It is true there was no wine, but abundance of good water. A few days after I set out upon my visitation, I had many places to go to, and they were far asunder; having been at the first, I struck up the country to avoid a cape that runs far into the sea. The way was so thick of trees, and they so tall, that for two leagues there was no seeing the sky; and there was such abundance of leeches, *Leeches*, that we could not get rid of them. Coming down to the sea, I was carry'd over a brook upon an *Indian's* shoulders, who carried his spear in his hand; about the middle he spied a stately thornback, darted his spear, and nail'd it to the sand. Having set me down, he went back and brought away the fish struck thro' the middle. He told me how delicate meat the liver was, which being boil'd for me, I found to be very dainty. I told this at *Rome* in the year 1673, and it took so well; that there were persons who endeavour'd to get some. I did not then know the great vertue there is in the flat bone at the tip of that fishes tail;

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NAVA- tail; it is an excellent remedy against the
 RETTE. tooth-ach; scratching them with that bone
 takes away the pain, but it must be cut
 off whilst the fish is alive.

Tooth-ach.

Caca-
 chiles.

19. I went to pass the holy week at a little town, which had a small church, the pleasantest and most delightfully seated of any in the world, I believe. It is three leagues from the sea, and the way to it, is up an admirable and mighty river. Upon floods it spreads its stream a league wide. Near to the river is a little hill, that looks like a fine garden. On the fourth-side of it are beautiful coco-trees; on the west and north it is cover'd with *caca-fucibiles* full of flowers, pleasing to the eye and smell; on the east is a prospect of vast high and delightful mountains. About it was the enclosure of stately *magueyes*, and in the midst of them was the church and house, the town on the fourth-side; the north-side, on which the river ran, was very craggy, and a fine spring at the bottom of it. The ascent was designedly cover'd and blinded, to secure the place against the enemies they call *Camucones*. Indians of other towns assembled there, and confessed and received; some were baptized. Two things somewhat remarkable happen'd to me there. One was the hearing a confession of thirty years. Truly the Indian made a very good confession, and was a man of good sense. The other was, that a woman who was marriageable, and of a very sound judgment, said to me, Father, I went up to the mountain with a youth, we liv'd there six years as if we had been marry'd. (In the mountains they may live without working.) One night, as we had done many others, we lay down to sleep upon the grass. At break of day I wak'd, bent my body up to look upon him, and saw him dead by my side. That struck such a terror into me, that I immediately came down to the town, and resolv'd to confess my self, and mend my life. I have found this opportunity of your being here, and will make ray advantage of it. I advis'd her what to do, and always to bear in mind how merciful God had been towards her. Here what God says is literally verify'd, that when two sleep, he will take the one and leave the other. The poor miserable youth being suddenly assaulted by death, was in danger enough, considering the time and condition he was in when call'd. We perform'd all the ceremonies us'd by the church from *Palm-sunday* till *Easter-day*. There was a sepulchre; the chief man of the town found all the wax that was us'd. I remember that as I was preaching upon the *Monday* the good old man's heart was touch'd, and on a sudden he knelt down, crying out aloud. His devotion provok'd

me and others to shed tears, and so the sermon ended.

20. All those Indians are like our plain countrymen, sincere and void of malice. They came to church very devoutly; not a word was spoke to them but produced fruit: would to God the seed were sow'd among them every day; but there they have mass but once in two or three years. When they die, there's an end of them; but great care is taken to make them pay their taxes, and the curate's dues.

21. Their is one great conveniency for the Indians in having religious men in their divisions, which is, that these being now and then chang'd, if an Indian is bashful, or afraid to confess to one of them, or has had any difference with him, he lays himself open to another, and makes a good confession. But if once he is afraid of a curate, or it happens the curate is harsh to him, he can hardly be brought to make a clear confession to him. He that made a confession to me of thirty years, had before conceal'd some things out of fear. Some years before the fathers of the society had been in this island, they had four of their family there, who labour'd very diligently; the clergy to whom it belong'd before, went too low with them. The fathers resign'd, and all that was left to one curate, which had been before the care of four religious men. We may guess what a condition it remain'd in; this is seeking those things which are their own, not those which are CHRIST'S. Places were visited where the curate had not set foot in fourteen years.

22. Upon *Easter-day*, after having said mass, explicated that mystery, and distributed among the poor some rice, batatas, eggs, and fruit that had been offer'd me, I set out by land to another town. By the way I lay under the shade of certain trees; there I met a mountain infidel, he had an excellent natural disposition; I us'd him with all imaginable kindness, but there being no previous disposition, it avail'd little. The next day I lodg'd in the house of another infidel, who treated me well. These and thousands of them will not be baptiz'd, for fear of the taxes and personal duty, as I observ'd before.

23. We came to the town of *Santiago*, or *St. James*; it is in an ill air, expos'd to the enemies call'd *Camucones*. The foregoing year those people had carry'd away some of the Indians; one of them gave me this account; Father, my wife was in labour in this house when the enemy came, I threw my self out at that window, and others follow'd me; the rest, especially the women who attended my wife, were taken. They drove them this way, and my wife

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being weak and spent, was not able to go, and they were beating her on, which I stood yonder looking on without being able to relieve her. One of them carry'd the newborn child upon his arm, and just in that place he clave it from top to bottom with his hanger, and left it there. Inhuman barbarity! This griev'd my heart, and fear would not let me sleep, and so my health daily impair'd. I spoke to the *Indians* to remove to another place which was more healthy and safe; they consented, and there soon set up a little chappel, and a small house for me. For themselves they made barracks after their manner, and they are sufficient to keep out the wind and rain; cold there is none, but excessive heat.

24. A boat of the *Chinese* of Manila that ply thereabouts came to this place. The *Chinese* whose name was *Gese* told me, how he had by art and cunning got clear of six vessels of the enemy; he had aboard a father of the society and a *Spaniard*. He seeing the enemy design'd to attack him, prevented him, let fly his colours, and playing on his bassons, made towards them as it were in defiance. They drew together to consult, and the conclusion was that they fled. The *Chinese* in his broken language said, Those fellows don't see nor know what is in my boat, and they are afraid of death; if I fly I am certainly lost, then is it not better to attack them? He must either imagine I have arms, or at least will be jealous of it, and which of them will venture his life? Upon St. *Philip* and *Jacob's* day I was in great trouble: was hearing confessions in the chappel, and observ'd that the cane-chair on which I sat mov'd. I imagin'd a dog was got under it, and bid the *Indian* turn him out. He answer'd, Father, it is no dog, but an earthquake. It increas'd to such a degree, that leaving the penitent, I kneel'd down, to beg mercy of God. I thought the end of the world had been at hand: I have seen several earthquakes, but none so great as that. When it was over I said, If it has been so great at Manila, there is not one stone left upon another. I was afterwards inform'd it had done some harm, but not considerable. It was an hundred leagues from thence to Manila, and much water betwixt.

25. During those days I catechis'd all, heard their confessions, and administred the blessed sacrament to them. There were no persons of age to baptize, but some children. The heat increasing, as did the danger of the enemy, and my health decaying, I resolv'd to return, with no small grief for leaving two other places unvisited, twenty leagues from thence. I came to *Nanboan*, calling at the same towns I had come through before. In this journey I

observ'd, that having gone up a river, and NAVA-order'd the *Indians* to provide me a place RETTE. to stay mals in, and another to lie in that night, they did it in two hours time, covering all the place with only two leaves of wild palm-tree. A violent rain fell that night, but not one drop came through. I have then and several times since admir'd this; each leaf was so large, that an *Indian* carry'd it dragging after him; and being shap'd like a fan with gutters, and strong, it would bear out any rain whatsoever. Another thing happen'd in another town, which put the *Indians* into much fear, and not a little amaz'd me. They were upon the sea-shore making ready the vessel I was to go in, and on a sudden there came out of the water a fish very well known there, which we call *Picuda*, and the *Portugueses* *Picuda*, and laid hold of an *Indian's* ankle with such force, that it was dragging him away to the sea; the company came in, and with sticks and stones made him quit its prey, and return to the sea. They brought the wounded young man to me, he made his confession, remain'd in a bad condition, was afterwards cur'd, but ever halted. Those men were scar'd, for they had never seen or heard say that fish would come ashore, and much less that it would fall upon a man.

26. Near to *Nanboan* there is an admirable lake, so full of fish, especially that sort we call *Lisas*, that sometimes they take them with their hands; they take out the roes and leave the fish; these roes salted are very good with rice, and look'd upon as a dainty. Whilst I was there, an *Indian* woman went in to wash her self, but was devour'd by a crocodile. I set out for Manila, and a chief of the *Indians* with his son and four others went southward; the enemy attack'd them, and tho' they fought, they were taken and carry'd captives to *Mindanao*: God deliver'd me and those that were with me. I pass'd by the bay of *Batangas*, and then had a sight of the lake of *Lombon*, which is a very fine one. From Manila, where I stay'd a few days, I went to *Batam*; there I was much troubled and disturb'd by witches or fairies, what it was we knew not, but the effect show'd it to be a contrivance of the devil. No considerable hurt was done any man, but we heard much noise, and saw stones fly; the house all foul in a moment, and as suddenly clean; the chairs hurry'd about without perceiving who mov'd them, and the like. We pass'd whole nights without closing our eyes.

27. One night when I and another were gone to rest, and the noise was abated, there came into the place where we lay, the governor, judge, and other *Indians*, to see where-

NAVA- whether they could discover any thing.
 RETTE. They went on courageously, threatening those that durst disturb the house. The moment they came in they were thrown down stairs, an infinite quantity of stones, sand and dirt tumbling after them. They

were so frightened, that they never enquir'd further into the matter. I was call'd away to Manila, and by that means deliver'd from this vexation, which continu'd some months, and others had enough to do with it.

CHAP. VI.

Of my Second Mission to Mindoro.

1. I Return'd the third time to the college of St. Thomas, and it was to be first professor of divinity. Next year about the end of April, the lord archbishop appointed D. Christopher Sarmiento curate of our lady of Guia, visitor of Mindoro. He desir'd me to bear him company, a little invitation serv'd because the air of the college did not agree with me. Father provincial gave his consent, and taking one of my scholars for my companion, we went up the river altogether; then we cross'd the sea, and upon the feast of the invention of the cross, which is the third of May, I preach'd at Baco. The Indians have a more than usual devotion for the cross, they celebrate the festival the best they are able. There is no Indian town but is full of crosses which they adorn and set out very curiously. Going to the first place we were to visit as we were a sailing up the river, a terrible storm overtook us, and we had a wretched night in the vessel, which was very small. We cross'd the mountain of the leeches a second time with much trouble. I was about leaving the second place of visiting till our return. A chief ask'd me to hear his confession; I advis'd him to stay, because I would return that way, and stay there some time. He press'd and desir'd me to hear his confession; I did so, and when I came back he was dead. I look'd upon it as a special predestination: I remember he made a good confession, and was very penitent.

2. I came to the town, so beautifully seated, as I describ'd before; but the Camucones having taken their chief the last year, as he was going from Nanboan, I found the people remov'd, and all sad and disconsolate. I spoke to his wife, who was in mourning, and heard her confession: I had heard her before, and truly she never uncover'd her face, so great is the modesty and reservedness of many Indian women, tho' they be but country people. I comforted her the best I could. At another town before we came to that of Santiago, many Indians met, and we staid some time there. Here I observ'd that the dogs bark'd very much at night, and the place being expos'd to the Camucones, we were somewhat concern'd. I ask'd the Indians why

the dogs bark so much? and they answer'd, Father, there are abundance of Crocodiles D^{gs}. in this river; the dogs that have a mind to swim over, meet in one place, and bark for a good while till they think the Crocodiles are assembled there (it is most certain and known by experience that the Crocodiles watch dogs, as the cats do mice) then some of them running up, and others down, they cross over out of danger from the Crocodiles. This happens every night, and therefore you need not be concern'd at their barking. I wondred at it, and remembered I had read that the dogs of Egypt did the same at the river of Nile.

3. During that time, a spy of the enemies came to us, he put upon us, telling a thousand stories, when we began to suspect it, there was no finding of him. Afterwards an Indian came to us from the other towns, who said there were ten vessels call'd Caracoas of the enemy sailing that way. The Indians immediately retir'd into the mountains, and we stay'd behind only with our boys. This bad news made us resolve to return, very much concern'd to see what obstacles there were to hinder the prosecution of our mission to those places that were in most need. At my return I heard of several skirmishes the Indians had with the Camucones, but were ever worlited. Before we came to Manila we heard the news, that the ship S. James coming from Mexico under the command of D. Peter de Villaroel, was cast away near Balaian. I heard the commander D. Peter Mendiola say, that ship stood his majesty in above two hundred thousand pieces of eight. This was the famous ship S. James that serv'd instead of a castle when the Dutch assaulted Manila. She receiv'd the shot of all the Dutch artillery upon one side being then a ground. Above a thousand bullets were found in her, and of above two thousand that were fir'd at her, not one went through. The timber of that country is extraordinary, and they build ships very strong. The ship that sail'd that year for Acapulco, weather'd great storms, and one wave carry'd fourteen seamen over board, as the letter I saw mention'd, the ship's crew afterwards justify'd it, and that the same wave threw them back upon the deck,

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deck, which was the strangest happiness. Those that are acquainted with the sea will not think this impossible. Some years before, the seamen said at Cavite, that a wave took thirty six men out of another ship that was bound the same way, some were sav'd, the rest perish'd. When *D. Peter de Villaroel* return'd, he that is now archbishop of Manila writ me word that a wave had carry'd away all the gallery aftern, it was so strong; it seems incredible a wave should have such force. It seem'd as if some spirit had been during that time at *Marivelez* to hinder any ship coming into the bay, as I observ'd in a sermon at Cavite. The ship *D. James Faxardo* built at *Cambosa*, came near and was cast away on the flats of *Japan*, and people of note perish'd in it. The ship that fail'd afterwards from *Mexico* under the command of *Lawrence de Ugalde*, being in a river, there arose so monstrous a storm, that all of her which was above water, was torn off and cast ashore, and some men were dash'd against the trees, to which they stuck, and were found there afterwards mere mummies. Abundance of plate was lost, and much stolen. It was reported as a certain truth at Manila, that betwixt *Acapulco* and that place the commander had got above twelve thousand peices of eight, box-money at play. Who can believe it in these parts? At *Pamagsinan*, there was terrible thunder, lightning earthquakes; and there fell hail and stones of such a prodigious greatness, that some weigh'd an hundred and a quarter. The lord bishop *Carrenas* writ so to the bishop and court, adding, that he himself had seen some of those stones. It was thought some burning mountain had broke out, but it could never be found whence those stones came.

4. The loss of so many ships was very afflicting, the greatest damage fell upon the *Indians*: for there being no living without ships, when one is lost another must be built, and timber must be fallen; to this purpose they gather six or eight thousand *Indians*, and send them into the mountains; they have the vast labour of selling and dragging them down, besides the beating of them, bad pay and worse provision. Sometimes they send religious men to protect them against the hellish fury of some *Spaniards*. Besides all this under the presence of one they cut timber enough for for two ships, so many make their advantage of the labour of the *Indians*, as I saw it done at Cavite.

5. Before I leave Manila it will be proper to say something concerning that island. I will not particularize any thing concerning those of *Oton*, *Ilo*, *Zibu*, *Marinduque*, *Romblon*, *Caraga*, *Calamianes*, and others

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subject to our king, inhabited by *Indians*, *NAVA*- and attended by religious men, or curates, *RETTE*. because I was not in them. I know they abound in rice, black cattel, wax, cotton, and the usual fruits of the earth; but as I said before, I can tell no particulars of my own knowledge. Only this I know for certain, that the swallows nests, which are near the shores, are held in great esteem, and look'd upon as a dainty. Boil'd with flesh they are exceeding good and nourishing. At Manila they are given as presents. Those they carry to China, are worth much money, as I have observ'd elsewhere. At *Calamianes* there is abundance of them, and so I suppose there is in other islands, because the *Portugueses* make a trade of them from *Cambosa* and *Siam* to *China*. To look to, dry, they are like ash-colour'd clay, when wash'd and boil'd they alter. It is beyond dispute, there is gold in all the islands we have spoken of, in some more than others. The island of *Manilla* is the largest and most known, it extends from nine or ten degrees of north latitude, to above nineteen, (others say only from fifteen or sixteen to nineteen, and this I look upon to be truest.) Its breadth from east to west is very unequal and uncertain. The city *Manilla*, which is the metropolis of all the islands, is seated upon a great river, and near the sea. In it reside the governor, four judges, the attorney-general, archbishop, three officers of the king's, a great *Alguaril* of the court, the council of the city, a head-*Alguaril*, and two in ordinary, and aldermen. The old cathedral was overthrown by the great earth-quake in 1643; another was afterwards built but not finish'd in my time. There is a very large and beautiful royal chapel, the monasteries of *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, the society, *S. Augustin*, *S. Nicolas*, *S. Clare*, *S. John of God*; and two colleges, that of *S. Thomas*, which is ours, and a university incorporated and annexed to that of *Mexico*; and that of *S. Joseph* of the society. There is a noble royal hospital, church of *S. Potencia-na*, with a house for honest women to retire, and a stately church of *Misericordia*, or *Mercy*, with a school, in which they breed up many *Spanish* fatherless maids, and give them portions to marry. The best sort of inhabitants at Manila look after this seminary; to be the first brother of the *Misericordia*, is one of the chief posts in that government. Being to preach one year in that church, I read the statutes of that brotherhood, which gave me some information into their affairs. One was, that in one year, which was not long before, thirty six thousand peices of eight had been given in charity to private poor. There are excellent buildings both within and without

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NAVA- without the city, orchards, gardens, and RETTE. baths which are very convenient, because of the vehement heat. The walls, bulwarks, bastions, cover'd ways, and other works about the city are as fine as may be. The place is naturally impregnable, and the fortifications would secure it, tho' it were not so. There are good heavy cannon. It is one of the best towns the king has. Without the walls is an infinite number of people and towns all about. The river runs all along the walls on the north-side, and over it is a stately bridge. I do not in it longer on these things, because they are well known.

6. The *Chineſes* in their books make mention of the island of *Manila*, which they call *Liu Sung*; they say, it is a country that abounds in gold, and they are in the right. The provinces of *Pagasinan* and *Ilocos* are more remarkable than the rest on this account. There is abundance of good rice, some comes up in forty days, so that in the space of forty days, it is sow'd, grows, ripens, is reap'd, and eaten, which is very remarkable. Some is two, some three, some five months coming up. There is excellent land for wheat, were there any way of sowing it; no *Indians* incline to sow, the land being taken up in the king's name, and therefore they will not addict themselves to that labour. In my time a bushel of wheat came to be worth ninety pieces of eight. There are goats, abundance of deer, and more of *Busaloes*; they have coupl'd with cows, and produc'd a third species very fine to look to. There are geese, hens, sugar, wax, so much of that we call *Brazil-wood*, that it cost nothing but the cutting; Cotton enough to cloth the inhabitants, wine and strong water made of *Nipa*, and other ingredients enough, and enough to drink. The fruit is good and plentiful. The *Guayava*, which has spread so much that it destroys the grazing land, is excellent good, raw, boil'd, dress'd with meat, preserv'd in jelly, and all sorts of ways. The reason it has increas'd so much, is because the crows and other birds eat of it, drop the seeds, and wherever they fall they grow. Thus the *Portugueses* told me the *Jandal* increas'd in the island *Timor*, without any other labour, as I said before. This tree also bears a little fruit, which the birds eat, they let fall the seeds, and they take root without any further help. The *macupa*, *bilimbin*, *pabo*, *santol* and *papaya*, are equal to the best of ours. The *nanca*, which is the largest fruit that is known in the world, some being above forty pounds weight, is very pleasant, and the nuts or kernels every slice of them has in it, are delicious, raw or roasted. This fruit grows out of the body of the tree,

and large branches, for the small ones could not bear it. The tree bears no blossom. *F. Kircher* very much admires this sort of fruit, and the *pine-apples*, or *ananasſes*, as the *Portugueses* call them; he says, they grow in *China*, but was mistaken in this point; they are in these parts, but not in *China*. The *Portugueses* much commend the *ananasſes* of *Molaca*, they are certainly good, but I found very little difference betwixt them and those of *Manila*, which tho' I eat them in *new Spain* seem'd to me never the worse. There are *chiconzapotes*, black *zapotes* very good and plentiful; but above all *ates*, which I am convinced exceed all fruits in the world for taste and smell. Seven or eight several sorts of *plantains*, some better than others, so of *oranges*, the *limons* of *Manica* are small; a thousand varieties of fragrant flowers, and no less of sweet herbs. *Majericons* and *sage* grow wild in the fields to a wonderful height; several sorts of *coco-trees*. The *coco* is of *Coco*, excellent use, before the nut comes out, they draw an excellent liquor from the rib of the branch; these *Indians* call it *tuba*, and the *Indian* properly so call'd, has the name of *Sura*; what runs from it at night is a pleasant and whet some drink, being boil'd in the morning it holds good all day, they make of it excellent sirrup, and good honey, as I have done myself. What drops in the day is made into wine, and delicate vinegar. Of the outward rind of the *coco* they make a sort of *okam* to caulk ships, and make ropes, and good match, which the musquetiers there make use of. Of the inward shell are made fine bowls to drink water, or *chocolata*. The water within, when the *coco* is fresh, is wholesome and pleasant drink for sick people. They roast the *coco* and laying it out all night in the air, they drink the water, and find a good effect of it. Of the white nut, into which the water by little and little is converted, they extract milk and use it several ways, particularly to dress rice. Besides, they make an excellent preserve of it, which the *Indians* call *Buckayo*. It also yields good oil. Of the mash that remains, the *Indians* and *Mulattoes* make a good dish with rice. There remains the trunk of the tree and branches, which serve for many other uses. Canes are also very serviceable, some are as thick as a man's thigh, of which they make chairs, tables, houses, churches, enclosures for cattel, scaffolding for buildings, and many other things. The islands abound in fish, stately *oysters*, *iguanas*, which tho' they look hellishly, are a great dainty; *olaves*, and *pampanos*. All the island of *Manila*, and others subject to it, have but a little coolness, tho' some parts are temperate, for any thing else they need not

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not be taken care of. The king gets nothing by it, but private persons do for him and themselves too. There are places in it will produce any thing, *corn, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, mulberry trees* for silk worms. Tobacco there is a great deal and good; as much *ebony* as can be desired; *sandal* in the mountains, but not of the best sort. There are precious *bezoar*-stones in deer. I saw a singular one they said was worth many ducats. They hit a deer with a forked arrow, which stuck in him and he alive; some time after they kill'd him, and found the forked point of the arrow in its full shape, but all overgrown with *bezoar*; they broke a point, and through it the iron appear'd, to the admiration of all that beheld it; and the iron of the arrow being poison'd, they said, that stone, because it had hindered the poison of the iron from taking effect must needs be an excellent antidote against any poison. I forgot to take notice of the fruitfulness of the soil at *Manila*, and it will suffice to make it known, that six short leagues from that city, there are certain lands which they call of *Tunazan*; these yield a hundred and thirty bushel of wheat for one that is sow'd in them, which is as much I think as can be said.

7. Some other matters of less moment concerning *Manila* had lik'd to have slip'd me, but it is not fit they should be forgot. One is a college call'd the children of *S. John Lateran*; it was founded by a lay-brother of my order, his name *B. James* of *S. Mary*: In my time it had once above two hundred boys, to the great benefit of the islands. His way of governing them was inimitable, he taught them to read, write, grammar and musick; for philosophy and divinity they came to our college. He cloth'd them twice a year, taught them their Christian doctrine in the morning before breakfast; they said the third part of the rosary divided into two choirs, another third at noon, and the other third in the evening with the *salve* and *litanies* of our lady. On great holy-days they said matins at midnight; whilst they din'd and sup'd, one read. Every month they confess'd and receiv'd. He punish'd and cherish'd them. From thence some went to be soldiers, some clergymen; others into the religious orders of *S. Dominick*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Augustin*. So that it was a nursery of spiritual and temporal soldiers. He procur'd an order from his majesty to destroy the charge. He got alms of the funerals, and of the *Indians*. An heroick undertaking! I am told they are now brought into the city, and attended by the gravest religious men in the province, and even of late those that have been provincials of it.

8. We see another remarkable thing in *Nava*-that country, which is, that tho' the city *RETTE* is little and the *Spaniards* but a few, yet thousand of *Chinese*, mungrels, and natives, live by them; so that in the *Parian* of the *Chinese* it is likely there are two hundred carpenters, and a proportionable number of other trades, and they are always employ'd at *Manila* by the *Spaniards*. There are at least two hundred *Chinese* and mungrel barbers, who all live upon the *Spaniards*, and so of others. Without the walls there is a famous hospital for the natives, the *Franciscan* fathers attend them very well, they having charge of the hospital. Opposite to the castle of *S. Gabriel*, is the hospital of the *Chinese* under our direction: There is in it a *Chinese* physician, *Chinese* medicines; a religious man that speaks the *Chinese* language, servants and attendants to look to every thing. Few have dy'd without being baptiz'd, many with hopeful tokens of their salvation. All the country about *Manila*, except that part next the sea, is full of towns and churches. That of *Parian* is ours, where there is always a religious man, who is a *Chinese* interpreter. *Dilao* is for the *Japoneses*, and has a *Franciscan*. The parish of *S. James* the apostle is for the *Spaniards* who live without the walls. That of our lady of *Guia*, a miraculous image. Ours of the rosary is very miraculous, and the comfort of all those islands; I am told they have made imperial crowns for both images of mother and son, richer than that I spoke of at *Mexico*. The barefooted fathers of *S. Augustin* have an *Ecce homo*, which moves all that behold it to pious compassion; it was placed there with great solemnity at the first coming into the government of *D. Sabiniño Manrique de Lara*, who went thither to mass every friday.

During these years some persons of note dy'd in that city, such as *D. Francis Diaz de Mendoza*, *D. Peter Mendiola* once governor of *Terranate*, major *Navarro*, otherwise call'd the *just judge*; his son-in-law *James Enriquez de Losada*. Of churchmen *D. John de Leda*, and *D. Alonso Zopata*, Doctors of our university. I think at present none of my time are left.

10. At that time the supreme court consisted of *D. Sebastian Cavallero de Medina* of *Mexico*, *D. Alvaro Fernandez de Ocampo* of *Madrid*, *D. Francis Samaniego y Ju-esta* of the mountains, *D. Salvador de Espinosa* of *Vera Cruz*, *D. N. de Bolivar* attorney general. They all favour'd me, I dedicated conclusions to the second and third, and after to *D. Sabiniño*, which he was present at with all the council. *D. Peter de Almontre* colonel. The major *D. Martin de Ocadiz* went that year to command the

NAVARETTE. the supplies sent to *Terranate*. *F. Francis de Paula* was commissary of the inquisition, he had been provincial, and was so afterwards again. At this time I resolv'd to leave those islands.

11. A very holy and religious action done a few years before at *Manila* had like to have been forgot; it is fit it should be known to all men, and applauded by the sons of the church. When the Christians were banish'd *Japan*, it is well known they came to *Manila*: It is impossible to express how those confessors of *CHRIST* were receiv'd, treated, and carels'd, every one strove to outdo another in piety. Many came sick, and with the leprosy, yet charity was such, that they carry'd them home to their houses to be cur'd; and they that had one of them fall to his share, thought themselves happy. They look'd upon them as saints, and valu'd them as relics of inestimable value. The governor, counsellors, townsmen, religious persons and soldiers, went, as it were to snatch a *Yaponese*, either sound or sick. I don't question but it much edify'd the *Chinese* infidels that look'd on; for tho' they observe and take notice of our faults, yet at that time they were sensible of the wonderful efficacy of our holy law. The presence of so many witnesses, and such as they are, ought to make our carriage and deportment

such, as may make them by it know and glorify our God; a point *S. Thomas* proposes and treats of in his *opus*. to the dutehs of *Brabant*. I heard afterwards some *Europeans* behav'd themselves not so well towards the banish'd people of *Ireland*, a sign they have not known what trouble is, and that the practical part of their faith is not so vigorous as it ought to be. They are cruel, hard-hearted, and even impious, who upon such occasions do not relent a little. Let us ask those men with *S. James* the apostle in his epist. *Canon. c. 2. Shew me your faith, &c. S. Thomas* upon it, *Who says, prove to me that you have faith by certain tokens; who says, you cannot prove it, because actions are wanting, and words are not sufficient, &c. And I will shew you my faith by my works; that is, I can prove my self one of the faithful by my works.* Those who are persecuted and banish'd for the law of God can make good proof, not only by the words they answer'd to the tyrant and ministers, but by the consequences of their actions, (*The proof of love is the performance of the work, says S. Gregory*) that they are faithful to God and his law, and catholics: But they who are hard-hearted to them, only testify by words, not by actions. What the holy apostle says immediately before the words last quoted, is very pat to this purpose.

CHAP. VII.

Of my departure from Manila, and voyage to Macasar.

D. *Sabiniano Manrique* was governor, and gave general satisfaction (never any governor did or will please all men) tho' he wanted not some enemies, which human prudence can never prevent; but an argument that he govern'd well is, that the commander *Francis Enriquez de Lozada*, in the year 1666, writ to me, and I have his letter still by me, that all men cry'd out for *D. Sabiniano*, but particularly the religious orders. I never heard that they cry'd out for others. This is a sufficient commendation of that worthy gentleman: tho' his lordship had promis'd to secure my passage in the ship, which was to sail that year for *Acapulco*; the dread I have of crossing those seas, and other motives, inclin'd me to go aboard the commander *Christopher Romero* my old friend. All my store and provision amounted to sixty pieces of eight, four tunicks, and two habits; that I might go the lighter, I left my cloak with a friend, and afterwards mis'd it and other things. No voyage upon sea can be ascertain'd, and it is a folly to set days to it.

2. We set sail the fourteenth of *February*;

I own I was presently discourag'd, and fear'd our voyage would be tedious, because the sailors who in reason ought to live regularly, began to grow loose. About that time the east winds usually roar'd, and to us they seem'd to be lock'd up in their caverns. On the sixth of *March* we came to *Zamboanga*, met the succours that were going to *Terranate*, they had taken in rice and flesh at *Oton*; the commander in chief was already dead. The seventh at night we continu'd our voyage; the sail with a sudden gust of wind threw the best sailor we had into the sea, where he perish'd; which misfortune increas'd my fears. During our passage, which is of but sixty leagues to *Macasar* (this is otherwise call'd *Celebes*) we had very bad weather, most furious driving winds, terrible violent gusts, but not lasting, and what was worst of all bad pilots. One morning we found our selves driven in among most frightful banks and rocks; I cannot imagine how the vessel got in among them without being beaten to shivers. We got out of that danger to run into greater; for four or five days the weather prov'd very fair till about half an hour

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hour after eleven; and when we were to make an observation, the sky would be clouded and we disconsolate. The land lay upon our larboard-side, sometimes about two leagues from us, as we afterwards observ'd, but so clouded that we did not discern it. One day we held our course with a fair wind and weather; they conceited it was a great bay, and discovering land to the northward, made to it. The current was so strong against us, that tho' the wind had freshen'd very much, we could not make the least way. We were then in a place, from whence in eight days we might have been at *Macasar*. My sins were the cause we did not reach thither till *October* following: we run up to that land at a venture. Upon holy saturday being the last day of *March*, when we were about founding, our vessel stuck fast. It is impossible to express the confusion we were all in; all cry'd out, Strike the sails, and none stir'd to do it. I crept into a corner to give my self up into the hands of God, concluding all was lost. The ebb shew'd we were surrounded with flats, save only the channel through which we had sail'd, by the special guidance of God: there was fourteen fathom water at the stern, and the head was aground. They labour'd till after midnight, the weather being clear and serene, which was our good fortune. The flood return'd, and after much pains taken, the vessel floated without having taken in any water; as soon as it was day we sail'd. Good God, what a melancholy *Easter* we had! Our provision grew daily shorter, and our confusion increas'd. In short, after eight days we found our selves imbar'd, without knowing which way to get to sea. There were small vessels plying thereabouts, they took us for pirates, we them for robbers; so we fled from one another, and knew not how to find out where we were. We had already perceived by the sun, that we were by our course in two degrees of north latitude, which by our chart was wrong. We spent eight days more in getting out of that bay. We plainly discover'd land ahead, and the weather favouring to make to it, the commander, contrary to the opinion of all men, resolv'd to anchor there till next day. When we were at dinner he said to me, They are all against me; is not your reverence of my opinion that we make over to morrow, it being saturday? I answer'd, Sir, the best time to stand over is, when God gives us a fair wind. He held his tongue and follow'd his own head. The second day of our passage, about three in the afternoon, being the eve of the feast of *S. Mark*, the wind started up at south-west so strong, that we were forced to run away before it close to the shore, not know-

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ing what sands were in the way. That *NAVY*-night was one of the worst I have seen upon sea; the main-sail flew in shivers, the yard was spent, the foremast came by the board, the whiptaff broke, we all took into the cabin, said the *Rosary* and *Litanies* of our Lady, expecting how it would please God to dispose of us. All the crew had already made their confession. After midnight, through weariness, I fell asleep in a corner; when I wak'd the wind was fall'n, but the sea ran very high. We found our selves near the shore, and discover'd the landmarks, which was no small comfort. We had been six weeks beating about that place; there we lighted upon that they call the *Devil's Island*, and might have made the kingdom of *Totole*, had our men dar'd. The commander resolv'd to come about, and stand back for the kingdom of *Bobol*, to take in provisions. When we were half way over, the wind came about a head of us, so that we were fain to give way to it; thus we lay cruising in the same place. We made a second time for *Bobol*, being almost lost; it was by my advice we had tack'd about; and the commander said, Father, some angel spoke thro' your reverence's mouth, for it is most certain we must have perish'd, had the fierce wind that started up found us where we were the day before. Something we bought there, and took aboard an *Indian* of *Manila*, now become half *Mahometan*. He was a great help to us afterwards, being well acquainted with that coast. Upon *Corpus Christi* day we anchor'd near *Totole*, where we found capt. *Navarro*, who was bound in another champan for *Macasar* as well as we; at which we rejoic'd, but our satisfaction was not lasting. It is well known that in sailing to the east twelve hours are gained, and twelve lost in sailing westward. Betwixt *Terranate* and *India* the *Portuguese* computation is follow'd. We came to that place according to our reckoning upon *Corpus Christi* day, which is a thursday, and they that came from *Terranate* took it for friday; so that at noon we had eaten flesh, and at night in the port supp'd upon fish, and lost that day, so that the next was saturday; so that if we had anchor'd at midnight, we should have had no friday, and but six days to the week. As to the divine office, tho' I was not oblig'd to all that of friday, yet having time to spare, I perform'd for both days.

3. There we bought abundance of *sagu*, *Sagu*, the *Indians* at *Manila* call it *yoro*, it is the *Yoro*. heart of certain palm-trees; being steep'd, it becomes a sort of yellow meal, very like yellow sand. Of this they make thin cakes, which those people use instead of bread, and we liv'd upon it six months. Excellent

O o o

NAVARETTE. lent diet for *Europeans*, and sometimes not enough of it to satisfy hunger; sometimes it was insipid, sometimes had a taste, it is so tough it never breaks, tho' it be drawn out a yard in length. The *Indians* at *Manila* eat it in time of scarcity; we were mov'd to compassion when we saw them eat it, for it is no better than ground-sticks; but at this time we thought it a dainty. The place we were in, was in a little above one degree of north latitude: from ten till two every day the sun scorch'd, but about that time every day a great shower of rain fell, with terrible thunder and high winds, so that the air was cool'd, and so cold at night, that we were forc'd to put on more clothes.

4. Capt. *Navarro* and our commander agreed to winter there; we were much troubled at it. I and two other passengers design'd to have bought a vessel of the king, and gone away in it. When the bargain was made, and the money paid, the king repented him, and kept above half our money: he paid it afterwards, was very knavish, tho' he treated me honourably, always making me sit by him; some ridiculous passages happen'd between us. His palace was a little house made of canes and straw, and in that hovel he carried himself very majestically; all his people spoke to him prostrate on the ground. He once made us a treat, which consisted of *sagu* cakes, and some dry'd small fishes boil'd without any salt. The prince his son dy'd, and I own I was astonish'd at the funeral: the king and queen went to it, the king in wooden clogs, the queen barefoot. At their return, as she was going up, a maid wash'd her feet upon the stairs. For four and twenty hours, they every half hour fir'd some pedrero's that were before the palace gate. The king withdrew, and would not be seen for several days. He expos'd all he had to sale, to denote his concern, but no body durst buy any thing. There we saw one thing extraordinary enough, which was that most of those people would not take silver; and if we shew'd them a piece of eight, and a single ryal together, they would rather take the ryal than the piece of eight. Whilst we had single ryals we liv'd cheap; when we had spent them, they would not give us as much for a piece of eight, as before they gave for a ryal. We endur'd a great deal of hunger. One day I went ashore, and met with a black, who was our commander's cook, boiling some small fishes. I desir'd him to give me one or two; he answer'd, Father, I have them by tale. Then, said I, will you give me a little of the liquor they are boil'd in, for God's sake? I will, reply'd he. I look'd about

the shore, and found a half coco-shell dirty and full of sagu; I wip'd it with my hand, and in it receiv'd the broth, into which I put a piece of dry *sagu*, (tho' it lie a whole day in water it will not soak) I ate a few mouthfuls with much difficulty, and sup'd upon the broth, and so went contentedly away.

5. Upon the ebb, the seamen went to catch shell-fish upon the rocks and sands that were left dry; there they gather'd strange creatures, as snails, toads, snakes, and a thousand several sorts, all which they eat, and thrive upon it. I was reduced to such a condition, that I stole *sagu* when I could conveniently. I often said, what need was there of any other dainty, but some rice boil'd in water? At *Manila* I strictly observ'd the physician's directions, not to eat butter and several other things; in this voyage I eat such things that I wonder I liv'd. He that gives snow, gives wool. On the first of *August* we set out from *Tole*; those cruel men expos'd us all to the danger of losing our lives; four were already dead, and others sick. I observ'd a strange thing, which was, that a poor black that was going only to beg at *Macasar*, came aboard so lean he could scarce stand; and yet for all our sufferings, in which he had the greatest share, he recover'd and grew so fat it was hard to know him again. On *S. Dominick's* day, about sun-setting, we cut the line, and enter'd upon south-latitude. The line is directly over the two islands they call the *Two Sisters*. The wind came so cold from off the land, that every one clad himself as warm as he could, so that in *Europe* men at that time sweat in fifty degrees of north-latitude, and we shak'd with cold under the line. Who can conceive the natural reason of it? *Cajetan* ingenuously says, this is *Scientia de singularibus*, which is only found by experience. Two days after we came to the kingdom of *Caille*, in one degree and a half of south-latitude. It is a noble bay, above three leagues in length, and two in breadth. As soon as we dropt anchor, an *Indian* of *Manila*, whose name was *John of the Cross*, came aboard. He came in a devout posture, with his beads about his neck; I ransom'd him for twenty pieces of eight, and carried him to *Macasar*, where he prov'd to be a great knave. He inform'd us, there were two *Portugueses* there, whom we presently went to see. By the way we visited a petty king, who treated us with coco-nuts. Captain *Navarro* ask'd for water to drink, the queen said, there was none in the house; the king was angry, and order'd some to be brought presently. Upon this the queen came out of her little room immediately, and taking up a great cane, went

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1. THE Celane, which as emperor, of all the isl seven degre several petty abounds in inconsidera mightily by

went away nimbly to the river, which was near at hand; she soon return'd; and we drank. Here one of the *Portugueses* came to us, the other was very sick; we went to his house, whither men and women flock'd to see us, and among those, those hellish monsters of men in women's clothes, who are publicly married to other men. Nothing so much astonish'd me in those parts as this. Here the *Portuguese* told us, some men would rather marry those brutes than women: for which they gave two reasons; the one, that they took great care to make much of their husbands, the other, that they were very rich, because only they could be goldsmiths.

6. It is in this kingdom where men and women are clad in nothing but paper, and that not being lasting, the women are always working at it very curiously. It is made of the rind of a small tree we saw there, which they beat with a stone curiously wrought, and make it as they please, coarse, indifferent, and very fine. They dye it of all colours, and twenty paces off it looks like fine tabby. A great deal of it is carried to *Manila* and *Macao*, where I have seen curious tent-beds; they are very good in cold weather. When it rains, water being the destruction of paper, those people strip, and carry their clothes under their arm.

7. The men are always employ'd in making oil of coco-nuts, of which they sell very much, and pay a great deal as tribute to the king of *Macasar*. Whilst we were there, he sent to demand of them ninety thousand pecks of oil. It is wonderful to see the coco-trees there are about the fields. That country produces an infinite number of plantane trees, and they are the best in the world; the natives live upon them without sowing rice or any other grain. Eight days we continued among those people, eating nothing but plantanes, and drinking the water of coco-nuts. They breed buffaloes, goats, and horses, which they sell, and when they have general meetings they eat a buffalo or

two, half raw, half roasted. The towns *Nava* are regular, the town-houses extraordinary. *RETE*. The climate is good, and the people would willingly submit themselves to the *Spaniards*, as we were told there, that they might be deliver'd from the tyrannical government of the king of *Macasar*.

8. I afterwards ransom'd another *Indian* of *Manila*, he was sick; I heard his confession, and as soon as he came to *Macasar* he died. I gave six pieces of eight for him, and would have given my very habit rather than go without him. We sail'd out of the bay on *S. Bartolomeu's* eve, but the sea ran so high, we were forced back. On the nativity of our Lady we set out again, and by degrees got to the kingdom of *Mamuyo*. With much difficulty we got into the port, where all the seamen fell sick. I, with the sick *Portuguese* I brought away, and two young servants I had, bought a little boat; whilst it was fitting out, I rested, and attended the sick. I saw the king's palace, which was very fine, and made of extraordinary timber. We set forwards, leaving the two champans there at anchor. We had enough to do to escape some dangers, but we spent the nights at ease and quiet. True it is, we were guilty of some rashness. Before we came to the kingdom of *Mandar*, we lit of another king, an ancient man, who us'd us well, and sent the prince to visit me; he was a handsome youth. The nearer we drew to *Macasar*, which is the capital of the island, the more civiliz'd we found the people. It pleas'd God in his mercy that I arriv'd at *Macasar* nine months and three days after I set out of *Manila*, that voyage being never reckon'd above forty days. I thought I was come into a paradise, found two of my order there, who to me seem'd two angels; and they prov'd so to me, for they made as much of me as their poverty would permit. The truth is, nothing was so pleasing to me as being off the sea, among my own brethren, and where I might say mass.

CHAP. VIII.

Of my Stay in the Kingdom of Macasar.

1. THE island of *Macasar* (or rather *Celebes*) is very large. The *sum-bane*, which in their language is the same as emperor, lives in the most southern part of all the island, which lies in about six or seven degrees of south latitude. He has several petty kings under him. The country abounds in rice. Fourscore years ago it was inconsiderable, but since then has thrived mightily by reason of the fairs kept there;

ships meet there from *Manila*, *Goa*, *Macao*, *English* and *Dutch*, so that abundance of rich commodities were brought thither from all parts of that *Archipelago*. Trade enrich'd the country, and made the sovereign powerful. Before this trade, the knowledge of the law of God was brought thither by means of the *Portugueses* then at *Malacca*, and that of *Mahomet* from *Siam*. At that time they were all *Gentiles*, and thought *Religion* good

NAVY- good to receive one of the two laws; that RETTE, they might not err in so necessary a point, they resolv'd to make use of an extravagant expedient, which was, at one and the same time to send away a vessel to Siam for *Mabometans*, and another for religious men to *Malaca*, resolving to admit of those that came first. The *Mabometans* came first, through the fault of those at *Malaca*, as I heard it often from grave *Portugueses*, as well clergy as laymen. They receiv'd them and their law, which they have observ'd most strictly, and has obstructed the conversion of those people. When the *Dutch* took *Malaca*, most of the *Portugueses*, mungrels and others who serv'd them, retir'd to this country. The king receiv'd and assign'd them a place to live in, so that in my time there was a great town there. By the help of these *Portugueses* the trade daily increas'd. Many *Malayes* repair'd thither, and I have seen an ambassador there from the great *Nabobo*, that is of *Golocondar*. No man paid anchorage, or any other duty; saving the presents captains of ships and merchants of note made the *sumbane*, all the trade was free. This made it an universal mart of those parts of the world. The very day I arriv'd, prince *Carrin Carroro*, a man of good parts, and well vers'd in ours and the *Portuguese* language, sent me a message. He was the son of that renowned tho' unfortunate prince, our great friend *Carrin Patin Gailoa*. He sent me word he would see me in the house of a rich and considerable man, who liv'd by our house. He would not go to the monastery, because a little before the *sumbane* and he had order'd our church, and that of the fathers of the society, to be thrown down, at the request of the governor of the bishoprick of *Malaca*, who liv'd there, and of the curate, either because the people went all to the monasteries, or else because there was not so much alms given to the parish, the religious sharing with it. This is the original of all fallings out of this sort, and will ever be so. They made the *sumbane* and prince some good presents to gain their consent. The churches were demolish'd by the *Moors*, but even all of them did not approve of the action. Infomuch that there being great want of rain that year I was there, *Carrin Samana*, a *Moor* of great repute, and a rational man, us'd to say, How should God send rain, when they destroy and burn his churches? I went that afternoon to see the prince; he receiv'd me kindly, and ask'd several questions concerning *Spain* and *Manila*.

2. I had no thoughts of repaying his visit, as believing those people did not take notice of such things. I understood the

prince had complain'd of my neglect; I desir'd captain *Francis Vilira*, in whose house he had visited me, to bear me company. He did so, we went together three quarters of a league. His palace was very good; he kept us till one of the clock, shew'd us some of our maps and books; he kept his father's library, which was considerable, had an excellent striking clock: we talk'd of *Mabomet*, and the *Portuguese*, who was a very zealous catholic, flatly told him he was in hell. Do not say so captain, quoth *Carroro*. I commended this man's resolution, another would have call'd it folly. If he had dy'd on this account, he had been a martyr; as the priest was whom they put to death at *Damasus* for the same reason. We return'd home through a row of palm-trees, the finest in the world. The sun's rays could not pierce it, and it was above a league long, tho' we did not go the whole length. How it would be valu'd among us, and with good cause! the prince repeated his visits oftner than I would have had him. As soon as I took his hand, which was the way of paying him respect, he would say, Our Lord be with your reverence. He one day brought the *sumbane* to *Vilira*'s house along with him; I was presently call'd, came, and in truth they both did me too much honour. Their garb was the most ridiculous that can be express'd; they were both in their gay dress, had cloth coats after our fashion on their bare skins, their arms naked, the sleeves hanging down, and their bellies uncover'd after their fashion. The prince told us how his men had kill'd a crocodile seven fathom long, and three fathom thick; and that he had some of the teeth by him. It was then the monstrouslest creature in the world. I mention'd it in the first book.

3. At this time an ambassador came from *Jacatra*; they received him in the house of the secretary *Andrew Mendez*, knight of the order of *CHRIST*, son of the last *sumbane*, and a black woman. The ambassador was call'd, the *sumbane* and prince sat upon chairs rais'd high under a canopy; the prince plac'd me by his side, and ask'd me some questions; he had a large sparkling diamond on his finger. The ambassador came upon a stately horse, six thousand *Moors* with lances attending him. Having made his obeisance, the ambassador sat down and was cover'd. They commanded him to be uncover'd; the interpreter urg'd, that ambassadors us'd to be cover'd. They told him, it was true, ambassadors from kings did use to be so, but that was not for him who came but from the governor of *Jacatra*; he obey'd and held his tongue, offer'd the present he carry'd, which consisted of several

piece

pieces of letters with the ing two them, th to force them to two ships his ship; in the far war, can ensued; stood to i pass'd by masters of ple might done before the prince God hum the *Dutch* that all the place: the it.

4. About me; he fl the same and he had a while I was that c was taken to *Manila* how he had der several bout his r never miss they had o never confes sion, and how God mong such thing to be *Bernard*, and the te told me, they had t they travel sleeping be from the found by a that one ni him and a came and *Lord* had it must hav ticular not that when and at hon that he cou when I saw he was sp been but r we may se man life, provided fo Vol. I.

pieces of silk. It was not receiv'd, the letters were read; and not being satisfy'd with the excuses that were made concerning two ships the *Dutch* had taken from them, they resolv'd to remit the business to force of arms. It had been better for them to continue in peace, and lose the two ships. The ambassador went aboard his ship; they took away what they had in the factory by night; then he declar'd war, cannonading the place. Great wars ensued; it cost the *Dutch* dear, but they stood to it, and in the year 1670. when I pass'd by *Malaca*, they made themselves masters of that country; and that the people might not rebel again, as they had done before, they carried away the *sumbane*, the prince, and several great men; thus God humbled their pride. The first time the *Dutch* took it, their first article was, that all the *Portugueses* should depart the place: they did so, and had well deserv'd it.

4. About that time an old man came to me; he fix'd his eyes upon me, and I did the same to him. I thought I knew him, and he had a mind to speak to me. After a while I bethought my self, and found it was that chief of the island *Mindoro*, who was taken when I left that island to return to *Manila*. I was very glad: he told me how he had liv'd four years in slavery under several masters. He wore his beads about his neck, and assur'd me, he had never mis'd saying them over a day; that they had offer'd him wives, but he would never consent to marry. He made his confession, and in truth I was astonish'd to see how God had preserv'd him so clear, among such wicked people. It is a great thing to be good among ill men, says St. Bernard, *epist.* 25. I enquir'd after his son, and the tears running down his eyes, he told me, that flying from *Jacatra*, where they had sold them to a *Chinese* infidel, they travel'd over the mountains by night, sleeping betwixt whiles in places remote from the roads, that they might not be found by any that sought after them; and that one night his son lying asleep between him and a youth he had with him, a tiger came and carry'd him away in his jaws. LORD have mercy on him! What a grief it must have been to his father! I took particular notice of one thing, which was, that when this chief liv'd in his own town, and at home, he was so fat and unweildy, that he could hardly go with a staff; and when I saw him almost naked at *Macasar*, he was spare, and as light as if he had been but twenty years of age. By which we may see how natural labour is to human life, and how hurtful tenderness is. I provided for him the best I could in a vessel

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fel that was bound for *Manila*: how pleas'd NAVA. were his family and town when he re- RETTE. turn'd!

5. I preach'd at *Macasar* in Lent the year 1658. *Carrero* every day said he would hear me, but never perform'd it. His father was a great lover of sermons, and constantly heard them. He had read all the R. F. F. *Luis de Granada's* works; he was convinced ours was the true faith, and was wont to say, Many went to hell out of policy, and that he was one of them; (this is barbarity in earnest) it was suppos'd by his words that he intended to be baptiz'd at the last hour of his life, and therefore F. Francis a jesuit attended him in his last sickness, having water ready to use it, whensoever he should desire it. But he having neglected so many calls, God slighted him: *Because I have call'd you, and you refused, at your death I will laugh, &c.* He lost his senses, and so dy'd. A most unhappy man! *Carrero* his son, in my hearing, said of him, that he was an admirer of all our things: Whensoever he saw a sword, he would handle it, and enquire of the use of it. He once took a *Portuguese's* sword in his hand, and understanding from him it would pierce a double buff coat, he made him try it immediately, which the *Portuguese* perform'd, tho' he hurt his hand with the great force he put to pierce the buff, which was upon a chair. *Patin Galoa* seeing that done, ask'd for his bow, and adding *Bow*. one fold more to the buff coat, made such a furious shot, that he pierc'd the three folds. All that were present stood astonish'd. That sort of bow seems to be an insignificant weapon, and they do wonders with it; all their arrows are poison'd.

6. We once saw the *sumbane's* elephant *Elephant*. pass by along the shore, with his driver upon his back; very soon after he came back alone. We were surpriz'd at it, enquir'd how it came about, and were told, that the day before the driver had a coco-nut given him, which he struck twice against the elephant's fore-head to break it; this day as he was going towards the town, the elephant saw some coco-nuts they were selling in the street, he took one up with his trunk, and beat it to pieces upon his driver's head, left him dead upon the place, and return'd alone. This comes of jesting with elephants.

7. About this time the *sumbane* commanded two *Portugueses* should be apprehended for a murder they had committed, and condemn'd them to death. At the place of execution he offer'd them their lives if they would turn *Mabometans*. The first would not consent, so they ript him up with a sort of dagger they call *Chis*. The other was so daunted at the sight, that

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he

NAVARETTE. he immediately abjur'd Christianity. Afterwards he fled to the mountains, and got over to *Macao*, where he was reconcil'd. There were abundance of slaves to the *Portugueses* there, who had renounced their religion; upon any little quarrel the slaves would go away to the *Moors*. When they had abjur'd Christianity, they would come and scoff at their masters. I understood another thing there which is deplorable, viz. that Christian men kept *Mabometan* women, and *Mabometan* men Christian women. Whence sprung these and many other spiritual calamities?

8. At the court of the island *Borneo*, which is very near to *Macaçar*, there are above four thousand *Indians* of *Manila* in slavery, which is a great pity. *Indians* of *Manila* may be found in every island of that *Archipelago*, being either slaves or runaways, and in all places wherefoever I was, from *China* as far as *Suratte*, I met with natives of *Manila*, and its lesser islands, and yet people will assign other chimerical reasons of the decrease of them. Use them well, and they will not fly; protect them, and they will not be carry'd away into slavery. There is not a ship sails from *Manila*, whether it belong to *Siam*, *Camboja*, or the *Portuguese*, &c. but carries away *Indians* out of the islands.

9. At *Macaçar* I saw *Ostridges*, and a child that had twenty four fingers, toes and thumbs; and besides they said it was an *Hermaphrodite*. About May, 1658. a pink arriv'd there from *Goa*, and fortunately escap'd the *Dutch*; it had aboard some

Franciscans and *Jesuits*. Discouraging about the taking of *Ceylon* by the *Dutch*, one of the *Franciscans* said, It was to be loit of necessity, or else fire must have fallen from heaven and consum'd it, for the iniquities and wickedness of the *Portugueses*. He was a *Portuguese*, and a religious man, who spoke these words in my hearing.

10. I being then out of conceit with the sea, and unprovided of all necessities to bring me into *Europe*, resolv'd to go over with the *Portugueses* to *Macao*, and thence to enter *China*, where those of my order were, and to end my days among them. I met with good convenience and company; four small vessels were ready to sail, but all of them very fearful, because a great *Dutch* ship lay in sight. Some made great boasts in their talk, but an *Englishman* advis'd them to take heed what they did, for the *Dutch* would not come to board, but batter the pinks at a distance, and out of danger. He said further, You gentlemen have order'd your business very ill, you have only taken care to build one nest in one place, and another in another, which divided your force, and so could secure nothing. The *Portuguese* own'd the *Englishman* was in the right, and that made them sometimes rail at their government, and complain of their having cast off our king. Upon *S. Anthony's* day we set sail, rather trusting to God, and the assistance of the saint, than to our own strength. What hap'n'd to us, I will set down in the following chapter.

CHAP. IX.

My Voyage from Macaçar to Macao.

Portugueses.

1. IT is most certain that the *Portuguese* nation are devout, godly, and religious, which I know by experience, and the first of it I had this voyage. I was treated by them with great civility, courtesy and generosity; and what is more, I prevail'd with them, never to discourse before me, even at *Macao*, about the differences then betwixt the two kingdoms. Aboard the ship the third part of the *Rosary* was said every day kneeling, and our Lady's *Litany* was sung every day. I took upon me to preach to them, which I did daily, as long as we were upon the sea; this and my retiring to my apartment, made them over-fond of me. Our voyage was as good as could be wish'd without any mischance.

Tacarbaca.

2. When we had pass'd the dangerous flat of *Tacarbaca*, which signifies the knife of hell, and is a long sharp rock, where many ships have perish'd, the pinks parted,

two one way, and two another, though ashore, they agreed always to keep together. It was a brutal action in the opinion of all men. The third day after we discover'd a stern two light frigates that gain'd upon us again. We put our selves into a fighting posture, tho' we wish'd there might be no occasion for it. The sails were hoisted up to the round-tops, and they wetted to make the more way. We begg'd of God the sun might not stand still, as it had done for *Johua*, but that it would set presently. It set, and when it was somewhat dark we alter'd our course, steering eight points more to windward, which we held all night. Next morning we found our selves all alone, and clear of our enemies. Three days after that we spy'd another great ship, but made the best of our way and escap'd it.

3. Our pilot was a *Chinese*, and in truth a man of extraordinary virtue, and good fortune;

fortune calm, and He was old and ordinary of a phycial place of winds there is no des gusts last sea; they which is vessels for

4. We cabbins; voyage: stuffs; on the we cluded w extraordin came a F and salut pas'd the the vessel dring, an The busi sleep a lit ever they the fails.

dismal, the way the va and it bein be disting It pleas'd pilot's plac on the iter at hand. mediately not the tac At this tim tumbled, a great m drown'd; not have again.

5. When dom of *Champa* weather alto said, there near that p rocks, ver A few days strous rock it is upon ches a pro passengers toos and ap It was very and a fine gry, nothi other side During th mation con brought a

fortune; he was extremely meek, humble, calm, and knew those seas admirably well. He was alive in the year 1670. but very old and blind. We had all of us extraordinary comfort in him. A pilot at sea is like a physician to sick men. We came to the

Samatras.

place of the *Samatras*; so they call the fierce winds that prevail at that season. There is no describing their fury: did one of those gusts last an hour, no ship could keep the sea; they always bring much rain with them, which is the cause they soon fall: our small vessels scudded upon the foam of the sea.

4. We were four religious men in the cabin; there was no going to bed all the voyage: I us'd to lie down by a bale of stuffs; one morning I wak'd, and found it on the wrong side of me: I presently concluded with my self, there had been some extraordinary hurricane that night. In came a Franciscan looking pale and sad; and saluting us, I ask'd him, How he had pass'd the night without. He told me, the vessel had been at the point of foundering, and it was a miracle we were alive. The business was, the pilot lay down to sleep a little, and order'd that as soon as ever they found it rain'd, they should furl the sails. The night prov'd so dark and dismal, that there was no discerning which way the vanes stood, tho' never so near; and it being mizzling weather, it could not be distinguish'd whether it rain'd or not. It pleas'd God that he who supply'd the pilot's place was sensible of some noise upon the stern, and cry'd, furl, there's rain at hand. They let the tacks run, and immediately the *Samatras* follow'd; so that had not the tacks been loose, we were all gone. At this time the bale which was by me tumbled, but I did not wake, which was a great mercy, since we were not to be drown'd; for the fright and dread would not have suffer'd me to close my eyes again.

Campu.

5. When we came in sight of the kingdom of *Champa*, the sky was clear, and the weather alter'd. Those who had been there said, there was a wonderful idol-temple near that place. It is a concavity betwixt rocks, very large, long, wide and strong. A few days after we discover'd the monstrous rock of the kingdom of *Cachinbina*, it is upon the top of a mountain, and reaches a prodigious height above it. The passengers aboard had abundance of *Cacatoes* and apes, which made some diversion. It was very pleasant to hear those birds talk, and a fine sight when they were made angry, nothing can be more pretty. On the other side the monkeys made some sport. During this voyage I receiv'd full information concerning that religious man who brought a young *Chinese* as his servant into

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Europe, and being come into these parts NAVA- set him up for the emperor's son, which RETTE. made a great noise, and turn'd to his advantage. At Macasar I had a satisfactory account that other missionaries of Japan had given out, that some Christian merchants that came with them were great princes. They impos'd upon all the princes of Europe, as the pamphlet said, who believ'd what they were told, and generously offer'd them rich presents and things of value. During this voyage I was told a notable story, it was confirm'd when I return'd in the year 1670. It was, that a sailor then aboard, who sail'd every year backwards and forwards betwixt Macao and Macasar, *Cosive nesti.* which is at least thirty days sail, never cas'd his body till he came ashore. He eat and drank heartily, made a great deal of water, but never the least of going to stool. There is no doubt but the sea binds up the body, as well for want of exercise, as because of the nature of the food; but it is strange it should do it to that excess, without throwing up fumes to the head, or producing some other distemper.

6. In a book I read by chance, I observ'd the reason why less sustenance serves in hot countries, than in cold. That it is so appears by constant experience, and so it appears that in those countries the natives live upon a little rice, *jago*, and some shell-fish, and are as plump, fat, and strong, as those who in cold countries eat flesh and bread, and drink strong wines. The cold it's certain drives in the heat, which helps digestion and causes hunger. This is not so common in hot countries, there is a sort of decay or faintness, but no hunger, because the heat spreading over all the parts of the body, that which remains in the stomach has not strength for digestion, for which reason it needs not so much to prey upon, as when it is strong and vigorous.

7. We had a sight of the island *Xan Cho-ang*, where S. Francis Xavier dy'd, and upon Friday the thirteenth of July at night we entred a narrow strait. We sail'd out of danger to all appearance; the pilot ask'd, How wind ye? The steerman answer'd, North. Furl the sails, quoth the pilot, and drop anchor, or we are lost. It was done in a moment. In the morning we found our selves within musquet-shot of the shore. From thence to Macao was five leagues; our captain, who was a handsome youth, spent all the time we were sailing them, in dressing himself, and he had enough to do it with. He was almost dress'd, and the vessel with all its colours and streamers aboard, when a boat came from shore, and brought the news that his father was dead. The extravagancies that man committed, were the greatest I ever beheld:

NAVA- beheld: He grew as furious as a tiger, and tore his fine clothes with hellish rage, there was no comforting, or appeasing of him; a few days after a small distemper seiz'd him, and in less than two months sent him to his grave. There was aboard an ancient venerable *Portuguese*, who us'd to be familiar with me, and told me, that a few years since a curate, who was a *Jew*, had been burnt at *Lisbon*, who had baptiz'd very many without any intention to confer the sacrament; which was the cause that orders were sent to all parts, that all who had been baptiz'd in such a parish during such a certain number of years, should be rebaptiz'd, which abundance did, and among them one who was governor of *Diu*, to whom the news was brought as he lay a dying, which was a great happiness. He said further, that four of the inhabitants of *Macao*, and he among them, discoursing upon this subject, they began to argue whether the curate that baptiz'd them had a good or bad intention. To remove all doubts, and remain free from any scruple, they resolv'd to go to *S. Francis* his well, and privately baptize one another. They did so, and were well pleas'd. Was it not very well done of us father, quoth the *Portuguese*? No, it was very ill done, said I.

The good old man was very much troubled at my answer. Strange things happen in the world.

8. We landed, I went with those of my order to our monastery, we had need of rest. That afternoon, it being saturday, I receiv'd great satisfaction in hearing the *Rosary* said, the *Litany* and *Salve Regina* sung. It is very well perform'd among us, as well as in the *Philippine* islands, *new Spain*, *Italy*, and other parts, but much better throughout all *India*. Upon all saturdays, festivals of our Lady, and first fundays of the month, the brothers meet; and they are all such, they put on a long robe of white silk with an image of our Lady, embroider'd on the breast, and every one with a torch of white wax in his hand: thus they accompany the holy image in the processions, and the singing of the *Salve*, at which the superior in a cope carries a little one. I lik'd it better and better every day, and it increas'd my devotion.

9. I shall hereafter write a particular chapter concerning what the city *Macao* is at present, and what it was, its situation, strength, monasteries, churches, and what else it contains; this to save repetitions. In the ensuing chapter I shall speak of other things I observ'd there.

CHAP. X.

Of my Stay at Macao, and first entring the great Empire of China.

1. ALL the while I stay'd at *Macao*, I had a great deal of trouble in preaching and hearing confessions, most people came to me. One day I heard a good lady, who said to me, Father, some years since, when I had riches to spare, I had enough to hear my confession, now I am poor I can't find one. I was much troubled at her words; I offer'd her my service as often as she pleas'd, and perform'd it. I heard some others, who told me they came by stealth, because their masters confin'd them to certain confessors; others that their former confessors might not chide them for going to a new one. I mislik'd both, and I found so much of it, that I was forced to give a hint of it in the pulpit.

2. A few months after they sent a confessor into *China*, he had several spiritual daughters, and from thence writ, exhorting them to virtue, and advising them not to go to confession to such a church and monastery. I thought this very ill advice, and it was dislik'd by a person of note, when he heard of it.

3. I was there inform'd, that in a certain church of that city they had given the blessed sacrament three times to one woman upon *Christmas*-day. I was ask'd my opi-

nion concerning it, and answer'd, It was very ill done, and a breach of a precept of the church there is to the contrary. That there was a particular reason for priests saying three masses that day, which did not extend to the laity receiving. This point is particularly handled in its proper place.

4. At that time there happen'd a misfortune that might have prov'd of ill consequence. The *Tartar* soldiers take more liberty at *Macao*, than they do in *China*; they uncover womens faces, as they go along the streets, and even in processions, and there is no body can hinder them, tho' in *China* they look upon it as a heinous offence for a man to look upon a woman. Some of them went to see the church of the society, which is a very good one, but not so extraordinary as *F. Rodas* makes it. They stay'd longer than the *Sacristan* would have had them, he grew impatient, and was something rough with them, which they resent'd, and waited an opportunity to revenge. It is no prudence in a strange country to abuse those that are masters of it. Those soldiers got together some more of their gang, and walking about the streets that afternoon, met two fathers of the society, on whom they took full revenge for the

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the wrong done them; they cudgel'd, dragg'd them about the ground, and tore their clothes. This alarm'd the city, some substantial citizens took up arms, the temporal coadjutors went out with spears, fell upon the soldiers, who had secur'd themselves with their captain in the house where they quarter'd; they assaulted the house, threw in hand-granadoes, and beset them, but the house being over the sea, they easily made their escape at night, and acquainted the petty king of *Canton* with the matter. He immediately order'd the magistrates of the city, and fathers of the society to appear before him. Each sent two as deputies. The religious men were kept close prisoners several months, the townsmen follow'd the suit. It was compounded for three thousand ducats in silver, which the society paid with an ill will. This was the end of that business, and it might have prov'd worse.

5. I saw a monstrous sight there, which besides that it griev'd me to the soul, put me out of patience. A *Chinese* corrector liv'd there, whose nick-name given him by the *Portugueses* was *Boneca*. He seeing our processions, resolv'd to make a festival to his idols, and to this purpose borrow'd jewels and relics of the *Portugueses*, as I suppose deceitfully. With these things he adorn'd a bier to be carry'd on mens shoulders, on which he placed an idol, and calling together the infidels, they carry'd him about the streets and market of the city, with musick. I was an eye-witness to it, and bewail'd the miserable condition of that place. A citizen whose name was *Tenera*, an honest man and good Christian, laid hand to his sword, but check'd himself. He afterwards said to me, I had not valu'd being cut in pieces, but bethought my self, that the whole city would perish, and that stopp'd me, otherwise I did not want courage to break the idol, and kill the idolaters. A few days after I preach'd, and I believe they remember what I said to this matter, and about the women lending an infidel their relics,

6. All church-men and laity there pay ground-rent for their houses and churches, as is usual all over *China*, but above all the people of *Macao*, who are strangers, and had the place given them upon that condition. The magistrates receive it from all persons, and pay in the money. They came to a monastery to ask their quota, and they oppos'd it vigorously; the magistrates argued the case, and intreated, urging the example of the cathedral, parishes, and other monasteries. All would not do, the others alledging it was contrary to *Bulla Cane*. The magistrates gave their reasons, and at last the city paid the

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money because the religious men could not be brought to hearken to reason. They put this case to me, without my being acquainted with the particulars of it; I answer'd, as I thought fit, and what I would answer at this time, which was, that those fathers should go to the *Tartar* emperor, and notify that bull to him, and if he allow'd of it, they might enjoy their privilege, and not pay. Such a question deserves no other answer. I have always said the things that happen in those parts are incredible. Is there any such thing as *Bulla Cane* in the world, that concerns the receiving of my ground, or other rent? I was in the right to believe that was not the effect of ignorance so much as of wilfulness.

7. I found abundance of violent *Sebastianists* in that city, (so call'd for that they expect king Sebastian slain by the Moors above one hundred years since will return again.) I stood amaz'd to hear the arguments they us'd to prove he was still alive. One who was a good Christian argu'd thus to me: Father, no king ever dy'd but his obsequies were perform'd, none have been perform'd for king *Sebastian*, therefore he is not dead. The major is undeniable, the minor plain, so the consequence, &c. When I discours'd this point with *F. Gouvea* a jesuit he deny'd the minor, and said the obsequies were perform'd at the monastery of *Betlechem* near *Lisbon*. Others have told me they were not perform'd by the kingdom, (this seems a quibble.) When I return'd out of *China*, they were still of the same mind, and expect him daily.

8. Another thing I thought strange at *Macao*, which was that a widow gentlewoman, whose name was *Elizabeth Raigoto*, having a law-suit about a considerable quantity of *sandal*, with the procurator of a certain order, another of the same house took part with the widow, and pleaded for her. So that one was for, and another against the widow, in the same house. *F. Gouvea* told me he had seen the like at *Lisbon*, in a great suit there was with the collector, with whom *F. Suarez* sided, and did him all the service he could. And another very learned man of the society was violent against him. There is no doubt but there may be two probable opinions, and one hold the one, and another the other.

2. When I declar'd I would go into *China*, the whole city was concern'd at it; and there was a layman that said, I ought to be stopp'd, for the general good of others. I was oblig'd to them for their love and many favours. Having no knowledge of that vast kingdom, I was necessitated to have recourse to them that had, for directions

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NAVARRÉCTIONS how to travel. They gave me written instructions very willingly, but I found the contrary by experience. The paper specify'd the provinces of *China* as far as *Tartary*, without mentioning any city, town, or village, as if a man should direct another how to travel from *Madrid* into *Germany*, and should write, You must go into *Catalonia*, thence into *France*, so into *Flanders*, &c. This did not discourage me. I took a *Chinese*, who spoke a little *Portuguese*, agreed with him, and order'd our affairs to set out. I us'd all my endeavours to go as far as *Canton* with another missionary, who was to build a church in that metropolis. He and his superior promis'd I should, and that they would give me timely notice. I was ready and expected to be call'd upon some days, but they never perform'd; perhaps they could not be as good as their words. The other went away, and I remain'd somewhat baffled but not out of hopes. I found an infidel who conducted me with a very good will, and for a small charge. I consider'd by my self what difference there is betwixt the sentiments of God and man. A catholic priest and missionary would not take me along with him, and God order'd that a gentile and idolater should carry me, and use me with all the respect in the world. Some *Tartar* soldiers went in the same boat, who carry'd themselves very civilly towards me. I was destitute of all human dependence, and was the first that ventur'd among those heathens in this nature, and openly: Which father *Gouvea* of the society often admir'd, and declar'd as much in my hearing. So that all the missionaries who had enter'd *China* till that time, either did it privately as the *Franciscans* and those of my order, or else under the protection of some *mandarines*, or as mathematicians, as those of the society. It was certainly a special goodness of God towards me, otherwise it could not have been done.

10. As soon as we were out of *Macao*, we came to an idol temple the heathens have there, and as we pass'd by it, the sailors offer'd their sacrifice, and perform'd their ceremonies for obtaining a good passage. *Macao* was never able to remove that eye-sore; and yet they boast they are lords of that island. In two days we came to the metropolis of *Canton*. I was astonish'd to see that prodigious city. We run up the river under the walls, they extend almost a league and a half from east to west. I spoke something of this city in the first book.

11. When I went hence I was assisted by the black soldiers who were Christians; they were very uncivil to me, they stole

from me fifty pieces of eight, my church-stuff, and other small things. I was upon my guard against the infidels, but not against Christians, which was the cause this misfortune befel me, which I found out twenty four hours after, when I had sail'd some leagues; I made some enquiry, but to no purpose, so my sufferings began. In the metropolis I found a black who made a practice of baptizing all the children he met in the streets, and had done so to many. There is no doubt but all that dy'd in a state of innocence were sav'd, for he baptiz'd them well. I blam'd him for it, but know not whether he was the better. I sail'd up the river nine days with three *Tartar* soldiers, and declare if, they could not be civiler, tho' they had been good Christians. I was astonish'd at their courtesy, calmness and good behaviour. All that way I never gave any man the least thing, but he return'd some little presents, and if he had nothing to return, there was no persuading him to accept of a morsel of bread. This is the general custom throughout the kingdom. I came to the river of the watering engines I mention'd in the first book.

12. I travel'd afoot for want of money, where there was no river. One day I went up a vast hill, which tir'd me very much; on the top of it was a good house, where soldiers lay to secure the roads, of which that nation is very careful. The captain saw me going by, came out to meet me, was very courteous, invited me in, and led me by the hand; I sat down, he presently order'd their drink made of *Cha* to be brought, shew'd compassion to see me travel afoot, and limping with weariness: he ask'd my *Chinese* companion how I came to travel after that manner, was sorry that my things had been stolen, conducted me out, and took his leave with much civility and concern for my loss. I went on much comforted with that kindness, went down the hill, which was tedious and craggy, that quite lam'd me, so that I was not able to stir. We came to an infidel's house (I met with no Christian till we came to *Lo Kien*) whilst they were boiling a chick for me to eat, I fell down and fainted, and tho' I presently came to my self, they thought I should have dy'd there. The infidel presently went in and brought clothes, he made me a little bed, on which they laid me, and I went to rest. I was astonish'd to see with what care and diligence the infidel attended me, no more could have been done in any town in *Spain*. I eat and gather'd strength, that man did wonders with me that night, he gave me his own room and bed, which were very good. True it is, I slept but little, being in care to rise betimes.

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betimes. He made much of me, and would take nothing for my lodging. This is very much among infidels.

13. Next day as we were entering a great town, my *Chinese* and he that carry'd the small baggage went before, and I was left in a desperate condition, sad, and out of patience, among thousands of *Chinese*, without knowing how to enquire for my company, or answer their questions; I had an ill afternoon of it, but no man was unkind to me: I have said it, and must repeat it a thousand times, that this nation out does all others in the world in this particular, and some others. Next day it being very cold, for it was past the middle of *October*, we came to a river; I took off my shoes and stockings, and waded it with the water up to my knees, and very sensible of the violent cold. The company that travel'd together, spy'd a mighty ti-

ger, that lay on a rising ground close by *NAVA*-the road; I saw it, and was much daunted, *RETTE*. it was as big as a large calf. That day we came to a stately and populous town, seated on a stately river, on which there were thousands of vessels. I endeavour'd to hire a boat presently, but could not, because the people were in an uproar, by reason a company of robbers were abroad. The war was hot there against the sea-*Chinese*, who would not submit to the *Tartar*. I went into a lodging, and after night we went away very hush to a boat. At break of day we got out, sail'd down the river all day, continually seeing great numbers and variety of vessels. At dark night we anchor'd under the walls of the famous city of *Chang Cheu*, where we rested a little, and will begin another chapter to conclude this voyage.

CHAP. XI.

My Travels continu'd as far as Fo Ngan.

1. **T**HE city *Chang Cheu* is very famous and renown'd in *China*, all the *Chinese* that trade to *Manila* are of it and its territory, and are therefore called by us *Chincheos*, by corruption of the name; it is part of the province of *Fo Kien*, and cost the *Tartar* dear. He took it once, but lost it to the *Chinese* of *Cabello*; but he coming a second time with great force, made himself master of it again. True it is, it cost abundance of lives on both sides, for it was strongly garrison'd, being a frontier town. At the dawn of the day we went out of the boat; to continue our way we went about a great part of the city, and on a sudden found my self in a street, the longest, finest, and fullest of people that ever I saw. I was astonish'd and surpriz'd, especially hearing all people say, This is a father of *Manila*. And considering how ill the soldiers at *Manila* use the *Chinese*, I concluded, it would be well if I came off with a good beating. I went on apace to escape the danger I fancy'd hung over me, and thought the street had no end, it was little less than half a league long: It is all the way at twenty paces distance adorn'd with stone arches curiously wrought. Troops of horse march'd out of the city with much noise and confusion, and I could not think what would become of me. One lodging would not entertain us, and the worst was, we had a river to pass in a great common boat. I went into the passage-boat very much concern'd, and there was aboard a great many people who took not their eyes off me. I waited two hours till the boat was full; we went

down the river three or four leagues: when I got ashore, I thought my self in another world. Having travel'd about two leagues, I met with the tallest and fiercest *Chinese* to look to I had yet seen, he prov'd to me an angel sent by God. He came to me, made much of me, comforted me, and by signs gave me to understand that I should be merry and fear nothing, for he would take care of me. I understood something, and my *Chinese* explain'd it to me very well. In the lodgings he gave me the best room; when he eat he gave me the best morsel; he took me by the hand and plac'd me on his right side, and always took as much care of me as if he had been my tutor or guardian; I never saw a better-natur'd man. Two days after another, nothing inferior to the first, join'd us; I was very well pleas'd with such good company. Being come to the city *Given Cheu*, I was amaz'd to see such a vast place; the whole appear'd from an eminency, and it look'd like a little world. When the *Tartar* took it, the walls were ruin'd, and he caused them to be new built; they were finish'd in two years. I believe it impossible for any *European* prince to compleat such a work in four or five. The form of them is like ours, with curtains and bastions. We travel'd under the walls, crossing the narrowest part: As I went I counted the cannon; I reckon'd as far as seventy, and observing I was not come half way, left off to take notice of other things. About the year 63, the floods swell'd so high, that they overflow'd the walls, and drowned a great part of the city. Having pass'd this place we came to that wonderful bridge I mention'd

NAVAMENTION'd in the first book. Three days after we met the general of *Fo Kien*, who was marching to *Chang Cheu* with twenty thousand men. I was in great confusion and distress upon this occasion, considering in what condition a poor religious man must be in such a strange kingdom, and amidst an army of idolaters. Those two *Chinese* were so assisting to me, that were it not for them, I know not what had become of me, not that any man spoke to me, or offer'd the least incivility, but because the dread and disorder that multitude of *Gentiles* put me into, in regard I could not speak, or give the least account of my self, if occasion had requir'd. I pass'd in sight of the general, who was near the shore with the greatest gravity and state imaginable. It was prodigious to see his sumptures, camels and horses. When we were pass'd the body of the army, and thought all was over, from an eminence I discover'd another party, which was no small trouble to me, they were all pikemen, and drawn up on both sides of the roads. I went through the midst of them all alone, because my companions were behind seeking their saddles, and my *Chinese* our baggage. When I was pass'd, I said, and still say the same, that I had rather go thro' two armies of *Tartars*, than one of ours. We saw country houses and villages with their fruit, and meat set out in the shops to sell, as if never a soldier had gone that way. Then, and often since have I made reflection upon it; it is never known that soldiers in that country wrong the subjects, and therefore tho' an army marches through a city, town, or village, none of the inhabitants are the least disturb'd. The handicraft minds his business, he that sells fruit keeps his station, and so others; no man dares touch any thing without money in hand, and paying the usual rate. The following year a soldier paid a half-penny short in a little rice he had bought; the seller complain'd, and having made it out, the soldier was beheaded. The *Chinese*, and at present the *Tartars* say, soldiers are to defend the people from the enemy, and to prevent the harm he may do them; but if the soldiers do the same harm, the people will be expos'd to two enemies: so that it is better not to raise forces, that the people may have but one enemy, whom they can better oppose than two: this is evidently true.

2. Before I came to the metropolis of *Fo Cheu*. *Fo Kien*, call'd *Fo Cheu*, I sent my *Chinese* into the city to find out the church, and know whether there was ever a father at it. It was long before he came back, which troubled me very much. My companions carried me to an inn, a better than which

there is not in all *Italy*; we pass'd through two courts, and found a table covered with a thousand dainties. I was concern'd that it was the eve of *S. Simon* and *Jude*, though I was in such a condition I might without any scruple have forbore fasting. My countenance expressing my sorrow, those infidels ceas'd not to comfort me with signs and motions. It pleas'd God the *Chinese* return'd, and with him a Christian of that city, which fetch'd me to life again. The religious man, I think, hid himself, so that I neither saw him, nor went to his church; such are the humours of men. I was not a little afflicted, because I was desirous to confess and say mass. Perhaps he had nothing to help me forward in my journey, and consider'd it, but I stood not in need of him. Two days after I set forward, having been well treated by a Christian physician, and receiv'd some small gifts from others: I cross'd the city, which is extraordinary beautiful, though the least metropolis in *China*, they say it contains one million of people: the suburb I came in at was a league in length; the concourse of people, without one woman among them, was incredible. The street I went through was exceeding broad, long, well pav'd and clean; shops on both sides of all sorts of things a man could wish for. Going along it, I met three mandarines at a good distance from one another. I was order'd to get out of my sedan or palanquine, and stood astonish'd to see with what gravity, state, and attendance they went. I look'd upon them earnestly, which I ought not to have done; in that country it is counted unmannerly: but being ignorant of this, and many other matters, it is no wonder I err'd. I got out of that fright, and the city, and travell'd more easy in the open country. Soon after I met a Christian whose name was *Charles*, who came from the place where those of my order were; he was a great comfort to me. I travell'd five days longer over hills that reach'd the clouds, but God be prais'd no body did me the least displeasure. The last night we lay in a little castle, in which were about fifty soldiers; it is incredible what civility I met with there. The commander quitted his own room, which was a good one, for me to lie there. I endeavour'd to excuse it, but he prevail'd, and went to lie in another place. I was amaz'd at this usage from infidels, among whom *Europeans* are accounted barbarians; these and such like passages were always the subject of my observation, they very well deserve consideration and reflection. Next day the commander and others came down to the door to take leave of me, begging my pardon for the slender entertainment.

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I went up and down seven hellish mountains that day; at the last of them it rain'd hard, at the top of it we rested a little. I was very hungry and weary, for they had deceived me in the number of leagues. I saw a *Chinese* eat boil'd rice in the morning, and as cold as ice; I took a good parcel and eat it, methought I never eat any thing more dainty in all my life-time. As we went down the hill, which was very tedious, it rain'd again, and I met a company of horse-men, who all saluted me after their manner. We found the gates of *Fo Ngan* shut; we went late in a dark night and very cold to a suburb, where we had a bad night of it, because there were not necessaries to be had, nor could we dry our clothes. Wet as I was, I lay down upon some straw, and the cold being intense, I could not get heat into me; I never had so bad a lodging in forty days I had been travelling, and it was good fortune to get any, because there were abundance of soldiers quarter'd. Next day being the third of *November*, I went into the city, came to the church, where I found three fathers of our province of *Manila*; the very sight of them rejoic'd me, and made me forget all my sufferings during the journey.

3. Some at *Macao* look'd upon it as a rashness in me to undertake that journey, others were of opinion I could never perform it. I my self was doubtful of the event, which prov'd more fortunate than any man could imagine; the circumstances make it the stranger, for it is certainly very strange that I should travel forty days over mountains and valleys, upon rivers, thro' great and small towns, for the most part near the sea, when the war was hot between the *Tartars* and *Chinese* of *Cabell*, and abundance of horse and foot marching, and that no body seeing a stranger, should speak to or do him the least wrong, but rather should all behave themselves courteously, civilly and kindly. Till I met the army at *Fo Kien*, I travell'd with my beads about my neck, a cross of that sort they call of *S. Toribius*, and a medal hanging to it; it was made of jet, and in *China* there was none of it; they look'd upon, touch'd it, admir'd what it was made of, and there was an end. As we were going

through the army, my *Chinese* friend took *NAVA*-it off, and made signs to me to lay it up; *RETTE*. I did so, because there was no necessity of carrying it openly. All men knew I was a preacher of the evangelical law, and my interpreter told them as much, without being ask'd. All the journey I us'd to rise very early, so that I had said most of the divine office before I came out of my lodging; at night I perform'd what remain'd. I never wanted time to do this duty, and I found afterwards that the infidels were very much edify'd by seeing me pray. I said other prayers in the day time upon the road. When I din'd or sup'd, there commonly came some poor body; I gave some small matter, and this was matter of edification to the standers by. I gave my companions some small gifts; they were thankful, and made some return.

4. During this journey I saw innumerable cities, towns, villages, and country houses; it was rare, but we were in sight of some. The plenty of fruit, flesh, fish, cakes of several sorts, and other varieties, was wonderful. At one inn I stood a good while to see one mince bacon to put into the meat he dress'd; since I was born I never saw such activity, expedition, cleanliness and neatness as that *Chinese*'s; I was quite astonish'd. Along the roads I saw several paper-mills: what I admire in those people, as to this and other particulars, is, that they set up a paper-mill and other such necessaries upon half a dozen stakes, and work it with the least rivulet of water; among us we have a thousand utensils.

5. I forbear writing many small matters, not because they will tire the reader, but because I am tir'd my self: I have seen them so often, that they are very common to me, which makes me have the less inclination to write them. I spoke in the first book of the multitude of temples and idols I saw. The famous idol call'd *San Pao*, which has been represented as an image of the most blessed Trinity, is exactly the same with that which is on the high altar of the monastery of the Trinitarians at *Madrid*. If any *Chinese* whatsoever saw it, he would presently say, the *San Pao* of his country was worship'd in these parts.

CHAP. XII.

My Stay at Fo Ngan, till I went up to Che Kiang.

1. **SOME** things I gave account of in the first book, which I will not repeat in this place; but I forgot to write one remarkable to us *Europeans*, which is, that during the forty days I travell'd, I never saw any more than three women, ci-

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ther in towns, upon the road, or at the inns. One as I went thro' a village, another on the road, and another at a distance from me near a town. Among us it will seem incredible, among them it will seem too much that I saw three.

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NAVARETTE. 2. The town, or as others call it, city of *Fo Ngan*, is very renown'd in the province of *Fo Kien*; it suffer'd much upon the coming in of the *Tartars*, twice they took it, and twice the *Chineſes* beat them out, the third time, the latter ſubmitted. The *Tartars* capitulated to hurt no man, drew up, and order'd all that bore arms to appear; they did ſo, and fourteen thouſand of them were deſtroy'd. The firſt of them was a good Chriſtian, and very learned man, who was a commander. The *Tartar* had a good opinion of him, and he would have been preferr'd, had he ſubmitted at firſt. A ſoldier as he was going to make his appearance, had ſome buſineſs, and ſaid to a townſman, I am buſy at preſent, do you appear for me, and here is a ryal (ſix pence) for you to drink. He did ſo, and was put to death, the other eſcap'd; it was very fortunate for the one, and very unlucky in the other.

3. *Liu Chung Zao*, the *Chineſe* general, a man of great learning, and brave, finding himſelf in diſtreſs, reſolv'd to poiſon himſelf; he invited ſome friends to do the ſame, and among them the Chriſtian I ſpoke of before, whoſe name was *John Mſieu*. They all excuſed themſelves, and he took the poiſon alone, died in his chair of ſtate, where the *Tartars* found him ſitting, and leaning againſt a table; they made many obeiſſances to the dead body, and extoll'd his loyalty, ſince he choſe to die rather than to deliver up the city to an enemy.

4. In one of thoſe ſieges the venerable *F. F. Francis de Capillas*, of the monaſtry of *S. Paul of Valladolid*, and born at *Villaverdin de Campos*, ſuffer'd martyrdom. I ſaw the place where they cut off his head, and kiſs'd the ground. His buſineſs lies now before the holy congregation of rites at *Rome*. In this place my order had their firſt church in *Cbina*: here they ſow'd the ſeed of the word, and did, and ſtill do reap a plentiful harveſt. What relates to this particular being written in our hiſtory, I will proceed, but ſhall ſay ſomething more in the ſecond volume.

5. I was there told a very remarkable ſtory, which is as follows; *Liu Chung Zao*, whom we mention'd before, going to fight the *Tartars*, a miſſioner attended him with the title of *mandarin of the powder*. He took up his quarters at our church, where he had the beſt entertainment they could give him. He being ſo great, and thoſe of my order ſo poor, the infidels began to doubt whether he and the reſt were all *Europeans*. To clear this doubt, it was reſolv'd that one of ours and he ſhould meet in ſome publick place, and talk together. The time and place were appointed; *F. Francis Diaz*, a worthy miſſioner and la-

bourer in God's vineyard, got up early, and travelled afoot two leagues of very bad way; he was cloth'd in cotton, not in ſilk, and came ſweating to the place appointed, where the other was in great ſtate in his ſedan, with attendants like a *mandarin*. Our father faced him; and when the father *mandarin* ſaw him from his ſedan in that garb, and without ſervants, he deſpis'd him, and went on without taking any notice of him, leaving him out of countenance in the preſence of a thouſand lookers on, and ſome Chriſtians who expected by that means to have gain'd honour to their ſpiritual fathers. Afterwards a good Chriſtian aſk'd the father *mandarin*, how it came he had put ſo great an affront upon the Dominican father? He answer'd, Why ſhould I go out of my chair to pay a compliment to a man in that garb?

6. Another time the general ſpoke ill of us in the hearing of that *mandarin* miſſioner, and of a *Chineſe* Chriſtian. The reaſon the general had for it was, becauſe a concubine had left him, and was become a Chriſtian. The father hearing what the infidel ſaid, and perceiving he bore us ill-will, ſaid, *Sung ta men ki pa*, which is as much as if in our language he had ſaid, Turn them out of the kingdom, and let them be gone. The infidel ſtar'd, the Chriſtian amaz'd fixt his eyes on the father. Obſerve how the infidels uſ'd me, and how one miſſioner uſes another. In ſhort, *Figulus figulum odit*. Notwithſtanding all this, he afterwards deſir'd our fathers to procure him a faithful Chriſtian ſervant to wait upon him. They got him one, he brought him into *Europe*, made him paſs for an able phyſician. He was with him at *Rome*, where he forbid him going to our monaſtry of *Minerva*. Our father general ſent us this intelligence into *Cbina*; I ſaw, read, and had his letter in my hands.

7. I came to the church the third of *November*, as I ſaid above, and preſently apply'd my ſelf to the ſtudy of that moſt difficult language; there are few but find great diſcouragement in it, I labour'd all I could. Mattins were certainly ſaid at midnight; and it was uſual with me to fit in my chair after them till morning at my ſtudy. Continual application overcame the difficulty in great meaſure. It pleas'd God I preach'd in the church the ſecond ſunday in lent, which but two months before I thought impoſſible to be done in two years. I was commanded to ſtudy the character, and thought it a difficult talk; began with infinite reluctance, but in a few months was ſo fond of it, that I could not be a moment from my books. This ſtudy is ſo neceſſary, that without it

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it there is no coming to a right understanding of the errors they profess, nor opposing them, nor converting with the learned. In two years I continu'd in that province, I came to hear confessions, preach'd with some ease, read some books, and discours'd concerning matters of faith with heathens and Christians.

8. I observ'd during that time that the *Chineſes* confidently reported that their emperor should die in the eighteenth year of his reign. The *Chineſes* reckon their emperors lives by the years of their reign, as we do the pope's; but it is not true to say they have no other computation of years, as F. *Trigaucius*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Tirinon* and *Kircher* affirm. We know they reckon the year by moons, allowing twelve to a year, and thirteen to the bissextile or leap-year, wherein they agree with the *Jews*, as *Cornelius à Lapide* in *Exod.* proves.

Their moons are some of twenty nine, and some of thirty days. The name *mensis*, a month, is well known to be deriv'd from the *Greek*, taken from the name of the moon, as S. *Isidorus* says, *lib. V. de orig. c. 33*. The *Jews* counted by moons, as the *Chineſes* do at this time. The day according to the *Egyptians*, says the saint, *cap. 30*. began at *sun-setting*: according to the *Perſians*, at *sun-rising*: according to the *Athenians*, at the *sixth hour of the day*: according to the *Romans*, at *midnight*. This last is the method the *Chineſes* observe. In the thirty seventh chapter the saint speaks of the *Iuſtrum*, which was every five years. The *Chineſes* have the same, and call it *si*. The *Jews* reckon fifty years an age, as the same saint observes, we make it a hundred; the *Chineſes* allow but thirty. The *Greeks* began the year at the autumnal equinox, says S. *Isidorus*, *cap. 6. de natura rerum*; the *Chineſes*, as has been said before. Certain it is, they have other computations beside the years of their emperors reigns. To conclude, the *Chineſe* prophecy prov'd true, *se pa chung*, that is, he will end the eighteenth year of his reign. They also gave out they would banish the law of God, it was talk'd of three years before it happen'd. This was easier to be known, because our enemy was then contriving the mischief.

9. At an examination of batchelors, some things remarkable happen'd to certain Christians; One of them liv'd near the church, was an extraordinary good Christian, and being old us'd spectacles: He went to the examination without them, through forgetfulness; the man was utterly undone, for there was no avoiding losing his degree, being whip'd, and undergoing the shame that follows of consequence. I was told he clap'd his hands upon

his face, and offer'd up to GOD that NAVA-trouble and affliction he was fallen into, after he had many years continu'd in his degree with honour and reputation. He pray'd, then open'd his eyes, and thought his sight was very clear; so taking the pencil, he began and ended his exercise, admiring at himself; and it prov'd so good, that he receiv'd a premium for it. There is no doubt but it might happen naturally, and God might specially assist him.

10. Another, who was newly baptized in his rhetorick, committed a gross fault, which deserv'd a whipping at least. He offer'd up his prayer to God, and made up his paper the best he could. It was a strange thing that the fault was not perceiv'd; and his composition was not only approv'd of, but he was prefer'd a step higher for it. The other Christian batchelors, all of them had premiums that year, which the infidels took notice of.

11. I was alone a few days in a town, where that happen'd to me which I mention'd in another place, which was, that an infidel bid me go preach at *Manila*, where there was more need of it than in their kingdom. I was out of countenance; it was in this town I baptized the child I spoke of, that was expos'd to perih. As I was one day at my study, two infidels open'd my cell-door very softly; on my table was a crucifix, they stood looking at it; and making some little noise, I look'd about, saw them, and rose to ask what they wanted. They said, they were going to see the church, and had a mind to see me, but that they were surprized at the sight of that image, which had mov'd their hearts to some tenderness. What I write is the very truth, let others write or say what they please. Before this, when I was at *Fo Ngan*, the same thing happen'd to me twice; and when I spoke something concerning that divine mystery to those infidels, they knit their brows, and paid respect and honour to that holy image. This point is particularly handled, and I would have the curious reader reflect upon what S. *Thomas* writes on *Joan. xii. vers. 4*. on the words, *But Jesus answer'd, &c.* About this time a heathen batchelor, who lay very sick, sent for me; he had read some books of ours, and God touch'd his heart. He earnestly desir'd to be baptized; I instructed him the best I could, and caus'd some who were Christians of long standing to discourse him. Ten days after he had devoutly receiv'd the sacraments, he went to enjoy the sight of God, as I charitably believe.

12. As I went one day to see him, some Christians and infidels went with me. I heard an infidel batchelor say to a Christian,

NAVASTIAN, Is it possible none can be saved without being of this religion, and that all our forefathers and predecessors who had no knowledge of it, were damn'd? This is a hard case. If God be so merciful as these men preach, and one person was incarnate to save those men, had it not been proper that another should have taken human flesh here to redeem us, and not leave us so many thousands of years in a desperate condition? I was much troubled that I was not so perfect in the language at that time, as to answer fully and satisfactorily as the case requir'd. Nevertheless that he might understand something of it, I gave him a book that treated upon the very subject. He went his way hammering upon this point, and God calling him, came afterwards and desir'd to be baptized, his wife and two sons were also baptized; so all came into the church, and after them their sons two wives. The whole family was sensible of God's special protection in an assault of some rebels.

13. There was in that place a Christian batchelor, whose name was *Thomas*, a man of an excellent wit, and much reputation. I once practis'd the language, and expounded to him the mystery of the incarnation. When I had spoke what was material to the point, he took me up very short, and said, If it is so that God shew'd his infinite love and charity in this mystery, it had been more convenient that the Holy Ghost had become man, since love is his peculiar attribute, and not the Son, whose attribute is wisdom. The *Chinese* made a good reflection, and press'd it home; for my part I was amazed, and so were others. What I had read in *S. Thomas* upon that subject occur'd; he brings as a reason of conveniency, 3 p. art. 4. *That the reparation might be answerable to the creation. The creation of the world was for the Son, In the beginning, that is in the Son.* It was proper the creation, or reparation, should be answerable. The *Chinese* understood it, and was satisfy'd.

14. Near to the church there liv'd an infidel batchelor who was above the exercises, he liv'd very retir'd, was much of a stoick, and therefore in great esteem. He had a good opinion of the law of God, insomuch that he himself in my time, persuaded his wife and two sons to be baptized; these two I baptized, and my superior the wife: Yet he could not resolve as to himself, and all his objection was, that he thought it very indecent for God to be present in the host, and expos'd to be receiv'd by ill Christians. Very much was said to him upon this account, but still he was obstinate, till it pleas'd God to move him effectually. The persecution was then beginning, when one would have thought he

should have been the further from embracing our holy faith, as being condemn'd by the emperor, and endeavour to make his wife and children forsake it. Then it was God shew'd his mercy towards him, enlightning his understanding, and inclining his will to receive baptism, as he actually did. Above two hundred and fifty were baptized during those two years, and had not the wars happened at the same time, the increase of Christianity had been great. They burnt five churches of ours, two in my time, one of the then biggest there ever was in *China*. It was built by an excellent Christian *Chinese*, who had been at *Manila*, and seen our churches; he return'd into his country, came to be a *mandarin*, and in his own town he built a church exactly like that he had seen at *Manila*, in bigness, shape, and ornament. A Christian woman liv'd with her family in a country-house near the sea, her manner of living was scandalous; when all the family was asleep, a tiger got in and carry'd her away; the Christians look'd upon it as a judgment.

15. In *August* I was sent for to a small town, to hear the confession of a sick woman; I went and gave her the *vaticum*, and all the family confes'd and receiv'd. They were all extraordinary good Christians, and well instructed in the faith. The inhabitants of the next house were their relations, but profess'd enemies of the law of God, yet it pleas'd his Divine Majesty they soon after came in and were baptized. As I return'd it rain'd hard, and the north-wind blew; and the cold and rain pierced me, and being afoot in some places the water was half way my legs. Being come home before I had time to rest me, I went to hear the confession of a poor old man, and gave him the extreme unction; this struck me into an ague, which was very troublesome. After the feast of our Lady in *September*, news came that relief was sent us from *Manila*; it was a great comfort, for in truth we were in want. It pleas'd God, as a punishment of my sins, that when it was ashore safe from sea-robbers, as it came up a river all was lost, but one hundred pieces of eight a Christian hid; the thieves were taken afterwards, and confes'd this robbery among others; they were put to death; but we remain'd eleven religious men of us with only one hundred pieces of eight among us. In *November* following *F. John Polanco*, a notable missionary and religious man, went over to *Manila*; he dy'd, after having labour'd very much, at *Sevil* in the year 1671, being then bishop elect of *New Caceres* in the *Philippine* islands. I was order'd to go up to the province of *Che Kiang* in his stead, as accordingly I did, and shall relate in the next chapter.

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CHAP. XIII.

My Journey to Che Kiang, and stay there till the Persecution.

1. I Now speaking the language, and my beard being grown, this journey was easier to me than the first, tho' I went in some fear, because I carry'd wine with me to serve for saying mass, and half the money that had been sav'd. With me went two Christians and an infidel who was upon his conversion; they were countrymen of the inland, and most excellent natur'd men. The second day I came to the highest mountain I ever saw in my life. This and several others I cross'd in eleven days; travelling tir'd my very soul. At every half league or league we found resting places cover'd, and so neat that nothing could be finer for the purpose. All *China* is furnish'd with these conveniencies, and has good roads. I saw several temples of the *bonzes*, some upon high mountains, and the ascent so rough and difficult, that it was terrible to look at them. Others were in deep vallies, others close by the road. These last had hot water at the doors, with the herb *cha* for passengers to drink. At some certain places there were *bonzes* in little houses, where they had idols, and the same sort of liquor; the *bonze* offer'd it very courteously, and with much gravity and modesty. If they gave him any thing, he took it, making a low obeisance, and returning thanks for it; if not, he stood stock still, without stirring. I never gave these people any thing, the reason I shall assign in its proper place.

2. We came to the limits of the province of *Che Kiang*, the gate was betwixt two vast high rocks, there stood a guard of soldiers; in the middle between that and another gate were their quarters. There we stopp'd a while, they gave us *cha* and very courteously said, There is no doubt but this gentleman has an order to pass this burden. The infidel *Chinese* answer'd, It has all been search'd, Sir, here are the certificates. Enough, enough, said the soldiers. To say the truth, nothing had been search'd. They spoke not a word more, we took our leaves according to their fashion and went on. This was done by heathen and idolatrous soldiers, we shall see in its proper place how Christians have behav'd themselves. I observ'd that and other such passes, and methinks it is impossible for an army to force them against a handful of men, tho' they had no weapons but staves; they are so narrow two cannot go a-breast; the *Chinese* with but indifferent valour might have made them good against innumerable multitudes of

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Tartars. Soon after we came to another narrow pass like the former, but the guard was much more numerous. Here we rested, and warm'd our selves at the sun. I saw a temple there was there, every body made obeisance to me, but none ask'd me any question. During that time I observ'd, that a woman was coming up from a deep valley, and as I could guess she was going to a temple that stood on a hill hard by. She came up to the soldiers, they all stood up, and very gravely bow'd to her, which she answer'd very modestly, and went on. I was astonish'd that this should happen among infidels, when at the same time there is so much impudence in our countries. We ought all to be asham'd and confounded at it.

3. I was notably made much of in that journey. In one inn I saw a woman, which was the first and the last I ever saw in an inn, tho' I lay in very many.

4. I arriv'd at the city of *Kin Hoa*, that is *flower of gold*, because there is a hill by it that bears abundance of gold flowers, or wallwort. The church there had not been founded a year, so that there are but few Christians. I baptiz'd some, and among them a *licentiate*, a bachelor, and a taylor. I baptiz'd one more, who was a merchant, but he came to naught. The case was, that he learn'd the necessary answers for baptism; a violent sickness seiz'd him, he came to the church desiring me to baptize him; I made him return home, instructed, baptized, and gave him beads, pictures, and holy water, and encourag'd him to expect death, with great assurance that God would be merciful to him. A brother of his who was an infidel dislike'd what was done, went to his house, made himself master of it, and deny'd me admittance; he call'd the *bonzes*, who perverted and made him an apostate, he soon dy'd and went to hell baptiz'd: *O the depth of the riches of God's wisdom and knowledge! &c.*

5. A few months after I went to a village, where there were good Christians, there I apply'd my self to writing of some books which I thought very necessary. They were the four volumes I mention'd in another place; in which explicating Christian truths, I impugned the errors of that nation. I am satisfy'd they were approv'd of by learned Christians of the society, and others of ours. An ancient Christian bachelor of the society, whose name was *Matthew*, read them, and when he had done, said, Till now I was not perfectly

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instructed

NAVA- instructed in the law of God. I preach'd
RETTE. often in that village. A youth who proved
a good Christian was baptiz'd, and an ancient woman, besides others who relapsed.

6. Here it is to be observ'd, that in a dispute we had at *Canton* touching some ceremonies, whether they were political or superstitious, in the answer *F. Faber* gave in opposition to my opinion, he puts the question, What gentiles I had baptiz'd, since I held that opinion? Or how many infidels I had converted at *Kin Hoa*? This he started after I came out of my confinement. What I would have answer'd him there, I will shortly insert here, reserving the principal matter for the second tome.

7. In the first place, God did not command me to convert, but to preach: *Preach the gospel*, &c. *Cajetan* observ'd it, and says, that conversion is the work of God, not of the preacher, which answers the question, granting I preach'd and taught the doctrine and points ascertain'd at *Rome*. (2.) It is a receiv'd opinion, that the apostle *S. James* converted but only seven persons in *Spain*, which does not make it lawful to slander the doctrine he preach'd. (3.) That during that time I sow'd the seed of the word, both by preaching and writing, which I hope in God will yet yield a good crop. (4.) I ask'd of him we speak of, and others, what conversions they had made by preaching their opinions? It is well known, there were only three learned men that were tolerable Christians at *Xang Hai*. And of two thousand that had been baptiz'd in *Yang Chen*, only seven or eight frequented the church, as *F. Pacheco* a missionary own'd in that city.

8. (5.) I gave in answer the words of *Corn. à Lap.* in 1 *Cor.* iii. 8. where he handles this point very learnedly, and says more than I need. The curious reader may see it there; and if we add to it what *Cajetan* writes in *Mat.* xxv. concerning the equal reward the master of the family gave to him of the five talents, and him of the two, which is admirable to the purpose, with what *S. Thomas* in his *Cat. Aur.* quotes out of *Origen* on the same chapter, my opinion will be still more strengthened. To which may be added what *S. Paul* teaches, 1 *Cor.* iii. 7. *Neither is he that plants anything*, &c.

9. The reader may also see *S. Thomas* in xvi. *ad Rom.* l. 2. in fine, in 1 *Cor.* iii. *leff.* 2. & in 1. *Joan.* 2. *prope finem*, & *Cajet.* in xi. *Joan.* together with *F. Sylveira* in xii. *Joan.* Tom. 6. p. 613. n. 77. And if I add I am still preaching in *China* in my books, I shall not be in the wrong. Read *Sylveira* Tom. 1. in *Apoc.* cap. 10. q. 17. and Tom. 2. cap. 8. l. 4. q. 10. n. 71. If more be requir'd it is easily found, but the reader will meet with enough in the second

tome, to answer this and other points.

10. The learned Christians in that village put such questions to me, as amaz'd me. One concerning the light of glory; another concerning the *species impressa*, for seeing of God; another about the distinction of angels, whether it was specific, or numerical. But what I most admir'd was, that I being once reading in a book of *F. Adamus*, (that is in the *Chinese* character) whether there had been the virtue of penance in *CHRIST*, and he answering in the affirmative, according to *Suarez* his doctrine; *Linus*, a batchelor above his exercises, very well known to all the fathers, came up and ask'd me, What is it you read, Father? The answer I gave him was, the book it self, pointing to the place. He read it, and being disgusted at it, said, *F. Adamus* might well have forbore writing this. If *CHRIST* did not, nor could not sin, how should he have sorrow and repentance for sins? Truly I was amaz'd to see, that at once reading he should understand the difficulty, and give that reason of his doubt.

11. After some months I return'd to the city; I had a catechist who was a good scholar, with whose help I carry'd on the putting of my books into good language. My church was kept as clean, neat, and well adorn'd, as our religious poverty would permit. The people that resorted to it were very numerous, and shew'd a good inclination towards the law of God. I was sent for in all haste to the towns and villages. The extraordinary poverty and want we had endur'd for three years last past, was a sufficient reason not to go out of doors. If it were usual to preach there, as we do here and in other parts, nothing would stop us; the devil makes his advantage of this particular. This will not satisfy some men, but what I say is most certain.

12. I began to print my catechism, because it had pleas'd God to send us some small relief in the year 1664, when on a sudden and altogether unexpectedly news came from court, that our enemy had presented a memorial against *F. Adamus* and the law of God. The very infidels were astonish'd. Many comforted me the best they could, the Christians did the same. Many thought it would all come to nothing, but when I observ'd they laid rebellion to his charge, I was convinced that affair would run high, so my impression stopp'd.

13. The case was, that *F. John Adamus* being president of the college of mathematicians, who had the charge of, and every year set out the almanack, by which the whole empire is govern'd, as well in political as religious respects, assigning lucky and unlucky days for every thing they are

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to do, tho' some excus'd the said father as to this particular; It happen'd that a prince had dy'd some years before that court was order'd to appoint a proper time and fortunate hour for his funeral. All the *Chinese* are very superstitious in this respect. It was appointed, but not lik'd; or, as others say, the president of the court of rites alter'd it, the mathematical court being subordinate to his. Soon after the prince's mother, and next the emperor himself dy'd, The *Chinese* imputed these two persons death to the ill timing of the prince's burial. This was in reality the principal and only occasion of the persecution; to which they added blasphemies against God and his holy mother, as shall be instanced more at large in *chap. xv.*

14. These news being spread abroad, the Christians grew cold and withdrew; they have not the courage of the *Japoneses* and others, the infidels fled from the church, and from us. One, who tho' an atheist was an honest man, said to me: Father, forty days hence there will be a fresh order, you have nothing to do but to expect it courageously. One day three *mandarines* came to pry into our house and church; I shew'd I was sensible of the business, we discours'd about it, and to say the truth they were concern'd we should be disturb'd. The report to us being grown less, I stay'd at home, spending my time in composing a little book; and truly in it I disprov'd all the extravagancies our enemy alledg'd against the law of God, except some which were altogether chimerical. The second advice came, and brought news that the cause was depending, and F. *Adamus* in prison. The other three fathers then at court, were at the point of going to keep him company. After forty days more, the third advice came, with orders to carry us all to court. The civil magistrate of *Lan Ki*, which is six leagues down the river, and where two of my order were, was then in the city; he sent to apprehend and put them into goal immediately, which was done that very night with great noise and tumult, fifty troopers besides foot-soldiers being at the taking of two poor religious men. They told me they would do the same by me, I thank God I was not concern'd, I was only troubled that the holy images and church-stuff should be left there. I waited all night with a Christian young man; a little before break of day perceiving there was no noise of people, I went to say mass; that day pass'd over, and nobody spoke a word to me. The infidel I spoke of advis'd me to present my self to the supreme civil magistrate; he writ my memorial, I went away with him to his court. He receiv'd me favourably, and

presently sent me away, bidding me be quiet in my house, and he would dispatch me when their new year was over, giving me to understand the emperor intended to banish us his empire. This quieted me, and I liv'd the following days more at ease. They brought the two fathers that were down the river, to present them before the governor; they gave me an account of their imprisonment, and the next day they sent them back to their house. By the advice of my infidel friend before mention'd, I presented another memorial to the supreme civil magistrate of the city, in which I intimated that I had not money to bear my charges on the road, and therefore would sell my household-goods. He consented to it, I sold some wheat and rice, gave some things to friends and poor Christians, and others I made nothing of. The church-stuff was what concern'd me most, it pleas'd God I sent it all to a Christian, who liv'd in that village where I had been some time.

15. After the feast of the new-year, I was busy one morning, ordering some small things to send to the corregidor, or supreme civil magistrate of the city, when on a sudden he came into my house, attended by officers, executioners and soldiers. I went out with my present, and said to him, I was putting this trifle in order to send it to your lordship. He look'd on every thing, lik'd it, and order'd it to be kept: The whole value I believe amounted to two pieces of eight. His courtesy to me both before and after deserv'd much more. Tho' he had often seen the church, he ask'd nothing about it. He acquainted me with the emperor's order, and deliver'd me to the head of that quarter, enquiring first, whether there was ever another *European* there besides my self. The officers ran in like so many ravenous tigers to lay hold of what they could, but found only my breviary, primmer, S. *Augustin's* meditations, and other small matters which I had thought to be safe, but they carry'd all away, and left me for some time free from the duty of saying my office. The headborough was a very honest man, at night he lock'd my door on the out-side, without minding a back-door I had; and would say to me, Father, I know you will not run away, I do this only that those who pass by may see I obey my orders. Then they brought me before the superior judge, who allow'd a boat to carry me to the metropolis. I believ'd I escap'd the best of any as to the manner of my imprisonment. I imputed it to my sins that God would not permit me to suffer somewhat for his holy name, when all others did.

16. Before I proceed to the next chapter, because

NAVARRETTÉ. because I forgot it in the first book, I will here briefly mention the most usual, common and cheap sort of food all *China* abounds in, and which all men in that empire eat, from the emperor to the meanest *Chinese*, the emperor and great men as a dainty, the common sort as necessary sustenance. It is call'd *teu fu*, that is, paste of kidney-beans. I did not see how they made it. They draw the milk out of the kidney-beans, and turning it, make great cakes of it like cheeses, as big as a large sieve, and five or six fingers thick. All the mass is as white as the very snow, to look to nothing can be finer. It is eaten raw, but generally boil'd and dress'd with herbs, fish, and other things. Alone it is insipid, but very good so dress'd, and excellent if fry'd in butter. They have it also dress'd and smok'd, and mix'd with caraway-seeds, which is best of all. It is incredible quantities of it are consum'd in *China*, and very hard to conceive there should be such abundance of kidney-beans.

Food.

Teu Feu.

Kidney-beans.

That *Chinese* who has *teu fu*, herbs and rice, needs no other sustenance to work; and I think there is no body but has it, because they may have a pound (which is above twenty ounces) of it any where for a half-penny. It is a great help in case of want, and is good for carriage. It has one good quality, which is, that it causes the different airs and seasons, which in that vast region vary much, to make no alteration in the body, and therefore they that travel from one province to another make use of it. *Teu fu* is one of the most remarkable things in *China*, there are many will leave pullets for it. If I am not deceiv'd, the *Chinese* of *Manila* make it, but no *European* eats it, which is perhaps because they have not tasted it, no more than they do fritters fry'd in oil of *Sponjoli* (a very small seed they have in *Spain* and *India*, which we have not) which the *Chinese* make in that city and is an extraordinary dainty.

CHAP. XIV.

My Journey to the Imperial City, and Residence there.

1. AS soon as a boat was order'd, and officers appointed to conduct me, these began to contrive to get money of me. This sort of people is covetous all the world over; but there is a difference, for in *China* any officer of the civil magistrature is satisfy'd with a little and thankful for it; but in other parts a great deal goes but a little way, and they undervalue it. I will relate what happen'd to me there: They assign'd me an officer, who I fancy'd was too busy, and I fear'd would be troublesome and uneasy upon the way. This matter depended on the clerk, I sent him a message, and a little money desiring him to appoint another who was more courteous and civil. The man deliver'd the message, and only two ryals plate (a shilling.) He consented, order'd another in his stead, and said, Your master has a sharp eye; since he knew that man, I will appoint one who shall please him in all things, and serve him. So it prov'd; would they do the like to a *Chinese* in these parts?

2. I forgot to relate how the city *Kin Joa* had held out bravely against the *Tartars*, and it cost them dear to take it. When taken, the *Tartar* general having promis'd to spare all men, call'd together all the citizens; and when they were all in a place, gave the signal to his men to fall on, they butcher'd forty thousand. He was a cruel man, his name *Ma Tie To*; some years after he was put to death at court. That city was much impair'd, however in

my time it paid fifty thousand ducats a year taxes. The town down the river where my two companions resid'd, surrendered without drawing sword, and so escap'd untouched. Its trade is great, the duties there amount to seventy thousand ducats a year. The best liquor of all *China* is there made *Drink* of rice, and is so good that we do not miss the wine of *Europe*. Their gammons of bacon are the best in the empire, nothing inferior to the choicest in *Spain*. The price is certain, a pound containing twenty ounces cost a penny, and so a pound of the best wine; if it rises it is but a small matter.

3. I took boat from the metropolis, not imagining what I was to meet with there. Next morning I saw my two companions, the supreme civil magistrate of the town being still at variance with them. I had endur'd much cold that night in the boat. I went thence alone, and that day saw the pleasant fishing with sea-crows, which I mention'd in the first book. (*I guess these be calls sea-crows, may be either cormorants or barnacles.*) Three nights I lay in my little boat, every morning the hoar-frost lay upon us, for it was in *February*, and very frosty weather. My two companions overtook me, and we came together to the metropolis on the twenty seventh of *February*, being the fifteenth day of their new moon. The next day they put us into prison; eight days I lay upon a bed where two were: I laid a few boards on the ground which was wet, and laying one blanket

blanket over comfortably count of what On the twenty out of that city; and the made us pass is, the father ed much the bargain, w against our how they can dure all that guard of sold of our boat, reliev'd. In very good C least incivility us when we

4. Being co we rested ther of by five fa detain'd there perform the fail'd as far as of frighted us its whirlpools two more fat possible to nu great and sma deal of trouble cially at a cu what a multitu they cover'd a Two *Tartars* ficers told us, day each, in pr We argu'd ag much; but r for what they dred leagues carts, becau cut river. T but every half and delicate ap for a half-per letter writ by nado, that at a church, he for half a piec a half-penny. and we thoug three-half-pen stood hard, t five farthings. off the river, us a present small things. came to see u had almost lo a Christian be part with his

5. It was w of people we Vol. I.

blanket over and another under me, slept comfortably. I have already given an account of what happen'd to me in this place. On the twenty first of April we were taken out of that prison to be sent to the imperial city; and tho' a boat was allow'd us, they made us pay to get a good one. True it is, the father of the society who had suffer'd much there being sick, manag'd this bargain, we consenting to it something against our will, for indeed we valu'd not how they carry'd us, being resolv'd to endure all that came. They appointed us a guard of soldiers, who rode always in sight of our boat, and every now and then were reliev'd. In their behaviour they were like very good Christians; they offer'd not the least incivility, but rather sometimes help'd us when we stood in need of it.

4. Being come to the famous city *Zu Chou*, we rested there five days, being much made off by five fathers of the society who were detain'd there by the judges, in order to perform the same journey with us. We sail'd as far as the red river, the sight whereof frighted us, and no less the violence of its whirlpools. When we left it, we met two more fathers of the society. It is impossible to number the vessels we saw, both great and small; sometimes we had a great deal of trouble to get through them, especially at a custom-house; it is incredible what a multitude there was in that place, they cover'd all the water for a large space. Two *Tartars* were there, who, as our officers told us, got five hundred ducats a day each, in presents passengers made them. We argu'd against it, believing it was too much; but they gave convincing reasons for what they said. We travel'd two hundred leagues along a plain country with carts, because the water was low in the cut river. The weather was hot enough, but every half league there was cool water, and delicate apricots, and eight or ten eggs for a half-penny. After this I read in a letter writ by the *V. F. F. Dominick Coronado*, that at *Zi Ning*, where he founded a church, he bought three bushels of wheat for half a piece of eight, and a pheasant for a half-penny. Nothing can be beyond this, and we thought a great fat pullet cheap at three-half-pence: I don't doubt had we stood hard, they would have given it for five farthings. At a city before we came off the river, a Christian *mandarin* made us a present of a sheep, rice, and some small things. His father was an infidel, came to see us in the boat, was old, and had almost lost his nose; he would not be a Christian because he had not a mind to part with his concubines.

5. It was wonderful to see what swarms of people we met with on the road, some

upon mules, others upon asses, others in *NAVAs*, litters, and others on sedans. We were known to all men by our beards; some comforted us, saying, our cause was accommodated, others said it was in a bad posture, which was what we imagin'd. Others told us, one of ours was dead; by the name they gave him, I always suppos'd him to be the *V. F. F. Dominick Coronado*; and I was apt to believe it, because he was sickly. On the eve of *S. Peter and Paul* in the morning, we came into the imperial city of *Pe King*. We came time enough to the church of the fathers of the society to dine, and found the death of our companion was certain, but precious in the sight of our *Lord*. Six fathers of the society gave it me under their hands, that he had dy'd a martyr to the best of their knowledge. It is well known it belongs to his holiness to ascertain it.

6. By degrees those that liv'd in other provinces join'd us, and we met five and twenty of us, beside the five that resided in the imperial city, and one of my order that hid themselves at *Fo King*; another of ours, who not long before had founded a church in *Ziven*, having no convenience of absconding, went over to *Manila* in a *Dutch* ship then in that kingdom. We continued in the imperial city till the thirteenth of *September*, on which day we set out, being banish'd to *Macao*. Most of what befel us has been writ before, it will be proper in this place to mention some things that have been publish'd without any ground for them; one is, that the *bonzes* gather'd thousands of ducats to suborn the members of the court of rites against us. This was enquir'd into at the imperial city, and no other ground could be heard of it, but that a Christian heard an infidel say so in a tavern. Upon this some believ'd it as if it had been a certain truth, and as such have printed it. A strong argument against it is, that at the same time they persecuted the *bonzes*, so that they had enough to do to mind their own business, without minding what did not concern them; and if they brib'd, it was likely to save themselves, not to hurt others. Besides, what harm has the law of *God* hitherto done the *bonzes*, when there are so few Christians? It has been given out too, that when they sign'd the warrant to put us to death, a fiery ball fell upon the palace, and did great mischief, &c. which is all false and groundless. I was at the imperial city with the rest, and we neither saw nor heard of it. And tho' this be a negative, yet it is convincing, because we often pass'd under the palace walls, we convers'd with Christians and infidels, and

NAY- our servants and others told us every thing
 BETT. that happen'd, and all that was talk'd of us
 very particularly; how then should we have
 had no account of such a prodigy?

7. Besides the very foundation is false, for sentence of death never pass'd against us, all the judgments the court of rites gave against us were revers'd by the four governors, who only approv'd of that of banishment. F. Adamus was adjudg'd to be cut in pieces, the judgment was not approv'd; they brought it down to quartering of him, that was rejected above; nor would they admit of the last, which was, to banish us all into *Tartary*.

8. I have also read several times, that F. John Adamus often excus'd himself to the emperor from being concern'd in the mathematicks, and that he had the employment against his will. Why should any body give this out, when his own brethren are of the contrary opinion, and own it? What I write is so true, that father Verbiest making his excuses from attending the mathematicks, on account that he was a religious man; and the emperor alledging that F. Adamus was so too, and yet follow'd that employment; this father answer'd, That was the reason he had ever liv'd in sorrow and discontent. This answer being afterwards known at *Canton*, where we were altogether, F. Gouvea superior of that mission, and F. Faber who had been so before him, both said in my hearing, F. Verbiest ly'd, and deserves to have his head cut off for it: Does not he know that this punishment is due to him that lies and imposes on the emperor of *China*? This is a clear case, there is no need of palliating it, nor any reason for it. It is requisite to be cautious in reading other things which have been publish'd in *Europe*, and shall be taken notice of in their due time.

9. That a comet appear'd several days before the persecution, is true, but the same appeared in these parts. It is true, that a well shap'd cross was seen some years before in the metropolis of *Xan Tung*. So it is, that about that time there were earthquakes; and that whilst we were in the imperial city, the rains were so great, that part of the second wall was ruin'd, so that shall be mention'd hereafter. My opinion is, and F. Luvelli of the society is of the same, that Christianity is not yet so far advanced there, that God should work miracles in defence of it.

10. Five and twenty of us sail'd for *Macao*. Those four who had resided in the imperial city remain'd there; they had all eaten the king's bread, and therefore were left there, according to the *Chinese* policy. F. Adamus was a cripple, he soon dy'd, the other three were kept close pri-

soners almost two years. We were six months and twelve days going to *Macao*; we were all a terrible winter in the boats, and suffer'd great hardships, which if I should write it would fill many sheets. Being brought before the supreme governor of *Canton*, who was in his chair of state, with greater majesty, attendants, and respect, than any prince in *Europe*; he said to us, The emperor orders me to send you over to the people of *Macao*; at present we are at variance with that city, stay here the mean while, and I'll take care of you; when the affair of *Macao* is adjusted, I'll send you thither. They carry'd us to a house that had been the church of the fathers of the society; it was night when we came to it: We had much ado to find every one of us his rage, and compose our selves to rest; there was neither fire, nor candle, nor a morsel to eat, nor a drop of water; we did nothing but stumble and fall, but very well pleas'd. Blessed be the Lord, for whose sake we suffer'd.

11. We spent some days very uneasily. The governor at twice sent us two hundred and fifty ducats in silver; it was a noble alms, and well tim'd for us. Who would imagine a heathen should be so good to us? With this supply some little cells were contriv'd, in which we liv'd very contentedly. The dispute with *Macao* prov'd very dangerous to that city, they were about destroying it, and bringing all the inhabitants into *Canton*. The news from court was various and confused; the opinions of the missionaries very opposite to one another as to the event of our affair. Some, with good reason, thought it was ended, since we were banished by the emperor's order. Others fancy'd it would all come to nothing, and we should all soon be restor'd to our churches. In this confusion we pass'd our time in study and prayer; our life as to the world being sad and dismal, but happy with regard to God, for whose faith we had lost our liberty.

12. A year and a half after there came to *Macao* an ambassador from *Goa*, as from the king of *Portugal*. He was brought into *Canton*, meanly treated, and look'd upon as a sham ambassador, upon which account there was something to do. He was brought sick, and his secretary, one companion and the chaplain, saw the governor, who commanded them to bow both knees, and touch the ground with their foreheads, which was a great affront. The governor enquir'd after the ambassador's quality; the chaplain thinking it a great honour, said, He had been a captain of horse. The governor laugh'd and answer'd, My servants are captains of horse, and some of them greater officers. And he was in the right; he

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he sent them to the metropolis, with orders they should be receiv'd within the walls, and care taken of them; they had a mean house assign'd them, and the governor sent advice to the emperor. Tho' this be notorious and publicly known, yet the following year the *Portugueses* writ to *Goa*, giving an account that the embassador had been receiv'd with the greatest honour in the world; that the petty king came out himself to meet him, with galleys full of musick, with flags and streamers, and had receiv'd him into them; and that afterwards they lodg'd him in a sumptuous palace, and much more to this effect. We stood amaz'd when we heard this account afterwards; but we could not discover the author of the report, tho' he was shrewdly guess'd at. He that has seen such things will not be surprized, tho' they should write there was no such place as *China* in the universe. Another strange passage happened at the imperial city: Some letters from *Europe* came thither by the way of *Macao*; one was for *F. Francis Ferrari* of the society, a *Savoyard*, born at *Coni*; in it they told him that a letter had been writ to the duke of *Savoy* by order of *Pope Innocent* the tenth, wherein his holiness congratulated with him for having a subject in *China*, who was a great favourite of the emperor's; through whose means it was hop'd he and all his empire would be converted to our holy faith. This was meant of the aforesaid *F. Ferrari*. He, who is a very good religious man, was astonish'd, and smil'd. He shew'd the letter openly, and we had good sport with it, being certain he had never seen the emperor, nor been within his palace. How can it be found out who writ such an invention? perhaps he who writ several other things *F. Kircher* relates was the author of all.

13. Let us return to our embassador. He design'd to visit the petty king, and then took into consideration what respect he was to pay him. He sent a message to us about it: opinions vary'd; mine was, that he should not contend about it, but submit to what the petty king thought fit, taking it for granted, that he would rather exceed than fall short in civility. The *Chinese* are very obliging in this particular. He follow'd his own head, articul'd that he was to carry colours, trumpets, and many other things. They told us the interview was fix'd for the next day; I never could be persuaded it would come to any thing, because of the precautions he had us'd. Next day he and his family dress'd themselves very gay; and when they were ready to set out, a message came from the petty king, to tell him he was busy, and could receive no visits. This was a great mortifi-

cation. This was the occasion that no *NAVARRETTE* Mandarin visited him.

14. I profess'd my self his friend in a particular manner, gave him good advice, but he endur'd some trouble and affronts. He was detain'd two years, during which time he was expensive to *Macao*, that city being at the charge of the embassy. Orders came from the emperor for him to go to court, but the present he carry'd, of which the particulars had been sent up, seem'd very mean to the emperor; and yet to say the truth, it was worth above thirty thousand ducats. But a little before he had receiv'd a great one from the *Dutch*, which perhaps made this seem the less. He prepar'd for his journey, but before he set out, a pleasant passage happen'd. The king of *Portugal's* letter was read before the supreme governor (this was a new one, for his predecessor had hang'd himself) and the viceroy; when it was read, they took notice, that before signing he did not subscribe himself, *YOUR MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECT*. They ask'd how those letters came to be omitted. They answer'd, it was not the custom of *Europe*. They sent the emperor word, and he order'd, that in regard the embassador had been long there, he might go to court, where they would examine into the omission of the letters. I had no account afterwards what came of it. Two *Dutch* ships arriv'd there about that time; advice was sent to court, and immediately a strict order return'd for them to be gone immediately, without buying or selling any thing. All trade with strangers was absolutely prohibited. The captain's name was *Constantin Noble*; he visited us, and design'd to return to *Europe* the following year; but I heard afterwards at *Musulapatan*, that he was dead, and had taken a journey to hell.

15. In *October* 1669. the emperor's order concerning us came down, which made all despair of returning to the mission. The fathers at court having seen the emperor, found means to get some petty kings and counsellors to put in a memorial in our behalf, which they did. The contents of it were, that our enemy had accus'd *F. Adamus* wrongfully, touching the mathematics: That the Christians were a good people: That during all that time none of them had made any commotion, wherefore there was no cause to apprehend a rebellion: That we who were banish'd to *Macao*, should be carry'd prisoners to the imperial city. The design of it was, that we might stay in the kingdom; for when we were come thither, they design'd to propose, that since we were grown old, and many of us sickly, we might be suffer'd to return to our churches,

NAVARRA churches, to die there. The three fathers had before writ from *Pe King*, that all would certainly go on our side, and to the greater glory of our holy faith. *F. Emanuel George* and I were of opinion it would not be so; others held the contrary, and knew not what to think of it. A copy of the emperor's order came to our hands: I understood it as the rest did, but none of us hit the right sense. What was bad in it, could be understood in the main at least. As we were afterwards sailing one day, I look'd over and consider'd those letters, and with no little surprize hit upon the meaning. On *S. Teresa's* day I overcame another difficulty there was in that paper. The emperor's words were, *Jang Kuang Sien* (that was the *Chinese's* name who prosecuted us) deserves death, but in regard he is very aged, making use of our magnanimity and bounty, we forgive him at present, and also remit the penalty of banishment to his wife and children (when a man is put to death, his wife and children are banish'd.) It is needless to bring those twenty five that were sent to *Macao* back to the court. As for the law of the LORD of heaven, *F. Verbiest* and the other two may follow it, as they have done hitherto. Any further I am apprehensive of allowing them to re-build churches in this or the other provinces, or bringing over people to the said law, to propagate it as before. Let it be made known to them, that they are forbid preaching: the rest as it is in the memorial.

Punishment.

16. We afterwards consulted among our selves, whether we should go to *Macao*, or stay there. The most were for going, for we had been there some time upon our own account, and were at liberty to go. Many thought it convenient to stay, that we might be nearer at hand, in case some overtures should in process of time be made for restoring of us to our churches: It was put to the vote, there was much canvassing, and nothing resolv'd on. I then heard many things, and observed some against it proved useful to repeat them. All truths are not to be spoken, if no benefit is to come of them.

Earthquakes.

17. There had been already great earthquakes, towns overflow'd, mountains divided, and a great mortality. One city was swallow'd up by the earth. There was a report that a wonderful dragon had dropt out of the air; the news was sent into *Europe*, but it was a false and mere fiction. An extraordinary comet was seen for three or four nights; I was the first that saw it in our house, and it was seen at *Macao*, it pointed to the east. Soon after we all saw a strange cross in the air, but very perfect and compleat, the head of it was to the

east; every night it continued a considerable time, and then vanish'd by degrees. The sad news was then come too of the loss of the missions of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*. There were some famous men who gave their lives for the love of God in the latter; something shall be said of it in another place.

18. We had receiv'd good and bad news from our religious at *Po Kien*. The provincial vicar went out to assist some Christians; the servant that went with him was taken and by that means they discover'd the father. He was apprehended, and when I left *Cbina* had been above six months in prison. Afterwards I saw letters, giving an account that he was carry'd to *Canton* among the rest, and nothing further had been done against the Christians. I had some comical arguments with *F. Gouvea*; he was provoking, and said, That his society had founded the inquisition in *Portugal*; that our inquisitions were much improv'd since they join'd with those of *Portugal*: That the university of *Salamanca* gain'd reputation by fellowship with that of *Cambray*: That in *Spain* there is no devotion of the most blessed sacrament, and other such fopperies. They are men bred in a corner of the world, have seen nothing but *Lisbon* and *Goa*, and pretend to know all the world, whereas they err grossly in things as plain as the sun. This old man was insufferable, I always shun'd him, and when I could not, thought it the wisest way to hold my peace.

19. During all that time the fathers of the society manag'd the expence of the house, they were more in number, they had more servants, the house had been theirs, and it was convenient for us, especially because they were able to supply us when we wanted, wherein they were very kind, and did it with a great deal of charity, tenderness, and affection, as I often writ to the general of the society and ours; and should not I and my companions own it, the stones themselves would make it known. But it is not fit some impertinent person should take a fancy to write into *Europe*, as they say it has happen'd, that those of the society were at the whole expence, and that we and the religious men of the order of *S. Francis* bore no part. I have no inclination to touch upon this particular, but it is fit the truth of the whole matter should be known, and I have the accounts by me to this day. The *V. F. F. Dominick Coronado* was some days in the imperial city, he was taken out of prison sick, and carry'd to the church of the fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo*; his distemper increas'd, and eight or ten days after God took him to him. I am assur'd he was attended with

extraordinarily after giving me in medicine and acquainting them a vein at fifty crowns and beside valued at afterwards after the building of he ask'd. *Grelon* writ taken nothing that sick men servants and from the twentieth of *St. John's*, flesh all our experience we had rich they call us; so that of the food for a great vinegar. pieces of or six months dreary journey to crowns in

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1. IT is r those countries, affairs, that all things the *Jang Kuang* year 1659 city of *Pe* this, *Tuke* stated the all there like truth this is those words. book, and inserted herea join'd four the order of agreed to the (1.) First "other pri "from wh "admitting "from the 2. (2.) "the LORD "one of Vol. I.

extraordinary care and diligence. I coming afterwards to that church, F. Bullo gave me the account of what was expended in medicines, physicians, and the funeral, and acquainted me the deceas'd had given them a very fine large looking-glass, valu'd at fifty crowns plate in our church of *Lan Ki*, and besides a piece of silver filigreen-work, valued at six or seven crowns more. It was afterwards propos'd to erect a tomb to him, after the manner of that country, for the building of which I gave F. Bullo all the silver he ask'd. This does not agree with what F. Grelon writ, that those of his order had taken nothing for the medicines bought for that sick man. My two companions, three servants and I continued in the imperial city from the twenty eighth of *June* till the thirteenth of *September*. During this time, bating fish, flesh and wine, the emperor allow'd all our expence, as well as theirs; so that we had rice, wood, herbs, oil, and that they call *teu fu* in abundance brought in to us; so that when we went away the fathers of the society that remain'd were stock'd for a great while with rice, wood, oil and vinegar. Nevertheless I gave them forty pieces of eight, which they receiv'd five or six months after, being casy'd six hundred leagues at our expence. Towards the journey to *Canton* I contributed thirty crowns in silver, of ten ryals each. Dur-

ing the time of our confinement we paid NAVA-thirty five ryals plate a head per month. S. RETTE. *Antony* of S. Mary paid after the same rate for himself. And when F. Gregory Lopez of my order, now bishop of *Basile*, set out from *Canton* to visit all the Christian plantations of the society, I supply'd him with fifty crowns, F. *Antony* with twenty two, and those fathers with only sixteen, with which money he spent above two years in the service of the society, without so much as a letter, or God reward you, from its superior. I could write more, were I not asham'd to handle such things. I am very sure the fathers *Fabro*, *Brancato*, and *Balat*, would never mention these things. Certain I am we should not have spent the third part of this at our churches. I would never take pen in hand to write of such a subject, were I not in a manner forced to it by the great scrowls some men have writ, perhaps confiding that they would not come to my knowledge.

20. We had often disputes during our confinement, which was what we ought to do, both to spend our time well, and to agree and settle what we were to do for the future, if it should happen we were restor'd to our churches. In the second tome I shall treat of these and other disputations that have been held in that mission, it being so material a point.

CHAP. XV.

The Articles our Chinese Enemy, who rais'd the Persecution, charg'd upon our Holy Faith.

1. IT is requisite that all missionaries those who design to go over to those countries, should be well inform'd in these affairs, that they may be provided against all things that shall occur. That wicked *Jang Kuang Sien*, so he was call'd, in the year 1659 printed a book in the imperial city of *Pe King*, the title of it amounts to this, *Take heed of false prophets*, (so I translated the Chinese characters, *Pi Sie Lun*) all there lik'd my version, and to say the truth this is the genuine interpretation of those words. In order to translate the said book, and the second, which shall be inserted hereafter into our language, we join'd four fathers of the society, one of the order of S. Francis, and I, and we all agreed to this following sense of it.

(1.) First article. "That heaven has no other principle but the matter and form, from which it naturally flow'd without admitting any efficient cause, distinct from the heaven it self, to produce it."

2. (2.) "That what we missionaries call the LORD of heaven, is nothing else, but one of the two parts which compose

"heaven; which being so, it is not possible it should produce heaven without the help of the copart."

This is a very material point, its difficulty will be made appear in the sixth book, and more shall be said of it in the second tome.

3. (3.) "That if Jesus is God, how can we say he is a man? And if he is truly so, who govern'd the universe from heaven during the thirty three years he was on earth?"

A mandarin put this question some years before to certain missionaries. I writ largely to the point, judging it convenient so to do. The Chinese did not dive into what is writ in the books of our holy faith.

4. (4.) "That it was convenient God should have become man at the beginning of the world, to redeem Adam, and all mankind, and not so many thousands of years after."

A common argument the Chinese use every day. F. Emanuel Diaz handles it very well in one of his books printed in the Chinese character, where he quotes the

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NAVA- causes of conveniency the saints assign, and RETTE. those S. Thomas has, p. 8. q. 1.

5. (5.) "That from the beginning of the world till an emperor living in these days, there have past millions of years.

The *Chinese* assign an infinite number of worlds, past and to come; the duration of every one, according to the learn'd sect, is three hundred sixty-six thousand years, and something over. In the second tome more shall be said to this point.

6. (6.) "That it is scandalous CHRIST should have no father, since even brute beasts have one.

In this place he runs into enormities, like a barbarian void of the light even of natural philosophy. The *Jews* according to *Theophil.* in cat. D. Thom. in Joan. viii. were guilty of the same blasphemy.

7. (7.) "That there is neither heavenly glory, nor hell. That heaven is nothing but the goods of this life; and hell only its evils and sufferings.

This is the doctrine of the learned sect, as shall be made out in the second tome. Some missionaries positively assert the contrary, tho' they oppose their own body.

8. (8.) "That sins cannot be altogether forgiven; and if they are quite forgiven, and ill men are sav'd, thro' the intercession of our Blessed Lady, heaven will become a filthy loathsome place.

Cajetan in Heb. xiii. says, *Herein consists all Christian faith, that JESUS CHRIST be believ'd true God and true man.*

9. (9.) "That it is false, to say there were prophets, who beforehand foretold the birth, life and death of CHRIST.

10. (10.) "That GOD did ill in creating *Adam* proud, knowing he was to be the cause of all mens calamities.

He had not read the printed books concerning our holy faith.

11. (11.) "That GOD ought to have created all men virtuous, and that CHRIST ought to have apply'd himself to virtuous actions, that the people might imitate him, and not have employ'd himself, without knowing the important part of virtue, in curing the sick, raising the dead, and preaching up of heavenly joys and pains of hell, whence it follow'd he was put to death for his crimes.

But the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of GOD, 1 Cor. ii. 14. The *Manichees* maintain'd the same error, according to S. *August.* lib. cont. *Faust.* A brutal and extravagant reflection.

12. (12.) "That since CHRIST pray'd and kneel'd in the garden, he could nor be GOD, being inferior to him he kneel'd and pray'd to

This inference would be good, were there not two natures, and two wills in CHRIST. The *Arians* alledg'd the same. See *Silvius* in iii. p. D. Thom. q. 21. art. 1. and *Suarez* Tom. 1. in iii. part. disp. 33.

13. (13.) "That the visible heaven is the beginning of all things, and there is no Lord above it, and therefore it ought to be ador'd as Lord.

He handles this point at large in two places, and proves it out of their *Confucius*. Yet some *Europeans* would know more than the *Chinese*, of what relates to their own sects. It is the general opinion of this sect, that there is no first efficient cause.

14. (14.) "That we call heaven GOD's slave, whereas the holy *Chinese* call their emperor the son of heaven.

The antient *Europeans* gave *Jupiter* the same title.

15. (15.) "That we command the Christians to break the tablets of heaven, earth, the king, parents and masters.

This belongs to the second tome.

16. (16.) "That we do not worship heaven, because it has no head, belly, hands and feet; nor the earth, because we tread and throw all filth upon it.

This point is expounded in the books of our holy faith.

17. (17.) "That we do not honour the emperor, because he is the son of a slave, that is heaven.

This was a malicious insertion, for the contrary is contain'd in the books of our faith.

18. (18.) "That we do not honour our parents, because CHRIST had no father.

He could not chuse but have read the contrary in our books, which highly commend obedience to parents and superiors.

19. (19.) "That heaven and earth weep, seeing us trample upon the law of nature.

The heathen raves.

20. (20.) "That any ordinary man may be accounted king of the upper region, with more reason than CHRIST, who was crucify'd as a malefactor.

He plays the *Gentile* and the *Jew*; observe the opinion they have of their king of the upper region, whom some have preach'd up as our GOD.

21. (21.) "That there never was a holy man punish'd for his crimes.

The wicked wretch invents all these blasphemies, tho' he had seen in our books what motives CHRIST had to lay down his life for us.

22. (22.) "That if CHRIST being GOD could govern the world, how came

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"came it he could not govern himself? As if he had said, *He hath saved others, &c.* as the *Jews* did, who were certainly more to blame than this infidel, having been eye-witnesses of so many miracles.

23. (23.) "That the books of the law of God do not treat of CHRIST's passion, because it was shameful; but only of his miracles, resurrection, and ascending to heaven.

He speaks in this place of the books of the ancient missionaries, not of those who have writ for forty years last past. F. Emanuel Diaz writ very much concerning the passion of our LORD. That is also later which F. Henao quotes *de divin. sacrif. disp.* 29. *sec.* 17. n. 219.

24. (24.) "That it is a mere fiction that CHRIST heal'd the sick, and rais'd the dead, and that it was unbecoming God to be so employ'd.

25. (25.) "That it is a matter of small merit to relieve sinners, and that it had been very meritorious if CHRIST's benefits had reach'd the whole people for ever, like those of their emperor Ju, who drain'd *Cbina*.

26. (26.) "That it had been a greater benefit of CHRIST to cause men not to fall sick, or die, than to heal or raise them again.

I said enough to these three points in my apology.

27. (27.) "That F. Matthew Riccius suppress'd the passion and death of CHRIST, which he did to impose upon the people.

It is plain that great man had no such design.

28. (28.) "That we give Christians crosses in token of rebellion.

A false calumny.

29. (29.) "That we impose upon the mandarines, and gain the good will of mandarines with the curiosities of Europe, more than the truth of our doctrine.

Watches, harpsicords, looking-glasses, prospective glasses, tweezers, and other presents, brought this affront upon us.

30. (30.) "That the mandarines are mistaken in looking upon us as learned men, who are nothing but great talkers, mountebanks, and make use of their Chinese learning.

Some have deserv'd the reflection.

31. (31.) "He speaks of F. Adamus, adding, that he accepted of the office of a mandarin, tho' we boast we will not accept of employments.

32. (32.) "That the Portuguese of Macao were plac'd there by F. Riccius. This is a known falsehood.

33. (33.) "That of late years the

walls of that city were demolish'd, and the inhabitants turn'd out.

The first part is true, but the second false.

24. These are the principal points he mentions, but adds much more, using a great deal of rhetorick and artifice, which is sufficient to incline people, who have no better light, to believe it, dazzling their understanding.

It is very plain that nothing here concerns Dominicans, Franciscans, or Castilians; nor is there any mention of the king of Spain, America, or the Philippine islands; so that some people may be brought to look upon what they read of this nature as mere fiction.

This book spread through the imperial city, and other parts of that empire. The fathers who liv'd in the imperial city did not mind to answer, or take any notice of it. F. Antony of S. Mary, a Franciscan, heard of it (we had it very late, as being far from court) he writ to those fathers to know why they were so silent, intimating that their silence would be interpreted a tacit confession: All signify'd nothing. When we were all at the imperial city, it was propos'd to write an answer when it was too late, and impossible to publish it.

36. They had before put out a little book, of which mention has been made, and at which our enemy was enrag'd, who immediately printed another with this title, *Po Te I*, that is, as a faithful subject I cannot forbear appearing and speaking the truth. Among the rest he said in it.

"That CHRIST was crucify'd for attempting to usurp *Jewry*, which he repeats several times; and that he fled into the garden to escape from those that came to apprehend him.

"That the people who applauded him on Palm Sunday, forsook him afterwards, fearing he would be punish'd for encouraging rebellion.

"That he contriv'd to kill the king, that he might usurp the crown.

"That ours is a rebellious law, and owns neither parents nor kings.

"That there are so many people at Macao in order to a rebellion; and that to this purpose we have such and such churches in *Cbina*, where father Adamus accepted the office of a mandarin, that he might disperse the fathers throughout all the provinces.

"That we go in and out of *Cbina*, privately, and our designs unknown to any body.

"That by degrees we take draughts of the fifteen provinces, and inquire into the number of soldiers, strength, &c.

"That such people were never admitted

NAVARETTE.

NAVARETTE. "ted into *China*, and that we had hidden arms.

"That father *Riccus* went into *China* the foregoing years, and had quoted his bible and comments of his saints to palliate his bad doctrine; and that they who compos'd the book above-mention'd had done the same. He condemns us for saying that *Foe* (the founder of the idolatrous sect) is in hell, and urges that we only lay so out of envy.

"That the heavenly joys, and pains of hell, the sect of *Foe* preaches up, are nothing but a politick invention to keep the people in awe, not that there really is any such thing.

The sectaries themselves hold the same.

36. Not one of all these articles is particularly charg'd upon *Franciscan*, *Dominican*, or *Castilian*. He speaks against the *Portugueses*, and their city *Macao*; so that all men will be satisfy'd that we shad in the persecution, passively and not actively; and that the particular *Chineſes* bear no particular hatred to the *Castilians*, as some have written and given out.

37. After this he presented other memoirs, in one of which he said, we had been banish'd *Japan* for attempting to possess our selves of that kingdom; and that the *Europeans* (without specifying *Castilians* or *Spaniards*) had seiz'd the *Philippine islands*, and that some years before the fathers of the society had been banish'd out of *China*. Here he speaks of the banishment in the years 1617, and 1618, when no friar had yet entred upon that mission.

38. Before I conclude this chapter, I must in this place take notice, that among the *Chineſe* sects, whereof I said something in the second book, there is one more which is convenient to be known, in order to what we shall treat of in another place. The founder of it was born at *King Hoa* in the province of *Fo Kien*, his name was *Ling*, and it is about a hundred thirty six years since he laid the foundation of it. The temples of it are call'd of the three legislators. This sect unites and incorporates the three principal sects of *China*, which are those of the learned, the idolaters and the sorcerers, whose origin is in reality the same, tho' they express it after several manners. The learned *Chineſes* agree to this. *F. Longobardus* proves it sufficiently, and *F. Riccius* does not dissent, as shall be proved in its place. On the altars of this sect are placed the images of the three legislators, *Confucius*, *Lao Zu*, and *Foe*; this last as a guest and stranger is in the middle. *F. Albanus Kircher* has the cut to the life. There are very many of this sect; *F. Gou-*

vea told me he had seen of them. Some learned *Chineſes* profess it, who are very modest in their demeanour. Whilst I was in *China*, a Christian of the imperial city writ a book, the design whereof is to unite and incorporate our holy law with those three we have spoken of; they all tend to the same end, says he. It is likely that author follow'd the advice of doctor *Michael*, mention'd by *F. Longobardo* in his treatise. *Linus*, whom I spoke of before, read this book, and disapprov'd of it. Any man that values himself upon being a Christian, must be of the same mind. I treat of this and other points more at large in my second tome.

As the *Romans* had a law against allowing any strange religion, upon which *Trajan* and *Adrian* persecuted the Christians, as *Spondanus* writes, *Ann.* 120. n. 2. so have the *Chineſes*; but they observe it not any further than in not following that of our LORD.

39. *S. Leo*, *serm.* 1. in *navit. Apot. Pet. & Paul.* says of *Rome*, It follow'd the errors of all nations, and seem'd to it self to have taken up a mighty religion, because it reject'd no falsehood. This in some measure might be said of the errors the *Chineſes* have admitted. *F. Arias*, *tom.* 1. *tract.* 8. *cap.* 12. writes, that the *Chineſes* are most ignorant *Relig.* and stupid in point of religion and virtue, do not know one GOD ruler of all things, are full of superstitions and idolatries like the other *Gentiles*, adore heaven as god, and men who have been among them governors, judges, and brave soldiers in war, and such as have led a hard and penitent life; and in their temples have idols, the statues of these false gods, of whom they beg temporal blessings, and offer sacrifice to them. It is wonderful that they who are so witty, sharp, and ready for worldly affairs, should know nothing material of what relates to their salvation, GOD, and another life, as if they had no manner of reason in this particular. In his thirteenth chapter he says, The *Gentiles* that have been discover'd as to idolatry and the worship of devils, follow the same errors and superstitions the ancient *Gentiles* did: This is the opinion of the ancient missionaries of the society. In short, that nation is so full of fopperies and absurdities, that nothing can outdo it, and they would have receiv'd more had more come to their knowledge. But in respect to the law of GOD, they are deaf and dumb to all that is said to them. GOD of his infinite mercy and goodness enlighten their understandings, that they may confess, worship and adore him.

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C H A P. XVI.

My Departure from Canton to Macao.

1. **T**HE fathers of the society very well knew my intention, as to going out of *Canton*, because I had made it known upon several occasions, and writ about it to their F. visitor *Luis de Gama* who was at *Macao*, giving him sufficient reasons for my going to see him. This my resolution being known, the fathers consulted whether my going away might be prejudicial or hurtful to them, as F. *Labeli* told me. They and I both knew it would not, but it was a kindness to them, for they brought in another of their own in my stead, as I was afterwards inform'd, and I had my self urg'd before. That which made me most eager to be gone, was, that I knew F. *Intorceta* was gone for *Rome* the year before, after the disputations we had held; and there being many points in which I and others could not agree, I was troubled I could not go to *Manila* to confer about them with my superiors, for to manage this by letter is endless. I also design'd to discourse the F. visitor upon the same subject, and to propose accommodating some matters betwixt us. F. *Antony of S. Mary a Franciscan* desir'd the same. I afterwards slacken'd in his part at *Macao*, by reason of some idle stories that were carried backwards and forwards at *Macao*.

Having consider'd the business, which was not easy to compass, tho' there was no difficulty in going about it, and having communicated it to persons of undoubted reputation, I made use of a Christian *Cbinese* merchant, not very considerable; and the time being fix'd and agreed upon, I went out very cunningly upon pretence of visiting the ambassador. This was easily credited, because I often did it: being come to the Christian's house, some *Portugueses* visited me that afternoon, but nothing was done that night. Before break of day we went into a passage-boat, which sail'd at sun-rising with so fair a wind, that by noon we had run ten leagues. We stopt at a village, where we lay that night very uneasily, for the weather was very cold, and the room was so good, that we could see the stars thro' seventeen several places; there we staid for the passage-boat till noon. All the country is cut across with rivers and lakes, so that there seldom wants boats. We found a very great one, and full of people, which I did not like at that time. They took me in, the commander immediately came out to receive me, put me into his cabin, and made very much of me.

V o l. I.

2. The ebb came on, and our vessel stuck upon the owf; we were oblig'd to stay for the flood, which was a cruel check, considering my haste and impatience. We came to the town of *Hiang Xan Ngao*, which is the capital of the island in which *Macao* stands. Abundance of soldiers were about there, they all look'd at me, and I pass'd thro' them more afraid than a sham'd, till I got into an inn. The next day I did not travel for want of a sedan, and it was God's mercy, for I must of necessity have met with the *mandarin*, who has charge of *Macao*, who came thither that day with an hundred sedans, and some horses. Tho' the days are so short in *December*, yet this seem'd to me a whole year. The next day we set out by land, I was easily to be known in that country, so that I was not a little afraid, especially because all intercourse with *Macao* was cut off. The Christian was a bold man, and attempted any thing, tho' never so rash; I follow'd his opinion, though with some reluctance. At the mid-way there was a company of soldiers in a house, and just opposite to them the Christian took up his resting-place; the same did the chairmen who carried me, following his example. I was much troubled at it, being in great fear, but no body came to look into the chair. We eat at another place, where there were houses of entertainment; but I came not out of the chair, because the foregoing year F. *Intorceta* was known there, and I was afraid the same might happen to me. I went away to a village, where I waited two days expecting how to get over; during that time I scarce ate or slept. They put me into a straw-loft to secure me against the soldiers, where I lay in great fear and consternation. We resolv'd, through my impatience, to travel two leagues by night to another village, to seek some conveniency there: the gates were shut, and a guard within, we expected in two hours to have them opened; it was then the 17th of *December*, I was hot and weary with walking. We saw a light in a little house without the gate, and I ask'd for some water; I drank near a pint, and wonder it did not kill me; besides we were in no small fear of the tigers. We got into the village, hir'd a close sedan, went down by-ways to the shore, that we might cross over from thence to *Macao*, to which was about half a league by sea. I saw *Macao*, heard the bells, and was forced to turn back, because all about was full of soldiers; I absolutely despair'd

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NAVARETTE. of getting over, and return'd to the straw-loft. The Christian was not discourag'd in the least, he did not like of that day's journey: it was my contriving, but rash and foolish. That afternoon a vessel the *Chinese* had bespoke the day before, came near to where we were: because it had out-staid its time half a day, I thought the infidels would not be so good as their words, and that was the reason we took the course I have spoken of. We went aboard at night-fall, and rowing as still as might be, pass'd by the guards that were along the shore. The wind came ahead, and put us into some fear; the little boat took in water, and though we laded it out continually, yet we could not keep our selves in safety. It pleased God we landed at nine of the clock that night at the captain-general's door. Because I would not disturb the monastery, I went to a friend's house, where they were amaz'd to see me. I came weary, thin, and hungry, and all was well when I found myself free and among catholicks; this was on the 18th of December, on which day died brother *Reyes* the famous procurator of a monastery in that city, who had been the cause of great troubles and disorders there. No body lamented his death, and as the captain-general told me, he left above fifty thousand ducats without his house. A considerable history might be writ of this man, perhaps we may give hints of some small particulars. The next day my arrival was publickly known, by means of some *Chinese* who had seen me on the other side; several judgments were made upon it, some for, some against me, and some indifferent; certain priests particularly declar'd against me, which made me backward in communicating some points concerning the mission with them. I was visited by persons of note, and the superiors of religious orders. I contracted a particular friendship with D. *Alon. de Sylva* captain-general of those parts, which prov'd very advantageous to me. He made much of me, fitted me out, found me convenient shipping, and join'd me in a mess with some worthy friends of his, most excellent persons.

3. The governor of the bishoprick, formerly my intimate friend, and now a profess'd enemy, for some good and holy considerations, endeavour'd to do me a mischief with the captain-general, putting him in mind of what others had quite forgot, which was, that through my means that city had been about submitting to *Manila*, which he altogether imputed to me; therefore he said I was a traitor to the king of *Portugal*, and the peace having not been yet proclaim'd there, it was enough to breed ill blood. The captain-general

answer'd very well, saying, He is no traitor, but a very lowly subject to his king; to endeavour the delivering of this city to his king, was a good piece of service. If I could deliver *Davao* to my king, would it be treason, or a good service done my king?

The honest governor us'd his endeavours with the government of the city not to let me go: but they answer'd him with a letter the ambassador's secretary had writ to them, declaring that city was very much oblig'd to me for the service I had done the ambassador, and embassy, which was very true. The ambassador writ to the captain-general to the same effect, so that F. *Emanuel de Angelis* was very much sham'd.

My design being only to go over to *Manila*, I agreed with some masters of *Siam*, to whom I deliver'd books, clothes, some baggage, and other curiosities, though but few, for them to carry to *Siam*, whence I was to cross over to the islands. The *Dutch* at *Malaca* would not consent to it, for I have heard no more of them since; it is most likely all I sent is lost.

4. On the 11th of January the captain-general carry'd me aboard the ship, where I thought myself free from importunate people, though I had a great deal to go through. One thing I was much surpris'd at in *Macao*, and had it not been told me by one of the gravest citizens I had not believ'd it. *Vasco Barboza de Melo*, who is well known to be honest, well born, and a good Christian, told me, that the foregoing year 1668, some persons had taken out certificates, that we had ruin'd the mission of *China*, and were the cause they had no trade or commerce. As to the last point, I do not concern myself with it, because it belongs not to me; let them look to it. *Alexander* the seventh, *Clement* the ninth and tenth, have issued their Bulls, repeating what *Urban* the eighth order'd in his of 33, be it for these or those. As to the first I say, it is no new thing in the world for men to lay their own faults upon others, to excuse, and endeavour to conceal them. Let us cast our eyes upon *Adam*, *Gen. iii.* He excus'd himself, laying the blame on *Eve*, she on the devil, or serpent. Let us go on to the thirty first chapter, *Laban said to Jacob, Why hast thou done so?* *Coen. à Lapid. v. 16. Observe here in Laban's words the humour of the world; for tho' he knew he by his perfidiousness had given the just man cause to fly, yet he dissembles it, and casts all the blame upon the just man, &c. So the world palliates its own faults, and lays all the blame on the godly. So Ahab charges Elias with disturbing Israel'suben as he, wicked king, was the cause of all evils. Read S. Chrysostom in cat. aur.*

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Joan. i. 8. 29. and Lippomanus in Gen. xlv. 12. The king of England complain'd of *S. Thomas of Canterbury*, that he could not enjoy peace for one priest in his kingdom, whereas he himself was the only cause of the discord.

5. The manner of obtaining those certificates, make the thing yet more foul and criminal. *Vasco Barbosa* having attended the ambassador two years in *Canton*, and knowing this business perfectly well (the second is known to all the world) he spoke with the judge who had sign'd those certificates; the *Portugueses* call him *Veador*, and said to him, how came you, sir, to sign such a thing, when you so well know the contrary? He answer'd, Mr. *Vasco Barbosa*, I was sick in bed, and somewhat cast down; two, to wit, N. and N. came to me and said, Sir, we bring you some papers of small consequence; you must sign them. I, sir, sat up, and sign'd without reading them; who would imagine that such men should impose upon me? (I bring God to witness that what I have writ is true.) I then said to *Vasco Barbosa*, Sir, who was most to blame in this affair? This gentleman, who did not read what he sign'd, or they that tender'd the papers, desiring to have them sign'd? Doubtless the latter, first because they sign'd deliberately and designedly. (2.) Because they sign'd maliciously. (3.) They deceiv'd in a matter of consequence, and to the detriment of a third person. (4.) In regard they were priests. (5.) Because of the motive and end, which could be no other than worldly honour and vain glory. (6.) Because they were the efficient forcing cause that the judge sign'd. (7.) Because of the scandal of such proceeding; and if the matter be further look'd into, other deformities will appear. The layman may alledge many excuses, and the reader may reflect on them, without inserting them here.

6. Knowing this case. I thought it requisite and necessary to prepare my self to make a defence; this is nature, and no doubt in many cases we are bound to it, *lest silence seem to imply guilt.* And this being prejudicial and dishonourable to a whole religious order, the defence is more absolutely necessary. *S. Thom. ii. 2. quest. 26. art. 2. corp. says thus, For any part has a principal inclination to a common action to the benefit of the whole.* Any man is bound to appear upon such like occasions. Especially, because as *S. Ambrose* says in *epist. ad Philip.* He is cruel who slights his own reputation. And *S. August. de bono viduit.* They are not to be bearken'd to who cruelly despise men's reputation, because our life is useful to our selves, our good name to others,

our conscience to our selves, our reputation to *NAVA-our neighbour.* This suffices for our purpose; *RETE-* it were easy to add more, but it being a common case and out of dispute, I think it needless.

7. For these reasons I obtain'd fourteen certificates from the clergy, superiors of orders, the captain-general, and others of the principal men of that city, who all upon oath testify and declare, who were the cause that the missions of *Japan*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and other places in the east were lost. I had duplicates of the said certificates, one parcel I deliver'd to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, by order of cardinal *Ottoboni*; another parcel I have by me, beside an authentick copy taken at *Rome*. If any curious person pleases to read them, I will lend him them very freely.

8. As for the mission of *China*, I will write the matter of fact briefly, as all men own'd it who were there when the persecution began. When they told us the news of our banishment in the imperial city, *F. Gouvea* said to *F. Canari*, I being by at the same time; *F. Matthew Riccius* brought us into *China* by the mathematicks, and *F. John Adamus* now banishes us by his.

9. *F. Gouvea* discoursing with me at *Canton*, told me, That the strangers of his society, who were in *China*, had ruin'd the mission. Another time he explain'd himself further, and told me plainly, That their *French* fathers had been the cause of it: and perhaps it was because of the division there was among them about superiors, a little before the storm rose. *F. Humbertus Augeri* talking with me concerning this point, said, What have we *French* done? Our want of unity and mutual love, has ruin'd this mission. *F. James Faber* who was superior at that time told me, When I was at court, I perceiv'd that when *F. Adamus* dy'd, there would rise a great persecution. I look'd upon it as certain, and so I writ to our father-general. The fathers *Canavari* and *Balat* imputed it to the law of God's being imperfectly preached in that kingdom. Besides all this, the fathers of the society several times said in my hearing, that the little book the four fathers who resided in the imperial city had publish'd, was the only cause of all that disaster.

10. Our *Chinese* enemy in his memorials quotes *F. Adamus*, and charges him as has been writ; he quotes *F. Matthew Riccius* his books, and others of the society. The emperor's edict that was brought up, expressly names *F. Adamus*, and *F. Verbiest*, and their two companions, and no other except *F. Antony* of *S. Mary*, not because he was a *Franciscan*, but because his name was the first in the paper, because he came

NAVARETTE. to the imperial city before any other. The petition that was presented in our behalf was F. Adamus's. The Dutch who went to court after we came from thence, and knew all that had happen'd in their *Mercuries*, mention none but those of the society. The mathematicks, whence the dispute sprung, were follow'd by the society, not by us, or the *Franciscans*. The presents that were made in *China*, with which our enemy says we infatuated the *Chineſes*, were given by those of the society, not by us, who had scarce bread to eat. Who but the society has made use of the *Chineſe* learning in the books of the law of God, which our enemy says we do to palliate our ill doctrine? These articles are made out in the foregoing chapter.

11. Did not the first imprisoning begin with F. Adamus, and the other three in the imperial city? it must be understood that of eleven there were then of my order in *China*, only four went up to court. One fell sick to death in prison, he was taken out from thence with leave from the judges, and carried to the church of F. Magallanes, who was then in it, where a few days after he gave up the Ghost. We

three came afterwards, the judges never put any questions to us. Now how are we brought in here, but only to suffer, to lose all we had, and leave our Christians expos'd to our enemy? It is a necessary duty to observe what the Holy Ghost says, *Ecclesi. xxxvii. 20. Let a true word go before thee in all works.*

12. It may be urg'd that those of the society had contriv'd to return to their churches, for which they deserve much praise and honour. I say it is but reason they should have it, and that it has been an heroic action, and suitable to their zeal, yet this does not detract from the truth of what has been written. It is well known there were no Dominican, Franciscan, nor Augustinian missionaries in *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and other parts, so that the loss of those missions cannot be imputed to them. I shall say somewhat to the point of persecutions in the second tome. Leaving aside several stories I heard at *Macao* during my stay there, and other matters that were given me in writings, before I put to sea, it will be convenient in this place to make one particular chapter of the city *Macao*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the City Macao, its Situation, Strength, and other Particulars.

1. I Have hitherto observ'd, and will for the future, what I lately quoted out of *Ecclesiasticus*; wherefore no man need make a doubt of what I write, but ought rather to give entire credit to it. *Cajetan* in *Pref. in Luc.* says, *For it is most reasonable, that all credit be given to those who have not only seen, but whose duty it is to testify to others what they have seen.* As I am a religious man, priest, apostolical missionary and preacher, tho' unworthy in all respects, what I relate deserves and ought to be look'd upon as undoubted truths, especially in regard I am an eye-witness.

Trade:

2. The *Chineſes* from all antiquity had prohibited the admitting of strangers into their kingdom, and trading with them; tho' for some years, covetousness prevailing, they have sail'd to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Siam*, and other parts within the straits of *Sinapura*, and *Governador* in the sea of *Malacca*, as I have observ'd before: but it has always been an infringement of the ancient law, the *mandarines* of the coast conniving at it for their private gain. This is the reason why when the *Portugueses* began to sail those seas, they had no safe port, nor any way to secure one. They were some years in the island *Xan Choang*, where S. Francis Xavier dy'd; some years they went to the province of *Fo Kien*, another

while to the city *Ning Po* in the province of *Gbe Kiang*, whence they were twice expell'd, and the second time ill treated. They attempted the place where *Macao* now stands, but without success; they return'd, and the *mandarines* of *Canton* sending advice to the emperor, he order'd they should remain there undisturb'd, paying tribute and customs for their merchandize. Thus they settled there, and had continued till my time the term of a hundred and thirty years. Many of the inhabitants of *Macao* say that place was given them, for having expell'd thence certain robbers, who did much harm to the neighbouring *Chineſes*, to which they say they oblig'd themselves, whence they infer that place is their own. The *Chineſes* disown it, and so does the *Tartar*, who is now the lord of it. And if the grant was upon condition, they should pay tribute and custom for merchandize, as they have always done, the difference is not much. At best they are like the *Chineſes*, among whom no man is absolute master of a foot of land.

3. The place is a small neck of land running off from the island so small, that including all within the wall the *Chineſes* have there, it will not make a league in circumference. In this small compals there are ascents and descents, hills and dales,

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and all rocks and sand. Here the merchants began to build: The first church and monastery built there was ours, of the invocation of our Lady of the Rosary, and the Portuguese still preserve it. Afterwards there went thither fathers of the society of the orders of St. Francis, and St. Augustin. Some years after they founded a monastery of St. Clare, and carry'd nuns to it from that of St. Clare in Manila: The foundation was without his majesty's leave, he resented it when it came to his ears; and not without reason, for a country of infidels, and so small, is not proper for nuns. That monastery has of late years been a great trouble to the city. Before I proceed any further, I will here set down what was told me by the licentiate Cadenas, a great priest of that city. When the Tartars conquer'd China, those nuns fearing lest they might come over to Macao, and some disaster might befall them, petition'd the city to send them to some other place. Having weigh'd and consider'd the matter, they answer'd, That they need not be in care, for if any thing happen'd, they would presently repair to the monastery with a couple of barrels of gunpowder, and blow them all up, which would deliver them from any ill designs of the Tartars. An excellent method of comforting the poor afflicted creatures!

4. There are in the city five monasteries, three parish-churches, the house and church of the *Misericordia*, or Mercy; the hospital of S. Lazarus, and seminary of the society; one great fort and seven little ones: The plan is very bad, because it was built by piecemeal. It was afterwards made a bishop's see; the first bishop was of my order, and till my time no other proprietor had been consecrated to it. It shall be argued in another place, whether that lord bishop has a spiritual jurisdiction over all China, or not; as also whether *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* belong to him. At present it is certain they do not, for his holiness has divided China into three bishopricks, under whom are *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and the island *Hermosa*. And tho' the Portuguese resident at Rome oppos'd it, he could not prevail.

5. That city throve so much with the trade of Japan and Manila, that it grew vastly rich, but never would vie with Manila, nor is there any comparison between the two cities. I find as much difference in all respects betwixt them, as is betwixt Madrid and Vallecás (much the same as between London and Hammer-smith) and somewhat more, for the people of Manila are free, and those of Macao slaves.

6. I take it for granted, that what Emanuel Leal de Fonseca, knight of the order of CHRIST, said in my hearing, upon Maun-

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day Thursday at night, in our monastery of NAVA-Macao, is certainly true, That the governor of Manila had more employments to give than the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, even before the Dutch had taken so much from them. It is also certain that his majesty has more lands and subjects in the Philippine islands, than the Portuguese had sixty years ago throughout all India. These things were unquestionable.

7. The trade of Japan failing, Macao began to decay; and that of Manila ceasing, it almost fell to the ground. I was told so in that city, and it was visible in the wants they endur'd. The monasteries which some years before maintain'd twenty four religious men, in my time with much difficulty and want maintain'd three. The two trades above being at an end, they took up with sandal of Timor, atea of Siam, *rosamulla*, *rota* (all drugs) and such-like commodities, which the Chinese bought, and they took silks, calicoes, and other merchandize in exchange, which they sold at Siam and *Mauassar* to the Spaniards by a third hand.

8. Macao ever paid ground-rent for the houses and churches to the Chinese, and anchorage for shipping. As soon as any ship or pink comes into the harbour, a mandarin presently comes from the metropolis, and takes gage of it, and receives the duty according to his computation of the burden. When the ship goes out, he takes the dimensions again, and receives fresh custom. Every year their measures alter. Is this any thing like being absolute masters of that place? They have lost what they had, and would appropriate to themselves what is none of their own.

9. They complain and alledge, say the ambassador Emanuel de Saldanna said in my presence, that our king employ'd all his strength in the West-Indies, and suffer'd the East to decline, because it belong'd to Portugal. But I confuted him with my answer, and said, If the king of Spain was lord of both Indies, and his grandeur consisted in maintaining his dominion from East to West, why should he suffer that to decline which he possess'd as absolute lord and master? for that would be lessening his own greatness, which he so much valu'd.

10. Secondly, When D. John de Sylva was governor of the Philippine islands, his majesty order'd all the force of Manila and Goa should rendezvous at Malaca, and that the governor and viceroy should go aboard in person, in order to fall upon Jacatra, and drive the Dutch quite out of India. The governor came with five mighty ships, the best men in the islands, ammunitions, provisions, and all necessaries. He arriv'd

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NAVA- at Malaca, where he expected the viceroy RETTE. two years, but he is not come yet. D. John de Sylva went away sad and troubled to Siam, where he was forced to fight some ships of that country and Japan. After which he dy'd for grief of the disappointment; many more dy'd, the rest return'd to Manila, having been at vast expence. All that ever spoke of this subject say, that if his majesty's orders had been obey'd, the Dutch had infallibly been ruin'd and expell'd India.

11. Thirdly, About the year 1640, one Meneses a gentleman of Goa came to Macao, in his way to Japan, whither he was going ambassador. He proceeded no further, because of the ill success of another embassy the year before. This gentleman talking with F. Antony de Santa Maria, a Franciscan, of the power of the Dutch in India, told him, that our king had writ into India, to acquaint them that if they thought fit he would send them a strong fleet, and in it D. Frederick of Toledo, as viceroy of Goa, Malaca, and Manila, who would scour the sea, and make it safe to them from East to West. We would not accept of what was offer'd for our good, said Meneses, and that was the reason we are in such a poor condition. The ambassador answer'd me, I did not know all that.

12. After this on Midsummer-day, I being invited with F. Gouvea, and two others of the society, the said F. Gouvea maliciously insinuating, That our king could not recover Brasil, and their new king had done it: The ambassador said, I was a soldier in that mighty tho' unfortunate fleet king Philip the fourth set out for that purpose. The Portuguese general was one Mascarenhas Count de la Torre. who was in fault that it was not recover'd. The Spanish commander was to keep the sea, the count to act ashore, and to that purpose had thirteen thousand chosen men. The Spanish general offer'd him three thousand musquetiers of his men; he several times desir'd him to land, and he would secure the sea, but he never durst. It was the count's fault, concluded the ambassador, that Brasil was not then recover'd. I was very well pleas'd to hear it, and what is it now they complain of? I often heard it said, that Malaca was lost during our king's government in the year 1639. Bento Pereira de Faiza the ambassador's secretary, said before all the Portuguese then at Canton who were in that error, It is not so, fathers, for the revolt of Portugal was in December 1640, and Malaca was lost the following year. I was well pleas'd at the answer.

13. Discouraging about the loss of Mascate, Emanuel de Fonseca a worthy Portu-

guese told me at Canton, That it had been lost, because, contrary to our king's orders, they had tolerated a synagogue of Jews there. Avarice made them connive at those infamous people.

14. At Diu, said the same man, they allow'd of a Mesris mosque on the same account, and contrary to his majesty's commands. Speaking of the loss of Ceylon, the bare-footed Franciscan gave the account I set down in another chapter. I afterwards heard it over again, That it was well it was lost, for otherwise fire must needs have fallen from heaven, and consumed it all.

15. Talking about some towns along the coast, F. Torrente said, the Portuguese commanders us'd horrid injustice towards the natives.

16. Upon discourse of the losing of Ormuz, F. Ferrari related, That he being at Malaca, heard some who had been present at the action, and among them the enemy's admiral, say, If the Portuguese the day after the fight had come upon us again, they had certainly catch'd us all, for we were undone; they went off and left us conquerors and possess'd of all.

17. Father Antony Gouvea talking at Canton of the loss of India, said, God had taken it from them for two reasons; one was, the inhuman usage of the natives, especially of the women, towards the blacks, and the other for their lust.

18. These and such-like things F. de Angelis might have insert'd in his general history; what the Spaniards did in America we know and abhor. It is unreasonable to see the faults of others, and be blind to our own.

19. We being altogether at Canton there was some discourse with the ambassador's gentlemen concerning the loss of Cocbin. The Portuguese fathers of the society imputed it to ill fortune, and to the natives assisting the Dutch. A layman who was by took up the business, and said, Alas, fathers, we Portuguese are the most barbarous people in the world, we have neither sense, reason, nor government. He went on with much more to this purpose, and concluded, They overcame, slew, and took that country from us, as from base and mean people. The society was much blam'd; all the religious orders spent all they had to relieve the soldiers and townsmen, the society not one grain of rice. The Dutch entred the place, and took all they had.

20. We talk'd of the miserable condition Macao was in of late years (I design'd this city for the subject matter of this chapter; but because one thing draws on another, and all tends to make known what I saw and

and heard to write of it to F. Gouvea brother of the Ming, and He had no reason for the cause.

21. The condition liv'd for to make them blind there those of our fortunes years at the Mabon gy had the of the biss told there Upon Mal church, a the church see what stirring to ed for any or six thou the private place. Th secure them stole all the four thousa melans in thence by t

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over to Cam such another they live in natives and would fain not suffered are his slave some Portu the king to for it. Th it is his max ner receive have not the

Cochin. ch. 22. 1667.

22. Those Tunquin were 1667, this I Coclinchina: free and imm rives, they the men, na marriage with when ships their own will they please. cret who had it to me to b came to that there, the P openly to do

and heard in those parts, it is convenient to write all) the ambassador's secretary said to F. Gouvea, Father, the truth of it is, that brother Reyes, and his Chinese friend Li Pe Ming, are the cause of the ruin of Macao: He had not a word to answer. All this has been inserted here, to prove they have no reason to complain, that our king was the cause of their losing India.

21. The miserable state and wretched condition the *Portugueses* do now, and have liv'd for some years in those parts, might make them sensible, if prejudice did not blind them, that their own sins, and not those of others, have brought all these misfortunes upon them. They liv'd some years at Macassar, in great subjection to the *Mabometans*, neither the laity nor clergy had the least authority, so the governor of the bishoprick of Malacca who resided there told me, his name was Paul d'Acosta. Upon Maunday Thursday when I was in the church, a company of *Moors* came into the church and went up the sepulchre to see what was in the *custodium*, no body stirring to oppose them. When they searched for any criminal, the fumbane sent five or six thousand *Moors*, who look'd into the privatest closet without sparing any place. They always watch'd at night to secure themselves against the *Moors*, who stole all they had. They told me above four thousand Christians had turn'd *Mabometans* in that country. When expel'd thence by the *Dutch*, some of them went over to Cambodia, submitting themselves to such another king, others to Siam, where they live in ill repute, and despis'd by the natives and *Chinese* that are there. Some would fain get away from thence, but are not suffered by the king, who says, they are his slaves; and the reason is, because some *Portugueses* have borrow'd money of the king to trade, and pawn'd their bodies for it. The king easily lent it them, and it is his maxim, that all who in that manner receive his money, are his slaves, and have not the least liberty left them.

22. Those who live in Cocincina and Tinquin were expel'd thence. In the year 1667, this I shall now relate happen'd in Cocincina: The women there being too free and immodest, as soon as any ship arrives, they presently go aboard to invite the men, nay, they make it an article of marriage with their own countrymen, that when ships come in, they shall be left to their own will, and have liberty to do what they please. This I was told, and F. Maeres who had been a missionary there affirm'd it to me to be true. A vessel from Macao came to that kingdom, and during its stay there, the *Portugueses* had, it is likely, so openly to do with those infidel harlots, that

when they were ready to sail, the women NAVA-complain'd to the king, that they did not pay them what they ow'd them for the use of their bodies. The king order'd the vessel should not stir till that debt was paid. A rare example given by Christians, and a great help to the conversion of those infidels! Another time they were so lewd in that kingdom, that one about the king said to him, Sir, we know not how to deal with these people, the *Dutch* are satisfy'd with one woman, but the people of Macao are not with many. F. de Angelis may tell these virtues of his countrymen along with him.

23. Whilst the government was in the *Chinese*, the people of Macao own'd themselves their subjects; now the *Tartars* rule, they are, and confess themselves their subjects. When the city has any business they go in a body with rods in their hands to the *mandarin* who resides a league from thence, they petition him, and that on their knees. The *mandarin* in his answer writes thus: This barbarous and brutal people desires such a thing, let it be granted, or refus'd them. Thus they return in great state to their city, and their *fidalgos* or noblemen with the badge of the knighthood of the order of CHRIST hanging at their breasts, have gone upon these errands; and I know one there to this day of the same rank, who was carry'd to Canton with two chains about his neck. He was put into prison, and got off for six thousand ducats in silver. If their king knew these things, it is almost incredible he should allow of them.

24. Ever since the *Tartars* made the people retire from the sea-coasts up the inland, to avoid the attempts of the *Chinese* of Cambodia, as was writ in the first book, they began to use rigor with Macao. At a quarter of a league distance from that city, where the narrow part of that neck of land is, the *Chinese* many years ago built a wall from sea to sea, in the middle of it is a gate with a tower over it, where there is always a guard, that the people of Macao may not pass, nor the *Chinese* to them. The *Chinese* have sometimes had their liberty, but the *Portugueses* were never permitted to go up the country. Of late years the gate was shut, at first they open'd it every five days, then the *Portugueses* bought provisions; afterwards it grew stricter, and was only open'd twice a month. Then the rich, which were but very few, could buy a fortnight's store; the poor perish'd, and many have starv'd. Orders came again that it should be open'd every five days. The *Chinese* sell them provisions at what rate they please.

25. The *Chinese* have always liv'd in Macao, they exercise mechanick trades, and

NAVARETTE. are in the nature of factors to the citizens. They have often gone away with all their trust. Sometimes the Chinese government has obliged them to depart *Macao*, which has much ruin'd that city: Because several inhabitants, and some monasteries have nothing of their own, but a few little houses the Chinese live in, when they were gone they lost the rent of them.

26. It would take up much time and paper to write but a small epitome of the broils, uproars, quarrels and extravagancies there have been at *Macao*. Among other things our enemy alledg'd in his memorials presented to the emperor, one was that F. Adamus had thirty thousand men conceal'd at *Macao* to invade *China*. No doubt but it was a great folly. He added that some years before the city had rais'd walls, which were demolish'd by the emperor's command. This was true. In another memorial he accus'd us, that the Europeans resorting to *Japan*, had attempted to usurp that kingdom, for which many were punish'd, and the rest banish'd; and that we had possess'd our selves of the *Philippine* islands. But never any particular king in *Europe* was mention'd; nor was there any naming of religious orders, or religious men. They always made use of the general name of *Europe* and *Europeans*.

27. The two councils of rites and war, put in a memorial, advising it was convenient the people of *Macao* should return to their own country. The government answer'd in the emperor's name, That since they had liv'd there so many years, it was not convenient to send them away, but that they should be brought into the metropolis, for as much as their own subjects had been drawn from the sea-coast to the inland. This was the beginning of much debate and confusion. The mandarines make great advantage of the inhabitants of *Macao*, and would not have them change their habitation. At court they insisted on what has been said, and order'd a place should be assign'd them to live in. One was appointed near the river of *Canton*, the worst that could possibly be found. Notice was given to *Macao*, the city divided into two factions. The natives and mungrels were for going, the *Portugueses* against it. The supreme governor beset them by sea, order'd their ships to be burnt; accordingly ten were burnt before their faces, and they seiz'd the goods seven of them had brought the foregoing year.

28. We at *Canton*, and they at *Macao*, were in great confusion, things growing worse and worse every day. The city promis'd the supreme governor twenty thousand ducats, if he could prevail that they might continue in their city. Interest

mov'd him to use all his power to obtain it. He obtain'd leave for them to stay, but that they should not trade at sea. The governor demanded the promis'd money; they answer'd, they would pay it if he got them leave to trade. This enrag'd the governor, who endeavour'd to do them all the mischief he could. He shut up the gate in the wall, allowing it to be open'd but twice a month. It pleas'd God, or rather it was his permission, that the governor having been at variance with the petty king, hang'd himself the ninth of *January* 1667, upon which *Macao* recover'd some hopes of bettering its condition. The ambassador's business was at a stand the mean while; he was full of trouble, especially because he had brought but two thousand eight hundred pieces of eight with him, and had above ninety persons to maintain out of it. *Macao* could assist him but little, and afterwards excus'd it self. All complain'd of the society, which had advis'd that embassy. True it is that this complaint being made before me to those that were in *Canton*, F. John Dominick Gaviani a *Piemontese* answer'd: Gentlemen, all the society had not a hand in this embassy, some particular persons had, you are not therefore to condemn the whole society. Pereira the secretary, who was all fire, reply'd, We do not blame the society in *Rome*, *France* and *Madrid*, but that in *China*. Your reverences procur'd this embassy, and that *Macao* should bear the charge of it, which has ruin'd us; therefore the complaint is made here, not before the fathers in *Europe*. One of the greatest troubles the *Portugueses* had, was to see and hear how they us'd their ambassador. They call'd him a *mandarin*, that was going to do homage, and pay an acknowledgment from the petty king of *Portugal*. When he went up to the imperial city, there was a flag or banner upon his boat with two large characters on it, which according to our way of speaking signify'd, This man comes to do homage. All ambassadors that go to *China* must bear with this, or they will not be admitted.

29. I write what follows for F. Emanuel de Angelis. The vilest, basest, and most infamous action that has been heard of in the world, was done at *Macao*: The revolt of *Portugal* being known there (I will not insert in this place what F. Gouvea told me to prove and evince, that his brethren had brought about this action, as allowing it for a certainty among them and many others, tho' the governor of the bishoprick of *Macao* would attribute that action to his family; read *M. Seneir* of the order of S. Augustin, cap. iii, iv, & v.) they painted our king under a gallows, and their own

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as hangman hanging of him; this picture was expos'd in a publick place of the city. Some mistak'd, others were asham'd of it, as I suppose, because of the honourable employment they had given their king; so it was taken away and hid. I had made many reflections upon this passage, which at present I lay aside, but must observe that in *China* the gallows is for noble and great men, and base people are beheaded, just contrary to what is practis'd in *Europe*. To be hangman is the vilest thing that is throughout the world. The *Chinese* are in the right in calling the people of *Macao* barbarous and brutal, this action alone is enough to entitle them to it. I suppose some mungrels were the authors of it, and not others, whom I have heard talk of our affairs with all imaginable reverence. What the people of *Macao* did in *Japan* is well known, and they ingenuously confess it; they own'd it to me in that city, and F. *Gouvea* told it me at *Canton*. It was, that till the ships return'd, they publicly without any shame keep common women in their houses. A good help towards the conversion of those people! F. *Torrente* told me they did the same at *Tunquin*.

30. But a little before I came to *Macao* the governor of the diocess had committed to prison a woman for living in open sin with a *Tartar* soldier; the soldier with others of his companions came to the goal at noon-day, broke it open, and carry'd away the woman, no man daring to open his mouth. About the same time a maiden daughter to one of the principal inhabitants of that city, run away into *China* with an infidel. Of late years many women expos'd their bodies to infidels for bread. The governor banish'd sixty of them; the third day the ship sail'd she was cast away, and not one of the women escap'd.

31. Some years before a great many arm'd *Portuguese* assaulted the captain general's-house; he hid himself under the stairs, they found and stuck him in several places. After this an ordinary fellow with a black murder'd the town-mayor. A man flying from his enemy took into our church, and stood betwixt the altar and the priest that sung high mass, who had consecrated; his enemy pursu'd, and murder'd him in that place. Many base murders have been committed in that city. In my time one dismal enough, and soon after at noon-day the curate of the great church was murder'd. About six or seven years since a *Portuguese* kill'd the curate their nation has at *Siam*. The curate of *Macao* was very familiar with the *Dutch*, he told them he had two daughters at home, and the governor had one, and yet they think God will not punish them. For they

are bumbled for their iniquities, *Psal. cvi.* Excepting *Goa* and the northern parts, which is as much as nothing, they have not one foot of ground in all *India*, but are every where subject to *Gentiles*, *Mabometans*, or *Hereticks*, and by them crush'd, condemn'd and despis'd. Kingdoms, says S. *Thomas*, lib. IV. *Opusc. 41.* are lost through pride. Who is ignorant how guilty that nation was of it?

32. Thus *Macao* may be sufficiently known, and several particulars relating to that city and other parts. We may say with S. *August. ser. 6. ad frat.* that all is, and has been a great mercy of God. It is a mercy if God scourges, that he may correct, if he delivers from sin through tribulation, if he permits hypocrites and tyrants to reign. For God does all these things in his mercy, being desirous to give us life everlasting. The *Tartars* entering *China* to afflict those *Gentiles*, and distress *Macao*, the *Dutch* possessing themselves of *India*, and other accidents we have seen, are all the mercy of God, and for our good, if we our selves will with patience, humility and submission, make our advantage of what his Divine Majesty ordains and disposes.

33. To conclude this chapter I will add certain revelations, as they call them, in great vogue at *Macao*, and other parts of *India*; I do not look upon them as such, nor can I find any ground to allow them the name. These revelations are pretended to be made to *Peter de Bustos* at *Malaca*, about the years forty and forty two. (1.) Four years before the revolt of *Portugal*, say they, he foretold it, almost in the same manner as it happen'd; it was reveal'd to him by God in the consecrated host. The revolt was in the year 1640, the revelations began at the same time, then how could he foretel it four years before it happen'd? (2.) That in the same consecrated host he saw a stately throne, and our king *Philip* the fourth sitting there on a pine-apple, from the bottom whereof issu'd four branches of thorns, which growing up by degrees, press'd him so hard that they cast him from his seat, and that he heard a voice, saying, The monarchy of *Spain* is at an end.

34. This brother saw our king in a better place than the people of *Macao* had assign'd him. God's will be done, but we see he was a false prophet, for the monarchy still continues under *Charles* the second, and we hope for much prosperity in his time. (3.) That there would in a short time be a pope of the society: That new missions shall be discover'd, and those that are lost restor'd; and that there should be mighty conversions in *India*, so that the society should not be able to go through the work, so it should be prosperous.



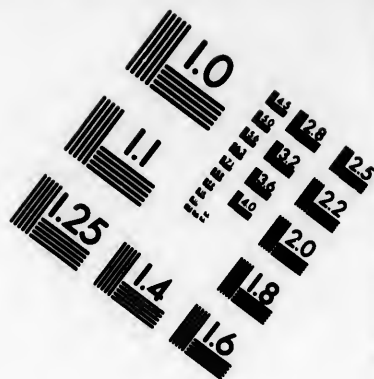
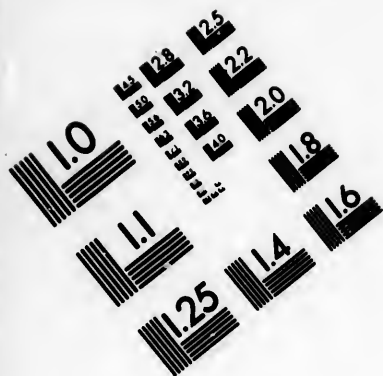
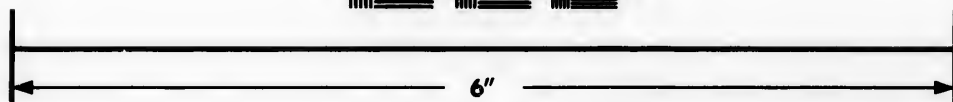
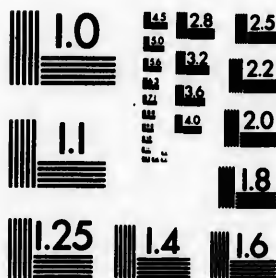


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NAVARRETTE. 35. All that relates to the society I look upon as likely enough, and there needed no new revelations for it. The daily experience we have of their increasing in learning and virtue, may be ground enough for us to hope as much. As for the missions, the time is not fulfill'd; for tho' he says shortly, it may be many years to come, and yet be so call'd.

(4.) That the *Portugueses* and *Dutch* would be as close as the nail and the flesh; That he saw a mitre and other episcopal ornaments with the arms of *Portugal* over *Jacatra*.

36. The first article I can expound no otherwise, than that the *Dutch* are the nails that have claw'd off all the flesh the *Portugueses* had in *India*. The missionaries in *Canton* us'd to laugh at the second.

(5.) In the year 1640, he prophesy'd the miserable state of *Macao*, and that *India* should be restor'd to the condition it was formerly in.

37. The first part we are eye-witnesses to, and it was a necessary consequence of the loss of its trade with *Japan* and *Manila*. The second is at present worse than it was then, for that year they lost *Malacca*, after it *Ceylon*, and lastly *Cochin*.

(6.) In the year 1641, he said, a way would be open'd into *Japan*, because the Holy Ghost appear'd favourable to that kingdom, and that he saw many things relating to it in the consecrated host. No part of this prophecy has been verify'd to this day.

38. He says further, That he saw *F. Cyprian* in the consecrated host on the right hand, cloth'd in glory, with many rays of light coming from him; and *Bustos* said, That father was a great saint, but that he was not yet perfected, nor did he know which way God would guide him, but yet he was much belov'd by God.

39. This spoil'd all the rest, and proves they are fictions and frauds, and no reve-

lations, for *Cyprian* was a great knave, hypocrite, and cheat: it is wonderful what false miracles he gave out, and how he counterfeited sanctity; let it suffice that he is at this time in the prison of the inquisition at *Goa*, and condemn'd to perpetual confinement there. The ambassador *Emmanuel de Seldanna* told me, he was a treble herefiarch. There it is he will be perfected.

(7.) In the year 42 he prophesy'd the martyrdom of five persons, but two of them gave an ill account of themselves.

40. Those men believe, applaud and extol these follies.

41. Just before my departure from *China*, some news arriv'd out of *Europe*; one piece was, that *Bandarra* had been a notorious *Jew*, that his tomb was thrown down, and his prophecies suppress'd.

42. That the *English* at *Bombay* overthrew the churches, and cut to pieces the pictures of the altars. I was afterwards told at *Goa*, who had been the cause of it; perhaps in another place I may give a hint at it, and perhaps not, for all truths are not to be writ: *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient*; it is enough it be known in those parts of the world.

43. That the infidels attack'd *Goa*, took two thousand Christians, and kill'd a *Franciscan*, and that the viceroy did not behave himself well.

44. Considering the present condition of *India*, we may well apply it to the words of *Macchab. i. 40. As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increas'd, and her excellency was turn'd into mourning. And those of chap. ii. §. 12. And behold our holy things, even our beauty and our glory is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it. Mabomentans, Gentiles, and Hereticks, have all defil'd the beauty and glory of our religion in those kingdoms and provinces.*

CHAP. XVIII.

My Voyage to Malacca, and Stay there.

1. THE captain and pilot of the ship's name was *Stephen Diaz*, a man in great repute at *Macao*, but he lost much of it this voyage. There are many ill-grounded opinions; because four or five say such a man is an able pilot, or good soldier, they presently applaud him as such, and when occasion offers, he appears to be a mere *ignoramus*. Certain it is, he was an honest man and good Christian; so that doubtless God favours him, which is knowledge and good fortune enough. He never swore nor curs'd, a thing rare enough in

an *European* and *Portuguese* sailor. When angry he would say, I vow my soul to God. He pray'd incessantly, his beads were never out of his hands, and he delighted in hearing talk of spiritual things. He offer'd me all he had aboard; I stood not in need of it, but was thankful for his good will, and did him all the service I could. When the *Tartars* oppress'd *Macao*, he put to sea, and to save his ship and men's lives, he went to *Manila*, which port he put into upon the security of a pass he had from the governor *D. James Salcedo*; who did not ob-

serve it, but approv'd of governor was restor'd the he return'd in had good acc great cabin, passengers, w ro me. The f then tack'd a thinking he h stern (they are tend below *Ca* to lose the rep man. A great a passenger, f can you expect up with the f pilot still fell making up to the pilot was given his order lot who was a *Fernandez*, ask men take his sp he was persuad flats, and desigr boat. He came to the bittake, We are running bear up eight p the pilot says ar the pilot says ar flew from the I precaution sav'd standing that bea morning, we f stone's throw of current running frighted. Every tany, and other few days pass'd had frequent fern often going to ed We arriv'd at th is large and we came out to us fruit: they brou animal the *Portu* is, sloth; it was shap'd, its flow to be the very em forth a young one clung fast to the it hanging crept u nary leisurely.

2. We made *Singapuera*, our p we came within m of a passage app tack and steer ay call'd *del Governad* at present most pe aboard were satisfi as having pass'd it

serve it, but took his ship. All men disapprov'd of this action, and when that governor was seiz'd, he that succeeded him, restor'd the ship to the right owner, and he return'd in it to *Macao* in *August* 69. I had good accommodation given me in the great cabin, where there were some other passengers, who all were extremely kind to me. The first night he steer'd east, and then tack'd and stood away to the south, thinking he had left the flats of *Pulifsi* astern (they are famous in that sea, and extend below *Camboxa*) here it was he began to lose the reputation of being an able seaman. A great pilot who went aboard as a passenger, said to him, Captain, how can you expect in one night's sail to come up with the flats along the shore? The pilot still fell off to leeward, which was making up to the flats. One night when the pilot was gone to rest, after having given his orders to the steersman; the pilot who was a passenger, his name *Vincent Fernandez*, ask'd for his sword, and bid his men take his spear, and be on the watch; he was persuad'd we should be upon the flats, and design'd to betake himself to the boat. He came up softly without any noise to the bittake, and said to the steersman, We are running right upon the flats, pray bear up eight points to windward; and if the pilot says any thing, tell him the ship flew from the helm. Under God this precaution sav'd our lives, for notwithstanding that bearing away eight points one morning, we found our selves within a stone's throw of the points of the flats, the current running off it, we were all much frightened. Every day the rosary, salve, litany, and other prayers were said kneeling, few days pass'd without saying mass, we had frequent sermons and exhortations, and often going to confession and communion. We arriv'd at the island *Pulocondor*, which is large and well wooded; the natives came out to us with some refreshment of fruit: they brought with them a little animal the *Portugueses* call *perguiza*, that is, sloth; it was very strange and oddly shap'd, its slow motion and looks seem'd to be the very emblem of sloth. It brought forth a young one aboard, the young one clung fast to the dam's belly, and she with it hanging crept up the shrouds extraordinarily leisurely.

2. We made thence for the strait of *Sinapuera*, our pilot had never pass'd it; we came within musket-shot, and no sign of a passage appear'd: he was about to tack and steer away for the new strait call'd *del Governador*, which is wider, and at present most people go that way. Some aboard were satisfied the strait was there, as having pass'd it sometimes; but honest

Stephen Diaz was so positive, he would believe no body. At a point of land which conceal'd the passage, there was a great number of fishermen there call'd *Salfetes*, who always live upon the water, and in their boats carry their wife, children, cats, dogs, hens, &c. as I mention'd in the first book many liv'd in *China*. One of the boats made to us, the master of it came aboard and carried us thro' very safe. That country belongs to the king of *Jor*, who has abundance of pepper. Having discover'd the passage, which we admir'd to see how close nature has hid and conceal'd it, we sail'd easily along. I had heard it said at *Canton*, that when ships sail'd thro' there, the yard-arms hit against the trees on both sides, and that the current was so violent, it whirl'd a ship about with all her sails aboard. The first is a mere fiction, the second is false; though perhaps when the south-west winds reign there may be something of it, but it is not likely considering the position of the continent and islands about it. The passage is scarce a bow-shot in width, two ships cannot pass it board by board; it presently grows wider, and abundance of islands appear. Our obstinate pilot would needs keep close under the shore; he lost the channel, and the ship struck upon the sand; being it sprung no leak, we were not much troubled. As soon as this happen'd, abundance of the *Salfetes* took their posts to observe us, to make their advantage in case the ship were cast away. Practice had made them very expert at it; the flood carried us off safe. On saturday, being the eve of the *Purification*, or *Candlemas*, we came to an anchor in sight of *Malacca*. I went ashore that afternoon, and told the governor I desir'd to make my way thence to *Manila*, either thro' *Siam* or *Camboxa*. He would not consent to it; I us'd all my interest and art, but in vain, which made me very melancholy: I spoke to the chief *domine*, who did all he could for me, but obtain'd nothing. I was in a passion one day, and said to him, So it is then, that your lordships in this place tolerate *Gentiles*, *Mabometans*, and all barbarous nations, and will not admit a *Spanish* religious man for one month, tho' we are at peace with you; what reason is there for it? there is none but their profession and our meanness.

3. That afternoon the stewards of the brotherhood of the *Rosary* invited me to go up the river at eight of the clock at night, where most of the Christians live, there to sing the salve and litany of our Lady. I could not avoid it, but went; their church was adorn'd: after the rosary, the salve and litany was sung very well, I being in a cope, brought out the image of our

NAVARRUTE. our blessed Lady, which was a very beautiful one. Then I heard some confessions, and having taken my leave of the people, went away to rest at the house of an honest Portuguese, who was married to a Malaya woman. I was twelve days ashore; the evening and morning was spent in hearing confessions. I said mass every day but one, and administer'd the blessed sacrament: the rest of the day I visited the sick, and that they might all be pleas'd, said mass one day in one house, and the next in another; thus we secur'd our selves against a French *domine* who was watching of us. There was another Portuguese *domine* born in Algarve, who was more truly, and a better friend to his countrymen. At Jacatra, as I was there told again, though I had heard it before, there were two other *domines*, they were both of considerable families. It is well known who the governor was originally, who has govern'd those parts several years.

4. There were about two thousand catholicks in that place, as I was told; the women were extraordinary good Christians, some of the men were so too; many did not confess, because it was easy to them to resort to an Indian clergyman who was disguis'd there: I am perswaded some as lukewarm in the faith, by reason of their conversing with the Dutch. Heresy, says St. Paul, is like a cancer, it is a plague and poison that insensibly infects. I shed tears as I walk'd those streets, to see that country posses'd by enemies of the church, for it is a mere garden, and paradise for worldly pleasure; in spirituals it was once a great colony, and the church has many children there still, but they are among bloody wolves. The women wish they could get away from thence, but are so poor they cannot; those who have some wealth are pleas'd and satisfied.

5. That place is in two degrees and a half of north-latitude; the climate is charming, the place where the catholicks live the best in the world. The coco-trees grow up to the clouds; there are orchards full of orange, limon, and plantane-trees, papagos, xambos, and other sorts of fruit. They have two other places there, but not so pleasant. The fruit then began to come forwards, there were very good and well-tasted pine-apples. The Christians furnish'd me with several necessaries against I went aboard, and some money given me for masses. Another religious man of my order, took up his lodging in an acquaintance's house; he and I took all the pains we could, and had we staid there much longer, we had found enough to do. Among the rest there was a woman, an extraordinary good Christian, she furnished

bread and wine for the masses. She had a daughter whom she had educated with all possible care; yet when grown up, she married a heretick, who soon perverted her, and she prov'd a mortal enemy to catholicks.

6. The Dutch gave good alms even to the catholick poor, but almost oblig'd them to be present at their service. A poor lame man said to me, Father, I cheat them very handsomely, for being lame, as I go up that hill I feign my self lamer, and sit down to rest every step, so that I never get to the top, nor never will. Upon Sunday-nights the hereticks make their feasts in the streets. As I was going home with some friends, we found a jolly Dutch man with his table and bottles in the cool air; he invited us, and I accidentally ask'd, Are you married, sir, in this country? He answer'd me very pleasantly, Yes, father, I married a black; since I cannot eat white bread I take up with brown. Some of us from a catholick's house, saw a Dutchman lash two blackamore women most cruelly, they seem'd to be catholicks; he had ty'd them to coco-trees, and beat them unmercifully: one of them call'd upon Jesus and Mary, and we saw him for that reason lash her again in a most outrageous manner.

7. Anthony Marinbo a Portuguese told me, That Emanuel de Souza Couinbo had basely lost that place of so great moment and consequence. He that has it commands the Strait, and that place is the general rendezvous for all the kingdoms of India. When all was taken by the Dutch, three fathers remain'd there; two of them I knew very well, the other who was a Frenchman, dy'd some years since in Europe. They demanded a place where they might administer to the catholicks; the Dutch had sent to Jacatra for orders to give them a church, and it is reported they design'd it should be that of S. Anthony; but the fathers being too impatient of delay, tho' the Dutch themselves advis'd them to be moderate, they threaten'd the Dutch they would take from them the water of the well of Batabina, which is the best they have, and is always guarded. These threats provok'd the Dutch, who sent them to Jacatra, where they were forbid saying mass. The French father, who was over-zealous even in the opinion of his own brethren, continued saying of it. They grew angry at him, took away a crucifix he had, and the villains burnt it publicly; the father himself was at the foot of the gallows, happy he, had he ended his life there.

8. The compass of Malaca is small, but the situation strong. It is encompass'd with good walls and bulwarks, it is in the shape of a sugar-loaf, in the upper part

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2. The wind held
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stood the houſe and church of the ſociety; the monaſtry at preſent is a magazine: It was a great annoyance to the *Portugueſes*, as they themſelves ſay, that they had not levell'd that eminence. Among the hereticks there was one who always valu'd himſelf upon his wiſdom, tho' he had none; he obſtinately urg'd that woman was more perfect than man, without alledging any reaſon but his repeated affirmation. He expos'd the error he had in his heart; but when the words of *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. xi. *For man was not created for woman, but woman for the man; and man is the head over woman, and let women be ſubjeſt, &c.* were

urg'd againſt him, he had not one word to *NAVARETTE.* ſay for himſelf.

9. The hereticks adminiſter baptiſm and matrimony to the catholicks. I found there ſome *Indians of Manila*, they enjoy their liberty, and are free from taxes and other duties that lie upon them in their country.

10. On the 11th of *February* we went aboard again, and the 12th with a fair gale left cape *Rachado* aſtern, it belongs to *Malaca*, and is poſſeſt by the *Hollanders*. Now we begin another voyage, therefore it will be fit to conclude this chapter, and begin another.

CHAP. XIX.

My Voyage from Malaca, as far as Madraſta Patan.

THEY told us at *Malaca*, the reaſon was too far advanced for us to reach *Goa*, ſo that we went in fear and dread. To encreaſe it the more, we had a dead calm in that narrow ſea: we caſt anchor at ſun-ſetting, and at ſun-riſing again weigh'd very leiſurely. Thus we came to an iſland uninhabited, call'd *Pulo Pinang*, well wooded; there we took in water very leiſurely. We continued there two days, and one of them the wind blew very fair, and we afterwards inſiſ'd it to compaſs our deſign. On the firſt of *March*, after ſun-ſetting, the wind blew terribly, and we being juſt ready to paſs betwixt two of the iſlands of *Nicobar*, the pilot was afraid and back'd his ſails, ſo that we loſt way every moment. The ſecond of the ſaid month, as we ſail'd betwixt the ſaid iſlands, ſeveral boats came out to us with freſh provisions; our people dealt for hens, cocos, plantanes, and ſome amber, all for old rags. The veſſels were extraordinary fine, ſome had thirty oars, and row'd to the admiration of us all. The people were ſomewhat black, and had red hair, which is wonderful; among them that row'd there were women, all naked, ſaving juſt before and behind, where they had ſome dirty rags. As they ſaid aboard our ſhips, thoſe people were ſo warlike, that they had boarded a *Dutch* ſhip. It is certain they devour the *Europeans* they catch alive, as near as they can. The pilot told me there was a ſtrange well in an iſland we ſaw there, whatever is put into it, whether iron, copper or wood, comes out gilt; I do not remember whether that gilding is laſting, but it is very remarkable. The weapons thoſe people uſe are their oars, which we ſaw were very ſharp-pointed; the wood is very hard, I believe they will ſtrike thro' a mud wall.

2. The wind held us the two following
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days, and we wanted forty leagues of paſſing the gulph of *Ceylon*. The third day we were becalm'd, and endeavour'd to avoid the currents, which they ſaid ran toward the *Maldivy* iſlands; we fell ſixty leagues below cape *Gallo*, and all things conſpir'd to thwart our courſe. We had been three days making for the iſland *Ceylon*. On the 9th of *March*, when the pilot leaſt expected to make it, the captain accidentally went out of the cabbin, and bent his ſight to diſcover land. The pilot ſaid to him, It would be a miracle to ſee land now. The captain cried out, Land ahead; had we ſail'd one minute longer, the ſhip had been aſhore. They fur'd the ſails, and dropt anchor with all poſſible expedition, then we plainly ſaw the ſhore. It rain'd apace, the wind blew hard, and was right aſt. It was very ſtrange, we diſcover'd a league below us two ſhips at anchor as well as we; one of them weigh'd immediately away, and ſail'd to windward of us. We lay there till next day; the weather clear'd up, and we ran along the iſland with a fair gale. On the 25th of *March* we left cape *Gallo* aſtern, with terrible thunder and lightning that blinded us; three men ſpent that night, till ſun-riſing the next day, at play, without riſing off the ground; the reſt of us were very fearful, for the wind ſtill encreas'd, ſo that we had a diſmal night of it; but the three being intent upon gaming, minded nothing.

3. The *waggoners* directed to coaſt cape *Gallo*, then along by *Columbo*, and to hold on to *Nigumbo*, as the beſt way to ſtrike over to cape *Comori*. The pilot would not ſteer the uſual courſe; and it ſucceeded accordingly, tho' the reaſon he gave for it ſeem'd good enough in regard to the voyage he was to make; but new ways are always dangerous. Next we had calms and hazy weather; we met a pink bound

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NAVARRETTE. our way: every body was for making up to it to get some information, but the pilot thinking it a lessening of him, would not consent. They are strange people, tho' they perish by it, they will not ask advice, nor follow it. The sea ran as swift as an arrow towards the continent, and the pilot thought he should fall upon the *Maldivy* islands. One night two lights on the coast were seen, so near were we to it: we tack'd and in the morning found ourselves near land, but knew it not; in the afternoon two blacks came up to us in a *Catamaran*, which is only three pieces of timber, on which they go out to sea. They told us we were off of *Comori* and *Tutucori*. The wind came to south-west, so that in eight days we did not advance a foot. We had sight of cape *Comori*, but could not possibly weather it at that time. It was then propos'd to make for the coast of *Coromandel*. *Lent* was near at an end, no body in the ship eat meat so much as once, all did the duty the church imposes. That *Lent* I said mass thirty one times, and preach'd nineteen, which is enough at sea. I bless'd palm on palm-sunday, and we did the best we could.

Catamaran.

4. A council was held about going into port; they had before talk'd of and resolv'd upon it, yet none would give his opinion in publick. I took upon me to shew the reasons that oblig'd us to put into a harbour, which afterwards all agreed to. That night we sail'd before the wind, and if they would have done as the pilot advis'd, which was to go to *Columbo*, it had been better for us. We sail'd as far as the *flats*, which are fifty leagues above cape *Gallo*; all the business was in passing them. On the 8th of *April* so furious a wind rose with the moon, that we were forced to run before it. The next night we found ourselves against *Gallo*, we were willing to put in, but no body knew the way; they design'd to winter there. We pass'd on to *Columbo*, cast anchor; some went ashore, but they would not give leave for the priests, and we were three of us. There are above three thousand catholicks there, they have had no priest among them ever since the *Portugueses* lost that island to the *Dutch*, as basely as they had done *Malacca*: So I was told aboard the ship. Some blam'd *Antony de Sousa Coutinho*, brother to him that lost *Malacca*; others said it was a judgment, as I have mention'd before. His own countrymen report it of *Philip de Mafarenbas*, who had been governor there, that he us'd to say, The king of *Candeia*, who was lord of that noble island, should be his footman and groom. There are men of wonderful pride in the world; they say the king, tho' a heathen, begg'd

Columbo.

peace of him with a crucifix in his hands; what more could a Christian expect from that pagan? yet the *Portugueses* complain'd that the natives of the island took part against them; what reason had they to favour them? it were no wonder tho' the elephants and wild beasts had fought against them. General *Macbua* who took that place, and afterwards *Cochin*, two months before our arrival, made war upon the blacks of *Tutucori*, kill'd fourteen thousand of them, built a strong fort, garrison'd it, and return'd to *Columbo*. He came aboard us civilly, gave us wood of the cinnamon-trees; we chew'd many of the leaves, and they tasted like fine cinnamon; we were supply'd with all things. Some catholicks came aboard to confession; the women shew'd much devotion, sent beads and candles to bless; ask'd for holy water, written gospels: some were for sending their sins in writing, others for telling them to the seamen, that they might confess by a third hand. An honest *Frenchman* and his wife writ to me very feelingly, and presented me; I sent them beads and pictures. Another *Frenchman*, whose name was *Bertran*, very old and honourable, had been fourteen years a slave to the king of that country; he fled, I heard his confession, and got him some alms of the *Portugueses*. They hang'd two blacks on the shore in sight of us: they were catholicks, and some *Portugueses* who were ashore told me, that a heretick preacher going along with them, one of the blacks turn'd to him and said, Do not preach or talk to me, I know what I am to do, I am a catholick, and so I will die. There was oil of cinnamon fold there, but under half a *Quartillo* (that is, half a pint and half a quarten) for seven or eight pieces of eight: the scent was enough to raise a dead man; I twice anointed my stomach and nostrils with two drops of it, it burnt my bowels, and I was forced to rub my self very well with a cloth, my nose swell'd and burnt. Had these two anointings been one some time after another, I had never ventur'd upon the second; but they were presently one after the other, which made the effect the greater.

5. The island is eighty leagues in length, and sixty in breadth; it is one of the best in the world, if not the best, the temperature incomparable; fields green all the year, the waters many and pleasant; it produces precious diamonds and rubies, and another rich stone they call *cats-eye*; it has the mines of gold and silver, crystal, and the best cinnamon in the world; abundance of rice, coco-nuts, fruit; the choicest elephants, to which those of other parts pay homage. Some few months before the

Dutch

Dutch had been they drove a down towards places they had they were tan Moors for three piece; there at twenty of them sea, because the upper side much good, of the ship.

6. Many *Portugueses* pay. At our king was He was us'd to all *India* be lost was in the right worth more than We were told dred *Portugueses* king's court, a island, with the maintain'd by he is jealous of the *Dutch*. In took the prince him to *Jacatra* *Holland*. Unhappily befel them!

7. All spice nutmegs, &c. *Dutch*, but the pepper, because places. In *Ceylon* horses, cows, the said they had first work at their first

8. The prince are *Nigumbo*, *Matuturè*, *Trigun* note. Besides the sent possess'd of *Negapatan*, *Jas*, *Cochin* and *Madagascar* the greatest of the *gueron*, *Vencelam* the kingdoms *Cararga*, *Palacac*, *Carcal*, *Napapap*, *lature*, *Batacolor*, *Carneculom*, *Per*, *nonour*, *Bingorla* have forts and *g*, *lapatan*, *Golocon*, *Suratte*, *Congo*, *B* are also factories the court of *Per* the *Mogol's* court *Cochinchina* and *J*

9. The *English* *Bombaim*, which *rine's* dowry, *Ca*

Dutch had been a hunting of theſe creatures, they drove a hundred and fifty of them down towards the ſea, ſixty took into the places they had enclos'd for them, where they were tam'd; they ſell them to the *Moors* for three or four thouſand ducats a-piece; there are ſhips that carry four and twenty of them: They are very good at ſea, becauſe they always bear up againſt the upper ſide, and being ſo heavy do much good, and are a ſtay to the motion of the ſhip.

6. Many *Portugueſes* live in the *Hollanders* pay. At preſent they own how careful our king was of preſerving that iſland: He was us'd to ſay in all his orders, Let all *India* be loſt, ſo *Ceylon* be ſav'd. He was in the right, for that iſland alone is worth more than all they had in the *eaſt*. We were told there were above four hundred *Portugueſes* at *Candea*, which is the king's court, and is in the middle of the iſland, with their wives and children, and maintain'd by the king; but they affirm he is jealous of them. He was at war with the *Dutch*. In the year 1669 the *Dutch* took the prince; eight days after they ſent him to *Jacatra*, in order to be ſent into *Holland*. Unhappy prince, what a diſaſter beſel them!

1669.

7. All ſpice, as cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, &c. are in the power of the *Dutch*; but the *Engliſh* and *French* deal in pepper, becauſe it is to be had in many places. In *Ceylon* there are abundance of horſes, cows, ſheep, aſſes. The *Portugueſes* ſaid they had five thouſand ſlaves only to work at their fortifications.

Dutch.

8. The principal places in that iſland are *Nigumbo*, *Columbo*, *Gallo*, *Maturé*, *Matuturé*, *Friquimalé*, and others of leſs note. Beſides this, the *Dutch* are at preſent poſſeſs'd of *Manor*, all the kingdom of *Negapatan*, *Jafanapatan*, *Java*, *Tutucori*, *Cochin* and *Macajar*. They have abundance of factories in thoſe eaſtern parts, the greateſt of them are *Peru*, *Queda*, *Vargueron*, *Vencelam*, *Pegu*, *Racon*: Fifty in the kingdoms of *Bengala*, *Vipelapatan*, *Cararga*, *Palacot*, *Chicaceli*, *Mabilapatan*, *Carcal*, *Napapatan*, *Calipiſi*, *Caimal*, *Calature*, *Batacolor*, *Punta de Piedra*, *Caulon*, *Carneculom*, *Peria*, *Caſtel*, *Cangranor*, *Canonour*, *Bingorla*; in all theſe places they have forts and garriſons. *Paliacate*, *Muſulapatan*, *Golocondar*, are only factories; *Suratte*, *Congo*, *Bandarabaffi* a port in *Perſia*, are alſo factories: So they have at *Hiſſaan* the court of *Perſia*, *Bajora*, *Meta*; *Agra* the *Mogol's* court, *Borneo*, *Siam*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina* and *Japan*.

Fogliſh.

9. The *Engliſh* are at *Congo*, *Suratte*, *Bombaim*, which was part of queen *Catherine's* dowry, *Carbat*, *Cape de Rama*, and

near *Goa*, *Madaſtrapatan*. Here they have *NAVY* a very fine fort, with a good garriſon, and heavy cannon; *Muſulapatan*, *Madapalam*, *Pelaſor*, *Ugali*, *Bantam*. When I came away they quitted *Siam*, they lik'd not the country and trade: They have alſo footing in the iſland *Hermoſa*. The *French* begin *French* to have a trade in *India*; they have factories at *Suratte*, *Rogiapur* near *Cochin*, *Muſulapatan*, *Bengala*, *Siam* and *Batang*. Not long ſince I was inform'd, that the ſleet I met at the iſland of *Madagaſcar* had put into *Ceylon*, where they built a fort, with leave and permiſſion of the king of the country; but the *Dutch* deſtroy'd it, took their men, ſhips, and other things. Afterwards underſtanding the wars were in *Europe*, they kept all they had taken, and the *French* remain'd priſoners. The other part of that ſleet laid ſiege to the city *S. Thomas*, and took it, the infidels being unprovided. Afterwards a great power of infidels came down, and beſieg'd the *French*; what the event was I know not, but it ſeems impoſſible they ſhould maintain themſelves without a miracle. They have no provisions but what the country muſt furniſh; and the *Dutch* will uſe all means, and preſs at *Golocondar* that they may be expell'd.

10. When the *Dutch* had taken *Columbo*, they ſent an embaffador to the king of *Candea*. He ſuffer'd him not to depart his court in eleven years. By degrees he made an orchard and garden to his houſe, planted fruit-trees, and curiouſly adorn'd his habitation. The king gave him leave to return to *Columbo*, and he, that the natives might not enjoy the fruits of his labour and induſtry, cut down the trees, pull'd up the flowers, and ſpoil'd all. The king being told of it, was very much concern'd, and for a puniſhment order'd he ſhould ſtay there till the garden and orchard were in the ſame condition they had been before he had ſpoil'd them. He aſked of the *Dutch* a ſmall ſhip to ſee the ſhape and manner of thoſe uſed in *Europe*. They made a fine one lin'd with copper, and ſent him word it was all gold. He found it was not, reſented the fraud, and conceiv'd an ill opinion of thoſe people. What a folly it was to think he ſhould not diſtinguiſh betwixt gold and other metals! He left two kingdoms and retir'd into the heart of the iſland. Not long before his own people had aſſaulted him in his palace, deſigning to kill him, but he made his eſcape, and abſconded for a month. Then he return'd, found means to execute ſome great men, and put their wives to death, by which he ſecur'd himſelf. The *Portugueſes* told us thus much during the twelve days we ſtay'd in the port.

11. The *Dutch* judge ask'd the captain of

NAVA- of our ship, whether the pope had power
RETTE. to take away king *Alfonso's* wife, and give
her to his brother prince *Peter*. The *Portu-*
guese had not one word to say, as he him-
self told me.

12. The coin that pass at *Columbo* was
rix-dollers, rupies, *S. Thomas's*, pagodes,
pieces of eight, and a particular coin for
the country like that they had at *Malaca*.
I sent a sample of it to the governor of
Manila, that he might see the metal and
form it, in case he would coin any like it,
which has been talk'd of many years, but
is not yet begun. There is no comparison
between the *Philippine* islands, and *Malaca*
or *Columbo*, or others of the same stamp;
and yet these have coin'd a current sort of
money, which never goes out; and in the
Philippine islands for these hundred years,
they have had no coin, but the silver of
new Spain. I have seen a memorial at *Ma-*
drid, which treats of this subject.

13. *Francis Caron* a Dutchman took *Ni-*
gumbo. He himself told me the manner of
it, and said, the *Portuguese* might easily
have hindred them landing, and then they
could never have hurt them; but they
scoffed at them, and cry'd, Let those
drunkards land, and then we will treat them
as they deserve (it is great folly and pride
to despise an enemy) they landed, drew up,
the fight began, and the *Portuguese* fled.
The tower of the fishery is near *Nigumbo*,
and they are masters of all. Our pilot be-
lieved and worn out, ask'd for a Dutch
able pilot, who knew those seas at *Columbo*.
He design'd if the weather would permit
to put into *Gallo*, and lie there till *Septem-*
ber. There is a port, tho' none of the best,
and plenty of provisions. We came near
the mouth of the harbour, the wind was

scant and we were to leeward, therefore we
dropp'd two anchors. That night was one of
the smallest that ever man had at sea. The
ship was foul of the cables, the sea ran
high, the motion was so violent that a man
was safe in no place, there was not a bed
or couch but broke, the lashers, boxes,
chefts, jars, and every thing was beaten to
pieces. The worst was, that every time
the sea beat against the ship, we imagin'd
she would founder. It bore much, and at
last began to leak so fast that the pumps
could deliver the water.

14. Thus we continued till one of the
clock next day. Good God, what falls
and bangs we had! It pleas'd God we had
leisure to weigh. We sail'd quite round
the island with a stiff gale, and so to *Ja-*
fanapatan. Opposite to *New Port* a *Dun-*
kirker came up with us, she put into that
port, and we pass on. That day we dis-
cover'd *S. Thomas's* mount, and saluted the
faint with five guns. On the second of
May we anchor'd before *Madrasapatan*.
I had an extraordinary desire to be ashore.
A *Portuguese* came aboard, and I got into
the boat that brought him, so did others.
Those are very odd boats, they have no
nails or pins, but the boards are sew'd to-
gether with ropes made of *Coco* outward
shells; and tho' the infidels assur'd us they
were safe, yet we could not but be in great
fear. When they come towards the shore,
they take the surges, which drive them up
so that we step out of the boat upon the
dry sand. Thousands of souls waited there
to know the ship, and who came aboard it.
I went immediately to the church of the
French capuchins, who resided there, to
give God thanks for having deliver'd us
from the sea.

CHAP. XX.

My Stay at Madrasapatan.

1. WHEN we came to this place, we
found it besieg'd by the king of
Golconda's army, but without his orders;
their design was to extort something from
the *English*, but they were disappointed. It
is on the coast of *Coromandel*, half a league
short of the city of *S. Thomas*, otherwise
call'd *Meliapor*. Here the *English* have a
noble fort; they have also other walls but
small within which live all the *Portuguese*,
who after the losing of *Jafanapatan*, *Nega-*
patan, and *St. Thomas*, went to seek places
to dwell. The *English* receiv'd them, and
they live under their protection and govern-
ment. They stand the *English* in stead,
for upon occasion they make use of them,
as they did at this time, when all men took
arms and guarded the walls. The enemy

had stopp'd all the avenues, so that pro-
visions grew scarce. There is neither port
nor water, this last they get out of some
small wells they have digg'd. Ships lie safe
six months, then they go away till the fair
weather comes again. The *English* allow
a publick church, kept by two *French* ca-
puchins; and tho' there are several clergy-
men, they all say mass there, with no small
subordination and dissatisfaction: but the
English who are masters there, favouring
the religious men, they must have patience
per force.

2. Two years before, there had been a
great contest there betwixt two *English* go-
vernors, both of them would govern the
place, and there was no reconciling of them.
The *Portuguese* were divided, some favour'd
the

the one, and
the better, and
Portuguese that of
the *French* Cap-
he gave them

3. It is in a
greeks of north
climate, any ni
conveniency of
all those people
in a little room
there I study'd,
Portuguese sent me.
religious men.
whose name was
man in good rep
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great hardships
Portuguese. I a
to *Manila*, what
found a *German*
matician, ingine
did the *Portuguese*
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him to go away t
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to it, I writ to t
directed him how

S. Thomas.

4. I went with
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I spoke with the
who told me he v
the mount. We
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one in it. There
holy apostle mad
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form himself into
that way.

5. In the way
to me which I ha
little curious *Chin*
tle horse I rode
viary and some
not observe it, bu
spears, they salu
way: soon after
which made me
the matter, and p
with the spears t
and made signs

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the one, and others the other. One got the better, and baniſh'd many of the *Portugueſes* that oppos'd him, together with the *French* Capuchins. Above a year after he gave them leave to return.

3. It is in about twelve or thirteen degrees of north latitude, and an excellent climate, any nice man may live there; the conveniency of buying clothes is great, all thoſe people living upon it. I took up in a little room the religious men gave me, there I study'd, and eat what an honeſt *Portugueſe* ſent me. Another maintain'd the religious men. There I found a *Biſcainer*, whole name was *Dominick Lopez*, an honeſt man in good repute, had a wife and two children, but was poor. He told me very great hardships he had endur'd among the *Portugueſes*. I adviſ'd him to ſend his ſons to *Manila*, what he did I know not. I alſo found a *German* who was a mighty mathematician, ingineer and good ſoldier; he did the *Portugueſes* good ſervice, but they requited him ill. Knowing who he was, and how well look'd upon, I propos'd to him to go away to *Manila*, where he might come to preferment with eaſe. He agreed to it, I writ to the governor about it, and directed him how to ſend his answer.

§ Thomas. 4. I went with him to *S. Thomas*, we were firſt in a church of *Franciſcans*, which they call our Lady of light; there was a religious man there poorer than I, he gave us to eat, and me his hat, becauſe I had none. I ſpoke with the governor of the biſhoprick, who told me he would go the next day to the mount. We ſpent that evening in a houſe of the jeſuits, but there was never a one in it. There we ſaw the fountain the holy apoſtle made between two rocks, and drank of it with much ſatisfaction; we alſo ſaw two croſſes cut in the hard rocks, the workmanſhip of the ſame ſaint. We went into the cave where we pray'd, it was very ſmall, they afterwards cut the rock and enlarg'd it. On one ſide there is a breach in the rock, which made a ſmall window. They recount for a certain truth, and receiv'd tradition, that when the infidels came to kill him, he would transform himſelf into a peacock, and get out that way.

5. In the way hither it is that happen'd to me which I have often told. A pair of little curious *Chineſe* wallets ſlipt off the little horſe I rode on, and in them my breviary and ſome other little things; I did not obſerve it, but met two Moors with their ſpears, they ſaluted me, and went their way: ſoon after I heard loud calling out, which made me turn about to ſee what was the matter, and perceiv'd the Moors pointing with the ſpears to my wallets. I return'd, and made ſigns to them to reach it up to

me, they would not touch it. I made ſigns *NAVA-* again that they would reach them me upon *RETTE* the point of their ſpears. They underſtood me, and one of them taking it up with his ſpear gave it me. I thank'd them by ſigns, and went my way. What *European* would have done ſo much here, or there?

6. That evening we came to the mount, there are two little houſes at the foot of it uninhabited, beſides others gone to ruin. When the infidels took the city, they deſtroy'd all about it, but durſt not meddle with the apoſtles church, nor with that of our Lady of light I ſpoke of before. The aſcent of the mountain is ſteep and difficult, but well provided with ſeats and reſting-places at certain diſtances. On the top is a ſmall flat or plain, kept in good order, wall'd about breſt-high, with good ſeats, and large trees to make a ſhade. In the middle is a curious little church, with a houſe for a prieſt and two ſervants. The proſpect all about the hill is incomparable, and extends as far as the ſight can reach. To lie that night, we went down from the mountain, and took up under a tree upon the bare ground. Our reſt laſted not long, for a violent ſhower came on, which oblig'd us to get into a little houſe, into which we felt our way, and fear'd to meet with ſome vermin. It ſecur'd us from the rain, but we had a troubleſome night of it, for we were engag'd with the knats which never ceaſ'd tormenting of us.

7. Next day we went up the mount again. The governor came, we ſaid maſs, I diſcover'd the holy croſs and picture of our bleſſed Lady. The holy croſs is exactly as hiſtorians deſcribe it, part of it is bloody, they ſay it is the apoſtles blood; I worſhip'd and touch'd my beads, and other that were brought me to it. Our Lady's picture is painted upon board, very beautiful, but the colours ſomewhat decay'd. There they ſaid, it had been found at the ſame time with the croſs, which is a mighty evidence againſt ancient and modern here-ticks, who oppos'd pictures; we worſhip'd, and I touch'd the beads to it. The ſecond maſs being ended, the tabernacle in which thoſe great relicks are kept, was cover'd and lock'd up. The good prieſt made much of us, we ſpent another night there upon the bricks. The bed not being very eaſy, we got a horſeback betimes in the morning; I went to ſay maſs at our Lady of light, there I ſtay'd till evening, being left with only my *Chineſe*, and that holy religious man, for the *German* went home, carrying my horſe with him. We went to ſee the city of *S. Thomas*, the Moors would not let us in; from the gate we ſaw ſome good buildings, the walls are very fine. A gentleman that was with me lamented that

NAVALS very much. The *English* are not so *RETTE*. strong at *Madraspatan*, yet they hold it and are like so to do. What signifie walls and bulwarks, where there is no government? I saw some curious temples of the natives, and wonderful large, deep, and wide ponds, with artificial islands in the middle curiously contriv'd. I walk'd homely along those habitations of infidels, observing what was worthy of it. This was the twenty first of *June*, and on the twenty fourth I was to travel by land.

8. But before I set out it is requisite to observe some things and to know them, not to follow, but reject them. The inhabitants of the city of *S. Thomas* came to be very rich, and consequently grew very proud. It is generally reported of one woman that she grew to that height of vanity, that when she went to church attended by many women-slaves, one went before with a censor perfuming her with burnt-sweets. Can any madness be greater? She had, say they, so many *S. Thomas's*, (they are crown-pieces with the effigies of the apostle) that she measur'd them by the peck. What follows is worse; many told me, (would to God it were a lie, and I had not heard it) that catholic men were pimps to catholic women, with *Mabometans* and *Gentiles*. *F. de Angelis* will do well to note this; A beautiful and honest maid was forc'd out of her father's house, and deliver'd to a *Mabometan*. The king of *Golconda* has a concubine to this day, the daughter of a *Portuguese*. At a procession of the holy week in the city of *S. Thomas*, they drew their swords one against another; a special procession and good example! It was common to permit the infidels to make processions within the walls, and so it was to be godfathers at christnings, and fathers at weddings, in heretick churches along that coast. At *Travancor* one *Portuguese* kill'd another close by the altar, as mass was saying by *F. Michael John*, who had then consecrated, and whom I visited, saw and discours'd with at *Madraspatan*.

9. The *Capuchins* are not below'd by the *Portuguese*, one of them holds some odd opinions. One is, that the apostle *S. Thomas* did not feel our Saviour's wounds, and therefore he does not paint him as we do, but with his hands join'd. I had never heard of any such opinion before. We have in our office an *Antipbon* to this saint, in which are these words: *O Thomas, qui meruisti Christum tangere*, &c. *S. Gregory* in his homily upon this saint particularly mentions it. I had a mind afterwards to be satisfy'd as to this point. I look'd into *Cornelius à Lapide*, who proposes the doubt; and tho' he quotes two or three authors for the negative, yet he proves the affirma-

tive by the common consent of saints and doctors. *Tirino* does the same. Read *Sylveira tom. 5. lib. IX. cap. 5. num. 31.* where he mentions the holy doctors and others. Is not this enough to make a man follow the opinion, if it were only for quietness sake? Neither would he admit of carv'd images in the church. I fancy'd perhaps they might not be us'd in *France*, but was convinced they were.

10. There was a great and scandalous contention about who should be governor of that diocess, two competitors strove for it. *Silva* was one of them, and *Diaz* of *Canara* the other. The latter was at *Trangamba*, the first near *S. Thomas*, and is the same that went with me to the mountain, when I visited that holy place, *F. Pefoa* favour'd him; and the *Franciscan*, *Augustinian*, and *Dominican* fathers having spoke for the other at *Goa*, *Pefoa* said, they were all ignorant fellows. *Pefoa* went away to *Madrasa*, and affirm'd that *Silva* was legally excommunicated by *F. Diaz*, who was the lawful governor. Notwithstanding all this the next day he admitted him to say mass in his church. *Pefoa's* companion sided with *Diaz*. He writ a large paper in defence of *Diaz*, and his opinion, and challeng'd the *French* *Capuchins*, who stood for *Silva*, to dispute that point with them, appointing the *English* preacher judge betwixt them. Was ever the like heard of among the barbarous blacks?

11. *Diaz* took the short cut, and had recourse to the *Mabometan* king of *Golconda* to use force; he sent his officers, who carry'd away with them *F. Sylva*, two jesuits, and above forty *Portuguese* men and women prisoners. They were brought before the king, who bid them chuse one of the two in his presence, and obey him. They did not agree, were cast into prison, where one *Portuguese* kill'd another; they gave very ill example, one jesuit was expell'd the society, some men and women dy'd of the fatigue of the journey. *F. Epbrem* a *Capuchin* assur'd me that above fourscore had been foreworn upon the evangelists in that quarrel.

12. *Diaz* afterwards betook himself to the *English* governor of *Madrasa*, and sought his protection. He solicited the assistance of a *Mabometan* and a Heretick. The dispute is still afoot. I left two governors, I know not whether either of them is dead, this is the only way of adjusting that difference.

13. It is a sad thing to see the *Portuguese* nation, formerly so famous, and dreadful in those parts, now so oppress'd and trampled on by those people.

14. *F. Silva*, the day we were at *S. Thomas* his mount, told me some passages that had

had happen'd made there; which are not all things.

Madrasa. 15. At *Madrasa* master the to instruct the particulars, elements, fire, They adore the *Mabometanism* of the natives have a great say, a certain one of them, horses. The by a cow, and kill no creature

1. WHE make a voyage place, to make pence he had dislike'd. For the sea which he to go to *Goa* by a description of put any man in tho' he had never I fold some ragged books and paper row'd eight pieces *Goa*. I went to ther to beg an told him my w diately with m pagodes of gold, than ten pieces *nara* gave me ough for my j set out, I took before of the pr tors in those pa the natives, who five, and pun command'd. S hundred servants every one has a or two pieces of these come together good night to the mander, and take own homes to be over against the torches in their tle-drums, other play on fifes, and bucklers together of an hour. A

had happen'd at *Goa*, concerning some wills made there; but many things were said, which are not prov'd, we must not believe all things.

15. At *Madrasa* I spoke with the *Mahabar* master the *Capuchins* had at their church to instruct the natives. Inquiring into some particulars, I found that nation owns five elements, fire, earth, water, air, and wind. They adore the sun, moon and stars (tho' *Mahometanism* is introduced there, yet most of the natives stick to their paganism) they have a great reverence for cows. They say, a certain god took flesh upon him in one of them, and that they are that god's horses. The greatest oath kings swear, is by a cow, and they never break it. They kill no creature, undervalue those that eat

them, and despise those of their country *NAVA*-that become *Christians*. The greatest reproach they cast upon a *Christian*, is to tell him, he eats beef. When they are near death, they endeavour to have a cow near at hand, and they clap her fundament as near as they can to the dying person's mouth, that as he breathes out his soul at his mouth it may go in at the cow's back-door. They honour the lion, saying, another god rides on him; and they pay a respect to deer, dogs, mice and kites. Many days they will not break their fast till they have seen a kite. When they yawn they call the dog, snapping their fingers, which is calling of the god that rides upon the dog, who has power to hinder the devil from entering the body when the mouth opens.

CHAP. XXI.

My Journey to Golconda.

1. WHEN we arriv'd at *Madrasa-patan*, our pilot said he would make a voyage to *Tenasser*, or some other place, to make amends for the great expence he had been at; his resolution was dissolv'd. For this reason, and to avoid the sea which had quite tir'd me, I resolv'd to go to *Goa* by land: They gave me such a description of the road, that it would have put any man into the mind of seeing it, tho' he had never so little mind to travel. I fold some rags at a poor rate, left some books and papers with my friends, borrow'd eight pieces of eight to be paid in *Goa*. I went to the *English* governor, rather to beg an alms, than to take my leave; told him my want and design, he immediately with much courtesy gave me five *pagodes* of gold, which amount to little less than ten pieces of eight. A native of *Canara* gave me two, so I thought I had enough for my journey. The day before I set out, I took more notice than I had done before of the practice of the *European* factors in those parts; they are all serv'd by the natives, who are most faithful, submissive, and punctual in doing what they are commanded. Some factors have above a hundred servants; they are very chargeable, every one has a piece of eight and a half, or two pieces of eight wages a month; all these come together in the evening to bid good night to the factor, governor, or commander, and take their leave to go to their own homes to bed. They rank themselves over against the fort; some have lighted torches in their hands, others beat kettle-drums, others sound trumpets, others play on fifes, the rest beat their spears and bucklers together for above a quarter of an hour. After this a great lantern

was put out on the top of the governor's palace; he appear'd at a balcony, they all made him a low bow, and there was an end of the ceremony, which indeed was pleasant enough to see. Those gentlemen take great state upon them, I thought it too much.

2. I bought a horse to carry me my journey for eight pieces of eight, for four I hir'd an ox to carry my *Chinse*, and a *Gentile* who spoke a little *Portuguese*. A poor *Portuguese* went along with me to add to my charge. On *Midsummer-day* at three in the afternoon we set out of *Madrasa*. During this journey, which held me twenty four days, God be praised nothing happen'd amiss. The lodging houses, which they call *chauril*, were not all alike, but all open alike, without any door free to all the world: Nevertheless we always lay quiet and safe, and sometimes in great towns, without being molested by any body in the least, which would be rare among *Christians*. The *Portuguese* had a small leather-bottle ^{Leather-bottle.} for water; they are made at *Golconda*, they would be of no less value in our part than in those hot regions. When the water had been an hour in it, tho' the weather were never so hot, it became so cool, I daily admir'd it anew, and in two or three hours it was very cold; thus we never wanted good drink all the way: I afterwards bought one, which lasted me a long time, and was well worth my money; at *Suratte* I gave it to an *Indian* of *Manila*: they would save a great expence of ice in *Europe*. Our food was not good, for there was nothing but milk, whey, curds and onions; but abundance of these things, as well in towns as on mountains, on which there is abundance of cattle. When we saw a cottage, at the least call out came the shepherds

NAVA- herds with a pot of milk, four of us drank
RETTE. our belly-full for a halfpenny.

3. A very remarkable passage befel me with the *gentile*, who was owner of the ox: He carry'd his pot to dress his meat (so they do all) wrap'd in cloths, and put into a sack: My man touch'd it over the sack, the heathen saw it, and came to me in a rage, complaining that his pot was defil'd, and there was no pacifying of him. At last he pull'd the pot out of the sack, and with wonderful rage dash'd it against the stones, I was forced to buy him another. I said enough to have convinc'd a stock, but those people are harder than steel in the observation of their barbarous customs. There are three ranks or degrees of people in that country: The *banianes* are the nobility and gentry, they are great fasters, and abstain from flesh all their life-time: Their ordinary food is rice, four curds, herbs, and the like. Others are call'd *parianes*, these neither eat nor drink any thing that another has touch'd, nor out of a vessel that another has touch'd, tho' there be many clothes over it. My heathen ox-driver was one of these, he would never eat any thing from my hand, nor drink out of any vessel or mine; he broke the pot because it had been touch'd. Among these *parianes*, there is one sort who are look'd upon by the rest as base and vile people. These on the roads, when they see one of the others, step aside and give them the way: In towns they come not to any body's door but their equals; in the streets as soon as ever they see a man that is not of their own rank, they run or hide themselves. They are despis'd and hated by all men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious persons. I heard say, they had been formerly the noblest people in that country, and that for a piece of treachery they committed they were so cast down; in so much that the others will not admit of them as servants or slaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the house of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole structure. They are the most miserable people in the world; the greatest affront is to call them *Parian*, which is worse than among us dog, and base slave.

4. It is wonderful what numbers of great and small cattle we met with in the fields; I saw two species of sheep and goats, some like those of *Spain*, others much bigger. There are also of those sheep which are in many other parts, and we usually say have five quarters. The goats are vastly taller than ours; the she's had at their throat two little dugs longer than their ears. As the *Egyptians* kept ewes and cows for their milk and wool; so do these people for

the same reason. *A Lapide*, in 47 Gen. v. 17.

5. There are infinite groves of wild palm-trees. At *Manila* they are not minded, and here they are the greatest riches of the earth: They draw from them a great deal of the liquor I said was call'd *Tuba* at *Manila*, which yields them good profit. They also produce a sort of fruit which I saw not in any other place, and is like snow, the coolest thing in the world. It is wonderful to see what woods there are of tamarine-trees, we often travel'd a considerable way under their shade. I gather'd the berries as I rode, and eat them with a gust. Near them we often found stately ponds all of stone; when it rains they fill up to the top and that water lasts all the dry season; there travellers stop, rest, drink, and water their beasts. They told me they were the work of great and rich heathens, who being mov'd to compassion seeing there was no water for travellers in several places, had caus'd those ponds to be made to supply this defect and want.

6. The tamarine trees are planted very regularly; the natives make use of their shade to weave their webs in it, sheltered from the sun. Their houses are little and dark, they cannot see in them to weave so fine, nor is there room for the looms, therefore they have provided that shade for this purpose. They make much use of the fruit in dressing their diet.

7. We also saw stately and antient temples, and wonderful mosques of the *Mabometans*. The further we travel'd the greater towns we met with; in some of them there was a mighty concourse of passengers, horses, elephants, and abundance of camels, which in that country carry all burdens. The *Mabometans* travel with great state; the governors of large towns had royal attendance: They were always very civil to me, I had occasion to speak to one of them; I took off my hat, he would not hear a word till I was cover'd and sat down by him. In some places I met *Persians* and *Armenians*, fine men, graceful, tall, well-shap'd, very courteous, they have the best horses in the world.

8. About the middle of *July*, near a town, we found a little brook so clear and cool we were surpris'd at it; I guess'd the spring was near; we drank unmercifully, and our diet being slender it did us harm, but me particularly; we were forc'd to stay a day there. Next day a scorpion stung the *Portuguese*; I really thought he would have dy'd, and this somewhat retarded our journey. We came to a river so wide and deep, that the horse who was but small, could not carry me over: It was some hardship, for we waded with the water up to our

our breasts; *Portuguese* a cry out, the it was so, we him off: Afte so deep; for papers and lett ing him to be he in the river carry'd in the cern'd at this some measure the sun, and being of extra the more; in hours. To me towards to a la we must cross i so unlucky that with my walle I gave all for lo and los of tim triev'd.

9. By the wa a good preferec very fine, his was going to c had with him fe well adorn'd wi was the second when we stop'd, view of him: T afternoon; as h his governor spo I did not underfl shew'd what he fac'd me, and m bowing all his them give him pen'd a native, was going to pal up the elephant and gently gave head, which sou the ear. The man stagger'd backw had been besides brought him to from the mounta elephant though so near him, a warn'd the man u was much astoni

10. After this ver, the boat wa they had swam a the boat; and he the boat down th the shore, broke the fields; his dr but the elephant hold of him wic into the air, of w two other ferries to Vol. I.

Scorp.

hry-
huti.

our breasts; the current was rapid, the *Portuguese* a poor heartless man began to cry out, the water carry'd him away; and it was so, we had all enough to do to bring him off. After this we pass'd another not so deep; for more safety I deliver'd the papers and letters I had to my man, charging him to be very careful: No sooner was he in the river, but he fell, and left all he carry'd in the water. I was much concern'd at this misfortune; to remedy it in some measure, I laid all the papers in the sun, and some *Chinese* books, which being of extraordinary fine paper suffer'd the more; in this place we spent some hours. To mend the matter we came afterwards to a lake, the *Gentile* was positive we must cross it to shorten the way; I was so unlucky that my horse fell, and I too, with my wallets that carry'd the papers; I gave all for lost, tho' with some trouble and loss of time all was reasonably retriev'd.

9. By the way we met a *Pagan* youth of a good presence; the horse he rode on was very fine, his attendance numerous; he was going to court to be marry'd, and had with him for state a mighty elephant, well adorn'd with clothes and bells. This was the second I had seen till that time; when we stop'd, I drew near to take a full view of him: This I did particularly one afternoon; as soon as I came near him, his governor spoke one word to him which I did not understand; but the consequence shew'd what he had said, for he presently fac'd me, and made a profound reverence, bowing all his four feet at once; I saw them give him meat and drink. It happen'd a native, without reflecting on it, was going to pass before him; as he came up the elephant stretch'd out his trunk, and gently gave him a blow on the forehead, which sounded like a good cuff on the ear. The man's colour chang'd, and he stagger'd backward a good way as if he had been besides himself. Our laughing brought him to himself, and he kept off from the mountain of flesh. I fancy'd the elephant thought it unmannerly to go by so near him, and therefore he friendly warn'd the man to look before he leap'd. I was much astonish'd at what I had seen.

10. After this we came to a mighty river, the boat was lost the day before, for they had swam an elephant over, ty'd to the boat; and he growing angry, carry'd the boat down the river; then he got to the shore, broke the rope, and ran about the fields; his driver went to catch him, but the elephant being still in a fury, took hold of him with his trunk, cast him up into the air, of which he died. There are two other ferries there, and the comicallest

that can be imagin'd; they were round wicker baskets, cover'd without with cow's hides; we hired one, put in all our baggage, more people came up, and fourteen passengers of us went into it; the horse and ox swam, we holding by the halters; we struck afloat over, and sail'd a quarter of a league whilst one might say the creed three or four times. The current was violent, we all quak'd for fear, and were cram'd together without the least motion. We landed, I paid our passage, the owner took his basket out of the water, and clapping it on his head, walk'd up the river to carry over to the town others that waited for him.

11. Four leagues short of the court we stop'd at a great town which they call the *Queen's Palace*. The mother or grandmother of the king then reigning had built that sumptuous palace, from which the town took its name. We could not go in, but the front and all we could see of it might vie with the best in *Europe*: Before it is a square not inferior to any in *Spain*. We went to a most beautiful and spacious court almost square; in the midst of which was a stone mosque well built, with a porch before it. The court is like a cloister, arch'd all round except where the gates interrupt it. At every six foot distance there are stone arches, and in the hollow of the six foot there is a fine cell within vaulted like the rest, and all white as snow. I counted a hundred and eighteen cells in all, well contriv'd, and curious and exact windows and doors. The floor was very hard plaister; those rooms were for the king's followers, when they came thither to divert themselves. The square was in the same nature, but had a storey above which the court had not.

12. In one corner there was a door which led to a large and deep pond cut out of the said rock, with stairs cut in the same stone to go down for water, all we passengers drank that water; I don't doubt but what we saw cost many millions. I would have seen the mosque, but as I was going in a *Moor* came out, who would have thrown me down the stairs and said nothing, but desisted. Before I came to this town, and from thence to court, I took notice of another thing of which the *Portuguese* had given me a hint, and was, that I saw several parcels of horses, mules and asses, loaded with the *tuba* of the palm-trees I have mention'd, all running as fast as they could; and the drivers, who strain'd their hearts, with their lashes took care the beasts should not stop a moment. This they do that the liquor may come sweet before it sours; abundance of it is consum'd at court, especially

NAVA-
COWS RETTE.

NAVA- especially the *Mabometan* women drink much
RETTE. of it. The drink is very pleasant, it would
take more at *Madrid* than mead or sherbet.
Those people say the king's greatest revenue comes out of it.

13. To save time and charges we did not go through a great gate of the court, all that come in through these gates, wait for leave from some great men, have all they carry search'd and pay duties. I was not concern'd for the search, though something must be always given. We went almost two leagues about, which was a great trouble; nevertheless we pass'd three custom-houses, but they said not a word to us. Being come to the fourth, they talk'd big to us, but were satisfied with a few pence. Half a league further we came to the place where they fold horses, there was a pleasant grove, divided by four large and

spacious walks, in which were abundance of people, and very fine horses, which they rode about to shew them. Then we pass'd a river, and saw a multitude of people on the bank; we drew near, and it prov'd to be the funeral of a young woman, who lay barefac'd on the bier, very well set out and adorn'd with flowers; next to the corpse were musicians and dancers. There was one (perhaps the husband) whose body was dy'd of several colours, and he skip'd and made a thousand motions. Other ancients wept when a child was born, and rejoic'd at its death, so did those we saw. At last we came to a little church, where one *Martinez* a *Portuguese* priest resided; he receiv'd me with all possible kindness, and great tokens of affection. There I rested a little, but not so much as I had need.

CHAP. XXII.

My Stay at Golconda, and Journey to Musulapatan.

1. I Was inform'd there was in those parts one *D. Felix Enriquez*, a native of *Madrid*, whom I had been acquainted with in the apothecary's shop of *S. Paul* at *Valladolid*, tho' I could not call to mind his name. He was physician and surgeon to the king's army there. I presently sent him a note, his answer was very civil, next day I went to his house. It is a long league from the city to the forts, where the king is always close for fear of his subjects, as I was told. The road, besides its being very plain and broad, was so full of people, that there were scarce more in the cities of *China*, all of them clad as white as snow, most afoot, several in half coaches, half carts, drawn by oxen, and well cover'd, and many on mules; some *Persians* and *Moors* excellently mounted, and well attended. Some great men were carry'd in rich and sightly palanquines, instead of umbrellas they use large shields gilt and painted of several colours, the servants carry them on their arms, and lifting them up defend their masters from the sun. They carry plumes of peacocks feathers with the quills stuck in silver, which serve to drive the flies away, they are properly fans. All the *European* captains and factors in those countries make the same use of those feathers. It all look'd to me like court-grandeur. There were about that place abundance of great and lesser elephants, I was much diverted with the sight of them, and admir'd their motion; I rode upon a good horse, and had much ado to keep up with their walk.

Elephants.

2. I took notice that there was abundance of people on the one side of the way,

and that more continually flock'd to them. I ask'd the black that went with me, what it meant? He answer'd, Father, the saints of this country are there. I drew near, and saw they were men quite naked, as if they had liv'd in the state of innocence; perhaps they were *Adamites*. Their habitations were on certain mountains, whence the men came down at certain times to beg alms. They walk'd among the people stark naked, like brute beasts. When I return'd to the church I saw them again, and women looking at them very devoutly. Presently I discover'd a sumptuous palace, and beautiful towers and pinnacles all cover'd with lead. The palace of *Sergovia* is not more beautiful, I admir'd nothing so much in that country, methought I was looking upon *Madrid*. I came up to the great fort where the king's apartment is; I went not in, but it had a fine outside, and look'd great, the walls were strong and stor'd with cannon, the situation high, the ditches wide and deep. They told me the king had nine hundred concubines within there, and among them the *Portuguese* woman of *S. Thomas* I mention'd above. Next I met some *Portuguese* who expected me, many of them serv'd in that king's army for bread. They carry'd me to *D. Felix*'s house, which was very little, low, and inconvenient, like the rest of the commonalty. He receiv'd me very lovingly and truly, I knew him again, tho' I had not seen him in twenty four years, he had a good mark to be known by. He gave me an account of part of his life, had been in *Ceylon* physician to the *Dutch*, marry'd there, left his wife at *Columbo*, and went

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went over to *Madraſſapatan*, was there phyſician to the *Engliſh*, and then went to *Golconda*, where he received the king's pay, twenty pieces of eight a month, beſides what he made of his ſalves. Hard by was a mighty army commanded by the great *Nababo*, (that is as much as the great duke of that kingdom) he was an eunuch and man of great parts, he govern'd all; the king kept in it *Mabomet's* paradise among women, muſick, dancing, and other ſports, all unbecoming the duty of a king. It is a ſhameful thing, ſays *S. Thomas de Eruditiſ*. *Princ. lib. 1. cap. 10.* that he who is lord over others, ſhould be a ſlave to his ſenſes. And talking of muſick, he tells how *Antigonus* maſter or preceptor to *Alexander* the great broke his lute, and ſaid, He that is of age to reign, may be aſham'd to be ſubject to theſe paſſions. The ſaint has much very good to this purpoſe. The king of *Golconda* lives in worldly pleaſures and paſtimes, without the leaſt regard to the government, having committed the whole charge of it to the great *Nababo*; what can this king expect but what *Job* ſays, *cap. xxi.* *They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the ſound of the organ: They ſpend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to hell?* The moment that puts an end to their pleaſures, begins their eternal torments. What an unhappy and wretched caſe! The ſame will befall all that follow ſuch a courſe. There cannot be a double glory, that of the life to come is not the conſequence of the worldly. The words of *Tertullian* are common: *After gall the honey-comb.* *Chriſt* taſted not the ſweetneſs of honey till he had gone thro' the bitterneſs of his paſſion. What can be the conſequence of dancing, muſick, plays, feaſting, and the pleaſures of this life, but the neglect of one's duty, forgetfulneſs of one's ſoul, and future calamities? The *Chinese* is much more vigilant and careful of the government, and if he forgets himſelf, they mind and reprove him, as appears in the ſecond book. Two years before this one of the *Nababo's* teeth dropt out, he ſent it with ſix thouſand ducats to *Mocca* an offering to *Mabomet's* rotten bones. At this time another dropt out, and it was reported he would ſend it with ſix thouſand more. He order'd a temple to be built, which I ſaw, but it was not yet finiſh'd, becauſe they ſaid he had dream'd he ſhould die when the building was finiſh'd, ſo he order'd the work to ceaſe. He was then ninety years of age, pay'd the ſoldiers punctually, and gave the *Persians* great wages. In that country there is abundance of very fine ſilver, and they ſay abundance of rich diamonds, I was aſſur'd the *Mabometians* gave above fifty thouſand ducats for ſome.

3. I diſcourſed *D. Felix* about my journey to *Goa*, he repreſented it very eaſy; others objected difficulties, and no doubt but there were enough, eſpecially in going from one kingdom to another. Next day I ſaid maſs in a chapel the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers and ſome mungrels and blacks had there. They gave me to underſtand it would pleaſe them I ſhould ſtay there three months, till it were time to go away to *Goa*, and they offer'd to aſſiſt me according to their power, which was ſmall. I had certainly ſtay'd there, had not what I ſhall write preſently happen'd and I believe it had gone but ill with me. I went that afternoon to ſee the *Dutch* factor, for whom I had a letter. I went on *D. Felix* his horſe, which was better than mine. I again obſerv'd what I had ſeen before, and again was aſtoniſh'd at the multitude and diverſity of people. I croſs'd all the capital city, which is very large, and in it at ſmall diſtances excellent buildings, and innumerable multitudes of people. The great ſquare was very beautiful; the royal palace, an admirable ſtructure, fills one ſide of it. They ſhew'd me a glaz'd balcony, and told me the king ſometimes ſhew'd himſelf there to his ſubjects. It was a long time before I came to the *Dutch* factory. Thoſe men had a fine palace there, and richly furniſh'd. The factor was a mungrel begot on a *Japanese* woman, and ſhew'd it in his carriage. We diſcourſ'd a while with a great deal of coldneſs on his ſide; the *European* *Hollanders* did not ſerve me ſo, and this appear'd preſently, for within half an hour another *Dutchman* came out of a room who was infinitely obliging; he gave me *cha* of *China* to drink, and ſome of the wine they made there, he courteouſly ſhew'd me the orchards, gardens, and a ſtately bath. There I was inform'd of the great modeſty and reſervedneſs of the women of that country, not much inferior to that of *China*, as they told me. A great ſhame for *European* *Chriſtian* women.

4. When I took my leave he aſk'd me, Whether I had viſited the *French* that were in that city? I anſwer'd I had not, not thought of it, becauſe I knew none of them, nor had any buſineſs with them. He earneſtly deſir'd me to viſit them, I did all I could to excuſe my ſelf, but ſtill he urg'd it. I to avoid that viſit, wherein my happineſs then conſiſted, ſaid, Sir, I neither know their houſe, nor have I any body to conduct me to it. I'll ſend a ſervant of mine, ſaid he, to wait upon the father, and ſhew him the houſe. There was no withſtanding it any longer, I went thither directly, they receiv'd me with ſingular kindneſs and affection; brought out fruits of *Persia*, dates, almonds, ſiſine,

NAVY-fins, and other things of the country. RETTE. They treated me well, I thank'd them, and took leave. They would not suffer me to be gone presently, so we held on our discourse. The director spoke good *Spanish*, he had been several times at *Cadix*, and carry'd millions of pieces of eight from thence into *France*, and told me how he dealt with our ships and ashore. It is a shame to see how many officers manage the king's business. He freely offer'd me passage in his ship as far as *Suratte*, and thence into *Europe*, with all the accommodation his people could afford me. I went back to lie at the church, and he sent me in his palanquine with twenty four servants to attend me. Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to *Goa*, and that the difficulty every day increased, because a rebel whose name was *Subagi* rang'd those countries with a powerful army; I made those gentlemen a second visit, and finding a fit opportunity accepted of the favour they offer'd me. They assur'd me they had orders from their king to be assisting to the missionaries, and that they went to *India* for that purpose. There is no doubt but the end is very good and holy.

Subagi.

5. We left the royal city on the 28th of *July*, there went twenty two carts loaden with goods and necessaries for the journey, six officers of the company a horseback, four stately *Perfian* ¹/₂ horses with rich furniture: One of them dy'd by the way, that had cost five hundred pieces of eight: Four colours, four trumpets, four waits, two kettle-drums, sixty servants, and five palanquines, with five or six men to carry each of them, it was a train for a king. We cross'd a wide but shallow river, there were a great many elephants wading in it. We observ'd with how much ease those mountains of flesh tumbled in the water, and started up again. All the carts were covered with oil'd cloths, so that not a drop of rain-water came through. The palanquines had the same covering. There is no such easy way of travelling in the world. We pass'd through the middle of the royal city with all that noise, attendance and musick, and went to lie at a stately orchard. Half a league of the way was among fine trees, the rest of the way very plain and easy. We came to a noble stone-palace, which had beautiful halls, rooms, and balconies, and much ornament in several curious riches, with several figures of plaster and stone. The orchard was vastly big, full of abundance of fruit-trees and innumerable oranges and limons. The walks were wide and very clean, with ponds at distances, and water-works continually playing; it appear'd to me a place fit for any prince. Two days we

stay'd there, and spent the time in observing, at leisure, what I have writ in short.

6. My company carry'd good provision and plenty, which made the way easy to me, and made amends for the want I endur'd in my journey to the royal city, whence we now came. One morning we came to a place, where there was the liquor of palms I spoke of in the last chap. ^{Palm li.} ter; we drank to our hearts content, it ^{was} as cold as ice, and sweeter than honey; it did us much good, for it purg'd us to the purpose. We pass'd over a mighty river with some trouble but on the further side found the best olives in the world, for a penny a pound. It is incredible what quantities of delicate painted and plain calicoes there were in every town, they came out to the roads to offer and press us to buy.

7. In every town we found women that play'd on musick and danced. There are certain women there, who alone can follow this trade, for which they pay a duty to the king. When any guests of note come, they presently repair to their house, make their obeisance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dress'd, and had gold and silver enough about them, spent two or three hours in this exercise, were well paid, and went their ways. I was seldom present at these entertainments, but indeed they were worth seeing and hearing.

8. It was also very common to meet with many tumblers that shew'd tricks of activity; they have no settled place of abode, but ramble up and down like gypsies. Sometimes we met them under the trees in the field, sometimes near towns in the barracks made of wicker, which they always carry about with them. As soon as they see any likely people, they make to them, and offer to shew their activity; then they set up their sticks and canes, and play wonderful tricks. Both the men and women would certainly be much admir'd in *Europe*. Two women, one old and the other young, did such things in a town, as amaz'd us all. One man besides many strange tricks, took a stone betwixt his teeth; his companions threw others up, which he catch'd in his mouth without ever missing a jot; afterwards he lay'd it upon one eye, and on it receiv'd the others that fell from above, and never mis'd in all the time. Another thing astonish'd us yet more, and we thought the devil had a hand in it, he ty'd a stone of about a quarter of a hundred weight to a stick which had another cross it; he alone laying hold of the stick with one hand held up the stone in the air, and kept it without the least motion; then he put together eight or ten men, and gave them the stick to hold as he had done, and they

they could never all their strength them all down. what art that bla we saw with our

Scots
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9. There are a make a trade of c dance; they are r feathers on their he their body, all na and daub'd with carry a little trun two baskets cover of hideous snakes call'd, open their pet sounds the s motions with their times they cling t thigh, and set the of them whose b had been pink'd b way of getting the dreadful to me to give them a half snakes return to the go. I observ'd sev they catch'd and they roll'd them moveable; and the they never stirr'd w ed. Some were th they say those th nointed with the ju tho' they bit they There are others and get their livin

10. One night one of the beaut

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1. THE city c all along it is seated sixty le a very populous p The *English* and *French* have conf Some years ago b one too. Some *Blacks*, who are ca have a little chur ther of the orde *English* and *Dutch* themselves from t tled there, and The climate is v They said, the h was intolerable. in wheat, rice, and fruit, all at r with my *Chinese* where I said mas

they could never bear it up tho' they put all their strength to it, but the stone bore them all down. We could never find out what art that black us'd to do that which we saw with our eyes.

9. There are another sort of men, who make a trade of carrying about snakes that dance; they are ridiculously dress'd, wear feathers on their heads, and little bells about their body, all naked but their privy-parts, and daub'd with several colours. They carry a little trumpet in their hand, and two baskets cover'd on their shoulders full of hideous snakes; they go where they are call'd, open their baskets, and as the trumpet sounds the snakes rise, using several motions with their bodies and heads; sometimes they cling to their master's arm, or thigh, and set their teeth in it. I saw one of them whose body was all over as if it had been pink'd by the snakes. A strange way of getting their living! At first it was dreadful to me to see that dancing. They give them a half-penny or a penny, the snakes return to their baskets, and away they go. I observ'd several times, that as soon as they catch'd and laid them in the basket, they roll'd themselves up and remain'd immoveable; and tho' they open'd the basket, they never stirr'd without the trumpet sound'd. Some were thicker than a man's wrist, they say those that carry'd them were anointed with the juice of several herbs, so that tho' they bit they could do them no harm. There are others who have dancing cows, and get their living by them.

10. One night we lay in an idol-temple, one of the beautifullest in the world; it

had jasper-stone and marble, as curiously *NAVA-* wrought as any in *Italy*, and three chapels dedicated to three gods. There were in it some cows cut in stone as black as jet, and as lively as possible. The priest came to us, and we discours'd him with the help of some servants of the *French* company, who spoke several languages. He gave a very bad account of the origin of those three gods, made them all men, and said they came thither upon the waters of the sea from very far countries, and had produced the world. We objecting, how it could be made out that they had produced the world when there was before them a sea, and other countries from whence they came thither; He answer'd, It was so written in their books. Speaking of the parents of his gods, he asserted they were of other countries and we answering, Then there were men before those gods; he laugh'd and said, I say nothing but what is in this book. Two leagues short of *Musulapatan* we found a great many *Frenchmen* in a noble orchard, expecting their director and companions. There was musick, dancing, and a plentiful entertainment. That afternoon we went into the city, it was the eighth of *August*, past over a wooden-bridge, little less than half a league in length, a wonderful crowd of people came out to see us. *English, Dutch, Persians, Armenians, Portugueses, Mungrels, Mabometans, Gentiles, Blacks* and natives, were all spectators. The factory was a stately large house, the people many in number. There was a great confusion that night, however we had some rest.

CHAP. XXIII.

My Stay at Musulapatan.

1. **T**HE city of *Musulapatan* is famous all along the coast of *Coromandel*, it is seated sixty leagues north of *Madrasa*, a very populous place, and of great trade. The *English* and *Dutch*, and at present the *French* have considerable factories there. Some years ago besides these the *Danes* had one too. Some *Portugueses, Mungrels* and *Blacks*, who are catholicks, live there, and have a little church where there was a father of the order of *S. Augustin*. Some *English* and *Dutch*, who have discharg'd themselves from their companies, have settled there, and live with their families. The climate is very bad and unhealthy. They said, the heat from *August* till *April* was intolerable. All that country abounds in wheat, rice, sheep, hens, geese, fish, and fruit, all at reasonable rates. I stay'd with my *Chinese* in the *French* factory, where I said mass to them every day, and

din'd and sup'd at their table; they treated me in health and a small sickness I had, with extraordinary kindness, love, and affection. Afterwards some *Frenchmen* fell sick; and I assisted them with a great deal of care and good will. The ship that was to sail for *Surat* lay six leagues lower at *Rospor*, it was to be sheath'd, and they had not yet began to work upon it, which troubled me extremely, and I repented my leaving the *Portuguese* ship, which I was inform'd was bound for *Goa*.

2. There were in the factory abundance of monkeys, which serv'd to divert us, sometimes they would be as furious as lions, sometimes they play'd, and did a thousand tricks. After dinner they commonly carry'd them to a large pond in the middle of a great court. It was pleasant to see what pranks they play'd there, they swam just like men, and would leap

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into

NAVY- into the water, dive and come up again RETTE. exactly like them. They had also a little deer, which a servant fed with milk, he once amaz'd us all. The servant came into the court, the deer saw, and immediately went to him; it was beyond all belief how he made much of and caref'd him; he would leap up on both sides, lick his hands and feet, and put his nose to the man's face, all tokens of gratitude for the kindness he receiv'd from him. Good God, how even wild and savage beasts teach us gratitude! *F. Mascarenhas* the *Augustinian* kept the feast of the nativity of our Lady and the Octave, and it was perform'd with all imaginable solemnity; all the catholicks resorted to it, and I gave a sermon. About that time arriv'd ships loaded with elephants. One *Mahometan* merchant alone brought thirty in one ship, which is a mighty stock; they carry them up the country, where they sell them at great rates, and get much by them.

3. There were two directors in the factory; one whose name was *Macara*, an *Armenian*, had been at *Rome*, *Florence* and *Paris*. This man procur'd the settling the factory at *Goleonda*, under the same privileges the *Dutch* and *English* enjoy'd; He was a catholick, and had a son and nephew both catholicks. The other was a *Frenchman* of the territory of *Roan*, his name *Francis Gousson*; he had orders from the director general residing at *Suratte*, to apprehend *Macara*, on account of expences he had made. He being a stranger, and those who had been his friends become his enemies, because he knew not how to preserve their friendship; every body was against him, which he was sensible of, and therefore was jealous, and fearful of what happen'd. He might have prevented it by staying at *Goleonda* among his country-men and *Mahometans* of note, who had a kindness for him. I told him so afterwards, he was sensible of his error and all his repentance could not mend it. In short upon *S. Matthew's* day, after baptizing a godson of his with great solemnity, they seiz'd him with a great deal of noise, and seiz'd his son. *Macara's* servants fled, and gave an account of what had happen'd to the *Moorish* governor of the city. The *French* immediately sent advice to the captain of their ship to be upon his guard, and it stood them in good stead, for without it the ship had fallen into the governor's hands. Next day he sent three hundred men commanded by the supreme civil magistrate to beset the factory, hinder any provisions from being carry'd in, and by that oblige them to set *Macara* at liberty. The *French* took up arms, which was a rashness in a strange country, where they

had no force, nor so much as a ship in the harbour. They fell to blows; a handsome young *Frenchman*, and good Christian, was kill'd, and another much wounded. Of the infidels four or five were slain, and several wounded; this made a great uproar. The governor seeing the fury and resolution of the *French*, caus'd his men to draw off, and sent to acquaint his king with what had happen'd; the *French* sent too. Whilst the answer came back, they arm'd themselves very well, and provided fire arms, which the *English* and some other friends lent them underhand. The governor was for composing the matter, and would have them send some persons of note to his house, or me. The *French* were afraid to trust him. As for me, they answer'd I was a *Spaniard*, and no way concern'd nor understood that affair. It was fear'd they might attack us in the night, and fire the house. I was not a little concern'd for it, but much more to see my voyage, which I was so eager upon, obstructed.

4. The director was dispos'd, these troubles made him worse, so that in eight days he dy'd on *Michaelmas* day, having receiv'd the sacraments. I lost more than any man, because he had a particular kindness for me. I was also much oblig'd to him that succeeded in the post. His funeral was great; First went two horses in mourning, then the kettle-drums and trumpets making a doleful sound, above a hundred servants *Portuguese* with lights in their hands; I went along with only one *Frenchman*, the rest stay'd to secure the house and themselves; the *Dutch* and *English* attended the funeral. The body was left in the church till eight at night. The tide flow'd, and we went over in boats to an island, which is the catholick burying-place. Those people will not allow any to be buried in towns.

5. The king's answer came, he order'd no words should be made about those that had been kill'd on both sides, and that the *French* if they pleas'd might carry away *Macara*, but should pay what he ow'd, which amounted to two thousand ducats. Several odd things happen'd during that time, which I would here relate if I had more leisure. The country is singular, and there being such diversity of nations, there falls out something new every day, among *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Moor*s, &c. That city resembles *Babel* in the variety of tongues, and difference of garbs and customs, but I lik'd the natural inclination of them all. I sometimes went to the church, which was a considerable distance from the factory, met several sorts of people by the way, and they were all courteous and civil. I talk'd with some *English* and *Dutch*, visited them, because it was necessary, and

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found them very some no less in to take their leave board; one of talk'd a long while interest at *Suratte* he said to me with mission, Father, but I beg the favour was surpriz'd as are a heretick as why would you ply'd, That's that I beg you would on. He press'd him his blessing, which he requir'd went his way. churchmen. Very cautious of people for they told me two pa

1. IN the way several different of religion betwixt them to be all were not all so, of that nature but *Portuguese*. Several *Macara*, who were some maintain'd others that they d he was of. He catholick to me, said the Rosary, he said unto me, to serve God, a Christian, God but declin'd when since I neglected a Christian, and has punish'd me. Hence I took of hort him to p They treated him ing him the me They examin'd a with four pistols not the truth, he him say, as he ow director was his and a great here

2. There was whose name was upon him as pr had grounds to t tracted friendship many things I w He was a good ge

found them very obliging in words, and some no less in their actions. Two came to take their leave, the night we went aboard; one of them took me aside, we talk'd a long while, he offer'd me all his interest at *Surat*: when we were parting, he said to me with much humility and submission, Father, I know I am a heretick; but I beg the favour of your blessing. I was surpris'd and answer'd, Sir, if you are a heretick and design to continue so, why would you have my blessing? He reply'd, That's true, Father; but for all that I beg you will grant me this satisfaction. He press'd very earnestly, I gave him my blessing, spoke a few words to him, which he requited by embracing me, and went his way. I heard them censure some churchmen. We ought all of us to be very cautious of our carriage among such people for they pry into every action. They told me two passages, and one of them

very trivial, at which they were very much scandaliz'd; but they do not reflect upon their own heinous faults they commit every day; yet this is no excuse for us, who ought so to order our lives, that they seeing our actions might glorify God the author and cause of all good.

6. It pleas'd God our ship came, in two days all was ship'd, and I had thought it would have taken up eight at least; the weather was calm, which help'd to expedite our business. On the 17th of October, at eleven at night, we went aboard; I had so much interest, as to get three *Portugueses* in. The night was so dark, we had much ado to find the ship. That very night we sail'd, all of us well pleas'd to leave that base country, and draw near to *Europe*. From that place, according to the course we took, it is above six thousand leagues. Being upon a fresh voyage, it is requisite to begin a new chapter.

C H A P. XXIV.

My Voyage to Surat, and other remarkable Occurrences.

1. IN the way from *Golconda*, I heard several disputes concerning matters of religion between *Frenchmen*, I took them to be all catholics; doubtless they were not all so, for I never heard any thing of that nature between *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*. Several reports went concerning *Macara*, who was prisoner in our ship; some maintain'd he was half a *Mabometan*, others that they did not know what religion he was of. He always own'd himself a catholic to me, and so heard mass, and said the Rosary, but upon several occasions he said unto me, Father, whilst I took care to serve God, and perform'd the duty of a Christian, God assisted me, and I throve, but declin'd when I fell off; it is some time since I neglected all things that belong to a Christian, and therefore I believe God has punish'd me, and I am now in irons. Hence I took occasion to comfort and exhort him to patience in his sufferings. They treated him too cruelly, not allowing him the means of defending himself. They examin'd and laid things to his charge with four pistols at his breast; he answer'd, not the truth, but what they would have him say, as he own'd to me. The general director was his mortal enemy, his judge, and a great heretick.

2. There was a youth in the factory, whose name was *Portia*, all the rest look'd upon him as proud and haughty, and I had grounds to believe him so. He contracted friendship with me, and told me many things I was no way concern'd with. He was a good grammarian, lov'd reading,

had some books, and among them *Matthiavel* and *Bodin*, which he study'd more than the rest. He was for reducing all religion to policy, like the *Chinejes*, and those authors. I often told him my mind friendly, and sometimes hastily, for I thought him ill grounded in matters of faith. At *Surat* he went aboard a ship that had no chaplain, and dy'd by the way to *Madagascar*, where the ship took harbour, as ours did. I was much troubl'd at it, but something comforted, because they told me he had prepar'd himself for death.

3. I often heard it said at *Musulapatan*, that the *French* own'd no superior but God and their king. Upon which I us'd to call them schismatics, for not owning the *Pope*. They answer'd they did in some things, but not as the *Spaniards* did, who dreaded his censures. This I took as an honour. Those *French* were merchants and no divines, they knew not how to distinguish betwixt the spiritual and temporal power.

4. Some divines at *Paris* in May 1614 sign'd the following propositions. 1. That the king of *France* holds his dominions of God and the sword only. 2. That the king in his dominions owns no superior but God. 3. That the *Pope* cannot interdict the king, nor absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance. 4. That the *Pope* has no authority direct or indirect, mediate or immediate, coactive or coercive over the king, upon any account whatsoever.

5. One *Molsefe* said in my hearing, that God was cruel in making the pains of hell everlasting;

NAVARETTE. everlasting; and why should he condemn them for sins of the flesh, which were natural to man? And that since man in comparison with God was less than an ant, why should he be offended at them? And tho' they offended, why should he damn them eternally? I was much provok'd, and told him my mind, but less than he deserv'd. He said he was a catholick, and his father a heretick, but his words prov'd him a liar, as to himself. Many of them learn grammar, and thrust themselves into higher sciences. The quality of a grammarian, says *Spondanus*, is pride, that sets them against God himself, which is the property of that horrid vice. There was an antient error, that God did not punish sensuality, and this *Molsefe* follow'd it. *S. Paul*, *Heb. xiii.* condemns it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God shall judge.* Read *S. Thomas* on this place, *lett. 1.* For the rest he would revive *Origen's* error, who said the pains of hell should have an end; which *CHRIST* condemns, saying, *They shall go into everlasting fire.* The hereticks of these times do not maintain the extravagancies that man did.

6. It is fit to say something of the great Mogol. He that now reigns, put his father in prison, where he dy'd, and he usurp'd the crown. This man has a son who governs a province eight days journey from *Golconda*, towards *Bengala*, which properly belongs to the prince, who designs to follow the example his father set him, and get all into his own hands. *Antony Coelho* a *Portuguese*, who had serv'd under him, told me he had already two hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot. A brave army, if they are but good men. He designs to join in league with the rebel *Subagi*, who is very great and powerful. I mention'd in another place, how he attack'd the territory of *Goa*, and carry'd away two or three thousand Christians and a *Franciscan*. He sent to demand of the viceroy of *Goa*, to make good a ship of his the *Portuguese* had taken. The viceroy was in a passion, and beat his ambassador, an action no body could approve of. The *English* governor of *Madraspatan* told me that infidel would make war upon *Goa* by sea and land, and make slaves of all the *Portuguese* men and women he could light of. *Subagi* may do it, and the *Mogol* better, but he will not take small things in hand. The king of *Golconda* is more to be fear'd, because *Coromandel* and all those coasts are subject to him. This being a considerable point, an account of it was sent several ways to *Goa* and *Madras*.

7. I heard much of the kingdom of *Bengala* as to its fruitfulness and plenty of corn, rice, sheep, cows, fruit, silk, and

cotton. This country, as I said, belongs to the great *Mogol's* eldest son. There are in it fathers of the order of *S. Augustin*, who administer to the *Portuguese*, and *Mungrels*. Some of these are of note, and wear the badge of the order of knighthood of *CHRIST*, but are basely used by the natives, for the least matter they drive them to prison with a cudgel. There are also *Indians* of *Manila* in that country, I saw one at *Musulapatan*; I said at *Lisbon*, there was no need of carrying people to *India* because there were infinite numbers dispersed thro' those countries; but the secretary of state answer'd me, Will it be easy to bring those together that are scatter'd abroad? I reply'd, It would not, for they all fled from *Goa*, where they wanted bread; but if he would allow them a sufficient maintenance, they would rather serve their own king, than infidels and hereticks, as they did for want.

8. The *Mogol* is a mighty prince, his *Mogol* dominions are vastly large, his people numberless, his wealth inexhaustible. A *Portuguese*, who had serv'd in his army at *Agra*, which is the seat of the court, assur'd me, he had three hundred thousand horse there besides other vast numbers. Some years since on the same day he declar'd war against the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Portuguese*. What more could *Alexander* the great have done? He has many tributary kings under him; and it is not long ago that the king of *Golconda* having conquer'd the empire of *Narsinga*, which had been famous in those parts, the *Mogol* took it from him, and it still continues under his dominion. The *Mogol's* dominions extend above three hundred leagues in length.

9. I was told that at *Isfahan*, the *Per-Sophi* *Iran* court, there were missionaries of the orders of *S. Augustin*, *Carmalites*, *Jesuits*, and *Capuchins*. They do no good upon the natives, but serve the *Armenians* that are there, who are made very small account of. The emperor sometimes goes out to *Pecorcia*, but first orders the *Armenians* to repair to such or such a place; the women stay at home, and the emperor goes to sport and divert himself with them. They that are grounded in the love of God, have a good opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. A *Capuchin* father is in great esteem at that court, on account of the mathematics. Let him have a care he comes not off as *F. Adams* did in *Cbina*.

10. In the year 1663, when I was at *Rome*, there came thither two *Armenian* religious men of my order, who brought letters from the *Sophi* of *Persia* and his secretary for his holiness, in answer to those

our *Armenian* years before. H gain, thank'd h Christians, and it. I read the le to the secretary was in easy and pen'd the best. The *Sophi* now drunk; tho' I w had caus'd abun house-vines to b was his father.

11. Let us no The fourth day a ed up about eve short space; for four hours, there voyage. Being d derstood by letters four ships, which *lepatan*, were call were in them. T ly attended us, coast. Every ye time eight days terrible storm up *Bara*. The wind to us, and fallen w was our good for discover'd the illa the north east w that time, stood night, and got e afterwards eleven come in sight: of was in another *Gallo*, which is in tude; there we la vancing a foot, ar bound for *Goa*, w a great deal of fati make cape *Comor* winds, terrible cu calms. They mad against us like an having seen so mu me to play pilot, get in under shore run upon an enemy way was to avoid that there we lay which did us all should remove fro for since it must should be so much This was accordi furious north east a league and a hal were above five h rapid is the curren vember, by break after. The *Por* to sea, that we k

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our *Armenian* arch-bishop carry'd four years before. His holiness writ to him again, thank'd him for his kind usage of Christians, and exhorted him to continue it. I read the letter cardinal *Altieri* writ to the secretary upon the same subject, it was in easy and elegant Latin, so finely pen'd the best scholar would admire it. The *Sopbi* now reigning is almost always drunk; tho' I was told by the *French* he had caus'd abundance of vineyards and house-vines to be destroy'd, others say it was his father.

11. Let us now return to our voyage. The fourth day a furious gust of wind started up about evening, but lasted a very short space; for had it held us three or four hours, there had been an end of our voyage. Being come to *Suratte*, we understood by letters brought over land, that four ships, which were at anchor at *Mufulapatan*, were cast away, and all lost that were in them. The same fate had certainly attended us, had we been near that coast. Every year infallibly about that time eight days sooner or later, there is a terrible storm upon that coast, they call it *Bura*. The wind was spent when it came to us, and fallen with the great rain, which was our good fortune. The eighth day we discover'd the island *Ceylon*, and for fear of the north east winds which reign about that time, stood out to sea a day and a night, and got out so far, that we were afterwards eleven days before we could come in sight of the land again, tho' it was in another place. We pass'd cape *Gallo*, which is in sixty degrees north latitude; there we lay five days without advancing a foot, and met the ship of *Macao* bound for *Goa*, we had one another with a great deal of satisfaction. Before we could make cape *Comari*, we had furious north winds, terrible currents, and after all dead calms. They made the cape, the water run against us like an arrow out of a bow. I having seen so much of the sea, took upon me to play pilot, and contended to have us get in under shore. I argu'd, Who would run upon an enemy's sword? That the best way was to avoid and come in with him; that there we lay opposite to that point which did us all the mischief; that we should remove from it, and expect a wind, for since it must come from shore, we should be so much the more to windward. This was accordingly done; one night a furious north east wind blew, we were but a league and a half from the cape, and yet were above five hours weathering of it, so rapid is the current. On the 22d of *November*, by break of day we had the cape astern. The *Portuguese* ship stood so far to sea, that we lost sight of her, and she

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was two days longer a getting clear. The *Nava*-north east wind abated, and within two hours we had a fresh gale at east. A little boat of Blacks came ahead of us; our men looking at it off the poop, perceiv'd the ship was running directly upon a rock that lay under water; they were all surpriz'd, and the wind freshen'd as if some evil spirit had sent it to destroy us all; they stood in to shore, and in a moment I saw the rock a stone's throw from the ship. The Blacks were astonish'd, as if they concluded we were either blind or mad. It was God sent those Blacks, for had they not come we had ended our days there. The rock is mark'd down in the chart, but they were so joyful they had weather'd the point, that no body thought of it, and it was very strange that as soon as ever the danger was over, the wind ceas'd and the sails flagg'd.

12. That afternoon a little boat came aboard with a *Dutchman*, who brought fruit, and stuffs, and told us abundance of news, but all prov'd false. That they call the coast of *Malabar* is very pleasant and delightful, we wanted not for fruit, fowls, and other refreshment whilst we run along it; it lies north and south. every night we came to an anchor, which makes it foilsom sailing along that coast. On the 27th of the month we lost our anchor, the 28th we appear'd before *Coulan* with a good gale, the *Dutch* fir'd two guns at us. On *S. Andrew's* day we sail'd before *Cochin* and *Calicut*, where we were inform'd that the king of the country was engag'd in a bloody war with the *Dutch*. In the night we got up to *Cananor*. Here I might write some things memorable enough. Those who were acquainted with that coast said, that when some persons marry'd, the husband carry'd his wife before he had to do with her himself, to the king, who kept her eight days in his palace, making use of her at his pleasure; and that time being expir'd, the man came for his wife, taking it as a great honour and favour that his king would make use of her. In other places they carry them to the temples of the idolatrous priests, and left them there the same number of days to the same purpose; this sanctifies them, and the husbands carry them home well pleased. Those priests seem to act like the sons of *Eli*, 1 Sam. ii. 11. They lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle; but the difference was, that in *India* the women and their husbands are consenting, and look upon it as no sin.

13. When the husband dies, the wife must die too, but after several manners, the dead body is burnt, and if he was a nobleman, the woman is seated in his lap, and

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Funerals.

and

NAVARRA- and then they lay the wood about, set fire to it, and they are both burnt, the one dead and the other alive. Other women clap their arms about their dead husband, and are burnt with him. The third manner is, when the body is burning in a pit, the wife walks round weeping, attended by her kindred and friends; in the height of it one of the next kindred thrusts her into the pit, then they heap wood upon her, hollow and shout, and there the wretch perishes. It is look'd upon as a great infamy not to do so. Not many years since, as they were carrying a woman at *Rogiapur* near *Goa* to be burnt with her husband, it happened that some *Portugueses* who came to that part seeing the train, had the curiosity to draw near; the woman seeing them by themselves, left her people, and running embraced one of them, begging they would protect her. They did it very handsomely, defended themselves against the infidels, and carry'd her off. She went to *Goa*, was instructed, baptiz'd, and marry'd to him she had fled to. She was living in the year 1670, when I was at *Goa*. A most fortunate woman!

14. During those days we had some disputes aboard, and the pilot pretended to play the divine, asking why there were several religious orders in the church? What need the Pope had of money, since the kings of *Spain* and *France* would support him? Why the *Jews* were not tolerated in *Spain*? Why God did not work miracles? I answer'd sufficiently to every point, and left them muttering; but they had not a word to say, when I ask'd them, Why there were several military orders, and why several heresies were tolerated in *France*?

15. On the 14th of *December*, we came to an anchor two leagues from *Goa* opposite to the bar, because we wanted water. It was very lucky for me and the *Portugueses*. We went to the fort they call *Aquada*, which is very fine, and had the best brass cannon in it I had ever seen. There was one piece carry'd a bullet of ninety six pound, the *French* were amaz'd. We spoke with the commander, and taking our leave went up the river, which is one of the finest in the world, both the banks being cover'd with towns, sightly temples, and lofty trees. I stay'd in the college of

S. Thomas, which is a quarter of a league from the city. A most delightful seat as can be imagin'd, built upon the edge of the water. After noon I went up to the monastery of our *S. Dominick*, it may vie with the best in *Europe*. The *French* said there was not the like in all *France* (it is likely they had seen but little there.) They afterwards shew'd us vestments, chalices, a rich bier to carry the image of our Lady, with other church stuff, which was very surprizing. But what I most admir'd was an ivory crucifix all of one piece except the arms, the rarest thing that can be imagin'd, not so much for the curiosity of the workmanship, as its bigness; to all appearance, the tooth that piece was cut out of must weigh at least three hundred weight. The prospect of the city is very fine, and the buildings sumptuous, but not so much as a missionary has writ, who affirms it outdoes *Rome*. We all went away well pleas'd and treated, the *French* own'd themselves oblig'd to me for the kindness thofe of my order shew'd them; it did me a kindness afterwards, but they did not like the vast revenue they were told a certain family enjoy'd. On the 16th we weigh'd for *Suratte*, I lighted my self, leaving the *Chinese* Christian I had brought with me at *Goa*, that I might not see the misery he endur'd at sea, his sufferings afflicting me more than my own. We sail'd before *Bengala*, and the 2^d day we lay by at *Rosapor* a *French* factory. A Black came to us from the factory but empty handed. The wind fail'd us some days. The captain my friend told me what base things his countrymen did at *Madagascar* and *Musulapatan*, taking marry'd women from their husbands, whom they threatned with death if they complain'd. They are inordinate in this particular. We lay some days in the fight of *Dabul* a strong and handsome fort belonging to *Subagi*: we went on to *Bombaim*, *Bazaim*, and on the 8th of *January* by break of day were before *Daman*. On the 11th we passengers went up to *Soali* in a *Dutch* boat that came to us. There we entred another region, under another government, saw other sorts of people, and had trial of several humours. God grant we may find a place to take some rest in.

CHAP. XXV.

My Stay at Soali, and setting out again for France.

1. I Came to *Soali* much tir'd, and had a mind to stay at *Suratte* to wait for a religious man, who design'd to travel by land; but the next day I had a letter from him giving me an account he had not been

able to come by land, by reason of *Subagi's* army which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to *Golkonda*, and destroy'd many towns and villages about that court. This made me take another course,

which

which was to see the director-general, which had been given me place to drink to me a bit off his plate difficulty of getting company's ship by a *French* gentleman the same way forward he was me. On the farewel treat, a of the company drank to the captain and intreating him very much of him if he were for extraordinary

2. On the 21st tor-general sent but went to him and the gentlemen with him; he shew'd us the der'd the captain great cabin, and of me. I went all pleas'd, but when there was no other voyage. *Caron* not being to be gone aboard, at that I had not st

Soali.

3. *Soali* is the city in the *Mogul* one degree of harbour, but another water the fands Ships ride there abundance there, and *Mabometans*. factories to prepare At *Suratte*, which factories are very the world they thence trade to and all parts of the *Portuguese* litt along that coast along it; near a small fleet belonging of fifteen small ships the shore, and took out the expence One day the *French* talking with a commander serv'd their commander king of *France*, in heaven, and earth. The *Mogul* answer'd, Gentlemen, *Mogul* upon earth.

4. That afternoon

which was to make my intention known to the director-general, who tho' a rank heretick, had been civil to me, and always gave me place at table above others; he drank to me first, and gave me the best bit off his plate. At first he made some difficulty of giving me my passage in the company's ship, but was prevail'd upon by a *French* gentleman, who was bound the same way as myself: From that day forward he was daily kinder and kinder to me. On the 20th of *January* he gave a farewell treat, at which were all the officers of the company. After several healths he drank to the captain of the ship, charging and intreating him to take care and make very much of me, as he would do by him if he were aboard. I thank'd him for extraordinary a favour.

2. On the 21st in the morning the director-general sent for me. I was surpris'd, but went to him; the captain of the ship, and the gentleman I mention'd before, were with him; he shut his door, drank several healths to us three in delicate wines; order'd the captain to give me a place in the great cabin, and charg'd him to make much of me. I went aboard with the captain well pleas'd, but with some concern, because there was no other priest for so tedious a voyage. *Caron* mis'd me at noon, and I not being to be found, he was told I was gone aboard, at which he seem'd concern'd that I had not staid to dinner.

3. *Soali* is the port to *Suratte*, a noble city in the *Mogul's* dominions, in twenty one degrees of north-latitude; is no close harbour, but an excellent road; at low water the sands appear towards the sea; Ships ride there very safe, and there were abundance there, *Dutch, French, English, and Mabometans*. There these nations have factories to prepare loading for their ships. At *Suratte*, which is a league higher, the factories are very great: From all parts of the world they resort thither, and from thence trade to *Persia, Mec- Cambaya*, and all parts of *India*. While I was there, the *Portuguese* little fleet arriv'd, which runs along that coast every year, and trades along it; near *Bazaim* they met another small fleet belonging to *Subagi*, consisting of fifteen small ships; they drove it up to the shore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of powder. One day the *French* in my hearing were talking with a considerable *Mabometan* who serv'd their company, and magnifying the king of *France*, said, Only *God* is great in heaven, and the king of *France* upon earth. The *Mabometan* very soberly answer'd, Gentlemen, *God* in heaven, and the *Mogul* upon earth. They had no more to say.

4. That afternoon *Caron* went aboard,

2

attended by the officers of the company; *NAVA-*
the cannon were fir'd, there was a plentiful *RETTE.*
supper, and excellent grapes, I had eaten some of them ashore. The climate varies extremely in those parts. *Caron* was extremely loving to me. The feast ended, he went away with his company, and we were quite clear'd; about ten we sail'd. The following night, the wind being very fair, and the weather clear, the ship ran aground off of *Bazaim*. Good *God*, what a wonderful confusion we were in! the ship beat upon the sands, and every stroke we expected she was bulg'd; by good fortune it was flood. *God* was merciful to us in putting us by a shoal that run from the point of land, which was a league and a half from us: With that we made out to sea by degrees, and came into water enough. The captain was ready to fire a pistol upon the pilot; he was much to blame because they had warn'd him to take heed of the point of land; he would have flood out, had they not spoke to him: They are strange obstinate people.

5. Aboard the ship, I was inform'd by a heretick of note, that *Caron*, when he was factor at *Japan*, had been the man that forg'd a letter against the catholics, upon which ensued the last and greatest persecution there ever was in that country; after which the preachers of the gospel could never gain footing there. I will write in another place, where it will be more proper what *Caron* told me.

6. On *Candlemas-day* we made cape *Comori*, and left it aftern in eleven days and a half, whereas we had spent forty nine in sailing from it to *Suratte*. I said mass every day, *God* be prais'd, and this day four receiv'd. We took a great sea-calf in the north-sea; and I often observ'd that tho' it is such a devouring fish, yet those fishes they call *Romeros* have a peculiar friendship with it, lie under its shelter, stick close to its fins, and come to its mouth without hurt; the *S. Peter's* fish also clings to it. *God's* providence is wonderful in all things.

7. I enquir'd of the *French* and *Dutch*, Whether it was true, the *Hollanders* made salt-water fresh, as I had been inform'd? they told me it was false; (*But we have seen it sufficiently prais'd in England, which the author was a stranger to.*)

8. I also ask'd, Whether there was an engineer in *France* that did as much execution with a pistol-bullet, as with a whole cannon, which was told me in *China*? and they answer'd that was a mere fable too.

9. I further put the question, Whether there were vessels made in *France*, that by force of wheels, without wind, went against the stream? They own'd such a thing had

NAVA- had been done, but prov'd uselefs, (*This RETTE. we have seen upon the Thames.*) The Dutch-
man said, He had seen the ship building in
Holland, that was to sail from thence in
eight days to India, but that the inventor
ran away, and so it could never be finish'd.
So much any man might have done, but
it was a great *to believe and spend*
money upon *mad undertaking.*

10. On *10th of February*, being
Sbrouetide, we pass'd the line, and were be-
calm'd. The seamen made merry and
sported.

French. 11. We had some discourse concerning
the *French East-India* company, whether
it would stand; and most agreed it would
not, because they had no good government,
and particularly did not let out their ships
in due season. The Dutch fell a railing at
the *French* diet, and prais'd ours and the
Portugueses; and the *French* oppos'd him,
for my part I never lik'd their cookery.

12. It was argu'd, Whether the court
of *Cbina* were *Grand Catbay*? The *Turkish*
history translated into *French*, which they
read there, mention'd, That before *Ta-*
merlan conquer'd *Cbina*, which I am satis-
fy'd is false, the king of *Catbay* met him
without the wall, with one million four
hundred thousand men. They that speak
of *Grand Catbay*, make no mention of the
wall of *Cbina*; and consequently the court
of *Cbina*, which is but twenty four leagues
from the wall, is not *Catbay*. I never
heard any of the missionaries of *Cbina* speak
any thing material to this point, but only
made conjectures.

13. We had fresh fish plentiful, almost
all *Lent*. On the *15th of March*, about
eight at night, the whipstaff broke; they
were four hours a making another; the
wind was indifferent, and so we had no
great trouble. Some few years before a
Dutch ship was lost about the same place,
throu' the same accident. Three more pe-
rish'd, but no body being sav'd, it was
not known by what accident. Of the first
three men escap'd, and went in the boat to
the island *Mauricia*: No ship misses of a
storm there; we had a great one, and what
I have said happen'd the fourth day after
the violence of it was over. One of those
days they took a sea-hog, in nothing dif-
ferent from those ashore as far as snout
and ears; the flesh of them is good and
wholesome, the fat is black but well-
tasted.

14. On the *17th* about eight in the
morning, we discover'd the island *Masca-*
renbas, which the *French* call *Bourbon*; if
it had a port, it would be one of the finest
in the world; the air is temperate, the
water good and plentiful, abundance of
fish and fowl, these so numerous that they

knock them down with sticks. The rice,
corn, fruit, and herbs the *French* have
sow'd and planted there, have all thriv'd
incomparably.

15. Soon after the wind started up at
fourth-east so violent, that at one gust it
carry'd away three sails, the main-top-sail,
mizzen-top-sail, and sprit-sail: It lasted all
night, the sea ran high, and beat the ship
furiously. Every day she grew more leaky,
the main-mast gave way, and I was but
too apprehensive of what we were to en-
dure.

16. On the *4th of April* in the morning
we had a horrid storm of thunder, light-
ning, rain and wind; it came a head of us,
and we bore it five hours without a rag of
cloth aboard, the sea beat against the poop
in such violent manner that all the planks
seem'd to give way, the water flow'd in
again; we were all in a cluster begging
mercy of God, I pray'd and call'd holy
things into the sea. That fright past over,
and we prepar'd for others, because we
daily drew nearer to the cape of *Good Hope*,
where winter was beginning. The captain
would not lie close to the shore, as the
waggoners direct, and with good reason;
for the land always shelter'd us from south-
west, west and north-west winds which
tore us to pieces, and besides it was con-
venient for making our advantage of the
land-breezes. One of those winds would
blow, and we would lie by without advan-
cing a foot in eight days. The ship was
hard work'd, and the men ply'd the pump
day and night. One afternoon the ship
gave such a bulge that there was not a
man but fell violently, and the ship'd so
much water at the side that we were in a
conternation. That night was very trou-
blesome, the pilot was afraid the ship would
founder. We discover'd cape *Agujas* (I
kept a journal, but it is needless to write
things of small moment) it is twenty leagues
from the cape of *Good Hope*. Three days
we lay upon the sand. By reason of the
contrary winds we ran away southward to
forty two degrees. (By which it appears
to be a folly which some write, that the
Portugueses when they turn that cape dis-
cover *Terra de Fogo*, or *incognita*) I some-
times wish'd we might light upon the south-
ern land, I was much afraid because it was
winter in those parts. On the *29th of A-*
pril it was resolv'd to take up at *Mada-*
gascar, having been at sea ever since the
22d of January. This was a great addi-
tion, yet we were glad of it to be rid of
those terrible winds and waves; but we
were in the wrong, for had we stay'd three
days longer, we had certainly weather'd,
as the wind prov'd afterwards, four hours
time would have done our business. We
spent

spent a whole
wind would co-
dio' that never
up ahead, which
there would be
the sea appear'
face of the w
round the ship
that beheld the
of a storm, as v

17. We war
east winds in o
car, which had
to double the
aboard that h
seas, which was
the *14th of Ma*
blowing furio
saw those they
on the main-top
bright, and n
discerning them
on altars. We w
continu'd above
their brightness
I having read
was very curiou
servation of it.
was violent, and
(2.) The ship b
tokens were on
places I mention'
over the round-
teration. If they
how came they to
And how came
them away? A
not fall with such
do not understan
the like before; f
weather, others
appearing aloft
it been on the de
man spoke his m
recourse to God
rany, begging
sequence was tha
fall, on a sudd
and another start
we ever had yet
der a fore-sail re
top-masts struck
poop frighted us
not courage to lo
during this time
I know it; and
times, how near
upon a brags-gun
the bittake. An
weather, and di

spent a whole month about the cape. The wind would come fair, and within another; tho' that never ceas'd, another would start up ahead, which distracted us. Sometimes there would be a calm, and immediately the sea appear'd full of whales on the surface of the water, and they would ply round the ship to the great terror of us that beheld them, it being a certain token of a storm, as we found by experience.

17. We wanted not north and north-east winds in our return towards *Madagascar*, which had been the best in the world to double the cape. There was no body aboard that had knowledge of those seas, which was very prejudicial to us. On the 14th of May after night fall, the wind blowing furiously at north, we all of us saw those they call the candles of *S. Telmon* on the main-top and fore-top, so plain, so bright, and natural, that there was no discerning them from those that are placed on altars. We were all astonish'd at it, they continu'd above six hours in the same form, their brightness not declining in the least. I having read something of this nature, was very curious in making particular observation of it. In the first place the wind was violent, and lay upon our broad side. (2.) The ship beat very hard. (3.) Those tokens were only to be seen in those two places I mention'd, always perpendicularly over the round-top, without the least alteration. If they had been drops of water, how came they to be only in those two places? And how came it the wind did not blow them away? And how came it they did not fall with such terrible beating? I own I do not understand it. Some seamen had seen the like before; some said they presag'd fair weather, others a storm, others that their appearing aloft was a good sign, but had it been on the deck it had been bad. Every man spoke his mind, the best was to have recourse to God. We sang our Lady's litanies, begging her assistance. The consequence was that the next day about night-fall, on a sudden the north-wind ceas'd, and another started up aftern, the violentest we ever had yet; we sail'd three days under a forefail reefed, with our yards and top-masts struck. The sea beating on the poop frighted us, and ran so high, I had not courage to look at it. What I endur'd during this time is not to be writ, God and I know it; and what I suffer'd at other times, how many nights I spent leaning upon a brass-gun, and how many sitting by the bittake. Amidst a great deal of foul weather, and discontents betwixt the cap-

tain, the gentleman, and the pilot, we at *NAVAl*-length arriv'd at *Madagascar*, or the island *RETTE* of *S. Laurence*, which the *French* at present call *Ile Dauphine*. In the bay (for it is no port) we found the king's fleet, and one ship of the companies. The *French* had sometime spoke ill of the *Spanish* inquisition, having heard several false and scandalous reports concerning it from wicked men; I inform'd *Monsieur Dandron* of the whole truth, and he was well pleas'd and said, It were happy they had it in *France*. I inform'd him what *F. Rogemont* a *Flemish* Jesuit told me in *China*, to wit, that his countrymen had a most hideous notion of this tribunal, because they conceited many foolish fancies concerning it, but that he was very sure had they been rightly inform'd, they would not have made the least opposition.

18. They never fail of prayers morning and evening aboard their ships, and do not neglect it upon any account whatsoever. Upon sundays and holidays we sang vespers, and the litanies, in the morning psalms and hymns proper to the day. All were punctual at mass, which I never omitted when the weather would permit, so there were always some went to confession and communion. Truly I was much edify'd at them, particularly at their not swearing, for it was rare to hear an oath aboard, which is seldom so in our ships. *Dandron* said their way of praying in *Latin* was better than our general use of the beads, but I convinc'd him that the beads were of more use to ignorant people who understood not *Latin*, and therefore had the comfort of understanding the prayers they said by their beads.

19. Several other arguments were held aboard not at all proper to be handled by those who had only read their grammar. In short, it pleas'd God we came to an anchor at *Madagascar* on the 29th of May, tho' in rainy foul weather. There came immediately aboard us a *French Capuchin*, who was a great comfort to me; I went with him to his ship, and then to another, where I was much made of. The rest did the same afterwards, they all offer'd me their ships, and any thing in them; in truth I was much beholden to them. I went ashore, and receiv'd a *French* bishop's blessing, who had been a missionary in *Tunquin* and *China*, and was returning from *Rome*, of whom I had news from thence and *Spain*. I consider'd the vast distance, being above three thousand leagues, and thought it impossible to reach thither.

CHAP. XXVI.

My Stay at Madagascar, or the Island of S. Lawrence.

NAVARETTE. I Lay some time aboard, because there was no conveniency ashore, I had foreseen what I was to suffer there. Before I went ashore again, I convers'd with the *French Capucbin* concerning the *French* bishops, and the *Spanish*; and he answer'd me, The king of *Spain* is more religious than our king, and so are the people, so that they have a different notion of these things from my countrymen; and tho' there are learn'd and pious religious men enough, many bishopricks are given to men of great families.

2. Aboard the other ships they had ask'd the bishop's leave to eat flesh always, which I did not like because fish might have been had. The *French* and *Portuguese* laugh at the *Spaniards* for eating oismme at on saturdays, without considering they do much worse themselves upon other accounts. The *French* rail'd much at their king for selling of places of honour and trust, which they thought was not at all convenient in the government, tho' several methods were us'd to obviate inconveniences.

Madagascar.

3. The *Portuguese* discover'd that island, and abandon'd it; next the *Dutch* took and left it, the *French* took possession last, and say they will quit it, because no benefit can be made of it. The bay is in about twenty six degrees of south latitude, the air unwholesome, and the water bad. The *French* have nothing there but the bay, some thatch'd houses, and a mud-wall, till they build a fort they design. The island is the biggest that is known in the universe. The inland abounds in Blacks, has many kings and petty princes. The people are very barbarous, brothers and sisters marry, fathers have to do with their daughters, and sons with their mothers. They are warlike, and manage their spears very well, as we saw while we were there. The country breeds vast numbers of very large cows, whose flesh is very good, and on their shoulders they have great bunches like that on a camel; one of them, weigh'd whilst I was there, was thirty six pound weight; it is all fat like butter, except some strings of lean mix'd with it; they cut it in slices, and fry it, and it is an excellent dish. There are goats in abundance, some peculiar sorts of fruit, and an infinite quantity of rice. There are in the island two noble ports, one on the east-side, which is call'd of *Anton Gil*, a *Portuguese* discoverer's name. There the fleet for glass beads got a great quantity of rice. The other is call'd *S. Au-*

gustin's bay, it is reported to be an extraordinary port, but both places very unhealthy.

4. As to the religion of those people, the missionaries told me they acknowledged a good and a wicked god; that they give little worship to the good one, and a great deal to the bad. The good one, say they, being such, will do them no harm, so that they need not trouble their heads about him; but they must please the bad one that he may not punish them, and therefore they offer sacrifices to him. They are addicted to strange superstitions to deliver themselves from crocodiles, sickness and other misfortunes. They cut off the childrens navel-strings, and wear it about their necks to make them fortunate. I observ'd it, and they themselves told me so. Every one has as many wives as he pleases, and they have the liberty of being unmarried whensoever they will.

5. I contriv'd to lie ashore because the ship was not convenient for prayer, reading and study. There was feasting, visiting, and such noise in the great cabin, that no quiet was to be expected. Besides that, the north-east winds are continually boisterous, and no ship is safe there; this too oblig'd me to quit, tho' I was ty'd to come and say mass aboard. It was no easy matter to contrive to live ashore, because the missionaries had the bishop and his companions in their house, so that no place was empty. I took up in a little thatch-cottage, went to dine with the *French* gentleman, and he always did me extraordinary kindnesses. The church was far off, so that I spent much time in going to it and returning. I continued in this manner above a month, and it was no small penance had I made a right use of it. The gentleman and captains took compassion on me, and blam'd the bishop without cause. One day without my knowledge *Dandron* went to the bishop, and said to him, My lord, we are all scandaliz'd to see you are all missionaries, and preach up charity, and yet use none toward this poor old-man, who is a missionary as well as you, and banish'd for the law of God. I was concern'd at it, for fear they should imagin it was a contrivance of mine; but that way of living was so tedious to me, considering it was to last five months, that I was out of patience, and I resolv'd to return to *India* in that fleet, which I told the *Capucbin* my friend; he acquainted the bishop with it, and mov'd that I might go

to the church, and among others done the mission *china*. He was in a cause among some he happen'd to find my order; this was and had I known such stead, I would acquainted with it in my thoughts, nor you are to do a piece, whether he wife.

6. On the 11th church, had a books, which was me. A month lord bishop and I *Suratte*. I was longing to the island, and two lay gious order in *Suratte*. They serv'd every morning at four met at prayers at slender and indiffer fasting-days, they garden they had, over and above it whilst the good bishop at table; they ly two eggs for him, he gave me more. By this I been faid of eating was false, because them, tho' the never eat flesh on bidden.

7. As to the island, they told thousand baptiz'd liv'd like Christian man had a little thence to *Suratte* he had been thre spoke *French* and familiar and well of his country pre the natives are sub they will never in temporals. The ac try with five hun terror into their e be advis'd by the off with the loss men; and it was Blacks had made a jest of him.

8. The govern of a hand and a fo very faint; the er than if he were a g

to the church, alledging reasons for it, and among others the good offices I had done the missionaries of *Tanquin* and *Cocbinchina*. He was mov'd to it the more, because among some papers I had given him, he happen'd to find that I was superior of my order; this wrought much upon him, and had I known it would stand me in such stead, I would easily have made him acquainted with it; but it never came into my thoughts, nor is it to the purpose when you are to do a poor religious man a kindness, whether he is a superior, or otherwise.

6. On the 11th of July I went to the church, had a cell, and a fine study of books, which was a mighty satisfaction to me. A month after the fleet with the lord bishop and his companions sail'd for *Suratte*. I was left with the missionaries belonging to the island, being three in number, and two lay-brothers of a new religious order in *France*, men of great piety. They serv'd every body readily, and every morning at four of the clock precisely met at prayers at home. Their diet was slender and indifferent. Upon fridays and fasting-days, they eat herbs out of a little garden they had, and if there was an egg over and above it was much. One friday whilst the good bishop was there, we were seven at table; there was pottage, and only two eggs for his lordship, I sat next him, he gave me one, and we had no more. By this I guess'd that what had been said of eating flesh on fasting-days was false, because all the time I was with them, tho' the fare was so slender they never eat flesh on any day when it is forbidden.

7. As to the state of Christianity in the island, they told me there were above a thousand baptiz'd, and not above fifty that liv'd like Christians. The *French* gentleman had a little Black he had carry'd from thence to *Suratte* and *Musulapatan*, where he had been three years, was well clad, spoke *French* and *Portuguese*, was grown familiar and well fed; nevertheless the love of his country prevail'd, and he fled. Till the natives are subdu'd, which is not easy, they will never improve in spirituals or temporals. The admiral went up the country with five hundred *French* to strike a terror into their enemies. He would not be advis'd by the governor, and so came off with the loss of four hundred of his men; and it was reported that fifteen Blacks had made all that slaughter, and a jest of him.

8. The governor was a little man, lame of a hand and a foot, and sickly, but a very stout; the enemy dreads him more than if he were a giant, he has done great

feats, and obtain'd signal victories over *NAVA*-those Blacks with a handful of men. After *RETTE*. the loss we have spoke of, the admiral went away to the island *Mascarenbas* or *Bourbon*, and left the governor orders not to wage war with the enemy, tho' they should provoke him; and they said, it was for fear he should get the better with that handful of men he had, which would make his attempt the more shameful. All his men went to *India* with an ill will under his command. I heard some account of him, and declar'd I was of opinion he would do no good there. I prov'd a true prophet, as it happen'd.

9. When he return'd from the island *Mascarenbas*, I talk'd with him, he treated me courteously. The major of the island was dead, he had been marry'd to a lusty black woman. He left three daughters: *John Lambertegi* captain of a company, who told me he had serv'd in the same quality in *Spain*, presently propos'd to marry the eldest, which was accordingly done with the greatest pomp I ever saw, the wedding was kept aboard the admiral. All the ships being thirteen in number discharged several broad sides. The captain of another company, and very handsome man, marry'd the widow, but it was before break of day, and very privately. I was concern'd at it, they are not so nice as our *Spaniards*. There were several *Frenchmen* there marry'd with black women, and others were gone up the country where they liv'd naked like the Blacks. I saw some in that condition, and was much ashamed of it.

10. In this island I saw beautiful peacocks. In that of *Mascarenbas* they say there are fine birds and beasts, and that to this day they have never seen a toad, snake, mouse, or any other sort of vermine, which is very strange. And how should we guess which way all those living creatures got thither? the matter is easier for birds, but not of all sorts. Pigeons fly far, but turtles, nightingals, and other sorts found there cannot easily hold a flight over so vast a sea. The bird *Ruc* I mention'd in the first book, is a mere chimera. *Mozambique* lies west of *Madagascar*. The *Arabs* arriv'd there in the year 1670, and did great mischief. The country abounds in gold and elephants, and is said to have unicorns. Up the inland is the empire of *Monomotapa*. The late emperor's son, elder brother to him now reigning, was of late years baptiz'd by the religious of our order, and took their habit, has prov'd a good religious man, was at *Goa* when I was there; he was call'd home by his people, but knowing, or suspecting they intended to put the goverment into his hands, he apprehended

NAVAPREHENDED running himself into some danger, and refus'd to go.

11. On the west and near the island of *Madagascar* there is a small one inhabited by *Arabs*. They have a fort, and go over to *Madagascar* to rob. A great number of Blacks came together, and courted the *French* to join with them in making war upon those *Arabs*, before we left the place. *John Lambertegi* went up the country with fifteen *Frenchmen*, and some natives to treat about this affair. By degrees time slipp'd,

and winter pass'd away, and about mid *October* the rain had ceas'd, and the cold abated. I was so eager to be at sea, that every day seem'd a year. *All-Saints* day was appointed for our departure, but the weather was such as gave little hope of weighing anchor. On *All-Saints* day I said mass, but we could not stir. Upon *All-Souls* day, we being out in readiness, the wind began to blow at north-east, and we by God's goodness to sail.

C H A P. XXVII.

My Departure from the Island Madagascar.

1. THE ship-provision was not good, I begg'd some onions of the missionary my friend, which he gave me, and I valued very much. I was told the *French* admiral bound for *Suratte*, intended to make the *Dutch* and *English* strike to him; 'tis not likely he compass'd it; they added, the honour of *France* lay at stake upon that fleet; if so, it was at a low ebb, yet they pretend theirs is the most mighty king in Christendom. God who gave it him gratis, continue his grandeur. The apostle St. James says, *Every good and perfect gift is from above, descending from the Father of lights*. St. Thomas observes the word *descending*, the apostle does not say *falling*, to give us to understand that God bestows riches, dominions, and every thing else on whom, and as he pleases, *not according to desert, but gratis*; and as he gives he can take away, especially if he be provok'd by sins.

2. We had a good voyage all the month of *November*, save one furious storm on the 28th; but summer being now advanc'd we fear'd it not, but turn'd our head to it, and back'd the sails. On the last day of the month we turn'd the cape. A *Hugonot* captain, but an honest fair gentleman, came aboard us at *Madagascar*; I cannot express how much I was oblig'd to this heretick, for he was well provided. He order'd his servants to give me every thing I ask'd for. I ask'd and ask'd again, and they supply'd me without failing. Next to God this man sav'd my life, I wish'd I could have given him eternal life. This man told me that his king aspir'd to possess himself of *new Spain*, and in order to it had sent one over to view and take an exact account of the country and parts, who had spent three years there, and return'd with full information, which he deliver'd in writing to *Monf. Colbert*.

3. I was eager to come to the Cape of *Good Hope*, that I might see what the *Dutch* have done there. Some *French* who had seen it, told wonders of it, that there was an

admirable fort, with abundance of good cannon, fine houses, gardens, and orchards, producing all sorts of *European* fruits, and those of the country, which are good and various, and abundance of cows, sheep, hens, turkeys, besides good horses. Major *John Munoz Gadea*, who came that way in the year 1672, told me the same in *Spain*. The *Dutchman* aboard our ship had told us there were sea elephants seen in that place; some believ'd it, others, and I among them, suspended their judgment, but the same gentleman told me he had seen two there, each about as big as a cow, but the feet and tail very like an elephant. Before we put into *Madagascar*, we saw the sea in places cover'd with geese, it was wonderful to see such multitudes of them. D. *John Munoz* assur'd me they were sea-geese, which had no feet, so that they had wings and feathers to fly, and no feet to walk, and therefore were feather'd fish. God knows how they laid or hatch'd.

4. Fifteen or twenty leagues northwest of the cape is the bay of *Saldania*, discover'd by the *Portugueses*; all about it there is not *Saldania*. a drop of sweet-water to be found. The *French* admiral set up a mark there in token that he took possession of that place for his king, but the *Dutch* presently pull'd it down; whilst they have the cape, who can subsist near it? And had the *Portugueses* secur'd the cape, which cost them so dear to find, who would have sail'd to *India*? Now there is no remedy, they repent it. The *Dutch* take whales and abundance of sea-wolves in the bay of *Saldania*, the skins of the latter serve to cover trunks, and yield good profit.

5. We sail'd for the island *S. Helena* with fair wind and weather. On the fourth of *December* we were in twenty eight degrees, forty five minutes of south latitude, our course northwest. Summer came on, the heat with it, and the wind slacken'd. Not a fish to be seen or taken, I wonder what became of them.

6. On the clouded, that they saw the sun at night; we were and the sun ve as it is in *Spain* variety of seasons can assign the reason said, the strength the vapours in no clouds appeared of the sun drew caus'd such black is no deciding time

7. We observed by which to know wind, or not. fluttering about ship; and the higher the wind place they come it will be fair.

8. Another tumble about the we saw them play

9. There was quality, who had fleet that sail'd what impertinence so was forc'd to eat with them he did not say grateful it was not which was false, did it but he.

10. This you to swear at play he would play no did not give over good as his work afternoon I ask'd not play? He a my self, and pa my self, or hear tlemen swear, I they don't mend with them. I was renance. I was t at *Madagascar*, had spies about to der to punish the licks, *Spaniards*, unruly, impudent particular! He t hundred oaths, th a man. How ho geese swear by a hoists, and a *Spa* CHRIST, and by thrive according them. So thou v thee.

11. On the 20th *S. Helena*, the afternoon we a Vol. I.

6. On the 10th the sky was so thick clouded, that for six days following we neither saw the sun by day, nor the moon by night; we were then within the tropick and the sun vertical, the weather as cool as it is in *Spain* in *March*. There is great variety of seasons in the same latitude, who can assign the reason? The year before we said, the strength of the sun consum'd the vapours in that latitude, and therefore no clouds appear'd; now we said the force of the sun drew up thick vapours, which caus'd such black clouds; certain it is there is no deciding this matter.

7. We observ'd some never failing tokens, by which to know whether there will be wind, or not. One was the running and fluttering about of little insects aboard the ship; and the more restless they are, the higher the wind; and by observing what place they come from, they know whether it will be fair.

8. Another is when the swine run and tumble about the ship, in a calm; when we saw them play we were sure of a wind.

9. There was aboard a young man of quality, who had been major aboard the fleet that sail'd for *Suratte*; he was somewhat impertinent, had lost all he had, and so was forc'd to give over play. He us'd to eat with the *Hugonot*, who observing he did not say grace told him of it, and he alledg'd it was not the custom in *France*, which was false, and all others in the ship did it but he.

10. This young man and another us'd to swear at play; the *Hugonot* told them he would play no more with them, if they did not give over that vice, and he was as good as his word. Talking with him one afternoon I ask'd him, how it came he did not play? He answer'd, I play to divert my self, and pass the time, not to swear my self, or hear others swear; those gentlemen swear, I have told them my mind, they don't mend, and I don't like to play with them. I was amaz'd and out of countenance. I was told he had done the same at *Madagascar*, and that at *Geneva* they had spies about to discover swearers in order to punish them. O shame of catholicks, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses*, who are unruly, impudent and scandalous in this particular! He that does not rap out an hundred oaths, thinks he does not look like a man. How horrid is it to hear a *Portuguese* swear by a ship-load of consecrated hosts, and a *Spaniard* by the wounds of *CHRIST*, and by the blessed Virgin! They thrive accordingly, and so God prospers them. So thou visitest us, as we worship thee.

11. On the 20th of *December* at two in the afternoon we anchor'd at the isle *S. Helena*.
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lena; being so small, it was much we hit *NAVA*- it so exactly without missing an inch of *RETTE*. what they had said aboard. The *Portugueses* discover'd that island; had they kept possession of it and the cape, they might have easily lorded it in *India*, for where should ships take in fresh water and provisions? The *Dutch* took it, but then fixing at the cape the *English* made themselves masters of it; the *Dutch* retook, and the *English* again beat them out of it. The island is small, all encompass'd with rocks rising up to the clouds, it looks like a great fort or castle; it has no harbour, but there is good anchoring and safe from the winds, because at that season they come over the island. The place where the *English* were, is a small valley, not a musket shot in breadth, without a tree or bush, or a foot of strand; but there is an excellent spring which God has provided for the benefit of sailors; there is no wood, which would have been a great help. Beyond the rocks they say there is plain and pleasant ground well watered. In that place there is a little town of *English* who till the ground, sow rice, make butter and cheese; there are some sorts of fruit, swine, and goats that were put in by the *Dutch* and *Portugueses*, so that there is refreshment enough there at present. There was some dispute about landing, the little governor was afraid they were going to assault him, he order'd the *French* should not come within his fort arm'd, and that they should come but two at a time; so that none went ashore but the seamen and two poor fellows. After mass I went to get a little biscuit, and saw the governor who receiv'd me courteously; he had been at *Madrid*, and valued himself on his *metaphysics*; to say the truth, he was an ingenious man, made much of me that day, forced me to stay all night, gave me a good bed; we discours'd upon several subjects, and he put to me three cases concerning baptism, he was at variance with his parson. There I found some Blacks at *Madraſtapatan*, for whom I was concern'd, because they had been catholicks at home, and were hereticks there: there were also two *Frenchmen* in the same way. The fort is considerable enough for that place, the garrison small, but there is no need of a great one to oppose any enemy. I admire the *Dutch* should take that island from the *English*, and much more that they should recover it from them.

12. After this we had a treat, and what follows according to the custom of those nations. The governor's name was *Richard Cung*, he said to the *Hugonot*, whose name was *Foran*, The father is your great friend. I had indeed spoke well of him. *Foran* answer'd, There is no trusting of him,
G g g g for

NAVY- for the fathers don't love hereticks. I have RETTE. observ'd that these men plainly own themselves hereticks, as I have often heard from their own mouths. Others will not confess it.

13. About twenty six or twenty seven years ago a *Portuguese* carack was cast away there; the men got to the island, and stay'd there two years. They took the swine, goats, and other cattle out of the carack, turn'd them loose, and they began to encrease so very much, that some time after twelve *English* and *Dutch* ships putting in there, found plenty of provision to serve them all. 'Tis strange, but they all affirm it to be true. The dogs multiply'd too, and at present do harm among the calves and kids; they hunt them, as we do wolves in other parts. There are abundance of pigeons, and all white; in those parts they call that sort pigeons of S. *Helena*, to distinguish them from those that have been carry'd from several parts of *India*.

14. Discoursing concerning transmigration of souls, the governor said, that when he was in *Guinea*, the interpreter told him, that in such a house there was a lion, in whom was the soul of the first ancestor of that family, as those heathens believ'd. He desir'd to be carry'd to see him, they went, and he said he saw a most terrible lion, which very tamely pass'd by him into the house, where he took two or three turns, and then in his sight went into a room. He own'd he quak'd with fear at the sight. Sure some devil was in the body of it, to deceive those people, which is the more likely, because they told him it neither eat nor drank.

15. I said three masses on *Christmas Day*, the sailors were very devout, and eight persons communicated. That afternoon we sail'd towards the island of the *Ascension*. We had but little wind till the 3^d of *January*, and the weather being fair I said mass every day. On the 4th we had a sight of the island, and the 5th anchor'd opposite to a little bay, from which rises a high pyramidal mountain, on the top whereof are two great crosses set up by the *Portugueses*, three *Frenchmen* went up thither. The island is but small, lies in eight degrees of south latitude, no water has as yet been found there. It lies almost half way betwixt *Guinea* and *Brazil*, which are four hundred leagues asunder east and west. They found letters ashore of *French* and *English*, who had pass'd by there the year before; those that sail this way, are so curious as to write letters, put them into bottles, and leave them in a safe place but visible, by which the next comers have intelligence who is gone by, and what voyage they had. It was the *Twelfth-day*, or *Epi-*

phany. *Foran* made a feast at night, and according to the custom of *France* we drew for King, it fell to my lot, and I could not excuse my self, so I chose my officers, and forbore the rest of the sport.

16. Some seamen having spent a whole night in fishing for tortoises, got but one, though it was a great one. The captain was out of patience at it, ordered to weigh, and we continued our voyage without hopes of seeing land till we came to *France*. We fell to eating the tortoise, whose flesh was very good; they found above three hundred eggs in her, all of them as round as a ball; the shell was tough, and when thrown against the deck, would rebound like a ball.

17. The tenth of *January* was the feast of St. *William* duke of *Aquitain*, the captain's name was so; we celebrated it the best we could, he was thankful, and made a generous return. On the fifteenth we found our selves twenty minutes north of the line, so that we had cut it about nine or ten of the clock. All the way from the cape of *Good Hope* to this place we had always the wind at south-east, east-south-east, and south-east by south. There were aboard the ship only a Black boy of *Madagascar*, and a Black girl two years and a half old, that had never cut the line; and not to loose the sailors custom, they duck'd them both; this and some other sports the seamen always found out was some diversion to us.

18. When we were got beyond two degrees of north latitude we had some calms, then followed terrible thunder, and a furious north-east wind; S. *Telmo's* candles appear'd again upon the round-tops, but not so bright, nor did they last so long as the other time. Now was the first holy-day we miss'd of mass since our departure from *Madagascar*, the sea look'd as if we were got back to the cape of *Good Hope*.

19. In nineteen degrees fifteen minutes of north latitude there is a rock, on which a ship perish'd some years since, we alter'd our course to avoid it. I have often consider'd, did we shun the occasions of sinning, as a pilot does the shoals, our lives would be most holy. Good God, how careful is a pilot to shun the danger! he thinks not enough to get three or four leagues off, but runs twenty, thirty, nay forty, as I have seen, and still is afraid. Our pilot *Lazaro Beato* us'd to say in the north sea, Fathers, the king's ship is not safe in a hundred fathom water. How careless is every man of the ship God has committed to his charge, and yet we would have it come off safe from so many flats, rocks, sands, and dangers, as occur at every step in this world.

20. We

20. We who the wind had not been. A ship has been together near pen'd to us, so bad that we must cut the line five opinion; he is unless he goes I never found my self, or a strange stories credited.

21. Upon *Cape Verde* had been now eighteen degrees left *Cabo Verde* of it, nor of it was n. n. w. from the north. The king of *France* and they said weakly defended cur'd. The *He* years before, an island *Santo Domingo* men and a boat flame they suffi

22. On the our selves with the wind came three days due n. n. e. and so we sail'd on in calls our life, we may proper The world is call with good cause winds of sever dangers, rocks, wrack daily, and his life a made out, it is it.

23. During t voyage we had blefome seas, a men fell sick ever we did not tak *Hugonot* supply every thing he sy'd at, and ob able did it not, example shewn seamen the allow me, and took e was the main p than once that t I administred u unction, and y do my duty, th so violent. In t out of summer

20. We were all sad and melancholy, tho' the winds had been favourable, and had not been much troubled with calms. A ship has been in a dead calm fifty days together near the line; had the like happen'd to us, our provision was so short and bad that we must have all perish'd. I have cut the line five times, that's enough in my opinion; he is mad enough who crosses it, unless he goes purely to serve God. Yet I never found any manner of alteration in my self, or any thing else; others tell strange stories of it, which are not to be credited.

21. Upon *Candlemas-day* I said mass, we had been now four months at sea, were in eighteen degrees of north latitude, and had left *Cabo Verde* altern; we had not sight of it, nor of cape *S. Antony*. Our course was n. n. w. for we could not lie closer to the north. We had a new repetition of the king of *France* his designs against new *Spain*, and they said the *River of Plate* was but weakly defended by us, and must be first secur'd. The *Hugonot* took a ship there some years before, and after that another at the island *Santo Domingo*, with only twenty five men and a boat; he himself said it was a shame they suffer'd themselves to be taken.

22. On the 7th of *February* we found our selves without the tropick of *Cancer*; the wind came about to east, and we stood three days due north: Our true course was n. n. e. and so we wanted another wind. We sail'd on in a melancholy manner; *Job* calls our life, *A warfare upon earth*; and we may properly call it, *A voyage upon sea*. The world is call'd a *sea* in holy writ, and with good cause; in it we see the furious winds of several vices which assault man, dangers, rocks, on which great vessels shipwreck daily, &c. This makes man a ship, and his life a voyage. This is so easily made out, it is needless to spend time about it.

23. During the remaining part of our voyage we had sundry winds, rain, troublesome seas, and cold enough; the seamen fell sick every day, provisions fell short, we did not take a fish in a month. The *Hugonot* supply'd me, and all the sick, with every thing he had: This I was much edify'd at, and observ'd that others who were able did it not, tho' they had so good an example shewn them. I divided among the seamen the allowance of brandy they gave me, and took care of their souls, which was the main point. It happen'd more than once that two men held me fast whilst I administr'd the sacrament of extreme unction, and yet I could scarce stand to do my duty, the motion of the ship was so violent. In fifteen days time we came out of summer into sharp winter; we

ran into forty six degrees of latitude, and then fell again into forty three; we steer'd directly east, the north-wind came up very furious, and held us eight days in the same place: We reckon'd our selves within cape *Finisterre*, and expected in a day more to reach *Bordeaux*; but the weather continuing, and men dying, it was resolv'd to put into *Corunna*. Having stood about, and sail'd half a day, about night-fall we discover'd cape *Finisterre* a league from us. It was resolv'd to pass on to *Lisbon*, the wind was large, and we ran along the coast very pleasantly. Next day an odd accident well worth writing happen'd: One that had been purser was sick aboard, he had been put off that employment for his dishonesty, and conceiv'd such hatred against the captain and steward, that he said he would not forgive them. He was often advis'd at *Madagascar*, and by the way thence to lay aside that rancour; he would not. The captain and steward sent to let him know they bore him no ill-will, that he might relent, this avail'd nothing. I desir'd two ingenious *Frenchmen* to discourse him upon that business, and advise him to confess himself, because his sickness was dangerous, all to no purpose. I, with the little *French* I had, said all I thought convenient. He answer'd, when he came to *France* he would do it. I told him, it was doubtful whether he would ever reach thither; he took no notice of it. One day they call'd me on a sudden, telling me that young man was dying. I came as he was giving up the ghost, he dy'd; and on a sudden the wind chang'd and rose so high, that we had not seen the like all the voyage; the sea flew up to the clouds, such a wave broke upon the ship as frighted us all. They threw the body into the sea as fast as they could, and it was strange that the wind began to fall immediately, and came about to the same point where it was before. There was a very remarkable alteration when the heretick director dy'd betimes in the morning on this side the cape of *Good Hope*, I took particular notice of it. I had before told him my mind, offer'd him my service, he would not give ear, and went away to hell. The devils it is likely rejoiced, which made that alteration we were sensible of. I rather took this man for an atheist, than a heretick; he liv'd like a beast, and drank like a madman; one night he got up to drink, and instead of the wine laid hold of the ink-bottle, and drank a good deal; it is likely it hurt his stomach, and he was ill of it before.

24. Eleven, or thirteen seamen dy'd as I remember; they had receiv'd all the sacraments, God be prais'd, which was my greatest comfort, and they dy'd well. On the

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the 18th of *March* we anchor'd at *Cascaes*, some went ashore presently, and return'd at midnight with fresh bread, wine and

fruit. I came to *Lisbon* on *S. Joseph's* day, having said a month before I would be satisfi'd to land that day.

C H A P. XXVIII.

My Stay in Lisbon, and Journey to Rome.

I Am satisfi'd I have forgot several particulars, which must be among such variety of accidents, and in the course of so many years. I omitted one remarkable thing concerning the island *Ceylon*, which is a vast high mountain, the *Portugueses* and others call *Pico de Adam*, or *Adam's clift*; it ends above in a point sharp to appearance, whither they say our first parent ascended; this is grounded on that opinion which maintains that paradise is there. The beauty, fruitfulness, and pleasantness of the place makes for it. They have less to shew for it who placed it in the island *Zibu*, or that of the name of *Jesus*, which is one of the *Philippine islands*; and I wonder some authors have not placed it in *China*, where what is written concerning that most delightful place is more easily verifi'd.

2. I writ nothing concerning *Cambaya*, a kingdom subject to the *Mogul*, because I came not into it. The agate-stone is found there, and there is so much of it, so cheap, and so curiously wrought, sold at *Suratte*, that it is wonderful.

3. At length I reach'd *Europe*, after almost fifteen months sailing from *China*. I gave a larger turn about the world than *Magellan*, for he was neither at *Coromandel*, *Suratte*, nor *Madagafcar*; he return'd not to *Europe* as I have done, God be prais'd. I have been in all four parts of the world, for *Madagafcar*, *S. Helena*, and *Ascension*, are parts of *Africa*. I have gone through such diversity of climates, and tasted such variety of fruit, and other food, that I believe few men can match me. It appears what seas I have seen; and now, lastly, going to *Rome*, and returning, I have travers'd the *Mediterranean*. One said, that the greatest miracle God had wrought in a small thing, was the variety of faces: I have seen such total diversity of this sort, as I believe no man besides me has. In *America*, besides the *Capuchines*, which are those that go over from *Spain*, I have seen these several sorts of people, call'd *Criollos*, *Mestizos*, *Castizos*, *Indians*, *Mulattoes*, *Cambabijos*, *Tornautros*, and *Tentrenelagre*. In the *Philippine islands* there are still more mixtures, besides foreign nations. Afterwards I saw *Chinese*, *Tartars*, *Japoneses*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchineses*, *Cambojans*, *Siamites*, *Corians*, *Laos*, *Malayes*, *Mindanaos*, *Joloes*, *Zamboangas*, *Camucones*, *Javans*,

Sumatrans, *Macassars*, *Solors*, *Borneans*, *Nicobars*, *Ceylonites*, *Narisingans*, *Malabares*, *Bengalans*, *Golcondars*, *Mogols*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and *Turks*. In *Europe*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Italians*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Flemings*, *Germans*, *Swissers*, and natives of *Malta* and *Oran*, and many others; and yet among them all never found two exactly alike.

4. At *Suratte* there was an ambassador from the great *Turk* to the *Mogul*, a handsome and brave youth; he and his men did wonders when *Subagi* attack'd that city, but neither he nor the rest could prevent the plundering of that city by the enemy.

5. Since it pleas'd God to bring me safe off the sea, and set me ashore in *Europe*, let us conclude the voyage. The river up to the city of *Lisbon*, and higher, is one *Lisbon* of the finest in the world; and were it as pleasant as that of *Goa*, all others must yield to it. The palace is good, I was told it was built by *Philip* the second, and so the citadel. There I heard many things, which I think should lie bury'd in oblivion, that future ages may not have cause to condemn or rail at this. The city is very handsome, the buildings low, provisions plenty, the people courteous; but all that have not been abroad imagine there is nothing in the world so good as in their country; a great absurdity, which some are so far led away with, as to conceit there is no good wine in *Spain*. Our monastery of *S. Dominick* is very fine, and in it a stately tomb of the incomparable in learning and piety, *F. Luis de Granada*; it would take up a particular volume to particularize with what love, kindness and zeal those good fathers entertain'd me: The most *R. F. Peter de Magallanes*, president of the inquisition, was wonderful kind to me. I visited the count *de Umanes* then ambassador there, saw his splendid entry, and he bountifully assisted me toward my journey to *Madrid*. At that time there were some rumours about a war with *Spain*; the nobility were for it, saying, they should get their bread that way. The people oppose it, and the religious orders more than the rest; sermons were preach'd in several parts against those restless spirits. I heard the same in the monastery of *S. Dominick*, and the professor *Surrero* the king's preacher said, The angels will fight against us, because there is no pretence to justify this war.

They

They told me them; Father, ther *Portugal* b No man in this gin'd that *Cash* then what prett comence this

6. I was told ers had us'd in lated, and had b author's printed too much liberty provincial held said, It is allowa a king of our ow it is unreasonable receiv'd such sign of *Castile*, should therefore I am fo I will punish it the *Dominicans* w did not rail; bu selves.

7. I spent the lik'd it well; vi are very fine, th ble; I was at the *S. Peter Martyr*, magnificence, a duke of *Aveiro* middle of *May* I in all the monast way, and chari mir'd the sort of daily advanced; that nothing was way I heard ma gainst us *Spaniar*

8. I reach'd *M* kings, in eleven and three months dislik'd many thi changeable, wo world lieth in wi disciple. *S. Aug* thee not, loves the bates thee. *S. Th* tions the same o this monster, *Th* it defiles; how the world? It is ought to be our and unfully'd in doctor expounding Hating it, &c. ex religion to preserv midst of those that

9. My business of *Rome*, I pres affairs to that end and *Madrid* from which he desired holy congregation of *China*. I gav

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They told me the reason that convinc'd them; Father, the controversy was, Whether *Portugal* belong'd to *Casile*, or not? No man in this kingdom ever said or imagin'd that *Casile* belong'd to *Portugal*; then what pretence or reason is there to commence this war?

6. I was told several expressions preachers had us'd in the pulpits whilst the wars lasted, and had before read some in a certain author's printed sermons. One of ours took too much liberty once in this particular; our provincial held a chapter that night, and said, It is allowable we should wish to have a king of our own for several reasons; but it is unreasonable that any of us who have receiv'd such signal favours from the kings of *Casile*, should speak ill of them; and therefore I am so far from allowing of, that I will punish it severely. For this reason the *Dominicans* were suspected, because they did not rail; but they easily clear'd themselves.

7. I spent the holy week at *Lisbon*, and lik'd it well; visited the sepulchers, which are very fine, that of the *Dominicans* is noble; I was at the celebrating the feast of *S. Peter Martyr*, which was perform'd with magnificence, and the inquisitor general duke of *Aveiro* was present. About the middle of *May* I set out for *Madrid*, was in all the monasteries of the order by the way, and charitably entertain'd. I admir'd the fort of *Eivas*, and how the work daily advanced; and was no less astonish'd that nothing was done at *Badajoz*. By the way I heard many stories which made against us *Spaniards*.

8. I reach'd *Madrid*, the court of our kings, in eleven days, twenty six years, and three months, after I left *Valladolid*. I dislike'd many things, but the world being changeable, worldlings are so too. *The world lieth in wickedness*, faith the beloved disciple. *S. Augustin* says, *He that knows thee not, loves thee; but he that knows thee, hates thee*. *S. Thomas* upon *Rom. viii.* mentions the same others have writ concerning this monster, *The world is not clean because it defiles; how then can be be clean who is in the world?* It is a great perfection, and ought to be our endeavour to live clean and unfully'd in the foul world. The same doctor expounding the words of *St. Jude*, *Hating it*, &c. expresses it thus, *It is perfect religion to preserve ones self untainted in the midst of those that are defiled*.

9. My business belonging to the court of *Rome*, I presently began to dispose my affairs to that end. I saw letters at *Lisbon* and *Madrid* from cardinal *Barbarin*, in which he desired some information for the holy congregation concerning the mission of *China*. I gave a short account of the

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most material points, reserving the rest till *NAVARRA* my arrival at the court of *Rome*. I set out in *September* following, with letters from some great men. At *Cartagena* I had the good fortune to wait upon the dutchess of *Offuna*. Our voyage was tedious and troublesome, we stay'd twenty nine or thirty days at *Caldaques*. *D. Pagano*, *D. Oria*, who commanded the gallics for his nephew, dy'd there; he was a worthy gentleman, I assisted him at his death. The dutchess gave a very good example that voyage in praying and bestowing alms. The lady *Elizabeth Formento* was with her; the great cabin was like a chapel, prayers almost continual, and much frequenting of the sacraments.

10. We struck across the bay with fair weather, and were nobly receiv'd at *Final* by the duke, who there expected his wife and niece. I went on to *Genoa* in one of the galleys, without setting foot ashore. A few days after I went to *Leghorn* with good company, cold and foul weather; I came thither sick, was taken care of in the hospital of *S. John of God*, where I was look'd to with great assiduousness and charity. I came to *Rome* with much difficulty on the day of the *Epiphany* 1673. Soon after there came to my hands a considerable alms sent me by bill from *Milan* by the duke of *Offuna*. I began to treat about my affairs, kiss'd his holiness's foot twice; he entertain'd me with wonderful goodness; I was much edified at his great humility, and the poverty I saw in this little room. I convers'd with some cardinals, particularly *Ottoboni*, *Bona*, *Maximis*, *Portocarrero*; and lastly cardinal *Casanate*. Cardinal *Borromeus* dy'd presently after my arrival, which troubled me much for the miss I had of him. I spent sixteen months in approving the propositions I delivered to the congregation *de propaganda fide*; gave in several informations, presented manuscripts, translated *Chinese* books by order of the congregation: They refer'd the matter to the inquisitors, they to the consultors and qualificators. In fine, in *March* 1674, by direction from the holy congregation, the cardinals *Bona* and *Casanate*, met with the most *R. F. F. Laurea*, and *F. Cajetan Mirabold*, they debated the points, and what the two most reverend fathers had decreed, which they approv'd and confirm'd, which set at ease and satisfied me, after I had gone thro' some particulars, which I reserve for a proper time.

11. I had before urg'd strong arguments and reasons for making one of my order, who is a native of *China*, bishop, since the bishops missionaries who were at *Siam* could not get into *China*. All the holy congregation agreed to it. I also pres'd the confirming the bull of *Urban* the eighth,

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1673.

NAVY- which empowers missionaries to go to *Japan* RETTE. and *China* from all parts, and all ways: the resident of *Portugal* opposed it, alledging that all those kingdoms belong to the *Portuguese* conquests. Much may be said to this point, and they will not be convinced that *Japan* falls within the limits assigned to the *West-Indies*, which is beyond all dispute. In the next place, that since till this time they never made any conquest there, they can never do it for the time to come. 3. That if once they are informed in those parts that such a thing is mentioned, they will not leave one *European* alive there. 4. That from *Sinapura* eastward, no part is or can be called *India*, as I have heard the *Portuguese* themselves own; otherwise the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and other nations, would all be *Indians*, which is not so. But the designs and motives they have being of another nature, there is no talking of it, as they themselves own. In short, *Urban* the eighth, *Alexander* the seventh, and *Clement* the tenth, who now governs the church, order'd it should be so, and lay heavy censures upon those that shall obstruct it. But the best of it is, that I resided some time at *Lisbon* in view of all that court, was known to be a missionary of *China*, had several questions put to me concerning that country, particularly by the inquisitor general duke of *Aveiro*, and yet nobody ever thought of mentioning this point to me; and yet when I came to *Rome*, the resident quarrel'd with me on account that we *Spaniards* go by the way of *Manila* into *China*, a thing ridiculous in it self; I have said before this proceeded from other grounds. Cardinal *Ottoboni* several times told me, it was convenient I should return to *China* as bishop of that mission. I declar'd my opinion concerning it, he threatned to have it forc'd upon me; which I dreaded but prevail'd with him to desist.

12. At my departure from *Rome*, they searched my portmanteau, found three thousand medals given me by the holy congregation, and cardinal *Portocarero*; they told me, I must pay so much duty for them. This provok'd and anger'd me, I answer'd, they were given me for charity, as in truth they were, that I would pay nothing, they might take them if they pleas'd, and I would go complain to cardinal *Nepos*: With that they let me pass. I was told there, that searching the wallets of a religious man of the order of *S. John of God*, they found in them a new pair of shoes; and because all new things pay, they made him pay duty for them; he went out again within a few days, without having worn the shoes; they found them, and made him pay the duty over again. Were this

known in *China*, the *Mogul's* country, or other of those parts, they would say we were the worst people in the world. I had company with me, the boat-men did not fail of playing us pranks, and we had bad weather. We came first to *Civita Vecchia*, thence to *Leghorn*, and very leisurely to *Genoa*, where we waited eight days for shipping. We were there on the feast of *Corpus Christi*; I admir'd that the cross of every brotherhood had its mark of distinction; that of the bakers had loaves; that of the fishermen, fishes; that of the pastry-cooks, sausages, &c. I saw the church of *Annunciata*, a beautiful piece; but he who has seen *S. Peter's* at *Rome*, and the rest of the churches of that city, admires at none: Every time I went into *S. Peter's* church, which was often, I was amaz'd at its beauty and greatness, and my heart rejoic'd in me. I visited the seven churches, saw the holy places, variety of relics, the *Vatican*, some palaces, *Cavalcata*, and other things needful to repeat.

13. After eight days stay at *Genoa*, I went on board an *English* pink with some other *Spaniards*. I agreed for my diet, and a place in the great cabin at an easy rate. I liv'd well enough, the master and the mate were very civil, they had no more officers. We sail'd upon our broad-side five days, the wind being at north-east; my companions were wonderful sea-sick, I have been free from it for some years. In the afternoon the seamen had such ridiculous sports as made us almost burst with laughing. The eighth day we landed at *Alicant*; some of us took up in certain waggons, in which we came leisurely, and indifferent easy. I was amaz'd to see so much desert-country, and so bare of food, we could scarce get bread. At *Albacete* I paid a duty for my portmanteau, which was the first time I had done it in all my travels. I came to *Madrid* upon Midsummer-day, in the year 1674, and there I paid a quarter of a piece of eight, and they would have had more, though I had nothing but papers, medals, and two old dirty shirts. Good God! what people they are, and yet they say the *Chinese* are covetous; they who are strangers to our proceedings may say so, not they that are acquainted with them.

14. Soon after at *Madrid* I heard news from *China*, by letters from thence, and from the *Philippine* islands. I understood that the missionaries were restor'd to their churches, but upon condition they should not preach the word of *God*; and the natives were forbid to embrace it, which is a great trouble, but it may mend by degrees, on account of the mathematicks, but I could wish it were upon some better motive.

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motive. I was also inform'd that the *English* have settled a factory in the island *Hermosa*, and that the *Chinese* that is lord of it design'd to have made war upon *Manila*, but desisted at the persuasion of his mother. The cause that mov'd him to have thoughts of war, was, that at *Manila* they apprehended a captain of his, whom they took in the act of *seduction*. The *Chinese* being inform'd of it, writ to the governor, and sent a present, desiring he would send him the criminal, and he would punish him. The governor answer'd, That it was an affair which the court of justice took cognizance of, and he had nothing to do with, and return'd no present, which the other highly resent'd. The *Dutch* offer'd the governor thirty ships to assist him against the *Chinese*, and what else he wanted, but he accepted of nothing. He afterwards sent *D. Francis Enriquez de Losada* his ambassador to the island *Hermosa*, and they were made friends. From thence *D. Francis* who was my particular friend, went over to *Macao*: Among other news he carry'd from thence 'o *Manila*, one piece was, that some religious men of the order of *S. Francis* coming to that city in order to pass over into *China*, certain churchmen hinder'd them; to that purpose shew'd their captain-general a letter of king *Philip* the second, ordering it so to be done. However the captain-general would neither see nor hear, and they went over; so that the laity does not obstruct the missionaries, and clergymen do. The letters I receiv'd this year say, those religious men did not get into *China*.

15. Granting it be true that *Philip* the second gave such orders, since three popes have afterwards commanded the contrary, what signifies that letter to *Macao*, which is not now under our government?

16. *D. Francis* in another letter of his from *Siam*, among other things has these words: The king did me the favour to shew me the white elephant, and I did not imagine he would have appear'd in such rich trappings; before him went above fix

hundred men as his guard, all with several weapons; after them the white elephant under a canopy of crimson-velvet, the rods that held it up all cover'd with plates of gold, the elephant had all about his body diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds, they seem'd to be well worth two millions. He is one of the haughtiest and mightiest kings, not only in this *Archipelago*, but in the whole world. He calls himself god, none of his subjects must see or look at him, upon pain of death. None that does not see, can believe with how great pomp he goes abroad. Your reverence is acquainted with these affairs, but those who are strangers to them will believe it false.

17. For my part I believe it all. As for the embassy, *D. Francis* affirms he stood it out and would not deliver his message barefoot, as all nations in *Europe* have done; he went in shod, so that it remains as a precedent for the *Spaniards*. Formerly it was a token of reverence and servitude to go barefoot, says *A Lapid* in *Exod. iii. v. 5*. For all this king's pride, we see that for his private interest and advantage he submits to pay an acknowledgment to the emperor of *China*, which is very base and mean.

18. He calls himself a god, which is not rare among the kings in those parts; there are many *Nebuchadnezzars*. The king of *Candia*, who is lord of *Ceylon*, and who has not the twentieth part of the greatness of him of *Siam*, has most lofty titles and epithets. But he that out-does all the rest in this particular is the great *Mogul*, king of kings, lord of heaven and earth, almighty, and many other titles he assumes; and all their pains, diseases, and sufferings, cannot undeceive them, as they did vain-glorious *Antiochus*, nor even death which they see has taken off their predecessors. But how can the understanding be free from dismal darkness, when it wants the supernatural light? The *Chinese* ever was, and is more modest and humble, tho' his subjects extol him above the moon.

CHAP. XXIX.

A more particular Account of the Tartars Irruption into China.

1. I Have been persuaded by some persons to enlarge upon the manner of the *Tartars* breaking into and possessing himself of *China*, they not thinking what I writ concerning it in the first book sufficient, considering how much others have made of it. Their advice being friendly, I resolv'd to take this trouble upon me, and will add something concerning the *Chinese* of *Cabello*, who took the island *Hermosa*

from the *Dutch*, and threaten'd *Manila*, which will compleat the whole work. Under the reign of the emperor of *China*, *Vu-an Lie* the thirteenth emperor of the family *Chu*, of that stock call'd *Ta Ming*, that is, great light and brightness, which lasted two hundred and seventy years; the *Tartars* began to try their valour against the delights of *China*, with various success. But being always in arms, they gave some apprehensions

NAVA- apprehensions to the *Chineſes*. Hoſtilities RETTE. ceaſed in the reign of the emperor *Pung Ching*, but their minds were nevertheleſs ſtranged.

Pung Ching.

2. During that time of peace abroad, war broke out at home. Eight armies of robbers were raiſed, every one of them promiſed himſelf the crown and ſcepter, conſiding in the diſcord there was among the great ones and *mandarines*. The words of CHRIST are infallible, *Every kingdom that is divided in it ſelf, ſhall be deſtroy'd*. The emperor's extraordinary covetouſneſs, and continual keeping within his palace, which the *Chineſes* have always been blam'd for, forwarded his ruin. That happen'd which I gave an account of concerning *Leao Tung*, after which the eight armies fought among themſelves, fix of them were deſtroy'd, and only two remain'd victorious. Theſe betook themſelves to ſeveral provinces: That commander who went to *Zu Chuen*, whoſe name was *Chang Hien Chung*, was doubtleſs more cruel than *Nero*, or all the tyrants that ever were; the number of thoſe he cauſ'd to be butcher'd could never be aſcertain'd. He ſubverted ſome whole cities witho'it any provocation given; ſlew children and women, without ſparing his own; deſtroy'd *bonzes*, the learned ſect, phyſicians, eunuchs, without exempting ſex or age. He was an emblem of hell, bearing down all that ſtood before him with devouring flames.

Chang Hien Chung.

Li Kung Zu.

1644.

3. The other, whoſe name was *Li Kung Zu*, came to the imperial city, where he had many private friends and ſoldiers. This made his entrance into the city eaſy, which happen'd one morning in April 1644, at the dawn of the day. Who can expreſs the conſuſion, noiſe, tumult and ſlaughter there enſu'd? In the miſt of that hurlyburly, the rebel trampling upon dead bodies, through ſtreets running with blood, came to the palace, where the emperor lay aſleep wholly ignorant of that diſaſter. Unhappy and wretched emperor, Do you ſleep and reſt when the enemy is at your gate? Where are your centinels? where your guards? where your miniſters and counſellors? Some ſay he in a fury got a horſeback and rode about the gardens, ſeeking which way to make hiſeſcape: Others, that he writ a paper with his own blood, in which he call'd the great men traitors, declar'd the commonalty innocent, and begg'd of the rebel to puniſh the heads. Some affirm, that he himſelf with his ſcyntar ſlew a maiden daughter he had, that ſhe might not fall into the enemies hand; and afterwards with his garters hang'd himſelf on a ſtately palm-tree. What I writ in the firſt book was told me in the imperial city; it is no eaſy matter to have all

particulars true. This was the end of that emperor's greatneſs, majeſty, pleaſures, delicacy, and riches; when ſubjects are diſloyal, all the reſt avails but little or nothing. A faithful counſellor, ſome concubines, ladies and eunuchs follow'd their emperor's example; ſo that thoſe delightful gardens were converted into diſmal mournful groves. What a ſpectacle was it to ſee thoſe trees loaded with the carcaſes of deſpairing wretches? A ſad ſight, and miſerable catastrophe of the ſtate, glory and honour of ſo many great perſons. This diſmal accident being noiſ'd about the city, a great number of men and women lang'd themſelves, others caſt themſelves into lakes, and others poiſon'd themſelves, that they might not fall into the hands of the mighty and treacherous enemy *Li Kung Zu*.

4. The traitor enter'd the palace in triumph, took upon him the name of emperor, ſat on the imperial throne, ſeiz'd the government, ordering the dead body to be cut into ſmall bits. Horrid barbarity! and two little ſons he had to be put to death. The firſt vaniſhed, and has never yet been heard of, perhaps he caſt himſelf into the river, or into ſome lake or well. He beheaded many *mandarines*, and order'd his ſoldiers to plunder that populous city. The cruelties, barbarities and obſcenities there committed, no pen can write.

5. Among the reſt of the priſoners he made, one was a venerable old man of the name of *Vu*. His ſon *Vu San Kuei*, was general of the mighty army the emperor kept againſt the *Tartars*. He forced the old man to write to his ſon to ſubmit and join his army to his forces. He threatned to kill him, if he did not write immediately; he did it, being forced to it by his threats; but the ſon who valued his loyalty and fidelity to his emperor and country, above the life of any ſingle man, tho' it were his own father, would not conſent, but contriv'd how he might deſtroy the common enemy of all the empire. His deſign was good, but the method he choſe prov'd the utter ruin of all he endeavour'd to retrieve. The intention was good, but the means bad. How much men are deceiv'd for want of due conſideration, or of good counſellors? True it is, God to puniſh their ſins, ſometimes blinds them, and confounds their devices. *Job xii. He leadeth the counſellors away ſpoil'd, and maketh the judges fools. He looſeth the bond of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle, &c.*

6. *Vu San Kuei* ill advis'd, ſent away an embaſſy to the *Tartar*, offering him conſiderable advantages, if he would bring an army to join his, by which means he thought

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thought he might easily destroy the rebel. The *Tartar* who desir'd no better an opportunity to put his designs in execution, came immediately with eighty thousand men, most of them horse. The *Tartar* persuaded the *Chinese* general, to put his army into the *Tartar* garb, the more to terrify the enemy, that his army might appear the greater, marching all in a body to the imperial city. The usurper had timely notice, and immediately order'd the treasure which sixteen emperors had laid up, to be brought out. Some say they were three, but others with more probability say, eight days and nights carrying out riches upon camels, horses, mules, and on the backs of an infinite number of people, and yet a great deal remain'd. The rebel made away with part of his army, and fled to the province of *Xen Si*, but the *Tartar* and *Chinese* overtook, fought, and overthrew him. The *Tartars* slew vast numbers, and recover'd the treasure. The usurper escap'd, because he had pass'd the yellow river.

7. *Vu San Kuei* thank'd the *Tartar* for the favour he had done him, perform'd all he had promised, and desir'd him to return to his own country; but he delay'd using deceitful reasons, and pretended necessity, as that the enemy was still alive, and favour'd by some provinces, and therefore it was not fit he should withdraw and leave the empire in such danger. In the mean while innumerable *Tartars*, not only of one, but of several nations, flock'd in daily, even from as far as that they call *Ju Pi*, which lies north of *Japan*. They are call'd by that name, which signifies fish-skin, because their armour is made of them.

8. The *Tartars* carry'd along with them *Xun Chi*, a child of six years of age, son to *Zung Te*, king of the said *Tartars*, who died a natural death at his first coming into *China*. I was told in the imperial city *Pe King*, that the *Tartar* was desirous to see it, and as he was travelling in order to it, the *mandarines* came out to meet him. As he was carry'd in his chair talking with them, he said may not I be emperor? they all answer'd, Yes, Sir. For they were all full of fear and dread. He enter'd the city without the least opposition, went directly to the palace, where having secur'd all things they declar'd *Xun Chi* emperor. An uncle of his govern'd for him some time, and the nephew some years after apprehended and put him to death, upon some jealousy that he design'd to set up for himself.

9. They gave *Vu San Kuei* the title of king, but tributary to them, and bestow'd great rewards on him; he finding himself weak, accepted of all and held his

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peace. The *Tartar* has ever been jealous of him, and he has ever shunn'd coming to court lest he should be wholly in the enemies power. In my time they made his son king, his father resigning that dignity, but he excus'd himself from going to court, whither he was call'd.

10. The news of the new emperor was soon brought to *Nan King* the southern court; as soon as it was confirm'd, they presently crown'd a cousin-german to the decess'd *Chinese* emperor. He took upon him the government, and considering himself unable to withstand the power of the *Tartar*, he sent an embassy to desire him to rest satisfy'd with the northern provinces, and they would be friends and allies. The *Tartar* lik'd not the proposal, but haughtily answer'd, He would have all or none. Being thus resolv'd, he advanced to that noble city, where he found means to maintain intelligence with a *Chinese* traitor, who murder'd the general, and put the new emperor into the power of the *Tartar*. The city and southern court being taken, they carry'd the new emperor to *Pe King*, where they hang'd him over the battlements, an honourable death in that country. He had not reign'd a year. Then follow'd the reducing of other cities and provinces; those that submitted were most courteously treated, but all that held out were inevitably devour'd by fire and sword. The *Jews* did so, read *Deut.* xx. This struck such terror into the *Chinese*, that their hearts fail'd them, if they heard but the name of the *Tartar*; and strong cities surrendered at the sight of ten or a dozen soldiers.

11. What had happen'd at *Nan King* being nois'd abroad, the great men who had retir'd to *Hang Cheu*, the metropolis of *Che Kiang*, crown'd *Lo Vuang*, who was of the blood royal. He was satisfied with the title of king, and kept it but three days. The *Tartar* besieg'd him, and he taking compassion of so many thousands of souls as were in that city, did an action that was never parallel'd in the world: He went upon the wall, and kneeling down in the sight of the *Tartar* commander, said to him, Brave and fortunate general, hear the prayer and request of a compassionate and humble king; I beseech you not to exercise your fury and anger on this beautiful metropolis, nor to let your sword prey on these innocent subjects; if you are provok'd, it is I alone that am in fault, let me suffer for it, and not the subjects who have not offended. As soon as he had spoke these words, he deliver'd himself up to the *Tartar*. This king in a great measure imitated *Codrus*, but with different success. What an opportunity this was for the *Tar-*

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NAVARETTE. tar to have shewn a noble soul! How well would the king and his subjects have come off, had he met with an *Alexander* or a *Cæsar*. He lighted among barbarous and cruel people, who were not satisfy'd with destroying the king, but butcher'd all his army. Those who fled, which were very numerous, were drown'd in the river that washes the walls, only the unarm'd multitude was spar'd.

12. The *Chinese* had a year's breathing, because the *Tartars* found themselves too weak to cross the river of *Hang Cheu*, we mention'd. During this time the *Chinese* set up two persons, one took the title of king; another at *Fo Kien* call'd himself emperor, but both of them dy'd without doing any thing worth notice. 'Tis impossible to write the revolts and calamities of that vast kingdom. At *Kuang Tung* they set up another emperor of the blood royal. His wife was a Christian, her name *Helen*, and her son's name *Constantine*. Many stories were rais'd and spread abroad about these persons, and look'd upon as half revelations, all tending to the establishment of the church in those parts. Whilst *Jung Lie*'s fortune was favourable, his wife and son *Constantine* had some to assist them; his lot alter'd, and they were forsaken. After various accidents *Jung Lie* came to the province of *Jun Nan*, where he gather'd an army of two hundred thousand men (what signify'd the number if they were not soldiers?) and six hundred elephants. Here

was an army to conquer the world. The *Tartars* fought, and utterly destroy'd it, the elephants doing more mischief on their own than the enemy's side. This was in the year 1659, when I was in *China*. *Jung Lie* escap'd. This unhappy prince travell'd thro' several kingdoms, without finding any to assist him; it is said, he went into the kingdom of *Pegu*, well known in *India*, and lying betwixt *Bengala* and *Siam*, there the *Tartar* reach'd him, bribing that king. He was carry'd to *Cbina*, and there strangled in the year 1662. Notice of it was given to all the empire, tho' I heard *Chinese* say, it was a fiction of the *Tartar*, to take away from people all hopes of being ever restor'd to their princes, and so to settle their minds. This man's son *Constantine* is said to be about *Siam*, to have sent an embassy to beg aid of that king, and to live like a Christian. The ambassadors spoke with some missionaries, I wonder these did not advise them to have recourse to the *Europeans*, no more than they did him that was let up at *Fo Kien*. I fancy it was out of an ill policy, they would not advise him to make use of *Manila*, where these princes might be supported and live in quiet and hope. *Europeans* cannot see into these things, because they are unacquainted with them. Perhaps God may preserve *Constantine* for his greater glory; for, nothing that is violent is lasting; no body ever long held a violent command, that which is moderate is lasting.

CHAP. XXX.

An Account of Nicholas Kuon, and his Son Kue Sing.

1. THESE two *Chinese* having been so famous in that part of the world, it will be very convenient to give some account of them. They were both prodigies of human fortune, and great examples of its mutability. She rais'd them from the dirt to a vast height, and cast them down into a most miserable and unhappy condition. *Cicero* said, Fortune was blind, and they are so who will be rul'd by her.

2. *Nicholas* was born in a little fishing town, near the port call'd *Ngan Hai*. Being very poor, he resolv'd to try his fortune, went over to *Macao*, and was there baptiz'd by the name of *Nicholas*. Thence he sail'd to *Manila*, and in both places followed very mean employments. A desire of rising carry'd him away to *Japan*, where he had an uncle who was indifferent wealthy. The uncle perceiving his nephew was sharp and ingenious, intrusted him with the management of his trade, and marry'd him to an infidel *Japanese* woman, by whom he had some children; the eldest of them is

he that is before mention'd, of whom we shall treat hereafter. *Nicholas* gave a good account of all he was intrusted with, which made his uncle trust him with a boat loaded with much plate, and rich commodities, to go trade in *China*. He finding himself possess'd of so much wealth, without the least remorse or scruple of conscience, kept all to himself, and turn'd pirate. He throve so vastly in this wicked employment, that he was the terror of all *China*, and the *Chinese* emperor *Zung Cbing* was forc'd to take him into his service, making him his admiral, and pardoning many heinous crimes he was guilty of. He accepted of the employ, and fixing himself in the port call'd *Ngan Hai*, he settled a trade with all the kingdoms in that archipelago; as *Tunquin*, *Cocbinchina*, *Champa*, *Camboja*, *Siam*, *Macao*, with us at *Manila*, with the *Portugueses* at *Macao*, and with the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*, and the island *Hermosa*, to which effect he was master of above three thousand *Cham-*

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panes, (so the Spaniards call the Chinese vessels, and those of Japan, *Somas*; they carry the burden of a good pink) thus he grew so vastly rich that he is said have outdone the emperor in wealth.

3. He attain'd to have five hundred catholic Blacks for his guard, for he would not trust others; whenever he engag'd, he encourag'd his Blacks, calling upon S. James the apostle, which it is likely he learned at Manila. When the Tartar came down to Fo Kien, he would fain have got him into his power, and often invited him, but he had always his Blacks who never lost sight of him: those Blacks were very terrible to the Tartars, who at last deceiv'd and got him to court; and had he been more cautious and betaken himself to his island, the Tartar had never been settled in the government, or entered Fo Kien, if Nicholas had oppos'd it. I was told by one of my order, who then liv'd near the metropolis, that all men blam'd Nicholas, but he having rose so high, and by such unjust means, must of necessity have a fall, and be made sensible of the inconstancy of fortune.

4. He was mistaken in going to court, and tho' it was not long before he found his error and repented, it could not be retrieved. Repentance, says S. Chrysostom, does not avail in any worldly misfortune, but only against sin. He had his liberty for some time but liv'd very uneasy, because his son Kue Sing (a noble surname given him by that emperor, who was proclaim'd at Fo Kien) immediately taking up arms against the Tartar, the emperor was afraid Nicholas should make his escape, and join his son, so that he would fend for Nicholas by day and by night to be assured he was still about the court. The emperor was of a mild temper, and would not offer any violence to him, unless he were found guilty of some crime. Therefore the fathers residing at the court us'd to say, that had not the emperor dy'd, Nicholas had certainly liv'd; He that preserv'd him dy'd, and they that govern'd for the infant-heir, put him to death. The fathers were with him before, and gave him good advice, but to no purpose, and so at one stroke he lost the life of body and soul. This was the miserable end of Nicholas.

Kue Sing.

3. Kue Sing was inform'd how the Tartars had treated his father and betook himself to sea with one single *Champan*, and only a thousand ducats. Fortune favour'd him as much, or more than she had done his father, for he became the terror of the Tartars, and of all those seas. He came to have an army of above a hundred thousand men, and upwards of twenty thousand great and lesser vessels, recovering

all his father's trade. In the year 1659, the emperor *Yung Lie* sent a solemn embassy to him to his island *Hia Muen*, which is not above two musquet-shots from the continent of *Cbina*. God has there made a safe harbour, capable of containing all the shipping in the world. This man was resolute, strong, revengeful and cruel, as being half a *Japoneſe*. He was expert to a miracle at all sorts of weapons; so brave and bold, that he was always the first who charg'd the enemy. No part of his body was free from scars of cuts and shot, his friends and officers afterwards curb'd his forwardness. He gain'd great victories over the Tartars, had ever the better of them, except at the assault he made upon the southern court in the year 1659. Almost a hundred thousand of his men were kill'd, for he had then a prodigious army. He was routed and fled, which was no small misfortune. This was the reason that moved the Tartar to draw the people from the coast to the inland, as I mention'd in the first book; a costly but efficacious remedy. Kue Sing finding himself banish'd *Cbina*, resolv'd to make war upon the Dutch in the island *Hermosa*, which he did, and prov'd successful, a notable action. Some he put to death, cut off the noses of others, and possess'd himself of that noble fortress, and the rich warehouses in it; valued at three millions. The Dutch are blam'd for two things, the one that they went out of the fort to fight, the other that they abandon'd a hill which commanded the fort and all about it.

4. During fifteen years that he held the government, he put to death above five hundred thousand persons, and some for very small faults. He was so cruel that he sent from the island *Hermosa* to have his own son put to death, because he had to do with the nurse of the fourth son. He also condemn'd his first wife to death, but she made her escape by the help of some Christian Blacks, the son too escap'd his father's fury.

5. Turning a promontory in the province of *Che Kiang*, a terrible storm rose, in which he lost six hundred *Champanes*, and in them five sons, and several wives. A horrible loss! When the news was brought to *Pe King*, that Kue Sing was at *Nan King*, the Tartars were in such a consternation, that the emperor was about flying into his own country. There is no doubt but if Kue Sing would have been advis'd, and had proceeded with deliberation, he had made himself master of all *Cbina*; he was proud, and that was enough to make him rash in his undertakings. Upon the rout of the enemy the Tartar recover'd, and took all measures to get rid of him, made

NAVA-
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NAVA- up a fleet of eight hundred *Champanes*,
 RETTE. and attack'd the enemy who had twelve
 hundred. At first the *Tartar* had the best,
 but the wind favouring the enemy, they
 came on with such fury, that the whole
Tartar fleet perish'd. Of the *Tartars* that
 engag'd ashore not one escap'd; yet after-
 wards the *Tartar* being assisted by the
Dutch, whom he rewarded very ill, fought
 again, routed *Kue Sing*, drove him to the
 island *Hermosa*, and brought all *China* un-
 der his dominion. Afterwards when *Kue*
Sing aspir'd to the sovereignty of *Manila*,
 he sent a religious man of our order with
 a letter to the governor, to this effect:

6. "It has been the practice of all an-
 tiquity, and is so still, that any off-spring
 of a foreign nation pay tribute and ac-
 knowledge to renowned princes cho-
 sen by heaven. The foolish *Hollanders*
 not understanding the decrees and ordi-
 nances of heaven, behaved themselves
 without fear or shame, wronging and
 tyrannizing over my subjects, and rob-
 bing my trading *Champanes*; for which
 reason I had long since design'd to put
 out a fleet to punish their crimes; but
 heaven and earth having endu'd me with
 a wonderful forbearance and generosity,
 I continually sent them friendly advice
 and admonitions, hoping they would
 repent for their sins, and mend their
 faults; but they growing more harden'd,
 more unruly and perverse, took no no-
 tice. I being therefore highly provok'd
 1662. in the year 1662, [according to our com-
 putation] in the fourth moon, the fury
 of my anger swelling, set out a fleet to
 chastize their crimes, and coming to their
 forts slew innumerable multitudes of them
 [this is false, for only six hundred Dutch
 were kill'd. and they destroy'd eight thou-
 sand *Chinamans*] the *Hollanders* having no
 way left to fly or get off, and naked, hum-
 bly begg'd they might be our subjects.
 Their cities, forts, lakes, ware-houses, and
 what they had been many years gather-
 ing, in a short time became mine [how
 proudly he talks of cities, and there was
 never a one there.] and had they, being
 sensible of their faults, come sooner,
 humbly bowing their foreheads to pay
 tribute to me, perhaps I had been appeas'd,
 and they would not be now so
 miserable.

7. Now your little, or mean king-
 dom, has wrong'd and oppress'd my
 subjects, and my trading *Champanes*,
 not much unlike to the *Hollanders*, pro-
 voking discord, and encouraging re-
 venge, by your present tyranny. The
 affairs of the island *Hermosa* are all set-
 tled to my mind; I have hundreds of
 thousands of able soldiers, abundance of

"ships of war, and abundance of *Cham-*
panes in this island. The way to your
 kingdom by water is very short, so
 that setting out in the morning we may
 come to it at night. I thought to have
 gone thither in person with my fleet to
 punish your crimes and presumption
 [God put a stop to him, or he had done
 much mischief] but I remember that tho'
 your little kingdom gave the first pro-
 vocation, it having afterwards express'd
 some repentance, giving me advice con-
 cerning the first article of this affair, I
 resolv'd to pardon it. My fleet being
 now in the island *Hermosa*, I sent before
 only the father [it was F. Victorio Ric-
 cio a Florentin, that went over in the
 same vessel with me, a man of extraordi-
 nary parts and worth] and by his friend-
 ly advice, that your small kingdom
 may submit to the will of heaven and
 acknowledge its faults, and come yearly
 in humble manner to my court to pay
 homage to me. In case you do so, I
 order the father to return to me with
 the answer, and I shall give intire credit
 to him. I will deal fairly, pardon your
 past faults, assisting and giving you
 employments in your royal town, and
 will order the merchants to go trade
 there. And in case you suffer your selves
 to be deceiv'd, and are not sensible of
 your own good, my fleet shall be upon
 you immediately, and shall burn and
 destroy your forts, lakes, cities, ware-
 houses, and all other things; and then
 tho' you beg to be admitted to pay tri-
 bute, it shall not be granted you. If
 so, the father need not return. Good
 and evil, loss and gain, are now in the
 ballance; your little kingdom must re-
 solve speedily, and not delay repentance
 till it is too late; I only advise, and ad-
 monish you friendly. In the 13th year
 of *Jun Lie* [that is 1662] the 7th of the 3^d
 moon, [which was in April.]

8. This message caus'd much disorder
 among the *Chinese* that were then at *Manila*,
 they mutiny'd and basely murder'd a reli-
 gious man of our order. All things being
 pacify'd (an account of the rest shall be
 given in another place) it was resolv'd F.
Victorio should return with the answer. His
 life was expos'd to that merciless tyrant,
 and it is certain, had not God taken him
 off, he had cruelly tortur'd the poor reli-
 gious man. D. *Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*
 govern'd the island at that time very wor-
 thily, and answer'd the letter that has been
 inserted above, in this manner.

9. D. *Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*,
 knight of the order of *Calatrava*, one of
 the council of his catholic majesty our
 sovereign lord king *Philip* the fourth the

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 Vol. I.

great monarch of *Spain*, and of the *East* and *West Indies*, islands and continent of the ocean sea, his governor and captain general in the *Philippine* islands, and president of the royal court, and chancery, where he presides &c.

" 10. To *Kue Sing*, who rules and governs the sea coasts of the kingdom of *China*. [*He honour'd him too much*] No nation in the world is ignorant, that the *Spaniards* obey none but their king, confessing and adoring almighty God, the Creator of heaven and earth, cause of all causes, without beginning, middle, or end; and that they live in his holy law, and die for the defence of it, and that their dealings are fair, just, and always the same, as has appear'd by those they have had for several years with the *Chinese*, who have brought commodities worth many thousands, and have been enrich'd and got vast treasures by their returns. They have found faith in our promises, and had our love and assistance, whilst they have professed themselves friends; and you having continued the same correspondence, since *China* was divided by the wars, we have continued in amity, protecting your vessels, supplying you bountifully with commodities and provisions you wanted, without any let, wishing you well, and to know whether you wanted any help or comfort in the variety of fortune that has attended you; refusing on the *Tartars* account to expel the *Chinese* that were among us of your province, or party. You were thankful for this, gratefully declaring you would continue your friendship, and be unalterable as the incorruptible stone. You sent your ambassador, who was receiv'd, entertain'd, and dismiss'd with all kindness imaginable. And yet now contrary to your promise, and to that publick faith you ought to observe, pretending wrongs, you demand homage and tribute, without considering the mischiefs may accrue, nor the inestimable benefit you at present receive: for tho' you should obtain the dominion of these islands, which is not easy but rather impossible, you would only lord it over your self, destroying the trade, without leaving your self a possibility of gathering such treasure any other way as you yearly transport from hence, enriching you, your allies, and all your nation and kingdom of *China*, no other nation about us having such conveniences as you have hence. Look upon the gods you adore, made of the metal you carry from hence; reflect before you make your adoration and submission, and you

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" will find that this country is under the *NAVADOMINION*, jurisdiction and power of our lord the king; you will be sensible he is a sovereign upon all accounts; and yet when you should seek your own prefermentation, you threaten war, boasting of your power. Be it as it will, I have caus'd all the *Sangleys* (that is *Chinese*) that were in these islands at their ease, and driving their trades, to depart freely with their goods and vessels, that you may have the more to bring you over; without taking notice of the mutiny rais'd by some who were jealous they might lose their lives for the extravagancy of your letter, which they imputed to want of sense and understanding; but I us'd mercy towards them, because we would not draw our swords upon an inconsiderable number, nor discredit the valour God has endued us with, which is such, that tho' your power were double and treble what you boast of, yet we think it but little enough to exercise our courage upon. Therefore we answer, that it is not in your power to make kingdoms larger or smaller, because your life and duration is but short and insignificant; for you were born as it were yesterday, and must die as to-morrow, without leaving the least memory of your name in the world; for you know no other world but *China*: in these parts the air is different, the influences of heaven not the same, and colours near at hand vary from what they appear at a distance. All the ports and passages are stop't to admit of no body from you, unless you repent and sue for peace, with all necessary precaution for preserving the honour of the arms of *Spain*, and for the greater glory of our Lord God. And if you persevere, you shall be receiv'd as an enemy, you shall be answerable for the lives that are lost, and the dangers that threaten you; and we will stand resolutely upon our defence, and defend the universal rights of nations: and if you are unwilling to take so much pains, let us know it, and the *Spaniards* shall come to you, tho' you will find enough to do with the *Tartars*, and even with those that follow and hate you, and with the *Hollanders*, who find you employment, retrieving their reputation as they well know how to do it. So that you will have no place of safety; we still expecting the good success we shall meet with from the hand of our God, for the sea, the winds, the fire, the earth, and all the whole creation will conspire against you; the crows we bear in our colours, as the mark of our redemption, obtain-

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NAVARETTE. "ing the triumph that is due to it. And
"that you may not doubt of the answer,
"F. Vistorio Ricio your ambassador and
"mine carries it, that you may receive
"him as such, and cause the liberties
"and immunities of ambassadors, used a-
"mong princes and sovereigns, to be in-
"violably kept in his person. God give
"you that true knowledge we wish you,
"and that good neighbourhood we ob-
"serve. *Manila July 10th. 1662.*

11. They were satisfi'd at *Manila* that *Kue Sing* would sail thither the next year with all his power; therefore the governor *D. Sabiniano Manrique* took care to repair and add new fortifications. He was so intent upon giving a good example, that he put his hands to the work; so much was done in a year, that *F. Vistorio* writ to us in *China*, that when he return'd thither in the year 1663, he did not know *Manila*.

12. The governor having commanded the *Chinese* to depart *Manila*; the first *Champanes* that went out carry'd the news to *Kue Sing* of the resolution he had taken, adding lies, as that he had caus'd a great number of *Chinese* to be put to death. That barbarous proud mungrel in a rage blasphem'd heaven, and was ready to tear himself in pieces thro' mere passion; thus in a few days he ended his wretched life. *F. Vistorio* writ us word, that his body remain'd so deform'd that no body could endure to look at it, and therefore they presently put it into a coffin. Other *Chinese* who came afterwards, gave an account how *F. Vistorio* had assist'd and favour'd them in the tumult at *Manila*, which made the said father be well receiv'd, not by *Kue Sing*, whom he did not see even dead, but with his kindred, with whom he treated about a peace; which he concluded to the satisfaction of all the islands. *Kue Sing's* eldest son, whom, as has been said, he had order'd to be put to death, succeeded him; he is ill-natur'd, and not so resolute or wise as his father; therefore I question his making himself master of any provinces in *China*, as was reported this year 1675.

1674. The letters from *Manila* of 1674 inform me, that a governor of four provinces in *China* has revolted, and has many followers; the letters of 1673 from *China* make no mention of it, which makes me doubt it; nor do I know of any governor of four provinces there is, unless it be *Yu San Kuei*; and if he has revolted, the *Tartar* is in danger. (*We find since that all this either was not at all, or came to nothing.*)

13. *F. Vistorio* found many Christians in the island *Hermosa*; and perceiving they were not tainted with the heresy of the *Hollanders*, he enquir'd how it came about; and they told him, that when the *Dutch*

took our fort (for which *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* was to blame) some of them, in the presence of the *Indians*, went into our church, where one drawing his sword, hack'd the crucifix that stood upon the high altar; and then in the sight of all the Christians, the heretick turn'd about, and fell down dead. This strange accident convinced the Christians that those were wicked people, and therefore they said they would never give ear to what they said. A wonderful prodigy our *LORD* was pleas'd to shew, to retain those poor converts in the purity of the faith.

14. *Kue Sing* wanted all the qualities and perfections a ruling prince ought to be adorn'd with, therefore it is no wonder God should punish him with so wretched an end. 1. High place, dignity, and power, is to be dreaded, and not coveted, as *S. Thomas* proves, *lib. I. cap. 1. de Erudit. Princ.* *Kue Sing* did not only covet, but tyrannically usurp'd that greatness he had. 2. For a man to secure and establish himself in the government, he stands in need of true wisdom, as the saint teaches, *chap. ii.* and of goodness of life, attended by solid and not vain nobility, as he teaches in the following chapters; all which that man was void of. How then could he avoid the precipice? and if humility preserves crowns, and pride destroys them, as was mention'd in the second book, and *S. Thomas* writes *cap. vi.* Who was more proud and haughty than *Kue Sing*? A prince ought to be merciful and mild, not vain, covetous, or addicted to worldly pleasures, as the saint proves at large and incomparably well throughout all that book. *Kue Sing* having been of a quite contrary disposition, he in vain usurp'd all those titles he made use of.

15. And if we consider the superior qualifications that ought to adorn the regal power, such as the theological virtues, fear of God, and others the holy doctor mentions *lib. II.* we shall find that haughty *Chinese* neither had, nor so much as knew any of them. And tho' it be true that the emperors of that nation were defective as to these as well as he, yet many of them, as has been shewn, did the duty of their office through the means of the natural virtues they possess, and which *Kue Sing* wanted.

16. Let us see whether he had those *S. Cyprian* sets down in *lib. de duodec. Abusis. Sæculi.* *S. Thomas* mentions them *lib. II. cap. 13. de Erudit. Princ.* above quoted. 1. That the king must oppress or hurt no man wrongfully. 2. That he must give equal judgment, without being sway'd by love or hate. 3. That he must be a defender of orphans, widows, and strangers.

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4. That he must suppress robberies, and punish adultery. 5. Not bestow high places on wicked men, not encourage players, and banish impious persons. 6. Not pardon murderers; defend the church, and maintain the poor. 7. Make good and just men governors, and take ancient, wise, and frugal men for his counsellors. 8. Let his anger and passion go over, defend his dominions manfully, not be puff'd up with prosperity, and bear all adversities with resolution. 9. Have great confidence in God, and be observant in the catholick religion. 10. Breed up his children holily, and have certain hours for prayer, and not eat but at regular hours. *These things make a kingdom happy for the present, and carry a king to heaven.* Then S. Thomas quotes what S. Augustin and St. Gregory writ upon the same subject, wherof something has been said in the second and third books. And though it be true that *Kue Sing* can plead ignorance, as to what relates to God and his holy religion, yet he cannot in the other particulars, for as much as all

that has been here mention'd out of these NAVA-saints, may be found in their books, as RETTE. may appear by what has been writ in other places. In short, he neither observ'd the natural rules a prince ought to follow, nor the supernatural. It were well for us that they who have been born under greater ties than that *Chinese*, who rais'd himself so so high from so mean a fortune, would practise and observe them. If to what is written already we should add the rest S. Thomas mentions in his *opusc.* which they ought always to carry with them whom God has entrusted with government, it would be enough not only to make a king good and virtuous, but even holy, and a great saint if he observ'd it. In lib. VI. cap. 7. the saint has admirable words, and something concerning those whom kings ought to have about them. Those that are very near, says he, must be very holy, the next very wise; the first must answer to the seraphims, who are most familiar with God; the next to the Cherubims.

CHAP. XXXI.

Some things added relating to what has been already writ.

1. AFTER putting an end to my travels, I have remember'd some passages that will suffice to make up another chapter; and I doubt not but if I would give my self time to reflect upon what I have seen, I might find matter to dilate further upon.

2. In the first and last books I spoke something of the civility, modesty, and good behaviour of the *Chinese* soldiery; and considering the experience I had of it, I might well have enlarg'd upon the subject. Methinks the *Chinese* observe what the emperor *Aurelianus* writ to one of his lieutenants, *Vopiscus in Arel.* sets it down; Friend, says he, if you would be a good commander, and desire to live, keep your soldiers within bounds: I will not have the countryman complain, that a chicken or a bunch of grapes is forcibly taken from him; I will call them to account for a grain of salt, or drop of oil, they have unjustly made use of. I will have my soldiers grow rich with the spoils of their enemies, not with the tears and sweat of my subjects. I will have them wear their riches on their backs, not lavish them in taverns; I will have them chaste in their quarters, and no complaints come against them. S. Lewis king of France could not have given better instructions to those that serv'd in his armies. No body will have cause to admire what *Marcius Scaurus* writes, that he saw numbers of soldiers lying un-

der a great tree loaded with fruit, and none of them stretch'd out his hand to gather an apple. Nor will that be thought strange which *Lampridius* writes of *Alexander Severus*, that the soldiers march'd to the Persian war as if they had been senators, and that the country people lov'd them as if they had been their brothers, and honour'd the emperor as a God. All this I saw in effect practis'd in *China*; when five, or six, or more companies came into a town, it is no otherwise than if half a dozen honest known guests were coming; no man is disturb'd, no body is in a consternation, or hides, as we see they do in other parts where they are under greater ties. Many men seem to persuade themselves, that the day they are list'd and appear in arms, they are to lay aside all Christianity; this we daily see, there is no denying of it.

3. That brave and renowned general *Belisarius* behav'd himself much better, as *Procopius de Bello Vand.* writes: he order'd two soldiers to be impal'd for some crimes; and being inform'd that the rest mutter'd, he said to them, Know that I am come to fight with the arms of religion and justice, without which no victory or happiness is to be expected. I will have my soldiers keep their hands clean to kill the enemy. I will never suffer that man in my army whose fingers are stain'd with blood, though he be a *Mars* in war. Force without justice

NAVARRETTE. justice and equity, is cowardice, not valour. Read what *Oleaster* observes in

Deut. ii. You shall buy meat of them for money. All catholicks who serve, especially

officers, ought to have these words engrav'd on their arms. Punishment is very material, every man trembles when he knows for certain there is no pardon. The

Discipline. *Chinese* make good use of this method. Complaint was made at *Fo Ngan*, that some soldiers had stole a hen; the captain who liv'd near the church, enquir'd into the matter, and gave the signal that he would sit to try it. I presently went up into a garret, the window whereof overlook'd all the court-yard, and part of the room where he sat in judgment; I stood a while to observe what was done, though somewhat back that I might not be seen: there was no hearing what they said, but the result of it was, that they stretch'd out a soldier upon his face in the court-yard, and laying his thighs bare, began to bastinado him with thick cudgels, that I wonder they did not kill him: It made my heart ake, and I observ'd that after one blow was given, till the other fell, that wretch's flesh shook so that it was terrible to behold. I went down immediately, having no heart to see that cruel execution. Who will dare to offend, seeing such punishments? But the other was more severe, when as I writ before, a soldier was beheaded for paying a half-penny short. *S. Thomas* writes much to this purpose in *Opusc. de Erudit. Princip.* And in his sixth book he makes a special chapter of the mischiefs of war.

Winds. 4. It is usual about the beginning of *August* to have a terrible storm of east-winds on the coast of *Cbina*, which the *Portugueses* and others call *tufon*, a corruption of the *Chinese* name *tung sung*, that is, easterly wind. The seamen dread it, and almost endeavour to get into harbour before it comes. It sometimes reaches as far as *Manila*, the *Indians* call it *bagio*: I have felt it, and indeed it is terrible, and does much hurt among buildings, sugar-canes, and other product of the earth. I have read that of late years they have declin'd, but they know nothing of it in those parts; for I have discours'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* about these *tufons*, and could never find there was any alteration in them. There is no necessity of multiplying miracles, or attributing them to any body to no purpose.

Cochinchina. 5. The kingdom of *Cochinchina* lies betwixt *Tunquin* and *Champa*; the country is good, and abounds in silk; they trade from thence to *Manila*, whither they carry curiosities from *Japan*, those people having a trade there. They have also sail'd

thither from *Manila*, sometimes they have made good returns, and other times thro' the private fancies of some men have lost all. The soldiery of this kingdom is the best in all those parts, is well-disciplin'd, and most days the king keeps forty thousand men at court to shoot at a mark, and those that aim best are rewarded with pieces of silk. I have several times heard *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* say, they are all excellent marksmen; and that the words of *Judges xx. 16.* cannot be better apply'd to any people in the world than to those of *Cochinchina*. This is the reason they have always the better in their continual wars with the king of *Tunquin*, though this last exceeds the other in all respects, not only in number of men, but in wealth, and the multitude of elephants he carries to war. They have also many light galleys, with which they do wonders in the great river that runs up to the court. There is no doubt but the *Europeans* have furnish'd that and other powerful kingdoms, having provided them fire-arms, cannon and gunners. There is at present in *Cochinchina*, a half-black of *Portuguese* breed, who in my time was made knight of the order of *CHRIST*; he is an able officer, an excellent founder, and very curious at making chain-bullets, and other warlike instruments.

6. The kingdom of *Cambou* lies more to the south in the latitude of *Manila*, and therefore the people are not so warlike as authors write; and experience teaches, they have but little blood, and are afraid to lose it. That king is not so well guarded as others. *Manila* has always had a trade with that country, which has excellent timber for shipping. Some years since the people of *Manila* built one there which was famous, and the memory of the ship of *Cambou* lasts to this day. Another was built in my time, but perish'd unfortunately. It has often been argued at *Manila*, whether it be more advantageous to build shipping in our islands, or in foreign kingdoms, *Cambou*, *Siam*, &c. I have heard arguments on both sides, and read printed memorials upon the subject at *Madrid*: it is not easy to decide. Those that are for building abroad favour the *Indians*, tho' some will not have it so; certain it is, they that do not groan under the labour, do not like it: I do not design to concern my self with these affairs, but it can be no harm to repeat what others say. I often heard it said, by a person of judgment and well meaning, that the best way was to buy ships of the *English* or *Portugueses* of those countries, who build good ones, and so strong, that they sail them into *Europe*. I must confess I saw an *English* frigate forty

forty guns at aboard it will appear with certain did flourish thousand pieces in the year 16 to *Manila*, all men at the goodness, was *John de Salcedo* built at *Goa*, pieces of eight which is enough good: and if *nila* ten or twelve it were too ch boxa to this p it came into give an account river beyond beautiful built workmanship their excellen brought to *Go* that which I *de Lofada* into no interfering of some say is *M* will have it to the great, wh and order'd th as a memoria there. It cor cloisters, as th but no part is carvings; it i When *D. Jam* ther to build t the king was t fore the *Spania* this wonder.

Laos.

dom of the *L* musk, civit, storax, which *Manila*, and t *Spain*. The co on the west it north it draws *Tiber*; north-w it stretches a li nions; lower is able distance.

Siam.

7. I have wr kingdom of S great and power you come to S great trade; th not come with or *Sinapura*, much tea. T twenty days jo but seldom lie they enclose th and blankets,

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forty guns at Malacca, and was a good while aboard it with some Portuguese; it might appear with credit any where, and the captain did assure me it did not cost full eight thousand pieces of eight. The ship, which in the year 1665, was forced from Macao to Manila, and so much commended by all men at the port of Cavite because of its goodness, was taken by the governor D. John de Salcedo to sail to Acapulco, had been built at Goa, and cost not seven thousand pieces of eight; I sail'd in it four months, which is enough to know whether it was good: and if every ship were to cost Manila ten or twelve thousand pieces of eight, it were too cheap. I did not mention Cambaya to this purpose, tho' I am not sorry it came into my mind; my design was to give an account, that sixty leagues up the river beyond the court, there are certain beautiful buildings, with the most curious workmanship imaginable; the relation of their excellency and perfection which was brought to Goa, astonish'd all men. I sent that which I had from D. Francis Enriquez de Lofada into Spain as a rarity, there is no inferring of it in this place. The work some say is Moïaick, others Roman: some will have it to be the work of Alexander the great, who they fancy went so far, and order'd that stately palace to be built as a memorial to posterity of his being there. It consists of square courts and cloisters, as they are in fashion at present, but no part is without fine mouldings and carvings; it is the king's pleasure-house. When D. James de Lofada went over thither to build the ship I said was cast away, the king was taking his pleasure, and therefore the Spaniards went up thither and saw this wonder. Above it is the large kingdom of the Laos, a country abounding in musk, civit, frankincense, benjamin and storax, which commodities they carry to Manila, and thence they are sent into New Spain. The country swarms with people; on the west it borders upon Siam, on the north it draws near to the kingdom of Tibet; north-west of it is Bengala, and then it stretches a little up to the Mogul's Dominions; lower is Narjunga, but at a considerable distance.

7. I have writ something concerning the kingdom of Siam; it is certainly very great and powerful, and crossing it by land you come to Tanassary, a famous port of great trade; they that take this way need not come within many leagues of Malacca or Sincapura, the way is shorter and saves much sea. They travel in carts about twenty days journey, and go in caravans, but seldom lie in any town. At night they enclose themselves with their carts and blankets, to keep off the many ele-

phants there are about the fields. And NAVA-tho' that defence would avail but little, should any elephant attack it, yet it serves to scare them so that they do not gather near it; thus men and beasts lie in safety. At Tenassarim there are always vessels to go over to Coromandel, Bengala, and other parts; this is a convenient way for those that have not much baggage. The chief thing the Moors deal in from that part is elephants, they are cheaper than those of Ceylon, but not so noble.

8. F. Letona, cap. 2. n. 26. speaking of the gulph of Sincapura, in his description of the Philippine islands, says, it is the way to the gulph of Goa, the court of India: A very improper expression, for there is no such thing as a gulph of Goa; gulphs of Bengala and Ceylon there are. That city is seated almost in the midst of the coast of Malabar, which stretches out north and south from cape Comori to Suratte. North-west of Suratte is the kingdom of Cambaya, tributary to the Mogul, where there is abundance of agate; abundance of it is wrought at Suratte, and very cheap, as I observ'd before. At Macassar I read in a Spanish book call'd *prado espiritual*, written by F. Santoro, that the first velvet ever was seen in Europe, came from this kingdom. In the time of the Roman power that king sent a present, and among other things some pieces of velvet: the gulph of Persia, and thence by land, which was easy enough; the way is well known.

9. As to Philip the second of Spain's letter, which I said was shewn to the captain general of Macao, forbidding any from the Philippine islands to pass that way into China; I say they cannot make use of it, for as much as pope Urban the eighth publish'd his bull some years since at Macao, forbidding any person under heavy censures to hinder missionaries from going into China and other parts, what way soever they could find out. This bull, if obligatory, takes off all dependence on that letter, if not, we must have recourse to the supreme judge. I did so, and Clement the tenth, who now governs the church, confirm'd the said bull in all its parts; if this be not enough, we must bear our neighbours misfortunes with patience. And to take away all colour of authority from that letter, I will here insert what Philip the fourth in his councils of Portugal and India decreed, in January 1632. 1. That in regard the right and duty of preaching and dilating the gospel is common to all the faithful, and particularly recommended to religious men; therefore the missions of Japan and China are not to be confin'd to the fathers of the society alone, but that all orders have liberty to go thither, and get in the

NAVARETTE. best they can, particularly those who have been allowed to go over to the *West-Indies* and have monasteries there. 2. That they go not only by way of the *East*, but of the *West-Indie*, within whose limits *Japan* and the *Philippine* islands are, and which is the most convenient passage for the religious of *Castile*. There follow nine other heads, which in effect pope *Urban* mentions in his bull of 1633. So that the prohibition of any others going to *Japan* but the jesuits, and that by way of the *East-Indies*, is taken off by the pope, the king and council of *Portugal*. The same for *China*; and other kingdoms.

10. There are some things to be observed in the description of *Manila*, and other islands in that sea, written by *F. Letona*, whom I knew and convers'd with at *Manila*. Tho' this father was curious in observing and enquiring, yet he never going farther than *Manila*, could not be an eye-witness of what he says, nor be exact in all things.

11. He made no mention of the island *Amboyna*, which abounds in cloves; nor of that of *Bima* which is near it and considerable; and so of others towards *Solor* and *Timor*. The *Dutch* are strong at *Amboyna*, and have engross'd to themselves all the trade of cloves, it falls on the back of *Macassar*. Not long before my coming to *Macassar*, the sumbane and prince *Carrero* had been with forty thousand men to ruin the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. The secretary *Francis Mendez*, knight of the order of *CHRIST*, a good Christian, and akin to the sumbane, assur'd me, he had made so great a progress, that the *Dutch* had abandon'd their works, and betaken themselves to their vessels to go off: but that the *Mabometans* at the last attack falling to drinking, the *Dutch* took heart, return'd to their works, and being encourag'd by the enemy's folly, got the better of them, they returning with shame to *Macassar* when they had been at an incredible charge. The secretary much lamented the defeat of that expedition, which had been very advantageous to the *Mabometan*, and perhaps had prevented his falling into the hands of the *Dutch*, as he did in the year 1670.

12. *F. Letona*, n. 5. writes, that within the archbishoprick of *Manila*, there were certain heathen Blacks, natives of the island, unconquer'd, call'd *Zambales*, and very barbarous. I said something of them before, they are most expert archers; but they deceiv'd him who said they were the same as the *Zambales*; for these *Zambales* are mortal enemies to the Blacks, and much dreaded of them. There are very good Christians among them; their towns are on the skirts of the mountains, to hin-

der the Blacks from coming at the towns of the *Indians*. For these and other reasons, the *Zambales* are exempt from contributions and personal duty; they pay their taxes in silver, not in specie. The Blacks have friz'd hair like the *Cafres*, the *Zambales* have not. The Blacks are not conquer'd, nor is it possible to subdue them, tho' a hundred thousand men were gather'd to that purpose. 1. Because the mountains are inaccessible, and so thick wooded, that unless the shelter be destroy'd, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* can advance a step, and the Blacks run in and out at every hole like hares. 2. Because they standing behind the trees with their arrows, shoot as many as they please without being seen, by reason their colour cannot be distinguish'd from that of the tree. If the *Indians* and *Zambales* go into the mountains, they have generally the worst of it, and therefore they endeavour to catch the Blacks in open fields, but it is no easy matter. I knew them sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the *Indians*; when they were at peace, whole troops of them would come down to the towns; we gave them tobacco, rags and wine, which pleas'd them very much, and some of them help'd the principal *Indians* in their tillage. We admir'd to see them so fat, tall and strong, whereas they eat nothing but wild mountain roots, some fruit and raw flesh, without any clothing but their skin, or any other bed but the ground.

13. Every one of them has certainly his bow and arrows, the bow is as long as he that uses it, they make them of a palm-tree as hard as iron; the string is made of the barks of trees, so strong that nothing can out-do them. Besides the bow, they use another little iron weapon, broader than one's hand, a quarter of a yard long, the handle very fine; they said they made it of burnt oysters and snails; it look'd like delicate marble. This weapon serves them near at hand, with it they cut off a man's head at the mouth very cleverly. All the people along those mountains, as far as *New Segovia*, value a scull mightily to drink out of, so that he who has most sculls is the bravest and noblest among them; and they go out to cut off heads only for this honour, without any other prospect. In some places they make use of the teeth of those heads they cut off, stringing and making garlands of them to wear on their heads; he that has most is best look'd upon. There are a great many people on the mountains of *Orion*, upon the bay of *Manila*, but they are peaceable; all the time I was there, they never did the least hurt. I saw some companies,

nies, and part I made much love; I said it felt like an hairy.

14. N. 12. F. of the bay at four leagues wide neither of them mouth is wide low the water much depth. but not above men complain built on that channels against if cannon were escape through channels lie open himself of *Pam* without the *Manila*; and thence ravage the whole vitions. I ask'd that consequent made me the use cause they took good.

15. Amongst a memorial presented since, I saw a note had been in the ill to answer or objection religious men themselves intrude. This is an excellent all they write on could be more plain in propounding the good of his subjects fallen upon the notice is taken of others advise for there is anything written is presently credited taken to enquire. It happen'd in the governor was accus'd laid to his charge he should govern countable when his office. Complain for what, of a certain order, and seiz'd all the monasteries, and off; I do not argue it was great to be such, had the secular power without granting any political excuse they did about the they look upon as

nies, and particularly an old man, whom I made much of rather out of fear than love; I laid my hand on his back, and it felt like an ass, it was so rough and hairy.

14. *N. 12. F. Letona* makes the mouth of the bay at the island call'd *Marivelez*, four leagues wide, it has two mouths, but neither of them a league over. The little mouth is widest, because the land lying low the water spreads, but it has not much depth. The great one is very deep, but not above half a league over. All men complain that a fort has not been built on that island, to secure the two channels against the attempts of enemies; if cannon were planted there, no ship could escape through without being hit. Those channels lie open to any invader to possess himself of *Pampanga*, and other provinces, without the least let from *Cabite*, or *Manila*; and thence they may cross the lake, ravage the whole island, and seize all provisions. I ask'd a major, why a thing of that consequence was not minded? He made me the usual answer, that it was because they took no care of the publick good.

15. Among some reflections made upon a memorial presented at *Madrid* some years since, I saw a note made by some one who had been in the islands; and having nothing to answer or object to one point, he says, religious men think they do nothing, unless they intrude themselves to govern all. This is an excellent method to discredit all they write or propose; and yet who could be more plain and unbiass'd than they in proposing to his majesty what is for the good of his subjects? A great plague has fallen upon the *Indians*, which is, that no notice is taken of what their spiritual fathers advise for their good; and no sooner is any thing writ against religious men, but it is presently credited, or at least care is not taken to enquire whether it be true or not. It happen'd in my time at *Manila*, that a governor was accus'd, and heinous things laid to his charge; however it was resolv'd he should govern out his time, and be accountable when he gave an account of his office. Complaint was made, I know not for what, of a grave religious man of a certain order, and immediately they sent and seiz'd all he had, took him out of the monastery, and carry'd him fifty leagues off; I do not argue whether the crime objected was great or not; but supposing it to be such, had that friar no superiors? The secular power presently took it in hand, without granting him a hearing, or finding any politick excuse to delay the matter, as they did about the governor, because this they look upon as doing the king good ser-

vice. So they put a good clergyman, for whom *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* had a great respect, into irons, and banish'd him the islands, in the sight of many infidels. What opinion can those heathens have of a priest so banish'd by the laity? I will say no more of it here, because I will not pretend to govern; but I could justly complain of one, who writ scandalously against *F. Vittorio Riccin*, to whom those islands are more beholden than to all that are or have been there.

16. *F. Letona, N. 14.* makes a distinction betwixt the going out to sea at *Marivelez* for *New Spain*, and that for *Terranate, N. 17.* but I can see no reason for it; the season is different, but nothing else. For that reason the ships that go to *New Spain*, stand out to sea towards the island *Luban*, in order to sail away thence with the trade wind to the anchoring-place. This could not be done in going to *Terranate*, because the winds at that time come off the land, and therefore they coasted hard upon a bowling along the shore of *Balagan*, that they might not fall away to leeward. Nor is *Luban* seventeen leagues from *Marivelez*, as he says, in my opinion it is not above twelve, for I sail'd it in *December* between sun-rising and three in the afternoon.

17. He mentions other things which happen'd sometime after the said father was gone from *Manila*. He is much in the right as to what he says concerning *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, and more might have been added. I am of opinion that noble gentleman's great respect to the church and his ministers was the cause why God bless'd him there, and sent him home safe to his country. He gave an excellent example in these and many other particulars.

18. It is to be observ'd, as I have been inform'd from credible persons, that ever since *D. Sabiniano* landed at *Cavite*, no other ship from *New Spain* till this time ever could come to an anchor in that place, which is a great damage to the *Indians*. Who can assign a reason for it? yet certain it is that with regard to God nothing happens by chance, but he permits second causes to work his designs without interrupting their order. When *D. John de Leon* went governor, his ship was left much batter'd near *Palapa*, because one undertook to pilot it, who ought not to have done it, and perhaps out of covetousness. The whole cargo was carry'd to *Manila* upon the backs of *Indians*. I am assur'd by those who were aboard, that above a thousand *Indians* dy'd through the hard labour; and had his majesty's return, which was but forty thousand ducats, been more, more had dy'd. Let those observe this,

who

NAVA- who believe the remittances to *Manila* are
 RETTE. very considerable. Before him *D. John*
de Salcedo arriv'd at *New Segovia*, and the
 same person told me that above two thou-
 sand *Indians* dy'd carrying the goods. Can
 any thing be more deplorable? Formerly
 ships seldom fail'd arriving safe at *Cavite*,
 so that all was fav'd without oppressing
 the natives, unless the apprehension of
 meeting enemies happen'd to cause any
 alteration. *D. James Fajardo* was put into
New Segovia.

19. God may remedy this if we use
 our endeavours. All men agree that if the
 ships sail from *Acapulco* any time in *Febru-*
ary or beginning of *March*, they will come
 in good time to put into *Cavite*. The rea-
 son is plain, because the south-west winds,
 which are contrary, do not fix till after
Midsummer; and tho' they should start up
 sooner, they are not lasting, and may be
 endur'd at sea either lying by, or tacking
 as many do, and I saw it practis'd at the
 cape of *Good Hope*, where are the greatest
 storms in the world. There we were twenty
 eight days struggling against the wind
 and waves, sometimes lying up our head
 to the wind, and sometimes traversing from
 north to south. But in order that they
 may set out of *Acapulco* at that time, the
 ships must sail from *Manila* at *Midsummer*,
 or sooner; so they sail with fair weather
 to *S. Bernardine*, where they take in wood,
 water and refreshment; and as soon as the
 south-west starts up, they set out upon
 their voyage. Pilots vary in their opinions
 as to the latitude they are to keep to;
 doubtless every man follows his own, for
 they are men that will not submit to another,
 as in time of peace they may safely do,
 as has been said. A good course of life
 is very conducing to a good voyage. I
 have sail'd with several people of *Europe*,
 and to say the truth, they are much be-
 yond us.

20. I have receiv'd information concern-
 ing the supplies sent to *Manila* from well-
 meaning and conscientious persons; they
 have found in me an openness of heart and
 impartiality fit to make it known, it may
 be want of interest or prudence in them to
 conceal it. The supply that goes from
Mexico for the *Philippine* islands, is some-
 times considerable, but is much clipt be-
 fore it comes thither. The king's officers
 belonging to *Manila*, not those of *Mexico*,
 must give the true estimate of those sup-
 plies. What follows seems incredible. At
Acapulco they make a sort of hut or harbour
 of boughs between the sea and the gover-
 nor's door, for the people and commodi-
 ties that are to be ship'd. I saw it when
 there, it consists of a dozen poles stuck in
 the ground, others across them at top, and

over all boughs, hay, and leaves of palm-
 tree for a covering. Now for this work
 some years they have placed to his majesty's
 account eight thousand pieces of eight ex-
 pence, and this defray'd out of the supply
 sent to the *Philippine* islands. Can this be
 parallel'd in the world? there is a boat
 they call *Chata*, which serves to carry goods
 and people aboard; when this is mended,
 they reckon eight hundred or a thousand
 pieces of eight for a few nails, tar, hemp,
 and such things; and so in other things,
 which an honest minister of state that fears
 God and is zealous for his king's good
 may easily compute. Besides they send
 the value of many ducats in commodities,
 some of which at *Manila* are superfluous,
 and others of no value.

21. An accident very remarkable hap-
 pen'd at *Manila* some years since, which
 I have not seen in writing, and think con-
 venient to infer in this place. There
 was such abundance of pilchards in the bay,
 and so many taken, that it was wonder-
 ful; all the poor and common sort liv'd up-
 on them, and sometimes the great ones eat
 them as a dainty; but being extraordinary
 cheap, they were a great relief to many
 people. The time came when they banish'd
 the bishop, and from that moment
 they went off and totally vanish'd. This
 was much taken notice of, and is so to this
 day. Another strange passage fell out,
 which is still fresh in the memory of all
 men, which was, that when the good arch-
 bishop was without the gate of the store-
 houses where they shipp'd him, he shook
 the dust off his shoes, and cast some stones
 at the city, one of which reach'd *D. Peter*
de Corcuera the governor's nephew, and
 hit him on the shin; and tho' the stroke
 and hurt was most inconsiderable, it fester'd
 and he dy'd of it. The judge *Zapata*
 dy'd suddenly. *Tenorio* was beheaded.
 The archdeacon of the cathedral dy'd in a
 small time; these were all enemies to the
 archbishop. But the strangest of all in
 my poor opinion was, that a soldier being
 commanded to lay hold of the archbishop,
 who then had the *Ciborium* with the bleis-
 ed sacrament in his hands, or at least lean-
 ed upon the altar where it was, thinking it
 an execrable action, excus'd himself and said,
 I will rather die than do it, and laying his
 hand to his sword, drew it out and fell up-
 on it. God was pleas'd to save his life,
 as a reward of the holy zeal he express'd.

22. Much has been said, and many ar-
 guments have been made about the royal
 chapel *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* built at
Manila; I would willingly dilate upon it,
 and write the opinion of the people of those
 islands, but will confine myself for some
 reasons I have. Certain it is we must not
 always

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 demolishing ca-
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 in a country of
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 ill gotten; nor
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 says thus: For
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 masses; and the
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always condemn the demolishing, or commend the erecting of churches; for, as we see in the time of *D. James Faxardo*, some noted churches were demolish'd that the *Dutch* might not fortify themselves in them, and annoy the islands. Under *D. Sabini-ano de Lara* others were thrown down, to prevent the *Chinese* doing the like, and that the cannon might play freely. This demolishing cannot be condemn'd, no more than the same done in other places by the order of pious princes. So in case of erecting of churches, something may occur or intervene that may make it an ill action either in a moral or civil sense; because a thing is good when so in all respects, and bad through any one defect. King *Philip* and his council were not offended at the building the house of the poor *Clares* at *Macao*, because it was a nunnery or a church, for both these things are good; but because the place was not convenient for it being in a country of infidels. When a church is founded or erected, as *David* did, *1 Chron. xxii. Behold I in my poverty am preparing the expence of the house of the Lord*, this was very praise-worthy. But any man is much to be blamed who would raise such structures out of what belongs to others, and is ill gotten; nor would it please God if one should erect churches out of that which he ought to apply to the maintenance of the poor. *St. Chrysostom, Hom. 45. in Matth.* says thus: For behold those that adorn churches seem to do a good work, if the poor enjoy part of their goods, who build for the glory of God. Would you build the house of God? give a living to the faithful poor, and you will build the house of God. There are two churches, one of living stones, which are the poor, another of dead hewn stones; it is not lawful, nor convenient to forsake the former for the latter. Read what *S. Thomas* in *Cat. Aur. Matth. xxiii.* out of *S. Chrysostom*, writes concerning the structures of the Pharisees, which is excellent to this purpose.

23. In the 2^d place that chapel is no way necessary at *Manila*, 1. Because it would imply a neglect in so many good governors as preceded him. 2. Because they have a cathedral just by, and other churches where they may hear a few sermons in Lent.

24. Besides, that gentleman spent not a cross of his own in building that chapel, but did it out of the soldiers pay, and that is what maintains it to this day. *No man is said to be generous who spends out of another's purse.* Moreover there are above eight thousand pieces of eight yearly spent in that chapel to defray twelve chaplains, musicians, sacristans, wax and wine for the masses; and there are frauds enough prac-

tis'd about the wax; and at present there *NAVA-*are soldiers at *Manila*, who go barefoot, *RETTE.* and without swords, and several reform'd captains and ensigns who starve. Where, then is the good of that chapel?

25. But allowing there must be a chapel, why must there be twelve chaplains, and the dean have a thousand pieces of eight allow'd him, and the soldiers go naked and starving? Allow four chaplains, let their stipends be lessened, and those eight thousand pieces of eight be divided among them and the soldiers, or poor officers. There is no private interest I know of in this, but only proposing what is for the publick good.

26. But allowing the erecting of it good in all respects, for so we must judge of the intention, yet the condition of those islands at present is nothing like what it was then; then they were rich, now poor, then there were rich men who reliev'd many, at present no man has enough for himself; the trade was then great, and has ever since decay'd; no wonder then if there be reason to alter those things, tho' they were then convenient.

27. The case is fairly stated, if they please there should still be a chapel and chapels, be it so in the name of God; yet the erecting of that cannot be justify'd upon the opinion of one man, against the general consent of all the islands. Another thing very prejudicial to the king's revenue is practis'd in those islands, which is that the governors who receive the taxes, sink a great part for their own use. Thus it is, a governor, for example, receives some thousands in tributes, he makes up his accounts to his own mind, and says, So much for my salary due from his majesty, so much expended, so much for fees, so much is due to me; he deducts according to his own reckoning, and if he receiv'd a thousand, sets down six hundred, which he delivers after paying himself. The ill consequences of this practice are visible. A considerable man us'd to say it were better the king should pay these men their whole allowance, because they being judges of their own services and merits, pay themselves much more than they deserve.

28. A particular thing happen'd not long since near the town call'd *Lilco*, which is upon the lake of *Baj*; they sow much corn in those parts at present (many thousands of ducats had been sav'd if it had been sow'd sooner) an *Indian* had sow'd a considerable spot of corn. The government sent to view what every man had sow'd, and accordingly to allot what he was to pay contribution. They judged by eye there might be fifty bushels upon that spot, so they enter'd it, and directed the *Indian* to carry the

NAVY—the said quantity to Manila. The Indian
 ERTE urged there could not be so much corn up-
 on the ground, demanded an abatement,
 but was not allow'd it. He reap'd, and
 the corn falling short, bought some bushels
 at above six pieces of eight the bushel, to
 make up fifty, which he deliver'd, and
 had not a grain left, and only his labour
 for his pains. This is true, and I see no-
 thing unlikely in it, no more than in believ-
 ing that a thousand Indians thereabouts
 ran away to the mountains, perhaps be-
 cause they saw such practices; God grant
 no worse follows. Some Indians fly unto
 the mountains, others die under their bur-
 dens, others depart Manila, as I observ'd
 before; and I am inform'd of late, there
 are above three hundred at Jacatra; how
 should there be any left? And it were no
 small comfort, had they any hopes of re-
 lief.

29. I have heard notable circumstances
 from creditable persons concerning the im-
 prisonment of D. John de Salzedo; I will
 not argue its legality, for it does not be-
 long to me, but it is reported that a go-
 vernor of those islands us'd to say, In Spain
 a man does not know what he is a going a-
 bout, and as soon as he comes to the islands,
he finds he is king and pope. To speak as
 it really is he should have said, *He is much*
greater than king or pope. This is really so,
 and the ill consequence among many others
 is, that unless the fear of God checks them
 from giving way to all their passions, there
 is no curbing them, nor do the laity or

clergy dare open their mouths, or if they
 do it costs them dear; and what some men
 act in the devil's name, they take as service
 done the king, and under that cloak exe-
 cute all their wicked designs. We have
 too many examples of it in those islands,
 Peru, New Spain, and other parts. A
 loyal subject of the king's was wont to say,
 Father, a man's wickedness may be of that
 nature, so evident and so prejudicial to the
 publick, that it may be a good service done
 to God and the king, to put a stop to it
 the best that may be, without waiting for
 orders from above, for that may require
 four years, and three is too long, for the
 islands may be ruined in less time. It is
 only requisite in such cases that the fact be
 well examined, and then many would be
 rewarded for having had a hand in it, and
 not punished. A few years since they car-
 ried a viceroy in custody out of India into
 Portugal, whose crimes were not so great
 as those committed such a year at Manila.
 The business was examined, the people ac-
 counted good subjects, and the viceroy
 condemn'd. I shrug'd my shoulders becau-
 I had not seen what was done, and all men
 ought to be heard before we pass judgment
 upon them. This may serve to give the
 reader some light into the affairs of those
 parts, which are nothing like to what we
 see among us. After I had writ this, I
 read the copy of the archbishop of Mani-
 la, D. Michael de Poblete, his letter to his
 majesty's confessor, wherein are many hei-
 nous things concerning that gentleman.

CHAP. XXXII.

A short Supplement to what has been handled in these Books.

1. AFTER I had finish'd this work,
 I accidentally met with the R. F.
 Francis Colin's history of the progress, con-
 versions, and labours of those of the holy
 society of Jesus in the Philippine islands;
 and being, when I liv'd there, particular-
 ly acquainted with this great man, and his
 extraordinary parts, which I do not extol
 for fear my pen should fall short, as Tacitus
 said of his Agricola; *It were a wrong to*
his other virtues to mention so great a man's in-
tegrity and abstinence; I could not forbear,
 tho' hastily looking over what he had pub-
 lish'd; and finding his authority makes
 good much of what I say, I cannot for-
 bear making my advantage of it to con-
 firm what I have writ. In other particulars
 he gives some hints at things, to which I
 must speak my mind, tho' I incur some
 censure for it, to avoid greater inconveni-
 ences; which is the same Chrysippus, men-
 tion'd by Stobæus, urg'd, term. 43. *For if*
a man governs ill, he will displease the gods;
if well, men. But since the reader is to be

guided by reason, and not by passion or af-
 fection, there is no danger of being ship-
 wrack'd in a calm sea.

2. Lib. I. p. 2. he endeavours to prove
 out of Ptolomy, that the Philippine islands
 are the Manila, because of the likeness of
 that name and Manila; but the ground is
 so weak, that there is no shadow of truth
 in it. If Manila had ever been the name
 of that, or any other island in those seas,
 the opinion were more tolerable; but it
 being plain that the name is deriv'd from
 the situation of the city, because it is for
 the most part on a morass, which the Ta-
 gals call Mainila, as I observ'd in the first
 book, chap. 1. it follows that nothing to
 this purpose can be made out by that
 name. So that as Cavite is the name of the
 port of Cavite, because of its shape like a
 hook; and Malat, the name of what we call
 Malate, which signifies a land of salt-peter;
 so Manila is only the name of the place the
 city Manila stands upon, which the author
 ought to have known, as having been
 pastor

pastor of tho-
 he mentions
 down the *pa-*
 language.

3. Nor do
 when he say
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 stocks to keep
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 the next place
 of those island
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 so that if the
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 quantity of the
 it is well know
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4. Chap. ii.
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 5. Chap. iv.
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pastor of those people call'd *Tagales*, which he mentions in his history, where he sets down the *pater-noster* and *ave-maria* in that language.

3. Nor does he make out his assertion when he says, That in the islands they build all their vessels with wooden pins because of the loadstone; and that when out of the water they set them upon stocks: First, because he himself owns that is done for want of iron, and they are set upon the stocks to keep them from the great damp of the country, as also because of the worms. In the next place, because it is not the custom of those islands alone to make use of pins, but of all parts within those seas. The people of *Borneo*, *Mindanas*, *Macassar*, and others use it: And I saw large vessels at *Macassar* built in that nature, so neat and strong that I could not but admire them; so that if the *Philippine* islands had been the *Manila* because of their using wooden pins, those we have mention'd, and many more, would be so too. Nor did I ever hear that was done, because the loadstone staid the vessels that had iron pins; for tho' there be much of it in some parts, yet it is not all about those seas, where they sail from one island to another, sometimes crossing over twenty or thirty leagues, sometimes coasting fifty or sixty. And if any quantity of that stone be found in any river, it is well known that the *Indians* generally go upon rivers in vessels all of one piece, some whereof are so big they can carry twenty or thirty men, and these need neither wooden nor iron pins.

4. Chap. ii. p. 6. he says, They travel over the deserts and sands of *Lybia* and *Tartary* in cars, with rigging like ships. In my first book I mention'd that some had writ this was us'd in *China*, which is not so; in great plains such a thing perhaps might be practicable, where the ground is hard and dry, but it seems difficult in sands where the wheels must sink every moment: Nor can I conceive how those carts are to be guided, for no rudder will alter its motion in the sand. But since I never was in *Lybia* or *Tartary*, I will leave the matter to be try'd by its own probability; but there is no fixing any such thing upon *China*.

5. Chap. iv. p. 16. he treats of the first planters and peoplers of those islands, and says, It was *Tharsis* the son of *Javan*, and *Opbir*, and *Hevilaib* of *India*, whereof *Gen. x.* makes mention. He assigns that country very ancient inhabitants: I make no doubt but those islands might be peopled with great ease, because some of them are very near the continent. It is well known the strait of *Singapura*, which divides the continent from *Sumatra*, is not a musket-shot over. When I pass'd that way I ob-

serv'd it, and judg'd those islands were all *NAVA*-formerly contiguous as far as *Bantam*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, as is reported of *Sicily*, and others, and that the sea wore out those passages betwixt them. So of consequence when the land of *Malacca* and *Jor* was peopled, these islands follow'd; and from thence it is easy to go over to *Amboyna*, *Bima*, *Solor*, *Timor*, and other southern parts; and then northward to *Borneo*, then to *Zamboanga*, *Oton*, and others as far as *Manila*. It is no easy matter to decide who were the first planters.

6. Pag. 19. he says, The *Chinese* in former times went over and conquer'd the *Philippine* islands, and were masters of all those seas. According to *Barros* they were the first that peopled *Java* (it is more likely they were so of *Manila*) to confirm his opinion he urges, that at *Ilocos* and *Cagayan*, there were found the graves of men larger than the *Indians*, with *Chinese* and *Japanese* arms and accoutrements, who for the sake of the gold conquer'd and peopled these countries.

7. I writ my opinion as to this particular in the first book, and can find no reason to alter my opinion; and when any can be shewn, no man is oblig'd in honour to be obstinate. *Seneca*, lib. IV. de *Benef. cap. viii.* says thus, *It is not lightness to quit a known and condemn'd error, it is no shame to alter ones opinion.* It is very unlikely they were the first that peopled *Java*; for *Java*, *Bantam*, *Sumatra*, &c. lying so near to *Malacca* and *Jor* which is the continent, what occasion was there for the *Chinese* underraking so dangerous a voyage, and so very long to them? And if it were as the author will have it, how comes it to pass they left not the least footsteps of their language in those parts? There is no doubt they sail'd to *Manila*, and that some of them might die at *Ilocos* and *Cagayan*, and consequently some of their graves and accoutrements might be found, but that does not make out the other. When I sail'd to *Macassar*, and we were drove from our course near a great island not far distant from *Borneo*, we found in a small isle forty great skulls of men and women, and much broken *China* ware, besides other small things; must we therefore conclude the *Chinese* went thither? It is absolutely impossible, they would have been lost forty times before they reach'd it. We must give it for granted, that the *Chinese* neither take the meridian altitude, nor know the latitude, nor have the instruments to this purpose; how then should they sail where the best *Spanish* and *Portuguese* pilots are daily lost? At present they go to *Manila* as a great voyage, and because they have learn'd much experience. In going to *Si-*

NAVARETTE. *am* and *Cambosa* they only coast along the shore. In short, they hit right by chance, for they have no skill.

Tagales.

8. *Chap. xiii. p. 37.* he speaks of the people call'd *Tagales*, whom he makes so courteous and well-bred, that they never use the word *thou* to one another, but always speak in the third person; How does my lord? Whence comes my master? &c. I was minister of the *Tagales*, whose language, tho' I have been from thence eighteen years, I have not forgot. I exercis'd the mission among them, heard thousands of confessions, and preach'd some hundreds of times. I do not say but several of them, and particularly the best sort, use that manner of speaking the author mentions; yet I cannot grant it to be universal, they use a thousand *thou's*, and *be thou's* to the fathers that assist them. They have learn'd some breeding of the *Spaniards* they converse with, and therefore those about *Manila* are more civil than the rest. Discourfing upon this point upon a time with some *Indians*, one of the chief of them then present said, if the *Spaniards* had not come to our country we had been all mere brutes, the light of the gospel, religion and conversation has made us men. He spoke the truth, and shew'd himself a man of sense and reason; by which it appears the *Tagales* are not of themselves so courteous and well-bred as some will make them.

Idolatry.

9. *Chap. xv and xvi.* he sets down the multitude of idols those people had, that they ador'd the sun, moon, rainbow, beasts, trees, stones, crocodiles; had idols of the sea, mountains, plow'd lands; ador'd their ancestors, those that were kill'd by lightning, and others. I look upon all this to be very likely, and that they were infected with these errors from the continent of *Malaca*: But there is no doubt they own'd the immortality of the rational soul, which they had been ignorant of, if their first progenitors had been *Chinefes*. Nor had these carry'd them such a multitude of idols, since they, in the beginning, and before the sect of *Foe* came thither out of *India*, did not use so many images, tho' they ever ador'd the sun, moon, stars, and heaven.

Swallows
eggs.

Chap. xvii. pag. 79. he speaks of the nests I call of swallows. The author calls that bird *salangan*; it is less than our swallows, in all other respects they do not differ, and therefore at *Manila* they generally call them swallows-nests. He is in the right in saying, that when boil'd they look like large *Macaroni*. He tells us they are sold for their weight in gold in *Cbina*, but is much deceiv'd in this particular, and no less in saying that the *Portugueses* of *Macao* using them in their entertainments, are ignorant

of their value; they know it very well, and therefore sell them to the *Chinefes*, tho' some now and then eat them as a dainty.

He talks in this place of the bird call'd *herrero* (woodpecker) which with its beak bores trees to build its nest in them, and makes it as big as a hen's nest. I saw that bird at *Acafulco*, it is as big as an ordinary chicken; every day toward night-fall it furiously peck'd a palm tree, which was within the inclosure of the house where I liv'd; I observ'd it carefully, intending to stop up the entrance of the nest with a plate of iron, to try whether it could break it with the herb they say it knows which has this virtue, and endeavour to discover that herb; I was there alone, and omitted doing it for want of a ladder, and help, which I was afterwards sorry for.

Pag. 78. he writes that the great bats of *Batu*, which I have seen, and heard great numbers, are good meat, and their dung good for salt-peter. Capt'n D. *John de Montemayor*, a good soldier and better Christian, presented memorials in my time to D. *Sabiniano*, for leave to go to the island *Siao* near *Terranate*, where there are deep dens these birds shelter in to gather a great quantity of their dung, for the intent above-mention'd: The project was good, but the captain very poor, and could not be at the charge, so it came to nothing.

10. *Pag. 79.* He assigns peacocks to the island *Calamianes*. I have already said, there are abundance in several parts thereabouts. I have seen them at *Narjunga*, *Colconda*, *Siam*, *Malaca*, and even in *Madagafcar*; and before observ'd, that it is the custom in several kingdoms to make plumes of them, which the *English* and *Dutch* have made their advantage of, sticking the quills in silver, or other matter plated or wath'd, and the servants hold them to drive away the flies when they are at dinner, or in company; they are very sightly. Others make them like large round fans, after the manner of those carry'd at *Rome*, when his holiness goes abroad in *pontificalibus*; and I think in *Latin* either of them is call'd *flabellum*, which was a fan made of peacock's wings, and a very fine web, with which the deacon drove the flies from the altar, during the holy sacrifice of the mass. The *Greeks* use this ceremony, which is very mysterious, as may be seen in our *Ximenez* his ecclesiastical *lexicon*, verb. *Flabellum*. In some parts of *New Spain* it is usual for the *Acolite* to fan the gnats away, whilst mass is saying, which is very necessary; for there were no saying mass without it, the gnats are so numerous and cruel troublesome, as I observ'd above.

11. *Pag. 8. §. 2.* He treats of the fish muller, and of the virtue there is in its teeth

teeth and bones writ something different than before heard much is in ing, but the molt valud.

Birding.

Crocodile.

What he the *crocodile*, nor has any p before, nor d be satisfy'd in true as the that sculls, b in its belly, a pebbles to ba author affirms as the genera tongue; and ans us'd the fient after their nefs of God, as that creatu tongue was fu preme and inf consider'd and in the univers it.

I writ before devours all herence betwixt the swallows water; I said I was told sever regoril'd by a upon land near sub: once be th there to some lar accident. pure musk had short forelegs jays under the material. He goes out upon I never came ne ther they were

12. *Num. 14* manner how, a horses and goat islands. I had had set down w that was carriage mares, for it to the reader. place, because its circumstance

Monky.

P. 8. He sets *Indians* catch m vast multitudes by *Manila*; it tion'd.

In the follow fruit call'd *Nano* thor does. He

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teeth and bones to stop bleeding. I have writ something of it, and a strange accident that befel an *Indian* with this fish. I heard much at *Manila* of the strange virtue there is in those bones to stop bleeding, but the rump-bone is that they say is most valu'd.

Bleeding.

Crocodile.

What he writes, page 83. concerning the *crocodile*, that it voids no excrement, nor has any passage for it, I had not heard before, nor did it come into my mind to be satisfy'd in it, but I look upon it to be true as the author says. I writ before, that skulls, bones and pebbles were found in its belly, and was told it swallows the pebbles to ballast itself; I saw, and the author affirms it has four eyes. I allow, as the general opinion, that it has no tongue; and I have read that the *Egyptians* us'd the figure of a *crocodile*, to represent after their manner the ineffable greatness of God, which was to denote, that as that creature had no tongue, so no tongue was sufficient to express that supreme and infinite greatness; it might be consider'd and reflected on, but no tongue in the universe could give an account of it.

I writ before that the female *crocodile* devours all her young she can; the difference betwixt us is, that the author says, she swallows them as they come into the water; I said it was down the current, as I was told several times, and it may be recover'd by allowing her to lay the eggs upon land near the current; so the main substance be the same, it matters not if there be some difference, as to any particular accident. I also said, that two bags of pure musk had been found where the two short forelegs join to the body, the author says under the gills. Neither is this very material. He adds, that the female only goes out upon land, and not the male; but I never came near enough to examine whether they were males or females.

12. Num. 143. the author speaks of the manner how, and from whence buffaloes, horses and goats were carried into those islands. I had been really very glad he had set down what became of *Leitona's* ass, that was carried from *New Spain* to cover mares, for it would be no small diversion to the reader. I will not insert it in this place, because I am not well satisfy'd in all its circumstances.

Monky.

P. 8. He sets down the manner how the *Indians* catch monkeys, whereof there are vast multitudes in those islands, and close by *Manila*; it is a thing not to be question'd.

In the following pages he writes of the fruit call'd *Nanca*, I writ the same the author does. He also treats of the tree call'd

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amiot, in the trunk whereof most excellent water is found, which is a great refreshment to passengers. To me that is more wonderful which drops from the *bejuco*, some are large and twine about the trees, the end hangs downwards, some of them higher, some lower, the traveller cuts off the nib, and presently a spout of water runs from it as clear as crystal, enough and to spare for six or eight men. I have drank to my satisfaction of it, found it cool and sweet, and would drink it as often as it were in my way. It must be allow'd to be a juice, and not natural water, but I believe any man would lick his lips after it. This is the common relief of the herdsmen when they are looking for the cattle about the mountains; when they are thirsty they lay hold of the *bejuco*, as they sit a horse-back, and drink their fill.

13. Pag. 195. He speaks of the plantane, whether it differ from the plane, I am satisfy'd there is no resemblance between them; I have said what I knew to this matter. Certain it is they are near rivers and running waters, this agrees with those we call plantanes, and not with the planes which are vast large trees.

Pag. 96. He urges from *Brocardus* and *Sclorgus*, that the forbidden fruit our first parents eat in paradise was the plantane, which the *Portugueses* to this day call a fig, the natives of *Manila*, *Saguin* and other nations by several names. I should easily agree to it, if it were not said, *Gen. iii. 6.* to be beautiful to the eyes, and pleasant to the sight; which if apply'd to the fruit, does not agree with that of the plantane, but suits much better with several other sorts, and particularly the *chiqueyes* of *China*. If these words be meant of the tree, because in is said before, *The woman saw that the tree was good*, &c. it can fit no plant in the world better than the plantane, though in strictness it cannot be call'd a tree, the colour of its leaves, its stateliness and beauty is the greatest in the world; when stir'd by a little wind, it is very agreeable. Nor is there any plant so convenient for *Adam* and *Eve* to clothe themselves with the leaves. Only two leaves sew'd together will make a frock to cover a tall man from the neck to near the ankles. Every man may give his opinion touching this point, without incurring any church-censure.

14. Pag. 97. He speaks of the *camotis*, *vuis*, *tuguis*, *gaves*, and *xicamas*; there is abundance of them all, and very much guiger. There are *xicamas* in *China*, but I have not seen them in any other part; they are good raw, boil'd, preserv'd, or any way; no *cardoon* is like them with oil and vinegar. There are many things in those

N n n n

countries,

NAVA-
RETTE.
Amiot.
Bejuco.

P. plantane.

NAVY- countries, which are a relief to the poor, RETTE. and we want. Then he treats of several medicinal plants and herbs, it affords all sorts, and Gon has furnish'd man with all things according to every climate and country.

Chap. 18. p. 107. He speaks of *Batavina*, and supposes the *Chinese* subdu'd it. I spoke my mind about it in the first book.

Then he talks of *Cauripa* and other small kingdoms, these are adjoining to *Macassar*. Concerning the cloves he says, p. 113. It attracts moisture to it very much, suffers no grafts to grow near it, but allows of trees, as I my self saw with my eyes, tho' some will deny it. The author says, I have often heard it told, that sailors lying upon chests or bales of cloves insensibly dry'd away so fast, that they would doubtless have perish'd, had they not chang'd their bed. So strongly does it draw the moisture of any thing that is near it, which plainly appears when it is sold, for they sprinkle it with water to make it weigh the heavier, and the cheat cannot be perceiv'd.

15. In his second book he gives an account how *F. Alonso Sanchez* went to *Macao*, to endeavour to bring that city under our king's obedience, and he compass'd it.

In my time *Manila* sent another father to that city upon the same account, who succeeded not. When I went afterwards, clergy and laymen told me, Such a one did his own business very well, and gain'd a abundance of good things, but took no care of the main thing he came about; for had he gone about it, he had certainly compass'd it: such a one should have come and not he, who only minded his private interest. I enquir'd into the whole matter, and concluded that man was pitch'd upon to do nothing; yet I believe they design'd well who sent him. It is necessary upon such occasions to make use of one who does not study his own or his family's interest; for if it be inconsistent with the publick business he has in hand, he leaves this last, and only minds his own affair. The more a man has of avarice and selfishness, the less will he stir in the publick service. *S. Jerome* observes that when *Nebuchadnezzar* would have divine worship given to his golden statue, the first he sent for were the greatest men of his kingdom, *Dan. iii. 2.* The saint assigns the reason thus: *The princes are call'd to adore the statue, because powerful men fearing to want the riches they possess, are more easily supplanted.* That wicked king understood it, and made a good observation for compassing his design. They, who ought to have been the first in opposing that abomination,

were the first that submitted for interest. It is not so with him that has no private interest to mind: he speaks boldly, opposes what is ill, pleads for what is good, and breaks his rest to attend the publick. The wicked king *Achab*, 3 *Reg. xviii. 17.* complain'd against holy *Elias*, sends for and says to him, *It is you that trouble Israel.* How usual a thing is it in the world, and particularly in *India*, to say and write that blameless prelates disturb the peace, and make uproars in kingdoms and provinces, and this because they reprove the crimes they see publickly committed without any shame? And they that are concerned, seeking at any rate to satisfy their own avarice, they find ways and means, as was done against *CHRIST*, to represent things as they please, so that they seem credible to those who through a criminal negligence do not dive to the bottom of those affairs. It is you *Elias* that disturb my kingdom and subjects; I know not how to deal with you, nor can I live in peace and quiet. *Elias* answer'd, *Not I, but you, and your father's house.* It is not I, but your ill government and ministers that breed this disturbance. How many might this answer be given to at present? *Abulenfis* admires at the prophet's answer, and says, *He a man of great resolution, is not afraid to speak boldly to the king.* He valued no private interest, had nothing to lose, and therefore spoke his mind freely. So ought all good ministers to do; but where shall we find such? I mention'd no small number among the *Chinese* in my former books. *Wbo*, think ye, is the faithful and prudent servant? saith *CHRIST*, *Mat. xxiv. Hugo* and *Albertus*, say that, *Wbo*, signifies the rarity; that there are few in the world. *S. Thomas*, *And if there be few faithful, there are fewer prudent.* I understand it, that there are but few prudent and wise for the publick good, but they are all sharp and sagacious for their own affairs, and that to excess, they leave no stone unturn'd for their benefit; they shroud their own business under the cloak of the king's service, the honour of his crown, the good of his subjects; they give it one name to day, and another to morrow, and at last it all ends in private interest, and for the most part with prejudice to others. *The children of this world are wiser than the children of light.* *F. Alonso Sanchez* like a worthy religious man as he was, only regarded the service of his king, he desir'd nothing for himself, and therefore manag'd that business with zeal, and came off with honour. Had the other follow'd his example, he might have done the same; he minded private affairs, and therefore must of necessity fail in the publick.

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16. Pag. 179. The author owns that the *Portugueses* in *China* are look'd upon as subjects of that kingdom. In the third chapter of this second book, he says the same, wherein he agrees with what I writ, chap. 17.

Chap. 4. p. 186. He says, The *Chineſes* are mistrustful, as being cowards, but not the *Tartars*, who are not jealous of foreign nations.

F. Colin is much deceiv'd, he went not over into *China*, nor saw the violent storm rais'd there against all *Europeans*, nor the practices against *Macao*, they are more fearful and jealous than the *Chineſes* themselves; they care for no strangers, nor do they desire to know there are any in the world. They turn'd out the *Dutch*, and forbid those of *Macao* trading by sea; wherein then consists their security of Mind?

Chap. 5. p. 190. He says, The first that brought the faith into *China*, were the fathers *Matthew Riccio* and *Pantoja*. I have prov'd it was not so in the second tome: I will here briefly set down what I observ'd and took notice of in *China*, and I think it deserves some reflection. I heard F. *Gouvea*, who was superior of his mission, and the eldest of it, affirm, That *Portugal* even when united to our crown, would never permit any *Spanish* priest to pass that way, either to *Japan*, *China*, or any other mission; and that there were extraordinary difficulties made about F. *Pantoja* of *Toledo*, who was the only one that passed: So that they gave free passage to *Germans*, *Flemings*, *French*, *Savoyards*, *Romans*, *Genoeses*, *Neapolitans*, *Sicilians*, and yet none to *Spaniards*; and we are so good that we suffer *Portugueses* and other nations to go over to *America* and the *Philippine* islands without any need, though we have found inconveniences from those people (I am not certain whether any *French* religious men have gone over, but of all the rest I am) I said without any need, because our kings have enough ministers of the gospel to serve all their kingdoms. One of good experience in these affairs was wont to say, that he lik'd it well, and thought it a holy thing, that as well religious men, as others of the clergy should employ themselves in preaching the gospel, teaching and gaining souls to God, which is the end for which God came into the world; but that he thought it convenient every one should attend that which lay next to him, the *Poles* to *Tartary* and *Muscovy*, the *Germans* to abundance of hereticks there are in the empire, and schismatics near it; the *Flemings*, *French*, and others have enough to do at home, the *Italians* in *Turky*. The *Spaniards* who have no

work in their own country, because it is *NAVA-CLEAR*, through the goodness of God, may go over to *America*, and since there are enough of them, discover new colonies in *Asia* and other parts. But he could not conceive why the *German* who has so much work at home, should go to find out that in *China*, thro' so many difficulties, and at so great an expence.

17. Chap. 9. p. 206. He writes, that the *Chineſes* are suspicious of *Manila* and the *Spaniards*, because of the ill example of *Mexico*, and their talking of conquests.

In this particular the good father *Colin* agrees with F. *Alonso Sanchez Morales*, and the rest of their society. I have writ much to this point, and in my opinion made out that it is false. F. *Alonso Sanchez* his experience in the affairs of *China*, though he made two voyages thither, is no way convincing; for he that knows not the language, and reads not their books, nor converses with those people, cannot be well acquainted with particulars. I have already prov'd that the *Chineſes* do not look upon us as conquerors, or people that talk of such matters; it is enough in this place to say that the quarrel the *Chineſes* and *Tartars* have is against *Macao*, not against *Manila*. None of the persecutions those of the society have suffer'd, has been caus'd by *Manila*. It is their reverences that talk of conquests, those of the society have carried fire-arms, cast great guns, and been *mandarines* of the warlike stores. All this and much more I plainly make out in my second tome, and something was said concerning it in the foregoing fifteen and sixteen chapters.

18. Chap. 11. p. 211. He inserts F. *Alonso Sanchez* his excellent doctrine, which is this: by natural right, and the law of nations, any people may go to strange and new countries, and make use of all that is common, as seas, rivers, coasts, food, wood, game, and other things which are not peculiar and appropriated; and take lands, build houses, towns and forts for their defence; and they may give and sell what they carry, and receive and buy what they have, and oblige the heads and princes to permit their subjects to trade and converse with their guests. The author adds, and this may be better done by divine right, if those that go will preach and teach them the laws and custom of the Christian faith.

I now admit of the doctrine, and do not dispute it, but only observe that it is not very proper for *China*, or cannot be apply'd, for as much as in all that vast extent of land, there is not a foot of land but what is appropriated to some particular person; and consequently no stranger can raise

NAVA-raise house, town, or fort in any part of RETTE. it, because none can build upon another man's ground, especially when the owner opposes it.

Nor do I conceive that any king has right to come to the coast of *Andaluzia*, or any other, and there build towns and forts; for if he has a natural right according to the laws of nations, it will follow that the king of *Spain* opposing him, breaks those two laws which are the bands that tie up the hands of princes to keep within their own kingdoms, and live in peace with others, which would be of very ill consequence.

But leaving the decision of these difficulties to abler pens, from the doctrine above I infer, *a fortiori*, that all religious and secular churchmen may go to all missions in pagan countries, though there be other missionaries there; and that if these obstruct the coming of the others, or their erecting churches, or preaching, they will transgress the divine and natural law. I am of opinion this is a good inference, and if so we may freely practise it; and if the first there oppose it, as they do now at *Macao*, they doubtless commit a grievous sin.

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19. Chap. 13. He treats at large of preaching with arms and soldiers, and goes on upon the same, chap. 14. This is a weighty point, has been several times disputed, and our good bishop *Casas* some years since argu'd it at *Valladolid*; his propositions and the answers of doctor *Sepulveda*, are preserv'd in the archives of the college of *S. Gregory*; I read part of them in my younger years. I here admit many things, and will only add what I have seen and observ'd. The author corroborates his opinion with the ill success of those four hundred who went with the lord *Casas* to the *Indies*, who were slain by that barbarous people. In his sixth reason, chap. 14. to *F. John Bolante*, p. 229. he says, That neither in *Brazil*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, the *Philippine* and *Maluco* islands, there has been any conversion or propagating of Christianity, without the assistance of the secular power. Pag. 305. he repeats, that no advance has been made any where without force of arms; and before that says, that even those of the contrary opinion have of late follow'd his, which doubtless is meant of ours of *Manila*, who went with soldiers to the conversion of *Ilii*. All that has been said seems to make out his opinion, which *S. Francis Xavierius* held, and those of his institute in *China* said; and therefore they told it in my presence, that the saint us'd to say, That there would be no good Christians till they were under command, which

seems to be prov'd by the event, since we see all the missions that great apostle of *India* founded and labour'd in, are all lost.

20. My opinion is, that it is no easy matter to convince all men, and a very difficult matter to dissuade any man from that which he has fixt in his mind as truth. But if we must be led by examples, I believe we don't want some to evince the contrary opinion. I pass by the method *CHRIST* took in preaching, was follow'd by his disciples, and left us in the gospel; there is no doubt but he that follows it is far enough from any danger of erring; for it is a presumption, if not a crime, to say that our Saviour did not leave general rules for all men to preach in all parts, as one answer'd discouraging of this subject. Let us come to later examples; the conversion of *England* under *S. Gregory* was perform'd, and continu'd without force of arms. Thirty kingdoms, histories tell us, were converted by the sons of *S. Benedict*, but were no way kept in awe by catholic arms. Those of *Poland*, and others later, were perform'd by the *Mendicant* orders after the same manner. But you'll say, many for want of a power have fail'd, which might have been supported by it. I answer, in the first place, that we neither can nor ought to judge of future contingencies according to our fancy. 2dly, That if Christianity ceas'd there, it was perhaps because the number of the predestinate there was compleat; and if not, as his Divine Majesty order'd and dispos'd the planting of the faith there, without the noise of arms, he will cause it to be restor'd by the same means, sending missionaries thither like to those ancient ones who founded those missions.

21. Nor is it altogether true, that no conversion has been made of late ages; without the assistance of arms we know ours have converted at *Verapaz*, and they continue to this day. And now at this very time *F. Francis* of the *Rosary* of my order has enter'd the great *Paititi*, where he has thousands of Christians, without any protection or assistance but God's; and the natives beg that *Dominican* friars may be sent them, but no soldiers. I am well inform'd of this particular, and of the goodness of that country, which is fruitful, populous, and pleasant. Persons of credit assure me, that there are above three thousand of the trade in the goldsmiths street at the court. So in *Japan* there was a great increase of Christianity without force of arms; and if it fell to nothing, it was not for want of soldiers, but by reason of other things that might have been well avoided. The two great and general persecutions

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secutions in *China* proceeded from other causes. I find there is something amiss everywhere. The fathers of the society carrying soldiers into *Ethiopia*, were expell'd without hopes of ever returning. In *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *China*, they were look'd upon as spies, this is not so bad as the other.

22. Nor does our going from *Manila* to *Iliu* with soldiers make out any thing; it was the particular opinion of one man, disapprov'd by others, and the ill success foretold. Whilst there were only three fathers in that province they made some advance, and preach'd in peace and quietness: as soon as ever the soldiers came, the natives were alarm'd, ran to arms, burnt, kill'd and wounded, and all was lost. What happen'd in the islands call'd *Marianas* is well known, so that there is no ascertaining any thing in this matter.

23. Another difficulty occurs to me, which is, that if missions must be carried on under the protection of arm'd force, there will be very few; therefore they must either be left off, or continu'd in the same manner the apostles follow'd them. For whence shall we have a force to shelter those that preach in *China*, *Japan*, and the *Mogul's* country? I only mention these, without speaking of many other vast kingdoms. Now if all the soldiers in the church will not suffice for three places, how must we relieve the rest? I am persuaded one Christian converted and instructed peaceably, is worth twenty made with the shew of force. They who here talk of the protection of Christian forces, will imagine the soldiers will do nothing but aid and protect; they will do more mischief with their lewdness in one day, than twenty religious men can repair in a year. But if there be no soldiers, they will kill the religious men before they have done any good. Let them kill, CHRIST himself and his apostles were kill'd; and it is enough done to sprinkle that country with blood, that it may afterwards yield a more plentiful harvest. He says, no miracles are wrought now a-days, and therefore the method must be chang'd. I say, S. *Francis Xavierius* wrought many in the *East* and *South*, and S. *Lewis Bertrandus* in the *West-Indies*; the author mentions many in his history, and those of his society speak of others. In the next place I say, as F. *Lubeli* of the society was wont to inculcate to me, Let us preach as we ought to do, and God will work miracles; but how should there be miracles whilst we preach so and so? I have also given an account, that the holy congregation de *propaganda fide* has condemn'd the method of spreading the gospel by force of arms.

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24. F. *Colin*, chap. 13. writes, That *NAVARETTE* those of his society live very poor and apostolically in *China* upon the alms sent them from *Europe*, and the labour of their hands and ingenuity, as S. *Paul* did; and yet the conversion does not go forwards, nor does it take such root as it should do. Experience, he says, has shew'd it in *Japan*, where so great an addition as was made to Christendom, fell off for want of being supported by arms. With respect to so great a man, I say he is deceiv'd in these points, somebody sent him such intelligence from *China*. If what has been said above were true, I doubt not but heaven would grant a more plentiful harvest, as F. *Lubeli* and others of his brethren said in my hearing, bewailing the abuses that are crept into that mission, whereof I treat at large in my second tome, where the curious reader may see it. I answer'd above to what relates to *Japan*, and have done it more copiously in the second tome. It is requisite in such missions to proceed with caution and discretion, any security is blameable; and for that very reason if religious men are alone without any force to protect them, they are to be the more provident and cautious, forbearing all that the infidels may think amiss in us, as the building of great churches and stately palaces, which did us much harm in *China*, in the opinion of the same fathers. How can this agree with what the author says, that they live in a poor and apostolical manner, and on the work of their hands, as S. *Paul* did? Some things are so false they are insufferable. My last letters from *China* inform me, that the fathers *Enriquez* and *Grimaldo* spent four hundred ducats plate in their journey from *Canton* to the imperial city, whither they went as mathematicians, though they are none; now what poverty is this? They by word of mouth in writing maintain, that it is convenient they should behave themselves with state and gravity, wear silk clothes, make great presents, go in sedans or palankines on men's shoulders, attended by servants, &c. this they say the country requires. Then another writes that they live poorly like the apostles, on the labour of their hands, as S. *Paul* did. To what purpose is this? F. *Augeri* tells us we must behave our selves as if we were marquisses. F. *James Fabre* is carried in an open palankine by four men. F. *Verbieft* dislikes his brethren's proceedings; how shall we reconcile these matters?

25. Pag. 235. n. 97. he writes thus. F. *Alojo Sanchez* intending to put F. *John Bolante* by his design of going into *China*, us'd this argument. Which way would your reverence go? through *Chincheo*? no, for the *Chinese* have never permitted it.

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NAVA- Nor through *Macao*, because the *Portugueses* will not allow of it, nor the religious there much less. This he enlarges upon, deducting in his opinion mighty inferences. I answer in short that those of our order, and the *Franciscans* have gone several times by the way of *Cbincheo*. I went through *Macao*, and others might have done the same, had not some men obstructed it, as still they do; when God does not obstruct our ways, it is not fit men should restrain his providence. The *Franciscans*, *Augustinians* and *Dominicans* of *Macao* never went about to preach the gospel in *China*; would to God they had, and that the kingdom being sufficiently stock'd, there were no room for *Spaniards*. Those religious men I have nam'd never design'd to hinder the *Spaniards*, the laity much less; so that neither the infidels of *Cbincheo*, nor Christians of *Macao* have obstructed the *Spaniards*. The mischief sprung from another place; so that it may well be said, *Death in the pot*, 4 Reg. iv. y. 40. for where the missionaries ought to have found assistance and protection, there they have met with troubles, ruin, and persecution. Death sprung from the place where life was expected; the words of the Canticles suit well in this place, *The children of my mother sought against me*, &c.

26. Pag. 249. §. 10. he writes that religious men, who go to other countries without orders for it, disturb and scandalize them, being look'd upon as spies, which makes the infidels fortify themselves, as has happen'd in *China*; and that disorder is the cause our holy faith is slighted.

Let us ask the author, what he means by going to other countries without orders? I would know further, who it was that scandaliz'd *Japan*, and disturb'd *China*? The reader will find it in my second tome, where I have it at large. In that particular of being taken for spies, we are all alike, tho' in truth those of the society outdo us, for only they and no others have been esteem'd such in *Ethiopia*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*. The infidels fortify, as they have done in *China*. The worst of it is, that religious men serve as engineers for raising of walls and fortifications, and as such serve the infidels, and furnish them with cannon. In *China* they have been fortified by those of *Macao* and others, not by those of *Manila* or the *Spaniards*. The contempt of our holy faith proceeds chiefly from other monstrous proceedings. These disorders, tho' those that cause them go with orders to the mission, cause much mischief. I would know further by what order the apostles went among the Gentiles? The same of *S. Francis Xavierius*, and those that went into *Ethiopia*.

27. Pag. 250. he with good reason blames the false accounts sent into *Europe*, of the conversion of *China* and other kingdoms. This I agree to, it suits with what *F. John Adamus* was wont to say. I have set down abundance of *chimeras* that have been writ into *Europe* concerning *China* and other parts. I have many more in my second tome, where the reader may see them, and may receive light, not to be deluded by such accounts.

28. Chap. xxv. p. 315. he shews at large, how God at several times has made use of several means for the conversion of souls. At the first beginning of the church, he made choice of the apostles, whom he endow'd with several graces, and granted them many privileges. Now in these times, God does not make choice of them, nor give them such a great power, nor the gift of tongues, nor working of miracles. That at first all civiliz'd nations admitted preachers without any opposition, &c.

Here the author hints at several particulars, to which I cannot now speak so fully as I would; but think what I have in my second tome may suffice. My opinion is, that the method *CHRIST* and his apostles us'd in preaching is still in the gospel. *Matth. x. y. 9, 10. leg. Sylveira bic, & tom. vi. cap. x. q. 1, 2. n. 8. & q. 3.* And there is no doubt it was left there for others to imitate it. I find not any other in holy writ, and this is it which the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* has confirm'd and propos'd to its missionaries, for them to follow and observe, as appears by the instructions *pro missionariis*, printed at *Rome* anno 1669. If several methods have been taken, it has been because the missionaries have taken them up of their own accord, forsaking that way which the author of it instituted and follow'd. Nor must we imagine the divine providence can forsake its ministers in all that shall be requisite, unless they render themselves unworthy of its protection. *S. Vincent Ferrerius*, *S. Antony of Padua*, *S. Francis Xavierius*, and *S. Luis Bertrandus* wrought wonderful prodigies, as I said before. Nor is the world at present destitute of some that endeavour to imitate them; one poor *French* clergyman alone, and destitute of all human help, baptiz'd sixty persons in one day in the kingdom of *Camboga*, anno 1668. what can be a greater wonder? He stin'd among those infidels by means of his holy life, like the sun among the stars. Great miracles are told of the bishp of *Berius*, who is now at *Siam*; and his life being such as I know it to be, I look upon them to be very likely. Let us preach as we ought to do, said *P. Lubli*, and God will work miracles.

These following words are in the dedication

cation of the to pope *Clement* and chiefly *Jo. curanda Ind. lib. II. c. i. xv. lib. VI. that the ruin very hopeful the not altogether some of the la propagating the the gospel is sufficient form and manner to this day; it is invented CHRIST.*

Chap. iii. holy congregation demands the force of which is enough of the authority to oppose what heard, that others, and therefore it is required to them be other nations self-love, and *el George* was when I see that a mandata the presence and I rejoice that tends to worldly, the This I look would these clad, and li hands, be v be allow'd to I have seen, a them.

29. Pag. 3 following, he explains how new verting. I have and it will be great inconvenience low such countions abhor the on this subject and moment. *Act. pro Confess. But the mendic of judgments, ne's full of d sublime and of necessity no sublime; they the erecting of the souls to the structure, which do we use m*

cation of the instructions before mention'd to pope Clement IX. *Very grave authors, and chiefly Joseph Acosta* (in *libris de procuranda Indorum salute*, lib. I. c. xi, xii, lib. II. c. i. & sequentibus, lib. IV. c. iv, xv. lib. VI. c. ii.) plainly make it appear, that the ruin of the east flourishing, or at least very hopeful missions proceeded, either from the not altogether commendable manners of some of the labourers, or from the manner of propagating the gospel, which was contrary to the gospel itself, &c. It is certain then the form and method for preachers continues to this day; and if they follow any other, it is invented by themselves, not by CHRIST.

Chap. iii. art. 3. he mentions, how the holy congregation *de propaganda fide* condemns the method of planting the faith by the force of arms, as was done in *America*, which is enough to condemn the opinion of the author and his followers. They also oppose what some say, and I have often heard, that *China* is a different nation from others, and the people singular, and therefore it is requisite the manner of preaching to them be different from that us'd to other nations. This I say is nothing but self-love, and our own fancy. *F. Emanuel George* was wont to say to me; Father, when I see my self finely clad in silk, and that a *mandarin* pays me great respect in the presence of many people, it pleases me and I rejoice; but there is nothing in it that tends to God, it is all human and worldly, these things stick to our body. This I look upon to be all true, and would these fathers, if they were poorly clad, and liv'd upon the labour of their hands, be visited with *mandarines*? I may be allow'd to speak of these things, because I have seen, and had sufficient experience of them.

29. *Pag. 315. n. 166.* and in those following, he endeavours to prove by examples how necessary force is towards converting. I have writ my opinion upon it, and it will be proper to consider what great inconveniences have, and do still follow such courses, and how much other nations abhor them. Much has been said upon this subject, the business is of weight and moment. *C. Mamartin*, in *Gratiae Afr. pro Consul. ad Julian. August. cap. iv.* But the mending of manners, and correcting of judgments, is a difficult strife, and business full of danger. When the end is so sublime and divine, the means must also of necessity not be human or earthly, but sublime; they must be suitable, and tend to the erecting of heavenly *Jerusalem*, to unite the souls to the living foundation-stone of this structure, which is CHRIST: Why then do we use methods that tend only to se-

parate and destroy all that preachers with *NAVA*-much labour and sweat erect? These things ought to be conceiv'd by ideas lifted up far above all that is clay and earth, and not be adapted to our own fancies, which perhaps flow from our private satisfaction, tho' shrowded under the outward pretences of God's glory, and the good of souls. Read *S. Thomas* in *Matth. x.* upon the words, like sheep, &c. which answers my design, and is contrary to the author's.

30. *Lib. III. c. vi. p. 354. n. 35.* the author owns his society obtain'd a bull of his holiness *Gregory* the 13th, forbidding religious men of other orders going to *Japan*. Neither I nor others doubted of this matter, therefore I was surpriz'd, and admir'd that *F. Joseph Morales* in his treatises should defend, that the said bull was not granted at the request of the society; which he endeavours to make out several ways. But the author plainly and ingenuously owns the truth in the place above mention'd, which he so wile, so antient, and so well read a man could not be ignorant of. I have already taken notice how that prohibition ceas'd by virtue of a special bull of pope *Urban* the 8th, anno 1633, which was confirm'd again in the year 1674 by his holiness *Clement* the 10th; so that any churchman either religious or secular may freely at present go to those missions, which way he shall think fit. It appears by the bull, which shall be insert'd at the end of this volume. The reasons which moved the society to procure that bull are set down in the second tome.

Pag. 357. n. 40. he speaks of the tempests and storms the devil by means of the infidels rais'd against the tender plants of the church of *Japan*, and its labourers. I refer to what I have writ in my second tome.

In the year 1594, he says, his society had in *Japan* two hundred thousand Christians, two hundred churches, and one hundred and thirty religious men. Would to God those labourers had converted those islands, that we might all bless God, and extol the labour of his ministers! What I have to say now, is, that the number he speaks of, does not agree with that I heard from *F. Gourvea* in *China*. I have writ how much they vary in this particular.

31. *Pag. 358.* he speaks of the prudence of his society in *Japan*, in corresponding with his majesty and holiness, and receiving their bulls and orders to hinder other orders at that time from going to *Japan*. Time has made it appear; God grant it may give them some caution for *China*, *Tartary*, and the *Mogul's* country and other civiliz'd nations of *Asia*. They are all the author's own words.

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NAVARETTE. Since the society had with so much prudence procur'd that bull, as has been mention'd, I do not find it was any thing praiseworthy in them to accept it, with the king's letter to the same purpose: there is little merit in obedience, where we comply with those things we are pleas'd with and desire; obedience is perfect, when it has nothing of our selves, and the more difficult the thing is that is commanded. S. Thomas *opuscul.* 2. c. 227. says, *Obedience is so much the more commendable, by how much those things are more difficult which a man obeys.* See Sylveira to this point, *Tom.* 6. p. 119. n. 4. *verb. obedientia.* We very well know, that when in the year 1648 the decree of Innocent the 10th was made known to the missionaries of China, they took no notice of, nor thought themselves oblig'd to observe it, which the author was not ignorant of. This was a time for prudence and obedience to appear, submitting the understanding to the command of the head of the church. S. Bernard *de precep. & dispens.* cap. xii. says thus; *Whosoever man commands in the name of God, so it be not certainly displeasing to God, must be receiv'd no otherwise, than if God himself gave command.* And afterwards; *We must therefore bear him, whom we have in the place of God, as we would God in those things which are not directly against God.* Time, says he, has shewn it. He that shew'd it me in all its minute circumstances, was Francis Caron, general director of the French East-India company at Surat, anno 1671. as I have set it down in my controversies. God grant he goes on, this may give them some caution for China, &c. The missionaries of China might have taken warning by the example of Japan, those of Tunquin, Cochinchina, and Ethiopia, and even by that of China it self at this time, and in the year 1618, besides many others they have had, that might suffice to make an impression even upon stone and brass. When the persecution in China began, some talk'd of altering those things that had caus'd troubles and calamities. I forwarded it, but was soon convinc'd it would come to nothing. Men use to take warning by other men, which is certainly very good and holy, *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Hugo in *Psal.* xlix. But even brute beasts grow cautious by their own sufferings. He who stumbles in a place, takes care the next time he comes that way; which makes me wonder at what I have been a witness to. The effects are suitable, tho' some pretend to mend them. An exact account of every thing is given in the second tome.

32. Pag. 359. He says, that in the year 1597. there was a persecution in Japan,

because a ship of Manila was put in there; and the emperor said, it went to conquer the country, as they had done Mexico, and that the Franciscan friars were spies.

I answer that nothing can be made out or urg'd either *pro* or *con*, upon a mere accident and casualty, and there is no doubt but the emperor must be void of reason in supposing one single ship went to conquer that island. It was also unreasonable that he should look upon Franciscans as spies, only upon that account. And supposing it were so, I have already writ what happen'd to the fathers of the society in Ethiopia, which their historian Tellez mentions, and what befel to them in Tunquin and Cochinchina; and it were fit that some of them making their advantage of so many examples, should look at home, and not neglecting this altogether, bend their whole thoughts upon things at a distance, and mere possibilities. *Tacit.* in vit. Agric. *Beginning by himself and his, he first order'd his own house, which is no less difficult to most men, than to govern a province.* Cassiodorus lib. X. Var. epist. 5. *We will begin to shew good government in our family, that the rest may be assur'd to do amiss, when it is known we allow not our own people the liberty of transgressing.* Nor do I like the ministers of the gospel should entertain so many fears, since it is a thing so despicable in a worthy soldier. We ought to proceed with more liberty and assurance; and since the business we have in hand is so immediately God's, and tending to his glory, it is not reasonable we should be faint hearted, or believe we can want his special protection and providence over us. *Fear is a token of infidelity,* says S. Basil of Seleucia, *Orat.* 22. I have often consider'd who he or they were that made it known in Japan and China that the catholick king had conquer'd China, and what their design could be in so doing. As to my self, I believe I am not out in my judgment, I think there needs not much better grounds to speak it out; I only require some little pious affection in the reader, to be satisfy'd in all he shall find in my controversies.

33. Pag. 360. He speaks of the martyrdom of the religious men of the order of our father S. Francis and others. We know that pope Urban the eighth declar'd them martyrs, so that there is no room left for catholicks to make a doubt of it. Therefore I always look'd upon what a clergyman said publicly at Macao as a presumption, to wit, that they dy'd excommunicate. Others have said the same upon no other ground, but because they will have it they went to Japan contrary to the command of pope Gregory the 13th. Something

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Vol. I.

Something might be said to this point; let it suffice to know, that notwithstanding that came to the ears of his holiness Urban the 8th, and the sacred congregation of rites, yet those religious men were solemnly declar'd martyrs. This being so, it was a great impudence to utter such words, when the feast of their martyrdom had been celebrated in several places, to the honour and glory of God.

34. F. Michael de Cardenas, who approv'd this history, gives it for granted that the apostle S. Thomas never went to China, Japan or the Philippine islands, which confirms my opinion set down in the first book, and I find it favour'd by F. Silveira Tom. 6. in *Evang. lib. IX. cap. 10. p. 796. §. 58.* He speaks of America, Brasil, and Angola, where he says, no foot-step of Christian religion was found. And when I thought this point was clear'd or agreed upon, I see new difficulties start up. F. Cyprian de Herrera, in the life of that worthy arch-bishop of Lima, Toribio Alfonso Mogabexo, about whose beatification some measures are now taken at Rome, Chap. xxii. says, that in the province of the Chacaboyas, some tokens were found of the holy apostle's having been in that country, and that the holy archbishop own'd and worship'd him as such. Portuguese write that the same footsteps have been found in Brasil, to which they add traditions of the natives. If this be so, it is likely he went along from Coromandel through all those kingdoms between it and China, whence he might go over to Japan, and so to all the islands in that sea, visit the Mogul's and Malabar's country, cross over to the cape of Good Hope, and other kingdoms thereabouts; for all these countries lying nearer the holy apostle, it is not likely he should forsake them, and go to others so remote as America. And if any man shall say he was first in Brasil and Peru, and thence went over into India; I answer, I am of opinion the faint would not have left that new world cut off from the rest to go away into Asia, and those countries contiguous to Persia, and nearer to us. Every man may believe what he pleases, but I am apt to suspect that if the Terra Australis Incognita be discover'd, there will presently be other footsteps of St. Thomas found there, and there will not want reason and probabilities to make it out. Thus I will put an end to what I design in this supplement.

35. But because it is China that all my thoughts are bent upon, I cannot chuse but return to it, tho' at present it shall be very briefly. I think what is said in the land of promise in *Deut. viii. 7.* may with good reason be apply'd to that kingdom.

Vol. I.

a good land, a land of brooks of water, of NAVA-fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys: RETTE- and hills: A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, a land of oil and honey: A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass, &c.

That country has much more than all this, and tho' it have neither olive-trees nor vineyards, it abounds in several sorts of oil, and has plenty of grapes, and thousands of things we do not know among us; innumerable rivers, brooks, and fountains, corn, rice, honey, fruit, metals, &c. Where is there any country that can match it?

I writ in another place, what notable sacrifices care those people take in preparing and disposing themselves to sacrifice to their dead, and be present at these sacrifices. They fast three days, marry'd men are separated from their wives seven days; they all retire upon the eve, keep silence, make themselves clean outwardly, wash themselves to go into the temple, and all this in order to recollect themselves inwardly, and assist devoutly and decently to those sacrilegious ceremonies; and this not once in their life, but several times in a year. If we catholicks took example by those heathens against saying mass, and receiving the blessed sacrament, we should receive much more benefit by it. S. Basil of Seleucia, *Orat. 19.* says, *Be a disciple of the Gentiles; that you may believe, follow the unbelievers.* Much liberty is taken among marry'd men about receiving, some rules have been assign'd in canons touching this matter, which is only by way of advice, but no precept. B. Humbertus de Romanis, *lib. IV. de Erudit. Religios. cap. xiii.* reflecting on the death of Oza for touching the ark, 2 *Reg. vi.* says, *The Hebrews say the cause of it was, because he had lain the foregoing night with his own wife; if God so punish'd that presumption, what punishment are they worthy of who come to receive the LORD's body without respect? &c.* Aimeleck's answer to David, 1 *Reg. xxi. 4.* as to the purpose, *I have no lay-leaves at hand, but only holy bread, if the young men are clean, particularly from women.* David answer'd, *If you talk of women, we have abstain'd yesterday and the day before.* Certain it is he who was represented exceeds the figure, or representative. The ark and that holy bread were types of the eucharist; and if those requir'd so much reverence, more is requisite for him that was represented. Oleast. in *Ex d. xix.* explicating these words, *Sanctify them, &c.* says thus, *You see what purity is requir'd to converse with God, much more to deal familiarly with*

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NAVAV- with him. S. Thomas has the same, *Opusc.*
 RETTE. 58. cap. 16. And no doubt it requires a
 ~~~~~ purity infinitely greater to receive him every  
 day. This doctor a little lower speaks  
 more to the purpose upon the words, *De*  
*not approach to your wives*, he says thus,  
*There are in these times many (I wish it be*  
*not only in name) holy marry'd men, who*  
*rarely or never abstain from their wives bed*  
*and embraces, and yet frequently communicate*  
*and often presume to be familiar with God,*  
*believing conjugal embraces to be no obstruc-*  
*tion to piety; to whom this place should be of-*  
*ten inculcated, that they might learn to treat*  
*the most holy things with more reverence, and*  
*might know that even corporal uncleanness is*  
*offensive to the divine purity, and understand*  
*that not only the heart, but the body, clothes,*  
*and all things are to be made clean, when we*  
*are to approach to God. Whence I suppose*  
*the custom came among the Jews of washing*  
*their hands and garments, when they went to*  
*prayer, &c. and tho' the Lord in the new*  
*law require rather an inward than an out-*  
*ward cleanness, yet he does not altogether ne-*  
*glect the corporal. Read Corn. & Lap. and S.*  
*Thom. 3. p. q. 83. art. 4. and cap. 15, &*  
*16. opusc. 58. and S. Basil interrog. 23.*  
*Reg. Brev. And if S. Paul 1 Cor. vii. ad-*  
*vises marry'd people to abstain only to*  
*pray, something more is requir'd for re-*  
*ceiving the supreme majesty of God. S.*  
*Thomas quotes the iii. Chap. of the holy*  
*Ghost to the same purpose as S. Paul.*  
*There is a time of embracing, and a time of*  
*removing far from embraces. These words*  
*can be no way so well apply'd as to the*  
*holy communion; for no case so positive-*  
*ly requires such a disposition. This that*  
*has been said, and the opinions of grave*  
*doctors, has brought up the custom in the*  
*Philippine islands, China, and other parts*  
*of the east, for marry'd people to part*  
*beds the night before they receive, which*  
*they strictly observe. Read S. Thomas,*  
*opusc. ut sup. cap. 16. where he speaks to*  
*this purpose. Nor is this condemning the*  
*frequenting the sacrament, but blaming*  
*them that do not approach to it with due re-*  
*verence, decency and other dispositions.*  
*Nor is it enough, as some men urge, that*  
*man is in a state of grace, to justify the*  
*receiving as every man fancies. It is well*  
*known that tho' a man be in a state of grace,*  
*he may commit too many indecencies, and*  
*irreverences, as may be an obstacle to the*  
*due honour due to, and consequently the*  
*effect of that august sacrament. Many ex-*  
*amples might be brought here, but I omit*  
*them because the matter is plain, tho' I*  
*shall give some hints, when I speak of con-*  
*verts, and those newly baptiz'd.*

Eucharist.

I always dislike'd one thing in penitents,  
 which is, when they will needs receive,

contrary to their confessor's advice and opi-  
 nion; I believe such persons rather displease  
 than please God. What patient does not  
 follow his physician's prescription? He  
 knows what may do good and harm, and  
 a good medicine without a proper disposi-  
 tion may be hurtful. To this end read S.  
 Thomas, *opusc. 58. cap. 18.* where he has  
 very plain instances. On the contrary I  
 like those, who even when ask'd, Whe-  
 ther they dare receive our Lord, submit  
 themselves to the direction of their confes-  
 sor; for this shews humility, knowledge  
 of their unworthiness and fear, which is a  
 good disposition. The doctrine of S. Au-  
 gustin, quoted by Cajetan, 3. p. q. 38. is  
 good and proper for all men, *Live so, that*  
*you may daily deserve to receive.* If a man  
 feeds on the best and thrives not, it is a  
 sign there is some defect in the natural heat.  
 If a plant be cultivated and water'd, and yet  
 grows not, it shews there is something amiss  
 in the root; so if a man often feed on the  
 bread of angels, and find no change of  
 life, and increase of virtue, it is most cer-  
 tain the fault is on his side, and that we do  
 not eat it with due preparation. Nor is it  
 allow'd in those parts, that the penitent as  
 soon as he rises from the seat of his confes-  
 sor go immediately to receive the commu-  
 nion; they are instructed to perform the  
 sacramental satisfaction first, if they can,  
 and if not that they give God thanks for  
 the benefit receiv'd, and dispose themselves  
 anew for a greater; for those two sacra-  
 ments being distinct, the dispositions ought  
 to be so, and man ought to stir up devo-  
 tion, and much love in himself, &c.

36. I have writ several sentences us'd by  
 those Gentiles, and could add more in this  
 place, but that I would not tire the reader.  
 I have set down one which I afterwards  
 found to a letter in S. Chrysostom, *serm.*  
*3. de Fil. F. 3. Love sees no faults.* And  
 another in Tertul. c. 14. in *Apolog.* A  
 word of piety is more grateful than a word  
 of compassion. It would be too tedious to  
 translate all the documents of that nation,  
 which are much admir'd by the Europeans;  
 but that which S. Jerome writes lib. II. *comm.*  
*in Matt. xiii.* is infallibly true; thus it is,  
*The preaching of the gospel is the least of all*  
*doctrines. Compare it with the instructions*  
*of philosophers, and their books, the splendor*  
*of their eloquence, and regularity of speech,*  
*and you will see how much the seed of the gos-*  
*pel is less than other seeds. But these when*  
*they grow up, have nothing that is sharp,*  
*sprightly and lively, but is all fading, soft and*  
*flabby, growing up to weeds and grass,*  
*which soon withers and falls. But this preach-*  
*ing which at first seem'd little, or when it*  
*came into the soul of the believer, &c. grows*  
*up to a tree, so that the fowls of heaven come*  
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and build nests on its boughs. Christians daily own this truth, and shew it by their change of life, whereas infidels draw no profit from their doctrines, which we see produce no other fruit but pride, vanity and hypocrisy.

Tartar.

37. The Tartar, as has been writ, possess'd himself of all that empire, and laid a foundation to perpetuate himself in it, doing by the imperial family as Zambri and Jehu did by those of Baasa, and Achab, 3 Reg. c. xvi. §. 11. & 4 Reg. c. x. §. 10. He left not one of it to piss against a wall, &c. True it is that precaution settled not Zambri above seven days; tyranny is never lasting. What may avail the Tartar, is his great caution and circumspection in managing the government, and his extraordinary care in cutting off heads, without regarding the popular hatred, according to the doctrine of Seneca in *Oedipus*. *Quia qui nimium times regnare nescit*. He knows not how to rule who is too much afraid of being hated. But he ought to observe the words of *Johannes Lipsius*, 3 Polit. There is often the greatest danger, where it is least fear'd. I have writ much concerning that mission in my controversies; I hope in the divine goodness, that if God opens a way for the bishops his holiness has sent to get in, that church will daily increase, tho' it meet with never so many oppositions, especially by ordaining priests of the natives, as the holy congregation de propaganda fide ordains. Had his method been us'd forty years ago, no doubt that mission had been better advanced.

I put those who write in mind of Cicero's words, *Tuscul. 3. It is a folly to see the ruin of others, and forget our own*. And what Seneca writes, lib. 1. de Morib. For nothing is baser, than to object to another that which may be objected to a man's own self. S. Augustin says it, cap. 10. de confess. A.

curious sort of people, to pry into other mens NAVA-lives, slothful to mend their own. Seneca too, RETTE. if I forget not, said, *The way is short by example, tedious by words*.

The misfortune of it lies in our miserable state, our self-love and passions. S. Chrysostom homil. 3. sup. cap. i. 1. ad Cor. *That there is nothing at all so holy, and so well ordain'd, which human malice cannot abuse to its own ruin*. It finds faults in all things; if we preach in a poor manner, the method is not proper; if we wear mean clothes, they are not decent for such men; if we discover CHRIST crucify'd, it is indiscretion; if we do not visit mandarines, and present them, we cannot secure Christianity; if we teach the mathematicks, they banish us; if we teach none, there is no admittance. Good God, how many scare-crows they set before us upon all occasions! God order all for his greater glory, and grant unity and concord among the missionaries, which, I think, is the main point: I have writ something to this purpose in the second tome. See S. Thom. in apoc. cap. viii. §. 6, 7. explicating those words, *They prepar'd themselves to found the trumpet*. Having taken notice that in the second verse it is said, that a trumpet was given to every one of the seven spirits, and what Richardus Viller observes upon the ninth chap. §. 19. *I heard one voice from the four horns, &c. One voice, that is, the agreement of the universal doctrine, from the four horns of the golden altar, that is, from all the preachers of CHRIST, preaching the four gospels through the four parts of the world*. Thus the heavenly and divine seed will certainly bring forth fruit. Otherwise we shall say, *In vain do we labour and run*. See Sylveir. tom. VI. cap. 4. q. 1.

### C H A P. XXXIII.

Notes upon F. Martin Martinez's *Treatise de Bello Tartarico*.

1. I know not whether I got the better of sloth, which hinder'd me from reading the little book de bello Tartarico, publish'd by the R. F. Martinez, or whether curiosity overcame me; I took it up accidentally, thinking it had been Aristotle's problems, and resolv'd to look it over: I made some remarks, tho' not very weighty ones, and will insert them in this place. Seneca, epist. 45. says, *The words of truth are plain, and therefore must not be entangled, &c.* To be zealous for truth in all respects, implies sincerity of mind, not a spirit of contradiction, as some incurious and troublesome persons imagine. St. Gregory says, *With the true worshippers of God,*

*even those wars are sinful which are not made through ambition or cruelty, but for the sake of peace*, Cap. apud veros 23. q. 1. Among God's servants nothing is to be attributed to discord or dissension, but to a desire of clearing the truth, the knowledge whereof is delightful and coveted by all men, says S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 15. art. 1. ad 3. S. Augustin, conf. 10. cap. 23. says, *All men love to know clear truth*.

2. In his preface to the reader, pag. 16. he excuses his Latin if it prove not so polite and elegant as may be expected, with his being taken up with the study of the Chinese tongue, &c. This were more proper for others, and for those who for a-

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NAVA- above twelve years handled none but *Chibrette*. *nefe* books, and spent some more in the *Philippine* islands upon the languages of the natives there. F. Martinez was not there full six years, it may be his humility.

3. Pag. 21. I see he holds the opinion I mention'd in the first book, that *Tamerlane* never conquer'd *China*, as the history I there spoke of tells us. The computation by chronology I do not insist on; it is enough I confirm my opinion by what has been said. This also makes out what I writ against F. de *Angelis a Portugese*, that they were the *Western Tartars* who formerly conquer'd *China*, not those who now possess it.

4. Pag. 23. He says, that he who made head against those *Tartars*, was a servant to the *bonzes*. The common vogue in *China* is, that he was a very brave and resolute *bonzo*. He was the first emperor of the reigning family before this call'd *Tai Ming*.

Wall. Pag. 26. He confirms what I writ in the first book, that the *Chinese* had a million of men to guard the wall; I said some added half a million more. The charge was doubtless prodigious, and wonderful how they carried provisions and necessaries for such a multitude, and defended them from the cold, which is very sharp there in winter; they must stand in need of many things. To me who know that country, the supplying all these wants seems more easy, than to relieve two hundred soldiers from *Madrid* if they were but at *Pardo*. This is no hyperbole, but a known truth.

5. Pag. 28. He tells how ill the *Chinese* treated the merchants that went to *Leao Tung*, which cannot be deny'd; but neither *Leao Tung*, nor *Leao Yang*, was or is either of them a metropolis; nor did it then, or does it now belong to the province of *Xan Tung*, the metropolis whereof is call'd *Zi Nang*.

Tr. Pag. 29. He mentions the great *Lamase*, by whose means the *Tartars* sent their complaints to the *Chinese* emperor. I said he was the pope of the *bonzes* in those parts, and lived in the kingdom of *Tibet*. I was often told in *China*, that as well the eastern as the western *Tartars* put a great value upon the herb *cha* or *te*, whereof the most usual drink in that kingdom is made; and not being allow'd to carry it out, they use this contrivance to get it: they first treat with the *Chinese* that sell it, agree about the price, and appoint a day to carry it away. This done, they take as many horses as they think will carry the burden, and keep them three or four days without a mouthful of food, then they come in with them, and give

them as much as ever they are able to eat of that herb; immediately they mount them, and with all speed get out of the bounds of *China*: As soon as they are within their own they alight, kill the horses, rip open their bellies, and take out all the *cha* they eat, dry it, and so carry it about to sell and make drink of it.

6. Pag. 31. He writes of the barbarous custom of the *Tartars* at the death of noblemen, that they burn their wives, some servants, horses, and other things to go to serve the dead. In *India* this custom is in some measure practis'd, but he says they left it off when they came into *China*; being reprov'd by the *Chinese* themselves. I mention'd that they had not left it off till the year 1668, when the present emperor forbid it.

7. From page 34 forwards, he relates the persecution his society endur'd there in the year 1618, and says, some remain'd hid, perhaps he means F. *Longobardo*. He adds, that some were cruelly *basinado* by the magistrates. It might be so, but he does not set down the causes of the persecution, but only that a *mandarin*, who was an enemy to the law of God, promoted it. He attributes the mischief the *Tartars* did in *China* to this persecution, tho' he affirms the faith was advanced by it. But the faith *encreas'd*, as it is wont to do by persecution, &c. Which farther confirms what I writ concerning this matter, in the first book of my second tome. I writ, that when the *Tartar* possess'd himself of the imperial city, about the year 41 or 42, there were on the walls of *Pe King* seven thousand pieces of cannon; so I was told when I was in that city. But before that, when they attempt'd to break in, and durst not, F. Martinez says there was in the imperial city, an infinite number of cannon; these words imply more than the determinate number of seven thousand.

8. As for what he writes, page 42. of the *Portuguese* succours, I already took notice that the soldiers of *Macao* never came to court, whereof there is a credible witness at *Madrid* in the service of the lady marchioness de los *Velez*, who was then in arms, and went with those men from *Macao*; only five or six gunners went up to the court. I do not look upon it as probable, that the law of God was then, and till those times publicly preach'd with the emperor's consent.

9. What he says, page 45. that the *Tartars* even pull out all their beards by the roots, is contrary to what we have seen thousands of times. They use whiskers like the *Turks*, and larger. Nor do I agree to what he writes, page 47. But they are handsome enough in body and face, and much delighted with

with strange I have heard inhumanities writes conce he says, the to court were from what

10. The rebellion of the destruction of of *Ho Nam*, had his church his life, but not leave or them living death. F. A sioner, and in the *Chinese* them, and therefore I society forbid he printed the prohibitive native Christ

S. Paul, 2 fications of much patience afflictions, in *Cajetan* adds cities, &c. In the exposition It were no particular to this cannot make whereas the underwent so mention'd in tome; yet I suffer'd in an was against t and follow'd *Franciscans* al the worship t their boards, lars. This to much reflecti

11. Pag. 7 nion, wherein gobardo, Gow the society: A crows are give they ought to b How come o nges know G the country? is heaven, and from it.

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with strangers. This is not at all proper; I have heard so much of the cruelties and inhumanities of the *Tartars*, that all he writes concerning them is credible. Pag. 56. he says, the *Portuguese* gunners that went to court were seven, which differs not much from what was said before.

10. Then he gives an account of the rebellion of the *Chinese* robbers, and the destruction of the metropolis of the province of *Ho Nan*, where the good *F. Figueredo* had his church; he might well have sav'd his life, but like a good shepherd, would not leave or forsake his flock; he attended them living, and bore them company in death. *F. Figueredo* was an excellent missionary, and writ extraordinary good books in the *Chinese* character. I read some of them, and they pleas'd me to the height; therefore I wonder'd that those of his society forbid them to their brethren, since he printed them with leave. True it is, the prohibition did not reach us, or the native Christians.

*S. Paul*, 2 Cor. vi. sets down the qualifications of missionaries in these words; *In much patience, in tribulations, in wants, in afflictions, in stripes, in prisons, in seditions.* *Cajetan* adds, *which are rais'd against us in cities, &c.* It is fit the whole be read, with the expositions of *S. Thomas* and *Cajetan*. It were no hard matter to apply every particular to this reverend father: But one I cannot make out of him, which is, that whereas the fathers of the society in *China* underwent so many persecutions, which I mention'd in the first book of my second tome; yet I never heard that *F. Figueredo* suffer'd in any of them, notwithstanding he was against the practice of his own order, and follow'd that which the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* always observ'd, in relation to the worship the *Chinese* give to their dead, their boards, *Confucius*, and other particulars. This to me is a mystery that requires much reflection.

11. Pag. 79. He corroborates my opinion, wherein I agree with the fathers *Longobardo*, *Gouvea*, and other grave men of the society: *For they believe*, says he, *that crowns are given by heaven; nor do they think they ought to be seiz'd by human arts or force.* How come others to contend that the *Chinese* know God, when they themselves say the contrary? The God they acknowledge is heaven, and not any other thing distinct from it.

12. From page 80, forward, he gives a relation of the rebels breaking into the imperial city and palace, and the *Chinese* emperor's unhappy end; he agrees he hang'd himself, and says, he kill'd a daughter he had that was marriageable: It was reported in *Pe King* as I writ it.

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13. Pag. 94. He speaks of the imprisonment of the father of *U San Kuei* the *Chinese* general, and the letter he writ to his son, with the answer he sent to it; it is worth every man's knowledge, and that makes me insert it here. The rebel press'd him to write to his son, to submit himself and all his army to him, and obey his orders. The good old man took the pencil, and writ thus; "Son, the changes we see are the effects of heaven and fate, the rule *ta ming* is ended, our emperor perisht, heaven has deliver'd up the crown and sceptre to this robber *Li Kung*; we must suit our selves to the times, and make a virtue of necessity to escape his tyranny and a cruel death. He promises to make you a king, provided you and your men will acknowledge him emperor. My life depends on your answer, consider what you owe to him that be-  
got you.

*U San Kuei* read his old father's letter; no doubt it forced tears from him, and fatherly love strove in his breast, with the duty he owed as a loyal subject to his emperor. The latter prevail'd, and he generously answer'd his father in a few words, thus; "I will not have him be my father who is not true and loyal to the emperor; if you, sir, forget the fidelity you owe to the emperor, no body will think it strange I should forget the duty I owe to such a father; I will rather die than serve a robber." He sent this loyal and resolute answer to his father, and presently sent to crave aid of the *Tartar*. He acted inconsiderately and rashly; this was the occasion of the mighty havoc he saw soon after. He call'd in lions to drive out dogs.

14. Pag. 97. He confirms what I was told in *China*, and mention'd in the first book, that they were employ'd eight days carrying riches out at four gates of the palace upon carts, horses, camels, and mens shoulders. I do not agree to what he says, pages 105, 106. that the *Tartars* took from *U San Kuei* the command of the army; he was desirous so to do, but never durst provoke him. He kept that post till my time; and if it were not so, what ground was there for the hopes the *Chinese* had conceiv'd of this man?

What he writes, page 125. concerning the petty king, who went over to the small island near to the city and port of *Ning Po*, and made himself king of it, was not of any continuance. The governor of *Kin Hoa*, a great friend to *F. Martinez*, was beheaded in my time at *Pe King*.

15. Pag. 126. He relates how he was taken by the *Tartar*, but after another manner than really it was. *F. Martinez* was then with *Liu Chung Zao* in the quality of

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NAVARETTE. *mandarin* of the ammunition, a title his brethren did not approve of, he had scarce time to cut off his hair; he own'd himself a near kinsman of F. Adamus, and that sav'd him.

Pag. 38, 39. He gives an account of the baptism of *Constantine* his mother, &c. I have writ somewhat concerning this particular, and refer my self to it. Some things might have been spar'd in this point; and in the cut he infers in this place, they who are vers'd in these affairs will understand it.

Army. 16. Pag. 167. He says, all the *Tartar* and *Chinese* troops are rang'd under eight colours: in the first book I said it was under twenty four; I was often told so in *China*.

Food. Pag. 168. He mentions the *Tartars* eating horses and camels, which has been set down before. I often heard, that these people had a custom, as soon as they kill one of them, to take out its heart, and eat it raw.

17. Pag. 178. He writes that *Amavandus* the *Tartar* in three days threw up a trench ten leagues in length, with several forts upon it. This will seem incredible in these parts, but is not so to me, who have seen the vast numbers of people that can be gather'd to furnish such a work; tho' it be very much if it had been but six or seven leagues, and it would take up a great multitude to man it.

Canton. From page 176, forwards, he describes the taking of *Canton*; it cost dear. That which most terrify'd the *Chinese* was, a wooden castle the *Tartars* built, which overtopp'd the walls whence they play'd their guns, and then the *Chinese* began to abandon the wall. *Peter Caravalle* a mongrel got by a *Portuguese*, who seeing himself left alone upon the wall, fled hastily, told me, that if only two hundred men had kept their post with fire-arms, they had certainly repuls'd the *Tartars*, and disappointed their designs. The fathers, *Alvaro Semedo*, and *Feliciano Pacheco*, both *Portuguese*, were then in that metropolis; the latter, as he told us several times, got out, though with much difficulty, with his musket upon his shoulder. The *Tartars* took the former, and from him a great sum of money, as F. Antony Gouvea told us in that city.

18. Pag. 180. He says, almost all the *Tartars* love, honour, and respect those of his society; this appears by our sufferings. He adds, *Et non pauci ex illis jam fidem amiserunt nostram*. I understand it not; if by *amiserunt* he means they have receiv'd, he is much deceiv'd; here and there one it may be, and this seems to be the author's meaning.

19. From page 182, forwards, he speaks of the cruel actions of the second rebel, or robber; I look upon them all to be true. The fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo* suffer'd very much under this man. F. Gouvea said it was their own fault, because they were very headstrong.

20. Pages 193, 194. He says, That robber call'd together the learned to be examin'd, and that above eighteen thousand met; *All whom, as the custom is, he put into the college of the city, as it were, to be examin'd*, and put them all barbarously to death. F. Martinez here gives it for granted, that in every metropolis there is a college for examinations, and that large enough to contain the number above-mention'd. Why then did he give out at *Rome*, that the examinations were made, and degrees taken in the chapel dedicated to *Confucius*, which cannot hold fifty men standing? There is no answering this point.

21. Pag. 207. in Appendix, he says in the margin; "The religious worship of the *Chinese* towards the dead." And in the body of the page, "No punishment is more heinous among the *Chinese* than that sort of execution; for by reason of the religion ingrafted in their minds, they pay a supreme veneration to the sepulchres of the dead." Hence it follows that all the *Chinese* do towards their dead, is not a civil worship. This is certainly a necessary consequence, else it would not be a religious worship of *Chinese* towards the dead, nor would the extraordinary veneration they have for their tombs be an effect of the religion ingrafted in their minds. It were well for the father if this were not contrary to what he himself propos'd at *Rome*. From what is here writ I also infer, that what I said in another place is true, that the *Chinese* look upon the place of their sepulchres as holy, and not profane, as well as other nations.

To confirm what I alledge in another place out of F. Suarez, contra Reg. Ang. to prove that the worship of the *Chinese* towards their dead, is not only civil and political, but ceremonious and religious: I here add what F. John de Santo Thoma says, 2. 2. q. 87. disp. 27. art. 4. "A worship is call'd holy and religious, not because it is divine, but because it is above the civil degree; that is, it is given to persons near to God, and above human conversation; and, because those persons to whom it is given, are above the civil rank." No man who has been in *China*, can reasonably defend, that the ceremonies wherewith that nation honours their philosophers, emperors,

rors, and far superior the living, scil. i. n. "worship" "another" "ferent from" "dead. Th" "large in th" "it suffices" "Chinese pr" "wards the d"

22. Pag. what was d" "in the fifth" "drew Xavie" "son. I ha" "abandon'd" "Riccio was" "went to cr" "Muen; and" "other Chris" "pres'd to" "him; who" "furnish'd w" "might com" "stians."

23. Pag. news he rec" "kindness to" "full liberty" "allow'd the" "contributed" "ther do, no" "the first pa" "witness to i" "toleration la" "all built up" "was often t" "Tartar was l" "empire. I" "prov'd his t" "thing can b" "to make thi" "that I am le" "my own opi"

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rors, and progenitors departed, are not far superior to those they use to honour the living. *Card. Lug. de incarnat. disp. 35. sect. 1. n. 1.* says, "That is call'd civil worship, which usually men give to one another." And it is certainly very different from that the *Cbineses* give to their dead. This matter shall be handled at large in the second tome; for the present it suffices that *F. Martinez* calls that the *Cbinese* practice, a religious worship towards the dead.

22. *Pag. 210.* He says, he knows not what was the end of *Jun Lie*, I set it down in the fifth book. He adds, that *F. Andrew Xavier* follow'd him, his wife and son. I have given an account how they abandon'd and forsook him; *F. Victorio Riccio* was told it by the eunuch, who went to crave succours in the island *Hia Muen*; and because the king, queen, and other Christians had never a priest, he press'd to have the said father go with him; who would have gone, had he been furnish'd with a companion to whom he might commit the charge of his Christians.

23. *Pag. 215,* and last, He tells the news he receiv'd at *Bruxels* of the *Tartars* kindness to the missionaries, that they gave full liberty to preach the gospel, that they allow'd the erecting of new churches, and contributed towards them. The last I neither do, nor for the world can agree to: the first part I grant, and was an eye-witness to it: but that mighty liberty and toleration lasted not long, because it was all built upon sand. *F. Martinez*, as I was often told, was of opinion, that the *Tartar* was lawfully possess'd of the *Cbinese* empire. I always thought he would have prov'd his title in this little book; but nothing can be gather'd out of all he writes to make this out, or prove his assertion, so that I am left more at liberty to go on in my own opinion.

24. A learned and judicious man thinks nothing impossible. *S. Thomas*, 1 p. q. 94. art. 4. "Nothing is incredible to a wife man; children and fools are surpriz'd at every thing as strange." He will not therefore make a doubt of what has been hitherto said, or shall be added in the se-

cond tome. Some persons are amaz'd to hear that many new Christians turn apostates, without regarding that many of our own people do the same among the *Maometans*, of which sort there are enough at *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other parts. We know, that according to *S. Augustin*, lib. I. cont. *Julian*, c. 3. whom *à Lapidè* quotes and follows in *Gen. iii. 5.* *Adam* lost his faith when he sinn'd: so *S. Peter*. What *S. Thomas* did we all know. Besides, *Himeneus* and *Alexander* fell back, 2 *Tim. iv.* What wonder is it the *Cbineses* and other nations should do the same? What we ought to admire is, that there should be any, who forsaking so many idolatries in which they were bred from their infancy, come over and embrace our holy law, without seeing any miracles as the antients did. And whosoever reflects upon the inconsistency of the *Jews*, who saw so many prodigies as God perform'd among them, and for them, will less wonder at what many *Cbineses* have done: I see more to admire at among Christians. One of my order exhorted an *Alcade* of *Manila* to moderate himself in some particulars, he put him in mind of the account he was to give to God; and he answer'd, Let me but come off well when I am call'd to account here, for that in the other world does not much trouble me. No *Cbinese* would have utter'd such an extravagancy. This man had not read that which all we who have faith ought to know. Let him who has the curiosity read *Oleaster* in *Levit. vi. ad mores*. I call'd to mind a while since an extraordinary passage, which is in the classic *Cbinese* authors. They write of one who being altogether ignorant, one morning awak'd so learned, that he repeated all the *Cbinese* doctrines by heart. They praise this man very much; what I understand of it is, that only God, and none else can infuse habitual knowledge. This is an agreed point of divinity, which *à Lapidè* follows in *Gen. xi. 7.* The devil may infuse actual knowledge, either suggesting, or speaking himself, and perhaps it is most likely he did so in this case we have mention'd. Other stories and accidents, which might be added in this place, are inserted in the second tome.

*The End of the Sixth Book.*



## BOOK VII.

## Decrees and Propositions resolv'd at Rome, by order of the Holy Congregation of the Inquisition.

Questions propos'd to the Holy Congregation, *de Propaganda Fide*, by the Missioners of *China*. With the Answers to them, approved by Decree of the said Holy Congregation.

The following Propositions transmitted by the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, to the Inquisition, were resolv'd as follows, by the Fathers Qualificators of the said Inquisition.

NAVARETTE.

**W**HETHER the Chinese Christians are oblig'd to the observation of the positive precepts of the church, as to fasting, confessing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days, in the same manner as the Indians in New Spain, and the Philippine islands are oblig'd, by the decree of pope Paul the 3<sup>d</sup> for the western and southern Indians.

Fasting.

They are of opinion, that the positive laws of the church for fasting bind the Chinese Christians, and that the missioners are to notify it to them. But considering the nature of countries, and persons, his holiness if he pleases may grant the same dispensation Paul the 3<sup>d</sup> of happy memory granted to the Indians; which being obtain'd, let the missioners endeavour to make known to them the goodness of our holy mother the church, who favours them in remitting a great part of what she has decreed for the whole world.

Confession.

They also judge the aforesaid Chinese are oblig'd to sacramental confessions once a year, and the missioners are to make them sensible of this duty.

Communicating.

The same they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing of it at the time appointed, viz. at Easter, that is to be understood, unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken, that they receive within two or three months next before or after Easter, as far as may be done without danger, or at least within the space of a year beginning from Easter.

Holy-days.

Lastly, they judge the Chinese who are converted to the faith are absolutely oblig'd to keep holy-days, and the missioners are

bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his holiness please, he may limit the number of holy-days according to the privilege granted the Indians by Paul the 3<sup>d</sup>.

2. Whether the ministers of the gospel in *Baptism*, the said kingdom may, for the present at least, forbear giving women the holy oil of Catechumens, the putting spittle in their ears, and salt in their mouths: As also administering the sacrament of extreme unction to women. The cause of putting the question is, for that the Chinese are very jealous of their wives, daughters and other women, and will be scandaliz'd at such actions.

They judge the sacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledge for their doubt is not sufficient for the missioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit these things. Therefore care is to be taken, that such wholesome rites and ceremonies be introduced and observ'd, and the missioners must administer them with such circumspection, and give the men such instructions, that they may be void of all thoughts of any indecency.

3. It is establish'd by law in the aforesaid *Interregnum*, 30 per Cent. Interest be taken for money lent, without any regard to gain otherwise falling, or loss accruing. The question is, Whether it be lawful for the said Chinese to receive the said 30 per Cent. the rate establish'd by law in that kingdom, tho' their profit cease not in another place, nor loss accrue. The cause of the doubt is, for that the principal runs some bazaar, to wit, that be who borrows may run away, or delay payment, or force the creditor to recover it by law, or the like.

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They judge nothing above the principal ought to be taken immediately and directly for the loan. But if they receive any thing on account of the danger may probably happen, as in this case, they are not to be molested, so regard be had to the nature of the danger and the likelihood of it, and there be a proportion betwixt the greatness of the danger and what is receiv'd.

4. It is frequent throughout all China to have publick houses assign'd for usury, where publick usurers put out their money to use upon pawns, deducting the interest, and yet to receive so much per month for every ducat; and in case the owners of the pawns within a certain number of years does not redeem them, paying the principal and interest, he loses all his right and title to those pawns. Now these houses are useful to the publick; and tho' the usurers themselves would desist from that trade of usury, yet they are compell'd to follow it by the magistrates. The question is, whether if these usurers should desire to be converted to the faith, they may be baptiz'd tho' they continue in their course of usury, for the reason above mention'd, or what is to be done in that case?

They judge that the Chinese who continue in the practice of usury cannot be baptiz'd. But if they be compell'd by a magistrate to lend their own money, then they may take something above the principal, tho' they have a pawn, both because of the trouble forced upon them, and for their care in keeping the pawns, as also of the profit they might make another way, and of the present loss they are at. But if at the time appointed, there shall remain upon selling the pawn any thing above the principal and lawful interest accruing, for the reasons above mention'd they shall restore it to the owner.

5. Whether the sons of the aforeaid usurers, being Christians when they inherit their fathers wealth, be oblig'd to make restitution of what their parents got by usury either in the whole or in part, according to the excessive extortion. And in case such sons of usurers, now become Christians, be compelled by the government, or magistrate, to open and keep up their parents publick houses of usury; what then the ministers of the gospel are to do in this case for the ease of their consciences.

They judge, that the heirs of usurers are obliged to make restitution of what their parents have unlawfully got by usury, to the true owners, if any such can be found; if not, according to the rules assign'd by doctors. But the actual restitution must be directed by learned, pious, and discreet men. As for the second part of the question, it is answer'd in the next above it.

6. It is the custom among the people, and

in the cities of that kingdom to lay certain impositions, which are exacted from the neighbouring people, to be spent at the feast of the new year, in sacrifices and idolatries of their devils, in invitations and banquets prepar'd in their temples, as also in festivals, and other indifferent shows for the peoples diversion. *Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, and their ministers (of whom it is demanded as of neighbours) at least for the present, to contribute towards these things? For in case the Christians would not contribute to it, some tumult will be rais'd against them by the Gentiles.*

They judge the Christians may contribute money, provided they do not design by such contributions to join in those idolatrous, or superstitious acts; supposing that cause for it, which is propos'd but doubtfully: especially entering their protestation, if it may be done with convenience, that they pay those contributions only for the diversion of the people, and indifferent actions, or at least such as are not opposite to the worship of the Christian religion.

7. In all the cities and towns of that kingdom, there are temples erected and dedicated to a certain idol call'd Chim Hoam, which the Chinese pretend to be the ruler, protector, and guardian of the city; and it is an establish'd law of the kingdom, that all governors of towns and cities, whom they call mandarines, when they enter upon the government, and twice a month throughout the year, upon pain of forfeiting their employment, shall repair to the said temples, and there prostrating themselves before the altar of the said idol, kneeling, and bowing their head down to the very ground, adore and worship the said idol, and offer in sacrifice to it candles, perfumes, flowers, flesh, and wine. And when they take possession of their government, they take an oath before the aforeaid idol, that they will govern uprightly; and in case they fail, submit themselves to be punished by the idol; and also they beg of him a rule and method to govern well, and other things to this purpose. *Quære, Whether considering the frailty of that nation, it may be allow'd for the present, that such governors being Christians carry some cross, which they may conceal among the flowers on the idol's altar, or in their own hands; and directing their intention not to the idol, but to the cross, perform all those genuflexions, bowings, and adorations before that altar outwardly and feignedly, directing all the worship inwardly in their heart to the cross? for if such governors be obliged to desist from doing this, they will sooner revolt from the faith than lose their commands.*

They judge, it is no way lawful for Christians to perform these publick acts of

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worship

NAVARETTE. worship and honour to an idol, upon pretence, or intentionally to a cross they have in their hand, or hid among flowers on the altar.

8. In the aforesaid kingdom of China there was a learned master in moral philosophy, long since dead, whose name was KUM FU CU, so much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and instructions, that as well the kings as all other persons of what degree or quality soever, propose him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the speculative part, and extol and worship him as a saint; and there are temples erected in honour of the said master in every city and town. Governors are oblig'd to offer up a solemn sacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themselves doing the duty of a priest, (they repair thither without solemnity twice a month throughout the year) with them go some of the literati, or learned, to assist them in the offering of that sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead swine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, sweets, &c. Also all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go into this master's temple, to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and sweets. All this worship, sacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all those Gentiles, is design'd as a thanksgiving for the good instructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him, through the merit of his excellent wit, the blessing of wisdom and understanding. *Quære, Whether such governors as are or shall be Christians, or the learned call'd and forc'd, may repair to the said temple, offer such sacrifice, or assist at it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of these idol offerings; chiefly, because those Gentiles believe, that he who eats of those idol offerings will make a great progress in learning, and advance in degrees; and whether they may lawfully do this, carrying a cross in their hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing doubt, because if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the ministers of the gospel will be banish'd, and the conversion of souls will be hinder'd, and cease?*

They judge, that what is contain'd in the question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

9. 'Tis a custom inviolably observ'd among the Chinese, as a doctrine deliver'd by the said master KUM FU CU, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer solemn sacrifices to their aforesaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceased parent or grandfather on an altar ad-

orn'd with many candles, flowers, and sweets, and in this sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the priest, who with his assistance, offers flesh, wine, sweets, goats heads, &c. Now this sacrifice according to the common intention of that nation, is design'd as a thanksgiving to their aforesaid progenitors, an honour and respect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore, prostrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harvest, many children, much prosperity, and to be deliver'd from all adversity. Which sacrifice is also perform'd in their houses and at the tombs of the dead, but with less solemnity. *Quære, Whether Christians may feignedly, and only in outward shew, as was propos'd above, be present at this sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple at home, or at the tomb publicly, or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.*

They judge, it is no way lawful for the Chinese Christians to be present at the sacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any superstitious rites whatsoever the Gentiles use towards them, tho' it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any function relating to those matters.

10. The Chinese Christians do affirm, that by the aforesaid offerings they design no other honour to their progenitors, than if made whilst they were yet living, and that is only in memory and as an acknowledgment of the being receiv'd from them; and were they living, they would offer them the same things to feed on; and they offer them without any other intention, or hope in their prayers, knowing they are dead, and their souls bury'd in hell. *Quære, Whether if these things were done among Christians only without the company of infidels in the temples, or houses, or at the tombs, placing some cross on the altar of the aforesaid dead, and directing their intention to it, provided they attribute nothing to their progenitors but a filial respect, which (if they were still living) they would have paid, by presenting them eatables, and sweets; that so they may please the people: The question is therefore, whether this may be tolerated for the present to avoid other inconveniences?*

They judge, consequently to what has been said above, that the aforesaid points cannot be sav'd, either by the application of the cross, or the absence of Gentiles, or by the intention of the actions, in themselves unlawful and superstitious, in the worship of the true God.

11. Moreover the Chinese, to put them

in mind of the tablets on which are writ, who believing the on those tablets; and the altars peculiar candles, lamps, they kneel, before the said persons shall adversities. for Christian positions and of the said to the images of same altar, aforesaid, for or whether prayers, and said?

They judge to keep those peculiarly do much less to them, tho' counterfeit in

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dead.

12. Whether that kingdom, a Gentile, it is tom, to set a party deceased image, or else with sweets, the carcase is who come to it or four genuflexions of the person on the ground, bringing with to be consumed the image of ther it be avowed for the ministers things, especially of the greatest

They judge up be only in not a true and ticulars be with political work

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13. Quære, gospel are oblig'd to instruct baptisms, that above mention many inconveniences leaving to rec death, or baptism gospel?

They judge are oblig'd to those of the the worship of

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in mind of their ancestors, make use of certain tablets on which the names of their progenitors are writ, which they call the seats of the souls, believing the souls of the dead come to rest upon those tablets, to receive sacrifices and offerings; and the aforesaid tablets are placed on altars peculiar to that purpose, with roses, candles, lamps, and sweets about them; and they kneel, pray and offer up their devotions before the said tablets, and expect those dead persons shall relieve them in their troubles and adversities. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, laying aside all beaten superstitions and errors, to make use for the present of the said tablets, and to place them among the images of our LORD and the saints on the same altar, or on another apart, adorn'd as aforesaid, for the satisfaction of the Gentiles; or whether they may offer the aforesaid prayers, and sacrifice with the intention aforesaid?

They judge, it is absolutely unlawful to keep those tablets on a true altar, and peculiarly dedicated to their ancestors, much less to offer prayers and sacrifice to them, tho' it be done with a private and counterfeit intention.

12. When any person happens to die in that kingdom, whether be be a Christian, or a Gentile, it is observ'd as an inviolable custom, to set up an altar in the house of the party deceas'd, and to place on it his or her image, or else the tablet aforesaid adorn'd with sweets, flowers and candles, and to set the carcase in the coffin behind it. All they who come to those houses to condole, make three or four genuflexions before the altar and image of the person deceas'd, prostrating themselves on the ground, with their heads touching it, bringing with them some candles and sweets, to be consum'd and burnt on the altar before the image of the dead person. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians, and chiefly for the ministers of the holy gospel, to do these things, especially when the persons deceas'd are of the greatest quality?

They judge, that provided the tablet set up be only in the nature of a board, and not a true and exact altar, if all other particulars be within the bounds of a civil and political worship, they may be tolerated.

13. Quære, Whether the ministers of the gospel are obliged to declare to, and particularly to instruct the catechumens ready for baptism, that their sacrifices and all things above mention'd are unlawful, tho' there ensue many inconveniences of so doing, as their forbearing to receive baptism, the persecution, death, or banishment of the ministers of the gospel?

They judge, the ministers of the gospel are oblig'd to teach that all sacrifices but those of the true God are unlawful, that the worship of devils and idols is to be laid

aside, and that all things relating to that NAVA-worship are false, and repugnant to the RETTE. Christian faith: But that they are to descend to particulars, according as they find the readiness of wit, or dulness of the catechumens shall require, and with respect to other circumstances, customs, and dangers.

14. In the Chinese language this word XING signifies holy; and in the books of Christian doctrine printed by some ministers of the holy gospel, this word XING is made use of in naming the most blessed Trinity, CHRIST our LORD, the blessed Virgin, and the rest of the saints. Quære, Whether when in the said books there is occasion for naming the Chinese master CUM FU CU, or the king of China's order, or other kings, who are generally reputed holy in that kingdom, tho' they are infidels and idolaters, it be lawful for us the ministers of CHRIST to call the aforesaid persons by this name XING?

They judge, no positive resolution can be given concerning this word, or the use of it, unless they first had a knowledge of the language, and of its true and genuine signification. But if that word in China has a latitude, the ministers may make use of it; if it be confin'd to signify a true and perfect sanctity, then they may not upon any account.

15. In many temples of that kingdom there is a gilt tablet placed on a table, or altar, and set out with all sorts of ornaments, as candles, flowers and sweets, on which tablet the following letters or characters are writ: HOAM TY UAN SUR VAN VAN SUR. That is, May the king of China live many thousands of years. And it is the custom of those idolaters twice or thrice a year to sacrifice before that tablet, and make genuflexions in honour of it.

Quære, Whether the ministers of the gospel may place such an altar and table in their churches in manner aforesaid, and this before the altar on which the priests of God offer up the unspotted offering?

They judge that excluding the sacrifices, and altar properly so call'd, the other parts, which seem to imply only a civil worship, or can be reduced to it, may be permitted.

16. Q. Whether it will be lawful in that kingdom for the Christians to pray and offer the true sacrifice to our LORD God for their dead who depart this life in their infidelity?

They judge it is utterly unlawful, if they depart this life in their infidelity.

17. Q. Whether we preachers of the gospel are oblig'd in that kingdom to preach CHRIST crucify'd, and to shew his most holy image, especially in our churches? The cause of making this doubt, is because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at such preaching and shewing, and look upon it as the greatest folly.

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NAVARETTE. They judge that the doctrine of CHRIST's passion is on no pretence or policy whatsoever to be delayed till after baptism, but of necessity to precede it. But tho' the ministers of the gospel are not oblig'd to the actual preaching of CHRIST crucify'd in every sermon, but to deliver the word of God and divine mysteries discreetly, and according as opportunity serves, and to expound them according to the capacity

of the *catechumens*, yet they are not to forbear preaching upon the passion of our LORD, for that reason, because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at it, or think it a folly.

They also judge it convenient, that *Crucifix* there be images of CHRIST crucify'd in the churches, and therefore care is to be taken, that they be expos'd to view, as much as conveniently may be.

*The Decree of the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide held the twelfth of September, 1645.*

Decree of  
the pope,  
1645.

THE most eminent lord cardinal *Ginette*, having reported the above-written questions, with the answers and resolutions of the congregation of divines particularly appointed to examine the said questions; the holy congregation of the most eminent lords cardinals *de propaganda fide*, approv'd the aforesaid answers and resolutions; and upon the humble application of the same congregation, our most holy father, for preserving of unity in preaching, and the practice of it, has strictly commanded all and every the missionaries, of what order, rule, or institute soever, even those of the society of Jesus, who at present are or shall be in the kingdom of *China*, upon pain of incurring *ipso facto* an excommunication, reserv'd only to be taken off by his holiness, and the see apostolick, that they carefully observe the aforesaid answers and resolutions, and practise them, and cause them to be observ'd and practis'd by others, whom it shall concern, till such time as his holiness, or the holy see apostolick shall order the contrary. Printed at Rome in the printing-house of the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, 1645. with permission of superiors.

Morales.

This decree was set forth at the instance of *F. John Baptist de Morales*, a religious man of our province of the *Rosary* in the *Philippine* islands, bred in the monastery of *S. Paul*, in the city *Ezija*, a great missionary in *China*, of known virtue, and very zealous for the good of souls. He having preach'd the gospel some years in that empire, and together with the religious of the order of our holy father *S. Francis*, who preach'd our holy faith there, observ'd some considerable points, which they could not resolve themselves; by express command from his superiors, he sail'd from *Macao* to *Persia*, whence he travel'd by land, and came to *Rome*, where he fairly propos'd the doubts mention'd in this paper which his holiness, pope *Urban* the 8<sup>th</sup>, had by another way before receiv'd an account of, as he plainly

told the said father, when he kiss'd his foot, ordering those doubts to be laid before the congregation of the holy inquisition. They were finally resolv'd and deliver'd, when pope *Innocent* the 10<sup>th</sup> of happy memory sat in *S. Peter's* chair. In the year 1646, when I went over to the *Philippine* islands with *F. John*, we carry'd along with us a great number of authentick copies; some, tho' but few, were left in *Europe*. When we came to *Manila*, a packet sent by *Monseñor Ingoli* secretary to the congregation *de propaganda fide*, was deliver'd to the chapter, the see being then vacant, and with it an authentick copy of the decree, with orders from that holy congregation to publish and make it known to all religious orders, which was punctually perform'd. He sent another packet and copy to the same effect, to the metropolitan of *Goa*, the court of the *East-Indies*, which was no less punctually obey'd. The same was done in the city *Macao*, inhabited by *Portugueses*, and seated in the dominions of *China*. In the year 1649 *F. John* went over again into *China*, and by express order from the holy congregation, according to form, intimated the aforesaid decree to the *F. vice-provincial* of the society then in *China*; to which his reverence, and others of his brethren answer'd, they had further matter to lay before his holiness.

The most reverend and most learned *F. Thomas Hurtado*, afterwards writ in Spain upon this decree, p. 1. *resol. Moral. trac. 3. cb. 1. resol. 40*. The most illustrious lord *D. F. Peter de Tapia*, archbishop of *Sevil*, quotes it in his *Caten. Moral. Princip. tom. 2. lib. I. quest. 3. art. 9. n. 20*. he refers to the author above, who speaks of it in his *resol. orthod. Moral. de vero Mart. Fidei trac. ult.* *F. Henao* of the society mentions it too, *de Divin. Sacrif. disp. 29. sect. 17*. where he raises some doubts, which I will answer fairly and distinctly in the second tome. *F. Angelo Maria* of the regular clergy writ at large in *Italy* upon the same subject, with much sincerity and good doctrine. Some without any reason for it, as I shall make appear in my second tome, say

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say that our decree was annulled and vacated by that which past in the year 1646, at the instance of the R. F. *Martin Martinez*, which shall be mention'd hereafter. For this reason the lord bishop D. F. *John de Polanco*, my companion in that mission, ask'd of the congregation of the holy inquisition, whether it was so or not. Their answer was, that they confirm'd it anew, as the reader may see immediately.

Thus much may suffice till my second tome comes abroad, only adding, that the faithful printed memorial, which was pre-

sented some years since to his majesty king *NAYAPhilip* the fourth, mention'd by the most reverend F. *Hurtado*, and several times by F. *Henao*, was compos'd by F. *James Colado*, above spoke of; this is a matter well known, and I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that grave and learned author should not have heard of it all this while. What he says, *Long ways long lies*, I have sufficiently observ'd on account of several passages in my second tome, and some in this.

*Answers of the Holy Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, approv'd by our most Holy Father Alexander the Seventh, to the Questions propos'd by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in China, Ann. 1656.*

THE underwritten questions, and many others were propos'd to the holy congregation de *propaganda fide*, by some missionaries of *China* in the year 1645, which being by his holiness's order transmitted to the holy congregation of the supreme and universal inquisition, each of them was examin'd by the divines qualificators, and the answer annex'd to every one, in the same manner as follows.

1. *Whether the Chinese Christians be oblig'd to observe the positive ecclesiastical law, as to fasting, confessing, and receiving once a year, keeping of holy days in such a manner as the Indians in New Spain and the Philippine islands are oblig'd, according to the appointment of pope Paul the third, for the western and southern Indians?*

They judge the positive ecclesiastical law for fasting absolutely binds the *Chinese* Christians, and that the missionaries are to declare it to them. But with regard had to the nature of the countries and people, if his holiness please, he may grant them the dispensation, which was formerly granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third of happy memory; which being obtain'd, let the missionaries endeavour to make them sensible of our holy mother the church's goodness to them, whom it eases of a great part of what is laid upon all the world.

They also judge the aforesaid *Chinese* are oblig'd to sacramental confession once a year, and the missionaries are to make them sensible of this duty.

The same they judge as to receiving the holy communion once a year. But as for the performing it at the time appointed, viz. at *Easter*, that is to be understood unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken that they receive within two or three months next before or after *Easter*, as far as may be done without danger, or at least within the space of a year, begin-

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ning from *Easter*.

Lastly, they judge, the *Chinese* who are converted to the faith, are absolutely oblig'd to keep holidays, and the missionaries are bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his holiness please, he may limit the number of the holidays, according to the privilege granted to the *Indians* by pope *Paul* the third.

2. *Whether the ministers of the gospel in the said kingdom may for the present at least, forbear giving women the holy oil of catechumens, the putting spittle in their ears, and salt in their mouths; as also administering the sacrament of extreme unction to women? The cause of putting the question is, for that the Chinese are very jealous of their wives, daughters, and other women, and will be scandaliz'd at such actions.*

They judge the sacramental rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of women, and the extreme unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledge for their doubt, is not sufficient for the missionaries (as far as lies in their power) to omit those things. Therefore care is to be taken that such wholesome rites and ceremonies be introduced, and observ'd, and the missionaries must administer them with such circumspection, and give the men such instructions, that they may be free from all thoughts of any indecency.

3. In the foresaid kingdom of *China*, there was a learned master in moral philosophy, long since dead, whose name was *KUM FU ZU*, so much admir'd throughout the kingdom for his doctrine, rules and instructions, that as well the king, as all other persons of what degree or quality soever, propose him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the speculative part, and extol and worship him as a saint; and there are temples erected in honour of the said master in every city and town. Governors are

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NAVARRA oblig'd to offer a solemn sacrifice twice a year in his temple, they themselves doing the duty of a priest (they repair thither without solemnity twice a month throughout the year) with them go some of the literati, or learned, to assist them in the offering of that sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead swine, a whole goat, candles, wine, flowers, sweets, &c. Also all the learned, when they take a degree, are oblig'd to go to this master's temple to kneel before his altar, and offer on it candles and sweets. All this worship, sacrifice and honour, according to the formal intention of all those gentiles, is design'd as a thanksgiving, for the good instructions left by him in his doctrine, and that they may obtain of him thro' the merit of his wit, the blessing of understanding.

Quære, *Whether such governors as are or shall be Christians, or the learned call'd and forced, may repair to the said temple, offer such sacrifice, or assist as it, or make any genuflexions before that altar, or receive any part of those idol-offerings; chiefly because those gentiles believe, that he who eats of those idol-offerings, will make a great progress in learning, and advance in degrees? And whether they may lawfully do this carrying a cross in their hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing dubit, because if this be forbidden them, the people will mutiny, the ministers of the gospel will be banish'd, and the conversion of souls will be hindred and cease?*

They judge that what is contain'd in the question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

4. 'Tis a custom inviolably observ'd among the *Chinese*, as a doctrine deliver'd by the said master KUM FU ZU, to have temples in all towns of the kingdom, dedicated to their grandfathers and progenitors; and all that are of the family meet twice a year in every one of them, to offer solemn sacrifices to their aforesaid progenitors, with abundance of ceremonies; and they place the image of their deceas'd parent or grandfather on an altar, adorn'd with many candles, flowers, and sweets; and in this sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the priest, with his assistants, who offer wine, flesh, sweets, goats-heads, &c. Now this sacrifice, according to the common intention of that nation, is design'd as a thanksgiving to their aforesaid progenitors, and honour and respect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore prostrating before the altar, they offer many prayers, begging health, long life, a plentiful harvest, many children, much prosperity, and to be deliver'd from all adversity. Which sacrifice is also per-

form'd in their houses, and at the tombs of the dead, but with less solemnity.

Quære, *Whether Christians may feignedly and only in outward shew, as was propos'd above, be present at this sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the infidels, either in the temple at home, or at the tomb, publicly or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.*

They judge it is no way lawful for the *Chinese* Christians to be present at the sacrifices to their progenitors, or at their prayers, or at any superstitious rites whatsoever the gentiles use towards them, though it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any function relating to those matters.

But whereas the missionaries of the society of Jesus in the aforesaid kingdom were not heard at that time, after the year 1655, they propos'd the aforesaid four questions to the same holy congregation de propaganda fide, with the diversity of circumstances, which is adjoin'd to each question, &c. The matter was by order of our most holy father remitted to the holy congregation of the supreme and holy inquisition. The said holy congregation having heard the opinion of the qualificators, answer'd as follows.

1. Quære, *Whether the missionaries are oblig'd to signify to the new Christians, when first baptiz'd, the ecclesiastical positive law, as binding under mortal sin, in relation to fasting and confessing, and receiving once a year?*

The reason of making a doubt about fasting is, because the *Chinese* are us'd from their infancy to eat three times a day, which the lightness of their diet obliges them to. This would oblige magistrates to go to their courts fasting, where they continue from eight in the morning till two afternoon, which they could not possibly do.

The reason of making the doubt concerning holidays, confession, and communion, is because most of the Christians must work for their living, and the Christians are often forced by infidel magistrates to do several sorts of work upon holidays. And the Christian magistrates themselves must keep their courts upon days, which among us are kept holy, upon pain of forfeiting their employments.

The missionaries are but few in number, the kingdom of a vast extent, and therefore many Christians cannot hear mass upon holidays, and receive and confess once a year.

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The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the positive ecclesiastical law relating to fasting, keeping of holiday, sacramental confession and communion once a year, is to be made known to the Christian Chinese by the missionaries, as obliging under mortal sin; but that they may at the same time declare the causes which excuse the faithful from the observing of those precepts, and if his holiness pleases, power may be granted the missionaries to grant dispensations as they think fit, only in particular cases.

*Baptism.* **Quære 2.** *Whether all the sacramentals are to be applied in the baptizing of females at womens estate? Again, Whether it be sufficient to administer the sacrament of extreme unction only to such women as desire it?*

*Extreme unction.* *Again, Whether it may be refus'd even them that ask it upon a prudent foresight of inconveniences, and dangers that may ensue to all Christians?*

*Misde.* The occasion of making this doubt, is the incredible modesty of the Chinese women, their reservedness, and their commendable avoiding, not only the conversation of men, but even the sight of them; in which particular, unless the missionaries be extraordinary cautious, a mighty scandal will be given the Chinese, and the whole body of Christians there may be expos'd to imminent danger.

The holy congregation, in order to what has been above propos'd, judges, that on account of a pressing proportionable necessity, some sacramentals may be omitted in baptizing of women, and that the sacrament of extreme unction may be also forborn.

*Worship of Confucius.* **Quære 3.** *Whether the Christian literati, or learned Chinese, may perform the ceremony of many taking the degrees, which is done in Confucius's hall? For no sacrificer, or minister of the idolatrous sect is concern'd there; nothing is perform'd that has been instituted by idolaters, but only the scholars and philosophers meet, acknowledging Confucius as their master, with only civil and political rites instituted from their very original for mere civil worship.*

For all that are to take their degrees go together into Confucius's hall, where the chancellors, doctors, and examiners expect them; there they all together, without offering any thing, perform those ceremonies and inclinations after the Chinese fashion, which all scholars do to their masters whilst living: and thus having acknowledged Confucius the philosopher for their master, they take their degrees from the chancellors, and depart. Besides, that hall of Confucius is an academy, and not properly a temple, for it is shut to all but scholars.

The holy congregation judges, according to what has been above propos'd, that the afore said ceremonies may be allow'd the Chinese, because the worship seems to be merely civil and political.

**Quære 4.** *Whether the ceremonies paid to worship of the dead, according to the rules set by philosophy, may be allow'd among Christians, forbidding all the superstitious part which has been added?*

*Again, Whether the Christians may perform those lawful ceremonies in company with their pagan kindred?*

*Again, Whether Christians may be present, especially after making a protestation of faith, when the infidels perform the ceremonious part, they not joining with, or encouraging them, only because it would be a great reflection if they were then absent, and it would cause enmity and hatred? The Chinese assign no divinity to the souls of the dead, they neither hope nor ask any thing of them.*

There are three several ways they honour their dead.

First, When any one dies, whether he be Christian or heathen, it is an inviolable custom to erect an altar in the house of the party deceas'd, and to place his or her image on a tablet, containing the person's name on it, set out with sweets, flowers, and candles, and to lay the body in the coffin behind it. All persons that come into those houses to condole, kneel three or four times before the afore said tablet, or image, prostrating themselves, and touching the ground with their heads, bringing some candles and sweets along with them, to be consum'd or burnt on that altar or board before the image of the party deceas'd.

The second way is, that they perform twice a year, in their ancestors or progenitors halls, so the Chinese call them; not temples, for that is the meaning of TSU TANG, which are memorials or monuments of families; only the great men have them, or the richest families: no dead body is bury'd in them, but in the mountains. Within there is only the image of the noblest of their progenitors; then upon steps one above another, there are little boards or tablets about a span in length, on which are written the names of all the family, their quality, honour, sex, and age, and the day of their death, even to infants of both sexes. In this hall all the kindred meet twice a year; the richest of them offer flesh, wine, candles, sweets. The poorer sort, who cannot have such halls, keep the tablets of their ancestors at home, in some particular place, or else upon the altar on which are the images of their holy men, which cannot have another place allow'd them because of the smallness of the house;

*Worship of ancestors.*

*Burying-places.*

NAVA-house; yet they do not worship nor offer any thing to them, but they are there for want of another place: for the aforementioned ceremonies are not perform'd by the *Chineſes* any where but in the hall of the dead; and if they have none, they are omitted.

The third is that perform'd at the tombs of the dead, which are all without the walls on mountains, according to the laws of the kingdom: to these the children or relations repair, at least once a year, about the beginning of May; they pull up by the roots the weeds and grafs that is grown about the tombs, cleanse them, weep, then strick out, make several genuflexions, as was mention'd in our first way, lay out meat dress'd, and wine; then their tears ceasing, they eat and drink.

The holy congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, that the converted *Chineſes* may be permitted to perform the said ceremonies towards their dead, even among the infidels, so that such as are superstitious be forborn. That they may be only present among the infidels when they perform the superstitious part, especially after making a protestation of their faith, and there being no danger of their being perverted; and this, if enmity and hatred cannot be otherwise avoided. *Toursilay, March 23, 1656.*

In the general congregation of the holy Roman and universal inquisition, held in the apostolick palace at St. Peter's before our most holy lord Alexander the seventh, by divine providence, pope, and the most eminent and reverend lords cardinals of the holy Roman church, especially deputed by the holy see apostolick general inquisitors against heretical pravity throughout the whole commonweal of Christendom.

*Decree of The aforesaid questions, together with the inquisition answers and resolutions of the holy congregation, 1656.*

*Reflections on the Propositions made at Rome, by F. Martin Martinez, Anno Dom. 1656.*

1. **W**HAT F. Martin Martinez propos'd at Rome, being positively disapproved of by F. John Adamus, and the fathers Antony Gourvea, and Ignatius de Acoſta, both prelates of their mission in China, and F. Emanuel George, all of them of the society, and that it was very displeasing to those of the two religious orders: I made it my business at Rome to prevail with the holy congregation to recal and annul what has been decreed upon the four questions above-mention'd, making it appear, by what shall be here set down, that the said father had not le-

tion, being there reported, our most holy lord pope Alexander the seventh aforesaid approved of the said answers and resolutions. Instead of ✕ a seal. John Lupus not. to the holy Roman and universal inquisition, &c. Printed at Rome in the printing-house of the holy congregation de propaganda fide, 1656. By permission of superiors.

In my second tome I spoke something in relation to this decree: F. Henao mentions it, *ſect. 17. diſp. 29. de divino miſſe ſacrificio, num. 226.* He ſeems to blame the moſt illuſtrious lord Tapia, and moſt R. F. Thomas Hurado, as if they had deſignedly omitted to make mention of this decree, which he has not the leaſt reaſon for. If thoſe of his ſociety will not publiſh it at Macao, nor even in China: if ſome of his own brethren in that miſſion had not ſeen it in my time, nor any perſon has as yet ſeen it ſufficiently authoriz'd: if F. Martin Martinez, who by his propoſition obtain'd it, would not ſhew it: if the fathers John Adamus, Ignatius de Acoſta, Antony Gourvea, and others, did not like it: if the fathers of the ſociety themſelves had made no account of it in China, as F. Emanuel George plainly own'd; how, or which way ſhould thoſe authors have knowledge of it? I ſaid already, I would answer the reſt of F. Henao's objections in my ſecond tome. I alſo reſerve for that place ſome obſervations I have already made and ſet down, upon the brief relation publiſh'd at Rome in the Tuſcan language, by F. Proſper Intorceta a Sicilian miſſioner in China, and my companion in the perſecution and baniſhment. I was very deſirous to have found him at Rome, and am of opinion that he having notice of my going to that court, ſet out immediately for France to carry miſſioners to that miſſion. I will clear all things, without leaving the leaſt thing unanswer'd.

gally ſtated the matter of fact, which he was to propoſe and explain to that holy aſſembly. It is the cuſtom of the church, ſays S. Bernard. *ep. 180. ad Innocent. 2. pap.* to revoke things of this nature; *The ſee apoſtolick is uſually careful in this point, not to be backwards in recalling whatſoever it finds has been fraudulently drawn from it, and not merited by truth.* The words of S. Auguſtin, *lib. II. de baptiſm. c. 3.* are much to this purpoſe, they are theſe: *Former great councils are often corrected by the latter, when experience lays open that which was ſhut, and makes known what was*

*bid.*

*bid. Which pag. mibi 450 derſtood, not ing immutable concern diſciplin Nor can or that the hear his congrega cee they gran the holy con The confeſſion ers, who gi ill-diſpoſ'd, w worthineſs an was impos'd lord cardinal mile upon thi cardinal Bellar Pontif. c. 2. i with his congre general council ſies of matter of formations and is no more the council, and impos'd upon formation.*

2. The ſame " pope as a p " and that thi " times happ here Cabaffue note, " Never " on this pret " church, or o " himſelf, or " is ever due f " of their diſp " doubtleſs off " to the faithf answer one m alk'd, Whether forms of ſacram ly tone, much neſs: If the bi always been mo they may. Ma they are rais'd men. This ſu ſuch reſpect an thoſe the holy C S. Peter's boat. no difficult ma apoſtolical dec expression defe ſwers given to t tho' at Rome th I made and preſ tion given by H tions offer'd to they thought to proceed to that decree, bec of the adverſe

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lib. Which, as *Cabassius Not. Concil. pag. mibi 450.* well observes it to be understood, not in definitions of faith, these being immutable in the church, but in things that concern discipline, matter of fact, or persons. Nor can or ought it therefore to be said, that the head of the church, or any of his congregations err'd in the first decree they granted, but that his holiness, or the holy congregation was misinform'd. The confessor is not in the wrong, or errs, who gives absolution to a penitent ill-dispos'd, who conceals and hides his unworthiness and ill disposition: We say he was impos'd upon. The most eminent lord cardinal *Ottobono* taught me this simile upon this subject; and I take what cardinal *Bellarmino* says, lib. III. de Rom. Pontif. c. 2. in this sense; That the pope with his congregation of counsellors, or with a general council may err in private controversies of matter of fact, which depend on the informations and testimonies of men. Which is no more than to say, that the pope, council, and holy congregations may be impos'd upon by those who give them information.

2. The same cardinal says, "That the pope as a private doctor may err, &c." and that through ignorance, as it sometimes happens to other doctors. But here *Cabassius*, p. 299. makes this note, "Nevertheless, whosoever should on this pretence make a schism in the church, or obstinately condemn the pope himself, or a synod, to whom respect is ever due from the faithful on account of their dignity, those persons would doubtless offend God, and give scandal to the faithful." This comes pat to the answer one made in my hearing; being ask'd, Whether bishops could declare the forms of sacraments? He said with a state-ly tone, much emphasis, and haughtiness: If the bishops be as ours, who have always been most learn'd and eminent men, they may. Many popes may not, because they are rais'd to it, being but ignorant men. This said a private missionary, with such respect and reverence did he speak of those the holy Ghost makes choice of to steer *S. Peter's* boat. This doctrine will make it no difficult matter to him to disobey the apostolical decrees. What censure such an expression deserves will appear by the answers given to the questions I propos'd. And tho' at *Rome* they agreed to the reflections I made and presented touching the information given by *F. Martinez* in his four questions offer'd to the holy congregation, yet they thought not that a sufficient ground to proceed to the aforesaid revocation of that decree, because there wanted some one of the adverse party at that court, to ar-

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gue the matter; wherefore it was put off NAVA- till further inquiry, which was order'd to RETTE. be made. And tho' the main reflections may be found in several parts of the second tome, yet I thought fit to infer them here altogether, this being their proper place: and because it is convenient the reader should be immediately satisfy'd, as to the principal grounds of the controversies that have been between the three orders, I give it for granted that *F. Martinez*, and the rest that were assisting with their accounts to forward his propositions, meant well, and had a good intention; and tho' what shall be writ may cause some suspicion that it was not so, yet it shall proceed from strength of argument, not of design, to thwart theirs which I look upon as blameless. *Cabassius*, p. 457. proves this matter elegantly; and because it is a general case, and may serve upon other occasions, I will here insert his words: "But that it may appear of how great consequence it is, whether a man acts out of a good or bad design, *Lewis Allenmanus* cardinal and bishop of *Arles*, who relying on the judgment of the gravest divines and canonists of that time, had conceived a most deep notion of the authority of councils above the pope, and who otherwise was extream zealous for restoring ecclesiastical discipline, which he positively believ'd to have been long since depraved and corrupted by the *Roman* court; and grounded himself besides on the declaration of the general council of *Constance*, Sess. 4. which defines, That a general council lawfully assembled, has such an authority as binds the pope himself, and can force him to obedience, and can no way be infirm'd, annull'd or alter'd by the pope. Upon this he most inflexibly oppos'd the commands of *Eugenius*, and stood stiff for the assembly at *Basil*. Moreover, *Lewis Alemannus* insisted on the approbation of pope *Martin* the fifth, who confirm'd that council, as far as all its acts were made in the due course of a council, as he calls it. Those at *Basil* in their first sessions, reviv'd that decree of the council of *Constance*: Which was the cause that *Eugenius* the fourth dissolv'd the council; but they not obeying, and rather designing to chuse a new pope, then *Eugenius* to secure the unity of the church, recall'd his dissolution, and again sent his ambassadors to the council. Then the fathers at *Basil* repeated the said decree, Sess. 18. &c. And he that on this account (had not his sincere design and upright intention, supported by the judgment of grave and pious doctors, interpos'd) might have





wine, &c. to excuse them from the fasts of the church. Only one objection can be made against this argument, which is, that those *Chinese* only keep abstinence from those things mention'd, and therefore eat breakfast and supper of such meats as are allow'd them; but the Christians, tho' they eat fish and whitemeats, &c. must eat no breakfast, which is what they cannot endure, because they are otherwise us'd. The answer is, that this proceeds not from the *lightness of the meat*, which was the cause of the doubt. Besides, among labouring people, what is us'd here may be us'd there; for scholars, as a small quantity is tolerated among us, so it may among them, which F. Brancato has already assign'd to be two ounces, upon which a scholar may well hold out till noon, and we see many men and women fast very well without it.

6. Nor are ours the most rigid fasts in the world. The 50<sup>th</sup> canon of the council of *Laodicea* commands that Christians in lent keep *Xerophagia*. *Tertullian lib. 1. advers. Psychicos*, says, we keep the *Xerophagia*, which is, abstinence from all flesh and broth, and all fresh fruits, that we may neither eat nor drink any thing of wine. And this we see was in the infancy of the church. *Cassiodorus pag. 148. add's*: The Greeks to this day observe such a *Xerophagia* in their fasts; and *Balsamon* tells us, abstinence from fish is much us'd among them, which *Tertullian* includes under the denomination of all sorts of flesh. Also the *Armenian Christians*, the *Euticians* and *Schismatics*, do not only abstain from earthly flesh, whitemeats, and eggs, but also from fish, wine, and oil, as many writ; who have travel'd those countries in our time. And *Balsamon ad Apost. can. 69.* tells us that the Greeks observe the *Xerophagia*, throughout the whole year, upon *wednesdays* and *fridays*, so far that neither upon these days, nor the fasts of lent, they ever dispense with sick people, tho' in danger of death, any farther than to eat fish. It goes yet farther with the *Chinese*, and others who keep the *Xerophagia* all their life time, without ever dispensing with it; tho' they be in danger of death, they do not allow of fish, whitemeats, or eggs. What wonder the *Carthusians* should not dispense with flesh?

7. It is also to be observ'd that the *Chinese* make great account of fasts; and therefore we find the first question they put, when they discourse concerning our holy faith, is what fasts we have: and when we make them easy, saying there are but few, as believing this makes it more grateful to them, they rather dislike it, for they do not approve it should oblige them to so few fasts. For which reason I often said

in *China*, that if it were in my power, I *NAVA* would not dispense with one fasting day. *RETTE*. I conclude this point according to the intention of it, which was to shew that the reason alledg'd for excusing the *Chinese* convert from the duty of fasting, viz. the lightness of the diet, has not the least shadow of truth.

8. As to what he alledges to excuse the *Judic-mandarines* from fasting, I declare there is no truth in it. For the better understanding whereof it must be understood, that the greater the *mandarines* are, the seldomer, and the less time they sit in court, which is in their own houses, except those at court (therefore the *Chinese* do not say the *mandarin* goes to, or comes from his court, but that he comes out to, or withdraws from it, because it is a room in his house; so he comes out of his own apartment, where no body goes in about business, to a public hall where he hears causes, and from this to another yet more publick: by which it appears that the word *Adire*, which is to go to, can only be verify'd of the *mandarin* at court, and no others throughout the whole empire.) So the supreme *mandarin* or governor usually residing in a metropolis, goes to his court but two or three times a month. The viceroys do the same, the governors of cities or *TAOS*, somewhat oftner. The judges and their assistants are they that follow it most, and they have no fix'd time to come out, or to sit, as is usual in *Spain*; but they come out when they please, and so withdraw. This indeed is observ'd, that as soon as the judge, for example, comes out to his court immediately his deputies come out to theirs; and as soon as he withdraws, they do so too: but to say any *mandarin* sits in court from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, is a mere chimera. And if this ever happen'd, yet it ought not to be represented as a constant, settled, and general practice. And tho' it were really so, yet there was no necessity of representing it at *Rome*, because this is one among the many other cases set down by divines, that excuse a man from fasting. Besides, the *Chinese mandarines* whilst they sit in court, publickly and very freely eat and drink whatsoever they fancy; and therefore any of them who shall be a Christian might be advis'd to take some refreshment there, if he found himself faint, which he might do without the least reflection. In short the reason alledg'd for making the doubt is altogether groundless.

9. To excuse them from keeping of holidays he gives this following reason: *Because most of the Christians must work for their living, and the Christians are often forced by the infidel magistrates to undergo se-*  
veral

NAVARRA. several sorts of labour; the Christian magistrates themselves must keep their courts, even upon our holidays, on pain of forfeiting their employments. I answer, that when a man must of necessity work to maintain himself, his wife and children, &c. there is no need of going further about it, or putting the question; for it is a plain case, that a superior law exempts him from the precept; nor is it proper to endeavour that all men should be excused on account of this sort of people, when there are others not under those circumstances. Besides, where there are tradesmen in a city who know that mass is said at such an hour, the hearing of it will not obstruct their working for their living, especially according to that erroneous opinion some men hold, that the church does not oblige to forbear work, but only to hear mass. So that this argument will clear the latter, but not the others; and it will be only accidentally, and when that necessity presses, the reason for it stands good. So those labourers, whom the mandarines command to work upon holidays, are discharg'd from the precept of the church, which is not obligatory when any considerable damage may accrue to the Christian from it. Yet I am of opinion that will happen but seldom, for there are so many of every trade in China, that there is no necessity of forcing the Christians to do any sort of work. Therefore I look upon that proposition as chimerical, when he says, *And the Christians are often forced by the infidel magistrates, &c.* For which reason when this point was argu'd at Canton, no man made use of this argument. As to what concerns the mandarines, I declare I never heard there was any such penalty for those who omit frequenting their courts. I have already said, the greatest of them do not much appear in their courts; but certain it is, supposing such a law, that if they cannot conveniently hear mass before, they are discharg'd of the duty. But if they go to the court at eight of the clock, why may not they hear mass at seven? and if the mandarines go from their courts a visiting, and receive them, go to plays, entertainments, and other festivals they have on their tablets, without forfeiting their employments, why might not they hear mass on sundays, and great holidays? This is only a pumping for reasons to stand out in their opinion, as they us'd to say at Rome.

10. To excuse the Chinese from yearly confession, and from communion, he proposes, *That the missionaries are few, the kingdom of a vast extent, and therefore many Christians cannot hear mass upon holidays, nor confess and receive once a year.* I allow there is no precept that obliges those, who

cannot hear mass, or confess and receive either in China, or any where else. We know there are visitations, particularly in America and the Philippine islands, where they do not see a priest in a year or two, but they meet upon holidays in the church to pray and humble themselves before God, and yet they are oblig'd to hear mass, confess, &c. The same then must be allow'd in China, tho' in China it is easier to visit the Christians, than in some parts of the Philippine islands, where we must go several leagues by sea, and in danger of enemies; and if we go by land, the ways are so bad that they are almost impassable, without any thing to eat, or any houses to rest, as I know by experience. Besides, if there are so few missionaries that they cannot assist the Christians, why will not they suffer other religious men to help them? And if when the Christians call them, they go to them, why do the fathers of the society complain of us and the Franciscans, as F. Martinez actually did complain of F. John Baptist de Morales, because he went with a companion to the city NING PO, when he was courted and invited by the licentiate CHU Cosmus? Or why shall not the missionary labour and travel, in visiting his flock, to teach, instruct and feed their souls, as F. Antony of S. Mary us'd to say of F. John Francis Ferrari did? Therefore I say all the reasons alledg'd for the doubts, are not according to the general opinion of the society, but F. Martinez his own, and fram'd by one or two more, and have nothing in them.

11. The holy congregation answers, *The aforesaid positive precept is to be made known by the missionaries, as obliging under mortal sin, &c.* It must be here observ'd, that tho' his holiness Innocent the 10<sup>th</sup> ordain'd and commanded the same, and his decree, as is order'd in it, was notified to those of the society, nevertheless they took no notice of it, alledging they had further matter to lay before his holiness; they made their information by F. Martinez, and had the same answer, and yet they did not notify to the Christians what the holy congregation commands. Therefore the stress does not lie upon the court of Rome's being well or ill inform'd, there must be something more in it. So that till F. Ignatius d' Azevedo entred upon the government of his mission in China, there was no talk of notifying the positive ecclesiastical law to those people; and the said father commanded it to be notify'd, many of his brethren opposing it, and it had not been done by another, as I myself heard it said. And still some contend that the Chinese are not yet capable of this duty, whereas the Indians of America and the Philippine islands

islands were in version. Bel- self as to this plausible rea- the contrary, has pronounced doubt of it, another case.

1. The se administering at womens of the doubt a left the missi mighty scanda and all the sta expos'd to mo standing this tion the holy pears in the writ largely tises, pag. 29 ing with the in the second ion, when th must observe the baptism with all the ce proved very brings an ex by one of the there, which can we say to the second p tals, we on a ny which we of which no tho' they we continue to p who have po put in execut ceiv'd inform of the society same, without they cannot great crime, reader to the which will sa cerns this p enough to an 2. Here I posing the s great momen is, what is c the council o of necessity b Baptism, let be comes to be first place an which should on the forehea tion, that bot upon as necess thus upon th many things: Vol. I.

islands were subject to it from their first conversion. Before the church had declar'd it self as to this point, there might be some plausible reasons, or pretences, to think the contrary lawful. But since the church has pronounced judgment, it is a crime even to doubt of it, says Cabassucius, p. 153. upon another case.

1. The second question is concerning administering the sacramentals to females at womens estate. He drovè the reasons of the doubt as far as possible, saying, *Unless the missionaries be extremely cautious, a mighty scandal will be given to the Chineses, and all the state of Christianity there may be expos'd to most imminent danger.* Notwithstanding this rigid and exorbitant proposition the holy congregation decided, as appears in the decree. F. Joseph de Morales writ largely upon this subject, in his treatises, pag. 294. but immodestly, and mixing with the truth what is not so. I writ in the second tome what happen'd in Canton, when this point was argu'd. Here I must observe that F. Trigancius mentions the baptism of some women, perform'd with all the ceremonies of the church, which proved very edifying. And F. Morales brings an example of another baptiz'd by one of theirs, who was not well vers'd there, which gave some scandal. What can we say to this? If they on account of the second precedent omit the sacramentals, we on account of the first and of many which we have both before and after, of which no inconvenience has followed, tho' they were on persons of note, will continue to practise them. And since they who have power so to do, order it to be put in execution, even when they have receiv'd information from the society, those of the society are oblig'd to perform the same, without opposing the decree, which they cannot do but they must commit a great crime, and give scandal. I refer the reader to the resolutions taken at Canton, which will satisfy him as to all that concerns this point, and he will there find enough to answer F. Morales.

2. Here I must observe two things, supposing the sacramentals to be a matter of great moment in the church. The first is, what is ordain'd by the first canon of the council of Orange: *If any person in case of necessity have not received the holy oil in baptism, let the bishop be advertis'd of it, when he comes to be confirm'd, that he may in the first place anoint him on the crown of the head, which should have been done in baptism, then on the forehead for the sacrament of confirmation, that both the anointings may be look'd upon as necessary.* Cabassucius, p. 225. says thus upon this canon: *This canon teaches us many things: First, That he who is baptiz'd,*  
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*is to be anointed with holy oil on the crown of NAVA- the head, by any priest administering baptism, RETTE. &c. Fifthly, That both anointings are necessary.* So that it is not so trivial a matter, that every man may omit it of his own head. This ceremony, says Ammularius Fortunatus, lib. 1. de Ecclef. offic. cap. 27. had its beginning under pope S. Silvester.

My second and chief reflection I take from Cabassucius, pag. 146. where, speaking of the oil of catechumens, he says thus: *But the anointing with oil of catechumens, which preceded baptism, was us'd among the Latins upon the head and breast of the person that was to be baptiz'd, as Pamelius out of S. Ambrose observes on Tertullian of baptism, in the beginning of the book; and also on the breast and shoulders, &c. But among the Greeks the anointing was perform'd by the priest all over the body of the person to be baptiz'd; for so it is learnedly deliver'd by Dionysius, Ecclef. Hier. cap. 2. Cyril, Chrysostom. A little lower: For this reason, Reinaldus Theophilus in his treatise of the prohibition of clergymen conversing with women, is fully persuaded that women us'd formerly to be anointed all over the body, as well as men, upon the bare skin, but that the temptation of the eyes was prevented by some linen-cloth spread before them, &c. If this ceremony were still in use, there is no doubt but it would be attended with all the inconveniences F. Martinez proposes, should it be practis'd in China; but it is easier to introduce those us'd by the Roman church, administering them as ought to be, than it is to give the communion to women, and hear their confessions. Which notwithstanding, a viceroy said to F. Sambiasi, If you deal with women, there's no more to be said. Yet I say, notwithstanding this, and other difficulties that attend these actions they are all overcome, and the fathers of the society have taken no notice of them, therefore there is the less occasion here to descant on it.*

1. As to the third question it is to be observed, the better to judge of the proposition, That there never was any dispute in China, whether it was lawful or not to receive the degrees of bachelor, licentiate and doctor: and it was so far from being argu'd, that no body ever had a thought of making a doubt of it. Therefore it was nothing to the purpose, an unnecessary and idle action to propose this matter, in regard that nothing but what is difficult and doubtful ought to be propos'd and ask'd. But it being true that *deep calleth unto deep;* when he had committed this error, and fallen into such a fault, he tumbled headlong by degrees into many others of greater consequence. He sets it down in the question as granted, that the degrees are taken  
U u u u Degret.



NAVA- taken in the hall (so he terms the temple)  
 RETTE, of Confucius. Nothing in the world can be more unreasonable, or untrue; it is set down in its proper place how and where the degrees are confer'd, and how impossible it is to do it in that place, if they would. If F. Martinez propos'd such things as those, most certain it is, the answer given upon them, tho' not revok'd, does not make against us.

Another stumble is this, he says, *no sacrificer, or minister of the idolatrous sect, is present.* No man in China ever imagin'd any such thing taking the words as they found, and as he and we distinguish between the sect of the learned, and that of the idols, which went out of India into China. In this sense we all agree, that none of the idolatrous sect have to do either at the conferring of degrees, or any other ceremony of the learned, nor would they allow it on any account whatsoever. Therefore the proposing of it was only to trick the holy congregation; and since no body has made a doubt of it, it follows there was some further fetch in proposing it after that manner. He says further, *Nothing at all is done that has been instituted by idolaters;* this includes the same double meaning, which is easily taken away, if it be granted, as to the sect that went out of India, and denying it as to that of the learned. He goes on telling, that the learned own Confucius as their master, performing to him civil and political ceremonies, from their first institution directed to mere civil worship. I say in the first place, that it is most false, that they give any worship either political or religious to Confucius at the time of taking their degrees; the veneration they pay to him is some days after receiving the degree, as all that vast kingdom well knows. Therefore he has err'd again in proposing this, and has committed a great error as to the rites with which the learned honour their Confucius, be it as this or any other time: for the difficulty being whether the said rites are religious or civil, he ought to explain them, that it might be judg'd and determin'd of which sort they were; and not to give that for granted which was his duty to prove, and which we the Franciscans, and many of his own society have always deny'd. We of the two religious orders never went about to abolish any thing that is civil and political in China, nor is it reasonable we should; we cut off what is religious in a false religion, and we prove it to be such, not only by arguments, but by the authority of the gravest missionaries of the society. Therefore to suppose them to be civil rites, is to suppose what ought to be prov'd; so that all the

difficulty would be, Whether it is lawful to give a political worship to Confucius, which no body ever yet deny'd.

2. As for those rites being from their very original instituted as a mere civil worship, he ought not to assert, but to prove it, and to lay down the first institution, that it might be judg'd, whether it was religious or political. F. Martinez, and some of his brethren would maintain against the sense of other very learned men of the society of the learned sect, which Becanus in *Analog. Vet. & Nov. Testam. cap. 11. q. 3.* writes of the Pharisees, *The sect of the Pharisees in its first original and institution was most certain, according to that of Act. xvi. 5. according to the most certain sect of our religion.* Becanus does not suppose but proves this, and so ought F. Martinez to do. Then he says, *That vices afterwards crept in, and thus it err'd in many particulars.* The said fathers would make out the same of Confucius his sect, viz. that in its beginning it was holy, spotless and good, all political and courteous, and agreeable to reason; but that afterwards by degrees it was corrupted and defil'd; so that at present we are not to regard what is ill that has clung to it, but endeavour to cut it off, and look only on that which is properly its own, and very good. How true this appears by the fifth book, and by another in my second tome, and it will be proper to read what à Lapide writes in *Numb. xxi. 8.* speaking of the brazen serpent, *Q. 4.* and what has been already quoted out of Becanus; and he adds, *But afterwards, as it usually happens, there sprung up superstitious and false doctrines, with which the latter Pharisees in the time of CHRIST were infected, and therefore severely rebuk'd by him, not that all, but most of them were such; for it appears some were clear from those vices, as Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Paul.* Here it may be observ'd, first, that our Saviour reprov'd the Pharisees, not regarding the origin of the sect, whereof he makes no mention, but looking upon the condition it was then in. Therefore supposing, but not granting, that the learned sect was good in its first institution, we must consider whether it afterwards alter'd, and embraced new doctrines, not look to its beginning, which is past and came not near these times. 2. That notwithstanding there were some who follow'd that sect according to its first institution, as those above nam'd; yet CHRIST several times severely reprov'd the other sectaries, who had degenerated from that first state; whence we may infer, that had the sect been corrupted in all its individuals, our LORD's reproof had been still more sharp, as only looking upon their present ill state, without looking back

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on that past, cation of the to through the learned in all its men degenerated, ing aside its only regard about to per other sects hat that of the le taking, since learned have thers. The bad, as the sea prove.

3. F. Ma all who are fucius's hall two things w them. The place before is not so. T in, or be con ticulars are fa is, that they degrees there chancellors, do them there, and false. For, as or hall, there grees given o learning perfo not before, th worship that

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on that pass, whose goodness is no justification of the depravedness it had fallen into through the malice of men. Now since the learned sect is at this time wholly and in all its members corrupt, perverted and degenerated, there is no reason why laying aside its present condition we should only regard what it was formerly. To go about to persuade that the followers of other sects have intruded superstitions into that of the learned, is a chimerical undertaking, since all men know what care the learned have always taken to shun all others. The case is, that sect was always bad, as the fathers *Longobardus* and *Gouvea* prove.

3. F. Martinez goes on and says, that all who are to take their degree enter *Confucius's* hall together. Here he proposes two things which had nothing of truth in them. The one, that they go into that place before they take their degree, which is not so. The other, that they can all go in, or be contain'd there; both which particulars are false, and falsely grounded, that is, that they are examin'd and take their degrees there; whence it follows, that the *chancellors, doctors, and examiners expelling them there*, and the rest that follows, is also false. For, as has been said, in that place, or hall, there is no examination nor degrees given or taken, nor is any act of learning perform'd; and it is afterward, not before, that the scholars go thither to worship that philosopher.

As to the last part, that the said hall is an academy, and not a temple, properly so call'd, because it is shut to all; we will answer it at large in another place.

4. The holy congregation, according to what had been propos'd, answer'd, that the said ceremonies be tolerated, because the said worship seems to be merely political and civil; of which answer no doubt is to be made, because being suitable to the proposition, which represents nothing that may cause any suspicion of superstition, it follows that it must be good and justifiable.

It is well worth observing, that F. Martinez knowing all the points wherein the doubt and difficulty consisted, did not propose, or make known any one of them at Rome, but only mention'd that whereof there never was any controversy, except the calling *Confucius's* temple a hall, or college. Nevertheless, the said father, and others of his brethren gave out in *China*, that this decree had revok'd all that had been order'd by that of *Innocent* the tenth: whence I infer, what others said before, that he had no further regard than to procure a sugar-plum for his own palate.

If he had desir'd to know the truth, he

ought to have propos'd and stated the question thus: Most eminent lords, when they are to offer sacrifice to *Confucius*, the *Chinese* try the beasts by pouring hot wine into their ears; if they move their heads, they are accepted for the sacrifice, if not, they are laid aside. Is this ceremony political, or superstitious? The reason of making the doubt is, because such like acts and rites are condemn'd as superstitious in other gentiles; for instance, our *Torre* 2. 2. q. 85. art. 1. disp. 3. says, that, *Mighty care and industry was us'd in choosing of victims, for the fittest were chosen out of the flock, such as were not lame, or sick, or any other way faulty; but if the victim in coming to the altar struggled very much, or came as it were unwillingly to the altar, or if it fled or groan'd when struck, &c. it was put away from the altar, as being judged no way acceptable to the gods.*

The Greeks try'd the worthiness of their victims by laying food before them; for if the beasts would not eat it, they thought that sacrifice was not acceptable to the gods. The greater victims were also us'd to go with gilt horns, but the lesser crown'd with boughs. Now all this being superstitious, I put the question to your eminencies, whether what has been propos'd be so too? as also their offering to the dead goats-heads, adorn'd with flowers and boughs?

He should further put the question. In order to perform their ceremonies to *Confucius* and the dead, there is a washing of hands; and for the departed abstinence, fasts, and separation from the marriage-bed for the space of seven days; and a master of ceremonies prescribes what is to be done, and other things mention'd in this book. The question is, whether this be political, or not? The reason of making the doubt is, because these same actions are condemn'd as superstitious, and irreligious worship in other gentiles. *Torre* above quoted says thus, num. 12. *The priest first purify'd himself by washing his hands: he abstain'd from many things, to wit, from flesh, and wine, and from all venereal acts, &c. He wore a most pure garment, and a crier who proclaim'd silence, said at the same time, Do this you are about, &c.* All this was religious, and not political worship, and consequently it must be so in *China*.

Thus these points must be propos'd, not giving it for granted they are political rites, and then putting the question, whether they may be allow'd? this is downright ridiculous. Nor is it to the purpose to alledge, that washing of hands, putting on clean clothes, fasting, abstaining from venereal acts, &c. are things indifferent; for, tho' it is true that in themselves they

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NAVARETTE. are so, like kneeling, taking off the hat, &c. yet they are decided to be political or religious, according to time and place, by the intention, object, and other circumstances. Many instances of this sort are brought in the proper place, here I will only insert what our *Torre* writes, num. 12. *ut sup.* That the priests of Cybele did cut off their privy members, or else destroy'd the genital power by the use of certain herbs. Which most certainly in them was no political, but a religious act; and the same action in the people of *Coebinchina*, and the *bonzos* of *Cbina*, (some of whom to live at ease, cut a small string belonging to the private parts) is no religion but barbarity. The same argument may be urg'd in all other cases, except for the sacrifice and temple, which are, at least by the law of nations, dedicated to God.

1. *Quære* 4. There are reflections enough to be made here: in the first place he sets it down as a rule, that whatsoever there is superstitious in the ceremonies perform'd to the dead in *Cbina*, is added to what the learned instituted: and whereas the contrary appears by the testimony of most grave fathers of the society, and by the classick authors of the learned sect, he ought not, nor in reason could take such a thing for granted.

He asks further, whether the Christians may perform the same ceremonies among the infidels? If he gives it for granted, that the proper ceremonies of the learned are not superstitious, and cuts off the superstitious part, that has crept in from abroad, there is no doubt but they may perform them, nay there is no need of putting the question. The church has always taken care that Christians should not imitate the actions of the infidels, lest it should be a ground to believe they agree in the same errors. On this account it was order'd, that no bread, or other eatable things should be put upon the graves of the faithful departed at *Macao*, as shall be said hereafter. This it was the council of *Iberis* or *Granada* had regard to, when it said, can. 34. *It has been thought fit that candles be not lighted in the day-time in the church-yard; for the souls of the holy are not to be disturb'd.* *Cabassucius* on this place, page 19. "This prohibition, which broachers of novelties abuse, contrary to the pious use of catholicks, was proper in those times, when Christians liv'd among pagans, lest the former should be infected with superstition; for the heathens were persuaded that the souls of the dead wanted meat and light, to dispel hunger and darkness, and therefore they carry'd food, milk and wine to the graves, as *Plutarch* testifies at the

"beginning of *Romulus's* life; and so other ancients, as *Homer*. &c. The reason why the faithful use torches and candles at funerals is altogether mystical, to signify light everlasting, &c. But the word *disturbing* which the canon makes use of, signifies a displeasure the saints conceive after this life at the superstition of those that are living. But when gentilism declining, Christian religion lifted up its head, then at last the faithful having banish'd all fear, or suspicion of approving or imitating the profane rites of the heathens, follow'd the funerals of Christians with lighted candles." *Card. Lugo de incarn. diff.* 37. *se. 2. num.* 20. mentions the aforesaid canon, though to another purpose, which he solves five several ways, see it there. The same is to be done in *Cbina*, in relation to laying meat before the images or tablets of the dead, or on their tombs for the same reason.

The difficulty is, whether the ceremonies which are taken from the doctrine of the philosophers, are political, or belong to a false religious worship; and therefore it was his duty to propole them as they are in themselves, that such sentence might pass upon them as they deserv'd.

2. He goes on with the question, *Whether Christians may be present, particularly after making a protestation of the faith, whilst the infidels perform the superstitious part, not joining with, or authorizing them, but because it would be much taken notice of, if the kindred were then absent, and it would cause hatred and enmity?* In confirmation of the protestation of faith, we may add what *Morales* mentions, pag. 159. he says, that one *D. Peter* and *Lady Mary* being present at one of the anniversaries they perform to the dead, when all the ceremonies of the learned sect were perform'd, and those of the sect of the idols came on, *D. Peter* with a loud voice declar'd, He had perform'd the first because they were good, but could not as a Christian perform those of the idols, as being wicked, and so went away with his wife. Thus that father pleases himself, and thinks everybody will be satisfy'd with this story. In the first place, this shews how little he is acquainted with *Cbina*, since he calls that *Gent.* Christian a gentleman, and by the title of *D. Peter*, and his wife *donna*, whereas it is notorious that we never give any body in that country the stile of *don*, nor do we call them gentlemen, because there is no gentility there but what every man acquires, excepting very few, of whom I spoke in another place. And tho' this be not to our purpose, yet it shews his mistake in meddling with what he does not under-

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understand. I should make no difficulty to say D. Peter, and the lady Mary are counterfeit and imaginary; but that it may not be said I do it to shun the difficulty I allow of the passage as true and real, and deny what *Morales* just before much extols, saying, that the the *Chinese* Christians are very obedient and strict observers of what the missionaries say and teach them. But to the purpose, I do not deny but there may be some, especially of the learned, if they are good Christians, who will not perform or be present at the ceremonies of the sect call'd the idols. But the difficulty lies not in this, since we all agree that these are bad, as the learned infidels themselves confess, tho' they perform them among the rest. The question is, whether the ceremonies peculiar to the learned are superstitious, and whether the Christians may perform or be present at them, when they are condemned as such? and yet as to these, there is no man who will protest he is a Christian, and forbear performing them; and if any do protest, there will ensue enmity, hatred, and quarrels among the kindred, unless he who does so be a person in great authority, whom they highly honour and respect.

3. In the second place, I maintain that the Christians by their presence at those ceremonies, cannot but co-operate and authorize the act, or else enmity and hatred must ensue, which is what F. Martinez would prevent. The reason is plain, because all these present compose one body in order to those ceremonies, for every one stands in his place assigned him, and acts the part allotted him, kneels and rises with the rest, upon a word given by the master of the ceremonies; so that there is not the least difference in outward appearance betwixt Christians and infidels as to all that is done there: so that if the Christian might be there apart from the rest, for instance in a corner, only looking on, as *Tertullian* said, he would be present *materialiter*, and not co-operating or authorizing; as when a catholic goes into a church of heretics out of curiosity, or with a design to oppose what he sees or hears there: but if he be there in that manner as has been said, he is present *formaliter*, and as a part of that body. Whence I draw this conclusion, that F. Martinez gave in his information, only to the end above-mentioned.

4. Those propositions, *The Chinese assign no divinity to the souls departed, they expect nothing, nor ask nothing of them*, are all opposite to what his own brethren own, and to what F. Martinez himself confess'd in *China*, as shall appear in the second tome.

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5. In the first way or manner. *The first NAVA-is, &c.* he pass'd by some things of no small moment. It is not to be admir'd that F. *John Baptist* should omit something, neither he nor others of those times could see thoroughly into all things; but those of the society must of necessity in so many years have discover'd more, as appears in their works which shall be quoted. In the first place, he omitted the letters on that tablet or tabernacle, which they say is the seat of the person's departed soul; he also pass'd by the others which mention, that children offer sacrifice to their parents. He further forbore to make it known, that the *Chinese* believe the airy souls of their friends departed come to those tabernacles, and are maintain'd by the steam of the meat laid before them. And to conclude, he speaks not of the chair and bed of the soul where they place its figure. All this is to be found in the ritual of the learned, with which other sects have had nothing to do, nor have inserted any thing into it.

6. *The second way is, &c.* In this too he was short, first in calling the temples of the dead SCU TANG, concealing the word MIAO, which is more frequent and proper to a temple, though the first be so too, but for those that are less than the MIAO's, which emperors, petty kings, and persons of note have. This point shall be treated of at large in its place.

We have already observ'd what he forbore to make known as to the tablets, and many sacrifices and ceremonies perform'd in those temples, as shall be said. In the last he was very much out, saying, *Which nevertheless they do not worship*; whereas the contrary is well known to all men, and that there is no new or full moon through the year but they light candles before them, burn perfumes, place meat, and make genuflexions. It also appears by the ritual, that many who have no temples, perform their ceremonies at home, in the same manner as those that have.

7. *The third way is, &c.* Here he omitted one thing very material, which is, that at every tomb there is a little chapel dedicated to the tutelar spirit of the dead person there buried, to whom they offer sacrifice in thanksgiving, for his care in guarding the said party deceas'd, and whom they intreat to protect, and look to him for the future.

By what has been said in these reflections, the reader may easily gather, whether F. Martinez's proposition was legal, sincere, and true, or not; and he will be the better enabled with more ease to satisfy himself in those points which are handled in the second tome.

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NAVA. As for what concerns the answer of the RETTE. holy congregation, to which I give all imaginable honour, it is to be observ'd that it never allows of any superstitious act, as F. *Prosper Intorceta* publicly declar'd at *Canton*; which, besides that it is otherwise most certain, the most eminent lord cardinal *Ottoboni* confirm'd to me with his own mouth. It is to be observ'd in the second place, that by those words, *They may only be present*, it only allows of a material presence, not the formal, co-operative, or authoritative.

8. Concerning the other point, which F. *John Baptista de Morales* propos'd in the year 1646, F. *Martinez* made no mention, the reason of it is not to be guess'd; nor did he touch upon that about CHRIST crucify'd, tho' the fathers of the society were much concern'd at it, as thinking we had done them much wrong. I write what I know, and make out in another place. F. *Joseph de Morales* enlarg'd much upon this subject, with his usual modesty and piety; he treats of it from page 342, to page 473. he shall be fully answer'd, God willing. I will here only insert what he quotes page 470. out of the council of *Iberis*, or *Granada*, can. 36. which is thus, "It has been thought fit that there should be no pictures in churches, lest that which is honour'd and worship'd be painted on the walls." He sets down two reasons for it, one taken from *Alanus*, cap. dial. cap. 16. *Sanderus*, lib. II. de ador. imag. p. 4. and of F. *Turrianus*, and *Cabassucius* follows it, pag. 20. and says, "For the understanding the design of the council, the time is to be consider'd when the persecution of the Gentiles rag'd against the Christians; for this canon is in favour of holy images, which it therefore forbids being painted on the walls, lest they be scold'd at by the Gentiles." Which inconveniency did not attend those painted on cloth, paper, or board, because they could be remov'd and hid. Hence *Morales* would infer, that the image of CHRIST crucify'd, is not to be expos'd to the danger of being insulted by the Gentiles: but this does not answer, nor is it to the purpose of the matter in controversy, especially because what he alledges to make good his design is groundless.

The second reason is taken from *Vasquez*, lib. II. de ador. dif. 5. cap. 2. n. 133.

who is follow'd by *Ayala*, our *Torre* 2. 2. g. 94. art. 1. disp. 6. dub. 2. and others. The Council thought it inconvenient and indecent, that holy images should be painted on the walls, because the dampness and other accidents defaced them, and so they rather mov'd laughter than devotion; and because in times of war churches are polluted, and all respect to holy images is lost; which makes nothing at all to what our adversary aims at, unless applied through many consequences, in which great difficulties occur. Cardinal *Lugo de incarn. disp. 36. sect. 1. num. 10.* follows both reasons, and concludes, that the precept is repeal'd. *Torre*, *Cano*, and others, give a truer solution, which is, that it was a provincial synod, held without any authority of the pope; and as it err'd in other things, so it did in this. I will add a fourth, which *Cabassucius* assigns. "Besides, says he, *Baronius* not without reason suspects that this canon was counterfeited and forg'd by the Iconoclasts who formerly inhabited Spain. His reason is, because tho' it be set down by *Ivo*, lib. III. yet it is not mention'd by those that compil'd the canons before him, as *Ferdinand* the deacon, *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Cresconius*; as also because none of the Spanish old Iconoclasts, tho' they us'd all possible care to draw arguments from any part whatsoever against holy images, ever produced any canon of the council of *Iberis* which was held in Spain. Nor did *Vigilantius*, and *Claudius* bishop of *Turin*, who were both well acquainted with Spain, and oppos'd holy images.

What consequence can be deduced from an antecedent so uncertain, to make use of it against the exposing the image of CHRIST crucified? I must also observe in this place, that when the persecution in *China* began, some of us endeavour'd to secure the holy images, for the reasons above-mention'd, and others did not take them up.

S. *Hierom*, epist. 14. to S. *Augustin* writes thus, "If I write any thing in my defence, the fault is yours that provok'd me, not mine, because I am oblig'd to answer." I might say the same to F. *Martin Martinez* if he were alive, and should blame or complain of me; but I believe he would take no notice of it, because he would be satisfied I had right and reason on my side.



*Queries propos'd to the Holy General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition; and by its leave and direction transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancato de Laurea of the Order of the Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Holy Congregations of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the publick Divines of the Sapientia at Rome.*

*And F. John Bona Abbot of the Congregation of S. Bernard de Fulco, Consultor of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences; but now Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.*

1. **W**Hereas the blind Gentiles do on several accounts highly extol and commend several infidels long since dead, and have added them to the number of their vain deities or gods, or else do honour and worship them as saints. *Quere;* Whether (laying aside that vain belief) it be lawful for Christians who live among infidels, first making a protestation of their faith, or without it to honour those dead men with ceremonies of external worship, such as kneeling, prostrations, offerings, and the like, either in company with the said Gentiles, or elsewhere ap.; when those things either according to the intention of the Gentiles, or by use, and custom, or law, are directed to a superstitious worship?

2. Whereas the same Gentiles do honour and worship their principal master *Confucius*, who dy'd in infidelity, as a saint; and perform many things, as making offerings, genuflections, prostrations, burning of perfumes, praying and begging of assistance, graces, and benefits, before a small tablet, with this inscription; *The throne, or honourable seat of the spirit, or soul of the most holy and principal master.*

*Quere;* Whether it be lawful for Christians to light candles, and burn sweets before the said tablet, or together with the Gentiles, or apart, to kneel, prostrate themselves, burn perfumes, the said Christians omitting the prayers and invocation?

3. Whereas the Gentiles believe, that the souls of their ancestors departed dwell on certain little tablets, on which these words are written, *The throne or seat of the soul of N, or N;* and that they attend to receive the offering and sacrifices the Gentiles make to them, imploring and expecting their assistance in their necessities. *Quere;* Whether the Christians may keep such tablets, either in their temples, or their private houses; at least if they raise that inscription, *The throne or seat of the soul*, and lay aside that false belief of the soul's residing on them; whether in such case they may have them in their houses, or any other places, and there either with the Gentiles, or apart, may honour them with offering fruits of the earth,

and sweets, or at least by prostrations by *NAVAY* way of gratitude, and celebrating their *RETTE* memory?

4. In all towns and cities of *China* there is a temple dedicated to the idol *CHING HOANG*; which is look'd upon and believ'd to be the guardian and ruler of that place. Governors, when they enter upon their employments, and twice a month, are oblig'd, under the penalty of forfeiting their government, to go to that temple, and there to worship, falling down before the idol, and to offer to it sacrifice of wine, flesh, flowers, candles, and sweets; and they swear before it, that they will govern uprightly and justly; and if they should do the contrary, they submit themselves to the punishment the idol shall inflict on them, and ask of him a rule and assistance that they may govern well. *Quere* 1. Whether Christian governors may perform these things, or must quit their employments? 2. Whether they may be tolerated to do it for the present, in case they erect in the middle of the temple where the idols are, an eminency apart from the idol-altar, and place on it a cross, or the picture of our Saviour not hid, but visible to all the Gentiles; and prostrate themselves before it, and take their oath of fidelity, and make their offerings, either after a protestation of their faith, or without it, and direct their worship to the true God represented in the image of *CHRIST*; or at least, whether the said Christian governors may worship the cross, or image of *CHRIST* so placed in the temple on the aforesaid days appointed by law, omitting genuflections, prostrations, and the offerings?

5. And so far as there is a court, or royal council of mathematicians, or astrologers, whose business it is, and chiefly the presidents, every year to make, publish, subscribe, and put his seal to an ephemeris or diary, in which many vain and superstitious things are contain'd, and fortunate days are set down; some for repairing to the idol-temples to offer up their prayers there, offer sacrifices, to visit the temples of their forefathers departed, to worship and honour them, and beg their assistance; others for marrying, for trying of causes, driving



NAVARRA driving bargains, buying and selling and for-  
 RETTE. forth. *Query.* Whether it be lawful for  
 any Christian to be president, or a member  
 of the said council, to order the said ephemeris  
 or prediction, or any other affairs  
 relating to that college, to command the  
 printing or using of it, to set hand or seal  
 to authorize it; or at least to permit, con-  
 sent, and allow, that the president's sub-  
 scription and seal be put to the said pre-  
 diction or ephemeris, so contriv'd with those  
 superstitious observations, and irreligious  
 rules, by the other counsellors, and so to  
 be publish'd, subscrib'd with his and the  
 other names? And whether he be not rather  
 oblig'd to refuse the office of president,  
 or a member of that council, tho' the  
 king offer to press it upon him, and if he  
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 tices above-mention'd, or seem by his seal  
 to give them any authority?

*Funerals.* 6. Whether it be lawful for priests and  
 ministers of the gospel, or other Christians,  
 to be present among the Gentiles, and idol  
 priests, at the funeral and solemn interment  
 of Gentiles; or to follow the corps particu-  
 larly of such noblemen who during their  
 life-time were friends, protectors and be-  
 nefactors of the ministers of the gospel,  
 and Christians, or else are kindred and  
 relations of some catholick or Christian  
 family, in regard that several superstitious  
 rites are us'd and practis'd by the Gen-  
 tiles and idol-priests attending such fune-  
 rals? And if the Christians, or ministers  
 of the gospel refuse to be present, it may  
 cause railing and enmity against the Chris-  
 tians and priests of God.

7. Whether it be lawful for Christians,  
 or ministers of the gospel, either to ex-  
 press their friendship; or on account of any  
 dead person's dignity, worth or quality, or  
 for any other respect, either towards the  
 dead person, or his family, heirs or kin-  
 dred, to set out meat and drink before  
 their houses, or in the road where the bier  
 is to pass, in case the ancient custom conti-

nue, which has been establish'd by long  
 practice, of setting out tables cover'd with  
 meat, prepar'd by the Gentiles on the day  
 of the burial, in the way to the tomb,  
 whereas the Gentiles believe the souls of  
 the dead take that meat as provision for  
 their journey, and feed on it?

8. Whether poor Christians, by profes-  
 sion pipers, or the like, who live by their  
 labour, may for the gain that is offer'd  
 when call'd, or compell'd, play on their  
 instruments at the funerals of Gentiles, car-  
 ry the bier, or perform any other employ-  
 ment among the other superstitions, in the  
 presence of the Gentiles and idol-priests,  
 who do several superstitious acts?

9. Whether Christian artificers, such as  
 carpenters, masons, or architects, or the  
 like, who are freely hir'd for their pay;  
 or being constrain'd by the magistrates, or  
 most powerful men, may lawfully contri-  
 bute with their labour towards the building,  
 or repairing of idol-temples, or only about  
 laying the foundations, making or mend-  
 ing the roofs, or cleansing the walls and  
 pavements, or clearing the altars, or open-  
 ing and shutting the gates of temples, and  
 such like employments? The reason of  
 making the doubt is, because some Chinese  
 Christians have not yet a true vigour and  
 fortitude of spirit in the Christian religion  
 they have embraced, and are terrify'd  
 when any trouble, danger, or hardship  
 threatens from the magistrates, or great  
 ones, if they refuse to obey their com-  
 mands?

10. Lastly, In case some acts may be  
 tolerated, or lawful for Christians making  
 a protestation of their faith; *Query.* How  
 and when it ought to be made; whether  
 before the Gentiles, before, after, or at the  
 very time the ceremonies are acting? or  
 whether it be sufficient to make it before  
 Christians only, whether many or few? as  
 to which it is desir'd the number may be  
 ascertained, for the better and fairer pro-  
 ceeding in a matter of such great moment.

*We whose Names are under-written, being consulted about the aforesaid Doubts, hav-  
 ing God's Honour before our Eyes, that we may provide for the Salvation of  
 Souls, do judge the following Answers should be given to each of the Questions pro-  
 pos'd.*

1. **T**HAT it is not lawful for the  
 Christians living among Gentiles  
 to worship dead Gentiles, whom those in-  
 fidels honour as saints, with those rites of  
 exterior worship mention'd in the question;  
 neither with the Gentiles, nor elsewhere  
 apart, without making a publick protesta-  
 tion of their faith, and those that shall do  
 it, will commit a heinous sin, and idola-  
 try.

2. As to the worship of *Confucius* before  
 the tablet, call'd *The throne of the soul*, &c.  
 We answer, That it is not lawful for Chris-  
 tians, either in company of the infidels,  
 or apart, to perform those genuflexions,  
 prostrations, or other things mention'd in  
 the question, tho' the said Christians omit  
 the prayers and supplications.

3. Concerning the tablets on which the  
 Gentiles

Gentiles imagine the souls departed assist to receive offerings, &c. as is contain'd in the question propos'd: We say it is unlawful for Christians to keep the said tablets, either in temples or their private houses, either with that inscription, *The throne, or seat of the soul*, or without it; and that it is also unlawful to worship them, either among the Gentiles, or apart, or to make any offering to them, even excluding the false belief of the soul's residing in them.

4. Concerning the temple of the idol CHING HOANG. In answer to the first part of the question, we say, It is unlawful for governors, either upon taking possession of their employments, or on any other account whatsoever, to worship that idol, or perform any part of what is contain'd in the question propos'd, but are rather bound to quit their employment, than perform it. To the second part of the question we answer, That it is not lawful for any Christians, even governors, to place a cross, or image of CHRIST in the idol-temple, tho' apart from the idol-altar; and that nothing of what is propos'd in the question can be tolerated, tho' the worship be directed to the true God, and image of CHRIST, as is propos'd.

5. As to the college of mathematicians, &c. We say it is not lawful for a Christian to hold the place of president, or counsellor in it, if he is bound by his place to subscribe, or put his seal to those superstitious edicts, observations, or predictions, much less to publish them by his authority; but he is rather oblig'd to quit that post. Nor can he approve of, or have a hand in contriving them.

6. Touching the burial of the dead. If

the Christians do not join in the superstitious acts, but do it merely out of civil respect, it is lawful, otherwise it is not.

7. For the setting out of meat upon tables, as the dead body is carry'd, we say it is not lawful without making a publick protestation of their faith.

8. Concerning minstrels and other acts usually perform'd at funerals, with a mixture of superstitious practices, as in the question: We think it unlawful to play on instruments after this manner, and to perform the other acts spoken of.

9. As to labour in building, repairing, or cleansing of temples, and the rest contain'd in the question: We say, it is no way lawful for Christians, nor to be tolerated upon any account or pretence whatsoever.

10. We say that in case a protestation of faith is to be made on account of any toleration, it must be in publick before the Gentiles and Christians, who are present at that function so tolerated. *November the 27<sup>th</sup> 1669.*

I F. Laurence de Laurea of the fryars minors, *Confessor* of the holy inquisition, &c. am of this opinion.

I D. John Bona, abbot of S. Bernard, hold the same.

It is here to be observ'd, that the second doubt, and those that follow, except the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, were solv'd many years since, in the same manner as they are here, by the missionaries of the society of Jesus, at a meeting they had in the province of NAN KING, as will appear in the second book of the second tome.

*The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.  
Wednesday November the thirteenth 1669.*

“IN the general congregation of the holy Roman and universal inquisition held in the monastery of S. Mary *fu* *Minervam*, before the most eminent and most reverend lords cardinals, especially deputed by the see apostolick general inquisitors against heretical practice over all the Christian commonwealth.

“The memorial presented by F. John Polanco, of the order of preachers, and apostolick missionary in China, and other missionaries of the same order, there labouring with him in preaching the gospel, being read; in which he beseeched the holy congregation would be pleas'd to declare, whether the precept and command be still in force and vigour, under pain of actual excommunication

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“incurr'd *ipso facto*, to be absolv'd only by his holiness and the see apostolick, for observing and keeping of the answers and resolutions of the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1645 in the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, which at the request of the same congregation were approv'd by pope Innocent the 10<sup>th</sup> of blessed memory. And whether all things are in practice to be carefully observ'd (according to what is deliver'd upon those doubts) by all and every the missionaries, of what order, rule or institution soever, even of the society of Jesus, who are or shall be in the kingdom of China; till such time as his holiness, or the holy see apostolick shall order the contrary; notwithstanding another decree set forth by the sacred congregation of the holy

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“inquisition,

NAVA- "inquisition, *March* the 23<sup>d</sup> 1656, on  
 RETTE. "account of some questions propos'd by  
 "the fathers missioners of the society of  
 "Jesus in *China*, which were express'd  
 "after another manner, and with different  
 "circumstances. The most eminent fa-  
 "thers declar'd, that the decree of the  
 "holy congregation *de propaganda fide*,  
 "pass'd the 12<sup>th</sup> of *September* 1645, ac-  
 "cording to what is there made out in  
 "the doubts, is in full force, and not in  
 "the least invalidated by the decree of  
 "the sacred congregation of the holy in-  
 "quisition, pass'd the 23<sup>d</sup> day of *March*  
 "1656, but ought to be fully observ'd  
 "as it lies, according to the questions,  
 "circumstances, and all things mention'd  
 "in the said doubts. The decree of the  
 "sacred congregation of the holy inquisi-  
 "tion pass'd the 23<sup>d</sup> of *March* 1656, de-  
 "clar'd it should be observ'd, according  
 "to the questions, circumstances, and all  
 "particulars mention'd in them.

"*Wednesday* the 20<sup>th</sup> of the aforesaid  
 "month of *November*, 1669, the most il-  
 "lustrious, and most reverend lord Je-  
 "rome *Casanate*, a member of the holy in-  
 "quisition, having made his report: to  
 "our most holy father *Clement* the 9<sup>th</sup> by  
 "the divine providence pope, his holiness  
 "approv'd of it.

F. *Martin Martinez* his decree being  
 brought into *China*, some persons gave  
 out, that all whatsoever was contain'd in  
 the first decree was by this revok'd and  
 made void, tho' they did not notify, or  
 publish it in that mission. Which plain-  
 ly appears to be false by what the sacred  
 congregation of the universal inquisition  
 at *Rome* declares in this place.

In the year 1673, by reason of new dif-  
 ficulties arising in the mission of *China*,  
 the author of this book had recourse to  
*Rome*, and laid the following doubts be-  
 fore the holy congregation. The answer  
 that was deliver'd to him runs thus.

*Doubts of the Chineses propos'd Anno 1674, by the F. F. Dominick Navarette of the order of Preachers, and Missioner in China, to the Sacred General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, and by its Authority transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancata de Lauræa, of the order of Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the Publick Divines of the Sapientia at Rome. And to the most Reverend F. Cajetan Miraballo, of the Regular Clergy, and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition.*

#### Concerning the Chinese Magistrates or Mandarines, twenty five doubts.

*Eclipse.*

1. **W**HETHER it be lawful for  
 mandarines, when they have once  
 embraced the catholic faith, to be present at  
 the festival acclamations the Chineses are us'd  
 to make with great noise and shouts to the sun  
 and moon during the time of an eclipse?  
*Answer to the first question.* That it is not  
 lawful.

I ask'd of ancient missioners, what al-  
 lowance, or toleration might be given in  
 this case; and they having given me no  
 answer, I resolv'd to propose this and other  
 doubts at *Rome*. In the 2<sup>d</sup> tome, I write  
 all I have heard and understood concerning  
 these doubts. In this place, I with much  
 brevity touch upon what is most material;  
 tho' in this particular, as more singular to  
*Europeans*, it is convenient I should dilate  
 somewhat more. It is an inviolable custom  
 in *China*, to send advice from court through-  
 out the whole empire of the day and hour  
 when any eclipse of the sun or moon is to  
 happen. When the mandarines have notice  
 of it, two or three days before it comes  
 they paste up their orders in all publick  
 places of cities and towns, to this effect: Such  
 a day, at such an hour, there is an eclipse

of the sun or moon, let all those whose  
 duty it is come to perform and be present  
 at the usual ceremonies, to deliver the pla-  
 net from that trouble. At the time ap-  
 pointed the mandarines, other persons of  
 note, and a great many bonzes meet; when  
 the eclipse commences, they begin to  
 make genuflexions, and prostrations, shout  
 and hollow, beat upon basons; the bonzes  
 pray, and all of them cry out in a hideous  
 manner, till the eclipse is over: this they  
 call rescuing the sun or moon from the  
 trouble they are then in. This ceremony  
 is of great antiquity in that kingdom. Their  
 ritual, tom. 4. p. 13. makes mention of it,  
 and ordains that the kings attended the  
 emperor to assist, or succour the sun or  
 moon in that distress; and to this purpose  
 orders them to come with drums, and sol-  
 diers adorn'd with those colours, which  
 answer to the four parts of the world. This  
 is enough for the understanding of the doubt  
 propos'd; and tho' it is a barbarous cere-  
 mony, let no man think strange that the  
 Chineses should perform it, since it has  
 been practis'd by *Europeans*, in the time  
 of those great doctors of the church, S.

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*Ambrose,*  
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Ambrose, and S. Augustin. Spondanus mentions it Anno 377. n. 5. S. Ambrose says, He absolutely took away the acclamations that us'd to be made upon the eclipse of the sun. S. Augustin Serm. 1. Dom. 10. post Trin. speaks thus: *If you know any that shout, when the moon is darkned, admonish them of it, giving them to understand, that they commit a grievous sin; for as much as they sacrilegiously presume to conceit that they can defend the moon from witchcraft, when by God's command it is darkned at certain times.*

Thus the European and Asiatick ceremony is condemn'd, and it appears to have been more criminal among Christians than among Gentiles.

And if any man shall say (tho' I know not that any body has said so) that the Christian mandarines, as believing in nothing that is done there, may be present without any scruple of conscience, to avoid some inconveniences that may follow their absenting themselves: I answer; *How shall it appear to thee, to us, or to the church, that they do not inwardly believe what they outwardly profess? What avails it not to believe inwardly, if they approve of the aforesaid superstitions, by their outward presence?*

Nor can the emperor's command excuse them. S. Ignatius the martyr ad Antioch. said: *We are to be obedient to Cæsar in those things in which there is no danger of the soul.* And Tertul. lib. de Idolol. c. 15. *As far as to separation from idolatry, and within the bounds of discipline.* Thus far at most extends obedience and submission. The substance of my proposition consists in what has been written, which is enough for the present.

2. *Whether the Christian officers, or soldiers may lawfully be present at the prostrations, genuflexions, or other ceremonies, wherewith at certain times the military men worship their great commander, whom they call KI TO?*

Answer to the 2. That is not lawful.

I observe in another place, that the Chinese soldiery have their god Mars, as other nations had. That they acknowledge in him a true deity, or something of a deity, is plain matter of fact. When they have any military expedition in hand, the following ceremony is perform'd in the field. They cover a table with variety of meats, and dainties; over it they spread the standard, or colours, then take it off, and the soldiers and officers kneel and prostrate themselves before it. Then the commander in chief repairs to the temple dedicated to him, whose soul they say is in the standard; there he kneels and makes offerings, all to the end he may be successful in war. This was made out to me in China. F. John Garcia an ancient missionary of my order told me, that he once

saw a Mabometan captain refuse to be present, when the said ceremony was performed. F. Antony of S. Mary a Franciscan told me, that the Christian soldiers in the province of XAN TUNG went to it as frequently as the Gentiles. I propos'd the matter at Rome for the satisfaction of all persons, and the more security in a thing of such moment, not that I was ignorant of the truth.

3. *It often happens that the lawful kings being expel'd, tyrants intrude. Quære, Whether these be oblig'd before they are baptiz'd to depart from their rebellion, and peaceably to restore the kingdoms they have usurp'd to the right owner?*

Answer to the 3. They are to be advis'd to restore what they have wrongfully taken; and if they promise so to do, baptism is not to be deny'd them.

4. *The Chinese unanimously agree that the Tartar now reigning is a tyrant. Quære, Whether we may admit the soldiers and magistrates, who serve him for pay in civil and military employments, to baptism, and when baptiz'd administer other sacraments to them; and baptize the emperor himself, whilst he wrongfully holds the kingdom? Item, what answer we are to give the Chinese, and what advice concerning the government of the Tartars, when they ask our opinion touching the said Tartar's right?*

Answer to the 4. Concerning the emperor, as in the third question: As for those that serve them, if they desire to be baptiz'd, baptism must not be deny'd them on this account, if they promise, that when the prince asks it they will give good and just advice; and so other sacraments may be afterwards administred to them, if they are well dispos'd.

In my controversies I write all that was said concerning these points, in the meetings we had at Canton. Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39. says, *For as much as Christians are never to take part with tyrants.*

Discouraging about baptizing the emperor of China, one of the company said, I find no doubt in this particular. For Constantine tyrannically usurp'd the empire, and yet S. Silvester baptiz'd him: But historians tell us how far this is from truth, something out of them I writ in the place already cited, and the reader may see Ribodenebra on the feast of S. Silvester.

5. *Whether soldiers and officers marry'd in France, going over into New France may there marry again?*

Answer to the 5. If they can prove that they are free (that is, from their first wives by death) and that they have no other canonical impediments, they may marry catholicks. The proof must be legal.

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A certain missionary would have it, that French soldiers who were marry'd at home, might marry again when they went over into *New France*, and had not their wives along with them, by reason of the great danger of incontinency: this he said the divines at *Paris* asserted, and had given it under their hands. Others with much reason condemn'd this doctrine, for according to it a French Christian (and consequently any other) leaving his wife in *France* might take another in *New France*, another in the island *Guadalupe*, if he went thither; another at *Martinico*, another at *Madagascar*, and another in *India*, because in all parts there is danger of incontinency. Nor can I imagine the divines of *Paris* ever gave such an opinion (as infallibly they never did) yet because all the reasons that can be urg'd against it, tho' very forcible and persuasive, cannot convince that party, it was requisite to use other methods, as having recourse to *Rome* to undeceive him.

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Hoang.

6. *The Chinese worship all the spirits, which they imagine to be employ'd in guarding of cities and kingdoms, in the single idol, CHING HOANG; yet they confess they were real men, born and bred in that kingdom. Quere, Whether Christians may lawfully give them the name of angel guardian?*

*Answer to the 6.* That it is not lawful. I have already taken notice, that the doubts propos'd at *Rome* concerning CHING HOANG, have been solv'd by the missionaries of the society, though there has been some controversy about this point in *China*. But the reason why I gave in that the idols CHING HOANG, to whom some have given the name of guardian angels, were men, known to the Chinese as such, whose names, surnames, and native countries are notorious to all men, was, because I had thoroughly examin'd into and made out the matter in that country; and if so, it is plain they can be no guardian angels. This is the method the Franciscans and we Dominicans have taken; following the example of the fathers, *Hurtado*, *Julio*, *Aleni*, *Gouvea*, and other antient men of the society.

7. *Whether mandarines upon pressing necessities may conceal the true religion, and outwardly feign themselves idolaters, tho' the rest of the Christians be scandaliz'd at these exterior shows?*

*Answer to the 7.* That they may not.

The holy congregation gave the same decision upon another occasion, as *F. Ezech* says in *sum. fol. 585. n. 68.* but there was a reason for proposing it over again.

8. *Whether the sacrifices offer'd by the Chinese to the idol CHING HOANG,*

*be opposite to true Christian religion?*

*Answer to 8.* That they are opposite.

It was said a metaphysician maintain'd the contrary, urging that the said idol was instituted before the coming of God upon earth. Idolatry being a sin against the law of nature, it is most certain, it was ever opposite to the law of God, which ever was and is one and the same, though in different states: so that this and other sins, which are so of themselves and in their own nature, have a malice and deformity of their own, from which they can never be separated, nor any way excus'd.

9. *Whether Christian mandarines may among the Gentiles in outward show fall down before the Chinese idols, directing all these ceremonies with an inward humiliation of their heart to the true God, and to a cross placed on the idol altar?*

*Answer to the 9.* That they may not.

There is somebody that asserts the affirmative, urging the words of *Tertullian*, but not quoted fairly as they are in his works. What this author writ, is as follows: *If plainly call'd to the priesthood, and sacrifice, I will not go, because it is the proper service of the idol. Neither will I be concern'd in the like by my advice, or charge. If being call'd to the sacrifice I am present, I shall partake in the idolatry; if any other cause obliges me to be with him that sacrifices, I shall only be a spectator of the sacrifice. Tertullian only allows of the mere material presence, and nothing more, which all men allow.*

10. *Item, Whether they may, in the same place, perform the sacrifices and prayers usually offer'd for the good success of the government, with other ceremonies according to the Chinese ritual; provided they inwardly in their hearts despise the idol, and direct all these actions to the true God?*

*Answer to the 10.* That they may not.

Tho' it be performed in that manner, and with that intention, it cannot but be outward idolatry.

11. *Whether it may be permitted the Japanese, who are converted to the faith, to make those bonfires the Gentiles every year use to make as a false commemoration of the souls of their friends departed, confounding the civil with many heathenish rites?*

*Answer to the 11.* That it may not be permitted.

*Morales, pag. 291.* instances this particular in these words. In *Japan* the Christians are tolerated in the making of illuminations, or bonfires to rejoice the people, when the Gentiles keep that feast for the souls departed, and think they come to their houses; tho' the Japanese mix heathen ceremonies among the political rites: and yet nevertheless their divines of *India* determin'd

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determin'd, that the Christians might perform both. I propos'd the point so at Rome, and the answer was in the negative.

12. *Whether the mandarines or magistrates may be lawfully admitted to baptism?* Item, *Whether mandarines once baptiz'd may lawfully accept of the said employments; and whether the missionaries may admit those who have once accepted of such dignity, to the sacraments of the church?*

*Answer to the 12.* They cannot unless they quit those employments.

I had brought in doubts to this head, but was not yet fully resolv'd. I spoke with F. *Claudius Motet* of the society; he told me plainly, the mandarines were incapable of holy baptism. F. *Stanislaus Torrente* affirm'd the same. The principal reasons are: 1. Because by their place they are oblig'd to perform the ceremonies to the idol CHING HOANG, and when they enter upon their employment to beg his aid and assistance that they may govern well. 2. Because in time of great drought, or too much rain, they repair to the temples of the idols to beg fair weather, or rain, or at least to the mountains and valleys, and the idol LUNG VUANG who is the god of waters. 3. Because they must attend upon the eclipses of the sun and moon, and because of the ceremonies they perform upon taking possession of their employments, and at other times to *Confucius*. These were the reasons I gave, and had the answer as above. It shall be all spoke of at large in its place, and other reasons allieg'd.

13. *Whether Christians who are masters in publick schools, who are vulgarly call'd HIO KUON, may be lawfully admitted to the sacraments, and whether they may lawfully accept of such publick employments?* The reason of making the doubt is, because it is the duty of these places to be present at all the ceremonies which are perform'd to *Confucius*.

*Answer to the 13.* As was answer'd elsewhere, That if those honours paid to *Confucius* are absolutely political, they may be permitted; if religious, not.

The masters who live in houses within the universities are call'd HIO KUON, the scholars that are upon register are subject to them. I propos'd the reason for the doubt, which I mention in my controversies. By the answer given concerning the ceremonies perform'd to *Confucius*, it will appear, whether they are political or religious.

I must here take notice, that the military mandarines are free from the impediments propos'd in these two doubts and solutions; so that if they are under no others, they may well be admitted to baptism.

14. *Whether to avoid persecution from the NAVA-infidels, the Chinese of the learned sect are RETTE, to be let alone in their simplicity, or their ignorance concerning the sacrifices of Confucius and other ceremonies; or whether the missionaries are not rather oblig'd to advise and instruct them, and to drive from their minds the darkness of ignorance by the doctrine of CHRIST?*

*Answer to the 14.* The missionaries are oblig'd to teach the Chinese the truth, and lay open their errors.

It will appear by the second book of controversies, what motive I had to put this question, and who it was that writ the contrary to the answer given at Rome.

15. *Whether it be lawful to baptise mandarines, or others, unless they first turn their concubines out of doors?*

*Answer to the 15.* They cannot be baptiz'd, unless they turn out their concubines.

The missionaries of China cannot deny but that some persons have baptiz'd Chinese, whilst they had their concubines yet in the house; and that it may in some case be verifi'd that they are expell'd *formaliter*, tho' not *materialiter*. I grant, and believe those that are acquainted with the affairs of China will own as much to them it belongs to weigh the circumstances duly.

I writ in another place, whether those we call concubines in China are so in a strict sense; or whether we may give them the name of wives, and say the Chinese have several wives, as the Jews had, or only one wife, and concubines? I said before that it was likely God's dispensation to his people to have many wives extended to the Gentiles as well. For clearing this doubt, I add to what has been already said, that in the first council of Toledo, *can. 17.* she is call'd a concubine, *Who was taken to cohabit with a man, without a dowry, and all other solemnities.* So *Gratianus* expounds it *C. is qui dist. 34.* and it appears by *S. Augustin, lib. de bon. conjug.* whose authority the same *Gratianus* allieg's *C. concub. &c. Soler 32. q. 2.* *Justinian* is of the same opinion, as may be seen in *Cassianus, p. 219.* According to this rule, I say, that those in China, tho' we give them the name of concubines, are in reality wives, and all the difference is in the solemnity us'd at the marriage of the first wife.

16. *It is establish'd by a law publish'd at PE KING, that all persons who pass before an idol-temple on horse-back, shall alight in honour and respect to it. Quære, Whether the missionaries, or other Christians, may with safety obey this law?*

*Answer to the 16.* That they cannot.

This case was put by one of those that came from court to another residing at Canton, when we were confin'd there; the

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NAVA. latter desiring to know my opinion, I  
 BETTE. writ the best I understood to the point,  
 proving it was not lawful for a catholick  
 to alight from his horse, as he pass'd before  
 such a temple. *Tertull. de idol.* says that  
*All worship given to an idol is forbidden.* He  
 did not approve of my judgment: for the  
 more satisfaction I propos'd it at Rome,  
 where I had the answer as above. What  
 arguments past between us are brought in  
 their place.

17. *Whether a beaaten king or his mini-  
 sters, in hatred to the faith commanding the  
 pulling down of churches, missions, or other  
 Christians may obey such a law?*

*Answer to the 17.* That they may not.

It seems, something of this nature was  
 taken notice of in two missionaries, wherein  
 they were govern'd by reasons that were  
 something plausible, the rest did not ap-  
 prove of the action. Some were of opinion  
 there lay an excommunication against it.  
 It is well known, that we cannot in time  
 of Persecution deliver books, pictures,  
 vestments, &c. to Gentiles, nor discover  
 those that have them; tho' it cost us our  
 lives; and certainly it is a greater offence  
 to throw down churches.

18. *Whether the Chinese Christians may  
 pay respect to an idol, not as it is the false  
 representative of a deity, but as it is valu'd  
 and much belov'd by a beaaten, who is a  
 friend?*

*Answer to the 18.* That they cannot.

This case was put to me; I answer'd in  
 the negative, as I was answer'd at Rome,  
 and gave the reasons which are in the con-  
 troversies. He that put the case to me per-  
 sisted in the contrary opinion, and I believe  
 will do so still. Among other reasons I  
 urg'd, one was, that exterior actions of  
 honour and worship, and the like, are not  
 abstractive from formalities, as those of  
 the understanding are; and therefore tho'  
 those us'd to the idol were separable, yet  
 that did not appertain to exterior actions.  
 Nor was it any thing to the purpose, tho'  
 the idol was a precious thing my friend  
 had a great esteem for, because even among  
 Christians such an action would be look'd  
 upon as very mean. Would it be proper,  
 that in Italy where they place so great a  
 value upon fine statues, I should bow or  
 pay an honour to them to flatter the own-  
 er? The statue, or idol has no relation to  
 the owner, but to the thing represented;  
 and if a motion to an image is the same as to  
 the thing imagin'd, the corporal motion  
 with which I worship the statue must be of  
 the same nature.

19. *When a white elephant is dead, which  
 beast is by all persons look'd upon as a presage  
 of good fortune, the multitude flocks together,  
 and with them the false beaaten priests, who,*

*as the elephant's carcase is carried through the  
 city with mournful pomp, when it pass's be-  
 fore them kneel, and making a barbarous li-  
 mentation, worship its bones. Quære, Whe-  
 ther Christians may lawfully be present at this  
 funeral pomp, bearing the Gentiles company  
 in those same genflexions?*

*Answer to the 19.* That they may not.

I have writ the history of the white ele-  
 phant, so highly valu'd by the kings of  
 India. It is well known that whilst he lives  
 he is served with as much respect as the  
 king himself, when dead he is buried with  
 royal pomp. They carry the carcase in  
 procession, many idolatrous priests attend  
 it; as it pass's thro' the streets all persons  
 there present kneel and touch the ground  
 with their foreheads. The case is, whether  
 catholick priests and other Christians, who  
 accidentally or designedly see that sight,  
 may lawfully make those genflexions a-  
 mong the Gentiles, and as they do them,  
 or by themselves, being in a place where  
 no Gentile is.

I always held the negative, which I  
 maintain'd the best I could against one,  
 who obstinately defended the contrary opi-  
 nion, reducing it to a civil and political  
 worship. Brute beasts are incapable even  
 of this sort of worship, as *S. Thomas* teach-  
 es, 2. 2. q. art. So that no excellency ap-  
 pears in the object to claim this civil re-  
 spect, much less any above it, as in all ap-  
 pearance, according to the circumstances,  
 that which the Gentiles pay seems to be.

20. *Whether in case the king expressly com-  
 mands all Christians to attend the bier, and  
 perform the funeral rites, and prostrations,  
 we may obey?*

*Answer to the 20.* As elsewhere, if there be

any apostolical or superstitious acts in  
 attending the bier, and the funeral,  
 they may not; if they be only civil,  
 they may.

The determination, whether that wor-  
 ship be civil or religious, is left to those  
 who are there, so that the difficulty is not  
 fully solv'd. Though I am satisfied it is  
 more than probable, that the worship on  
 the part of the Gentiles is more than civil;  
 for there is no doubt but that the whole  
 kingdom's bewailing the death of the ele-  
 phant, putting on mourning, a vast num-  
 ber of priests meeting at the funeral, and  
 all people lamenting as it were some great  
 loss and disaster befallen the kingdom,  
 must have something of a great mystery  
 among those Gentiles, especially for as  
 much as that beast is look'd upon as a pre-  
 sage of happiness and success in those coun-  
 tries, where they have not the light of the  
 gospel.

When this happen'd, the king did not  
 command all persons to come to worship  
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the carcase of the elephant, but that all who were present as it past by should pay him the honour and respect abovementioned. To save doubts, and cut off difficulties, what occasion was there for priests and Christians to go see that monstrous solemnity? Were it not better to have spar'd that curiosity, to avoid an action never done in the church? In my controversies I mention the instances that may be urg'd against me, and answer them.

*Question.* 21. *Whether it be lawful for mandarines, or other Christians before their feasts to spill a little wine on the ground? The reason of making the doubt is, because the said ceremony is prescrib'd by the rituals under the denomination of a sacrifice.*

*Answer to the 21.* That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is of great antiquity in China, and is kept up to this day. For the better understanding of it, I here insert what F. Prosper Intorecta writes in his *sapientia sinica*, p. 73. §. 4. translating the Chinese text into Latin. It speaks of Confucius, and says, *Tho' be fed on the coarser rice, yet pouring one part upon the ground, be sacrificed to those dead persons, who in former ages had taught the manner of tilling the earth, dressing meat, &c. And this was the custom of the antients in token of gratitude; and be perform'd these things with much gravity and reverence.* The commentator CHANG KO LAO expounds thus: *Confucius took his food, not to nourish the body, but to increase in vir.ue.* Other words yet plainer shall be set down in another place. Thus it appears that the shedding any part of meat or drink on the ground, is in China call'd a sacrifice, and is no civil or political action.

22. *Whether we be oblig'd to take away the bills and scroles which are set up by order of the magistrates to defame our faith, against our houses and churches, or to confirm the faith by a publick confession of it before the magistrates?*

*Answer to the 22.* They are oblig'd to take them away; and if being accus'd before the judges they are examin'd to the matter of fact, they are oblig'd to make a profession of the true faith.

The thing happen'd in China in the year 1665. 1665. it was argued, and there was no small variety of opinions. The fathers Grelon and Gaviani of the society, adher'd stiffly to the resolution above written, I follow'd their sentiment. Some years before F. Francis Diaz of my order, with his own hand tore the edicts set up at FO NGAN by order of a mandarine against our holy faith. True it is, he was most cruelly bastinado'd for it, but exercis'd a great deal of patience under it; and tho'

some body has condemn'd the action, I NAVA- insert it here as heroical and glorious. F. RETTE. *John Baptist de Morales* and his companions had resolv'd to do the same at FO CHEU, it was not their fault that it was not done. S. *Justin Martyr* in former ages did the same, and was cruelly torment-ed for it. This is ground'd on the doctrine of S. *Thomas*, generally receiv'd by all men, 2. 2. q. 3. art. 2. where he says that when God's honour and the good of our neighbour requires it, the outward confession of faith be- comes of precept.

23. *Whether when the infidels publish books and pamphlets reflecting on our faith, and falsely aspersing the missionaries, we are oblig'd by publick writings to defend the faith, and clear our selves from slanders; or whe- ther we may give way to the prevailing party, and with timorous silence bear with our un- just slanderers?*

*Answer to the 23.* If there be no immi- nent danger of a sharper persecu- tion, they may confute them by words and writing; if there be dan- ger, let them bear for a while, and carry themselves upon the negative.

I have writ some things concerning this point, which seems to make out more than is here determin'd; however, it is a plain case we are to stand by this reso- lution. We know that formerly several persons stood up, and writ apologies in defence of our holy faith; and *Spondanus*, ann. 172, 277, 278, & 301. tells it us of *Justinus*, *Miletus*, *Apollinaris*, and o- thers; and it is certain they did as we ought to do.

24. *Whether when a tyrant commands missionaries, or other Christians to deliver up the books of the holy faith, as was done in the year 1665, it be lawful to deliver them?* 1665.

*Answer to the 24.* That it is not law- ful.

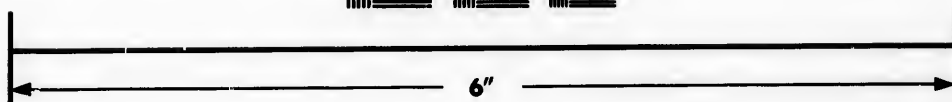
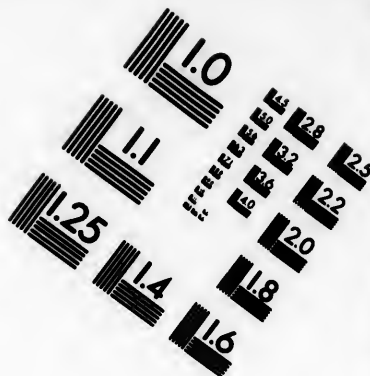
This point was determin'd in the thir- teenth can. of the council of *Arles*, where are these words, *It expells them from the clergy who shall deliver up sacred books or vessels to the Gentiles, or give in the names of the faithful.*

The martyrology on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *February* mentions several who suffer'd glorious mar- tyrdom for refusing to deliver up the holy books. And they who through fear of tor- ments deliver'd them, were look'd upon as publick traitors.

In *November* also is celebrated the feast of S. *Valerianus*, who suffer'd for refus- ing to deliver up the sacred vestments. Read the martyrology on the first of *Fe- bruary*.

25. *Whether Christians may lawfully give pictures of saints to the infidels their friends?* For





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NAVA- For on the one side, their affections are gain'd by those pictures in which they very much delight, and the way is made easier for instructing them. But on the other side, they lying in the profound sleep of gentility, experience has shewn that they do not honour them as

pictures of saints, but as idols of the Europeans.

Answer to the 25. If there be no danger of their abusing them, they may, to the intent to secure peace with them, and allure them to the faith.

### Doubts concerning the Worship given to Confucius.

1. **Whether** F. Martin Martinez did fully and truly lay before the holy congregation the whole matter of fact, in relation to the ceremonies perform'd to Confucius by the learned?

2. **Whether** the decree of the holy congregation, as to the third question propos'd by F. Martinez, be grounded on a very probable opinion, or on the proposition made by the said F. Martinez?

3. **Whether** the structures dedicated to the Worship of Confucius be temples or not?

These three points were answer'd in another place.

The notes upon the decree granted in favour of F. Martinez, which were set down before, fit this place, as do other things I have in my controversies. In relation to the third point, I must observe and declare in this place briefly, that all the dictionaries the fathers of the society have writ in *China*, call that which is dedicated to *Confucius* a temple, as shall appear more plainly in the place above-mentioned, and it is properly express'd by the Chinese word *MIAO*. Observe further, that the difficulties there have been in these times concerning the philosopher *Confucius*, tho' they were made known by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries, yet they were not the authors of them, as shall be made out in the second book of controversies, where those are set down which were several years before among those of the society.

4. **Whether** to kneel before the statue of Confucius, or his tablet, to burn perfumes, light candles, and the like, be mere political worship?

Answer to the 4. That these things are not lawful.

That is as much as to say, that these actions are not merely political.

5. **Whether** the ceremony of abusing beasts be offer'd to Confucius, be only political and civil?

To the fifth no answer is given, because the matter of fact does not appear.

I propos'd the matter of fact, to my thinking, as plain as possible could be, which made me admire at the answer. I will repeat it here briefly: The day before sacrifice is offer'd to *Confucius*, they chuse the beasts thus; they pour hot wine into the ears of the swine (those of the society say it is a sort of liquor like oil) if

the swine moves its head, it is accepted of as fit for sacrifice; if not, it is rejected. Other ancient Gentiles us'd such like trials, as is mention'd in the second tome. When the beast is accepted of, the mandarin makes it a low bow, and when kill'd another. Let any man judge whether this can be a civil political action.

6. **Whether** the offering of bogs-blood and bristles to Confucius, be political? the same is ask'd concerning the ceremony of burying the bristles and blood above-mention'd.

Answer to the 6. Be it as it will, it is not lawful.

When the swine are kill'd, they keep some of their hair, or bristles and blood, which they offer the next day before *Confucius* his image, or tablet; and afterward bury it very solemnly, as is more particularly set down in another place. Some contend this action is political; the fathers *Gouvea*, *Gaviniani*, and others, were of another opinion.

7. **Whether** the ceremony upon a figure of a man made of straw, which was instituted according to the ritual, to call upon the spirits that they may be present at the sacrifices, be religious or political?

Answer to the 7. That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is us'd in their offerings or sacrifices they make to the dead. They lay under the tables there cover'd, a figure of a man, on which they pour a little wine. This is all explicated at large in the second tome of controversies; I can find no way to make it political.

8. **Whether** the action of washing his hands, which is perform'd by the magistrate, as a preparatory to make the offerings to Confucius, be political or ceremonial?

Answer to the 8. That it is not lawful.

It plainly appears, that the argument some people make use of, which is to say, that these actions are indifferent, and therefore may be tolerated, is of no force. To wash hands, is in it self indifferent; but in this case, and upon such circumstances, it becomes ceremonious and religious. The priests washing at the altar after the offering, neither is, nor can be call'd a civil or political action, but ceremonious and very religious.

9. **Whether** Confucius his tablet, which the Chinese think to be the seat of the soul, be a thing appertaining to political worship?

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Answer to the

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10. The mag pieces of white fi they cast into the wine, saying for ther these things

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11. The magi lifts up on bigo blessed wine, a manner be lifts be receives from to Confucius. 2 collects are read, presence, and int that is offer'd bi they shall receive bappiness, as the Quere, Whether in the nature of

Answer to the ful.

The main thi Whether such ce It signifies little be reputed as fa reading the rea tome, every man sequence of the I did not deviate told by learned that best understa what is writ in second tome.

12. Whether an idol, or false the Chinese?

Answer to the place not to be l

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*For they believe the airy spirit of Confucius comes to it to receive the offerings.*

*Answer to the 9.* That is not lawful.

I find many missionaries of *China* divided about this and other points. I took the doubt above propos'd from the dispute that was some years since among the society. The resolution they then came to is the very same as that above-written: that the learned *Chinese* believe the soul of their master comes to the tablets, is own'd by themselves, and the characters on it fully express as much. That some deny it, is rather the effect of their obstinate will, than of reason or understanding.

10. *The magistrates offer to Confucius pieces of white silk, which after the offering they cast into the fire, and with it a vessel of wine, saying some collects. Quære, Whether these things belong to mere civil worship?*

*Answer to the 10.* That it is not lawful.

Among the other ceremonies they perform to this philosopher twice a year, besides other things they offer him nine pieces of white fatten, every one with a collect, there may not be any more: After the offering they tie them to long staves like pikes, and burn them. Some say it is done in token of rejoicing; and that as it is a political and civil action to offer them to persons living so it may be to the statue or tablet of *Confucius*.

11. *The magistrate with both hands twice lifts up on high some wine, which they call blessed wine, and then drinks it; in like manner he lifts up a portion of meat, which he receives from one attending, and offers it to Confucius. The offering being ended, some collects are read, which express Confucius his presence, and invite him to drink of the wine that is offer'd him; and the Gentiles believe they shall receive honour, advancement, and happiness, as the consequence of these offerings. Quære, Whether the aforesaid offerings are in the nature of sacrifice?*

*Answer to the 11.* That they are not lawful.

The main thing we desire to know, is, Whether such ceremonies be lawful or not? It signifies little to me, whether they may be reputed as sacrifices, or not. But by reading the reasons alledg'd in the second tome, every man may decide what the consequence of them is. In this proposition I did not deviate a tittle from what I was told by learned Christians, who are they that best understand these affairs; nor from what is writ in the second book of the second tome.

12. *Whether the statue of Confucius be an idol, or false sanctity be attributed to it by the Chinese?*

*Answer to the 12.* It was said in another place not to be lawful.

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I could have wish'd the answer had been *NAY*-plainer, and suitable to the reasons I propos'd for making the doubt; I bring them in the place above-mention'd. The fathers *Semedo*, *Kircher*, and other grave men, all of the society of *Jesus*, are for me, whose opinion agrees with the sentiments of our fathers and the *Franciscans*.

13. *Whether the ceremony of accompanying the spirit of Confucius be civil and political?*

*Answer to the 13.* That the matter of fact does not appear.

Among the ceremonies the *Chinese* perform to their master, and forefathers departed, there is bringing down of spirits, dismissing and receiving, others call it accompanying of them; be it as it will all is bad, it is set down in the second tome.

14. *Whether the table set up before the statue or tablet of Confucius be an altar?*

*Answer to the 14.* That it is not lawful.

According to the question this implies, that it is not lawful to place a table before the statue or tablet of *Confucius*, as the *Chinese* use it, with candlesticks, antependium, and other formalities, nothing differing from the idol-altars.

15. *Whether the ceremony of abusing a day for making of the said offerings, can be reckon'd a mere act of civil and political worship?*

*Answer to the 15.* If the worship be religious, neither is it nor the choice lawful.

The offerings and other actions explained in the foregoing questions, are adjudg'd a religious, not a civil worship; therefore it is so often repeated, *That it is not lawful*: consequently it must be so to chuse a day to perform any of those acts. It is not as in our parts; days are fix'd for several sorts of business that occurs, or for bull-feasts, rejoicings, or undertaking a journey, &c. wherein regard is had to some corporal conveniences, as the people being more at leisure, less likelihood of rain, a more temperate season, &c. It is far otherwise in *China*, they observe whether days be lucky or unlucky; whether they shall succeed to day, or miscarry to morrow. That nation believes in gross errors, and therefore we all look upon these choices as superstitious, they using generally lots in them. And this not only to chuse days, but to find a fortunate hour for what they are to do.

16. *Supposing the books of Confucius and the learn'd sect contain many, and those visible errors; Quære, Whether Christians may undertake the employment of masters, and teach, expound, and maintain such false doctrines? The reason of making the doubt is, because if they do so, they approve of those doctrines, and spread abroad their errors. On the other side, if this be forbid them, several who have no other livelihood will doubtless leave our religion.*

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*Answer to the 16.* That they may not.

The fathers of the society some years since argu'd this point: He that decided it, supposes *Confucius* and his sect are full of many errors. The reasons of making a doubt on both sides were sufficiently laid open; they are explain'd in what has been writ, and yet the resolution was in the negative. All will be made plainer in the second tome.

17. *Supposing the aforementioned errors; Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully enter upon examinations? For very often errors against faith are propos'd in them, which those who are to be examin'd, are oblig'd to justify, commend, explain, and maintain, in so much that it is not lawful for any man to vary one jot from the doctrine of classick authors; but the forbidding of this will certainly be the flouting up the way of salvation to many of them.*

*Answer to the 17.* That they cannot enter upon those examinations, unless they do it with a design to oppose false doctrines.

I was always at a stand about these two points; but being young in the mission, I divid'd into the matter, and observ'd what others did. Afterwards finding them controverted by the fathers of the society, my doubt increas'd. Hitherto it was look'd upon as a great inconveniency to hinder the learned from performing the ceremonies to their master and philosopher; that which follows upon this resolution, if not greater, is at least more universal, as affecting many more. The inconveniences are already mention'd, and notwithstanding them, the aforesaid resolution was given. I don't question but it will surprize some in *China*, but it will not appear so strange to those who have read the arguments that pass among those of the society upon this and other points in the year 1628.

1628.

What they decreed is set down in the second tome. I have ever declar'd, that if an action be bad in it self, it neither is, nor can be justify'd on account of the inconveniences that may ensue of not practising it. Read *Cajetan* in iii. a. *Rom.* where he handles this point acutely.

18. *Whether the wine and flesh offer'd to Confucius, are to be reputed as idol offerings?*

*Answer to the 8.* The matter of fact does not appear; if the offering be a sacrifice, it is unlawful, and the thing offer'd an idol-offering.

The said offerings have been condemn'd above as unlawful, tho' it be not decided whether they are sacrifices. In the treatise of the missionaries of the society, they are allow'd as sacrifices; and it seems to be sufficiently made out by the reasons I urg'd in a particular treatise on this subject. The

*Chinese* dictionaries made by the Europeans, agree in the same.

19. *Supposing that Confucius never own'd a God, nor angels, nor the immortality of the soul, nor any reward or punishment after this life; Quære, Whether Christians being ask'd by infidels concerning their salvation, and state in the other world, may, or ought to affirm that they obtain'd life everlasting? For we have not the least ground to say so, and to answer the contrary, may cause many inconveniences.*

*Answer to the 19.* Upon that supposition it cannot be affirm'd that *Confucius* is fav'd.

Much to this purpose is said in the second tome. There has been variety of opinions concerning the supposition, even among those of the society, and they are asfoot to this day: There is not the least difficulty in the resolution given to me and others, who are very certain that man never had any knowledge of God. Others may pry further into the matter, to resolve what answer they shall give. The answer which has been often given, is with the rest in the place above-mention'd.

20. *Whether it be lawful to maintain that Confucius out did Solomon in morals?*

*Answer to the 20.* It does not become a Christian to make such comparisons, and give such judgment.

In the second tome I mention, how a missionary was guilty of this failing; whereas others agree that this philosopher was not equal to *Seneca*, *Cicero*, or other ancient Europeans. Such expressions cannot be oppos'd, but by laying them before those that have power to decide them. There is no better way to stop the mouths of talkers. Read *S. Jerome* in iii. ad *Ephef. Chrysost. Hom.*

15. in *Gen.* and *S. Greg.* in 1 *Reg.* i. *Corn. à Lap.* in *Proem. ad Pent. vid. Sylveir. Tom.* 2. c. 4. in *Luc.* q. 2. & 6. pag. 376. n. 20.

21. *The missionaries of the society have an order for their mission, which expressly forbids them by any means to affirm, that our holy law agrees with the sect of Confucius in the whole, or in any part: the holy congregation may, if it please, order the same upon this point. For such an order is very material for the honour of the evangelical law.*

*Answer to the 21.* All missionaries are oblig'd to say the same concerning the law of *Confucius*, that was prescrib'd the *Jesuits*, as is instanced by the holy congregation.

*F. John Balat* upon several occasions acquainted me with this order, and in my presence stop'd the mouths of some impertinent persons with it; but he did not inform me whether it came from the holy congregation. Since it did, there is no doubt but it obliges all persons, and that more strictly than if it came from some particular

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particular superior. Certainly he that mov'd for it, gave very good reasons for what he did. And since no application has been made to recal it, there is all the reason in the world it should be observ'd, and that we all observe it.

### Eight Doubts concerning the Sacraments.

1. **Whether the form of baptism in the Chinese language be valid, it is thus, NGO SI VL, or NIIN FU, KIE ZU, KIE XING XIN MING CHE.** Many deny it, and urge, that the Chinese do not know either a true spirit, or true sanctity; nor do the words XING XIN in their first institution signify the holy Ghost: Nor is the unity of essence, power, or virtue express'd.

*Answer to the 1.* No other answer can be given, but that they must use a form, or words that express the action of baptizing, and the Unity of essence, together with the Trinity of persons; or else use the Latin words as in the western-church.

We had a great disputation upon this subject at Canton. The greater part were of opinion it was valid: I and some others oppos'd it as much as possible, and could not be satisfy'd in a point of such great consequence. I sent advice to those of my order who were absconded, never to make use of that form, or suffer it to be us'd by the Christians. If it be valid, I do not question but that which authors reject out of *Cajetan* is much more so. Some time after I saw it rejected, and declar'd invalid in a treatise of the fathers of the society. In the second tome I set down the arguments us'd on both sides. And tho' I declar'd the principal substance of it at *Rome*, being it depends on a strange language whereof they have no knowledge, they do not think convenient to resolve according to it, when there is but one by, who understands it.

2. **Whether it be convenient to add to the form of baptism the Chinese Christians commonly use, viz. NGO SI VL, &c. the word IE, that the word MING which signifies the name, may be confin'd to the singular number? For so and no otherwise is the unity of essence or virtue signify'd.**

*Answer to the 2.* as to the first.

It is an essential point in baptism to express the unity of essence, as was said to the first doubt. In all the form set down about it, there is no word or particle to confine the word MING to the singular number; and of it self, and as it there stands, it serves indifferently for the singular or plural; but rather for the latter in this place, because three persons go before. In *Latin* and *Spanish* we place *In the name* before the persons, and the *Chinese* according to their grammar place it at last. The

more I have study'd this business, the greater the difficulty appears. Those of my order add the aforesaid word.

*Item, Whether absolutely speaking it be lawful to baptize the children of infidels, hereticks and apostates, leaving them under the care of their parents? The missionaries vary, and so do authors; but the council of Toledo speaking of the Jews, gives it in the negative. The infidels bearing converts say, that baptism delivers from the devil, and is a wholesome medicine to this and other purposes, they beg their sick or possess'd children may be baptized. Quære, Whether it be lawful to baptize them upon the aforesaid motives?*

*Answer.* It is not lawful to baptize them, if they are to be left after baptism in the power of infidels.

*Answer to the other part.* That it is not lawful to baptize upon those motives alone.

I have seen both cases, and variety of opinions among the missionaries. The council of *Toledo* 4. c. 59. & *refertur cap. Judæor. 16 quest. 1.* speaks thus; *That the children of Jews which are baptized, be separated from the company of their parents, lest they be led by them into error and prevarication.* The same reason stands good in the case of Gentiles and hereticks. The resolution set down, is the doctrine of master *Bannez* upon the subject of baptism, and others. Some moderns, and among them *Diana*, speak otherwise as to the children of hereticks. Read *Leander tract. 2. de bapt. disp. 5. quest. 8.*

Authors speak variously as to the second case. Our most reverend *Passerinus* has it in terminis, and resolves as above. In the second tome I speak enough to the purpose.

3. **The missionaries are unanimously of opinion, that it is very expedient, for avoiding the calumnies of the Gentiles, to give females as women estate the sacramentals with a pencil, and not with the finger. However it is desir'd to know the will of our most holy LORD.**

*Answer to the 3.* It was answer'd elsewhere, that the common practice of the church is to be observ'd.

I suppose it may be done as was propos'd, and that this opinion is general among doctors, therefore I was persuaded the answer would have been favourable. But they always taking care, and that with good reason, not to open a way to depart from the general use and practice of the church, they did not consent to what

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NAVA- I desir'd, tho' in China we all agreed to it.  
 RETTE. And if they will not dispense with a ceremony so easily to be dispensed with in appearance, how should they dispense with not administering of the sacramentals?

4. *Whether on account of any one singular case it be lawful absolutely and universally to abstain from administering the oil of catechumens to females at womens estate? For it seems to be against the decree of the holy congregation.*  
*Answer to the 4.* That it is not lawful.

In the second tome I set down all that was alleg'd in the disputation at Canton upon this point.

5. *The holy congregation may be pleas'd to order, that all missionaries administer the sacrament of baptism in the same form.*

*Answer to the 5.* It was order'd before, that all should observe uniformity in holy rites.

There has been no small variety in this particular, as shall appear in its place.

6. *His holiness's pleasure is also desir'd, for the bishops using some sort of instruments in administering confirmation, to anoint women grown with the holy chrism, and to give the stroke on the cheek. His pleasure is likewise desir'd for omitting the anointing of feet in administering extreme unction to women.*

*Answer to the 6.* It has been answer'd before, that the custom of the church is to be observ'd in administering these sacraments.

It is plain the point concerning confirmation is more difficult than what was propos'd, num. 3. for grave authors say, it is an essential part of this sacrament, that the bishop lay on the chrism with his own fingers. And according to this opinion, the pope cannot dispense for doing it with any other instrument. There is another opinion that holds the contrary.

As to the second part the difficulty was less, since all the doctors agree with S. Thomas, that the anointing of the feet is no essential part of that sacrament. Nevertheless it is not allow'd for the reason above assign'd. Baronius says, *The Church is most tenacious of antiquity.* It will not allow any to depart from its ancient and universal custom. We think in China it is commendable zeal that moves us to attempt these and the like things, to make the access to our religion the more easie and pleasing; and I don't doubt but at Rome their zeal is as great and as hot as ours, and yet we see they oppose our opinions. These resolutions by order of the holy congregation were laid before the cardinals Bona and Casanate, of whose learning, zeal, and virtue, none can make any question no more than of the most reverend fathers consultors who sign'd them. We writ to Manila upon this very subject, and the

most R. F. F. Francis de Paula, then the second time provincial of our province, commissary of the inquisition, and bishop elect of New Caceres, answer'd us, That we must not omit the anointing of the feet; and in case we could not do it, we should forbear administering the sacrament. The answer seem'd to us rigid, and I find it was agreeable to the resolution at Rome.

The following case is part of that which went before.

6. *The Chinese when they marry are wont marriage, to kneel to heaven and earth, to repair to the idol-temples, where many of them place the images of their ancestors departed, or else their tablets, and kneel to them: Quære, Whether it be lawful to tolerate the aforesaid ceremonies, or connive at them, leaving the Christians in their ignorance, or simplicity.*

*Answer to the 6.* Concerning marriages, and the superstitious us'd at them, the answer is, they are not lawful.

This point is handled in the second book of the second tome.

7. *Experience teaches that of a hundred Convert women which are gain'd to the church, whilst women they are marry'd to beaten husbands, at least fourscore fall back. But for maid-servants who appear good Christians whilst they are under the yoke of servitude, when married to infidels, not one of them perseveres; what remedy can the missionaries find against such misfortunes?*

*Ans. to the 7.* The remedy is, and most absolutely necessary, that the faithful do not marry infidels, because the marriage is not valid; other remedies are to be ask'd of God.

F. Francis Brancato had much experience of the first part, he said not twenty in a hundred persever'd. Of the second I know not how it has been found in other parts, but in ours we are sure no woman slave ever continu'd a Christian after she was marry'd to an infidel. Read *Oleasit. in Deut. vii. §. 1. all mores.* Diana writes, such marriages were tolerated in those countries, because there were hopes the infidel husband would be converted by the Christian wife, or *à contra*; he was little vers'd in these affairs. The reason is, because the missionaries cannot hinder it. In the resolution above those marriages are declar'd void, by reason of the *impedimentum dirimens* there is in them; and the same impediment lasting as long as they live together, it is in effect living in fornication, and consequently either the husband or wife that is a Christian cannot be absolv'd till they part. There is no doubt but this will give great trouble to the missionaries, and those Christians who are so marry'd. As long as positive church-laws were not publish'd, this

this might be it cannot; then to God: we are directed, and ledge, fancy and go on safely shall advance li may prevail the cause it is may us. And tho' a few good are ny bad ones. Reform. Relig. I was us'd to lay good horses in bad ones; and Adrian Grelon v meeting at Canton and leave the c

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2. *The Chinese any person dies an standing on the n north with the d soul three times. ven, then toward the middle region the dead person's wards the south, d body they thus exp resurrection of th*

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this might be conniv'd at, but at present it cannot; therefore recourse must be had to God: we must govern our selves as we are directed, and not rely on our own knowledge, fancy and opinion. Thus shall we go on safely; and tho' we imagine we shall advance little this way, perhaps we may prevail the more, and God whose cause it is may favour, protect and assist us. And tho' there be fewer Christians, a few good are better than a great many bad ones. Our *Nider* in his treatise *de Reform. Relig.* speaks of an emperor who was us'd to say, he had rather have ten good horses in his stable than an hundred bad ones; and he was in the right. *F. Adrian Grelon* urg'd this very same in a meeting at *Canton*, let us look for the grain and leave the chaff.

*Disser.* 8. *There is no small variety of opinions among the missionaries concerning the marriages of those countries, whether they are valid or not; as for the Chinese marriages some hold the affirmative, some the negative. The philosopher Confucius assign'd five impediments which dissolve matrimony, to be observ'd by his school.* 1. *If a woman be talkative.* 2. *If she fall into the leprosy.* 3. *If she be bar-*

*ren.* 4. *If she happen to steal from her husband.* 5. *If she prove disobedient to her father and mother-in-law. Upon any of these accounts a man has full liberty to dissolve the marriage, and the woman has leave to marry another.* Quære, *Whether the aforesaid impediments do any way prejudice the indissolubility of matrimony?*

*Answer to the 8.* Those impediments mention'd do not dissolve matrimony.

We had several disputes at *Canton* concerning these points. In the second tome I set down what both parties alledg'd. *F. M. Ferre* argues, Whether the marriages of *Tunquin* be valid, or not, and largely proves the affirmative. I do not question but it is a favourable opinion for missionaries, if they will follow it. The greatest difficulty lies in this, whether if the matter of fact be propos'd as in reality it is, and as I can testify in this particular by what I have heard, I then judge it to be as the aforesaid author writes. The great opinion all men have of his extraordinary knowledge, makes his doctrine the more practicable, as do the reasons he gives for his opinion, and the answers to all arguments that can be urg'd against him.

#### Twenty five Doubts concerning the Worship the Chinese give to their Dead.

1. *Whether other missionaries are to stick to the information given into the holy congregation by F. Martin Martinez touching the business of the dead here propos'd, and are oblig'd to obey the decree granted him by the said holy congregation? The reason of making the doubt is, because it was disapprov'd by very grave fathers of the Society.*

*Answer to the 1.* It has been answer'd before, and missionaries are to act according to the resolutions of the holy congregation.

In the second tome I give an account, how *F. Martinez* his propositions were dislik'd by the fathers *John Adamus*, *Antony de Gonvea*, and *Ignatius d'Acosta*, the ancientest and gravest missionaries of these times; nor did *F. Emanuel George* approve of it. For these four I have it of my own knowledge, and guess the same of others. The reflections above on these propositions, clear this point.

2. *The Chinese rituals ordain, That when any person dies another takes his garment, and standing on the top of the house towards the north with the dead body's garment calls the soul three times. He is to call towards heaven, then towards earth, and lastly through the middle region; which done folding up the dead person's garment, he goes down towards the south, and stretching it out upon the body they thus expect the return of the soul and resurrection of the body three days. If the*

*person was taken away by a violent death, the same ceremonies are perform'd without the city.* Quære, *Whether the aforesaid ceremonies may be tolerated in Christians, for the comfort of their relations?*

*Answer to the 2.* That it is not lawful.

I thought no man would have spoken a good word for this ceremony, which is still practis'd in *China*, because it plainly appears of it self to be bad. Since I found some contend it is only civil and political. What has been said about it is mention'd in its proper place.

3. *When the body is laid into the tomb, the Chinese are wont to put wheat, rice, and other sorts of grain, as also gold, silver and jewels, according to the quality of the party deceas'd, into his mouth. And gathering the parings of the nails into little bags, together with the scissars that cut them off, they place them in the four corners of the coffin.* Quære, *Whether it be lawful to allow these things to Christians, and to connive at their simplicity?*

For these things seem to be done, that the dead may make use of what is bury'd with them, which appears by that, before the *Tartars* put out the edict for cutting off the hair, they were wont to put the hair and a comb into the coffin, which they do not now since they don't wear long hair.

*Answer to the 3.* That the missionaries are oblig'd to make known those errors to

NAVA-  
RETTE.

such as are converted, and to admonish them to leave them.

It is easy to guess that a nation so full of superstitions, and so remote from the light of the gospel, must at every step stumble and fall. What has been mention'd can no way be excus'd from being a vain custom. We do not speak here of the ceremony which abundance of *Chineſes* use, of putting a piece of money into the mouth of the dead person, which is to serve the soul as a *Platicum* into *India*; no man doubts but this is plainly superstitious.

4. *Whether it may be allow'd Christians to place a corporeal representation of the soul near the dead body, to secure and protect it?*

Soul.

*Answer to the 4.* That it is not lawful.

The *Chineſe* ritual directs, when any person dies, to make of pieces of silk the image and representation of the soul, with its face, eyes, and other limbs, in the resemblance of a child in swaddling bands, as they are usually dress'd in *Spain*. They place it near to the dead body, to cherish and protect it. The cut of it is in the ritual. It is plain, this is contrary to the law of God.

Candle.

5. Concerning the *Chineſe* TIAO, in Spanish call'd *Pesame*, in English *candling*; *Quære, Whether it may be tolerated in Christians? The reason of making the doubt is, because the Chineſe ritual says, that the aforesaid ceremonies of candles are to be perform'd before the bed on which the image of the soul lies, and they offer candles and perfumes to that figure or image; which not having been propos'd in the year 1645, therefore now the decision of the holy congregation is desir'd.*

*Answer to the 5.* As elsewhere in the negative.

There has been no little disagreement about this particular in *China*. True it is, I never saw the case set down by any missionary, so formally as I propos'd it; but the holy congregation forbid it without all that, much more when all the particulars above are express'd. *F. Antony Gouvea* several times told me, he did not like it; and if what the ritual says, whence I took the proposition, be observ'd, I believe no man will like it.

6. *It is the custom of the Chineſes at every thirty foot the bier is carry'd, to scatter a certain quantity of ruddy earth. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to do it, forasmuch as it seems to tend to no good end?*

*Answer to the 6.* That it is not lawful.

At every thirty foot or thereabouts, as the bier passes, they throw down a basket of ruddy clay: I own I am not satisfy'd of the end or design of it, but it appears

this action can have no good meaning. The graver sort use it. I must observe that all that is said in this place belongs to the learned sect.

7. *Quære, Whether F. Martinez his proposition, viz. The Chineſes attribute no divinity to their souls departed, they neither ask, nor hope anything of them, be tolerable? Forasmuch as the gravest missionaries, and almost all that are now in China, maintain the contrary, and F. Martinez himself affirm'd the contrary in China.*

*Answer to the 7.* As was answer'd elsewhere, that it is not lawful.

I could have wish'd the solution of this doubt had been plain, I writ much about it in the second tome. *F. Antony of S. Mary a Franciscan* writ enough against the proposition. The same may be gather'd from the writings of the fathers *Matthew Riccius*, *Julius Aleni*, and *Pantoja*; the fathers *Atos* and *Fabre* are of the same opinion in express terms, and *F. John Balas* assur'd me the same of the rest. *F. Alvaro Semedo* publish'd it in print, page 125 of his *Chineſe* empire, and 119. *F. Gouvea* writes the same in his manuscript history, which has had the approbation of the fathers *Acunna* the visitor, *Amaya* the vice-provincial, and *Canavari* a very ancient missionary; it is in chap. vi. fol. 26. In the meetings those of the society had in the years 28 and 44, they conclude upon the same. So does *F. Interata* in his *Sapientia Sinica*, pag. 39. The infidels maintain it, Christians own it, and *F. Martinez* himself confess'd in *China* that it was true for three hundred years last past. He propos'd the contrary at Rome, and I think ought to have express'd what has been said, tho' he had not thought it to be so from the original institution of the *Chineſes*. It shall be explain'd at large in the place above mention'd.

8. *Whether it be lawful to leave the Christians who sacrifice to their dead and to Confucius, in their ignorance and simplicity, and to connive at those their sacrifices? For the Chineſes are wont to choose certain days to perform the aforesaid sacrifices, and to consult heaven, whether the day so chosen be fit for those ceremonies.*

*Answer to the 8.* That they are oblig'd to admonish them of the aforesaid errors.

I use the word sacrifices, because in my opinion, and of others, they are really such, and because all the missionaries of the society call them so in their writings, and among others it may be seen in *F. Interata's Sapientia Sinica*. And it is not likely, or credible that so many learned men, and so well vers'd in the language and books of the *Chineſes*, should not have divid'd into the

the sense of to distinguish sacrifice. A in its place.

9. *Whether days fast, and bed for seven aforesaid sacrifices, cleansing, or lawfully allow'd*

*Answer to the 9.* That it is not lawful.

I could not see that it is not lawful, which they say it is, but it is the largest festival. For it is to take their devotion to tend to, conclude 2. q. 18. art. 10. *Whether the nature of fighting is lawful? The Chinese go into the temple cry out three times, to awake the noise.*

Dial.

*Answer to the 10.* That it is not lawful.

This ceremony time they go such time as perform'd the whether the sign, hoarse, manner. Reas.

11. *Whether perform'd by the sacrifices? whether to make it are call'd by the as the worship*

*Answer to the 11.* That it is not lawful.

I said above that they are to know what is lawful. The question whether taken from that sacrifice is true or idolatry also truly so of the sign. As it is from *S. Thome* equally so call'd true Deity, or handed at large mention'd.

Temple.

12. *Whether plates, or balls? Several names, N; all which*

the sense of the words, and had the sense to distinguish betwixt an offering and a sacrifice. A further account is given of it in its place.

9. *Whether the Chinese previous three days fast, and abstaining from the marriage-bed for seven days, to dispose them for the aforesaid sacrifices, be a political preparatory cleansing, or rather religious, and may be lawfully allow'd the Christians?*

*Answer to the 9.* That the aforesaid preparation is unlawful.

I could never conceive these were political and civil acts, whereas the end to which they are directed is not such; whether it be a sacrifice in the strictest, or in the largest sense, but no honourable offering. For it is a receiv'd maxim, that actions take their denomination from the end they tend to, concerning which see S. Thom. 1. 2. q. 18. art. 2. and 4.

*10. Whether that treble crying out in the nature of sighing may be allow'd the Christians? The Chinese ritual directs, that as they go into the temples of the dead, some persons cry out three times after the nature of sighing, to awake the souls that dwell within with the noise.*

*Answer to the 10.* That it is not lawful.

This ceremony is not perform'd every time they go into those temples, but at such time as other ceremonies are to be perform'd there. It is to the purpose, whether the voice be in the nature of a sigh, hoarse, or after any other material manner. Read a *Lapide* in vi. Bar. §. 31.

11. *Whether the ceremonies and worship perform'd by the Chinese to the dead be real sacrifices? whereas nothing seems to be wanting to make them so: As also because they are call'd by the Chinese KUNG JANG as the worship of the idols is call'd.*

*Answer to the 11.* That they are unlawful.

I said above, it signified little to us whether they are sacrifices or not, the matter is to know whether those ceremonies are lawful. The reason of putting the question whether they are true sacrifices was taken from cardinal Lugo, who teaches that sacrifice is equally so call'd, whether true or idolatrous, and that the latter is also truly so on account of the reality of the sign. As Vasquez and others, taking it from S. Thomas, say that, *Adoration is equally so call'd, whether it be that of the true Deity, or idolatrous.* This point is handled at large in the second tome often mention'd.

*12. Whether the houses of the dead be temples, or halls? The aforesaid house: have three several names, SCU TANG, MIAO, and NI; all which, according to the Chinese*

*books, the common way of talking, the ceremonies perform'd in them, and the end for which they are erected, belong to temples, not to halls?*

*Answer to the 12.* No answer can be given, because the matter of fact is not plainly made out.

The proofs I brought were in themselves very sufficient: but the recalling of the decree granted to F. Martinez, depending on this point, it was thought necessary there should have been somebody who was well vers'd in the Chinese language to speak for him. F. Martin Martinez was the first of all the missionaries that ever were in China, who invented the name of halls for the aforesaid structures; and so it appears by all the dictionaries the fathers of the society had put out in China: the fathers Alvarez Semedo and Imorteta, which I writ after F. Martinez had made his proposition, unanimously call them temples. They plainly are made out to be so by the Chinese books, by their shape and form, being in all respects equal to the idol temples. The use and end they are built for is well known, which is no other than to perform ceremonies to and worship their dead, to petition and pray to them. In short, they are no dwelling places or habitation for living people, nor built to that purpose; have pictures, and altars with candlesticks, and other ornaments; and many of them have a bell: the Chinese look upon them as temples, what matter is it if others call them halls? H. O. B. This being a material point, and upon which much variance has been, it was requisite to insert in the second tome all that was said to it at Canton, or writ upon the subject.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to be present in the aforesaid places, together with the infidels, at the prayers, sacrifices and other ceremonies, not giving an inward consent, but only in outward presence, directing all those things in their mind to God, whereas the others direct to their dead?*

*Answer to the 13.* That it is not lawful.

F. Antony of S. Mary and I enquir'd concerning this point of some Christians, and particularly of one whose name was Paul, and another call'd CHANG Mark, a Bachelor; who told us, it was an establish'd custom in China to pray to their progenitors, deceased emperors, and Confucius the philosopher; and that they and other Christians were present at it, as well as the infidels; only with this difference, that when the prayers were read directed to the dead, they as Christians directed them in their intention to God. Other matters to this purpose are handled in the second tome.

NAVA. 14. Whether the tablets of the dead are  
RETTE. absolutely to be call'd superstitious?

Answer to the 14. That they are superstitious.

This is a very material point in that mission. At first they call'd them little boards, or tablets; they ought to call them tabernacles, as in effect they are. One of them was carried to Rome, the most eminent lords cardinals of the holy congregation saw it; the letters and mysteries contain'd in the form, figure, length, breadth and depth, were explicated to them, with other particulars necessary towards their making a judgment of them. They have been condemn'd three times. F. Antony de Gouvea us'd to tell me he did not like the letters that were in those tabernacles. Brother Antony Fernandez, temporal coadjutor to the society, a Chinese by birth, and other Christians, assur'd me it was very common in that kingdom to believe that the souls of the dead come to those boards, and reside in them. The same appears by the Chinese books, and the two meetings of the society above-mention'd. All shall be set down in the place above-written.

SALU. 15. Whether Christians, laying aside the errors concerning the steam of the meat feeding the souls of the dead, and of their residing in those boards, may lawfully pay the other ceremonious worship to the boards, and offer meat before them?

Answer to the 15. That it is not lawful.

These two points were discuss'd in the two meetings afore said; and they agree, that the Chinese imagine the souls feed upon the steam and smell of the meat they offer before the boards, or tablets.

SACRIFIC. 16. At sepulchers the Chinese offer sacrifice to the peculiar spirits of those places, to whom they also return thanks for the benefits they have bestow'd on the dead bodies, and pray that they will always assist them. Which being given for granted: Quære, Whether F. Martinez ought to have express'd this ceremony in his proposition? Item, Whether Christians omitting the afore said ceremony, may lawfully perform the rest? For their ritual commanding the observation of all these ceremonies, the Chinese seeing some of them perform'd by the Christians, will believe they observe all the rest.

Answer to the 16. That the faithful cannot join in those superstitions.

This point has been handled in the reflections upon F. Martinez's propositions. More shall be said in another place.

17. The Chinese ritual allows sons lawfully begotten to offer sacrifice to the dead, which it absolutely forbids the illegitimate. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to take upon them and perform this office and employment?

Answer to the 17. That it is not lawful.

Since even the sons of concubines, who, according to what has been said above, cannot be altogether call'd illegitimate, are excluded from those offerings as incapable and irregular, it is a visible consequence, that what is there offer'd is not an indifferent oblation to the living and dead, as some would make it, because no person is incapable or excluded from offering meat or other things to the living; therefore it is most certain there is something more peculiar and mysterious in this action, as there is in erecting temples to the dead, which all persons may not do: and it is most undoubted, that all persons whatsoever may build as many houses, habitations, and halls as they please, there being no determinate number for them, as there is for temples, which the emperor himself cannot exceed or increase, whereas he is under no confinement as to palaces and halls. These reasons were ever of great force with me as to what has been said; others shall be alledg'd in due time in confirmation of this subject.

18. Whether it be lawful for Christians to Ceremony give an account before the boards or tablets, <sup>near to the</sup> in the temples of their departed ancestors, of their marriages or contracts, to offer meat with the usual genuflexions, bedding wine upon the image of a man made of straw? Item, Whether it be lawful to perform the same ceremony, and burn perfumes when they undertake any business, enter upon employments, go abroad, and return home?

Answer to the 18. That it is not lawful.

I spoke of some ceremonies the Chinese use at their marriages in the second book of this volume. As for the rest that concern the Chinese nation, I was always of opinion the Holy Ghost spoke to it, Wisd. xiii. where he says, "Then maketh he prayer for his goods, for his wife and children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life. For health, he called upon that which is weak; for life, prayeth to that which is dead; for aid, humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help; and for a good journey, he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forwards: And for gaining and getting, and for good success of his hands, asketh ability to do of him that is most unable to do any thing."

19. When the structure of the temple of the dead is finish'd, the crevices that remain are to be fill'd up with the blood of beasts, according to the great Chinese ritual, which is, it says, to worship the habitation of spirits. Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully perform the afore said ceremony?

Answer

Answer to the 19. lawfully

It is a plain perform'd in dwelling-place

20. Whether lick obsequies who dy'd in the of Christians, be not applied for Whether it be dead, that God

Answer to the 20. ful.

A missioner he himself pub of us that we but only he ap son maintain'd urg'd about it in the second t see S. Thom. in Suarez de vitu tom. 4. in 3 83. d. 27. art 5. sect. 5. num

21. Whether ver-loofely, but punish'd with e ners defend the

Answer to the 21. such Gen everlasting spel.

Methinks th mouths. Wh shall be set do one dy'd in o he would be d have spoken of

22. Whether assign'd in the o afore said Gentis and Limbus?

Answer to the 22. pertinent,

which say besides th

Some mens the asking of there being no to the right w Three or four on next before the one side, th the hell of th no means to br limbus, much own'd they co had no way l ther place. I in the contro 4. d. 45. whe ces; and S. art. 6.



*Answer to the 19.* That it cannot be lawfully one or practis'd.  
It is a plain case, this ceremony is not perform'd in China in halls, or other dwelling-places.

*20. Whether it be lawful to celebrate publick obsequies with the mass for beatens, who dy'd in their infidelity, for the comfort of Christians, tho' the sacrifice of the mass be not applied for the infidels departed? Item, Whether it be lawful to say masses for the dead, that God may ease their pains?*

*Answer to the 20.* That it is not lawful.

A missionary practis'd the first part, as he himself publickly own'd to all the rest of us that were there assembled together, but only he approv'd of it: the same person maintain'd the second. What was urg'd about it on both sides, is set down in the second tome. As to the second part, see *S. Thom.* in 4. d. 45. q. 2. art. 2. and *Suarez de vit. Christi.* d. 43. sect. 3. & tom. 4. in 3 part. *M. S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6. and *Lugo de incarn. disp.* 5. sect. 5. num. 108.

*21. Whether Gentiles who do not live over-loosely, but in some measure modestly, be punish'd with eternal sufferings? some missionaries defend the negative.*

*Answer to the 21.* Those who teach that such Gentiles are not punish'd with everlasting pains, contradict the gospel.

Metinks this may suffice to stop their mouths. What was said on this subject shall be set down. Some say, that if any one dy'd in only original and venial sin, he would be damn'd, much more those we have spoken of. Read *Wisd.* xiii.

*22. Whether there be a distinct place to be assign'd in the other world for the souls of the aforesaid Gentiles, besides hell, purgatory, and Limbus? Some maintain it.*

*Answer to the 22.* The question is impertinent, and the assertion false, which says there is any other places besides those nam'd in holy writ.

Some mens extravagant opinions, force the asking of impertinent questions; but there being no other way to reduce them to the right way, this must be follow'd. Three or four who defended the proposition next before it, maintain'd this too. On the one side, they excluded those souls from the hell of the damn'd; they could find no means to bring them into purgatory, or limbus, much less into heaven, where they own'd they could not be; wherefore they had no way left but to find or assign another place. It shall be further explain'd in the controversies. See the divines in 4. d. 45. where they assign only four places; and *S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6.

*23. Whether it may without judging rashly be affirm'd of an infidel notoriously wicked, who hangs himself, that he is damn'd? Some deny it, on account that God at the last moment of life might enlighten his understanding, and give him such grace, that being converted, he might make an act of contrition.*

*Answer to the 23.* Missioners are not to argue about these possibilities, but are oblig'd to teach, that infidels who do not receive baptism, either actually, or in their wishes, are damn'd, much more if they kill themselves.

Much was said to this point, and the two foregoing cases were set down on account of this.

*24. Whether infidels who transgress the laws of nature, deserve eternal punishment? Some deny it, alledging they are excus'd from such grievous pains by their not knowing God, and the law-maker.*

*Answer to the 24.* That they are damn'd.

Here the argument began, whether the sins of the infidels, tho' against the laws of nature, are to be look'd upon only in a civil, and not in a theological sense, with other particulars, which I shall mention in due time; it is enough now to give a hint of them.

*25. It is express in the three catechisms printed in the Chinese language, by the missioners of the three religious orders, That the law-giver of the idolatrous sect FOE by name, was damn'd. In the time of the persecution, some of the counsellors of the court of rites examining certain missioners as to this saying; they answer'd, It was not to be understood so absolutely, but conditionally, viz. If he did not know God, and keep his commandments. Quære, Whether the answer was good and proper? For books do not speak conditionally, but absolutely. Besides, the faithful and others, by these conditional expressions, will judge we flinch for fear.*

*Answer to the 25.* If it is notorious that he was the law-giver of that sect, and equally notorious that he had not the knowledge of God, it is to be answer'd, That he was damn'd.

There are some who, upon pretence of charity, deny it can be absolutely affirm'd, that this or that man was damn'd, whether he dy'd a heretick or infidel; they presently alledge that God might assist them at the last moment of their life, and move their hearts to true sorrow and contrition. And consequently they maintain, it can only be affirm'd of Judas, and the rest the scripture makes appear were damn'd, because this truth is there reveal'd: But that it cannot be said of Arius, Calvin, Luther, and others. Yet we certainly know that one is set down in the Roman

NAVY- martyrology as a martyr, who was slain at  
 RETTE. Damascus by the *Mahometans*, for saying  
 that *Mahomet* was in hell, notwithstanding  
 he had the knowledge of God. How much  
 better may it be said of FOE, who liv'd  
 seven hundred years before the coming of  
 CHRIST, there being not the least sign

Foe.

that he had any knowledge of God;  
 and having been the founder of a sect,  
 which has sent twenty times more souls to  
 hell than that of *Mahomet* has done? I  
 spoke of this sectary and his sect in the se-  
 cond book.

#### Four Doubts concerning Fasts.

Fast. 1. **A**LL the ancient and modern mis-  
 sioners, except two or three, agree  
 in this particular, that the superstitious ob-  
 servers of the Chinese fasts are not to be ad-  
 mitted to baptism, unless they first actually  
 break those fasts. Whereupon the holy con-  
 gregation is entreated to enjoin this practice  
 by their positive command, that the ministers  
 of the gospel may all uniformly in a matter  
 of great consequence, if otherwise carried.

Answer to the 1. All the superstitious  
 of the Gentiles in relation to fasting,  
 which are laid before those that are  
 to be baptiz'd, must absolutely be  
 abrogated.

Much was said and writ to this point;  
 among others the fathers *Balat* and *Grelon*  
 writ two very learned treatises, which I  
 was mightily pleas'd with. The substance  
 of them I will insert in the second tome.

2. Whether those who keep these supersti-  
 tious fasts may continue them for fear of  
 the devil, and of the mischiefs he can do  
 them?

Answer to the 2. That they are not to  
 be kept or observ'd.

Those above-nam'd writ to this point,  
 and exhorted me to do the same. One was  
 positive in defending the contrary to the  
 resolution above. The principal matter  
 he had to say was, God's judgments are  
 secret and inscrutable; his Divine Majesty  
 may permit the devil to punish a Chinese  
 for having left the superstitious fasts, where-  
 with before he honoured this common ene-  
 my; why then may not this Chinese, after  
 receiving baptism, continue his fasts, to  
 free himself from the harms and mischiefs  
 the devil does him? Thus much, as deli-  
 vering ones self from the mischiefs and  
 harms the devil may do, is good *ex parte*  
*objecti*; and consequently it is so to conti-  
 nue the fasts. The reason I alledged against  
 it is this, making use of the same antec-  
 edent, then may he for the same cause and  
 motive continue the adoration of the idols  
 he ador'd before baptism. The parity holds  
 good all along, without the least shadow of

disparity in my opinion. It shall be all  
 made out.

3. His holiness is intreated, that as his  
 most holy predecessors dispens'd with the West-  
 Indies about fasting, so his holiness will be  
 pleas'd to grant the same liberty to the Chi-  
 nese Christians, not only from fasting, but  
 from abstinence from flesh. Many are of  
 opinion that it is not convenient, and there  
 are motives enough to persuade the doing of  
 it.

Answer to the 3. As for abstinence from  
 fasting, and other particulars of the  
 positive ecclesiastical law, an answer  
 was given in the year 1656.

I ask'd more than that, the resolution  
 there given seem'd somewhat dark to those  
 of the society, and therefore they took up  
 with the resolution in the year 1646. In  
 my time we made use of a decision of In-  
 nocent the tenth; some made a doubt of  
 it, and therefore I desir'd this point shou'd  
 be further explain'd.

4. His holiness may be pleas'd to dispense, Birth-day  
 that the Christian Chinese may not be ob-  
 lig'd to fast upon their birth-days (which all  
 of them keep with great solemnity) if they  
 should fall out on fasting-days.

Answer to the 4. as to the third.

I have already mention'd the most uni-  
 versal custom of China, for all men to ce-  
 lebrate their birthdays with the greatest  
 solemnity they possibly can. Every one  
 of these days to the Chinese is a mighty  
 festival; the kindred, friends, and acquaint-  
 ance meet, and together with the family,  
 celebrate the master of the house's nativity,  
 and the main diversion is feasting. I was  
 of opinion if their birth-days fell in Lent,  
 on eves or fridays, there was occasion e-  
 nough for dispensing, not only with the  
 fast, but even with the abstinence from  
 flesh, especially since there is such a dis-  
 pensation for the eve of their new year,  
 and the two days following, tho' they fall  
 upon *Ash-wednesday*, or a Friday in Lent,  
 as sometimes it happens.

1. Whether  
 1645. in the year 1645  
 given without  
 2. Whether  
 1656. congregation, u  
 judg'd that the c  
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 nesses, gave the  
 them to be bad?  
 The two fir  
 ly answer  
 1656.

I desir'd a fi  
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## Sixteen Doubts relating to the same mission.

1. *Whether the answers of the holy congregation to the questions propos'd in the year 1645, may be said to have been given without bearing the parties concern'd?*
2. *Whether it may be said, that the holy congregation, when in the year 1656, it judg'd that the ceremonies of Confucius then specify'd, might be allow'd the Christian Chinese, gave that judgment, supposing some of them to be bad?*

The two first questions were sufficiently answer'd in the years 1645, and 1656.

I desir'd a fuller answer, but it was not given me; they are govern'd at Rome by more elevated caules, and I do not question but they are just and righteous, tho' neither I nor some others comprehend them; but it becomes us always, and is our duty to respect and honour their commands with the greatest submission and obedience, and to execute them. There are some men who let fly, without ever considering what they are to say, contrary to the advice the Holy Ghost gives us in this particular. To maintain that the aforesaid decree, and answers annexed to it, were given without having heard the parties concern'd, is downright condemning his holiness, and the holy congregation, as corrupt judges and persons, who know not how to decree what is convenient. What judge is there, tho' he be but a country bailiff, but knows that judgment cannot be given against a party not heard? Those questions were propos'd, without mentioning any person whatsoever that held a contrary opinion, as a man would propose a doubt or a case of conscience, in which no body is concern'd but he that proposes or asks.

As for *Confucius's* ceremonies, some are of opinion they are good, politically; others, that they are bad. These last said, the holy congregation did not approve of them, because an approbation must be of a good thing; but that it tolerated them tho' bad, as the civil government tolerates lewd women. And to express thus much, the words of the decree are, *They may be tolerated*. The most eminent lord cardinal *Ottoboni*, when I discours'd his eminency upon this point, plainly told me this was never the intention of the holy congregation; and he being a member of it, and having been so when that decree pass'd, could not but understand the whole affair. And though it were so, how could we absolve the *Chinese* who perform'd those evil ceremonies unless they forsook them,

and if they had no purpose to amend? The government's toleration of lewd women, tho' it remits the penalty due according to the laws of the kingdom to their crimes, yet it takes not off the guilt, nor does it authorize confessors to absolve them whilst they continue in that bad state of life. The case is the same.

3. *What censure that proposition deserves, which asserts, that all popes have not the authority of declaring which are the forms of sacraments?*

*Answer to the 3.* They who maintain it are to be impeach'd by name, that they may be punish'd.

A missionary publicly spoke what is contain'd in the proposition; the reason he gave for it was set down before; I lik'd it very ill. The most eminent lord cardinal *Bona* condemn'd it, and the reason given for it very much.

4. *Whether it may be said, that the church does not yet define the mystery of the immaculate conception, only because it fears lest the fathers preachers should not submit?*

*Answer to the 4.* That such trifling matters do not concern the mission.

The answer is very good; it is odd they should in *China*, and in time of persecution, think to govern all the world. They threw this in my dish; and tho' it be meritorious to suppress and wink at personal defects, it is detestable to bear with those which are so great a blemish to the whole order, especially when it has so many positive acts in matter of obedience, even to bare orders of the see apostolick. It were easy to mention some in this place, and instance many more.

5. This concerns *Confucius*, and has been set down already.

6. *Supposing that the infidel Chinese ask assistance of their emperors departed, and of their forefathers who died in infidelity; whether it be lawful for Christians to perform such ceremonies with them, directing the intention of their petitions to God?*

*Answer to the 6.* It was answer'd before, that it is not lawful.

7. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to honour the images of their ancestors departed, who died in infidelity, with perfumes and lighted candles?*

*Answer to the 7.* That it is not lawful.

This worship is religious, not political, whatsoever others may say of it. Read cardinal *Lugo de incarn. disp. 37. sect. 2. num. 21.*

8. *Supposing it be the opinion of the Chinese infidels, that the spirits or airy souls of the*

NAVA-  
RETTE.

Dead.

NAVARETTE. the dead are refresh'd with the steam of eating, and that their posterity living fare the better for it: Whether nevertheless it be lawful for Christians to make such feasts for their dead?

Answer to the 8. It is not lawful.

Which is to be understood, tho' the Christians do not believe that error. These points are handled in the second book of the second tome.

9. Supposing it to be the opinion of the Chinese infidels, that many felicities accrue to posterity, by choosing a place for a tomb according to the ritual of the learned sect; Whether it be lawful for Christians to choose a burying-place according to the said ritual?

Answer to the 9. That it is not lawful upon that motive.

In its place I set down the ceremony the learned use upon this account, which tho' it be very different from those of other sectaries, yet they will always have it, that the good fortune of their posterity proceeds from the good situation of the tomb.

10. Whether it be lawful for Christians to fast in honour of their emperors departed, or other notable men, or of their ancestors?

Answer to the 10. That it is not lawful.

Fasting was never a political action.

11. Whether youths, who fast in honour of their mothers, that they may restore the blood lost at their birth, may be admitted to baptism, as long as they refuse to forbear that fast?

Answer to the 11. That they cannot be admitted to baptism, till they lay aside all superstitions.

12. Whether it be lawful for Christians either of their own accord, or when commanded, to build idol-temples, or rebuild those that are destroy'd? The same is ask'd concerning the little vaulted chapels or boxes of idols.

Answer to the 12. That it is not lawful.

F. Julius Aleti set down this decision some years ago in a book of confession he printed in the Chinese character, but all missionaries do not consent to it. And I find F. Morales holds the contrary in his treatise, lib. II. cap. vi. §. 3. num. 10. pag. mibi 290. his words are these: A Christian printer or carver, who has a picture or statue of an idol bespoke, does not sin in painting or carving, and delivering it to him he knows desires it to commit idolatry if he cannot without considerable prejudice to himself avoid doing of it. He quotes F. Hurtado, to corroborate his opinion. But his brethren in China would not agree to it by any means, when this point was argu'd, but condemn'd the opinion, one only excepted, who always lov'd to be singular. Morales adds, and says the same for those who upon the like occasion build

idol-temples, Jews synagogues, or Mahometan mosques. F. Gabriel Vasquez gave the same resolution, when ask'd by our F. general Claudius, on account of Japan, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1595; and the fathers Azor, Michael Vasquez, and Mucius de Angelis asserted it at Rome in the general congregation of the universal inquisition in Palat. App. on mount Quirinalis, before our most holy lord Clem. viii. on the second of June 1602. Had I known what has been here set down, when I was at Rome, there is no doubt but I had propos'd it as a reason of making the doubt. I had before read something concerning the matter, but not having those treatises at hand, rather than omit it, I propos'd the question absolutely; and it is strange, that some months passing before the answer was given me, and those ministers being so well vers'd in the resolutions that have been given at that court, they should make no mention of this, which is so much in favour of the missionaries, who desire these affairs may be delay'd as much as possible. I also observe that F. Morales, tho' he sets down what those grave fathers affirm'd before his holiness, yet he does not tell us, whether that opinion was approv'd of there or not, and that alters the case very much. In short, since I ask'd how we ought to proceed, and what we ought to do in China, we will act according to the answer given me, as long as we have no other orders, and others may do as they think best. The sentence of S. Thomas and his scholars 2. 2. quest. 169. is well known.

13. Whether it be lawful for Christians to contribute to the building or repairing of idol-temples?

Answer to the 13. That it is not lawful.

It cannot be deny'd but that he who contributes to the building of an idol-temple, is accessory at a greater distance to the sin of idolatry, than he that makes the idol, or builds the temple, and consequently if it is not lawful to contribute à fortiori it must be own'd to be unlawful to make idols and build temples. By which it appears how far they are at Rome from justifying the making of idols, and building their temples. F. Morales writes much to the contrary, but the resolution mention'd suffices to secure us from erring.

14. Whether missionaries or other Christians are oblig'd to give alms, unless in case of extreme necessity, to idol-priests, who will not work?

Answer to the 14. If it be given for mercy sake, it is lawful.

I own I was the rigidest in this point, when we disputed it: First because alms is not to be given to those who want thro' laziness, and because they will not work.

1602.

It is the doctrine quoted and followed by Eleemosina dist. alms are to be given to the faithful, yet it is cherish'd in the to give it to them the further. Thirdly, tho' it must not be to support those us, and would us. Fourthly, extreme necessity the enemies of the under q. 6, 7, given to those of CHRIST'S cause these but soldiers have their wear war upon the and can never them? We are is resolv'd.

15. Whether remains whole, its blessing or only put to a profane to drink out of it? Answer to the cursed.

That the real particular, I w of fact. The chalices they have as king Belshazzar. Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. v. 3, that the Dutch crilege that king has not pleas'd did him.

Their custom abuse is, that they celebrate the at towns, they play boards, and m healths about. two priests and stian, whom I ted. They dr to the elder o regarding o drank out of remember, u ble, abhorring panion do. I disorder and se sive, whether wards they rep the action to Th that those clia tion, as being p

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It is the doctrine of *Soto*, and many more quoted and follow'd by *Leander tr. 5. de Elemosina disp. 5. q. 4.* Secondly, tho' alms are to be given to wicked men and infidels, yet it must not be when they are cherish'd in their sins by the benefit; and to give it to *bonzo's* seems to encourage them the further in their hellish state. Thirdly, tho' we are to give alms to enemies, as *CHRIST* commands *Matt. v.* yet it must not be in case *That were the means to support those enemies in their malice against us, and would make them more able to oppress us.* Fourthly, because even in case of extreme necessity alms are not to be given to the enemies of the commonweal. Read *Leander q. 6, 7, & 8.* why then should it be given to *bonzo's* who are mortal enemies of *CHRIST's* commonwealth? What are these but soldiers of hell, who continually have their weapons in their hands to make war upon the church and its members, and can never make peace or truce with them? We are bound to stand by what is resolv'd.

15. Whether a chalice that is blest'd and remains whole, is to be thought to have lost its blessing or consecration, because it was only put to a profane use by hereticks, for instance to drink out of it at table?

Answer to the 15. That it remains accursed.

That the reader may be satisfy'd in this particular, I will here set down the matter of fact. The *Dutch* in *India* do by the chalices they have robb'd the churches of, as king *Belshazzar* did by the holy vessels *Nebuchadnezzar* had carry'd from *Jerusalem*, *Dan. v. 3, 4.* only with this difference, that the *Dutch* every year commit the sacrilege that king did but once, because it has not pleas'd *God* to punish them, as he did him.

Their custom, or rather sacrilegious abuse is, that at great feasts, or when they celebrate the anniversary of taking such towns, they place the chalices on the sideboards, and make use of them to drink healths about. It happen'd at *Jacatra* that two priests and a lay-man, a good Christian, whom I know very well, were invited. They drank in one of the chalices to the elder of the priests, who without regarding or making the least scruple drank out of it. The other priest, as I remember, told me he rose from table, abhorring what he had seen his companion do. The lay-man was in a great disorder and scandaliz'd; I cannot be positive, whether he rose too. When afterwards they represented the heinousness of the action to that priest, he us'd to answer, That those chalices had lost their consecration, as being profan'd by hereticks. Not-

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withstanding this answer, which did not please all men, the action was ill look'd upon, and much talk'd of. Discouraging on this subject at *Madagascar*, with the lord bishop of *Hiopolis*, he told me; To shew what great difference there is betwixt the actions of men, your reverence must understand that the same year the *Dutch* took *Cochin*, they carry'd some chalices and other holy things to *Suratte*, where they made a plentiful feast. Among the guests was an *Englishman* of great note, they gave him a chalice to drink out of, and he refus'd it, saying before all the company, Tho' I am not of the *Roman* religion, yet this and other vessels there were dedicated to the service of our *God*, and this is enough to make me have a respect for them, and not to presume to drink out of them; Gentlemen, you must excuse me, for I cannot comply with you in this particular. I was astonish'd when I heard it. Granting that chalice was profan'd by hereticks, and had lost its consecration, yet he who drank out of it did ill, because of the scandal that follow'd, and because the hereticks might reflect on it. And since he went upon that ground, he ought to have declar'd it, and made it out before he drank to prevent what follow'd, and has been related; as also because of the famous maxim in the canon law, *Semel. 51. de Reg. Jur. in 6. ibid.* What is once dedicated to *God* must not be any more turn'd to human uses. He acted contrary to this rule.

In relation to the answer given observe that the word *execrare* (translated by me in the answer *accursed*) according to *Silv. verb. calic. §. 2. Serr. 3. p. q. 83. pag. mibi 625.* and others, signify to lose the consecration, and that it requires to be consecrated anew, so that the aforesaid chalice loses the first consecration it receiv'd; as when the cup breaks off from the foot, according to the common opinion of authors. Whence it follows that priest was in the right, in saying that chalice was not then consecrated.

What authors usually say, is of no small force against this, viz. that a thing once consecrated loses not its consecration as long as it remains whole and the same. So says, *S. Thomas 2. 2. Quæst. 88. art. 11. in corp. & 3. part. Quæst. 83. art. 3. ad 3.* See the same *S. Thom. 2. 2. Quæst. 88. art. 19. in confirm. ult. arg. Serra* quoted above, and *Leand. tract. 5. par. 5. disp. 2. Quæst. 42.* where he has these words, consecration is indelible, whilst the thing it self and suppositum remains. He quotes *S. Antonine, Silvester Paludanus*, and others.

But the case here spoken of being so singular, there must be something more in it. That it requires some blessing or ceremony,

5 D

mony,



NAVAMONY, as a church that is polluted, seems to be plain. Read *Leander*, part 2. tract.

8. *disq.* 3. *Quest.* 4. & *Quest.* 31.

16. *Whether it does not seem convenient that the holy congregation command all missionaries in China to abstain from building sumptuous churches, from wearing costly apparel, and making great presents without necessity; in regard these things are insupportable to some missionaries, and gave occasion for the persecution?*

To the 16th. nothing is to be answer'd.

I and many more thought it requisite to assign some limitation in the matters propos'd. Something shall be said upon the subject in its place. Several opinions have been in China concerning the silk garments, many missionaries wear. The ancient ones blame the younger; these justify

them, and defend they are very convenient in that mission. The fathers *Gouvea*, *Acosta*, *Lubelli*, and *Torrente* abhor them, and *F. Balas* much detests the presents that have been given without any benefit to the church. *F. Augeri* and others look upon it as most certain, that the clothing and buildings contributed much towards the persecution that was rais'd. The same happened in *Japan*. But what *F. Antony* of *S. Mary* most lamented, and I am concern'd at, is, that if the presents go on, neither the two religious orders, nor any others that shall go thither will be able to support that custom and practice, whereupon they will be oblig'd to withdraw, unless it should please God to order some other means. His holy will be done.

### Twenty other special Difficulties.

1. *Whether among the mysteries propos'd to catechumens to believe, it is lawful or convenient to add, that the blessed Virgin was conceiv'd without original sin?*

2. *Whether it be lawful in new missions to write concerning the said mystery in such manner, that converts may believe the affirmative is absolutely defin'd as catholick faith?*

Answer to these two doubts. That the constitutions of *Sixtus* the fourth, *Paul* the fifth, *Gregory* the fifteenth, and *Alexander* the seventh, are to be read and observ'd.

I would not have meddled with these points, had not others taken notice of them in China, it is a duty to obey apostolical constitutions. The first case is printed in the Chinese language.

3. *Whether it be convenient to give out among converts that the blessed Virgin plainly beheld the divine essence from the first moment of her conception, and so continued thro' the whole course of her life, as is unanimously believ'd of CHRIST our LORD?*

Answer to the 3. The missionaries are to forbear such useless arguments.

This is a very good answer. I knew him who first set that saying afoot, and how it took root among some persons; the occasion was very inconsiderable for a matter of such moment, nor was the wisdom or authority of the author sufficient to give it any reputation. No body lik'd it in China, and it being no way necessary for the salvation of the Chinese, it is a useless argument for them. Nay did those Christians, or others put the question, we ought to answer, not to what they propos'd, but to the purpose that most concern'd them to know, after the example of

CHRIST. One ask'd him, *Luc. xv.* LORD are there but few sav'd? He answer'd, Do you strive to get in at the narrow gate. LORD, that is not the question, answer directly to what is ask'd. *S. Cyril* in *Catena Aurea*; But it must be said, that it was the custom of our SAVIOUR, not to answer those that ask'd according to their mind, when they ask'd useless questions, but with regard to what was beneficial to the hearers. But what benefit were it to the hearers to know whether many or few are sav'd? But it was more necessary to know the means thro' which a man may attain salvation. This same I say as to the proposition.

4. *Whether invincible ignorance may be allow'd in the converts touching self-murder? Some maintain the affirmative, but we are persuaded it cannot be so in it self and regularly, because before baptism they are sufficiently instructed in the commandments.*

Answer to the 4. That they are bound to teach them the truth, that they may lay aside errors.

In the year 1665 it happen'd at the court of PE KING, that a Christian, as soon as he had confess'd and communicated, went home and hang'd himself, and was bury'd like other Christians. Upon this the doubt here propos'd was started, and several opinions were given: mine always was, that such ignorance could not be allow'd of; first because this sin is specify'd in the catechism printed there, and in the next place, because if in China there cannot be invincible ignorance allow'd in case of killing another, much less can it be for killing ones self. Nor is that nation, or others in those parts, so void of sense, as to follow the errors other barbarous people do, as to the law of nature.

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on the subject

Our Capicque master of the sacred palace does not allow this ignorance in any man, as I shall shew in another place. See S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 64. art. 5. and his disciples.

5. *Whether it be lawful for converts to hear mass cover'd, and to receive the communion in the same manner? The greater and ancients, number of missionaries answer in the affirmative, according to the ancient and general practice among them all, except here and there one, which is grounded on the dispensation granted to missionaries by Paul the fifth to say mass cover'd because in that country it is a sign of respect.*

*Answer to the 5.* That the decrees of popes are to be observ'd, where there are any, as is alleg'd in the case propos'd.

This question was started by some few, after it had been many years practis'd without opposition. I writ a treatise somewhat copious upon the subject, which pleas'd all that were of my opinion; something shall be brought out of it in the second tome. One of the reasons I urg'd was, that since we priests say mass in China cover'd, and Paul the fifth dispens'd with it in regard to the way of paying respect and civility in that kingdom, which is opposite to ours in this particular, for the same reason, and a fortiori, the same ought to be understood of the natives. For to do the contrary look'd preposterous, that the Europeans should worship God with the Chinese ceremony, which in the church is irreverence; and that the Chinese should worship him with the European ceremony, which to them and their kingdom is a great disrespect.

6. *Whether missionaries being ask'd by a tyrant whether they will stay in his kingdom, upon promise made that they will not diffuse the gospel, may lawfully consent, promise, and accept of such a condition? The missionaries no way agreed about deciding this case, when it press'd upon them.*

*Answer to the 6.* That they cannot make such a promise.

Tho' this took not effect, yet we were all persuad'd it would, so that we argu'd long about it, without agreeing in any point. On the one hand the Christians lamented, for if we answer'd in the negative, they were for ever depriv'd of priests, and their tears were very moving. Therefore a considerable number of us missionaries were of opinion it was lawful to make such a promise, and that it was no evil or scandalous condition which was requir'd of us. Every man writ down his sentiments, but when we thought the trial was at hand, all were left at liberty to make their minds known. Something of what was writ upon the subject shall be inserted in its place.

See S. Thom. 2. 2. quest 88. d. 29. art. 7. NAVA-

7. *Whether it be lawful for missionaries, or other Christians without necessity to go to the idol temples, and to say the office there kneeling, even where they may be seen by the faithful and infidels? Some maintain it.*

*Answer to the 7.* That it is not lawful.

F. Morales writes something to this purpose, and F. Gouvea told me it might very well be done. Others dislike it, and I thought it fit to put the question, that one false antecedent may not produce other consequences. I writ upon the subject, as shall appear in another place.

8. *Whether any could attain to life everlasting, without the knowledge of God the supernatural being, and without the knowledge of the immortality of our soul, and of reward and punishment after this life? Some maintain the affirmative, speaking both of the Jews and Gentiles.*

*Answer to the 8.* That the affirmative can neither be defended, nor taught.

The fathers Fabra and Coplet were guilty of this weakness, there was noise enough about it. The fathers Balat, Grelon, and I positively maintain'd the contrary, and brought reasons enough for it, which shall be inserted in the second tome. See S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 1. disp. 4. art. 1. Ferre, Serra, Leander, and others.

9. *Whether the Friars Minors, and Dominicans may and ought to follow some opinions, which they think improbable because others affirm they may be put in practice, and that they have sufficient reasons for them? For it seems too hard to follow the footsteps of others blindfold.*

*Answer to the 9.* That no man can act contrary to his conscience in a known improbability.

In the second tome I write what has been done in this case. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that if all those in China agree in one point, we of my order may lay aside any scruple and follow them, practising the same; but it is sufficient ground not to be thought to act rashly, but prudently, when many go on in the same method unanimously, after having consider'd, weigh'd, and conferr'd about the matter. True it is I am of opinion, it is more than probable, we shall not come to this pass.

10. *Whether all those, who are directly concern'd in the banishment of doctor Brindeau, an apostolick missionary from the city Macao, incur'd the censure laid upon those that hinder missionaries, by his holiness Urban the eighth in his bull pass'd in the year 1633? The affirmative seems to be true.*

*Answer to the 10.* No answer can be given, the party is not heard.

The matter of fact and all circumstances

NAVASTANCES are set done, as may be seen in its RETTE place.

11. *Whether they who within the mission drive missionaries from one province to another, incur the aforesaid censure? For such persons truly binder missionaries in their business and duty.*

*Answer to the 11.* That the words of the decree are to be maturely consider'd, in order to give an answer upon any fact.

Some particular canon laws, alledg'd by authors in the like cases, suit with this point.

12. *Whether he who directly or indirectly endeavours to turn missionaries out of their missions, tho' it does not take effect, incurs the aforesaid censure? For tho' it does not take effect, they are in appearance, and actually obstructors, especially because by troubling and molesting them, they are the immediate cause that they cannot conveniently perform the duty they have in hand.*

*Answer to the 12.* As to the last.

In like cases like judgment, *cap. 2. de transf. Epis.* It is well known that in these cases regard must be had to the intention of the law-maker, and to the motive he had for making such a law. From these principles we must descend to particular cases, and consider whether they are comprehended under it, or not.

13. *Whether it be lawful for regulars mendicants, especially missionaries, and others who by the pope's particular order exercise the function of curates in India, to take upon them to be godfathers in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation? Some authors defend the affirmative, and whereas spiritual advantages may accrue from their undertaking it, it is most humbly pray'd that his holiness will dispense in this case.*

*Answer to the 13.* That it is not lawful.

The affirmative is frequently enough to be found among modern divines, you may see *Leander tract 2. de Baptism. disp. 7. q. 16.* tho' our *Serra* does not follow it 3. p. q. 67. art. 6. only in case there be no lay person to be had, and with his superiors leave. *Quintaduennas* has writ upon the subject. There was within these few years a great contest on this account in the kingdom of *Siam*, and a French bishop who resided there highly condemn'd this opinion, wherein I was always of opinion he exceeded. He might very well refuse to admit of the religious man as godfather, without condemning *Quintaduennas* for allowing and teaching that opinion. It is no new thing to say, that when any thing is forbid the monks, their circumstances being different from those of the others.

Much less ought it to be understood of missionaries, and other regulars who perform the function of curates. The resolution given has settled the business for the future.

14. *Whether any missionaries of the kingdom Marquis of Cochinchina had the power to dispense with a convert to marry two sisters successively? (observe that they were his own sisters.)*

*Answer to the 14.* No answer can be given without hearing the missionaries, who affirm they have this authority, but without it they cannot.

The greatest difficulty is, whether this matter be capable of a dispensation or no. The case was argued at *Madrid* in the reign of *K. Philip the second*, our master *Orellana* and others maintain'd the negative. The lord *Araujo* in *stat. Eccles.* follows this opinion, and sufficiently makes it out, against *Basilius* who quotes *Leander* for the contrary opinion, and others. The resolution here mention'd makes out the contrary. More shall be said in another place. Allowing it to be capable of a dispensation, it might be a sufficient motive to grant it, if the king of *Siam* and the queen his sister were converted to our holy faith; but certainly it is too much to make use of it for a Japanese shopkeeper, and two sisters successively. I mention'd in another place that *Corn. a Lap.* follows *Orellana's* opinion.

15. *Whether it be lawful for missionaries to carry warlike ammunition into countries of infidels, upon pretence of opening, or keeping open the way to plant or diffuse the word of God? For such infidels, tho' during some time they show the Christians some tokens of friendship, yet they soon turn tail, as present experience has taught.*

*Answer to the 15.* That it is not lawful.

16. *Whether Christian merchants may lawfully do the same upon pretence of securing their trade? The bull de coena Domini against those that do so was publicly read in the city Macao some years since.*

*Answer to the 16.* That it is not lawful.

Something is writ concerning both cases in the second tome.

17. *Whether any missionaries had any particular privilege not to make the Chinese converts acquainted with the duty of observing the positive ecclesiastical precepts?*

*Answer to the 17.* This was answer'd in the years 1645, and 1656.

*F. Morales* writ upon this subject, he quotes the fathers *Hurtado* and *Emanuel Diaz*, who affirm'd it, tho' they own, they cannot tell what pope it was that granted it.

18. *Whether it be lawful for churchmen, or seculars, to cast great guns in countries of infidels, and to teach them those arts, and to*

be engineers for works?

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19. *Whether low penitents that all may g not do, if they the time of the all out? Some affirmative. 2 confessors upon tents may have sessions are do*

*Answer to* done up Ever since opinion at M more the pra in some part confessors; a have heard o mind.

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be engineers for raising of forts, and other works?

*Answer to the 18.* Church-men may not concern themselves in such affairs.

I expected the answer in relation to seculars, who follow this business in those parts; and methinks it may be made out of that which was given to the sixteenth doubt.

19. *Whether a Confessor may lawfully allow penitents half confessions, upon pretence that all may gain the jubilee, which they could not do, if they were to confess entirely, because the time of the jubilee is not sufficient to bear all out? Somebody there is that maintain the affirmative. Yet when there are several other confessors upon the spot, to whom the penitents may have recourse, it seems, that confessions are dock'd unreasonably.*

*Answer to the 19.* That it cannot be done upon any account.

Ever since in the year 1659 I read this opinion at Macasar I mistak'd it, and much more the practice of it which has follow'd in some parts, where there was plenty of confessors; and I am satisfy'd that all who have heard of this opinion, are of my mind.

20. *An oath among the Chinese is taken, as follows, according to their ritual. First, they dig a square pit in the ground, over which they slaughter a beast, and cut off its left ear, which they lay in a dish with jewels; in another they have the blood adorn'd in the same manner: they write the oath upon a paper with that blood, and anoint their lips: having read the paper, the beast is thrown into the pit, and the paper being laid on its back is cover'd with the earth. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to observe this form of swearing, or be present when this ceremony is perform'd?*

*Answer to the 20.* That it is not lawful.

We whose names are underwritten, to whom the solution of these doubts was committed by the sacred congregation of the holy inquisition, thought fit to return the answers above mention'd. April the 22<sup>d</sup>, 1674.

I F. Lawrence de Laurea of the order of friars minors, confulator and qualicator of the holy inquisition, sign'd with my own hand.

I Cajetan Miroballas of the regular clergy, qualicator of the holy inquisition, sign'd with my own hand.

I had some more doubts to propose, but forbore, because I would not be too troublesome to those most reverend fathers, and because I was myself indisposed: I set them down in the second tome, where I have set down what doctors have said upon them.

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We have light to follow, and a plain way to tread with safety, which I do not doubt is the same to others.

21. On account of what was said in the eighth doubt concerning the sacraments, I have one thing to observe, not unlike what happen'd about the same time in Europe. The same influence of the stars it is likely prevail'd in both places. There are certain books in China call'd KIA IU, that is, *family discourses*, or *household doctrine*. There are six volumes, I read them all; Confucius the philosopher was the author of them, and his name is in the title page. The learned sect, and their school, agree they are his; the said books are quoted in the works of that sect, and particularly in the great philosophy. Notwithstanding all this, and that Confucius has been above these two thousand years quietly possess'd of the title of author of these books, in my time a few missionaries took in hand positively to maintain they were no work of his. Is it possible there should be a stranger undertaking in the world? That Europeans should go into China to argue that Confucius is not the author of those books, unjustly outing him of a possession he has enjoy'd so many years, without any better authority than that they find in them some doctrine opposite to what has been practis'd of late years? Hereticks deny the books of *Macchabees* are canonical, because they oppose their tenets, without any other reason. Others for the same reason deny S. Thomas the honour of great part of his works, and so in time they may deny what S. Augustin and others writ. *Truth is at this time so odious, that it finds not bearers, but persecutors*, said Hugo in Joan. viii. §. 40.

I must also observe, that some call that of the learned in China a political sect; and I doubt not but it is so, as that of the Pharisees was. Cajetan ad Philip. iii. says thus, *For it was the principal political sect among the Jews; I say political, to distinguish it from that of the Essenes, because that was not political, as being without matrimony like monks*. Even so is the learned sect of China political. But this does not take away its being religious, as the fathers Matthew Riccius, Longobardo, Gourvea, and others plainly declare.

22. Lastly, I observe that Oleaster in Gen. vii. argues, whether there are any creatures *unclean by the law or dictates of nature*? He defines and proves there are none, and says, *But it is very strange*, we see some birds and beasts which no body will eat to this day, as the ass, horse, camel, lion, and others. And among birds we see no body eats the kite, nor other birds of prey, nor the jackdaw, nor the pie, nor others. *Against eating of which almost*

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NAVARRETTE. *most all of us have a certain abhorrence, as it were natural.* To resolve this point, I say it is requisite to know several nations. In Spain we abhor asses, dogs, horse-flesh, &c. consequently they do so in other countries; that is no good inference. I have said before, that throughout all China asses-flesh is valu'd more than any other, tho' there are capons, partridges, and excellent pheasants; dogs-flesh is the next in esteem, horse-flesh is extraordinary good, and I always lik'd wild mice. In the Philippine islands bats are good meat, jackdaws are eaten in other parts: in short, God created them all for man, and they are all good; so says *Gen. chap. ix.* and *S. Paul* confirms it, *Rom. xiv.* See *S. Thomas, lect. 3.* The uncleanness of the law, mention'd *Levit. xi.* is of another nature. Read also *S. Paul ad Tim. i.* and *S. Thomas, lect. 1.* *All creatures are good, and none to be rejected, &c.*

*Oleaster* treats of this subject again on *chap. ix. §. 3.* where he has these words; *I can by no means grant that Noah was allow'd to eat all living creatures, or all that move, viz. that it should be lawful to him to eat snakes, moles, mice, and the like.* I said before it was requisite to see much of the world to solve such doubts. On the seventh chapter above-quoted, he places the camel among the unclean beasts, and

we see it is not so to the Tartars who have enter'd China. In this ninth chapter he names the mice, and I know they are eaten in China, and not only the wild ones bred in fields, but those that breed in houses, though I would never eat of these last. He also excludes snakes; the *iguana*, which in *new Spain* and the *Philippine* islands is a dainty dish, is certainly a species of a serpent or snake. The crocodile is also a very deform'd and frightful serpent, yet the *Indians* eat it. Snakes are eaten in *China*; and so the toad I said in another place is call'd XE IU, which is uglier to look at than our toads, is an excellent bit in that country, and fit for a prince, I ate it several times. As for shell-fish, I have seen and eaten many very loathsome to look at. Since so many things which *Europeans* abhor are eaten in those parts, what may we not believe is eaten in *Africa* among the Blacks, and in other countries through the world? The same I say in regard of several sorts of grain which they eat there, with such herbs as no man in these parts would eat. Besides, how many are there among us, who could not endure to eat snails or frogs, and yet in other parts they are valu'd? In *China* a pond of frogs is worth double the price of any other fish whatsoever.

*To the Bishops and Vicars apostolical in the eastern parts, the confirmation and amplification of the Constitution of Urban VIII. concerning the liberty of going into those parts any other way than by Portugal.*

Clement X. Pope.

" *AD futuram rei memoriam.* The duty of the pastoral function heaven has bestow'd upon us, requires that we endeavour to alter those things which were providently ordain'd by the popes our predecessors, according to the exigencies of times, as we shall judge in our LORD convenient for the propagation of the faith, and salvation of souls; if we discover that the circumstances of things being chang'd, they are an obstruction to the end they were piously design'd. It is long since pope *Clement* the eighth, of blessed memory, our predecessor, by certain letters of his granted, among other things, to all and every the masters and generals of the *Mendicant* orders, then being and to come, that as necessity requir'd they might send over any religious men of their order, who were persons of known piety and learning, and whom they should judge fit in our LORD for the office and employment of preaching the gospel, teaching the Christian doctrine, administering

" the sacraments, and performing other ecclesiastical functions, through *Portugal* only, and thence by sea into *India*, and the city *Goa*, and to the superiors of orders residing in those parts; and that as well those who should be sent over as other religious men of the aforesaid orders residing in *India*, and chosen and approved for this employment by their masters, ministers, generals, or other superiors, might repair as well to *Japan*, as to the other neighbouring and adjacent islands, countries, and provinces of *China*, the next kingdoms, the continent and *India*. And of later times pope *Paul* the fifth, our predecessor, also understanding it was found by experience, that the prohibition against going over to *India* and the city *Goa*, by any other way than thro' *Portugal*, had neither produc'd the fruit that was hop'd for, nor been any way advantageous to the propagation of the catholic faith; he therefore desiring to provide that so great a work of God,

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" all obstacles being remov'd, might be  
 " freely perform'd; did also grant by let-  
 " ters of his to all and every the masters,  
 " ministers, priors-generals, and all other  
 " heads of *Mendicant* orders, by what  
 " name soever distinguish'd, for the time  
 " being and to come, that as necessity re-  
 " quir'd they might send over to *Japan*,  
 " and the adjacent and neighbouring is-  
 " lands, provinces and regions aforesaid,  
 " and to the superiors residing in those  
 " parts, any religious men of their or-  
 " der, of known piety and learning, whom  
 " they should judge in our Lord fit and  
 " proper for the aforesaid duties and func-  
 " tions, by any other way besides *Portu-  
 gal*; still the form of the said predecessor  
 " *Clement*, in other particulars being ob-  
 " serv'd in all and to all points, and not  
 " otherwise. In like manner our prede-  
 " cessor pope *Urban* the eighth of blessed  
 " memory, considering it appear'd by  
 " many years experience, that the direc-  
 " tions given in those letters were not  
 " sufficient, and that they wanted some  
 " amendment, that the holy gospel of  
 " CHRIST might be more successfully and  
 " easily preach'd and propagated in the a-  
 " foresaid islands and regions; after ma-  
 " ture deliberation had with the cardinals  
 " of the holy *Roman* church, who have the  
 " charge of propagating the faith through-  
 " out the world, adhering to the letters  
 " of the aforesaid *Paul* his predecessor, he  
 " gave and granted apostolical authority  
 " to all the masters, ministers, priors-generals,  
 " or other heads of *Mendicant* orders,  
 " by what name soever distinguish'd,  
 " and even of the society of *Jesus* then  
 " being; and to come, that when they should  
 " think convenient they might freely and  
 " lawfully send by other ways besides *Por-  
 tugal*, any religious men of their orders,  
 " or institute whom they should judge fit  
 " for missions by their age, life, manners,  
 " and learning, to the aforesaid islands,  
 " provinces, regions, and kingdoms of  
 " *East-India*; observing the form of the  
 " said letters of his predecessor *Clement* as  
 " to other points, in all and to all parti-  
 " culars. And he also, *ipso facto*, ex-  
 " communicated all persons whatsoever,  
 " who should obstruct clergy and religious  
 " men, of what order or institute soever,  
 " as well *Mendicants*, as the society of *Je-  
 sus*, and the lay-brothers of the religi-  
 " ous, to be sent as aforesaid, from com-  
 " ing freely to the abovemention'd islands,  
 " provinces, regions and kingdoms. And  
 " he ordain'd many other things, as is ex-  
 " press'd more at large in the said *Urban*  
 " our predecessor's letters upon this mat-  
 " ter, and in this like form of brief *Fe-  
 bruary* 23, 1633. The tenor whereof,

1633.

" as also the tenor of the aforesaid letters *NAVA-  
 of our predecessors Clement and Paul, RETTE.*  
 " we will have to be taken as if fully and  
 " sufficiently express'd and inserted in these  
 " our letters. But whereas our venerable  
 " brothers the bishops and vicars apostol-  
 " lick, deputed by apostolick authority,  
 " and residing in the eastern parts, have  
 " caus'd it to be made known to us, that  
 " to take their way through *Portugal* to the  
 " *East-Indies* and *China* is no less difficult  
 " to them, and to their secular clergy sent,  
 " and to be sent into those parts, than to  
 " the religious persons aforesaid, and ut-  
 " terly useless to the propagation of the  
 " gospel, and that there are other ways  
 " much easier and shorter; and have there-  
 " fore caus'd us to be humbly intreated,  
 " that we would be pleas'd in our apostol-  
 " lick goodness, to provide for them op-  
 " portunely in the aforesaid particulars,  
 " and dispense as follows. We therefore  
 " being willing to grant a special favour  
 " to the bishops and vicars apostolick,  
 " and by these presents absolving every  
 " their persons from any ecclesiastical sen-  
 " tence, censure, or pains of excommu-  
 " nication, suspension and interdict de-  
 " nounced *ipso facto*, or by any man upon  
 " any occasion or cause, if they have in-  
 " curr'd any such, and deem'd them ab-  
 " solv'd; and being favourably inclin'd  
 " to grant such requests, by the special  
 " advice of the congregation of our vene-  
 " rable brethren the cardinals of the holy  
 " *Roman* church appointed over the affairs  
 " of propagating the faith, do by these  
 " presents, and apostolick authority, con-  
 " firm, approve, and renew the aforesaid  
 " letters of our predecessor *Urban*: and  
 " we do extend and enlarge the same let-  
 " ters to the said bishops and vicars apo-  
 " stolick, and also to secular priests and  
 " laymen, as well those already sent, as  
 " to be sent hereafter into *China*, *Cochin-  
 china*, *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other places,  
 " islands, provinces, regions and kingdoms  
 " of *India*, and other eastern parts; so  
 " that they, and any of them, may freely  
 " and lawfully go thither any other way  
 " whatsoever they shall think fit, besides  
 " the way of *Portugal*, and shall no way  
 " be oblig'd to pass through *Portugal*, or  
 " to take shipping there; in other things  
 " still observing the form, authority and  
 " tenor of the aforesaid predecessors of  
 " *Clement*. And we do actually, without  
 " further denouncing, accordingly excom-  
 " municate any ecclesiastick and religious  
 " men, of any order or institute, as well  
 " not *Mendicants*, as *Mendicants*, even of  
 " the society of *Jesus*, and seculars, who  
 " any way whatsoever obstruct the going  
 " of bishops and vicars apostolick, as  
 " also

NAVA- " also of secular priests and laymen, as  
 RETTE. " well those already sent, as those to be  
 " sent hereafter into *China, Cochinchina,*  
 " *Tunkin, Siam,* and other places, islands,  
 " provinces, regions, and kingdoms of  
 " *India,* and other eastern parts. Decree-  
 " ing the said letters shall remain and con-  
 " tinue in full force and vigour, and have  
 " their full and entire effect; and that  
 " those whom it does, or may at any time  
 " concern, do in all respects give full sub-  
 " mission to them, and do respectively  
 " observe them punctually and inviolably,  
 " and that so it ought to be defin'd and  
 " adjudg'd by any ordinary judges and de-  
 " legates whatsoever, even the judges of  
 " causes in the apostolick palace, and  
 " any others, whatsoever preheminance  
 " or authority they do or may exercise,  
 " any power or authority of judging or in-  
 " terpreting otherwise being taken from  
 " them, and every of them; and that it  
 " shall be void and of no effect, if any per-  
 " son shall attempt any thing to the con-  
 " trary of what is here mention'd, upon  
 " any authority, knowingly or ignorantly.  
 " Therefore we command all and every  
 " the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and  
 " other prelates of churches and places,

" even of regulars, throughout all the  
 " world, that they cause these letters to  
 " be inviolably observ'd by all persons in  
 " their respective provinces, cities, dio-  
 " ceses, chapters and jurisdictions; and  
 " cause them to be solemnly publish'd, as  
 " often as they shall be requir'd so to do  
 " by the aforesaid bishops and vicars apo-  
 " stolick; as also by secular priests and  
 " laymen, as well those already sent, as  
 " that shall be sent as before, or any of  
 " them: notwithstanding the apostolick  
 " constitutions and ordinations, and all  
 " those things, and every of them, which  
 " the aforesaid our predecessor, in his a-  
 " foresaid letters, would have to be no  
 " obstruction, and all things else whatso-  
 " ever to the contrary. But our will is,  
 " that the same credit be given in all pla-  
 " ces to the copies of these letters, even  
 " tho' they be printed; or when subscrib'd  
 " by some publick notary, and seal'd by  
 " any person constituted in an ecclesiastical  
 " dignity, as would be given to these pre-  
 " sents if they were produced and shewn.  
 " Given at *Rome* at *S. Mary Major*, un-  
 " der the *Fisher's* seal, on the 23<sup>d</sup> of  
 " *December* 1673. in the fourth year  
 " of our papacy.

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Vol. I.

THE  
TRAVELS

Martin Baumgarten,

A Nobleman of *GERMANY*.

THROUGH

*Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria.*

In THREE BOOKS.

Giving an Account of the Situation, Nature, Monuments, and Ruins of those Countries; and of the Islands, Cities and Temples therein; of their Manners and Customs; of the Rise, Increase, and Actions of some foreign Princes: And of the Properties of several animals, with other useful things.

To which is prefix'd,

The LIFE of the Author.

# The LIFE of Martin a Baumgarten,

IN  
Braitenbach, &c. Knight.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

**T**HIS said Martin was born in the year of our Lord 1473. on Novemb. 11<sup>th</sup>, the very day consecrated to the memory of that bishop whose name he receiv'd, in the town of *Kopfslain* or *Kuesstein*, which *Maximilian* the first emperor of that name by a powerful hand took from the dukedom of *Bavaria*, and added to the country of *Tyrol*, about the year 1604. His father *John* was a man of great power and wealth; of twelve children which through the divine blessing he had by his noble consort *Elizabeth Seilerine à Winda*, this *Martin* was the third, whose education both for learning and manners, he took care should be suitable to his noble birth.

When he advanc'd from childhood, and left the schools, he applied himself to military discipline and affairs of war, being equally the darling of the *Muses*, and a stout champion of *Mars*.

Having compleated the 26<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and being disposed to enter into the state of wedlock, he was married to *Benigna* a very choice lady of honourable birth, and a liberal fortune, being the daughter of that valiant knight *Christoph Schellers à Gartenau*. The solemnity was consummated in the treasure-house of *Burckbusum* on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, anno 1499, in the presence and by the advice of the following persons of quality, viz. *Janus Ebron à Wildenberg* knight, *James* and *William Haunsper*, *Sigismund ab Assentbal*, *Mark Hobenseider*, *Janus ab Offenbaim*, *Peter à Baumgarten* a noble lawyer, *George* a privy counsellor to the duke of *Bavaria*, *Wolfgangus* and *Janus* of *Baumgarten*, *George à Kemmatau*, and *Janus Trenbeccius*.

This wife he enjoy'd six years, and had by her one son whose name was *John*, and two daughters, *Anna* and *Margaret*; all which died very young, and were soon followed by their sorrowful mother, who was also snatcht from him by an untimely

death, Novemb. 17. anno 1505.

Being thus deprived of his lady and her children, and thereby so overwhelm'd with grief that his own life seem'd burdensome to him, he began to think of some diversion to pass away the tediousness of his time: And according to the superstition of that age, he resolv'd to pay a visit to *Jerusalem* our Lord's sepulchre, *Mount Sinai*, &c. and what he had vowed he quickly performed with great labour and expence; taking along with him one *Vincent* a priest, and *Gregory* his servant, whose surnames I have not been able as yet hitherto to learn.

In this long and tedious journey he himself kept a diary in the *German* tongue of all remarkables seen, observed or heard by him each day. Which notes of his were something difficult to read, but (which gives relief in this difficulty) his servant *Gregory* also kept a diary of the same things in *Latin* as well as he could, and as the learning of the age permitted. From these two diaries I have compos'd the following history in the form and method it is now publish'd in the *Latin* tongue (which I have also translated into the *Tentonic*, which may also shortly perhaps see the light) at the desire, and by the encouragement of the noble heirs of the deceased *Christoph Philip a Baumgarten*, who was the son of *Martin* by a second venter.

Being return'd from his pilgrimage, he took for his second wife *Apollonia*, a virgin, daughter to that generous and valiant gentleman *Thomas* earl of *Liechtenstein*, to whom he was married Jan. 9. 1510. at *Kuesstein*, and had by her eight sons, viz. *Francis*, *Bartholomew*, *Wolfgangus*, *Martin-Philip*, *Christoph-Philip*, *Janus-Philip*, *David* and *Paulus Degenbardus*. And three daughters, viz. *Katherine*, *Barbara* and *Elizabeth*.

One of this number, viz. *Christoph-Philip*, lived to the 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and then died in the palatinate of *Wien*,

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at the house of his son-in-law, on May 17, anno 1593. having obtained an immortal fame for his piety, constancy and beneficence, and left behind him six daughters, who were all joined in marriage to several noble personages. One of them having lately lost her husband *Morenavius* of Tyrol, is now a widow.

He embraced the reformation.

About the year 1520. when by the ministry of *Dr. Martin Luther*, an instrument chosen of God, the heavenly doctrine began to be recover'd to its former purity; this noble knight, after diligent reading, meditation and prayer, by the conduct of the divine Spirit, also acknowledged the truth of the gospel, which having embrac'd with his whole heart, he confest both by word and writing, and also with very great faithfulness instructed his children in the same, which procur'd him the hatred of many, and exposed him to very great afflictions; against which storm of temptation he was often encouraged by the consolatory letters of *Luther*, the originals of which are in my hands.

And how great a progress he made in the evangelical truth; yea, how great not only a Christian but divine he became (tho' not so by profession) in respect of his faith, writings and practice, will appear to the wife and impartial reader, by perusing some of his weighty epistles, which if God permit shall be annexed, together with the before said consolatory letters of *Dr. Luther*, to the funeral oration on his son *Christopher-Philip*; in which you may observe his ardent and pious zeal, his great and unshaken mind, his large reading and accurate judgment; and in short, the reader will there find abundant matter both for his admiration and instruction.

And furthermore he himself hath given an account of the course and actions of his own life, in the following epistle written by him to a certain counsellor in the emperor's court, upon the occasion of his being circumvented by the calumnies and envy of some malignant persons.

SIR,

I Intreat your worship as soon as possible to recommend me to *M. Salamancus*, that he may lay open before the most illustrious prince *Ferdinand* our emperor the following articles: And thereby let him know what kind of person I am, and what I have done for the advantage of the house of Austria. I also desire that you would make the most diligent enquiry on all hands concerning my life and actions, how much I have labour'd, and what progress I have made in the minerals, and how much further I should yet hope by God's help to promote the interest of our most illustrious prince, if he will vouchsafe to pro-

test me, that I may not be subverted by mine enemies, but may be suffered to go on in my begun undertaking.

I. I am dignified with the noble order of knight-hood, being first made a knight in my peregrination to the holy sepulchre of our Lord, and to *St. Katharine*, anno 1507. And afterwards created the second time a knight by his imperial majesty *Maximilian*, anno 1508.

II. My father brought great profit to *DD. A.* often lending them large sums of money in their necessity without any interest. Also in the mineral affairs, viz. in silver, copper, &c. to the greater profit of the princes than our own, as is now very manifest.

III. My father at the instance and pleasure of the emperor *Maximilian* paid for *A. D. C.* to the afore said *Maximilian* thirty two thousand Florins, of the value of more than fifty thousand Crowns of gold, whence we his heirs have suffer'd so great damage. The truth of which you may learn in *Schwatz*, and in other places.

IV. Notwithstanding which I have indefatigably labour'd in the minerals, viz. in *Ratzenburg* above twenty eight years, in *Luentz* above twelve years, in *Schwatz* I was thirteen years ago; so far once by the fraud of others imposed on, as that I sold all my shares, but about four years since I procur'd others which I am yet in the improvement of. And thus in these three places I spent of my own proper goods above thirty thousand Florins. For tho' all this time the profits revolving into the prince's treasure amount to more than thirty thousand Florins a year, yet still no profits came into my hands, as your worship knows.

V. In the wars with the *Bavarians* eighteen years ago, I lost in this city, and in the works without the city, of my proper goods above eight thousand Florins, which shews I have not been sparing of my own interest.

VI. Twelve years ago, at the command and pleasure of the emperor *Maximilian*, I went in arms to *Luentz* with horses and carriages, and remain'd there half a year at my own charge, where also in the mean while I recover'd the minerals, and diligently laboured therein; and yet to this day I have never receiv'd a penny for my great and manifold labours.

VII. I have been now for three years violently molested by my creditors, who lent me some small sums of money upon my works in the silver and copper, out of which I could not in a competent time pay them according to our



BAUM-  
GARTEN

our agreement; and therefore, tho' all would be well paid as last, they not only are un-peaceable towards me themselves, but also by their insidious practice alienate the minds of others from helping me, where-ever I have made applications for money to satisfy them, and to compleat the work in which I am engaged for the profits of the Austrian family, as well as my own. All which they do for no other reason, but because they see me by great labours and diligence to have so far succeeded as to make many fair discoveries in the minerals, which, God willing, will bring not only great profit and honour to my self, but also to the whole house of Austria; in which they would vainly frustrate me, and get the work now it is almost compleated into their own hands.

Wherefore, from the consideration of all the afore-said acts both of my self and of my parents and ancestors, I encourage my self in a good hope and confidence that our illustrious prince Ferdinand will (as being much sam'd for his effects of truth and equity) so protect me, that the afore-mention'd insidious practices may not prevail against me, but that under the covert of his favour I may continue in the

persecution of that in which I have made so great an advance. If upon the whole I have not hitherto, I hope I shall for the future deserve this illustrious favour, provided I am rais'd in these matters. Farewell.

Martin a Baumgarten.

This pious, honourable and magnanimous knight died in the true acknowledgment, ardent invocation, and constant confession of Jesus CHRIST, anno Domini 1535. in the 64<sup>th</sup> year of his age, when he had fought a good fight, and kept the faith undefiled, together with a pure conscience, at Kuesstein, and was there interr'd in the chapel belonging to the family of the Baumgartens, where he expects a joyful resurrection of his body, renovated into a state of immortality, in the glorious day of the restitution of all things. Which as to him, so to us, and all the truly faithful who love the appearing of our Saviour Jesus CHRIST, he of his infinite mercy grant, who is the triune, holy, just, true, eternal God, blessed for evermore. Amen.

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ON the 2<sup>d</sup> the mast assign'd us, ar ting sail; which serving, the first aboard, goods, and the lading; mean baggage into they were hali out of the ha brisk gale, the flew before the harbour disapp

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Vol. I.

THE

# THE TRAVELS

OF

## Martin Baumgarten.

### BOOK I.

*Giving an Account of Ægypt and Arabia.*

#### CHAP. I.

*He goes from Kueffstein in Germany to Venice: A Commendation of that Place.*

**I**N the year of CHRIST 1507. in the month of April, I Martin Baumgarten, having invoc'd the divine assistance and conduct, set out from home, accompany'd by Vincentius a priest, and one servant nam'd George. We took our way to Venice, a city the most celebrated and worthy a traveller's observation in the world; rising up as 'twere, out of the sea, and abounding in all things, tho' it naturally produces nothing for the service of man. Whatever can be said in its praise falls short of its desert. There we found a

great many persons come from several parts, with the same resolution of travelling that we had; who going aboard a ship that lay ready for them, set sail soon after our arrival. We staid there a month, judging it worth while to consider that place not in a hurry, but leisurely and deliberately: In which time we took a distinct view of the magnificent churches, monuments, gardens, and generally all that was remarkable; and provided our selves with every thing necessary for our intended voyage.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

#### CHAP. II.

*Their Departure from Venice, and first Storm at Sea.*

**O**N the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, we agreed with the master of a ship, had our cabin assign'd us, and the day appointed for setting sail; which being come, and the wind serving, the seamen strove who should be first aboard, the merchants brought their goods, and the vessel had quickly all her lading; mean time we put our selves and baggage into a lighter, and got aboard as they were haling up the sails and getting out of the harbour. Presently sprung a brisk gale, the sails were all fill'd, the ship flew before the wind, and both city and harbour disappear'd.

But in a little time the wind chop'd about, blew a storm, and forced us back to the place where we had weigh'd anchor,  
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notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it. The mariners in great consternation set up a hideous cry, and fearing the ship would be driven aground, took in their sails, plied their oars, and encouraging one another, tugg'd stoutly to keep her up against the wind. To hear the outcries of the seamen, and see them beat their breasts, was more dreadful to us than the danger it self. Having brought her to an anchor, we were miserably tost, and the rolling did not suffer us to sleep or take any refreshment all that night. This was a hard beginning of our voyage, but supporting our selves with hopes of the divine protection, we took courage to undergo this and greater calamities if they should happen.

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## CHAP. III.

*For some Days the Winds prove inconstant; they arrive at Rovigno in Istria.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN

ON the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, about sun-rising, the wind slacken'd, and we would willingly have set sail; but there being a calm, we chose to row, and made no great way. But not long after, a brisk and favourable gale blowing, all gave a shout, thrice the trumpet sounded, thrice we pray'd; and making all the sail we could, went joyfully away before the wind.

*And with full sail we plow'd the ocean's back.*

About noon the wind chang'd, and prov'd cross, which oblig'd us to furl our sails, and drop from the prow an anchor; so all that time and the following night

we were toss'd, sometimes under, sometimes above the raging billows; and having undergone the like hardship all the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> days, with much ado on the 29<sup>th</sup> we came before *Rovigno*, a town in *Istria*, subject to the republick of *Venice*. There we came to an anchor, and went in to the town; and after we had refresh'd our selves, and bought some provisions, went aboard again. But the wind blowing hard, we thought it not safe to rely upon one anchor, and therefore dropt another that was greater, and were forc'd to ride there three days with great uneasiness.

## CHAP. IV.

*They enter Pola, their stay there. The catching of the Fishes call'd Tonini. Tongobardin, who return'd from Venice, overtakes them while they stay at Pola.*

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ON the 2<sup>d</sup> day of August, there blew a small but favourable gale, which brought us into the harbour \* *Pola* on the third day. At that time this town was the metropolis of *Istria*, and a very fine and delightful place. It is said to have been first inhabited by the *Colchi*, and afterwards made a *Roman* colony, as the remains of a large amphitheatre, and many other monuments of antiquity seem to confirm. Having therefore fix'd our ship in that large and safe harbour, we went ashore, took lodgings, and stayed there six days, partly to buy provisions, and partly to wait the arrival of another galley.

Catching  
of the  
Toninns.

In the mean time we had occasion to be diverted with seeing the catching of a certain sort of large and strong fish, with a big head and little sharp tail, which they call *Tonini*. The manner of catching them is this: In the months of *August* and *September* they use to go up and down in companies, and to play together on the coast. As soon as they are got within the mouth of the harbour, and notice of it given to the people of the town by certain boys who are placed in the tops of trees for that purpose; they all rush out to this fishing, as if it were to engage an enemy: Some in boats, laying nets to prevent their escape: Others standing on the shore, arm'd with sharp pointed spears, ready to attack these fishes as soon as they should be forced ashore by the nets and the shouting of the people. Then the most vigorous and nimble of the young men leaping in naked among the fishes, attack them with their spears, and hooks; and oftentimes it happens that

before they can catch them, while they are endeavouring to bring them ashore, they are pull'd into the water by the strength of those creatures in their own element. But the poor fishes while they are endeavouring to make their escape with the dart sticking in their backs, and the wounds they have received, so soon as they come where the boats are placed in circle, find all means of escaping cut off, by the nets laid there for that end; and being struck at also by those that are in the boats, run mad and enraged to the shore, and expose themselves to the merciless strokes of the fishers: but finding no quarter there, rumble up and down in rage and despair among the young men's feet, till by their own struggling, and the repeated blows of the fishers, they are at length overcome and thrown ashore, where fresh companies of the weaker sort attack them anew with stones and clubs, and put an end to their lives. These fishes are so strong, that as long as they can but keep their tails under water, the strongest man is hardly able to overcome them. That day there were six and fifty catch'd, the next day a hundred, and at last a hundred thirty two. The number of the fishes that were catch'd was so great, that they served all the town, and almost fill'd our galley at a small charge; and having salted them, we had as many as serv'd till we came to *Alexandria*.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August the other galley arriv'd, having on board *Tongobardin*, the sultan of *Egypt*'s ambassador to the republick of *Venice*; who had no sooner landed, but he

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was honourably receiv'd by the governor of the city, who gave him a most splendid entertainment. Without the city there is an ancient tree, whose branches spread very wide, and at whose root there is a pleasant spring, incessantly sending forth fresh supplies of wholesome water. Under the spacious shade of this tree there were seats placed, cover'd with silk, and a table furnish'd with great variety of curious dishes, and a numerous train of servants stood by

to serve the guests. There *Tongobardin* BAUM-  
having taken his seat, I and my company, GARTEN  
and some *Venetian* merchants who had been  
invited, sat down; and while we were eat-  
ing, drank heartily of that cool spring, *An enter-  
tainment  
with Ton-  
gobardin.*  
the weather then being very hot. But by  
the excessive eating of green grapes, both  
I and several other of the guests contracted  
a violent fever; which however we cur'd  
by fasting three days together.

## CHAP. V.

*Their departure from Pola. A second Danger at Sea.*

ON the 11<sup>th</sup> day we came out of the harbour of *Pola*; but by reason our ship's crew was not compleat, we were forc'd to drop anchor, and stay off the town till the captain's clerk, who went ashore to *Pola* to make up the just number of our seamen, return'd: About sun-set there arose a storm, and it blew so hard that we durst not weigh, but were forc'd to lie there tumbling up and down all next day.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> we weigh'd anchor, the wind standing fair, and had very good sailing all that and the following night, so that we had now lost all sight of land, and could see nothing but air and water. But

the wind beginning to blow very hard, the waves began to swell, and a horrible darkness cover'd the face of the sea: And the storm and waves did so increase, that our galley was oftentimes under water; *Second  
Danger at  
Sea.* and the things that were lying on the deck were some of them wash'd off into the sea, and others (the hatches by chance being up) thrown down into the hold, where we, in great fear, were expecting the last minute of our life. But the storm ceas'd, and that night and the next day, with a fair and moderate gale, we cut the surface of the *Adriatick* sea; the sea being sometimes calm, sometimes boisterous during the rest of our voyage.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Captain of the Galley musters his Soldiers. The other Galley that was in company breaks her yards.*

ON the 16<sup>th</sup> the wind standing fair, we had *Ragusa*, a free and considerable city in *Dalmatia*, on the left hand; and on the right, but at a great distance, *Apulia* and the mountain *Gargano*. On the day following the captain of our galley muster'd all his soldiers, assigning to all his archers, gunners, &c. their posts; and withal encouraging them to acquit themselves bravely if there should be occasion. They were all drawn up on the fore-deck, and turning about towards the stern, gave notable proofs of their strength and skill. Some of 'em with great art and dexterity manag'd the strong bow and arrows; others with no less strength and agility, by brandishing their drawn swords,

and shaking their shields, sometimes advancing, sometimes retiring, shew'd how manfully they could fight if there were occasion for it: Some with long spears practicing their strokes on all hands, as if they had already engaged the enemy. This muster being over, and the captain having applauded their strength and skill, he bestow'd on every one of them a certain quantity of wine and victuals. In the mean time our companion-galley, while she was at some distance from us, in tacking about broke her yards; which oblig'd us to furl our sails and stay for her night and day, till she should mend her yards and come up to us.

## CHAP. VII.

*Ceraunia, Epirus. The Cimeritz, and their Victory over the Turks.*

ON the 18<sup>th</sup> day, the wind being fair for us, we discover'd *Ceraunia*, or *il Monte di Chimera*, at a great distance ahead of us. *Ceraunia* are high mountains

in *Epirus*, which are said to have that name from their being often struck, as *Strabo* asserts, with thunder, and about which the *Adriatick* sea ends, and the *Ionian*

BAUM-  
GARTEN

an begins. The sea betwixt these mountains and Italy is so narrow, that *Aeneas*, whose adventures *Virgil* describes, sail'd it over in half a night's time.

Epirus. Moreover *Epirus* is also call'd *Arbon*, Cimeria: and the inhabitants of *Ceraunia*, *Cimeria*. They are Christians, living after the manner of the *Greeks*, and a free people, independent of the *Venetians* and all others; and secure against the attempts of the *Turks*,

their formidable neighbour, who being master of almost all *Epirus*, and thinking it shameful to have his conquests stop'd by an inconsiderable handful of poor people, invaded them last month with an army of five thousand men, who were every one of them cut off; as we were first inform'd by a small ship of theirs that we met, and had the report afterwards confirmed by the whole people of *Corcyra*.

#### CHAP. VIII.

##### A Description of Corcyra, or Corfu, the Town and Island, Something concerning Cephalonia.

ON the 19<sup>th</sup> day, with a small gale of wind, we came in sight of *Corfu*; and it blowing a little fresher, next day we came within a small distance from it. We met a galley belonging to *Corfu*, which was cruising on that coast to clear it of *Turkish* pirates. She no sooner discover'd us to be friends, than she put out her colours, and joyfully welcom'd us by sounding a trumpet three times: and leaving *Bonifronto*, a town belonging to the *Turks* on the left, piloted us into the very harbour. In the evening we went ashore into that *Grecian* town, where we refresh'd ourselves plentifully both with food and sleep. On the one and twentieth day we view'd the town, the castles, and what was remarkable in the neighbourhood. This island is situated in the *Ionian* sea, not far from the *Adriatick*, and is a hundred and twenty miles in compass; anciently inhabited by the *Phæaces*, and govern'd by king *Alci-*

See Pliny,  
lib. IV.  
c. 1.

nous, but is now subject to the republick of *Venice*. On the east and south it is a plain and very delightful country, cover'd with vines, and several other kinds of trees, and lies but a little way off *Epirus*. Moreover a part of the city (which is likewise call'd *Corfu*) is enclos'd with a strong wall, and defended by two castles, which make it terrible to an enemy. That evening, after we had bought us some provisions, we went aboard again to encounter new hardships at sea. We joyfully set sail, and cut the frothy sea before a favourable wind. On the 23<sup>d</sup> day, the same wind continuing, we lost sight of *Cephalonia*, which is an island situated in the *Ionian* sea, according to *Pliny*, lib. IV. nat. hist. It was some time call'd *Melana*; and, as *Homer* shews Melana thro' all his *Odysse*, was under the jurisdiction of *Ulysses*: now it is subject to the *Venetians*, who not long ago took it from the *Turks*, but at the expence of a great deal of blood.

#### CHAP. IX.

##### Peloponnesus, or the Morea, describ'd. Also the Towns in it.

ON the 24<sup>th</sup> day we arriv'd at the *Morea*: it is a peninsula, and one of the noblest countries in the world, situated between the *Aegean* and *Ionian* sea. Its ancient name *Peloponnesus* seems to be the contraction of *Pelops insula*, and its circuit is computed to be five hundred and sixty three miles. *Peloponnesus*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. I. was its more ancient name, and it was afterwards call'd *Danaus*, then *Abatia*, and now *Morea*. That part of it which is call'd *Laconia*, was formerly call'd *Oebalia*, in which is *Lacedæmon*, otherwise call'd *Sparta*, the very eye of *Greece*. That neck of land that joins the *Morea* to the continent, is call'd the *Isthmus*, and is five miles broad. Upon it stood *Corinth*, famous for its riches, and its being a *Roman* colony, but much more so afterwards for its destruction; the top of its high castle, call'd *Acrocorinth*, affording a charming

Pelopon-  
nesus.

Laconia.

Sparta.

Isthmus.

Corinth.

Acrocorinth.

prospect to both seas. Here it was that the *Grecian* princes, fearing their formidable neighbour the *Turk*, drew a wall from sea to sea, and by that means separated the *Peloponnesus* from the rest of *Greece*, calling the wall *Hexamilon*. But *Amurat* emperor of the *Turks*, either while the *Grecians* were careless, or struck with consternation, level'd it with the ground. The *Morea* is likewise call'd *Oberjonessus*, as if one should say terra insula, a country that is almost an island; for unless it were join'd with a little *Isthmus* to the continent, it might be call'd an island. On the 25<sup>th</sup> day, the wind standing fair, we sail'd by *Lepanto* a city of the *Morea*, and came in sight of *Modona*, which, they say, was formerly an archbishop's seat; but the *Turks* taking it from the *Venetians*, after a most bloody battle, it miserably degenerated into the *Turkish* customs and manners.

Pelopon-  
nesus.  
lib. V.  
chr  
195.

Lepanto.  
Modona.

#### CHAP.

Def

Cerigo.

ON the 26<sup>th</sup> of *Corfu*, which is re- and by *Lac- nia*: it is a Promontorium the straits to and dangerous phyrus, but temple of afterwards as the story lena, and war.

That day of wind blow- top of the were four fa- this we were deck; orde- we immedi- *Turks*. Son- to the topn- their guns, because it w- the galley employ'd in every thing confusion of fear the gre-

Crete: Th

Crete.

ON the 27<sup>th</sup> of the v- great distan- companions- the sight of

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of *Candy*, the seamen third hour touch *Cand* very dark, seen, and narrowness we ply'd our difficulty an- ing furl'd o-

On the 29<sup>th</sup> of *Gnosus*, whole island pointed for and endow- gundy, who parts, and Vol. I.

Bonaza, vial.

Gnosus or Cædia.



## CHAP. X.

*Description of the Island Cythera, or Cerigo. Their groundless fear.*

*Cerigo.* ON the 26<sup>th</sup> day we sail'd by the island of *Cerigo*, antiently call'd *Cythera*, which is reckon'd the last of the *Cyclades*, and by *Laertius* call'd the island of *Laconia*: it is about five miles from *Malce Promontorium*, now *il Capo di Malio*, and the straits there make sailing very difficult and dangerous. It was at first call'd *Porphyris*, but on the account of the famous temple of *Venus* that was there, it was call'd afterwards *Cythera*. It was in this temple, as the story goes, that *Paris* ravish'd *Helena*, and thereby occasion'd the *Trojan* war.

That day, in the evening, a small gale of wind blowing, one of our men from the top of the main-mast cried out, that there were four sail of ships making up to us. At this we were alarm'd, and all came upon deck; orders were given to arms, which we immediately obey'd, believing they were *Turks*. Some carried burdens of stones up to the topmast-head; some made ready their guns, others shut up the evening port, because it would have been easy to board the galley at that place, and the rest were employ'd in ordering and making ready every thing for a battel; and the hurry and confusion of their preparations made their fear the greater. But the captain, and the

rest of the noble *Venetians*, who were more used to the softness of pleasures than the hardships and terror of war, betray'd most fear, for their knees struck one against another, and their blood grew all chill in a moment. But so soon as these ships drew nigh, they put out their colours, and sounded their trumpets; we knew them for friends, and did the same, which chang'd our fear and despair into a sudden joy, and inspir'd new life and courage into these almost lifeless gentlemen. Drawing nearer they came close up to us, and surrounded us, lowering their sails. The chief men of them went into a boat, and came on board us, to know what news from their native country; and to enquire whether we had met with any pirates by the way. They told us that three days before they had engag'd with two *French* ships, whom they had beat, but let them go upon their parole never to fall on any more *Venetian* vessels. After some discourse on such matters, we made them eat and drink, and so they went aboard their ships again. We went on in our voyage with a gentle gale, which towards night began to blow fresher; and with the light of the day we also lost sight of the land.

## CHAP. XI.

*Crete: They visit Gnosus in that Island. Description of the Labyrinth, Description of Crete, and the Promontory call'd Samonium.*

*Crete.* ON the 27<sup>th</sup>, a fresh gale blowing from the west, we began to descry at a great distance the lofty hills of *Crete*; our companions gave a shout, and welcom'd the sight of that island and *Gnosus*.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, we came near to the town of *Candy*, but had such a calm (which the seamen call'd *bonaza*) that it was the third hour of the night before we could touch *Candia*; and by reason the night was very dark, and there were no stars to be seen, and because we were afraid of the narrowness of the entry into the harbour, we ply'd our oars, and at last with great difficulty and danger we got in; and having furl'd our sails, we came to an anchor.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> we went ashore to the town of *Gnosus*, now call'd *Candia*, as is also the whole island, and went into the house appointed for travellers; which had been built and endow'd by a certain duke of *Burgundy*, who had sometime travelled those parts, and had founded this house for the

accommodation of travellers. There we staid. This is that *Gnosus*, antiently, as *Diodor. Siculus* relates, inhabited by the *Titans*, afterwards the kingdom of *Minos*, having the advantage of an excellent harbour, and adorn'd with several stately towers, and now subject to the *Venetians*. Within sight of the town, towards the south there is a hill, which the people of this country call *Jupiter's Hill*; because there are some remains of the sepulchre of *Jupiter*, with his name engraven on it, as the inhabitants shew'd us.

About the middle of the island, is *Ida Mount*. *Ida*, the highest hill in all the island, and famous for being the place where *Jupiter* was nurs'd: At the foot of this hill is to be seen the famous *labyrinth*, where the *Minotaur* was kept, and an intricate prison built of huge stones, full of windings and turnings, where those who would endeavour to get out, go perpetually round without advancing, and after a great deal of labour are

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GARTEN

just as near their purpose as when they began. There is only one way to go into it; but within there are innumerable passages, which are now shut up to prevent the danger those might fall into who might have the curiosity to see it. The greater part of it is decay'd and ruin'd. Of all the four labyrinths, viz. those in Egypt, Crete, Lemnos, and Clusum, this in Crete was the most famous, and most celebrated by Greek and Latin poets. It was made by *Dædalus*, an ingenious artificer, as *Ovid* relates in his eighth book of *Metamorphoses*.

This island produces wine and honey in great abundance. It was first, for the temperateness of the air, call'd *Aeria*, afterwards *Macaronesson*, that is, the blessed island; then *Hecatompolis* for its hundred cities; after that *Creta*, from a certain king, and now *Candia*, from its whiteness. *Aristotle* speaking of this island, lib. II. *polit.* says, nature seems to have design'd this island for the mistress of Greece, being commodiously situated, and rising at a due height above the sea. *Servius* says, it is not agreed in what sea it lies, for it has the *Lybian* on the south, the *Aegean* on the north, the *Ionian* on the east, and the *Ionian* on the west. Navigation is said to have been first invented here, and from the inhabitants skill

Names of  
the island.

\* Said of those who pretend ignorance of a thing they understand very well.

## CHAP. XII.

*Their third Danger at Sea. Description of the island Carpathus, or Scarpanto.*

HAVING during our stay at Crete provided our selves with necessaries for our voyage, on the 24 of September the weather being good and the wind standing fair, we left the harbour and put out to sea; and sailing close by the island *Standia*, which was on our left hand, we no sooner came to be off of *Sittia*, a city of Crete, but the wind began to change, and *Aeolus* so sported himself with us, that sometimes we thought it advisable to put into the harbour, sometimes to put out to sea; at last we resolv'd upon the latter, and after we had sail'd about seven leagues, were forced back, and had well nigh been split upon *Standia*, had not all hands gone to work, and us'd their utmost endeavour.

We had the like bad luck on the third, fourth, and fifth days, and at last with great difficulty came as far as *Capo Salomon*, and on the sixth left Crete behind us.

in that art, came the proverb, \* *Cretensis nefcit mare*. *Solinus* says of this island, that it abounds with wild goats, but has no harts; that foxes, wolves, and such like hurtful creatures are never to be seen in it. The favourable influence of the sun makes the vines large and high, and the trees yield their fruit in great abundance. There are no owls hatch'd in Crete, and if they are brought they quickly die. But the excellency and fruitfulness of the soil emasculates the inhabitants; and that saying of the apostle, which he borrow'd from *Epimenides*, holds true still, *The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies*. Moreover, on the east side of this island is the *Promontorium Samonium*, commonly call'd *Cape Salomon*: and in the twenty seventh chapter of the *Acts*, these words are to be seen, *Because the wind suffer'd us not, we sail'd hard by Candia, near Salmone*, &c. On the west side of the island is the promontory *Criometopon*, which signifies the forehead of a ram. Of all that multitude of cities, there are only seven now remaining, viz. *Candia*, *Canea*, *Gissamo*, *Retimo*, *Town of Terapitro*, *Sittia*, and *Archadia*; in the first of which an archbishop resides, in the last a bishop. The villages are said to be in number fourteen hundred.

Criome-  
thopon.

Candy.

On the seventh we sail'd by several islands, particularly *Scarpanto*, antiently call'd *Carpathus*. This island, according to *Pomponius*, lib. II. is situated between Egypt and Rhodes, and was the kingdom of *Proteus*. As *Pliny* relates, it gave name to the *Carpathian* sea, and it belongs now to the state of *Venice*.

On the eighth day, while we were sailing with a gentle gale, and the wearied seamen were securely diverting themselves with their innocent plays and dancing, and in their holiday clothes, there came on a sudden such a whirlwind as cover'd the galley with water, and had almost drown'd some of us; but while they were crying out, and endeavouring to get clear of it, it presently vanish'd as if it had rose only to fright them. After that we had the wind and weather so favourable, that we made more way that day than ever we had done before.

Carpathus.

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## CHAP. XIII.

*They come in sight of Alexandria. Danger in the Harbour. The Ambassador Tongobardin is honourably receiv'd. Their farewell to the Sea for some time.*

ON the ninth day about noon the watch call'd out that he discover'd *Alexandria* ahead of us. We were transported with the joyful news, hoping that now we were at the end of a toilsome and dangerous voyage, and express'd our joy by offering up our thankful acknowledgments to God.

In the evening we arrived at *Alexandria*, and coming up to the tower call'd *Pharos*, which is both a guard and an ornament to the harbour, we lower'd all our sails (as is usual) to testify our duty to the *Sultan*, and then enter'd our much desir'd haven. *Samali*, admiral of the *Turkish* fleet, had arriv'd there a little before us, and having put the *Turkish* ambassador to the *Sultan* ashore, had come to an anchor in the middle of the harbour. We coming in with a pretty fresh gale, ran foul of his ships; upon which, the *Turks* thinking we had done it designedly, presently got to arms, and with a great shout stood ready to charge us. But understanding by our doleful cries what the matter was, and also fearing the laws and privileges of the harbour, they thought it advisable to let us alone. With very much ado we got clear of them, and came to an anchor. But we slept little or none all that night; for the *Turks* disturb'd us by the confus'd noise of such musical instruments and voices as they had, demanding a like return from us, and insulting us while we tamely held our peace.

On the tenth day about sun-rising, *Tongobardin*, the *Sultan's* ambassador, whom we had brought along with us from *Venice*, went ashore. The whole youth in the town came flocking about him to see and pay

their humble respects to him. The chief *BAUM*-man of the city attended with a vast croud of *Mamelucks*, all well mounted, and a great many people making a most disagreeable and confus'd noise with their drums and other instruments, such as they had, receiv'd him very magnificently; and the *Venetian* consul, who is the protector of and judge between the subjects of that republick in those parts, having richly adorned a great number of boats with streamers, trumpets, &c. attended the ambassador ashore, to the great wonder and admiration of the *Barbarians*. And besides, all the ships that were in the harbour paid their compliment to *Tongobardin*, by firing an infinite number of guns, and fill'd the air with the din, fire, and smoak of them, and the shouting of their men.

On the eleventh day we went into the *Venetian* inn, and took leave of the sea for some time; and because by our habit we look'd liker merchants than strangers, we had free liberty to come in and go out there when we would. And besides, we had brought very little money along with us, having taken bills of exchange from *Venice*, otherwise we must have paid a considerable custom; for the *Saracens* make a very narrow search. However we sav'd a great part of what we did bring, by hiding it in pork, which they abominate above all things. In the mean time, by the help of a *Venetian* guide, we view'd the most remarkable places in the city, where we observ'd a great many things worth relating, which I shall insert after I have given an account of the origin of the city.

*Hiding of money.*

## CHAP. XIV.

*Description of Alexandria, the Pyramid there. The Christian Churches. The learned Men of old. Traffick, Usefulness of Pigeons. The Harbour. Profit by Filberd-nuts and Cheese-nuts. Tongobardin's Villany.*

*Alexandria.*

ALEXANDRIA, the greatest city in *Egypt*, was built by *Alexander* the great three hundred and twenty years before the birth of *JESUS CHRIST*, on the coast of the *Egyptian* sea, and in that part of *Africk* that lies near the mouth of the *Nile*, which some call the *\*Canopean*, others the *†Heracleon*. This city, as it was founded by *Alexander*, so it bears his name,

and contains his tomb; which *Julius Caesar* is said to have paid his devotion at. It is surrounded by a vast desert, and harbourless shoar, by rivers and woody fens. The succeeding kings, as *Diod. Siculus* relates, did largely contribute towards the encrease of this city by the donations they gave, and the ornaments they bestow'd upon it; so that at length, according to some, it

\* From Canopus and † Heraclea, two cities in that country.

**BAUM-  
GARTEN** became the most glorious city in the world. Its length, as *Josephus* relates, was thirty furlongs: it is all hollow under ground, *Aqueducts*. and has aqueducts from the Nile to many of the private houses, through which the water is carried in to them; which settles and grows clear in a few minutes, and is made use of by the masters of families and their children and servants: for that which is fetch'd from the Nile is so full of slime and mud, that it brings a great many diseases on those that drink it; but the poorer fort are fain to make use of it, because there is not one publick fountain in all the city. At this time it looks very glorious without; the walls as they are of a large compass, so they are well built, firm and high, and the turrets upon them are numerous; but within, instead of a city, there's nothing to be seen but a prodigious heap of stones. 'Tis rare to see a continued street, but there are wide courts and yards, a few houses intire. Where *Alexander's* palace stood formerly, there is now an obelisk erected, of solid red marble, eleven hands square at bottom, of a wonderful height, ending in a sharp top; and all over, from top to bottom, full of figures of living creatures, and other things, which plainly shews that the *Egyptians* of old made use of such instead of letters.

*Form of  
the city.*

*Obelisk.*

*Christian  
churches.*

*Christian  
churches.*

There are some who say that that obelisk in *Rome* at *S. Peter's* in which *Julius Cæsar's* bones are kept, stood of old near to this of which I am now speaking; but this far exceeds that both in height and thickness.

There are to be seen still at *Alexandria* several Christian churches, among the rest that of *S. Saba*, possessed by the *Greeks*. And in another place that of *S. Mark*, who is said to have been the first that ever preach'd the gospel in those parts. And there they shew you a font, in which they say, that apostle baptiz'd. Behind the altar of that church are to be seen ancient manuscripts, containing the works of *Atanasius*, *Cyrillus*, *Irenæus*, and several others, all rotten and moth-eaten, and some of them almost quite burnt. Anciently in this city many eminent scholars and divines flourish'd, as *Philo Judeus*, who wrote several very useful things; *Origen* the presbyter, *Atanasius* that famous and stedfast bishop of this place; *Dydimus*, *Theophilus*, *Jobannes*, *Eleymona*, and many others, whom it would be tedious to mention. And here flourish'd the seventy interpreters in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. In our days one may see here great quantities of several sorts of goods brought from most places of the world. Here the *Venetian* merchants have two warehouses, fill'd with great variety of goods, over which the con-

ful, who is a man of great authority, presides. The *Genoeses* also, and the *Turks* and *Scythians*, who have also now learn'd to finger gold, have their several warehouses, which the *Moors* take care to shut every night. There are also within the walls two artificial hills rais'd so high, that from the top of them one may see ships at a great distance: and they tell also, that upon occasion they can send letters from *Alexandria* to *Cairo* by pigeons, to whom they tye them, and whom they breed up for that purpose.

This tho' I did not see my self, yet I J. Lipl. had good reason to believe, being credibly inform'd of it; and besides, as *Pliny* relates, at the siege of *Mutina*, *Brutus* tyed a letter to a pigeon's foot, and by that means convey'd it to the consul's camp. Without the walls of the city is to be seen *Pompey's* pillar, sixty cubits high, under which, they say, his head lies. So much for the city. As to the harbour, it is so *Harbour* contrived, that even in the time of peace it is not easy to get into it; for the entry to it is not only strait, but also crooked, by reason of several rocks and stones that ly hid under the water. The left side of it is enclos'd by artificial moles; on the right, the island *Pharos*, upon which there is a tower and a fort, bearing that name. Which tower was anciently reckon'd one of the seven wonders of the world, it being so prodigiously high that sailors could see the light that was on the top of it at the distance of, or near forty miles, and by it steer their course to land. The harbour within is very safe, and about three miles and a half in compass; into which all sorts of merchandise that that country wants are brought from other parts of the world, and from whence into those, and all that it can spare of its own produët is exported.

While we were one day at a feast with the merchants, among other things a certain *Venetian* told us, That in one year by a ships loading of filbert-nuts from *Apulia*, he could gain ten thousand crowns; and that by sending one ship loaden with chefnuts, every year to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, he could make twelve thousand crowns. And the reason was because the *Moors*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other of the *Mabometan* religion used that sort of fruit very much; for altho' they have excellent fruits of their own, and great variety of them, yet they soon spoil; and therefore what they do not consume in the summer-time, they export into other countries: and all winter, especially during their \* fasting month, they live on these foreign nuts, of which their country produces none, and which being carry'd into other countries, do not easily spoil

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c. 6.*

*Pompey's  
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spoil for a long time; nor are they destroyed by vermin, as with us.

In the mean time we provided our selves with all things necessary for our journey; and being recommended to *Tongobardin* a *Mamaluck*, and having frequent opportunity of conversing familiarly with him, we made him a present of fifty of those pieces of gold, which they call *sepapbi*, that under his favour and protection we might travel the more securely. This money was

no more than what he had long expected from us; for he was always very accessible and affable to us, and oftentimes assured us of all the service that lay in his power. But no sooner had he got our gold in his pocket, the hopes of which had made him so courteous, than he began to slight and look down upon us; while we in the mean time, considering we were strangers, seemed to take all in very good part.

## CHAP. XV.

*They set out and arrive at Rosseto. Description of the Nile and Egypt.*

ON the 22<sup>d</sup> of September, betimes in the morning, we mounted our mules, in company with some Italian merchants, having a *Mamaluck* for our guide, and set out for *Rosseto*; and arriving there, before we could enter the town, we were forced to pay six of those pieces of silver which they call *maydins*, a head at the gate. Afterwards marching thro' a wood of date-trees, and other sweet smelling ones of several kinds, we sat us down under a date-tree laden with fruit that was not fully ripe; and every one producing his proportion of such provisions as we had, we refreshed our selves together, and drank plentifully of a neighbouring spring, and laid in a stock of it for the thirst that was to come. From thence travelling thro' fens, which the Nile had fill'd at its last overflowing, we came to the sea, having rid most part of that day. Afterwards we came to other fens, where we found a crew of *Arabians* fishing, who by downright threatening and violence forced each of us to pay them a contribution of two *maydins*: a piece. After that we struck off a little from the sea, and towards sun-set came to a little solitary cottage, where we tied our mules, and were forced to drink salt-water, and lie on the sand.

It happened to be moon-shine all night, by reason of which we, who were not accustomed to such beds, were afraid of robbers, and therefore before we had rested four hours there, thought it advisable to decamp, the night being pretty clear. After which we came into a desert cover'd with soft and yielding sands. There blew a small gale from the sea, which raised little hillocks of sand behind and before us, so that we could not know where the road was; for it often happened, that when we saw the road plainly before us, a great many such hillocks would rise, and in a little time dissipate, and gather again in another place, which did so hide and obstruct the ways that neither we nor our

mules knew which way to go. While by this means we were doubtful which was the way, and were straying up and down, we came at last to a certain wood of date-trees, under whose covert we were sheltered from that inconvenience; and hearing the crowing of a cock we bent our course that way, and not long after arriv'd at *Rosseto*; where having unloaded our mules, we went to sleep for a little time.

*Rosseto* is a town in lower Egypt, lying south and north, on the banks of the Nile. It is surrounded with no walls, but by the lofty spires and turrets that magnificently adorn its churches, one would take it for a rich and great city.

The Nile, as *Diodor. Sicul. lib. I.* relates, runs from south to north, and is the greatest river, so far as we yet know, that runs into the sea. It empties itself at seven mouths, and separates Asia from Africa; but as for its rise and source, no author hitherto hath ever said that he saw it, or had any account of it from others; and its original is so uncertain, that some have call'd it *Afcopon*, that is, a river rising out of the dark.

This river overflows all Egypt, beginning about the summer-solstice, and continuing to the *Equinox*; bringing always new slime along with it, and therefore call'd *Nilus*, as 'twere, from *neō* *slav*, new slime. It waters both till'd and untill'd ground, as long as the husbandman thinks fit; for by reason it flows gently, they can let it in, or keep it out according as the ground requires it.

It makes the soil so fruitful, and the tillers work so easy, that when they sow they either bring a flock of sheep to tread down the seed, or draw a very shallow furrow with the plough; and in four or five months they duly return to reap a plentiful harvest; the *Egyptians* being the only people on earth who buy a plentiful crop at so cheap a rate. The untill'd ground affords pasturage in so great abundance,



BAUM- dance, that their ewes bring forth, and are  
GARTEN shorn twice a year.

But the overflowing of the Nile, must seem strange to those who hear of it, and astonishing to such as see it; it being the only river in the world that swells in the summer-time, whilst all the rest shrink below their banks. It increases in the summer-time, so as to overflow all Egypt, and decreases in the winter, whilst others overflow their banks. The seven mouths thro' which it disgorgeth it self into the sea, are the *Pelusion*, that washes the borders of *Arabia*; the *Canopian*, the *Volbitian*, the *Sebenitian*, the *Patmitian*, the *Mendesian*, and the *Tbanitian*: and tho' it hath several others, yet those not being navigable because of their fords, they are not reckoned. There are several causes of its swelling assign'd, but that which seems most probable is, that the water which pours down continually, for a certain time, from the mountains of *Æthiopia* that lie next to *Egypt*, are the cause of this river's swelling, especially since the Barbarians who inhabit the country bear testimony to that assertion. The Nile is the only great river in the world,

that never makes the air foggy or cold; and therefore according to *Pomp. Mela*, of all the countries in the world, *Egypt* alone is free from rain, and yet very fruitful, populous, and abounding in all other kinds of living creatures. *Plato* and several others affirm the same. Yet both in *Alexandria* and *Cairo*, and the neighbouring desert, we saw several considerable showers, but were told that happened very seldom.

*Egypt* is a plain and champian country; <sup>Cover'd of Egypt.</sup> and when the cities, villages, and farmers houses are fortified against the overflowing of the river, they look like so many little islands. All the land creatures that stay in the fields are drown'd, and such of them as get up to heights are preserv'd. The cattle during the inundation are kept in houses, and live on the fodder that their masters have laid up in store for them. The common people laying aside all thoughts of labour, bestow all that time on their pleasures and feasting. In short, *Egypt* divided by the several branches of the Nile, resembles in some measure an expanded hand. Thus much concerning *Egypt* and the Nile.

#### CHAP. XVI.

*Their pleasant Passage up the Nile, in company with Tongobardin. What sort of a Creature the Crocodile is. The nimbleness of the Arabian Boys. The Arabians Dexterity in swimming; and of their Circumcision.*

ON the four and twentieth day *Tongobardin*, whom we had so much long'd for, came at last to *Alexandria*, attended with great number of camels: And staying but a short time there, fill'd one of the boats with his baggage, and his two wives that he had brought along with him; his *Mameluks* took up another, and a mixt crowd of Christians, *Jews*, *Egyptians*, and other nations, the third. And before we had sail'd far, we came to an anchor hard by a date-tree wood, over against which, on the opposite bank of the river, there is a large wood, in which there is an infinite number of parrots catch'd.

Phua: On the 25<sup>th</sup> we began to sail up the river, and arriv'd at a city call'd *Phua*, where we went ashore and refresh'd our selves a little. The place was very populous, and the people were strong and healthful; and there we had the pleasure to see both the banks cover'd with pomegranate, date, and several other kinds of fruit-trees. Among the trees there was an infinite number of houses and monuments of the *Egyptians*, some low, others very high, but all of them arch'd; and such a number there was of them, that they took up a great space about the city. The *Egyptians* induc'd to it by an ancient tra-

dition of their ancestors, furnish their houses but indifferently, but bestow a great deal of pains and charge upon their monuments. They besmeer themselves with dung and dirt when they bewail their dead, and they think it unlawful either to burn or bury them; but having anointed and embalm'd them with a great deal of art, they lay them either in houses or in the open air, according to their circumstances and quality. Most part lay their deceased friends and relations in vaults built on purpose on the tops of their houses; and value themselves mightily; if they can shew that they have accommodated their dead friends within their houses.

Looking from thence on the 26<sup>th</sup> day, we pass'd by a great many of the country peoples cottages; and went often ashore, where we made the verdant grass our table when we inclin'd to eat, and shar'd in the plays and pastimes with which *Tongobardin's Mameluks* diverted themselves. At that time we saw a certain young *Moor*, because he had been found drinking wine privately, receive twenty severe lashes on his back and belly.

Every night *Tongobardin* caus'd to be set up a great many lamps in form of a pyramid, and several little bells to be tied

<sup>Cover'd of Egypt.</sup>

<sup>The Egyptian way of lamenting the death of their friends.</sup>

<sup>A Moor whipp'd for drinking wine.</sup>

<sup>Pyramids of lamps.</sup>

to the fall with a li in them, melody, the *Mam* when it of fiery a measure r We who not behin divertise of an *Eg* matter of absolutely cause his was heard were read ward way that by o and extol ing our n us ready a louder an manner, shorten th were char of fields a lody of bl fore, who and pleas being the gentle brea the odorif over again with life a the river v canes and which, as numbers o a four-foot ny of their call'd from either beca cause it m plant. It it lives all for the m shaped like ones that a grow to be will believ sometimes as long as t as long as creature th is wonderf whole back are wonder therefore it who wound back under of a sow,

\* Said of his throat.

to the sails, into which the wind blowing with a little force, made a certain motion in them, which caused an agreeable sort of melody, and very pleasant to the ear. But the *Mamelucks* that were in the other boat, when it was dark, used to shoot up a sort of fiery arrows into the air, which in some measure resembled lightning or falling stars. We who followed in the third boat, were not behind with the rest in our sports and diversions; for we had with us a sort of an *Egyptian* trumpeter, who as to the matter of art and sweetness of melody, was absolutely ignorant and unskilful; but because his cornet sounded very loud, and was heard at a great distance, and we were ready to split at his unskilful and awkward way of sounding, never doubting but that by our laughter we were commending and extolling him, and not at all suspecting our mockery, the more he perceiv'd us ready to fall down with laughing, the louder and oftner he sounded. In this manner, while we were sailing, did we shorten the night, and in the day time we were charm'd with the delightful prospects of fields and trees, and the ravishing melody of birds that we had never seen before, who were warbling out their shrill and pleasant notes. And besides, the air being then pure and wholesome, and a gentle breeze of wind blowing from among the odoriferous trees and flowers that were over against us, did wonderfully inspire us with life and vigour; for both banks of the river were almost covered with sugarcanes and other wholesome plants; among which, as the sailors told us, there lay vast numbers of crocodiles. The crocodile is a four-footed creature (for we view'd many of their skins with great exactness) so call'd from *crocus*, which signifies saffron, either because it is of that colour, or because it mortally hates the smell of that plant. It is altogether of a dragon-form; it lives all night in the water, and all day for the most part on land. Its eggs are shaped like those of geese, and their young ones that are hatch'd in them commonly grow to be sixteen cubits long; and if we will believe *Pliny* and *Solinus*, they are sometimes twenty cubits long; they grow as long as they live, and their life is almost as long as that of a man. It is the only creature that wants a tongue, and its body is wonderfully fortified by nature, for its whole back is all over scales, and these are wonderfully hard. Its belly is soft, and therefore it is the dolphin's mortal enemy, who wounds its belly with the fins of his back under water. Its eyes resemble those of a sow, and it has a great many teeth

on both sides of its mouth, two of which *BAUM-* are considerably longer than the rest. It *GARTEN* not only eats men, whom it weeps to see approaching, and then devours them (from whence comes the proverb, "A crocodile's tears") but also other creatures whose fate it is to come near the river, whom it tears to pieces with its teeth and claws that are very strong and sharp; and its bite is so severe and venomous, that there is no cure for the wounds it gives with its teeth. It is a great lover of honey, and saffron is the only thing that can preserve the beehives. The *Ichneumon* gets in at its mouth while it is asleep, and knows its entrails and kills it. It is a terrible creature to those that run away from it, but a mere coward before those who manfully pursue it.

While we were sailing up the river for some days, and sometime having our boats drawn along with ropes, we happened to see on both sides of the river, great companies of *Arabian* boys, with famine painted in their faces, begging some victuals of *Swiss* us. They run with such swiftness and of the *Arabian* nimbleness, that they kept pace with our boats, and as they ran, struck their buttocks with the soles of their feet. We were mightily pleas'd with the sight, especially to see them strive to outrun one another for the biscuit and fruits which we threw ashore to them. As we pass'd along, we saw a great many villages and country-houses, about which were great numbers of cattle, camels, wild oxen, and several other kinds; and besides all these the husbandmen reaping the second crop of that year; for in *Egypt* there are two harvests, one in *April*, and another in *September*. We likewise saw the *Arabians*, with their clothes tied about their heads swimming through the river, one half of their body being above, the other under water;

so that one would have thought rather that they were walking through the water than swimming. Near a certain village we saw the *Egyptians*, celebrating a feast and dancing; there was a great multitude of them, and they were all on foot, except one who sat a horseback in the midst of them and overtopped all the rest. And when we had asked what the meaning of that was, we were told, that he whom we saw on horseback had been circumcised that day, and that all the rest were celebrating the solemnity. The modern *Egyptians*, as well as the rest of the *Mahometans*, are circumcised, but not before the thirteenth year of their age, after the manner of their forefather *Ishmael*, whom, as *Moses* relates in the 17<sup>th</sup> chapter of *Genesis*, his father *Abraham* circumcised at the same age.

\* Said of one who seems to grieve for another's loss, when in the mean time he could find in his heart to cut his throat.

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Descript-  
ion of a  
crocodile.

The *Egyptians* were  
using the  
death of  
their  
fruits.

The *Egyptians*  
reap  
twice.

Dexterity  
at swim-  
ming.

Arabians  
circum-  
cised.

A Moor  
ship'd  
for drink-  
ing wine.

Pyramid  
of lamps.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Infence of the Mamalucks. Entry into Cairo. Who Tongobardin was. His Wives. The Solemnity and Rejoicing upon his returning to Cairo. The Travellers Clothes changed.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN

Bulaco.

Infence  
of the Ma-  
malucks.

Tongo-  
bardin an  
apostate.

His entry  
into Cairo.

ON the 28<sup>th</sup> of September we came in sight of the lofty pyramids of *Memphis*, and by that knew that we were not far from *Cairo*. That day seven vessels belonging to the neighbouring country, laden with all kind of provisions for *Memphis*, joined us: So that evening we arriv'd at *Bulaco*, which is the next port to *Cairo* for those that are coming up the *Nile*.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> we loaded our mules, and drove them before us to *Cairo*. By the way, one of our company happening to grow tir'd, and having got upon one of the mules, met with a company of *Mamalucks* on horseback, who threw him down to the ground; for these *Mamalucks*, you must know, hav: the impudence to pretend, that whoever meets them sitting on the back of a labouring beast, let his country and condition be what it will, he must get off and pay them homage: but this we were ignorant of before we were taught by this accident. Not long after we entered *Cairo*, and staid in a place that was assign'd us in *Tongobardin's* house till he should come home.

This *Tongobardin* was a *Spaniard* born, and had been made a *Mamaluck*: He had been a deacon of the church while he staid in his own country; but after he had renounced Christianity and turn'd *Mabometan*, he was made patron and protector of all those Christians that should happen to live within the sultan's dominions, notwithstanding this apostacy from their faith; and in a short time became a great and powerful man. All Christians were receiv'd into his house; and it was customary for every merchant to pay him two pieces of gold, and every one who came from afar to visit religious places, five.

At last, on the 30<sup>th</sup> day, *Tongobardin*, in a rich garment that had been presented him by the state of *Venice*, had and attended

by a great number of *Mamalucks*, made his entry into his own house in great state. His wives, that were five and thirty in number, meeting all together in an upper part of the house, with a strange sort of singing and confused noise, welcom'd him home. He, together with those that came along with him, and those who came to compliment him upon his arrival, sat all down upon rich tapestry. In the middle of his palace there was a large court, round, in which there were a great many chambers that look'd into the court; in one of which we staid, and it being open, we could see all that was done in the court.

Upon rich carpets that were spread there, were set two hundred and sixty large dishes, fill'd with great variety of the best and most costly meats; of which after every one had tasted a little, they presently rose up, and having begg'd leave to be gone, and rendered their humble thanks, they all went home very sober and grave, and the whole entertainment was in a minute devour'd by a ravenous crowd of poor people who were allow'd to take it. After this all the great men came thronging in to pay their compliments to *Tongobardin*; among the rest the *Calif*, that is, their pope, with a very white, and as it were horned crown on his head, and a long black beard, came with a numerous train, and in great pomp to welcome *Tongobardin*, who received him very honourably.

In the mean time we having, by the advice of a certain *Greek*, procur'd *Egyptian* habits, girdles, and ornaments of the head, went up and down through the city wherever we had a mind, having one of *Tongobardin's* slaves for our guide, viewing the situation of the place, considering the manners and customs of the people, and observing what was remarkable.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Description of Cairo or Memphis. The Customs of it.*

Founder  
of Cairo.

*Memphis*, now call'd *Cairo*, is the greatest city in *Egypt*, and the seat of their kings. It was built by *Ogdous*, otherwise call'd *Voberus*, and is a hundred and fifty furlongs in compass. It stands in the most commodious place of all that country, where the *Nile* divides it self into several branches. On one side it is for-

tified with strong ramparts, as well to defend it against the inundation of the *Nile*, as to secure it against any attacks of an enemy: On the other it is rendered almost impregnable by a great and deep artificial lake, which is fill'd with the superfluous water of the river. In this city therefore, because of the commodiousness of the place, the

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Vol. I.

the succeeding kings leaving *Thebes*, made this the seat of their empire, and adorn'd it with many magnificent buildings; It is still a very large city. They do positively aver, whether true or false I know not, that there are about four and twenty thousand mosques in it; its high towers are both a defence and an ornament to it: and upon these their priests, night and day, at certain hours, make a strange, loud and barbarous noise. On the sides of their churches, and at the corners of the streets, there are certain large vessels placed, that are fill'd with water for drinking from the Nile. But there are besides these a great many *Moors*: who carry buckets full of water through the streets, and without distinction of persons, freely give it in silver cups to all that have a mind to drink. The former are usually legacies left by the richer sort when they are dying, and sometimes given by people in perfect health: And not only this, but the richer sort, out of a pious and religious design, cause burning torches and lamps every night to be hung upon the towers. They repair the ruinous mosques and towers; they offer up their praises to God Almighty, after their own way, three times a day. They fill these cisterns, as I have said before, with water; and twice a day they sprinkle water on the street to cool the air and lay the dust. And they say likewise (which does not seem altogether incredible) that above eight thousand men get their living by carrying water, some having but one, some two, and some five camels at work: and there is a story passes, which I will not aver to be true, that there are more people here who having no houses of their own, lie all night in the open air, than there are inhabitants in *Venice*. There are reckon'd there (which is no contemptible number) fifteen thousand *Jews*.

There are very few private kitchens in

this city; for they not only have their *BAUM-meat* dress'd, but also eat in publick houses. They say there are ten thousand cooks in *Cairo*, the greatest part of whom carry vessels on their heads along the streets, and dress the victuals that they are to sell as they go along. The streets are very narrow, and for the most part cover'd above with branches of trees and reeds. The houses for the most part are of brick, that are only harden'd by the heat of the sun, and mixt with straw to make them firm; a great many are both built and cover'd with nothing but canes and reeds, and are not at all to be compar'd with our houses. But the great men's houses are as fine and magnificent as any thing can be. Moreover the city of *Cairo* is so large, that one can hardly walk round it in nine or ten hours. In the upper part of it stands the *Sultan's* castle, both large and strong; to which you enter by twelve iron gates, all well secur'd with guns and guards: but there is one that looks very mean, which is, that there are none but wooden keys to open and shut them with.

The city itself is divided into two parts, one whereof is called *Cairo*, the other *Babylon*, which the *Babylonians* who came from *Mesopotamia*, having obtain'd the ground from the king, are said to have built, and in memory of their country to have given it the name of *Babylon*, which was anciently the seat of their kings. In old times famous men from most parts of the world came to see this place, and to see and converse with the wise men and prophets that were in it, as *St. Jerome* says in the prologue of the bible. Hither did *Plato* and *Pythagoras* come; and here came the great *Apollonius*, after he had travell'd all the east, to see the philosophers, and the famous table of the sun, which is thought to have stood in the temple of the sun, in *Cairo*.

## CHAP. XIX.

### *The Pleasures of Tongobardin with his Wives. His Magnificence.*

ON the first day of *October*, *Tongobardin* sent to us to come to him, that we might have a more narrow view of his house, and the splendor in which he liv'd. We had scarce enter'd his closet, when there came a certain great man whom they call'd *Armireio*, desiring to speak with him. Upon which (lest *Armireio* should suspect him for conversing with Christians) he ordered us to withdraw into a pleasant garden, where we were to lurk till he should go away. At night he call'd us, and carried me and my company, and two *Franciscans*, into the apartment of his women;

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where after he had set himself down with his thirty five wives about him, all emulously striving to please and divert him, he ordered us to take our seats; the room being all cover'd with silken carpets, for those of the highest, lowest and middle ranks. Sometimes sporting with one, sometimes with another of his women, he began to argue, that there was no life in the world more glorious or happy than that which he enjoy'd; the religious men and I holding our peace all the while. The ointments and perfumes that were about the women smelt so sweet, and the sweatmeats

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BAUM-  
meat  
GARTEN  
Their way  
of dressing  
meat.

Streets.

Largeness  
of the city.

Division.  
Strabo.  
lib. XVII.

See Aug.  
de civ.  
Dei. lib.  
XV.

Apert-  
ment of  
women.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

and liquors that were presented to us were so fine and so rare, that nothing could be imagin'd beyond them in their kind. He promised to entertain us next day with some

wonderful shows, and in the mean time allowed us to withdraw, it being time to go to bed.

# CHAP. XX.

*The Habit of the Sultan, of the Mamelucks, of the Caliph. The Field that was prepar'd for the Shows. A Specimen of the wonderful Dexterity of the young Men. Master of Arms. Funerals. Mock-fight from off an Elephant. Rewards. The Danger the Spectators were in. The Village Mathcrea. Hir'd Interpreter.*

ON the second of October we went before sun-rising, to avoid a crowd, to the Sultan's palace, having a Mameluck, who was one of Tongobardin's slaves, for our guide; where we saw about sixty thousand Mamelucks stand in a most submissive manner, and profound silence; all in the same fashion of clothes, and of the same colour, which was white. We saw also the Sultan himself, in a sort of a summer-room with lattice-windows, and a pointed diadem on his head, his robes of the purest white; but his beard long, black, and thick. Next to him, but a degree lower, sat the Caliph of the same visage and complexion, and distinguished by his diadem. Next under him sat the Turkish ambassador, for whose sake these sports and games which I am going to give account of, were appointed. On the side of the castle there was a large and plain field, which had been before prepared for this purpose: about the middle of which, on one side, there were three artificial hillocks of sand, about fifty paces distant from one another; and on the top of each of them there was fixt a spear bearing the mark that the archers were to shoot at; and the like was on the other side, so that in the middle betwixt them there was as much room left as might serve for six horses to run abreast. In this plain a great number of young men clad in silk, that was richly embroidered, with their usual light arms, mounted their sprightly horses, and began their games in this manner.

First, They ran at a full career betwixt the first two of these hillocks, and dexterously shot their arrows at the marks that were fixt to the tops of the spears, both on the right and left hand.

Next they rode in the same manner out between the other two, and fill'd the marks with their arrows.

Just so with the same speed they ran through the rest, and shot their arrows so artfully, that not one of them miss'd his aim.

After these young men had perform'd their parts, and had left none of the marks untouched, every one took his little spear

that hung behind his back, (as if they minded to act, not at a distance, but hand to hand,) and retir'd a little out of the way, till the rest of the youth had perform'd as they had done. After which all of 'em in the same order as they began, march'd thro' the same way as they had rode, but now a slow pace, with their standards before them, as in triumph, till they came to the place from which they had let out; and after they had prepar'd themselves for another kind of exercise, came out again in a little time.

Some of them while their horses were running with loose reins, rode up and down shooting their arrows at the marks before and behind, some one, others two and some three.

Others, while their horses were at their full speed, would leap off three times, and (the horse still running) mount again, and in the mean time be shooting their arrows, and never any of them miss his aim.

2. Others not sitting in their saddles, but standing up, while the horse seem'd to fly, would hit the mark exactly.

3. Others, while their horses were at their full speed, would thrice unbend their bows and toss them about their head like a whip, and again bend them, and shoot without ever missing the mark.

4. Others, while their horses were at their full speed, would leap off sometimes on one side, sometimes another, but aim as sure as any of the rest.

5. Others again would throw themselves three times backwards off their horses, and would vault into the saddle again, let the horse run as fast as he would, and in the mean time let fly their arrows, and hit the mark as oft as they thor.

6. Others would spring out of their saddles that were fast tied to the horses, and would untie them, and then shoot; thrice they would tie on their saddles, and as oft pierce the mark, the horse all the while running at his full speed.

7. Others, sitting after their usual manner, would jump behind their saddles, and let their head hang down, then raise themselves up, and get into their saddles.

Thrice

Sultan's  
Mama-  
lucks.

His habit

Apparel of  
the young  
men.

Thrice they fly their mark.

8. Others usual posture towards on his tail, themselves they did.

9. Others arrow, we brandishing it up again as could be.

10. Others sharp-point and in very had but but side or cut ed; yet so wards and been no da always sure.

11. Am form'd the found, wh upon the bes at their rows forward.

12. The on a horse at every m hit the mark hand, and the same a and thereby lity and fix.

13. The only one a he was sit soon as eve back close his feet up feet in a mark.

At last, Master of the youths

loaded with youths, w man, taking held them threw then which his l ces and arr been putting wounded er up and down these young tempting forwardness horses; on he fell, le der the re off and bur most dead



Thrice they would do this, and as oft let fly their arrows without ever missing the mark.

8. Others, sitting in their saddles, in an usual posture, would lay their heads backwards on their horses buttocks, and taking his tail, hold it in their teeth, then raise themselves up, and shoot as sure as ever they did.

9. Others again, after every flight of an arrow, would unsheath their sword, and brandishing it about their heads, would put it up again, and for all this shoot as sure as could be.

10. Others would sit between drawn sharp-pointed swords, three on either side, and in very thin clothes, so that if they had but budg'd, tho' never so little, to one side or t'other, they must have been wounded; yet so dextrously did they move backwards and forwards, that (as if there had been no danger on either side) they were always sure to pierce the mark.

11. Among all the young men who perform'd these exercises, there was only one found, who with his feet loose, could stand upon the backs of two of the swiftest horses at their full speed, and let fly three arrows forwards and backwards.

12. There was another, who could sit on a horse without a saddle or bridle; and at every mark spring up on his legs, and hit the marks, both on his right and left hand, and then sit down again, repeating the same at the second and third marks, and thereby discovering an incredible agility and skilfulness at shooting.

13. There was another also who was the only one among them that could, while he was sitting on a bare backed horse, so soon as ever he came to the marks, lay his back close to the horse's, then stretching his feet up in the air, could start upon his feet in a moment, and fix his arrow in the mark.

At last, when these marks were quite loaded with arrows, the master of these youths, who was an aged and gray-hair'd man, taking the marks in his hand, first held them up as high as he could, then threw them down to the ground. Upon which his scholars shower'd down their lances and arrows upon them, as if they had been putting an end to the lives of their wounded enemies, and then went prancing up and down by way of triumph. Among these young men there were three, who tempting the Almighty by their foolish forwardness, fell down from off their horses; one of whom expiring as soon as he fell, left a formal funeral might disorder the rest, he was immediately carry'd off and bury'd. The other two being almost dead, were likewise carried off for

fear of marring the shew. The rest of these horse-men, that they might put an end to these games, taking their lances in their hands, and putting spurs to their horses, rode up to the marks that were still remaining, and piercing them with their lances, carry'd them aloft on their points like trophies. It was worth any one's while to see these tall young men, neatly cloth'd and decently arm'd, with a wonderful address perform those exercises on the back of a horse at his full speed, which others could hardly do standing on firm ground; and which were equally strange to see, and hard to be believed.

After these exercises were ended, there was brought out a machine representing an elephant, with a wooden tower on his back full of men, who were perpetually firing their pieces, and throwing fiery darts about till they had join'd the young men, who for the most part had quitted their horses, and had arm'd themselves like foot-soldiers. There was also in a certain place of the field a wooden castle erected, finely adorn'd without with standards and ensigns, and defended by a good number of soldiers within. This the young men, with those that were on the elephant's backs, attempted several times to storm, but were as often bear back and put to flight. At last the garrison following the chase too far from the castle, the enemy turned upon them, and pursued them to the very gates of it.

Having done this several times, and the garrison at last venturing still farther from the castle, were entirely routed, and every man of them made prisoner. Those who were on the elephant's back, having furiously attack'd all that were about them, leapt down from their castle, made themselves masters of the fort that was now empty, and put a small garrison into it, and then join'd the young men, whilst those who were in the fort acted like enemies against all that were about it. They who were in the castle, without distinction of those that stood near them, threw darts, pitch and fire all about them, so that no body was safe, especially we, whom the Moors made use of as so many shields to defend themselves, exposing us, tho' not to any great danger, yet to the fear of it. This shew being over, the young men marching towards the Sultan with their bows unbended, in a most submissive manner bowed their heads thrice towards the ground, and then went and mounted their horses, who all the while had stood tamely and peaceably at a little distance, as if they had done so out of profound reverence to the Sultan.

An artificial elephant.

Representation of a battle.

Conclusion of the shew.

**BAUM-  
GARTEN** After all these exercises and shews were ended, and the *Sultan* had highly commended, and magnificently rewarded the performers, they all return'd to the place from whence they had first come armed. So every one returning home, and we endeavouring to do the same, were apprehended by him who commanded the gate of the *Sultan's* castle; and if the *Mamaluks* who was our guide had not earnestly interceded for us, would have been forc'd to pay him a considerable sum of money. Having thus escaped his clutches, and with great difficulty struggled through the crowd to our lodgings, we began to compare notes of what we had seen, and to write down what we thought most observable, tho' through forgetfulness and carelessness we have omitted several particulars that would have been diverting to the reader. These exercises are imitations of the bloody *Roman* games, which see in the *Saturnalia* of the most ingenious *Lipsius*, lib. II. cap. 23.

Rewards  
of the  
actors.

On the third day having hired mules, and two *Mamaluks* for our guard, we went to *Matbera*, a village not far from the *Nile*, and about a mile from *Cairo*, where was once a famous balm-tree garden, whereof now there is not so much as any foot-step. The balm failing, a neighbour-fountain was dry'd, which, as they told us, used to moisten the trees and make them very fruitful. About sun-set we return'd to *Cairo*.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> day, making our selves ready for a journey to mount *Sinai*, we hir'd a certain *Greek* to be our interpreter, who understood both the *Italian* and *Saracen* language; and having given him sixteen pieces of gold call'd *seraps*, he provided such things as were necessary for our journey, and hir'd us camels, and desired we would make our selves ready without delay; which we did, and straight pack'd up our baggage.

Matherea.

Ruin in  
Egypt.

Darius's  
unfathom'd  
ditch.

Moses's  
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The boy  
where the  
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## CHAP. XXI.

*Their departing from Cairo, with the Indignities offered them. Alcanica. Caravan. Watches by the way. Thieves. Desert of Arabia. Rains in Egypt. Artificial Ditch between the Red-Sea and the Nile. The Salt-Fountain of Moses. The Red-Sea famous for the Passage of the Israelites. Marks of Pharaoh's Punishment there. Saracens eat dead Carcasses. Springs in Elim. Men choak'd there with beat.*

ON the 15<sup>th</sup> of *October*, betimes in the morning, we laded our camels with panniers, equally poised on both sides, our selves sitting above them. So departing from *Cairo*, in company with the two *Franciscans*, we were most barbarously treated by the *Saracen* boys, who pelted us with dirt, brickbats, dust, and rotten fruit, while we in the mean time had occasion to exercise our patience. After we had been miserably toils'd and shaken by the uneasy trotting of our camels, to which we had not been accusom'd, we arrived at *Alcanica*, where we lodged in the house of the *Greek* monks, who used to gather and send provisions from thence to the monastery of mount *Sinai*.

Rudeness  
of boys.

Arabian  
brawlers.

Alcanica.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> day a certain *Arabian* understanding that we were there, came, attended with an insolent mob of his own gang, and would have created us a great deal of trouble, if we had not prevented it by a few pieces of silver, which was the only effectual way we could take with him.

*Alcanica* is a large and populous city but (as the other cities in *Egypt* are) without any manner of fortification. It is distant two miles from *Cairo*, and stands in a sandy desert not far from the *Nile*.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day we mounted our camels,

and set out from *Alcanica*, and before we had travel'd a mile came up with the *Caravan*. They staid waiting till a sufficient number of travellers should come up, that they might the more securely travel through that country, which is pestered with *Arabian* robbers. Having there unloaded our camels, and made a fort of intrenchment with our panniers, which we used for seats when we rode, we sat down within them with our baggage, hardly daring so much as to eat or drink. In the night-time, while the *Saracens* who travelled with us were asleep, we ventured to eat a little; and afterwards, as if we had been closely besieged, slept and watched by turns; while in the mean time we were almost killed with the noise and suffocating smell of the camels. In the night-time we heard a terrible cry in the farther end of the *Caravan*; for some *Arabians* having been discovered stealing, and fear'd with the cry, had run away with some carpets, a lance, and a sack of bread.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> day we entered the deserts of *Desert of Arabia*, through which the *Israelites* had passed in their way from *Egypt* to the promised land; and being join'd by a great many other travellers, the number of men and camels did so increase, that we look'd

Thieves.

Exod. xv.  
&c.

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ed like an army consisting of several thousand.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> we marched through a dreadful sandy desert, where nothing that was green appear'd, not so much as briars or thorns, or the least shrub, till towards night that we came into a plain low ground; where our *muorels*, that is, our mule-drivers, found some small shrubs here and there, which they pluck'd up and gave to their camels. That evening it rain'd very hard, which, according to many of the ancients, particularly of *Plato*, never happen'd in *Egypt*.

Rain in  
Egypt.

Darius's  
unhappy  
ditch.

Moses's  
just well.

The bay  
where the  
Israelites  
were join'd

Monu-  
ments of  
divine  
vengeance.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> day we came to the bay of the Red-sea, where there had been a deep and a wide ditch begun to be drawn from thence to the *Nile*, for a communication between the east and west, and facilitating of commerce. *Necho*, king of *Egypt*, was the first that begun it; *Darius*, king of *Persia*, attempted to perfect it, but left it off; being told by understanding men, that if the interjacent ground was cut, all *Egypt* must inevitably be put under water, since it lay lower than the Red-sea. Not far from thence there was a well, dug, as the story goes, by *Moses*; the water of which was so salt that men could not drink it, tho' cattle did. Here therefore, because the camels had no drink for three days, we pitch'd our camp, and staid till about midnight. This is that bay, never to be forgotten, which the children of *Israel*, under the conduct of *Moses*, pass'd over without wetting the soles of their feet. Here it was that *Pharao*, with his numerous army of foot, horse, and chariots, was overwhelm'd by the violence of the waves; and the track of his chariot-wheels, with the print of his horses feet, are to be seen on the shore to this day; and tho' one should deface them this minute, they shall plainly appear the next, as *Orosius*, lib. I. says, viz. There are evident monuments of these things remaining; for the tracks of the chariot-wheels are not

only to be seen on the shore, but as far into the sea also as one's sight can reach; and if they should at any time be defaced, either by chance, or thro' curiosity, the Divine power immediately orders the winds and floods to restore them to their former condition.

One of our camels happening to die that day, the hungry *Saracens* fell upon the carcase; and lying along upon the sand, cramm'd their bellies with the flesh, and the water of the aforesaid salt fountain. In the mean time, we bought two hens from a certain *Arabian*, and having made a little fire of camels dung, dress'd them and eat them. Next night we were not a little frightened with a sudden cry that was rais'd against the thieving *Arabians*; but they made their escape with what they could conveniently carry away, while our company was in a hurry and confusion.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> day fetching a compass round the bay, but close by the shore, we met another caravan coming from *Alibor*, *Hircani*, with hawks. There looking from a certain rising ground, we could neither see the front nor the rear of our caravan, so great was the multitude of men, camels and mules. That evening we came to *Elim*, where, as 'tis recorded *Exod. ch. xv*, *Elim* were anciently twelve wells, and seventy palm-trees. The wells are there still, but no palm-trees, only some low shrubs here and there. Here it was that the *Israelites* encamping eat of the fruit of these trees, and quenched their thirst with the water of the wells. Near to these wells, as we were told, in the month of *July* last, fifteen men lost their lives by thirst and heat. Having pitch'd our camp a little way from hence, another of our camels happen'd to die to the great joy of the devouring *Saracens*, but grief of its master. We saw a great many carcases of camels, some whose flesh was quite consum'd, others not.

Fifteen di-  
ed with  
heat.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Fountain Gundele, with its hot waters. Coral search'd for in the Red-Sea. Trees with Prickles. Twice in danger by the Arabians exacting upon them. A Squabble with the Mule-drivers.*

On the 12<sup>th</sup> we travelled up the mountains that overlook the Red-sea; and there we found that all the water which we had brought from *Alcanica* for drinking, was quite spent, and therefore we were forced to take up such water as we could find there with our hands, and put it into our vessels to carry with us. It was not only muddy, but also salt and somewhat bitter. Within sight of this place

they shew'd us a well, call'd *Gundele*, incessantly boiling up hot water. At that time one of the *Franciscans*, not sitting right on his camel, but shifting from one side to the other seem'd to tire his beast, which so enraged his master that he struck the *Franciscan* on the face, and wounded him.

Having travelled all the 15<sup>th</sup> day over high and white mountains, we came in the evening

Well of  
Gundele.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

White co-  
ral.

The Red-  
sea and  
Mare Ery-  
thraeum.

evening to the Red-sea again; where by reason the road was so narrow that we were forced sometimes to ride in the sea, we lighted off our horses, and fell a gathering of curious shells, little stones, and white coral.

This sea is also call'd *Mare Erythraeum*, from a certain king call'd *Erythra*, whose tomb is to be seen in an island of that sea, with an inscription in the character of that country. Next night we separated from the caravan; they travelling along the coast towards *Altora*, whilst we struck off to the left, and went up the mountains. In the mean time our mule-driver's camel died, and he with his companions tore off the flesh and eat it; and stuffed the skin with chaff and straw, to preserve it for another use.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> day, when we were travelling over high mountains of a red and almost shining colour, our water fail'd us, and our victuals was twice-baked bread, dry cheese, and now and then some neat's tongues, well salted and dry'd. There an *Arabian* who was in company with us, for a certain reward, went about a mile off and brought us a bottle of water; which altho' it was full of little reddish worms, we strain'd thro' a cloth, and in that necessity drank it with a great deal of pleasure. The poor *Arabian* no sooner receiv'd his reward, which was one of those pieces of silver which they call *maydins*, than he bor'd a hole in his wife's ear, and hung it to it, upon which she immediately fell a skipping and dancing in a strange manner, and coming to us, touch'd his knee who had given the money, and kiss'd his hand. We saw in this country a great many trees bearing long and sharp pointed prickles, of which kind, it is said, our Lord's crown was made. These trees were blossoming at that time, and sent forth a most delicious smell, which refresh'd us extremely, and we brought a great many of the prickles away with us. In the evening we came into a narrow passage between the hills, and for fear the *Arabian* robbers might way-lay us, we staid there all night; but our mule-drivers, who knew the country very well, having gone to water their camels, did not return before it was very late.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> day we came to some horrible precipices and steep mountains.

There was running by us a bitch with whelps that belonged to one of the *Arabians*, who happening to bring forth her litter there, and seeing us leave her, was horribly afraid to be left there alone with her whelps. For a long time she seem'd to be deliberating, at last fell a howling most mournfully, and chose rather to save her self by following us than stay behind and perish with her puppies. That day about noon, we came to a certain date-tree garden where we were most barbarously us'd by the people who liv'd there. For understanding that we were *Christians*, they came flocking out of their holes with a design to rob us; and raising a hideous cry, threaten'd us with their dreadful bows and spears; some of them knocking us down off our camels, others taking us up, and protecting us from the fury of the rest. Our interpreter neglected us for some time, but did his part at last. However we were five times knock'd down, and had part of our provisions that were not well enough hid taken from us, and with a great deal of difficulty, after much noise and severe drubbing, we were let go, upon payment of eight pieces of silver a man. This garden runs along for the space of almost a mile in a narrow track between the mountains, where it is impossible for one to turn either to the right or left hand, but must with a great deal of trouble travel thro' narrow passages between rows of trees.

Having got clear of this wood, we unhappily fell into the hands of other *Arabians*, who calling themselves the keepers and guardians of the monastery of St. *Catharine*, and offering us violence if we did not obey, exacted ten *maydins* of us before they would let us go, twenty five whereof make a ducat.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> day getting up about midnight to advance in our journey, our mule-drivers began to rebel against us, requiring two *seraps* of us above what was our bargain; and when we continu'd to contradict and dispute the matter with them, they drove their camels before them, and went away, leaving us with our baggage in that vast and dreadful desert all alone. But considering the danger we were in, we sent one after them, who with all his intreaties and large promises had enough to do to bring them back again.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

*The Monastery of St. Catharine. The Arabian Robbers there. The uneasy Ascent to Mount Horeb. The Steps up to it. Another danger from the Arabians. The Chapels on the Mountain. The Saracens Mosque hard by. Abominable Superstition.*

ON the 17<sup>th</sup> day about sun-rising we came to the monastery of St. Catharine; and being admitted into it, we delivered the letters we had brought from the patriarch of the Greeks in Cairo to the abbot of it; and having a room assign'd us, and eat something, when we would have gone to rest, we were surrounded by a crowd of Arabians who put all sorts of sleep out of our minds. They broke into our room, seiz'd our things as if they had been their own, and in a barbarous manner repeated a certain sort of word *thus*, which with them signifies money; with which having stop't their hellish mouths, and greas'd their ugly fists, we shut our doors again, and compos'd our selves to our much desir'd rest. About the second hour of the night we went up to mount Horeb. There were in company with us two Greek monks, whom they call *Calageri*, and three Arabians who liv'd in the monastery of St. Catharine; whom our interpreter had deputed to be our guides, himself being so fat that he could not climb to such a height. We ascended the mountain by the light of the moon, and carried victuals and other necessities along with us; we often rested our selves by the way to recover our lost breath, and encouraged and rous'd up one another to undergo the labour. The ascent of this hill is both steep and high, and, as the monks that were our guides told us, it has seven thousand steps of square stone, besides the greater part where the ascent is natural. Having come half way up the mountain we found a chapel dedicated to *Mary*, and within it a pure spring that was very useful for strangers. At that chapel, our three Arabians who had been sent to be our guard and guides, began to grow cross, and with their drawn swords in their hands would neither suffer us to go backwards nor forwards, till we

should promise them some money; which we found our selves obliged to do rather than fall out with them.

From thence we went to Helias's chapel, where they say he staid when he fled from Jezebel, 3 Kings xix. At last after much sweating and a great deal of toil and labour we reach'd the top of mount Horeb, where in most humble posture we offer'd up our hearty thanks to almighty God who had preserv'd us hitherto, and granted our requests.

From thence we went to the church dedicated to our blessed Saviour which is built in that place, where, as 'tis said, *Moses* spake with the Lord and received the tables of the law, *Exod. xxxiv*. Hard by that church there is a rock, the highest in all the mountain, and twenty paces round, in which place the Lord is said to have talk'd with *Moses*, while it smok'd and look'd terrible with clouds, thunder and lightning; and indeed to this day both this and some other neighbouring mountains shine with a sort of brightness resembling that of polish'd copper. About fifteen paces from hence there is a Saracen mosque, built over that place where *Moses* is said to have fasted forty days and forty nights, by a special Divine assistance, before he received the law, *Exod. xxiv*. This chapel the Saracens make use of to beget, as they fancy, prophets in; for the children that are begot there are esteem'd holy, and fill'd with the spirit of prophecy. In the church dedicated to our Saviour we lay down on the bare ground all night, and trembled so for cold, that we slept little or none all that night; and besides, our three Arabians, who had gone into their mosque to pay their devotion after their own way, did designedly make such a noise all night, that we were quite disturb'd by them.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*They have greater difficulty in ascending Mount Sinai. On the top of it they view all round about. Monastery of the forty Saints. Moses's Stone. The place where Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up. The Water of Cursing.*

ON the 18<sup>th</sup> day about sun-rising we came down the west side of mount Horeb, by a very steep and dangerous way; and came into a valley betwixt mount Horeb and Sinai, in which there was a mona-

stery dedicated to forty Saints, where refreshing our selves a little, we left our baggage under the care of a certain monk. We no sooner began to ascend mount Sinai, than our worthy guides began to threaten

BAUM-GARTEN

Helias's chapel.

A Mosque on mount Horeb.

Saracens superstition.

Steps of mount Horeb.

Valley between mount Horeb and Sinai.



BAUM-  
GARTEN

us and offer violence if we did not give them more money; which because we had not money about us, and being very desirous to finish our intended journey, we promised them a seraph, which was all they desir'd.

For our greater security we took with us another companion of our journey, a monk of the monastery of St. Catharine, whom they swore they would kill if we did not make good our promise. Upon these terms both we and they took heart and began our journey, with much more toil and danger than in mount *Horeb*. For by this time the sun had reach'd the middle of the heavens, and the tops of the mountains with which we were surrounded intercepted the cool and refreshing breezes; and beside, such was our stupidity that we had quite forgot to bring bread with us, and our perfidious guides had made us believe that we should find water enough on the mount.

Difficulty  
of ascend-  
ing mount  
Sinai.

The ascent was both slippery and steep, infomuch that for the most part we were forced to make use of all four; which way of creeping was so uneasy, that I cannot express how wearisome and dangerous it was, and how strong ones knees must needs be that could endure it. For while one that's going up treads upon these stones that lie loose, they presently yield; and in a steep ascent, if one does not take care to set his feet warily, if one of the stones be mov'd out of its place, the rest follow, and tumble down upon the followers. And besides while we were below, the roughness of them was very uneasy to us, because they were often tumbling down, and we were forced to handle them often when we were beginning to scramble up: but having got up higher, we were a little refreshed by a cooler breeze, and the sight of the goats that were running along the rocks diverted in some measure the thoughts of the toil. Afterwards refreshing our selves with a little sugar, and resuming new vigour, we encountered the difficulty again, and sometimes climbing, sometimes creeping, we had almost quite lost our breath, and were mightily distress'd.

It hath  
many tops.

And besides, the monks and *Arabians* were so tir'd that they could hardly know the mountain; for there were a great many high tops of mountains so like one another, that for a long time it was very hard to tell which was which, if there had not been some heaps of stones lying here and there, which had been gather'd by others to direct succeeding travellers in their way; by which means our guides at last coming to know the top of *Sinai*, got before, and call'd to us with a great deal of joy; which so inspir'd us with courage and vi-

gour, that we follow'd them quickly. But at last the ascent grew so difficult, that all our former toil and labour seem'd but sport to this. However, we did not give over, but imploring the Divine assistance, we used our utmost endeavour. At last, thro' untrodden ways, thro' sharp and hanging rocks, thro' clefts and horrible descents, pulling and drawing one another, sometimes with our staves, sometimes with our belts, and sometimes with our hands, by the assistance of Almighty God, we all arriv'd at the top of the mountain. But our *Arabians*, who were not spur'd on by devotion, and had no inclination to the thing, thinking it impossible to get up, stay'd below the rock, admiring our ter-

Top of  
Sinai.

Agarden  
near the  
monastery.

Marks in  
the rock.

Desert of  
Thebais.

Author.

Mount *Sinai* raises its lofty head so far above those of other mountains, and affords such a vast prospect on all hands, that altho' the Red-sea be three days journey distant from it, it seem'd to us but about a gun-shot. From thence we saw several desolate islands in that sea, and beyond it the desert and mountains of *Thebais*, where the *Hermites*, *Paulus*, *Antonius* and *Macarius*, are said to have liv'd. From thence also we descry'd *Altor*, that famous port on the Red-sea, into which all the ships laden with spices from *India* come; and from whence they are carried on camels thro' the desert into *Alexandria*, and from thence by sea and land distributed almost thro' all the world.

But because thirst and the importunity of our guides would not allow us to stay longer, we offer'd up our humble devotion to the most high God, and went down; and the descent being easier than the ascent, in a short time, sometimes tumbling, sometimes walking, we came to the middle of the mountain; where finding a little spring, but clear and wholesome, we drank heartily, to make amends for the long thirst we had endur'd.

And so having resum'd a little strength, we arriv'd not long after at the monastery of the forty Saints, where we were refresh'd with a cup of wine, and a little bread and cheese. This monastery had for some time been full of monks, but some foreign Pa-

Monastery  
of forty  
Saints.

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Vol. I.

gans rushing in, kill'd them every man; and there being forty of them, their number gave name to the place. Now it lies almost desolate, only there are always two of the monks of *St. Catharine* sent there to perform divine service after the manner of the *Greeks*.

A garden  
near the  
monastery.

Near to this little monastery there is a most delightful garden of olive, fig, pomegranate, almond, and several other sorts of trees. Leaving this place, and taking a compass about *Horeb*, we came to a certain stone at the foot of the mountain, which *Moses*, as 'tis recorded *Num. xx.* having struck with his rod, brought forth as much water as served all the men and beasts that were in the *Israelites* army.

Marks in  
the rock.

And altho' *Moses* is said to have struck the rock only twice with his rod, yet there are twelve marks, or prints of it, according to the number of the tribes of the children of *Israel*. Which miracle was the more wonderful, because this stone, tho' separated from the rest of the rock, and is almost of a square figure, yet it is fixt in the ground by only one pointed corner, and consequently not in so fit a

posture to extract any moisture from the earth; and therefore its sending forth such abundance of water must have been the work of an Almighty hand, and to this day there comes a sort of liquor out of one of these marks; which we both saw and tasted.

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
Liquor  
comes out  
of it.

Not far from hence there is a place where (as we read *Numb. xvi.*) the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families and all that they had.

Where Da-  
than and  
Abiram  
were swal-  
lowed up.

A short way from hence is that well of which *Moses* made the people drink the waters of malediction, by which many of them died and were buried there, after their adoring the molten calf. Hard by this place is the burial place of the Greek brethren, where about nine thousand of them are said to be buried.

Well of  
waters  
of maledic-  
tion.

Having fetch'd a compass almost about mount *Horeb*, near sun-set we entered the monastery of *St. Catharine*; and tho' we were almost quite spent with weariness and hunger, yet weariness afflicted us most; for next day we were not able to stand on our feet, and minded rest and sleep more than eating and drinking.

## CHAP. XXV.

*St. Catharine's Chapel and Tomb. The Superstition of the Greeks there. The Founder of it. The Indignities the Arabians put upon it. The way of living of the Monks.*

Monastery  
of St. Ca-  
tharine.

ON the 19<sup>th</sup> day we went into the church of the monastery of *St. Catharine*, which was once a very fine edifice, but now supported only by twelve pillars arched above; on the top of which, as they say, are preserved the reliques of a great number of saints, whose memory the *Greeks* do solemnize once every month of the year. We went to hear prayers with the monks in this church; and after their service was over, they went to the tomb of *St. Catharine*, singing after their *Grecian* way, where one with a book in his hand began first, and the rest all join'd in a chorus. After which each of them, in their ugly old habits and hoods, carrying wax-candles in their hands, and burning frankincense, open the virgin's coffin, pay their humble reverence to the body, and then withdraw in very grave manner. They allowed us the honour to touch these, and complimented us with a bit of the silk in which the body was wrapt.

Superstiti-  
ous service  
of the  
monks.

Builder of  
the monas-  
tery.

This monastery is said to have been built by the emperor *Justinian*; it stands in a valley at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and is inclosed with a high wall. Within the rooms are low and very mean, and the Sa-

racens have the insolence to profane, pull down, and do with it as they think fit. A certain venerable gray-hair'd monk told us that every day there came above fifty *Arabians* there to get victuals, and would not be refused, and that the friars were no better than their slaves. There is one mosque within this monastery, where every night a great many meet together, and make such a noise and clatter that the poor monks cannot lay their eyelids together for them; and the only thing wherein they shew their humanity is, that they don't enter the friars church; in all other things they do what they will, looking on themselves as the masters and guardians of the place, whereas indeed they are destroyers of it.

Insolence  
of the Sa-  
racens.

The monks who are all *Greeks*, and live after the rules, as they say, of *St. Basil*, are very poor, fast often, never taste flesh, wear an ugly and careless sort of habit, and look more like skeletons than living men. They don't acknowledge the pope's supremacy, or indeed any other, but live after their own way, and have their own peculiar customs.

Rules of  
the monks.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Their departure from the Monastery of St. Catharine. They view several Monuments of Antiquity. Three times plagued with the Arabians. Something concerning their Life and Manners. What kind of a Creature a Camel is. Two sorts of them.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN

HAVING seen all the things and places remarkable in or about the monastery, we made all possible haste to pack up our baggage, as quietly as we could, and remove them out of the monastery, sending off our interpreter and camel-driver with them, while we in the mean time, making all the haste we could, went into a garden that was hard by the monastery, and passed through it, having the favour of the moon's light that shin'd all night. There we saw the burial-place of three thousand *Israelites*, whom the sons of *Levi* slew, at the command of *Moses*, for having worshipp'd the image of the calf; also the image of that calf in stone, in memory of the golden one that was burnt, the ditch in which that idol was made, the adjoining water into which *Moses* threw the ashes of it; and the round stone upon which he is said to have broke the tables of the law. Having seen all these, we went directly to our camels that were loaded, and had got before us. There an *Arabian* thief, having stoic a coat from one of our company, was prevail'd with by our camel-driver to restore it; but not before the owner had paid him down six small pieces of silver. And we were oblig'd to stop the mouths of the rest of that gang in the same manner; for they had gather'd together to take their leave of us just as a flock of vultures used to do about a carcase. After which, thanking our stars that we had so escaped, every one mounted his camel, and went away by a road more rugged than that we had travelled before, but shorter.

On the twentieth day, getting up with the sun, we went on in our journey; and not long after entering that date-tree wood that we spoke of before, met with the same treatment from the *Arabians* as we had formerly; and having satisfied them with a little money, there came other two who rob'd us of a couple of pullets, and scour'd up the hill when they had done. We sent off our interpreter and camel-driver after them, but they took care to let them escape, being as great rogues as themselves, and we could hardly trust any body. Thus were we reduc'd to extreme want, having nothing but bread that was as hard as a stone; and had nothing but some good water, which we had brought from *S. Catharine's* to refresh ourselves with. Before we

had gone much farther, we were set upon by a parcel of robbers, in the dusk of the evening, which rais'd a hideous cry, they having surrounded our interpreter, whom they first met with, repeated their shouts, and in their own barbarous brawling way, requir'd money of us; but being disappointed of that, were forced to take a share of our biscuit, and after a deal of clamour and noise, went away like a company of dogs, when their barking is stopt by throwing them a piece of bread. It is a wonder that such a barbarous pack, who have neither laws nor government, and who are so poor and beggarly, should not wound and murder those they meet with, when they may do it safely. For they are free from all subjection, either to the sultan, or any other. They are all masters among themselves, and salute one another with very honourable titles. The poor and the rich, the naked with the cloth'd, the arm'd with the unarm'd, are all, by a certain natural agreement, upon a level. Not long after we had parted with these robbers, we laid us down to refresh our wearied bodies with a little sleep; for the uneasy pace of our camels had so shaken and toils'd us, that we thought our flesh and bones had taken leave of one another; especially the two *Franciscans*, who knew much better how to observe the rules of their order, than to ride on camels.

The camel is a four-footed creature, *A camel.* having ill shapes, and a worse smell. Its tail is like that of an ass, its feet are fleshy and soft, and cleft in the middle, but the hinder part of them is intire. It has two knees on each foreleg, and when it receives its burden, it kneels on both of them. *Pliny, lib. viii.* It has no teeth in the upper jaw, and eats VIII. and drinks very little in respect of its bulk, insomuch that it can travel four days without drinking. It makes its water crossways, and very little of it. The least cooling breeze makes it slow and lazy, if its driver does not animate it with his voice or pipe, or with bells; but heat works the contrary effect upon it. There are, as we are told, two sorts of them, the *Arabian* and the *Baitrian*. The former have two hunches on their back, are swifter than the other, and are call'd *dromedaries*; the latter have only one hunch, and are used for carrying burdens.

C H A P.

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thousand  
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## CHAP. XXVII.

*Their return to the Red-Sea, and joining the Caravan. Dreams and Fancies of weary and famish'd Travellers. A little Squabble with the Mule-drivers about their Hire.*

ON the twenty first day, getting up before sun-rising, we left those horrible rugged mountains, and came down into the more delightful country upon the Red-Sea, and met with the same caravan, loaden with *Indian* spices, almost in the very same place where we had parted with them. All our fear fled away then, when we saw our selves securely fortified with such a multitude of men and beasts; but travelling all that day and night without eating, resting, or sleeping, we could not avoid falling off our camels while we were half-sleeping, half-waking. A thousand strange dreams and fancies came into our heads whilst hungry and weary, and we sat nodding on our camels. We thought we saw somebody reaching us victuals and drink; and putting our hands to take it, and stretching ourselves to overtake it when it seem'd to draw back, we tumbled off our camels, and by a severe fall found it a dream and illusion. We underwent the same hardship all the twenty second and

twenty third days, mutually pitying one another's leanness and misery, and exhorting each other to patience and resignation.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> about noon, our mule-driver like a cunning and treacherous rogue, leaving the caravan, led us in among barren and sandy mountains; where having rested our selves and our camels, he most impudently demanded of us more money than was his due, withal threatening that unless he had it, he would leave us there to shift for our selves. Considering what danger we were in, we thought it advisable to let him have it rather than endure the effects of his fury. So after much wrangling, we mounted our camels, and under covert of night return'd to *Acania*, ready to faint for hunger and sleep. Thus we ended a journey in five days returning, which cost us eight going.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> day, having not slept all that night, but eat plentifully in the morning, and hir'd us mules, we went directly to *Cairo*.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*They are again insolently treated at their return to Cairo. The Creature call'd Ziraphus. The Indian Ox. An Injury done to a Saracen by a Mamaluck, to which is subjoin'd a short History of the Saracens and Mamalucks. Pyramids. The Creature call'd Muscus.*

BEING arriv'd at *Cairo*, we were received in the same manner as we were sent off, by the boys of the city, who pelted us again with their dirt, bricks and rotten limons. We got into *Tongobardin's* house, and were received with the greatest expressions of joy by the *Venetian* merchants, who had almost despair'd of our return. They listen'd with the greatest attention to the relations we gave them of the places and things we had seen; and after we had tired both ourselves and them with our stories, and it was now time to go to bed, we parted, and went to enjoy that sleep and repose, which our wearied and spent bodies did so vehemently long for.

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, looking out at a window, we saw the *ziraphus*, the tallest creature that ever we beheld. Its skin was all over white and brown, and its neck was almost two fathoms long. Its head was a cubit long, and its eyes looked brisk and lively; its breast was upright, and its back low; it could eat bread or fruits, or any

thing else they reached to it. The same day we saw an *Indian ox*, whose body was shorter, but head larger than that of our oxen; his horns were large, not sharp pointed, but blunt and knotty.

We spent all the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> days (except what we bestow'd on recruiting our spirits with sleep) upon reading the holy scriptures.

As we were walking along the street on the 29<sup>th</sup>, we saw a *Saracen* crying bitterly, and thumping his head and breasts: and having the curiosity to enquire what the matter was with him, we were told that he had lately given a good sum of money for a house, and after he had been at great charge to finish and furnish it, a certain *Mamaluck* had violently dispossest him of it, and beat him, only because he fancied the house; for so great is the *Mamalucks* authority here, that they may punish or do lucks with a *Saracen* what they please, and never be call'd in question: and therefore they had thrust him out of his house, and having

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
Slavery of  
the Sara-  
cens.

possessed it, might live in it as long as they would. But the *Saracens* are not so much as allow'd to ride on horseback, nor bear arms within the city, but are oblig'd to take all in good part from the *Mamelucks* as if they were their meanest slaves, to give place to them, to pay reverence to them as they pass along, and even to kiss their knees and feet; and if it happen that any of them are allowed to kiss a *Mameluck's* hand, he is to look on that as a singular favour: all which, no doubt, is a punishment inflicted on them by the Divine justice. For in former times the *Saracens* are said to have so much thirsted after dominion over the Christians, that when they could not make captives of them themselves, they bought them from other nations who were at war with the Christians; and they no sooner had them in their possession, than they forced them to abjure their religion, then made them draw their ploughs, and undergo other such labour and toil; and if they happen'd to be engaged in a battle, they used them for a defence and shelter against the attacks of the enemy.

Hatred to  
the Chris-  
tians.

But these bought slaves exercised abundance of fortitude amidst all these hardships and disasters; and the more they were used to them, the more patiently they suffered, and the less they were inclin'd to sink under them: and no longer did they suffer this yoke to lie on their necks, than till they thought they had a sufficient number, and a leader able enough to attempt to shake it off, and even to seize the sovereignty itself. Now it happen'd on a time that the *Egyptians* being engaged in a foreign war, arm'd all these slaves, and of them made up a considerable army, able to make head against the enemy. These reckoning themselves sure of the victory, one of their number, who carried deep resentments of the slavery and ignominy which they endur'd, in a set speech publicly told the rest, that he could not enough admire their tameness and cowardice, who so patiently underwent such drudgery, such drubbing, such fetters, and even death it self, when they could expect nothing after all but food and raiment in the most miserable manner; but if they would shew themselves men, let them follow him, and they should all be free and all masters.

A story of  
slaves.

Having with these words enflamed their natural boldness, they marched directly to *Alcairo*, carrying the trophies of their slain enemies before them, and were admitted into the king's castle, as if they meant no harm; and having made themselves masters of it, they first beheaded the king with all his court, and threw his carcase over the wall. Afterwards went strait to the city, and destroy'd all with fire and sword;

treating their imperious and cruel masters as they had done them. At last after they had satiated their revenge on these, they gave quarters to the rest of inferior rank. They created their leader king, and those slaves, who are now call'd *Mamelucks*, were put in possession of all their master's goods. And this, as 'tis said, is the original of these people, and in this manner did they grow so powerful. They are all Christian renegado's, and they baptize all their children, not by a religious motive, but that they may have a legal title to their father's estate after his death. For none that's unbaptiz'd, or a mere *Saracen*, or a *Jew*, can be a *Mameluck*; but first they are baptiz'd, and afterwards abjure the faith, and are circumcis'd. After that they burn the figure of the cross upon the sole of their foot, as a mark of their contempt of the Christian religion. The most part of these come from *Russia*, *Albania*, *Servia*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and but seldom from our native country *Germany*.

Original  
of the Ma-  
malucks.

Worship.  
Vid Peuc.  
lib. IV.  
chron.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> day, having a moor who was *Tongobardin's* slave for our guide, we cross'd the *Nile* to see the pyramids. They are huge structures, built of large square stones, and rais'd to a great height; and have their name from *weg*, fire, whose form they resemble. The kings of *Egypt* built them for their burial-places, with immense cost and labour; and the reason why they were built so great, and so many hands employ'd, was that the people might have no time to conspire against their kings. The three pyramids that stand towards *Lybia*, are about fifteen miles from *Memphis*, which is now called *Cairo*, and about five from the *Nile*; and for the magnificence and art that is displayed upon them, they may justly be reckon'd one of the seven wonders of the world, and irresistibly breed admiration in all that behold them. The largest of them was built by king *Cheemnis*, The largest  
and is quadrilateral. The whole structure is of a hard, rough, and durable stone, Stones 'tis  
which they say was brought a great way made of.  
off from *Arabia*. It is a prodigious piece of work, especially in a sandy country; insomuch that it seems rather to be the work of the gods than men; and as the story goes, there were three hundred and sixty thousand men employ'd for the space of almost twenty years in building it; but none of those kings who design'd any of these pyramids for their sepulchre were buried in them, for either the hardship that the people endur'd, or the tyranny and cruelty of the kings provok'd their subjects to that degree, that they either tore their bodies in pieces, or threw them out of their monuments. For which reason they usually left special orders with some of their servants

Great  
Pyramid.

servants, to avoid the two other decay'd. But is so large is, standing wards, can which exp tried.

On the u ing with an house a for a cat, but with a rod



servants, to lay their bodies in some mean and obscure place, that they might thereby avoid the fury of the people. There are two other pyramids, but they are much decay'd. But the greatest of these pyramids is so large still, that the strongest man that is, standing and throwing a dart strait forwards, can scarce reach the middle of it; which experiment has been oftentimes tried.

On the thirty first while we were discoursing with an *Italian* merchant, we saw in his house a sort of a creature, somewhat like a cat, but much bigger, which being struck with a rod and made angry, voided a sort

of perfume, valued at its weight in gold. <sup>BAUM-  
GARTEN</sup> This creature, which is call'd *Muscu*, has a lump near its navel, which being taken out, gives a most pleasant smell, and is esteem'd one of the most delicious perfumes. <sup>Creatura  
call'd</sup> The *Italians* call it *Zibetbo*, and the *Germans*, *Pysen*.

The first five days of *November* we did nothing but buy such things as were necessary for our journey to *Jerusalem*, and sent back to *Venice* all that was not useful to us, but rather a hindrance. We hir'd our mules, pack'd up what we thought we might have occasion for on our journey, and longed for the day of our departure.

*The End of the First Book.*

## BOOK II.

An Account of their Travels into  
*Palestine.*

## CHAP. I.

*They leave Cairo the second time. Return to Alcanica the third time. Strange way of hatching Eggs in Egypt. A Saracen Saint. In danger from the Arabians. Another Saracen Saint, or rather Devil. His and his Complices way of Singing.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN

ON the sixth of *December*, having obtain'd leave to depart from *Tongobardin*, as if we intended to return, because we were secretly told he had a design upon us, and having humbly supplicated his aid, we began another journey; and leaving *Cairo*, we came to *Alcanica*, where we took up our quarters in a little house, close by which there was a plain piece of ground, with a garden, enclosed with a dry stone-wall, in which we slept and eat, without any other canopy than the heavens. We saw there an oven shut up on all hands with lime and clay, into which they used to put the eggs of several sorts of fowls, as geese, hens, doves, &c. which, not by the mother's hatching, but by the warmth and influence of the fire and slime, brought forth living young ones, according to their several kinds, in a short time; who afterwards followed a man either to be fed or to be sold, as chickens hatch'd in a natural way used to follow their others. And however this may seem a fable to some, yet it is certainly true; for in those ovens there are sometimes three, sometimes four thousand eggs of different kinds put, and all of them by those means produce their respective young ones. The truth of this will not seem strange to any one who observes the incredible number of young fowl that are in *Egypt*.

Pleanty of  
fowls.

A Mahometan  
saint.

Maimen in  
veneration.

On the seventh day, leaving *Alcanica*, we came to a place call'd *Belber*, where we join'd the caravan that was going to *Damascus*. There we saw a *Mabometan* saint sitting among the hillocks of sand, as naked as he came out of his mother's belly. It is a custom, as we were then told, among the *Mabometans* to reverence those as saints who are mad and out of their wits; and they think also that a great deal of respect is to be paid to those who voluntarily re-

pent and vow poverty, after they have led a leud and scandalous life. This sort of men are allow'd an unbridled and unbounded liberty of going into all houses, of eating, drinking, and which is still worse, of lying with whom they will; and if this copulation produces a child, it is likewise reckon'd holy. They honour these men very much while they are alive, and after they are dead they build stately temples and monuments in honour of them; and they think it a very happy and lucky thing to touch or bury them. This we heard our mule-driver say, as we understood by our interpreter. Moreover we heard this saint mightily commended for a very good man, of great piety and unblemish'd virtue, because he had never defiled himself with women or boys, but only with asses and mules. We could not forbear laughing at such sanctity, or rather beastliness, that what in our judgment ought to be punish'd by burning alive, should by them be thought pious and praise-worthy. But these are rather beasts in human shape than men.

That night there was great shouting and confusion among those that were in the outer part of the caravan for fear of thieves; but all the harm they did us was to steal some small inconsiderable matter, which they got clear off with. The place where we pitch'd had on one hand a wood of sycamore trees, on the other a purling rivulet, over which we had the prospect of a most delightful country, which was just then yielding a plentiful second crop.

On the eighth day we stayed there for some time, waiting the coming of a great many more from several parts, to increase the number of our caravan: which being compleat, we immediately set out, there being near four hundred armed men in the company; notwithstanding which the *Arabians* seem'd as if they would attack us three

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The flock  
of carri-  
m.

Lucy's  
journey.

Town of  
Cecilia.

three times that day, it being their daily employment to plague that country with their robberies: but the *Mamelucks* on horseback, and the archers on foot, so soon as they smelt any danger, did so dispose themselves on all hands, that we with the goods and baggage march'd on as fast as we could under their shelter.

Guards of  
caravans.

That evening we came to a certain slimy and muddy pool, of which both we and our beasts were forced to drink; where we saw one of their pretended *Saracen* saints,

in a party-colour'd coat and a straw-cap *BAUM*-  
on his head, carrying in his hand a sort of *GARTEN*  
a red banner with the *Sultan's* arms on it,  
and flourishing it about to invite the *Sa-* *A phrase Sa-*  
*racens* to sing with him. The words of *racen*  
their song were almost the same, and their *saint.*  
notes not very different; only when they  
began they drew them out long, but as  
they went on they still grew shorter and  
shorter. The words I have inserted as  
follows.

*Halla balla illa balla billala billala balla billala billala.*

*Halla balla, and so on continually balla.*

## CHAP. II.

*Salheyo. Cattia. They travel through the Desert; the great number of Dead Bodies there: how they had been killed. Admirald poison'd by the Sultan's Order. Salt Pits near the Sea. The Mamelucks take their part against the Mule-drivers.*

ON the 9<sup>th</sup> day of November, moving from thence we came to a village call'd *Salheyo*; close by which in a garden, or rather a grove, while we were resting our selves a little, the inhabitants brought us melons, cucumbers, dates, and some bread and pullets, which we bought of them at a small charge; and having fill'd our bottles out of a neighbouring puddle, we departed, and travelling all that night, about dawning we stop'd and took some rest on a rising ground.

Salheyo.

Town of  
Cattia.

Two's  
party.

Two's  
party.

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, after we had travelled for some time thro' hills of *Salheyo*, we came to a town call'd *Cattia*, near to which, about a date-tree wood, we staid all night; and tho' we saw a great many *Arabian* robbers, yet the sight of the *Mamelucks* so frighted them, that they durst not offer us any violence.

The 11<sup>th</sup> day and following night we travelled thro' deep sand, and so loose that it yielded and slid back under our feet; while in the mean time we could see nothing but the heavens above, and sand below; for nothing green, no tree, or the least shrub was within the reach of our sight.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> day about sun-rising we came to a desolate and decay'd cottage, where we stop'd about two hours, and then went on in our sandy journey towards the sea. Not far from this cottage we saw above ten thousand carcasses of sheep, goats, asses, and other creatures lying on the ground, rotten and half consum'd; the noisom smell of which was so insufferable, that we were obliged to make all the haste we could to get out of the reach of it. The

occasion of their lying there was thus: *Ad-* *Admirald*  
*mirald*, one of the *Sultan's* chief minis- *a chief*  
ters, having been sent into *Judea* to raise *minister.*  
a poll-tax, and finding it hard to get in the money, had driven away the poor people's cattle, with a design to carry them to *Cairo*, and present them to the *Sultan*; but as he was travelling thro' that desert, where there was neither water nor pasture, he lost them all. The *Sultan* understanding this, and considering with himself how great authority *Admirald* had among the *Mamelucks*, began to suspect, that if he should come safe to *Cairo*, he might at once deprive him of his crown and life; and therefore before he drew near the town he sent one to compliment him with a rich embroider'd garment, as a token of his joy for his safe return; and after that sent him a poisonous draught, which he no sooner drank than he died; and thereby freed the *Sultan* from his jealousy and suspicion, and at the same time fill'd his coffers.

After we had got out of the reach of that stink, we came to a certain bay, all along the coast of which there were places where salt was made. For when the sea flow'd and cover'd the neighbouring ground that lay low, it fill'd the ditches with salt-water, which when it ebb'd, was turn'd into salt by the violent heat of the sun. These places turn'd to so great account to the *Sultan*, that as we were told, they yielded him a hundred thousand *serapbs* a year. Having travelled all that day, and till about midnight, we arriv'd at a village call'd *Larisch*, where we rested our selves for some time; and then went on till we came

Village  
Larisch.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

came to another bay, where the *Mamelucks* who where our guard commanded us to light off our mules and pay them for their attendance, for which they exacted a *seraph* from every one of the company. At last, after they had been paid by all the rest, they came to us; but we by our interpreter refused, alledging that our mule-driver ought to pay it, since we had made our bargain with him so, and that we were to pay nothing out of our own pockets on that account; and that we would confirm what we had said by his own hand-writing.

The *Mamelucks* seeing us in disorder, and perceiving that we understood not the language, had some compassion on us, and having surrounded the mule-driver, demanded their money of him; and when he was beginning to argue the matter with them, they stopt his discourse, and had well nigh fallen foul of him, if he had not been so wise as to perceive where it would end, and to untie the ribbon that was about his head, and (tho' much against his will) give the piece of gold they demand-

Mama-  
lucks  
quarrel  
with the  
mule-driver.

### CHAP. III.

*They hire an Interpreter: Get themselves Saracen Habits. The Temple of Dagon, &c. Arrive at last at Hebron.*

Saracen  
habit.

ON the 14<sup>th</sup> day about sun-set we drew near to *Gaza*; and after we had for a long time rode close by it, at last we lighted at our mule-driver's house, and staid there two days, and hir'd a *Jew*, whose name was *David*, to be our interpreter; by whose advice we bought us *Saracen* habits, the cheapest and coarsest we could find, that in that dress we might the more freely go into, or come out of any place where we should have occasion to be. For hitherto we had only cover'd our heads, and put a girdle about us after the fashion of the country; but our clothes were of the *Grecian* mode, and hardly reach'd so far as our knees. But now we were habited like the *Saracens* every way, had our heads poll'd after the same manner, and the same figure of beards; so that we could freely go whither we would. *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, was once a great and strong city, and one of the five principal ones in *Palestine*, and was call'd so by the *Persians*: That word in their language signifies a *treasury*; because when *Cambyse* king of *Persia* went into *Egypt*, he made this the storehouse for all his riches and warlike preparations. It is still a great city, and larger than *Jerusalem*, but not fortified; situated in a most fruitful country, not far from the sea, and invironed with delightful gardens full of date, pomegranate, and other fine fruit-trees: within are to be seen ancient magnificent buildings, some whereof are intire others ruinous. There is to be seen the temple of *Dagon*, but not above half of it standing; which *Sampson* (as we read *Judg. xvi.*) taking hold of the two pillars that supported it, pull'd down, and destroyed both himself and all that

City Ga-  
zera.

Curtius  
lib. III.

Temple of  
Dagon.

Sampson's  
Pillars.

were in it: And these pillars are still preserved there, to perpetuate the memory of the action. It is plain by the ruins of this temple, that it was a very large one, strongly built of large hewed stones. About a mile from this city towards *Hebron*, stands the hill to which (as it is recorded in the forecited chapter of *Judges*) *Sampson* by his incredible strength, carry'd away the gates and bars of this city.

The hill on  
which he  
carried  
the gates.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> about noon, bending our course towards *Jerusalem*, we came to a certain village where we refreshed our selves and our mules, because the road we were next to travel was very bad and rugged. Departing from thence we travelled all night for fear of robbers; and we had a very toilsome journey, both because we were afraid of the robbers, and because the road was steep, rugged, full of woods and dens; which obliged us to halt in a little narrow valley, and rest our selves and our beasts who were almost fatigu'd to death.

Roughness  
of the way

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, travelling between the rugged and broken tops of the hills, we saw very wholesome and pleasant herbs, and fell a gathering of them, the smell being mighty refreshing. At length we got out of that narrow track, and came into the common road, and not long after arriv'd at a little town situated on a height, where they said the land of *Judea* began. Here we fill'd our bottles with fresh water, and bought us some softer bread, and so went on in a very bad and stony road, till we came at last to *Hebron*, where after a great deal of intreaty, and the promise of a good reward for our entertainment, we were permitted to lodge in the house of a certain poor widow.

Entrance  
into Judea

Hebron.

They visit  
M.

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con-  
interpre-  
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the three  
*Abraham*,  
the fields  
or at least  
field lies

Wells of  
the patri-  
archs.  
Fields of  
Damascus.

*Hebron*, a  
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*Hebron* is  
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patriarchs

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*Hebron*, c  
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his father  
half a mil-  
of *Manre*  
the LORD  
was sittin-  
he saw th-  
When we

Styque  
upon a  
doubt  
etc.

Ancient  
Hebron.

Burial-  
place of  
Jesse.  
Valley of  
Manre.

## CHAP. IV.

*They visit the Wells of the Patriarchs. The Fields of Damascus. The Valley of Mamre. Injuries done by the Mamalucks. Nehelescol. Bethlehem.*

ON the 19<sup>th</sup> day we went under the conduct of the *Jew* who was our interpreter, and a *Saracen* who was our guard, to see those places that are mentioned in the scriptures. The first that offered themselves to our observation, were the three fountains of these patriarchs, *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*. After these the fields of *Damascus*, where it is said, or at least guessed, *Adam* was made. That field lies about a bow-shot to the west of *Hebron*, and the earth of it is reddish, and feels almost like wax, so that the *Saracens* make little balls of it, which they sell to the Christians to make their prayer-beads of. The *Saracens* also export great quantities of this earth into foreign countries every year, pretending that no noxious creature can do those any harm who carry this about them; and that it preserves them from breaking their bones, and all other sad accidents. Moreover, as *Josephus* relates, *Hebron* is not only more ancient than the other cities of that country, out even than *Memphis* in *Egypt* it self; but now it is liker a village than a city, standing in that place where the cave is, in which these patriarchs and their wives are buried.

Above this double cave there was anciently a stately church; for while the Christian religion flourish'd there, it was a cathedral, but it is now degenerated into a mosque. However the infidels have a veneration for the place, because that all those whom age, or poverty, or want of health, will not allow to visit *Mecca*, where their pretended prophet is buried, are allowed to come here, or to the temple at *Jerusalem*; but neither *Jew* nor Christian must enter this church. Not far from modern *Hebron*, on a little steep hill, stands ancient *Hebron*, or rather the rubbish of it, in which *David*, as the scriptures say, reign'd seven years, and where the burial-place of his father *Jesse* is still to be seen. About half a mile from old *Hebron* is the valley of *Mamre*; where, as 'tis related *Gen. xviii.* the LORD appeared to *Abraham* while he was sitting in the door of his tent; when he saw three, but paid worship only to one. When we were thinking to leave *Hebron*,

there came a *Mamaluck* who was governor of that place, and violently took away both our mules, and all the rest that he could find, to carry his baggage to *Damascus*. After we fought up and down a long time for others, at last we found two, upon which we laid our things, and followed them on foot our selves: and we had a very troublesome journey of it, by reason of the ruggedness of the road, which was long and hilly, and no earth on it to cover the bare and rough stones. And yet (which is very strange) there is here and there among those bare stones, some olive, fig, and pomegranate trees. We had not got far from the city when there comes a *Mamaluck*, and falls like thunder upon one of our company who was riding on an ass, and indisposed: He presently gets off, and offers him to the *Mamaluck*; but not being satisfy'd with the ass, commands a *Jew* who was riding on a horse to dismount. The *Jew* delayed it a little, and endeavour'd to prevail with him by fair words: But the *Mamaluck* enraged at his disobedience, falls a drubbing of him, and railing at him, and knock'd the poor old and feeble *Jew* off his horse. Our mule-drivers came about the *Mamaluck*, praying and intreating him to have pity on his infirmity and old age, and kiss'd both his hands and his feet, and the poor *Jew* did the like; and so trying the last remedy, they greased his fist, and sent him off satisfy'd. But the *Jew* had been so thresh'd and wounded, that he had much ado to mount again with the help of another man. After this we put on in our journey, and left *Nehelescol*, that is, the stream of grapes, *Nehelescol* on our left; from whence (as it is recorded *col. Numb. xiii.*) the spies whom *Moses* sent out, cut off the vinebranch with its grapes, and brought it on two mens shoulders to him, together with the pomegranates and figs of that country. At last coming to *Bethlehem*, famous on the account of *David* and hem. our LORD JESUS CHRIST, we were kindly receiv'd into the *Franciscan* monastery, and entertain'd all that night as plentifully as their condition and manner of living would allow.

Wells of the patriarchs. Fields of Damascus.

Mosque upon a hill.

Account Hebron.

Burial-place of Jesse. Valley of Mamre.



## CHAP. V.

*The ancient Magnificence of the Church at Bethlehem. The Sultan's Sacrilege. They view many Monuments of Antiquity. They enter Jerusalem. Abraham Keeper of our LORD's Sepulchre.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
Temple of  
Bethle-  
hem.

ON the 20<sup>th</sup>, rising from our soft mats, we went to see the church dedicated to our SAVIOUR, which while it stood in its glory, had not its equal, I believe, in the world: It was built of the choicest white marble, wonderfully adorned, and curiously supported by two and twenty pillars in two rows; and the statues had displayed their utmost skill to beautify and adorn it. One may see by the ruins of it, that it had formerly forty of these pillars. Moreover, between the chapters of the pillars and the roof, there are to be seen the histories of the holy scripture in beautiful pieces of finest painting, and set off with such curious pieces of rarest marble, as nothing can be imagin'd beyond them, or any price great enough for them. Their smoothness and brightness did not yield to those of the best polish'd mirror; inasmuch that some years ago the *Sultan* being charmed with the fineness of them, did sacrilegiously carry a great many of them to *Cairo* to adorn his palace. Here they shew'd us whatever was rare and remarkable, as the place where our Saviour was born, in which there was a chapel built in honour of him; the place where the manger stood, and the wife men offered their gifts; the table on which the circumcision was perform'd, and other such-like. Having viewed all these, we begg'd the two friars would give us the favour of their company to *Jerusalem*; and by the way our fellow travellers shew'd us the cistern of *Bethlehem* spoken of 2 *Kings* xxiii. the

*Sultan's*  
sacrilege.

*Antiqui-  
ties in*  
Bethle-  
hem.

sepulchre of *Rachab*, the ruinous tower of the Rock of *Galead*, the houses of *Elias* and *Habakkuk*, and of *Simeon*, near to which we began to have sight of *Jerusalem*. We no sooner saw it, than we offered up our hearty thanks to that immortal Being, who, through so many dangers by sea and land, had protected us and brought us there in health of body, and soundness of mind.

So we went up to the holy *Jerusalem* by the valley of *Enno*, which is between *Gyo* and *Mount Zion*, and were carried by the *Franciscans* into the monastery of the *Minorites* that stands on *Mount Zion*, and were kindly received, and plentifully refreshed in a place that was appointed for us.

That same day towards evening, *Abraham*, the keeper of our LORD's sepulchre, understanding there were strangers come, came to us and talk'd with us, and told us the time we were to see the holy sepulchre, and what the fees were. Neither the *Sultan's*, nor *Tongobardin's* letters signified any thing to us then, tho' we had paid eight *seraphs* for them in *Cairo*; and tho' the governor of *Jerusalem* had received and kiss'd them with a profound reverence, and laid them on his head and read them: We must have recourse to our money, we must use that interest, and that must support and protect us. For twenty *seraphs* therefore we bought a liberty of going into the temple, and the holy sepulchre, which we intended to do next morning.

*Sultan's*  
recommen-  
dation to  
the go-  
vernor of  
*Jerusalem*

*Fees for*  
seeing the  
temple.

*Brook*  
*Cedron.*

*Helena's*  
bridge.

*Sepulchre*  
of *Jolaphat*.

*Of Za-*  
*chariah.*

*Of Aba-*  
*him.*

*Temple of*  
*the Virgin*

## CHAP. VI.

*They visit the Holy Sepulchre: View the Monuments of Antiquity. Description of the Sepulchre.*

ON the 21<sup>st</sup> day of *November* about sun-rising, we went into the holy sepulchre, accompanied by almost all the monks of *Mount Zion*. Coming to the door of the church, we found *Abraham* and a great number of *Saracens* sitting there, and waiting our coming. After he had taken a note of all our names particularly, he set open the doors of the church, which he had no sooner entred than he immediately shut them without. All the monks being arrayed in habits of divers colours, had each of them a torch put into his hand, and began to sing; and after the singing was done, one of them came to us and be-

gan to shew and explain the holy places. First that of *CHRIST's* appearing after his resurrection; next, *Mount Calvary*, where he was crucified; the chaps of the earth caused by the earthquake at his passion; a part of the pillar where he was scourg'd, inclosed within rails: Chapels built to preserve the memory of a great many things; and particularly in that which he shew'd us in *Golgotha*, was this epitaph on king *Baldwin*.

*Rex Balduinus Judas alter Machabeus, Epitaph on King Baldwin*  
*Quem fornicabant, cui dona tributa ferebant*

*Cedar,*

Cedar, Egyptus, Dan & homicida Damascus,  
*Prob dolor! exiguo hoc ossa tegit ecce sepulchro.*

At last we came to the chapel of the holy sepulchre, into which we entered at a little low door not above two cubits high; the place itself not open above, but on the south side where the body was brought in, and continually enlightened with thirty eight lamps. The figure of the sepulchre without is square; at the corners of which there are six pillars, so high that they

support a sort of cover that is above the <sup>BAUM-</sup>roof of the chapel; above which there is <sup>GARTEN</sup>a little room, with two rows of pillars, but six in number, and three cubits in measure. Above these pillars there is a little gilded arch resembling a globe. The church, in the middle of which the chapel of the sepulchre stands, is open above, so wide as the chapel is large, so that the holy sepulchre may in a manner be said to be in the open air. There we staid all night, offering up our devout prayers to God Almighty.

## CHAP. VII.

## Several Monuments of Antiquity without the City.

ON the 22<sup>d</sup> of November about sunrise came *Abraham*, accompanied with a great number of *Mamelucks* and *Saracens*, and open'd the door, and bid us come out. We obey'd his order, and went to the monastery in *Mount Sion* where we refreshed our selves: After which we went out without the city to see the churches and chapels that were dedicated to several saints, or built to perpetuate the memory of some notable action. Under the walls of the city and the temple we came to the brook *Cedron*, which runs thro' the middle of the valley of *Josaphat*, and in the summer time is dry, but in the spring and lent-time is level with its banks. Over this brook there is an arch'd stone-bridge built by *Helena*; and on the other side of it, near the road that leads to *Bethany*, is the sepulchre of *Josaphat* king of *Juda*, from whom the valley as well as this has its name. The sepulchre is hew'd out of a solid rock, and has a pyramid atop of it. Hard by it is the sepulchre of the prophet *Zacchariah*, a large piece of work, and cut out of the solid rock also. We view'd also the sepulchre of *Abalom*, the son of *David*; at which, because he impiously rebelled against his father, travellers, even the *Saracens* and *Mamelucks*, throw stones, cursing both it, and the person that lies buried in it; and you may see there a great heap of such stones. From thence we went and saw *Geisfemane*, the place where our Saviour in great affection prayed, was taken, and bound. After that we went to visit the church of the blessed *Virgin*, that stands almost in the middle of the valley of *Josaphat*, and to which we went down by thirty eight steps. In the middle of the church stands her sepulchre made of white marble: It is larger than that of our Lord, and has two doors opposite to one another, and her body is

said to lie here. From thence we went up to *Mount Olivet*, which is directly opposite to *Solomon's* temple towards the east. From the top of it there is a vast prospect towards the *Dead-Sea*, *Arabia*, the mountains *Abarim*, *Nebo*, *Pisga*, and several other places.

Coming down that side that looks to the *Dead-Sea*, we visited *Bethphage*; in which place the guardian uses to come from *Mount Sion*, accompanied with the brethren on asses, every palm-sunday; and in this manner enter *Jerusalem*, in memory of what *CHRIST* did there; the *Saracens* in the mean while laughing and making a sport of it.

We came next to *Bethany*, antiently a place of strength, but now a sorry village, about three miles from *Jerusalem*, where *Lazarus's* tomb is still to be seen, which is in great veneration with the *Saracens*, and on the top of it there is a banner hangs, with *Saracen* letters and figures painted on it.

Not far from hence they shew'd us *Simon* the leper's house, which by its ruins seems to have been a large pile of building. It was built all of hewed stone, and very strong, and was encompassed with a wide and deep ditch.

As we were returning to *Jerusalem*, we stept aside a little to see the trunk of a tree, on which, as they say, the traitor *Judas* hang'd himself. A little way from thence to the left hand is his house which the *Jews* have been careful to fence and build a wall about, for fear the Christians should offer any violence to it, and hard by it is a burial-place of the *Jews*; and good reason that fowls of the same kind should flock together.

Towards evening we return'd to the monastery, where we rested and refreshed our selves.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Relation of several Monuments of Antiquity. A strange way of Bird-catching. Story of a certain Maronite. An Apostate Franciscan.*

ON the 23<sup>d</sup> day we went out again to see the places mentioned in holy scripture; and first as we were going down towards the south, we came to the pool of *Siloah*, where CHRIST restor'd sight to the blind man, as we read *Job. ix.* Near to this is the well of that name, where pure and clear water is incessantly boiling up. Above this about the middle of the hill, is the piece of ground call'd *Aeldama*, which was bought with the money that *Judas* sold his master for: The empress *Helena* built a high wall about it, and covered it above, leaving only nine holes through which the light might come in, and dead bodies might be let down; it is seventy three foot long, and fifty broad. A little to the east from hence we entered certain large caves, where they say the apostles hid themselves during our Saviour's passion. There we had occasion to see a way of catching birds which we had never seen before, for they did not catch them with a bait as they do with us, but with water pour'd out upon a rock; for this is a very dry country, and the poor birds when they are flying in the air, ready to drop down for thirst, seeing the water shine so clear by the bright beams of the sun, fly straight down to it, and before they are aware are caught fast in the gins. By that time we had seen this sport it was time to eat something, and so we went to *Sion* and din'd; and after dinner went to the gate of the temple that is call'd *beautiful*, where *Peter* as we read *Acts. iii.* cured the man that had been lame from his mother's womb. Afterwards having a mind to view *Solomon's* temple more narrowly, we were violently hindred by the threatening *Saracens*, and push'd back again after we were half up the stairs of that gate. As much as we could observe, both here and from other places, this temple is not very large, it being not half so big as the ancient and true temple was. As to its figure, it has twelve sides; it is covered with lead, and above the middle of its roof there is a dome, on the top of which there is a crescent, which the *Saracens* usually place, either at the doors or on the top of their mosques; and within it, as we were told, there are two thousand lamps constantly burning. There is a large square about this temple, about a bow-shot broad, all laid with white marble, which gives a great deal of splendour and magnificence to the temple; for it reflects the rays of the sun

so bright and thick, that the beholders can no more look on it than they can on the sun itself; and the whiteness, smoothness and cleanness of it, contribute much to that. This temple is in so great veneration among the *Saracens*, that the *Sulian* does not think it beneath him to stifle himself the high priest and protector of it, and they call it the *holy sanctuary*. It was first built by *Solomon* in mount *Moria*, but was afterwards several times destroyed by the calamities of war, and again rebuilt through the pious disposition of several kings, and the liberality of the people; but now neither *Jew* nor *Christian* must set their foot within it. If any of these are catch'd in it, he must presently either abjure his religion, or be cut asunder in the middle; which, as we were told, was the hard fate of a poor *Christian*, of the sect of the *Maronites*, a *very* of *Maronite*. About half a year before. He had gone in to view the temple in the habit of a *Saracen*, but was unhappily discover'd to be a *Christian*; and being threatened with present death, turn'd *Mabometan*: but not long after, his conscience checking him for what he had done, he immediately recanted. Upon which he was brought before the church of the holy sepulchre, and cut in two in the middle. For all this he lived three hours, arguing for the excellency of the *Christian* religion, and exposing the folly and superstition of the *Saracens*, and at last gave up his spirit to him for whose sake he had suffer'd.

About that time a certain monk of the *Franciscans* that lived in *Mount Sion*, deluded some way or other by the wiles of the devil, voluntarily abjur'd his religion. We had seen him before this time in *Cairo*, passing for a *Mamaluck*, and talk'd with him about apostacy, but could not prevail with him. Near to this temple, towards *Mount Sion*, there is along and high-roof'd church cover'd with lead, which some time had been call'd *Solomon's porch or gallery*, or the *house of the forest of Libanus*, because *Solomon* used to discourse and give judgment in it, and because it was built of timber brought from the forest of *Libanus*. While the *Christians* were masters of *Jerusalem*, it was dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*; and they say now there are eight hundred lamps constantly burning in it, and it is now much larger than the temple of *Solomon*. We were credibly inform'd by one who accompanied us as far as *Damascus*, that within the precinct

Pool of  
Siloah.

Field A-  
eldema.

Helena's  
wall.

Birdcatch-  
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Beautiful  
gate.

Solomon's  
Temple.

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A building  
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ground.  
of

Vol. I.

A building  
under  
ground.

of this temple and Solomon's, there were magnificent and costly buildings, so large, that several thousands of men might be conveniently lodg'd within them; and a great number of pillars, disposed in a wonderful order, so that both these temples with the courts stood upon them. Next

we saw, for the payment of a little money, BAUM- the houses of Pilate and Herod; the latter <sup>GARTEN</sup> of which still retains its regularity, and is built of marble of several colours; but the <sup>Houses of</sup> Pilate and Saracens have made a stable of the other. After this we went to the monastery to refresh and rest our selves all night.

## CHAP. IX.

*They enter the Temple the second time. The several Sects that are in it. Their Religions and Customs.*

The center  
of the  
earth.

ON the 24<sup>th</sup> day about sun-set, we carried certain monks along with us, and entered the church the second time, visiting all the places that had been formerly describ'd to us. In the quire of the Greeks they shew'd us a place, over which there was a stone about a cubit broad, which they said was the center of the habitable earth; alluding in a literal sense to that saying of David, Psal. lxxiv. *God is our King for ever; he hath wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.*

Sects in  
the temple.

We staid there full three days, that we might thoroughly learn the structure and form of the temple, and every thing in it, and inform our selves of the several sorts of Christians that were in it, and of their different constitutions and customs. It is very well worth ones while to observe the great variety of sects that are in this temple, to hear so many different languages, voices, musick; to see how they differ in their rites and ceremonies, their habits and manners; and yet to see them, however differing in other things, all believe in, praise and acknowledge the same LORD JESUS CHRIST. Among all this variety of sects, the principal of them are the *Latins* and *Franciscans*; secondly, the *Greeks*; thirdly, the *Syrians*; fourthly, the *Georgites*; fifthly, the *Jacobites*; sixthly, the *Indians* or *Abassins*; and seventhly, the *Armenians*. Of every one of whom we shall speak briefly.

Franciscans  
as a sort  
of beggars.

The *Franciscans*, who call themselves also *Minorites*, are appointed by their superiors, and sent into the holy city, but not before they have been three years in *Crete*; and if any of them happens to die, another is sent in his room. They have their food and raiment thro' the bounty and charity of strangers that come there, but they owe most to the liberality of the *Venetians*. It is said, that every vessel bearing sail, that comes into the port of *Candy*, pays a ducat of gold; and this sum (which is certainly very great) the *Venetians* pay to the friars that live there, who remit it to those of their order at *Jerusalem*, either in money or by bill, or in such things as they stand in need of; and many other great men are very liberal in their gifts to them. While

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we were there, *Lewis* king of *France* sent them five hundred ducats by one who had travelled with us. They have a monastery at *Jerusalem* in mount *Sion*, in which, for the most part, twenty of them live: and hard by these there is a little monastery where five or six of their order live monks, and are maintain'd by the provisions of the monastery of *Sion*. In *Betlehem* they have a monastery, in which there are five friars, whose business is to keep the manger. Besides these, in the church of the holy sepulchre they have two, one a priest, the other a laick, who are sent every month to attend there, and are chang'd in their turns; and their business is to guard the sepulchre, to keep it clean, and to look after the lamps.

They have under their care several chapels, and altars, in mount *Calvary*, the valley of *Jebosaphat*, and *Bethany*; all which they look after with the greatest care, and at a vast charge. They are oblig'd to perform their masses and their other offices before day-light for fear of the *Saracens*; and all the rest of the day they wander up and down, sometimes to the holy sepulchre, sometimes to mount *Olivet*, or to the valley of *Jebosaphat*, or to *Bethany*; sometimes to *Betlehem*, or the hilly country of *Judea*, the desert of *John*, &c. and are very often oppress'd, sometimes by the *Saracens*, sometimes by the *Jews*, and oftentimes even by *Christians*. For besides that they are obliged to give the *Saracens* a good share of their provisions whensoever they ask it, and to pay a yearly tribute to the governor of *Jerusalem*, they pay also to the sultan himself, as we were told, a thousand ducats. And yet for all this, they are every hour, nay every moment, in danger of their lives. They shew great humanity and hospitality to strangers; they give them their advice, they faithfully tell them what they ought to do, and what they ought to avoid and forbear, but still the holy penny must not be forgot.

The *Greeks* are of the primitive church, Greek rather enemies than subject to the see of *Rome*, and have no regard to the pope or his ecclesiastical censures. Their clergy-

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of the po-  
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The Syrian  
monks.

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The Jaco-  
bines.

men marry; they wear long beards, and till one has a beard he can't be a priest. They never abstain from flesh on Saturday, except on *Easter*-eve, and then they fast. They take the communion in leaven'd-bread, and do not mix the wine with water. They pay no respect to the sacrament that is consecrated by the *Franciscans*; nor will they suffer them to celebrate it in those places where they are concerned, no more than if they were excommunicated; and if that should at any time happen upon an extraordinary occasion, they presently wash it as if it was polluted by their sacrifice. Among all the *Eastern* Christians they hate those most who live in subjection to the pope, and in a common proverb call them *Latin dogs*. They have a quire in the church of the holy sepulchre, where they perform divine service after their own manner. They have also a place in *Calvary* where our *LORD* was crucified; and without the church a little chapel dedicated to all angels, all which they carefully watch and illuminate with lamps.

The *Syrians* are those who live in the province of *Syria*, under the miserable yoke of the *Saracens*, and are a cowardly, light, and treacherous sort of people. They inform against the Christians to the *Saracens*, and live much after the manner of the latter, but their doctrine and ceremonies are the same with those of the *Greeks*. In the church of the holy sepulchre they have the chapel of *S. Helena*. In their private affairs they use the *Saracen* language, but the *Greek* in their divine service.

The *Georgians* are a people of the *East*, a very stout and warlike nation, so called from one *George* a saint, whom they own as their patron and protector, paying him most profound reverence. They say, their dominions reach as far as the *Cassian* mountains. This people, though encompassed round with *Saracens*, stand in awe of none, but are dreaded by their neighbours; and as often as they have a mind to go to *Jerusalem*, they always march in order of battle, with flying colours, paying no toll or tribute, and to enter the city. The women of quality do use and wear arms after the manner of the *Amazons*. They agree with the *Greek* church in all the material points of faith. The men never cut their hair off, nor shave their beards. Their clergy wear round caps, the laicks four-square ones. In the temple they have a chapel of the invention of the holy cross; and they have the same too upon mount *Calvary*, and in several other places. They say mass in the *Greek* tongue, but in all other affairs they speak the language of the *Saracens*.

The *Jacobines* are a people of *Asia*, a

great part whereof they do inhabit, but a far greater portion of *Æthiopia*, as far as the upper *India*, inasmuch that they are said to have in their possession forty kingdoms. They were first converted to the Christian faith by *St. Matthew* the apostle, afterwards reduced into error by one *Jacob* an arch-heretic, of whom they took their name. They have crosses in their foreheads burnt with a hot iron, for the love (as they say) they bear to the cross, and also to distinguish them from *Saracens*. They confess their sins to God only, and that secretly, for their custom is to burn frankincense; and saying their prayers, they believe their petitions ascend to heaven as the smoke does, and by that means they shall be purged from the guilt of their sins. They administer the sacrament to sucking children, and circumcise them after the manner of the *Saracens*. They have a chapel in the temple near the sepulchre of our Saviour, and the place where *CHRIST*'s body was embalm'd after he was let down from the cross. They speak a language of their own.

The *Indians*, or *Abassins*, are a people under the government of that powerful and great monarch, whom we call *Prester John*. This nation was converted to Christianity by the apostle *St. Thomas*. The *Indians* of this country are very black, resembling much the *Æthiopians*. They go frequently on pilgrimages to visit the holy places. Both men and women have their heads cover'd with blue. They wear colour'd clothes, and strip'd. In their behaviour they are very humble, and go bare-foot. They circumcise their children, and with a hot iron imprint the sign of the cross on their foreheads, and sometimes on their noses or cheeks, believing that this fiery baptism doth expiate original sin. They administer the sacrament in both kinds, as well to children as to those of riper age. On their festival solemnities (namely *Easter*) both men and women meet together, and with wild and ridiculous songs and noise, spend whole nights. They begin their dancing with clapping of hands, and many together dance round in a ring; and so violent and excessively transported are they on these occasions, that some of them drop down dead upon the spot, and many get an incurable lameness by it frequently. They have their chapel too in the temple, and here and there an altar. They use the letters and speak the language of their own country, but understand the language of the *Saracens* too.

The *Armenians* come out of the country of *Armenia*, whence they have their name. They have a bishop, whom they stile catholic, to whom they yield strict obedience

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Bethany.



and profound reverence; they are enemies to the *Greeks*. They observe *Lent*, but it is more strictly than do those of the church of *Rome*; for they do not only abstain from flesh all the time, but also from eggs, cheese, milk, oil, fish and wine. To support nature, they eat fruit, spoon-meat or gruel, and that no oftner than necessity urges them to it.

Bishop of the Armenians.

They have commonly a bishop at *Jerusalem*, who wears two locks of his hair dangling down over his shoulders, the rest of his head is shaved. Their habitation is in the upper part of the temple near that

of the *Indians*; and, as they say, they had once mount *Calvary*, but the king of the *Georgians* gave the sultan so many rich gifts, that he designedly depriv'd the *Armenians* of mount *Calvary*, and gave it to the *Georgians*. They have also the noble and stately church of *St. James Major*, built in the very same place where the blessed apostle was beheaded by *Herod*.

BAUM-GARTEN

All the laymen among the *Armenians* cut their hair in the form of a cross. They speak the language of their own country, and write with their own letters too.

## CHAP. X.

### *Other Monuments of Antiquity, and concerning the Situation and Name of Bethlehem.*

ON the 28<sup>th</sup> day in the morning we went out of the temple, and walked to mount *Sion* to refresh our selves; which when we had done, we march'd on with the monks our guides to the mountains of *Jerusalem*: and having seen the desert of *John Baptist*, we entered a cave to quench our thirst with the water of a very clear spring which bubbled up at the very mouth of the cave. This cave is in a hollow rock; 'tis a hard matter to determine whether 'tis artificial or natural, having one of the finest prospects in the world towards the hills and valleys round about it. From this place we went southward, where we encounter'd with a very high and steep mountain; which when we had conquer'd, we march'd down the hill next to the well where *Philip* baptiz'd the eunuch of *Candace* queen of the *Ethiopians*, as 'tis in the eighth chapter of the *Acts of the apostles*. At this place upon a high hill may be seen the ruins of the city *Ziklag*, which king *Achish* gave *David* to dwell in when he fled to him, 1 *Sam.* xxvii. Then we arriv'd at an olive-yard, above which, to the right hand, we saw the village *Bezeck*, formerly a castle, here grew the best wines in all that country. Here it was, as it is recorded *Judg.* i. that *Je-*

people of the Indes, or Arabia, Prefter

Well where the eunuch was baptiz'd.

Ziklag.

Bezeck.

*buda*, general of the *Israelites*, slew ten thousand men, and took king *Adonibezek* prisoner, and order'd his fingers and toes to be cut off. This *Adonibezek* had under his table seventy kings, whose fingers and toes he made to be cut off, and forced them to gather up the scraps and crums that fell from his table.

Adonibezek.

From hence, the sun wearing low, we made the best of our way to *Bethlehem*, where we arriv'd just as it grew dark; we staid there all that night with our former guides. This was the city of *David* of old, now 'tis a small inconsiderable village, six miles from *Jerusalem*, on the south-side of it, by the way which leads into *Hebron*. It is situated on a high but narrow hill, lying in length from east to west, and having its entrance on the east part: this was antiently call'd *Effrata*, but after, for the great plenty of corn in it, called *Bethlehem*, i. e. the house of bread. But according to the propriety of the *Saracen* language it is called the *House of flesh*; for *beth* with them signifies house, and *labem* flesh: and this not without reason, because here the Word was made flesh. From hence on the last day of *November* we returned to *Jerusalem*.

Situation of Bethlehem.

## CHAP. XI.

### *Climbing up the Mountain Quarentana. Jericho, its Fruitfulness, Situation, and Extent.*

THE first day of *December* we staid in the monastery to furnish ourselves with some necessaries. But the next morning, having risen two hours before sun-rising, we marched towards *Jordan*. A *Saracen* young man, with one servant, was both a guide and guard to us. The first place we came to was *Bethany*; and having passed it, we came next to a fountain, called *The*

Bethany.

fountain of the sun. Having there watered our mules, we went on our journey eight miles further, until we came to the ruins of *Adymon*, which was on the confines of *Juda* and *Benjamin*. Having afterwards taken some refreshment at the fountain of *Elisba*, and tied our mules to the trees, we marched up the mountain *Quarentana*. The sun shone extremely hot, and annoyed us very

very

**BAUM-  
GARTEN** very much as we strove to get up. For so it was, that when we crept upon the small stones that lay loose and scattered up and down in heaps before we could arrive at any place to fix upon, down we tumbled, stones and all. With many such falls there was scarce any part of our bodies but was mauled most miserably with the roughness of the stones. But because we thought it dishonourable to be defeated by this mountain, after we had master'd *Horeb* and *Sinai*, higher and more inaccessible mountains by far than this, we pluck'd up our courage, and went on resolutely till we had gain'd the middle of the mountain; and here the remaining part appearing still more steep and unconquerable, sixteen of the monks that were our fellow-travellers deserted us. Three of the stiffest of them stuck to us. the rest going back to the mules were fain to stay till we returned. And so six of us by the help of God, with much ado, at last got up to the top of the mountain, and there being entertained with a fine cool air, we were much refreshed and comforted. On this mountain they say it was that our Saviour fasted, and was tempted of *Satan*. From hence we saw the ruins of a great many cities and places; particularly *Galgala* towards the east, where the children of *Israel* pitch'd their tents, and were circumcised after they pass'd the river *Jordan*, *Josh. v.* We saw likewise the ruins of *Hay* and *Bethel*, and of other cities. And then when we had descended or rather tumbled down from this mountain *Qarentana*, we came to our company. Having taken some refreshment, we went on to *Jericho*, through places where grew sundry sorts of trees, some whereof were full of ripe fruit: some of our company taken with their beauty, pluckt a few of them, and found nothing in them but dry ashes, and a sort of wet or moist embers. We saw in that place, how strangely nature seems to act contrary to her own self; for here one might see trees laden with ripe fruit, there other trees just beginning to blossom only, in another place you might see other trees with the blossoms fallen off and budding. From one end of this pleasant forest to the other, the fountain of *Heliseus* gently gliding under the trees, affords nourishment to all that the earth produces, and the clemency of the air doth cherish them. After this we came straight to *Jericho*, and being received into the house of *Zacheus*, there we staid all night. This is the only house that is left of that once great and famous city; it is built square, of hewn stone, having on every corner a small turret, without ever a roof to keep out sun or rain.

There are round about, about a dozen of small cottages, if I may properly call them so; for nothing of building is to be seen in them, being only fenced in with tall hedges of thorns, having within a large place for cattle to stand and be shut up in. But in the middle they have huts or tents, where men used to shelter themselves and goods from the inclemency of the sun and rain.

*Jericho* is situated in the middle of a great valley lying towards the *Dead-Sea*, first of which he built another, *Oza* of *Bethel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, which our Saviour honoured with his preaching there. But this too, at the time the *Romans* besieged *Jerusalem*, through the treachery of some of its inhabitants, was taken and destroyed. Instead whereof a third also was rebuilt, but that too was quite destroyed, and scarce a memorial of it left at this day. It stood very pleasantly in the middle of a plain, which lies between the mountains northward, and the *Dead-Sea* on the south part. This plain (as *Josephus* witnesseth in his fifth book of the *Jewish* war, cap. 8.) is two hundred and thirty furlongs in length, and in breadth a hundred furlongs, and the river *Jordan* divides it in the middle. It was famous of old for having the greatest number of best planted gardens in the whole world; for the palm-trees that grew there, produced many and several sorts of fruit, which trodden or prest, yielded a-bundance of honey, not much inferior to real honey; tho' it'self too was the great nursery and store-place of honey. It was very fruitful too of balm once, which of all fruits is the most precious and valuable. Hence it was that *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, relying upon the power and friendship of *Mark Antony*, in contempt of mighty *Herod* transplanted an orchard of palm-trees to *Cair*. *Josephus* doth so highly extol this country, that he sticks not to justify him who called this place the *Plain of God*, because here grew the best of things, and in greatest plenty too. And so prodigious is the increase it yields of all other sorts of fruits, that no place in the universe is comparable to it; and such is the clemency of the air here, that when it snows in the rest of *Judea*, the inhabitants of this place are clad in linen only. It is off of *Jerusalem* a hundred and seventy furlongs, and distant from *Jordan* sixty furlongs. Between *Jerusalem* and *Jericho* is a stony desert and wilderness, to *Jordan* and the lake *Asphaltides*, i. e. the *Dead-Sea*, tho' the ground lies lower, yet 'tis as barren and uncultivated as the other. So much of *Jericho* and its plain.

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## CHAP. XII.

*The Monuments of Sodom's Punishment. The Dead-Sea. The City Segor. Pillar of Salt. Place where CHRIST was Baptized. Jordan.*

*Land of Sodom.*

ON the third day, having follow'd our guides, we arrived at the *Dead-Sea*.

In our journey thither we had a view of that frightful and horrid place, where God did so signally pour down his vengeance upon the *Sodomites*. The land lying round about is full of pits, cover'd over with ashes that seem newly cast up there: it scarcely ever produceth any thing green, but ever looks black, and as it were scorch'd and blasted with lightning. It is full of pits and holes, into which our mules stumbling, and throwing us upon the ground, gave us occasion, sometimes of laughing, and sometimes of compassionating the poor creatures. It had rain'd for a long time when we were there, and by this means the earth was grown soft and spongy, so that if any chanc'd to fall, the ground giving way, immediately receiv'd, and as it were hugg'd him in its bosom, being cover'd above with the clammy tough earth; one had much ado to get up again. Shortly after we came to the *Dead-Sea*; and there having secured our mules by fastening them to some bushes that grew there, we advanced to the shore. The suffocating stink, the melancholy and hellish aspect of this place, the shore full of reeds and rotten trees, the unwholesome saltness and binding quality of the water, which is bitter as gall, represented to our eyes the dreadful vengeance of an offended and angry God.

The clouds and fogs that continually hang over it, hinder'd us from having a fuller view of this poisonous lake. He that would have a larger account of it may consult *Josephus*, lib. I. of the *Jewish war*, cap. 8. or *Strabo* in the sixteenth book of his *geography*.

Near the *Dead-Sea* to the right hand of it lies the city *Segor*, a desolate and me-

lancholy place like the rest. This is that *BAUM-LOT* prayed for, *Gen. xix.* and into which he enter'd as the sun went down. Here also, not far from the town, is to be seen to this day, the pillar of salt, into which *Lot's* wife was turned for her disobedience, and not regarding the threatening of the Almighty, as *Moses* witnesseth in the place aforesaid.

After this, leaving behind us the ruins of the monastery of *St. Hierom*, where they say this great man lived, we came strait to the streams of *Jordan*, and to the place where our Saviour is said to have been baptized of *John*; and not far from this is the place where the children of *Israel* pass'd over upon dry ground. In our passage we drank of the water, sprinkling our faces, hands, head and feet with it, and carried with us some of it in a vessel to our own country without being corrupted.

Besides other encomiums of this river, it is remarkable for having been of old the boundary that separated the faithful *Jews* from infidels; after many windings and turnings, it falleth into the *Dead-Sea* near *Jericho*, and there endeth. Concerning the origin of it, the common opinion is, that it arises under mount *Libanus*, from two fountains, one called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*. *Josephus* will have it otherwise in his book of the wars of the *Jews*, lib. III. cap. 30. whom, if you please, you may consult. 'Tis renowned for miracles: here *Naaman* the Syrian wash'd off his leprosy, iron swam, and would not sink here. To *Elias* and *Elisba* it afforded a miracle in testimony of their being prophets sent of God. It is most especially renowned, to conclude, for the most evident manifestation of the sacred and undivided Trinity in the baptism of our Saviour *CHRIST*, *Luk. iii.* And so much of *Jordan*.

*BAUM-GARTEN*

*Place of CHRIST's baptism.*

*The original of Jordan.*

## CHAP. XIII.

*They enter the Temple a third time, and oftner. Robbers taken and executed by the Governor of Jerusalem. They keep their Christmas in Bethlehem. The Religious Rites of the Sectaries there.*

IN the mean while the time drew near to visit the temple of the holy sepulchre a third time. And therefore coming to *Jerusalem*, we went to *Abraham* to claim our right; for when we gave him the twenty *seraphs*, it was on condition we should have the liberty of seeing it once more. He denied it, and put us off till an-

other time. When that time was come, he again would put us off longer. We were resolved to bear with him no longer, and told him we would complain of him to the governor. When he found us to be in earnest with him, he swore by his head (the usual oath of his country) that if we would but give him one *seraph* more, he would

*The monastery of A. Abraham.*

BAUM-  
GARTEN not stop us one moment longer. We would not stand with him, and so we enter'd the temple a third time; yea, and the fourth and fifth time too, which is not customary for strangers, paying *Abrahim* no more than three *maydins* a head. A certain *Italian* merchant had made a journey from *Damascus* to visit the Holy Land, *Abrahim* had chous'd this same spark of a round sum; we came to the door with him twice, and having twice paid our fees we were let in. We view'd all the places we mention'd before severally, and so prepar'd in eight days time to be gone. We had hired a mule-driver to carry us and our goods to *Damascus*; but because his mules were not yet come back, that he had sent to *Barutbus*, we were obliged to tarry some days longer.

Robbers  
caught. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, the governor of *Jerusalem*, who is the sultan's vicergerent there, had apprehended twenty eight robbers who had been very troublesome to that country with their depredations. He enter'd *Jerusalem* in triumph, causing the heads of the robbers to be carry'd before him fixed on the points of long pikes.

Emmas. On the 21<sup>st</sup> we came to *Emmas*, a *Saracen* being our guide; we saw nothing here remarkable but rubbish, and caves full of bats.

Return to  
Bethle-  
hem. On the 24<sup>th</sup> day, being *Christmas* eve, the mules being still at *Barutbus*, we went to *Bethlehem* in company of our monks, and were present at the vespers of the friars, giving our humble and hearty thanks to our LORD, who by his birth had freed us from the power of the devil. In the mean time we were surprized with a strange tuneless and tumultuous noise and shouting, the noise of trumpets, and loud singing and howl-

ing in a distracted and frightful manner; which was raised it seems by the *Grecians*, *Syrians*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Indians*, *Celibrans*, and the other sectaries of the eastern Christians, before mention'd: Every nation praising God in their own manner, some with hymns and songs, others with sounding of trumpets, and playing on cymbals; some adoring, with frankincense, ointments, costly and odoriferous spices, do anoint the holy places, and feel them with their hands, and kiss them. Moreover the women too, in an apartment by themselves, dance round in a ring to the timbrel; and with clapping their hands, and wheeling about from one part of the temple to another, do violently strain their bodies. Some of the ladies far exceeded the rest both in beauty and dress; these having a timbrel in their hands, brought to our remembrance the sister of *Aaron*, *Exod. xv.* and what she did with the daughters of *Israel*, when *Pbaroab* was drowned.

On *Christmas* day we saw there the *Gree-Grecians* and *Syrians* baptizing their children, *Laptiz.* not new-born infants as is customary with us, but children of one and two years old, keeping them on purpose till this festival. Having here refresh'd our selves, we return'd to *Jerusalem*. And here having from the time we first enter'd, carried above a month, we frequently survey'd the situation of it, and inform'd our selves, as far as money or word could prevail, of all the particularities of it. On the rainy days we spent the time in reading and searching the library of the monastery. Having had all these opportunities, I thought it would not be amiss to give some account of the situation, present state, and various fortune of this renowned city.

## CHAP. XIV.

## An Historical Description of the City Jerusalem, and of the Temple.

Founder of  
Jerusalem. *Jerusalem* therefore being the most noble and renowned city of the east, of which so glorious things are said in the scripture, and the metropolis of the *Jews*; according to *Josephus* in his book of the *Jewish* war, lib. VII. c. 26. was first built by the most potent of the *Canaanites*, who in his own language was stiled the *Just King*; and so he was indeed, and called *Melchisedec*, the priest of the most high God. He was the first that perform'd the office of a priest to God, and built here a temple, and call'd the city *Solma*, which before was call'd *Jebus*, afterwards *Salem*; after this it was call'd *Jerusalem*, *Betel* and *Luza*; and lastly *Helia*. Hence these verses,

*Solyma, Luza, Betel, Hierosolyma, Jebus, Helia, Urbs sacra Jerusalem dicitur, atque Salem.*

This city for the space of five hundred and fifteen years, until *David's* time, was inhabited by the *Canaanites*; its situation was upon a rock, and it was surrounded or fortify'd with three walls, except where it was environ'd with steep and difficult ascents, for there it was encompassed but with one wall. This city, as *Strabo* truly relates, abounded with water on the inside, and without was encompassed with a dry ditch cut out of the same rock forty foot deep, and two hundred and fifty foot broad. It was built upon two hills facing one

Valley. one another (which the deal of the hills, city, was other, another hill was steep the pool of walls was leys and And it was the natural vid, *Soloma* vast experience make it inference of longs.

Altho' every ref the excell nos; for was built was up, Arabia, confines of lar, oppos and hard built on the ty, largen parallel'd largeness of they were such as marble, eucubits, and so close j tower seen workmanf corners fo the stones the most

Tower Pre- phinos. Ypsos. Stairs it was built with.

Royal palace. on the nor lace, whi scribe. I stateliness of the wo exceed it round wit at an equ and also co in, and redred beds that were tries in the out what as I said be a sufficient very remen consider w less flames not the Ro their own Come v

Valley.

one another, and separated by a valley (which the kings of *Judab* were at a great deal of cost and pains to fill up.) One of the hills, on which was seated the upper city, was much higher and evened than the other, and call'd *David's* tower. The other hill, on which stood the lower city, was steep on all sides, and reach'd as far as the pool of *Siloam*. The oldest of the three walls was impregnable, because of the valleys and the hills that overlook'd them. And it was for this reason, and because of the natural strength of the place, that *David*, *Solomon*, and several other kings were at vast expences and charge to fortify it, and make it impregnable. The whole circumference of the city was thirty three furlongs.

Strong wall.

Tower-Prephinos.

Ypico.

Street it was built with.

Royal palace.

Palace set on fire.

Altho' the third wall was wonderful in every respect, yet it was much more so for the excellency of the tower called *Prephinos*; for from the top of this tower, which was built seventy cubits high, when the sun was up, one might have a full prospect of *Arabia*, even to the sea, and the utmost confines of the *Hebrews*. It was octangular, opposite to it stood the tower *Ypico*, and hard by two more, which king *Herod* built on the old wall, and which for beauty, largeness and strength, were not to be parallel'd by any in the whole world. The largeness of the stones was prodigious. For they were not built of common stone, or such as men could carry, but of polished marble, each stone being in length twenty cubits, and in breadth fifteen, which were so close join'd to one another, that each tower seem'd to be a solid rock. The workmanship was so exquisite, and the corners so finely cut, that the places where the stones were join'd could not be seen by the most curious eye. To these, placed on the north-side, was join'd the royal palace, which it is almost impossible to describe. For as to the magnificence and stateliness of the fabrick, and excellency of the workmanship, nothing ever could exceed it; and then it was encompass'd round with a wall thirty cubits high, and at an equal distance were beautiful towers, and also convenient houses for men to lodge in, and rooms large enough to hold a hundred beds or tables. The variety of stones that were there was incredible, all the countries in the world being ransack'd to find out what was rare and curious for it. But, as I said before, the wit of man cannot give a sufficient description of this place. The very remembrance of it is tormenting, to consider what prodigious riches the merciless flames have devour'd; and yet it was not the *Romans*, but treacherous villains of their own country that set it on fire.

Come weno to the temple, the mag-

nificence and incredible glory of which is *BAUM* impossible to be describ'd sufficiently: It was built of free-stone, each being forty cubits long, and six or seven broad; encompass'd with three walls, adorned with porches cover'd with gold and silver. In a word, there was nothing heart could wish to please the eye, but this temple had to amazement. But neither its antiquity, nor prodigious riches, nor people that were spread all over the earth, nor the great glory of their religion could preserve it from being destroy'd. In a word, so glorious and magnificent was this structure, that when the *Romans* (who had conquer'd the world) had carry'd the town and entered it, the emperor *Titus* especially, seeing the fortifications of the city, the towers which the conquer'd had madly deserted, and viewing the height and largeness of them, and the exquisite and artificial joining of the stones together, he said, *It was God certainly that assisted us to fight, and 'twas God that drove the Jews from these fortifications.*

*Namque hominum manus & machina, quid ad ista valerunt?* For what could hands and engines signify to these?

However this noble city was taken and laid waste several times, for the wickedness of its inhabitants, and for their idolatry and apostasy from their God.

First, By *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who ruin'd its walls and towers, set the temple on fire, and carried away the vessels thereof.

Secondly, By *Ajaceus* or *Ajebius* an Egyptian king.

Thirdly, By *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who took it by treachery, robbed the holy place, commanded the *Jews* to renounce the law of their forefathers, and ordered the temple should not be called the temple of the Lord, but of *Jupiter Olympias*.

Fourthly, It was taken by *Pompey* the great, who made it and the rest of *Judea* tributary; and as *Strabo* relates, *Pompey* took it upon a fast-day, when the *Jews* abstain'd from working, for having filled the ditch, and set ladders to the walls, he gave orders to pull them all down. Yet (as *Josephus* reports *Lib. I. cap. 16.*) he meddled with none of the holy vessels or instruments of the temple.

Lastly, It was quite razed to the ground the first year of the reign of *Vespasian*, the 8th of December, by *Titus* his son, who took the town and destroyed the temple. Having taken it, he ordered all to the very walls to be laid level with the ground, that they who came to see it should hardly believe that ever it was inhabited; for all the walls and hedges being pulled down,

*GARTEN*  
Magnificence of the temple.

Destruction of Jerusalem.

The last destruction.



BAUM  
GARTEN

which the inhabitants had erected to fence their houses and gardens, and all the woods and trees being cut down, all the hollow places and valleys were filled up; and where any rocks or stones stood up, they hewed them down, so that they levelled all. Having thus mowed down all before them for the space of ninety furlongs round about *Jerusalem*, it was a miserable sight to see. For where before were stately trees and curious gardens, here was nothing now to be seen but a wild desert. Nor could any stranger who had ever seen *Judea* before, and its lovely towns and suburbs, abstain from tears to see this horrid desolation and change. One cause of its dire calamity was, that they obstinately and perversely refused to acknowledge the time of their visitation.

The cause  
of it.

To conclude, whoever desires further to know the great destruction of this city, the slaughter of men, the misery of the famine, and other dreadful sufferings of the *Jews*, let him but read *Josephus*, who had it not by hear-say, but was himself an eye-witness of these things.

Re-edify'd  
by *Adrian*.

After this, what was left of the city was a receptacle of murderers and robbers until *Adrian's* time, who walled it round, and rebuilt it, calling it after his own name *Helia*; and, as *St. Jerome* writes to *Paulina*, from the time of *Adrian* to the reign of *Constantine*, for almost a hundred and eighty years, in the place of the resurrection the image of *Jupiter* was worshipped; on the rock of the cross was worshipped a marble statue of *Venus*, that the Gentiles had placed there. The prophane *Romans* thinking by this means to shock our belief of the resurrection and the cross, if they did but prophane those places with their idols.

Its present  
condition.

Moreover, as it was then but a melancholy sight to see, when it was destroyed and made level with the ground, such and perhaps more miserable is the face of it now, there being nothing but ruins left of the ancient buildings. Inasmuch that the country which was of old, for its plenty, called a land flowing with milk and honey, may now justly be term'd a land of thorns, of thistles and desolation.

Nevertheless our predecessors by the means of *Charles* the great, or *Charlemain*, who recovered it with much labour, were in possession of it a long time; and *Godfrey* having with great glory recovered it, they again enjoyed it eighty eight years: and afterwards being taken by *Saladin* king of *Egypt*, the Christians miserably lost it to their great damage and dishonour, and they shamefully suffer it to continue in the

possession of the infidels. O shame and confusion! upon the least private sedition among our selves, we are stout and valorous, and so bloody minded that we are ready to cut one another's throats: But when the enemies of *God* and of the true church provoke our just resentment, there we are arrant cowards.

The description therefore of *Jerusalem*, as it is at this day, both as to its exterior and interior situation, is as followeth: It is almost of a triangular form. In the east part of it stands the temple of *Solomon*, in the north-side within the walls the temple of the holy sepulchre. On the south-side of it stands mount *Sion*, without the walls, yet joined by the houses built between the wall and the mount; whence the rest of the city, because it lay lower, was called the daughter of *Sion* in sacred history. At the foot of mount *Sion* lyeth the valley *Ennon*, where the royal gardens were, where also the *Israelites* had their idolatrous groves, in which they made their children pass through the fire, and sacrificed them to their idols. On the opposite hill southward is the field of *Skeldama*. Opposite to mount *Sion*, between the east and south, stands a high but narrow hill called the hill or mountain of offence or strife, because there *Solomon* in compliance to his wives had erected a temple to *Chamos* the idol of *Moab*, and to *Moloch* the idol of the children of *Ammon*, wherein he highly offended *God*, 2 *Kings*. Not far from the temple of *Solomon* is the valley of *Jebozaphat* lying in the middle between it and mount *Olivet*, which extends itself from the valley *Cedron* on the north, to the valley *Ennon*, and ends there; the valleys are very deep, and difficult of ascent. Mount *Olivet* stands opposite to *Solomon's* temple on the east-side of it, and is much higher than *Jerusalem*. Of the three strong walls, and the broad and deep ditch that in former times the city was compassed with, there is nothing to be seen at this day but the rubbish and stupendous ruins. And thus much of the ancient and present state of the holy city.

I shall put an end to this second book with this observation of *Josephus* in his book of the *Jewish* war, *Lib. VI. cap. ult.* I verily believe if the *Romans* had delay'd their coming against those miscreants, that the earth would have opened and swallowed them up, or else that a deluge of water would have swept them away, or that *God* would have destroy'd them with fire from heaven, as he did *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*.

The End of the Second Book.

BOOK

## BOOK III.

## Giving an Account of Syria, and the Author's Return from thence to Venice by Sea.

## CHAP. I.

*They go from Jerusalem. A Quarrel of the Mule-drivers. Are in danger by Thieves at the River Jordan.*

ON the 28<sup>th</sup> day of December, the mules that were long look'd for return at last from *Baratbus*.

We take leave therefore of our guide and friars, and packing up our bag and baggage, we mount our mules about noon; and going out at the gate of judgment, we passed on over steep hills, and deep stony valleys, until we came to the north part of the city. In the evening we arriv'd at a certain village that was fill'd with ruins and rubbish (it was of old called *Hay*, being the same town that *Josue* took, *Jos. viii.*) From this place we had a view at a distance of the valley of *Jericho*, the *Dead-Sea*, *Galgala*, the mountain *Quarentana*, and many other remarkable places towards the east. In this village we found a great many travellers that had taken up their lodging in a very large but unfurnished inn.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> about noon, as we were to leave that place, a quarrel happened between the mule-drivers; some were for going one way, and others for going another way, insomuch that we had but very few left to go with us. However we pursued our journey, and met with a great deal of hardship in our way, over hills and dales, till with much ado we arrived at last in a large valley, through the middle of which the river *Jordan* runs; and there we rested our selves and our mules till sun-setting, dreading that country for robberies. So soon as it grew dark we left that place, and without any noise marched on, expecting every moment to be assaulted, till we had got to the north side of the valley. And no sooner were we arrived there, being hard by the river *Jordan*, but we were struck with a panick fear.

For both sides of the rivers were planted full with rogues, which we could easily discover by the multitude of fires that appeared to us. We were here very much straitened, there being no possibility to go backwards nor forwards without manifest hazard: And therefore consulting among our selves what we had best do, we committed our selves to God's providence, devoutly praying that we might be instructed how to escape so great a danger. And while we despaired of falling on any method how to save our selves, all of a sudden we light upon the robbers watch, who being but young boys, and at a good distance from their party, and being likewise overcome with sleep, and somewhat frightened too, at first they held their peace, but in a moment giving a great shout, and their party answering them in the same manner, we gave our selves up for dead men; and so leaving off our intended journey, we turned aside to a hill hard by, on the left-hand side of the way, with all the speed we could, intending there to hide our selves, or dispute for our lives as long as we could, if there was occasion. In the mean time while they were drawing themselves up in a body together, what with the noise of their horses feet, and partly by the favour of the darkness of the night, without their hearing us, we made a shift to get up to the top of a certain mountain, and from thence down to another valley hard by, where we continued for some time in profound silence, having sent out our scouts and guards to the upper parts of the hill (who were very well acquainted with the ground) to bring us word as soon as they discovered any danger.

## CHAP. II.

*The Arabians exact Toll at the River Jordan, and we were in danger by them. A Country Meeting of the Grecian Christians for Divine Worship.*

**BAUM-  
GARTEN** ON the thirtieth by day-break, our scouts having returned, brought us word that they could not discover the thieves any where. They brought along with them an *Arabian*, whom we hired to be our guide to *Jordan*. Taking him with us, away we marched straight to the fords.

Arabian  
robbers  
exact a  
toll.

There we found *Arabians* in great numbers, some on the shore, and others up to the middle in the river, who with their swords drawn, brandishing their spears, and bending their bows, opposed our passage. We were fain to treat with them by our interpreter, and so had leave to pass the river, having first paid them three *maydins* apiece. The river was at that time very low, and the banks were bare on both sides. We waded it over very slowly, and as we passed, sprinkled our heads, hands, and legs with the water, and some of it we carried with us to drink. Having got over *Jordan*, we came next to a very fruitful plain full of very rank grafs that grew very thick. Here the *Arabians* (not satisfied it seems with the money we had given them) came back again upon us, we never suspecting any such matter. Most of our company whom they found out of their ranks (and with them the two friars aforesaid) they carried away with them. The mule-drivers seeing this, being more concern'd for the loss of their mules than the men, came up to them and expostulated the matter, bending their bows; and sitting their arrows to the strings, the rogues terrify'd with the bended bows and sharp arrows, retire to their gang. We march on, they who were unarmed together, with the mules in the van; we who had arms in the rear, both to guard our selves

Danger  
by them.

and our goods from the robbers: For these *Arabian* thieves come out with a design not to fight, but to plunder, and therefore they have commonly but few arms; and when they meet with men of courage, they are the errantest cowards in the world. By this means, sometimes resisting them, and sometimes getting away from them, we escaped out of their hands, and betook our selves to the mountainous parts. We pass one mountain that was of great length, full of corn, olives, vines, and fruitful trees. We saw here some castles built on small hills, and some country towns. And this country was given by lot to the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and to the half-tribe of *Manasseh*, as it is *Jos. xiii.* It is at this day a country very fit for pasturage, and if it was cultivated, would prove extremely fruitful. Having rode on all that day, and some part of the night following; at length arriving at a certain country village, we lodged in our mule-driver's house.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> day, being the last of the year, resting our selves here for some time, we were by our landlord conducted to a cave cut in the solid rock, where the Christians of the *Greek* church, who lived in that town, used to meet to perform Divine worship; and because that day happened to be the vigil of the circumcision of our LORD, we assisted at their vespers. Which being over, when they distributed to each their boiled wheat and loaves, we had our portion assigned us among the rest, which we very willingly received and kissed, lest by refusing it they might apprehend we undervalued them; and whilst they looked on, and carefully observed us, we eat it up.

## CHAP. III.

*The smallness of the Houses in these Places. A Caravan of Galilee. The Lake Maron. Dens of Lions near it.*

ON the morning of the circumcision the new year begins with us. For the solemnity of this feast we stir'd not out of doors all day long; but the next day following having got more company, we came to a small cottage, where we found several other persons who were to travel to the same parts we were a going to. There we staid all that night, and were so straitned for want of room, that we were fain to take up our lodging among the camels,

Hard  
lodging.

cows, and mules, and had not the convenience of extending our body, or sitting down any where. But when one is thoroughly tir'd and wearied, a very indifferent accommodation will serve one's turn.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of *January*, leaving this mountainous country, we came to a very large plain destitute of trees indeed, but a very fruitful spot of ground. The land is fat, and of a reddish colour, but for want of being cultivated as it should be, it is in a manner

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manner waste. We were conducted to a small village here, where we staid all that and the two following days; for our retinue was not yet so numerous as to adventure travelling in a place so infested with robbers. The houses here are miserably low and mean, being commonly built in ditches, and the walls both within and without built of stone, without lime or mortar. On the out-side there's hardly any thing like a house to be seen; so that if a stranger happen to come there who knows not the place, he is apt to take them for so many heaps of stones, and to look for houses among houses.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> day came to us a caravan of seventy camels, which hastened to *Damascus* with corn from *Gabilee*. We joined our selves to this, and little after came to an inn, where we found very luckily another car-

van full as strong as the former.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day as we travel'd, we left on our left hand the lake *Maron*. This lake is occasion'd by the abundance of waters that flow down from mount *Libanus* about the beginning of the spring, when the warm west wind thaws it; and yet this same mountain in the summer time is scorched up by the sun. Because of the overflowing of the waters there grow here abundance of reeds, trees, thorns, &c. that make an echoing wood, where the bears, lions, and other beasts of prey find both food and shelter; and here, they say, the king uses to hunt. At these waters, as it is in *Joshua*, chap. xi. *Jabin* king of *Habor*, with many of his confederate princes met, whom *Joshua* attacked, and the Lord deliver'd them into his hand.

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
This  
Lake Ma-  
ron.

Dens of  
wild  
beasts.

#### CHAP. IV.

*They are nobly entertained in Damascus. The Consul's Character there. Antiquities of Saul. The Story of a Florentine Merchant, Governor of Damascus. An Encomium on the City, its Situation, Nature of the Place, Merchandize and Product.*

ON the 8<sup>th</sup> day pursuing our journey in the same plain, we came at last in the evening late to *Damascus*, and went to a warehouse of the *Venetians*, who receiv'd us with all manner of civilities, and entertain'd us nobly, so as we wanted for nothing, as if we had been in our own country; for here we had soft feather-beds to lie on, all sorts of meat in very good order, our feet and heads washed, our linen shifted; in a word, we were so extremely well used and comforted here, that we look'd more like so many pampered domesticks than travellers, after so many nasty lodgings, toilsome journeys, fastings, and many other inconveniences.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> day we went to the consul's house, and there were we most nobly entertain'd again, with all the respect imaginable; and having suppd with him, he gave us a satisfactory account of the sect of the *Mabometans*, and their way of living; for this consul was a very learn'd, judicious, and graceful man, of a very majestic preference and comely aspect.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> day having taken some refreshment, some of the noble *Venetians* conducted us out of the city to the place where *Saul*, when he went to persecute the Christians and to apprehend them, fell upon his face on the ground, and heard a voice from heaven, saying, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* &c. *Acts ix.* Here was in former times a noble temple, now there is nothing but a huge heap of rubbish, where the Christians inhabiting *Damascus*,

and strangers are buried. Returning thro' the gardens, with which that city and country abounds in great variety, we came under the walls of the town, and directly under that window where *Paul* was let be went down in a basket by his brethren.

Having enter'd the city we saw the house of *Judas*, who entertain'd *Paul* while he was blind; and the house of *Ananias* in which Christians dwell, where also there is a very beautiful chapel. Whilst we were taking an exact survey of the situation of the town, the noble *Venetians* first, and next some of the gentlemen of *Damascus*, and last of all the consul, all of good credit, entertain'd us with this true story.

There was a certain merchant of *Florence*, a man of great wisdom and very wealthy: This man happening to reside at *Damascus*, where for a long time he had traded in merchandizing, came at last to be very well acquainted at court, and to be in singular favour with the prince, who promised if he would but renounce his religion, that he would give him his daughter to wife. The *Florentine* agrees to the bargain, for being blinded and distracted with love, he embraces a blind and erroneous religion, marries and enjoys her. He had seen the lady before, and was deeply smitten with her love, and told the prince he was a dead man if he did not enjoy her. The prince took him at this disadvantage, and made him agree to his own terms. However, by this marriage he was had in very great esteem, and was much admir'd by all the courtiers.

After

Damascus

Hospitality of the Venetians.

Consul's character.

Place of Saul's conversion.

Window where Paul was let be went out at.

Ananias's house.

Story of a Florentine Merchant.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

Saracens  
worship at  
the tomb  
of a Flo-  
rentine.

Peucerus  
chron. l. 5.

Eucumum  
of Damas-  
cus.

Its found-  
der.

After the prince his father-in-law's death, he succeeded him in the principality, which office he executed during his life-time, to every body's satisfaction; and when he died was honoured with a temple, or (according to the propriety of the *Saracen* language) a mosque. The *Saracens* adore him for a faint, and feeling or handling his tomb, they kiss it, and now and then stroke their beards with it. This *Florentine* encompass'd the city *Damascus*, for the most part, with the wall that is now about it, and caused the *lion*, being the arms of the city of *Florence*, to be engraven upon it. Before this time *Tamerlane* had ruin'd the city *Damascus*. There is however at this day to be seen a very ancient gate, having in it the statues of the four evangelists, which may serve for a proof that the Christians had it in their possession.

Moreover, this city for wholesomeness of air, plenty of water, fruitfulness of the soil, variety of most delicious fruits, pleasantness of orchards and gardens, flourishing of trade, and lastly for the antiquity of its original, far excels all the cities of *Syria*: For *Sben* the son of *Noah* was the first founder of it; whence in the language

of the *Saracens* it is still called *Sem*. It is situated at the foot of the mountain *Antilibanus* in a plain, whose soil is naturally barren and dry, except where 'tis water'd by the small rivers *Pharphar* and *Abana*, which are let in and conveyed thro' pipes and small conduits, and make the land very fruitful, and most fit for planting of trees, inasmuch that it may be justly stiled *Paradise*. Among other fruits which grow there in great abundance, there are likewise our *Damascene* *prunes*, so call'd, either because they are here in greater plenty, and better in their kind, or else that from hence they were first carry'd and distributed to other countries.

We purchased in *Damascus* some things that we brought home with us, viz. silks and sattins, aloes wood, raisins of a prodigious bigness and sweetness, *Damascene* *prunes*, ribbons, and *Saracen* caps, *Indian* platters or baskets. There is another place of the same name near *Hebron*; the cause why they are both call'd by the same name is yet unknown, for *Damascus* and *Hebron* are seven days journey distant one from the other.

Comma-  
ties of Da-  
ma-  
scus.

#### CHAP. V.

*Houses for Cats in Damascus. Original of this Superstition. Their sudden Departure hence for fear of the Prince.*

A house  
full of  
cats.

Original  
of it.

ON the 11<sup>th</sup> day as we were walking over the city, they shewed us a house, very large and walled round, which was full of cats; and having enquired what might be the occasion of it, we were told by very grave serious men, that the occasion of it was as follows, viz. That when *Mabomet* once lived here, he brought with him a cat in his sleeve, which he was wont to stroke with his own hand, and to feed her, to make much of her; and not only so, but to govern all his actions by her directions. And the followers of *Mabomet* to this very day, in imitation of him, do keep and worship cats, and hold it for a notable piece of alms and charity to feed them. And if any of those creatures should happen to be starved for want of victuals, they reckon he who had the charge of keeping her, deserves condemnation from God. For this reason you shall see a great many of them, who beg meat and ox-livers and hearts in the markets to feed the cats with. But it is probable this base and shameful superstition proceeded from some other cause: For we know that *Syria* of old was possessed by the *Egyptians*, amongst whom it was customary to worship several sorts of animals; such as dogs, snipes, oxen, hawks, and cats. The reason here-

of is assigned by *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* in his second book, which he that pleases may read: The chief reason may be this, that in their battels and wars, having in their colours or ensigns the figures of these creatures, they might have obtain'd some signal victories; or truly, that those creatures were useful in their kind, and were necessary either for food, or defence of mankind. And so the cats, because they were very serviceable for killing of serpents, mice and rats, and other venomous creatures that were very rife in *Egypt*, were worshipped for Gods: And 'tis very likely, that from this old prevailing superstition, it has still continued to descend and be in use unto this day. We intended to have seen many more monuments of this city's antiquities, but fortune proved cross to us. For as we were conducted to see places, and treated with all manner of civility and respect by some noble *Venetians*, it was told the prince or governor of the city, that there were arrived some Christians of great estates. He being covetous of money, sends word to the *Venetian* consul to ask the reason why he did not send him an account of the arrival of such persons, for that he was ready to shew them all imaginable respect and civility. The consul,

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being a quick ingenious man, and understanding immediately what the prince's design was, sent him an answer, that we were but merchants and poor men; but that for the sake of old acquaintance and hospitality they had entertain'd them so as they did. And in the mean time he dispatched a messenger to tell us that we had best march off as soon as we could conveniently, otherwise if we must visit the prince, it must of necessity put us to a great deal

of charge. Finding our selves in this condition, on the 12<sup>th</sup> at night we huddled our goods up in a hurry, and departed out of *Damascus* about the third hour of the night, the moon shining. And thus travelling over the steep and unpassable tops of high hills, we arrived at last about day-breaking at a small cottage or hut, and there found a caravan going to *Barrutis*.

BAUM-GARTEN  
Departure from Damascus

CHAP. VI.

*Country of Bakar. Burial-place of Noah. Castle Baldach. Story of a poor Woman deceiving the Baldachens. Their stay in the Village Bohersee.*

ON the 13<sup>th</sup> in the morning we rose very early, and travelled over mountains covered with snow, and that sounded with brooks that violently flowed down from the tops of them; which when we had left behind us, we came next into a very spacious and lovely plain, wherein we met with several rivulets, and namely two branches of the river *Jordan*, which we pass'd over. This plain is now called *Bakar*, a very fertile country abounding with high hills, that seem to be made with hands, on which are seated castles. The story goes, that here *Noah* built his ark; and they shew the place where he was bury'd, being upon a hill, and of very curious workmanship. Travelling over this plain towards the east, one may see a great many monuments of antiquity, among which one stone of a prodigious magnitude, resembling for bigness a tower or hill. Near to this stone are three pillars, not unlike those that are to be seen in *St. Mark's* place in *Venice*. Not far from hence is the castle *Baldach*, whence they say was *Baldach* the *Shubite*, of whom we read in the book of *Job*. The rows of pillars in this castle are admirable, being stones of a huge bigness, the building is very high and stately, but all gone to ruin, yet even what is left shews there has been something very great and noble. It is reported that the *Baldachenses*, willing to remove the stone afore-mentioned, had several times attempted it, but in vain, because of its bigness. A woman with child that was very poor, observing how they were baffled,

told them, she knew an art to remove this same stone with the greatest ease imaginable, to what place soever they pleas'd; and that she was willing to communicate the same to them, on condition they would provide for her till she was delivered of her child, and in the time of her lying in. The credulous *Baldachenses* greedily embrace the motion, and bring the woman all necessaries in great plenty, expecting to hear some wonderful secret. The woman at last is delivered, and comes where the stone was, with abundance of followers. When she came near the stone, to work she went, stooping down with her back close to the stone, as if she was ready to take on her load; and charging the by-standers that they would all put to their hands and help her on with her burden, and that she would carry it away cleverly whithersoever they would have her: they told her it was not possible for them to do it, neither is it possible for me, said she, both to lift it on and carry it too. They perceiving the woman was no fool, and that she talked to the purpose, excused and dismissed her. The multitude retired disappointed, the woman was helped in her necessity, and the stone continued where it was. Crossing over this plain once more, we had another journey over the mountainous parts, till we arriv'd at a village called *Bohersee*, and there we tarried two days in our mule-driver's house, not able to go on, both for the badness of the weather, and want of health.

Our stay in Bohersee.

CHAP. VII.

*They suffer extreme Cold. Of the Saracens Fasts, Food, Superstitions, Drink, eating Kites, and other Customs of Men and Women.*

ON the 16<sup>th</sup> day about noon, we set out to travel over the mountains again. Here the cold wind did drove the snow so in our faces, that we could hardly

fit on our mules. There had been a great fall of snow, which had so covered the roads, that we were put to all our shifts to find our way: But when we had gained

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**BAUM-  
GARTEN** the top of that hill, we descended by a very steep way; it blew very hard from the tops of the mountains, and withal rained so fast, that we were extremely mortify'd, and wet to the very skin. Here we were glad to betake our selves to a small cottage, and kindling a small smoaky fire, we dry'd our clothes in the best manner we could. The night following a great many *Saracens* came to us, some to warm themselves, and others to see our mule-driver, with whom they were acquainted.

**Saracens** And because they fasted all the month of *January* that year, instead of keeping the forty days of *Lent*, each of them laid up provisions for himself according to his ability. Now the *Saracens* way of fasting is, to abstain from meats of all sorts in the day-time; and when night is come, they indulge themselves in junketting and banquetting, and give up themselves to all manner of incontinency. They sit at meals not as we do upon stools, or eat from tables, but sitting on rising ground round in a ring, they eat very fast and greedily. **Their manner of eating.** They never drink at meals, but when they have done eating, then the drink is brought, and they drink as heartily as if they had suffer'd thirst a long time. They are strict observers of the new-moon, and not only salute but adore its first appearance, observing in all their actions and affairs, the increase or decrease of it: And for that reason they have always a half-moon in the tops of their houses, and castles, and on the doors and roofs of their churches and temples. They seldom or never drink wine, and if they do it is very privately; but grapes, and hony made of grapes, they eat freely. The common sort drink only fair water, the better and richer sort water brewed and made up with ingredients. They very seldom make use of spoons, but if they have occasion to eat any spoon-meat, they eat it out of the hollow of their hand, keeping close their fingers; and thus in a barbarous manner you shall see the meat dropping from their nasty paws upon their beards, and so down into the dish again, enough to turn one's stomach. They hate smooth-fac'd and beardless men, and never shave their beards. They shave

their heads, and first cover them with caps, and afterwards with a roll made up with many ribbons. They are very slovenly in their clothes. Being inur'd to hardship from their infancy, they are regardless either of cold or heat, able to endure hunger and fatigue. They go barefoot for the most part, except when 'tis a very great frost, or the ways are dirty, and then they use wooden shoes. They have wooden shoes only when they travel long journeys. Very few of them know what stockings are, and such as wear them, have them come up no higher than the middle of their leg. Most of them, when 'tis very stormy and cold weather, do wear coats made of beast's skins, with the hairy side inward, and reaching no further than their knees; the sleeves whereof are so wide that they can easily pull back their hands when they are very cold and warm them in their naked bosom. They delight much in hospitality, and reckon it a point of great clownishness and incivility to exact money of strangers for their entertainment; for we were several times invited and entertained by them; being made very welcome when we came, but much despised by them when we refused their invitation. They never bake, but when they are either a going to eat themselves, or to give it away to strangers. They are of opinion that all holy days ought to be spent in feasting and fulfilling the desires of the flesh. Their women are very decently habited all over their body, having their face covered with a thin black veil, through which they can see every thing but no body can see them. They dye their lips of a dark colour, and mark their fore-heads with a hot iron. On their arms they wear bracelets and rings of silver and iron, according to their quality and estate. They wear jewels in their lips, ears, and nostrils, and a sort of rings on their fingers. They use on their heads turbants, each according to her quality, which they cover with a white scarf hanging down to the ground. So much of the *Saracen* customs. I will now proceed to give an account of what I have heard and read concerning their great impostor *Mabomet*.

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## CHAP. VIII.

*History of Mahomet. His Pedigree. His Disposition; false preaching; Acts, Laws, Alcoran; Rites of Prayer, Fasts, Pilgrimages, Polygamy, Policy; his Dreams of Pleasure after this Life; blasphemous Arrogance. His opinion of Jesus and MARY. Religion contained in the Alcoran. Death of Mahomet. His Successor; his Sepulchre.*

*Time of* **M**AHOMET was born on the 23<sup>d</sup> of April, in the 606<sup>th</sup> year of CHRIST's nativity, in the popedom of Boniface the fourth, and when Phocas the parricide was emperor. His father was an Arabian and an idolater, but his mother an Ishmaelite, and of the religion of the Hebrews. Being descended of these two sects so opposite to one another, and contrary in their principles, he adhered to neither; but being a very ingenious and crafty fellow, and having conversed with Christians, out of the two opinions he contriv'd and made up one of his own, which has proved very destructive to mankind. For, among the Arabians who had him in very great esteem, he publicly preached that *Cosroes* with his whole family was justly destroyed, because he had caused himself to be worshipped for a god. And yet he himself, as a most wicked and licentious villain, was wont to worship idols, and adore images made with mens hands. When he disputed of the law of the Hebrews (which the Arabians for the most part profess'd) and the traditions of the Christians, he us'd to affirm that they were one and the same, but that both parties were much seduced by great errors, which errors he pretended to moderate and remedy, by alledging the Hebrews to be in the wrong for denying Jesus to be born of a virgin, whereas their ancestors believ'd and look'd for it. And as for the Christians, he blamed them for their levity, in believing that Jesus, who was so much beloved of God, and born of the Virgin, should yet be willing to have endured reproaches, and at last the death of the cross. And setting up a law of his own, he assur'd his hearers, that if the Saracens would receive and protect him, and be obedient to him as to a messenger sent by God, they should set themselves at liberty, and be the lords and princes of all nations round about them, enjoying great honours and riches, which afterwards was, and at this day is too much verified, thro' the cowardice and slothfulness of our princes and great men.

*Another opinion of his pedigree.* There are others who affirm, that he was born of a mean and vile parentage, as having been a driver of mules, or carrier to a rich widow, whom afterwards he wheedled so as she was persuaded to marry him.

And that it was by her riches he was so puffed up, as to have high thoughts of himself, and arrogantly to assume to himself the stile of God's prophet and ambassador. For in his alcoran he brings in God thus speaking to him; *Thou wast wise, but educated under discipline: Thou wast in error, and yet escaped out of it: Thou wert poor, but art become rich.*

Thus, when Mahomet aspir'd to dominion, and made his first appearance, some of the ruder and meanest sort of people joined him; afterwards having increased his party with a considerable number of robbers and thieves, he at length dared to disturb the bounds of the Roman empire. But *Heraclius* the then emperor soon put a stop to his progress, having put him to flight, and given him an ugly wound in his forehead, which was a plain contradiction to his prophecy, wherein he said of himself, that God had given him for a guard and protection ten angels, so as it should not be in the power of any to hurt him. After this defeat the Saracens and Arabians taking up arms, worsted *Heraclius's* generals; so that he who before was successful, is now again unfortunate. Mahomet flushed with this victory, and his being made general of their army, marched, styling himself the great prophet of God; and deluded by magical arts and forcery, the Africans and Asians, whom he animated to such degrees of courage and resolution, that they had gone near totally to extinguish the name of empire, having subdued *Alexandria*, and other cities of Syria, Egypt, and Cilicia.

In order to the better forming his design, he had the assistance of *Sergius* a wicked monk, who for some great crimes he had committed, was expelled his monastery, and fled to him; and collecting many passages out of the law of *Moses*, and the gospel, he put them artificially together in one body. And that he might engage his followers to stick the closer to him, he allowed one man to have four wives, and those of his own near kindred too; and as many concubines as he was able to maintain, besides slaves, which he might sell, and make use of, or dispose of them at his pleasure.

Moreover he says of his alcoran; "If His book? we should carry this law of ours to any ing of it mountain,

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BAUM GARTEN "mountain, that mountain would infallibly move and bow down immediately, out of respect to God and his law. And that this law is so excellent, that it is not in the power of gods or men to devise a better, for that by it the devils themselves will be saved."

Saracens worship.

This law he appointed to be read five times a day. When they pray, they set their faces to the south, and fall flat upon the ground three times. Wherein they observe this method, That one of them that are to pray, who for his age, or some other excellency, has the preference, first kneels down, and after him the rest, as many as are present, in a direct line in the same manner. Again, this first, as soon as he thinks they have all kneel'd, he immediately falls down on his face, and after him the first next to him, and then the second, third, fourth, and so on to the last man; and thus they pray, and sometimes they sigh and groan heavily. And when this first rises up again, or falls down, so must all the rest do in order one after another, like so many monkeys. And when they have shewed all their tricks the third time, then they all rise up together, seeming glad and mightily pleased, as if they had obtain'd what they pray'd for. And it is remarkable that before they go to prayers, in imitation of baptism or confession, they plunge themselves in water. And for that purpose they have before all their mosques a place full of water, that they wash themselves in. But if they happen to be in a desert-place, where they cannot have water, then they sprinkle themselves with earth or dust instead of water; foolishly thinking this to be effectual to purge and cleanse them from their sins. The subject matter of their prayer is nothing but a mere confession that God is, and was, and will be, and that *Mabomet* was a prophet inspired and sent by God.

Prayer.

Subject of it.

This law of his enjoined too, that they should fast one month every year; and their manner of fasting was to abstain from meats of any kind in the day-time, but to give up themselves in the night to all manner of jollity and shameful incontinency. He order'd them likewise to make their pilgrimages once every year to visit the route of God which is at *Mecca*, where when they meet they are obliged to be all clad in the same habit, and to go about throwing of stones thro' the holes of the walls, as if they ston'd the devil. He said, that *Abraham* built this house for his children, especially the *Ismaelites*, to pray in. He charged his followers likewise that they should persecute, slay, and at least subdue all that opposed his false reli-

Pilgrimage to Mecca.

Fasts.

gion, and did not believe as he did. He allowed them to eat all sorts of flesh except swines-flesh, carrion and blood; and yet we have seen them our selves in the desert eat carrion, namely the dead carcasses of camels, and for all that they would not taste swines-flesh. The ridiculous reason he gave for this prohibition of eating pork was, that after the flood swine were generated out of camels dung, as he foolishly pretended. He permitted those of his party, as was said before, to marry four wives, and to turn them away at pleasure, and chuse others in their place; but so as they should not exceed the number of four in their divorcements. As for hired concubines, slaves bought, or such women as were taken captives in war, every man was allowed to have of these as many as he pleased, and was able to maintain, and to sell them, except when they were with child, for in that case it was not lawful to sell them, but they might give them away, and bestow them on whom they pleased. They had the liberty too, to marry their own near relations and allies, because by such repeated marriages of one relation with another, families became more firmly united among themselves, and their friendship less liable to a rupture.

They retain the laws written in the old testament of the *Hebrews* as to their goods both moveable and immovable. They seldom swear, and for that reason the persons they cite to bear witness in any case are very honest and of great authority, whose testimony is believed without an oath. The *Mabometan* law forbids likewise the use of wine, because it is the occasion of much mischief and evil, and because they should lose their liberty and dominion if they drank it. It promises them a kind of paradise after this life, where they shall enjoy all manner of delight and pleasure, sitting under very pleasant and delightful shades, neither annoy'd with heat, nor pinch'd with cold, but enjoying every thing they desire as soon as ever they wish for it. That they shall there wear silks and soft fine clothes of all sorts of colours. That the angels of God shall there attend them as so many butlers and drawers to furnish them with most delicious wines in great plenty. That they shall enjoy all imaginable delights, with charming beautiful women, upon curious beds: But for those who are adversaries to his religion, and refuse to obey this law, to them is refer'd the punishment of undergoing the contrary of all these.

Furthermore, *Mabomet* had the impudence to arrogate to himself so much as to affirm that *CHRIST* prophesy'd of him

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these words, *I declare unto you concerning the messenger of God, who is to come after whose name is Mahomet, which was sent from everlasting in the presence of the Lord of God, at his right hand.* In like manner, 'So he saith of David and the book of *Isaiah*, which he highly commends. The same he doth with the rest of the prophets; but chiefly *Moses* is highly extoll'd by him. Yet he allows *CHRIST* to be greater than he, and himself the greatest. He saith, that the Christians corrupted the gospel, and the *Jews* the law of *Moses*; and there is just so much truth in both as is contained in his *alcoran*. He confesseth too that he was sent by God furnished with valour in arms, and that *CHRIST* was furnished with power in working miracles.

What *Mabomet's* opinion of *CHRIST* was, and of the *Virgin Mary*, the gospel, and of himself likewise, is evident out of his *alcoran*; for there he says that God made *Jesus* and *Mary* a miracle to men. And in another place, *The word of God CHRIST Jesus, Son of Mary, was sent by the Creator of the world, to be the face of all nations in this life, and that which is to come.* The same he owns elsewhere: *CHRIST* the power of God, the word, the wisdom, the life, the breath and heart of God, born of the *Virgin Mary* by a Divine power, raised the dead, made the blind to see, and wrought many other miracles. That he was more excellent than all the prophets of the *Hebrews*, and that the *Jews* shall have no prophet after *CHRIST*. *Jesus* he prefers to all men and prophets, and *Mary* to all women. For in his *alcoran* he brings in God speaking to *Mary*, the best of women, and never touched by any man thus: We breathed our own soul, we have made her and her Son *Jesus CHRIST* a miracle to men. He adds, that the body of *Jesus* went up into heaven uncorrupted, and he prefers the Christians far before the *Jews*. For when a *Jew* was willing to embrace his religion, he would not admit of him, until he was baptized as a Christian, and then renouncing his faith he was made an apostate from our religion. Yet for all that he accused the Christians of imprudence and stupidity, who believed that *CHRIST* the Son of God suffered the shameful and painful death of the cross. For he says, That whilst the *Jews* were searching for *CHRIST* in the garden, *Judas* the traitor was changed into his likeness, and crucify'd in his stead.

The same *Mabomet* says in his *alcoran*, That he neither had wrought miracles, nor would he work any; that he was ignorant of many things; that he was a mere man, but sent and inspired by God;

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and that it was not in his power to pardon sins. He forbade also to worship him; and which is more, he confesseth that there are some things in his book which may be doubted. The authority of the gospel he very frankly owns, when he calls it a light, a directory and perfection. And 'tis certain he very much disparages his own *alcoran*, when he saith, Whosoever adores the true God, and lives honestly and justly, let him be Christian or Saracen, shall obtain mercy and salvation. From these few instances it appears how he has contradicted himself. His followers do approve of the creation of the world and *Adam*, all the *Hebraean* history, and a great part of *CHRIST's* doctrine. They believe that Antichrist will be a very wicked man, and that *CHRIST* will kill him. They hold the resurrection of bodies, the last judgment, and eternal rewards and punishments: That *CHRIST* shall sit next to God in judgment. These are but a small number of the many idle dreams of the *Mabometans*, among which notwithstanding some truths are to be met with. For so great is the force of truth, that very often even its enemies and strangers are in a manner compelled to own and profess it whether they will or no.

And thus *Mabomet* having arrived at the thirty fourth year of his age, died at last miserably of a draught of poyson. There are some who say that seven days before he died he was delirious: That his belly was swell'd like a tun, and being full of dolorous pain, he thus gave up the ghost, and ended his wicked life. They say besides, that *Mabomet* before his death desired of his friends and acquaintance he should not be buried till three days after he was dead; for that on the third day after his death, he should be taken up to heaven. But they delay'd burying him not only three but twelve days, still expecting when he should be taken up, but all in vain. For after their long expectation, finding nothing of the matter, and his body stinking most horribly, being thus enraged, they thrust him under ground without a coffin.

After the death of this wicked impostor, his followers, and chiefly the *Caliph* who succeeded him in the empire, fearing lest by so scandalous a death and burial, the new broached heresy, together with the empire, should be both dissolved, he order'd his nasty carcase to be taken up again, and put in an iron coffin or chest, and they placed it in a temple whose walls were of loadstones: thus the chest being attracted by the loadstone upwards, it is reported it there hung pendulous in the air without any thing to support it until the

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BAUM-GARETN

Of the gospel.

Lament.

Mahomet's death.

His desire before his death.

His coffin.



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hail and  
lightning.

year of our LORD 1470, being the space of eight hundred and seventy years; for at that time a violent storm of lightning and hail falling upon part of that profane temple, did so shake it, and dash'd the coffin with the wretched body to pieces, that it was all beat to alhes, and sunk into the earth so as it could never be found nor seen again. Now the *Mabometans* alledge this to be the cause and occasion of this matter, That God being provoked by the sins of mankind, was resolv'd to destroy the whole frame of the universe; but *Mabomet* interceding, and requesting that blow should light on him alone and on his sepulchre, he thereby appeas'd God; and so having thus destroy'd the place of his

burial, he spared mankind.

And this place of his burial continues still to be had in so much veneration and esteem among them of that sect, that a great part of those who have seen it do immediately burst out into tears upon mentioning it, as if it were unlawful for those who had beheld *Mabomet's* tomb, ever to look upon any thing else afterwards: And thus continue weeping till they make themselves stark blind. A just punishment for such wretched fools, that they who before had suffered themselves to be blinded in their understanding, should now likewise be deprived of the light of their eyes. And so much of *Mabomet*.

Mabome-  
tens loci  
Maho-  
met's  
tomb is  
distracti-  
on.

### CHAP. IX.

*After having suffered much by extremity of Weather, at last they enter Baruthum: The excessive Cold in Antilibanum. The pleasantness of the Country about Baruthum. Acts of Titus in that City. Fruit of the Place. Sarepta, Sidon, and Parts adjacent.*

ON the 17<sup>th</sup> day of January, intending to leave our hut and pursue our journey, there arose a most terrible storm of wind and rain, with thunder and lightning, which continued at so excessive a rate, as we could not possibly stir from whence we were. And so being forced to stay, we spent all that day in disputing with some *Jews*, that had been travelling that way, about religion. We made a shift to kindle a fire, but it being made of green-wood, it filled the hut so with smoke that it had like to have blinded us; thus we continued for some time, till at last our mule-driver got us a better and larger fire of charcoal.

Antiliba-  
num.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> we left this place, travelling on foot; for the hills and dales were so covered and filled with snow that there was no travelling for the mules with the carriage. As we were coming down from the mountains we were caught in a cold and heavy rain, which so swelled the brooks and rivers that they ran down with much impetuosity, and carried stones, sand, and every thing with them that came in their way. We here stopt again, and in a worse condition than before; for having no where to shelter our selves, we contracted a grievous cold, standing in our clothes all wet, and it raining very hard. Tho' we had three coats on, the rain had got through them all, and so loaded them, that they were unsupportable. There was no remedy for us but patience, and the hopes of a better fortune.

Having thus past the greatest part of the day, we descended at last into a plain, where we reached and entred into *Baruthum*,

and were very kindly received there into a *Venetian* house. Here we refresh'd our selves by changing our clothes, and the help of a good fire, and good victuals. The day following a messenger arriv'd from the mountains of *Antilibanum* (where we met with so much hardship) giving an account of three men and four camels that had been frozen to death: Which when we heard, we thanked our most gracious Saviour, that we had so narrowly escap'd the same fate. The same day we went out of the city with the *Venetian* merchants, and some friars of the monastery of *St. Saviour*, to take a view of the situation of the town, and the ground about it; we entertained our selves with the charming pleasantness of these fields; we saw many olive-yards, and almond-trees just in their bloom, the land very fruitful and well watered, abounding with pomegranate-trees, and trees of many other kinds, which at that time were full of fruit. This prospect afforded us a great deal of pleasure, and was the object of our admiration. For at the same time that in our country the ground is covered all over with hoarfrost, the rivers frozen up, and the woods hardly able to sustain the weight of snow that is ready to break down all their boughs; here is a charming spring, the brooks sweetly gliding and making a murmuring noise as they flow, adorned on both sides with grass and flowers, the trees so laden with fruit, that they often sink and fall to the ground under their burthen. And which was still more wonderful, the mountains within our view were at the same time all covered with snow.

A cold fa-  
tal to the  
Antiliba-  
nians.

Pleasant-  
ness of  
their  
fields.

Baru-  
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theatre;  
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Titus sta-  
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A Voyage

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bles a dog

Pallus ca-  
nis.

Reason of  
the name.

Baruthus,

*Barutbus*, or as the moderns call it, *Beirut*, was once a colony of the Romans, as may be seen by the ruins of the amphitheatre; and as *Josephus* mentions in his seventh book of the *Jewish* war, it was one of the chief cities of *Phœnicia*; where *Titus* stay'd a considerable time after the taking of *Jerusalem*, having made there a very great solemnity on his father's birthday, both by exhibiting to the people splendid shews, and exposing a multitude of captives, some to be devour'd by wild beasts, and the rest forced to kill one another as if they were fighting in a battle against their enemies. In this city, as the same author relates, *Agrippa* having laid out a vast sum of money in building a theatre, appointed splendid shews which were to be observed yearly in commemoration of the founder. He bestowed on the people very plentiful doles of corn and oil, and adorned the whole city with beautiful statues, and stately images of the ancients, that all the kingly pomp and grandeur seemed to be transported thither. When Christianity flourished in these parts, it was an episcopal see; at this day 'tis more like a village than a city. There are however many ruinous monuments of its antiquity still extant, and many and various goods and merchandizes are imported into, and exported out of it. The *Musa* or plantane-trees do here grow in such plenty, that from hence they are carry'd to many places round about; viz. *Tripoli*,

*Damascus*, *Damlata*, and as far as *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. The fruit of the *Musa* or plantane, in colour and shape is not unlike a *Bean*, but it is a great deal larger, of a very pleasant taste, and a very sweet and wholesome smell, and tasting very like honey. They grow in clusters, that is in bunches, ten, twenty, and sometimes more in a cluster together; which wheresoever you cut it, and as often as it is cut, let it be in never so many pieces, you shall plainly see on both sides of the part cut a cross. They say that this is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which the Lord forbade *Adam* to eat; and 'tis commonly called here *Adam's* tree. The leaves of it are ten foot long, and a handbreadth and half-broad; on which they used to write in former times before the invention of paper. About three miles from *Barutbus* lies the city *Sarepta* of the *Sidonians*, where, as it is recorded in 3 *King*. xvii. *Elisha* miraculously encreased the poor woman's meal and oil, and raised her son from death.

About two miles from hence is *Sidon*, once a famous and potent city of *Phœnicia*, where *Dido* celebrated by *Virgil* was born, who having fled from her brother who sought her life, built *Carthage*, ever emulous of the *Roman* empire. Having gone to *Barutbus* again, we stay'd there several days expecting the barks that were to carry us over into *Cyprus*.

# CHAP. X.

*A Voyage to Tripoli. Passus Canis, or Passio di Cane. The River Narriabrahim. Biblus. Patran, or Botros.*

ON the 29<sup>th</sup> arrived a messenger, who brought us an account that the ship was laden, and ready to sail to *Cyprus*; wherefore without tarrying any longer, we got all our baggage put up, and in a boat, and having taken leave of our landlord, we immediately departed. We thought it not advisable to go by land, because of the robbers, who but the day before had murder'd two persons upon the road, for at that time the governor of *Barutbus*, and the governor of *Tripoli* were at deadly and open enmity with one another. Rowing thus along the bay for the space of three miles and upwards, we landed on the coast of *Tripoli*, near a place called in Latin *passus canis*, but in the *Saracen* language *Narrikelb*. This place is so called, because of a river that flows into the sea, having in the mouth of it a rock, standing in the very middle of the river, and one half above water. This rock in figure resembles a dog, and by the violent dashing of

the stream against it makes a noise like the barking of a dog. In this place ended the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and began that of *Antioch*; it lies in the middle between *Barutbus* and *Tripoli*, but it belongs to *Tripoli*.

Having, as was said before, been set on shore in this place, we hired mules again, and travelled all that day along the sea-shore. Afterwards we came to a river, which the *Turks* call *Narriabrahim*, over which there is a stately bridge of square stone; we were afterwards fain to shelter our selves in a hut that by good luck we light on, from the violent rain; and here we staid all that night, glad to take up our lodging among the mules.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of *January* rising betimes in the morning, three hours before the sun was up, we moved from thence, and had a troublesome journey of it; for the way being very rough, and it being so dark that we could not see our way, we often

**BAUM-  
GARTEN** came tumbling down to the ground with our mules, baggage and all, which put us to abundance of inconvenience. But when the sun appeared, we had a much easier journey of it. We came at last to a town half demolished, which at that time was called *Jubileum*, but formerly *Biblus*, or *Biblum*; and was an episcopal see. *Strabo* lib. XVI. says this *Biblus* was of old the palace of *Cynera*, in which were the temples of *Adonis*; and when oppressed by a tyrant, that *Pompey* restored their liberty by killing him. A little after we came to *Patron*, formerly *Botros*, a town once fa-

mous for glory and wealth, abounding with excellent wine, oil, and all sorts of fruit; but now it is a very small town, yet encompassed with a wall. Having left *Batros*, because we travell'd by the sea-side, we entered into a mountainous wood, and went on till we came to the top of the mountains, and then turn'd down to the sea again. We found the way very difficult, and the sun going down we arrived at last at *Tripoli*, and went to a *Venetian* <sup>Arrival at Tripoli</sup> house, where we were made welcome, and very kindly entertain'd, &c.

## CHAP. XI.

*A Survey of Libanus. Delightfulness of the Territory of Tripoli, Wealth of its Inhabitants. Reason of the Names of Tripoli and Libanus. Its Fruitfulness.*

On the 31<sup>st</sup> day we went out of the town to have a view of the place, having for a guide *Alberto Coletti* a physician of *Tripoli*; and that we might have the fuller view, we went to the top of a hill hard by. We saw about three miles off the city the so much celebrated mount *Libanus*, which was very high indeed, and then covered with snow, but full of cedar, fir, plane-trees, and a great many other stately trees. Here was to be seen too the streams of water mention'd in the *Canticles*, that run violently into the sea. The lower hills and places adjoining to the city are full of vineyards, corn and olive-trees. Here may be seen on all sides of it pleasant and delightful fields, rivers, brooks, and cool and refreshing springs. Here are various sorts of trees, bearing several sorts of fruit, silks and silkworms; here are delicious flowers for colour and smell. In short, here is to be seen as much vari-

ety of every thing as can make a place delightful.

The people inhabiting the adjacent parts are likewise very rich, and this is owing to the situation of the place, because of its many navigable rivers, whereby they have the convenience of buying and trucking all sorts of merchandize, and thereby enriching themselves. *Strabo* will have the name *Tripoli* to be given it, because of its three cities, viz. *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Aradum*; and that *Libanus* is so call'd from its whiteness, because it is continually covered with snow both summer and winter; which though it seems dry, yet abounds with many pleasant and wholesome springs. It produces cedars, cypress-trees, olive-trees, and a gum which they call *Olibanum*; and many more trees and herbs very serviceable and beneficial to mankind. It is free from serpents, and all other venomous creatures, and formerly produc'd excellent wines.

## CHAP. XII.

*Medals dug up about Tripoli. Arabian Metamorphosis. Persian Water, its Virtue and Use.*

On the 1<sup>st</sup> day of *February* we went out of the town again to take a view of its situation on the other side; and there we saw in the first place the harbour of the city fortified with many towers, and the ruins of ancient *Tripoli*, out of which were dug up many medals, and other monuments of antiquity. There Mr *Coletti* shewed us a piece of gold that happened to be dug up there lately, having on it the image of *Mars* with a spear in his hand, and this inscription.

*Restitutor Reip. Sp. F. Aug. d. N. Valen.*

We saw likewise two more of silver, one of

*Augustus Caesar*, and the other of *Romulus* and *Remus* sucking a she-wolf. Afterwards having seen several other things we return'd home again, and were entertained at dinner with many strange and wonderful relations of the *Sopbi* and his exploits, and of other matters that were famous and much talk'd of in those eastern countries. We were credibly inform'd, by very grave and prudent men, that on the way as you go to *Meccha*, there was, or rather had been, a certain great city, in which, by the dreadful judgment of God, not only men and beasts were turn'd into stone, but likewise their very utensils, and each according to its own former shape and figure.

*An ancient medal of gold.*

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*A Persian So*

ON the city of confines of ons, and man relat of the *Sopbi* much pervered to u and very a seraph; tion in *Ar liballadey* whereof is that is, *P for the ba* same *Sopbi* hundred t he was at lately kill men; and powerful he was no Turk him give a sho ing to wh others.

*Sophian*

*Sopbi's*

*Exploits.*

*Holy Ma homiet's*

*Mahomet's*

There v name *Hal* a faint and impoitor *Mabometar* venty two lieve one ed; but w come to a their own the rest ar Vol. I.

gure. The same day, while we were listening to this relation, and some others of the like nature, there came to the place where we were, two men of *Cyprus* with a wonderful water that they had been sent out of *Cyprus* into *Perfia* to fetch. Of this same water they told very strange stories, particularly, that if any of it happened to drop on the ground, or any vessel it was in, it no sooner touched the ground, but it vanished immediately out of sight; that for this reason they were obliged always to have it fixed on a forked stick: that it was of great use against the caterpillars that destroy the corn, for that in whatever place or country they kept some of this water, caterpillars could no longer live there: that formerly *Cyprus* had been much infected with this sort of vermin, but that

the inhabitants having got some of this <sup>BAUM-GARTEN</sup> water, and hung it up in one of their temples, the whole island was by that means freed from them. They told us moreover, that they had been sent for this water by the governor of *Cyprus*, and that they had been above ten months in their journey: that when they first set out, there were four of them, but that the other two being almost starved to death with the cold, were not able to come up with them. What was related to us here, we found to be actually true when we came to *Cyprus*, as that it was not only sprinkled on their fields against the caterpillars, but that it was commonly drank as a remedy or medicine against most distempers, and that it was effectual to that purpose.

## CHAP. XIII.

A Persian Coin. Mahometan Sects. History of the Pedigree and Exploits of Sophi. His Religion and Manners. Sultan of Egypt's arrogant Titles.

ON the second day of February there overtook us an *Italian* merchant from the city of *Aleppo*, which is situated in the confines of the *Turks* and sultan's dominions, and parts both their empires. This man related strange and incredible stories of the *Sophi*, and shewed us first, and after much persuasion and entreaty, at last delivered to us a piece of his money, being silver, and very large indeed, and in value worth a seraph; on which there was this inscription in *Arabick*, *Bitzind roffel balla elkaber liballadey ana Sultan Sophi*. The meaning whereof is this, *I am the true SULTAN*; that is, *PRINCE SOPHI*, *ser: by God for the banishment of all my enemies*. The same merchant moreover told us, that the same *Sophi* had in his army above two hundred thousand very warlike men, that he was at deadly enmity with the *Turk*, had lately killed above fifteen thousand of his men; and having slain three sons of a very powerful *Turkish* prince, called *Haliduli*, he was now marching against the grand *Turk* himself. I will therefore in this place give a short account of this *Sophi*, according to what I learned of this merchant and others.

There was a nephew of *Mabomet's*, by name *Haly*, who being likewise esteemed a saint and a prophet by his followers, his impollor broach'd a new heresy: for the *Mahometan* superstition is divided into seventy-two sects, out of all which they believe one only by which they can be saved; but which is that one, they cannot yet come to a determination. Every sect think their own the only true one, and that all the rest are in the state of damnation; and

Vol. I.

more especially those of *Sophi's* sect live in the belief of this. From this *Haly* aforesaid sprung the *Sophi*, whose proper name was *Iseba Imael*. For *Sophi* is the name of the sect, as were the sects of the *Arians* and *Manicheans* among the Christians. For their opinions see 1 *Lips. lib. de una relig.*

This *Sophi's* father and mother died while he was a child, and he himself was driven out of his native country by the tyrant who had killed his father. When he was grown up to man's estate, he got together an undisciplined rabble, and with them march'd without any order to a populous and rich city, which he took in spite of the tyrant, and there exercised a barbarous cruelty, putting all to the sword, and sparing neither sex nor age. This action struck a terror into the king, and all the princes round about. There flocked to him great numbers from all parts, especially those of the *Sophian* sect, being encouraged by the fame of his generosity, for he divided all the plunder of that rich city among his foldiers; and likewise because of an old prophecy they had among them, that there should arise one of *Haly's* offspring, who should advance the fame and glory of their sect above the skies. *Sophi* thus encouraged and strengthened in number of foldiers, made daily excursions into the neighbouring territories, destroying all with fire and sword wherever he came; and partly by force, and partly by policy, he had the good fortune to get into his power some of their best fortified towns and castles. He had several times engaged a numerous army with a small handful of

History of Sophi.

Consequence to the Sophian cause.

5 U

men.

BAUM-  
GARTEN

Sophi de-  
scribes the  
king of  
Persia's  
general.

Brave the  
king him-  
self.

His mar-  
riage.

Cruelty.

Religion  
and man-  
ners of So-  
phi.

Hog kept  
in con-  
tempt of  
the Turks.

Sophi's  
good will  
to the  
Christians.

His age  
and sta-  
ture.

men, and yet came off victorious; whereby he became very formidable, not only to private cities, but even to his adversary the king of *Persia*, who seeing him thus daily to increase in strength and courage, fearing the worst, sent against him the general of his army.

*Sophi* not in the least daunted hereat, met, engaged, and vanquished him. This victory and triumph so enhanced the esteem his men had of him, that they began now to extol him, not as a man, but even to adore him as a god that had come down from heaven, and his enemies dreaded him like lightning. But the king of *Persia* imputing his late loss to the ill conduct of his general, resolved to go himself in person; and raising a more numerous army than the former, advanced at the head of them; and having engaged with *Sophi*, was by him taken and slain. He afterwards married the deceased king's daughter, who taking occasion to resent her father's death, and blaming him for it, he killed her too with his own hands; which cruelty when the mother also reprehended, she had the same fate. In this manner did *Sophi* prevail over all his adversaries, inasmuch that divine honours were paid him by almost all the east. They say, that to get himself the more veneration, he never appeared in public but with his face covered: that he used no counsellors: that he was extremely fond of a cat he kept, whose divination he observed in all his actions. He is said to have kept a great hog too, which in contempt of the *Turks* he called *Turk*: They say he equally hated the *Turks* and *Jews*, and loved the *Christians*, as appears plainly by a *Christian* who had made his escape out of the slavery of the *Turks*, and went to him for protection. This man having proved himself to be a *Christian*, by shewing that he was not circumcised, had of *Sophi* a good horse, and a great sum of money, and a free passport to *Damascus*; where he safely arrived, and gave this account, and several other relations to the *Venetian* merchants that resided there.

He was of a middle stature, about seven and twenty years old; of a corpulent body; very moderate in pleasures; enjoy'd all things in common with his friends, reserving nothing to himself in particular. He was fortified by an army richly accoutred with gold and warlike arms. Some

days before, his embassy that was sent to *Emisaf*, the sultan, tarried some time at *Damascus*. They all of them wore long caps, with twelve foldings, of a reddish colour; and for that reason both he and his men are called by the *Italians* that live in those eastern parts, *Biret Rosso*, i. e. *Red Caps*.

And thus much of *Sophi*. What the sultan thinks of himself, may be plainly seen by his letters to the general of the *Venetians*, which the consul of *Tripoli* shewed us. In them he loads himself with these titles.

"Sultan the great sovereign governor, *Arranged*  
named *Camfongauri*, *Elnckelezeraph*, titles of  
the sultan.  
"the mighty, excellent, noble, wise, just  
warrior: A constant protector of his  
countries, and who by God's assistance  
is victorious, king of kings, the sword  
of the world and of faith. Sultan and  
prince of the *Mabometan* religion, and  
of *Mabometans*. The restorer of justice  
over all the world, and who by hereditary right possesses the kingdoms of it.  
"Sultan of the *Arabians*, of *Persia* and  
*Turkey*. The shadow of God on earth.  
"An observer of the commandments of  
God and his prophets; and who at this  
time is a second *Alexander*, from whom  
do proceed many good things; who is  
governor of all that sit on tribunals and  
thrones, and of crowned heads. Gover-  
nor of climates and countries, persecu-  
tor of rebellious infidels, hereticks and  
pagans; the protector of the two places  
of pilgrimage. The high-priest of the  
two sacred temples; who is the gather-  
er and keeper of the words of God;  
who defends the needy with justice, and  
furnishes them with rich gifts. Ruler  
of rulers: at this time priest of those  
things which belong to God. *Galipb's*  
vice-gerent, who is the prince of true  
believers, father of victories. Constant  
in the rule and dominion God has giv-  
en him, and he will make his army and  
people victorious; and God will exalt  
him above the sign of *Gemini*. This  
is the *Sultan's* title.

What reason there is for so many, so great and thundering titles, and what the meaning of them is, even a blind man may see. Yet as *Horace* says,

*Spectatum admitti risum teneatis amici.*

*Hor. de  
Art. Poet.*



## CHAP. XIV.

*The Saracens Feast after their Fast is over. A Prodigy of Nature betwixt Baruthum and Tripoli. A Diabolical Sect of false Christians at Tripoli.*

ON the 3<sup>d</sup> day having, as we had twice before, gone out of the city again, we saw all the people of the town in the fields at play at sports; for the *Saracen* time of fasting was just over with them, and they kept at this time, as it were the feast of the passover, or *Easter*, drawing themselves up into companies, and riding up and down. But we saw nothing worth noting at this solemnity.

Setting our selves down upon a sandy hill hard by, the *Venetian* consul at *Tripoli*, who perfectly understood the modern and ancient state of that country, observing us to be inquisitive to know all we could learn of it, he told us, that there was one thing very amazing and remarkable which we had not yet heard of; and therefore said he, this old gentleman (pointing to a reverend old man that stood by) and I will tell you the matter, which we were both eye-witnesses of. Between *Baruthum* and *Tripoli* is a mountain so steep, and hanging over the sea, that there's no coming at what I am a going to give a description of, but in ships. At the foot of this mountain is a large wide cave, that continually vomits out cold water; to which when you approach near you shall see a hand reaching a dish from the mouth of the cave. And if your curiosity is not herewith satisfied, and you attempt to come nigher; all of a sudden the whole vision disappears. And if again you withdraw back, you shall see the same hand and ves-

sel again very clearly. The consul added moreover, that this cave was perfectly inaccessible, the place was so steep and dangerous to come at.

The same gentleman in the same place told us a thing more deserving severe punishment than observation, viz. That not far from *Tripoli* there was a sect of people who boasted themselves to be Christians, but were more like devils. For their custom is at a certain time to meet together in dark caves, men and women promiscuously, and there to go together like beasts, the father with the daughter, the son with the mother, and every one take, without regard, the first they light on. And of the wicked issue which such impious encounters produce, they always save the females alive, and prick the males to death with needles yearly, and with their blood they offer sacrifice. Good LORD, how abominable is the very thought of such a thing!

After this having hired a ship, we thought to have sailed to *Cyprus*, but the wind hindered us: And besides, the owner of the ship was the occasion of our staying longer too, for the prince of *Tripoli* on some frivolous pretences had twice imprison'd him, and exacted a grievous fine of him, so that 'twas with much ado and intreaty, that the *Venetian* merchants prevailed with the greedy tyrant to set him at liberty.

## CHAP. XV.

*They pursue their Voyage. Mastick. History of a Shipwreck. Their arrival at Cyprus. Denomination of the Island. Salt-pits about the City, and Monuments of Antiquity.*

ON the 6<sup>th</sup> day, having implored God's assistance, we went on board and sailed the same evening with a fair wind towards *Cyprus*. We found in the vessel, the owner of a ship and his crew that had been shipwreck'd: He was of the island *Cbio*, the only place of all the countries in the world that produces mastick. The *Genoese* possess so much of this island, that they pay a great yearly tribute to the *Turk*, for they have a tradition, that as long as the *Turks* inhabit the island, it will never produce any mastick. This ship-master had loaded his ship with merchandise of several sorts, and was bound from *Damiata* (which was anciently called *Helio-*

*polis*) to *Tripoli*, and sailing one holiday was by the violence of the winds driven upon a rock hidden under water, on which his ship split, being leaky in several places: They made shift however to keep her three days from sinking, being all that time tossed among the rocks; and they had certainly all perished by the cold, if God's providence had not provided for them otherwise; for the ship being miserably shattered before, was by a huge and mighty wave that came on her, all split in pieces, and sunk to the bottom with all her lading; the men were all saved but one, who was swallowed up by the raging sea as he was making ready to swim. When the rest got

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vernor, Arrogant  
zeraph,  
le, just  
of his  
stance  
sword  
an and  
n, and  
justice  
heredi-  
s of it.  
sia and  
earth.  
ents of  
at this  
whom  
who is  
als and  
Gover-  
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BAUM- got to land, the poor wretches pick'd up  
GARTEN as much as they could of the wreck the  
Governor of Tripoli sea had thrown out, and glad of their de-  
liverance, came to Tripoli, where they no  
sooner arrived, but the governor seized  
on all they had, adding affliction to the  
afflicted; and so merciless was he, that they  
had much ado to prevent their being put  
in chains and imprisoned. And a doleful  
sight it was to see the poor old man with  
his gray beard, lame of his legs, have nei-  
ther penny nor penny's-worth, he who  
once carried others for freight, now fain  
to be a passenger himself in another man's  
ship, all natty, and half starv'd with hun-  
ger.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of February, about the third  
hour of the day, we arrived at Cyprus, and  
got into harbour at Salina; here we staid  
many days for certain reasons. This city  
was of old called Salamis, or Salamina, on  
this occasion. Salamina is a certain island  
in the Euxian sea, over against Athens,  
having in it a city of the same name, in  
which reigned Telamon the father of Ajax  
and Teucer. But when Teucer returned from

the Trojan war, and had not revenged his bro-  
ther Ajax's death, being exil'd by his fa-  
ther, he went to Cyprus, and called this ci-  
ty there after the name of his native coun-  
try.

In this city it was that Paul and Bar-  
nabas preached, as 'tis Acts xiii. And there  
too it was that Barnabas suffered martyr-  
dom. There is near it a lake of excellent  
salt, which being coagulated by the heat  
of the sun only, proves the best salt of any,  
and is exported in great quantities into Sy-  
ria, Greece, Italy, and other countries,  
yielding great profit to the state of Venice.

Near the harbour of Salamina is a church,  
in one end whereof the Greeks, and in the  
other the Latins perform their Divine wor-  
ship.

Not far from this place, by the sea, at  
the foot of a hill, are to be seen the ru-  
ins of an amphitheatre; adjoining to it is  
a cave laid with pyramidal stones, and  
about it many huge stones and pieces of  
antiquity, and pillars of white marble, but  
the inscriptions are totally defaced.

## CHAP. XVI.

Nymphia or Nicosia, a City of Cyprus. Its Episcopal See. A Storm at Sea.  
A Pirate at Rhodes. Pifcopia rais'd. Paphus; Its Founder.

THE third day of March, because  
our ship was to be loaded with corn  
in another part of the island, leaving all  
our things on board, we travelled by land,  
both for our recreation, and to have the  
better view of the island. The first place  
we came to the next day was Lymosin, of  
old Nymphia, and lodged in the bishop's  
house; for this is one of the four episcopal  
sees that are in Cyprus. The first is in Leu-  
coseia, now called Nicosia. The second at  
Famagusta. The third in Paphus. Which  
episcopal sees are each of them double, so  
that in every one of them there's both a  
Greek and Latin bishop. The same day  
about noon our ship arriv'd, so we made  
haste to get some provisions, which we  
carried with us and went on board. Sail-  
ing from thence immediately, before we  
had got a mile off, the wind rose and blew  
so hard, that we were forced to anchor  
under a promontory; and there did we  
for three days together without intermission  
dance and caper, but not very merrily,  
having for musick the loud noise of the  
winds, the rattling of the storm, and the  
roaring of the sea. While we were thus  
circumstanc'd, there came up with us a pi-  
rate ship belonging to Rhodes, who asking  
us whence we came, and what we had on  
board? when they found that all belong'd  
to Christians, they took away from us some

oars they wanted, and left us.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> day about noon, the storm  
being over, we set sail, and launching out  
into the main sea, we sail'd by Colossus a  
village of Cyprus, remarkable for its great  
plenty of figar. We sail'd by Pifcopia too, Pifcopia  
a city which one of the kings of England destroy'd,  
once ras'd to the ground, in revenge of  
his sister's having been debauched, having  
left her there as he was going to Jeru-  
salem.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> day we came to Paphus: Paphus.  
This is a noble city, formerly the metro-  
polis of Cyprus, and the palace of Venus;  
now a very desolate and ruinous place, as  
most of the cities of Cyprus are, occasioned  
by the frequent earthquakes that happen  
there, yet by the very ruins it appears what  
once it was. In Paphus the air is not ve-  
ry wholesome, nor indeed in all Cyprus,  
tho' it abounds with marjoram, hyssop,  
and other wholesome herbs. This city  
was built by Paphus, Pigmaleon's son by  
Eburnea, who called it after his own name, and  
consecrated it to Venus, to whom also  
they dedicate a very large temple; to  
which, as some will have it, when Helen  
arrived from Greece, being stolen by Pa-  
ris, she repaired, and gave occasion to the  
Trojan war. Others will have this to be  
done in Cytbera, an island mentioned be-  
fore in my first book.

CHAP.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*Our stay at Corfico, a Village. Presents made to us there. Cyprus describ'd; its Situation, Fertility, Cities, Inhabitants. Their grievous Oppression.*

**C**ORFICO. ON the 11<sup>th</sup> day setting out from *Paphos*, we arrived in the dark night at the town of *Corfico*, which is situated in a very pleasant valley, having a prospect over the sea as far as *Cilicia*, which is now called *Scandiera*. Here we spent several days, till the ship was loaded with corn and silk. In the mean time we had presents offered to us of almonds, pease, and other fruits of the same year's growth, which afforded us no less subject of admiration, than of pleasure and deliciousness, to consider the extreme coldness of the weather in our country at that very season.

**Situation of Cyprus.** *Cyprus*, a noble island situated in the *Carpathian* sea, in the middle of the greatest bay of *Asia*, lying from east to west in a right line between *Cilicia* and *Syria*, the most considerable and famous island in the world anciently abounding with riches; too much addicted to luxury, and for that reason consecrated to *Venus*; is very large, and formerly had the title and wealth of a kingdom. This island is called *Cubim* in the holy scripture; is very fruitful of corn, abounding with silkworms, silks, oil, sugar, and wine. Here are very beautiful hills, most pleasant and delightful valleys, always resounding with the melodious singing of birds: Here are warm suns, shady groves, dewy herbs, green grass, and soft downy meadows to lie down and rest upon. Yet notwithstanding all this fruitfulness

**Large.** and pleasantness, neither its cities nor villages are much frequented, but as if it was barren and a desert place it is inhabited only by a few people that live in cottages. It has no cities but *Nicosia* and *Famagusta*, the former of which is famous for its largeness, and for the ruling power of the governor residing there; the latter is remarkable for its harbour and fortifications. Besides all the inhabitants of *Cyprus* are slaves to the *Venetians*, being oblig'd to pay to the state a third part of all their increase or income, whether the product of their ground or corn, wine, oil, or of their cattle, or any other thing. Besides, every man of them is bound to work for the state two days of the week wherever they shall please to appoint him: And if any shall fail, by reason of some other business of their own, or for indisposition of body, then they are made to pay a fine for as many days as they are absent from their work: And which is more, there is yearly some tax or other imposed on them, with which the poor common people are so dead and pillaged, that they hardly have wherewithal to keep soul and body together.

**Cubim.** We spent the rest of our time with a great deal of uneasiness in this island, being forced to tarry till the ship had taken in her lading of several sorts of merchandise.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Indian Rams. Calmness of the Sea. Birds pay Freight. Nature of a Cocala. Gulph of Satalia. What Helen did there.*

**Indian Rams.** ON the 28<sup>th</sup> day of *March* having a gentle breeze, we weigh'd anchor, and set sail from *Cyprus* before sun-rising; and not being able to make much way, we diverted our selves with two *Indian* rams that were in the ship, who fought together continually: Each of them had four horns, two in the forehead exactly long and straight, only a little crooked at the ends, and almost meeting together in one place, and then parting again, and blunt and round at points (such as the grand sultan's crown, and his *caliph's*, which we had seen in *Cairo*, as I mention'd before) the other two horns were near the ears, all plain and even, and much shorter than the first two.

**A calm.** On the 29<sup>th</sup> day there was so great a calm all the day long, that the sea seemed

immoveable and smooth as glass. That day a flock of birds, which had ventured from the land on the calm sea, their wings being tired, rested on the masts of the ship; which the pilot of the ship observing, took no notice till night came, and then made them pay for their passage on the hot coals. There was one bird among them call'd *cocala*, all white, as big as a goose; which flying aloft, and hovering above the sea, spies the small fishes swimming on the top of the water, catches them in his long and crooked claws, and tears them to pieces; this is his food and daily exercise.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> day, and the day after, we sail'd over in very calm and clear weather the gulph of *Satalia*, which is likewise called *Helen's gulph*; for in this place *Helen*, mother of *Constantine*, whilst she was con-

BAUM-  
GARTEN

ing from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, hap-  
pened to be tost in a grievous tempest,  
and it is reported, that by throwing into  
the sea one of the nails that had pierced

the feet of CHRIST, the storm immediate-  
ly ceased, and the sea grew calm. The  
mariners are so much afraid of this gulph,  
that they shrink at the name of it.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Danger at Sea. Arrival at Rhodes. Its Situation. Colossus of the Sun there.  
Inhabitants. Fortification. Victory. Sultan's Exactions.*

Castle of  
Rhodzi.

ON the 1st day of April we labour'd  
in a contrary wind, but on the 1d  
day we came within view of the castle  
*Rhodzi* (which stands on a very high and  
steep rock near *Rhodes*) as our men were  
tacking the ship, there arose such a strong  
contrary wind that it split our main-sail from  
top to bottom; then we gave our selves  
up for lost. For sometimes we were tossed  
up to the skies by a great sea, and when  
that was gone we all of a sudden were let  
down again to the lowest deeps. There  
was nothing to be heard but loud cries,  
prayers and lamentations, one despaired,  
and another gave exhortations; in a word  
we were all in a frightful consternation.  
In this extremity all of us at once endea-  
voured to hawl in the torn sail, and with  
much ado got it into the ship, for before  
it flew abroad in the open air; and having  
hoisted another sail in the room of it, we  
got her before the wind again, and so steer-  
ed her with more ease, which revived us,  
giving God thanks for our gracious deli-  
verance. In a little time the wind calm'd  
a little again, and we discover'd the island  
*Rhodes* which gave us hope of faring better  
in a little time.

A storm.

On the 3d day at the mouth of the har-  
bour we met a ship of *Rhodes*, going to  
*Turkey* a pirating. They told us that about  
eight days before five *Turkish* frigats (which  
are commonly called *Fustie*) had engaged  
them under the foresaid castle of *Rhodzi*,  
but that by the valour of the *Rhodians* they  
were defeated, and forced to retire with  
dishonour and loss. After we had parted  
with them we came into harbour of the  
famous *Rhodes*, and having cast anchor there  
we furl'd our sails. We went out of the ship,  
and into the city, which is very much re-  
nown'd both for its strength and famous  
exploits. This city was often besieged by  
the *sultan* of *Egypt*, and also by the *Turk*,  
both bitter enemies of Christianity. They  
have endeavoured with all their forces to  
destroy it; but notwithstanding all their  
stratagems, and formidable armies, they  
were still defeated, and received more mil-  
chief than they were able to give. At last  
they were forced after all their art and ob-  
stinacy to leave it free; and to this day it  
is one of the greatest bulwarks of Chri-  
tendom against the *Turk*, and does them  
most mischief.

This island, as *Pomponius Mela* witnes-  
seth lib. II. is in the province of *Lycia*, and  
is the first of the *Cyclades* so much as sail  
from the east. In the city of *Rhodes*, besides  
other remarkable things, there was a vast  
*Colossus* of the sun made by *Chares* a *Ly-*  
*dian*, the scholar of *Lyfippus*, seventy cubits  
high, as *Pliny* reports; very few men  
could grasp the thumb of it, for the fin-  
gers of it were bigger than ordinary sta-  
tues. When any of the members happen'd  
to be broke off, there appeared vast hol-  
low places, wherein were huge stones in  
the inside, which the founder had put there  
to make it stand the firmer. It was twelve  
years making, and cost three hundred ta-  
lents, which they bestowed upon it out of  
the treasure that king *Demetrius* left. This  
*Colossus* is justly reckoned one of the seven  
wonders of the world, and was the occasi-  
on of the *Rhodians* being call'd *Colossians*,  
to whom there is a canonical epistle of *St. Paul*  
extant by that name. Its circum-  
ference is nine hundred and twenty fur-  
longs. It was once called *Ophyusa*, after-  
wards *Stachia*, and then *Teeblen*, because  
it was inhabited by *Teeblentes*. *Solinus* says  
of it, That the weather is never so cloudy  
but *Rhodes* is always in the sun, therefore it  
was consecrated to the sun. Its inhabitants  
do now live in towers for fear of pirates;  
they carry corn and other victuals to *Rhodes*,  
and lay them up in cellars, and other  
places under ground, fitted for that pur-  
pose, and take it out again as they have  
occasion, as out of a store-house. And if  
at any time an enemy invade them on a  
sudden, they make signals with fire on the  
top of their towers, which they have in  
every village, which alarms in a moment  
of time the whole island, so that they im-  
mediately meet and consult what is necessary  
to be done.

The city it self is encompassed with  
three ditches, which are large and very  
deep. And then again there is a very  
strong wall to every ditch, planted full of  
great guns and small arms of all kinds.  
The fortifications, towers, and breast-  
works are so strong, that they seem to be  
made of iron, and wrought by the hands  
of the *Cyclops*. The inhabitants have no  
dealings, no correspondence or friendship  
with infidels; but maintain a constant war  
sometimes

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Sometimes with the neighbouring *Turks*, and sometimes with the *Moors*, *Africans*, *Egyptians*, and other enemies of their religion. And this time year, a little before we arrived, a ship of *Rhodes* of a small size happen'd to engage with another of a much larger bulk, which had on board five hundred *Africans*, and two hundred *Jews*, which after a long and bloody dispute they at last defeated, took and plundered, bringing her in prisoner to the harbour of *Rhodes*.

So soon as the *Sultan* had an account of it, he immediately dispatched an embassa-

dor (whom we saw while we were there) first to demand with entreaty, and afterwards by threats, the delivery of the ship with all the prisoners and goods. But the great master of *Rhodes*, neither moved by fair words, nor daunted with threats, would grant none of their demands. Nay, he put the king of *Tunis*'s own brother, and the great man he had with him in chains, and appointed a guard to watch them. The rest of the common fort that he had taken prisoners on board the ship he ordered to dig in the ditches of the city, and to other hard labours.

BAUM-  
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CHAP. XX.

*Philermo. Rhodian Mills. Peter's Garrison. Dogs there of a wonderful Sagacity. Islands Cyclades. Danger of Sailing in the Aegean Sea.*

THE 7<sup>th</sup> day the ship detaining us, we went on foot to *Philermo*, about five miles from *Rhodes*; there is a very high hill, and upon it a temple dedicated to the blessed Virgin, where we heard sermon and prayers. There had been here formerly a large well fortified city, now only a small castle, but strong. From thence we went back to *Rhodes* again. In the port of *Rhodes* there are thirteen great towers, containing windmills built by the *Genuese* captives for the punishing of traitors, and for a publick good. In the castle of *Rhodes* the great master of the *Johannites* has his residence, having many more islands round about subject to him, and especially a fort placed in the confines of *Turky*, call'd *St. Peter's fort*, where it is reported, there are a great number of dogs kept, and (which is wonderful, and almost incredible) they are so sagacious and well bred up, that being let loose in the night-time into the enemies country, whomsoever of the infidels they meet with, they instantly assault and tear to pieces; but the Christians they know by the scent, and without offering them any violence, they very kindly conduct and protect them on the way till they come to the fort aforesaid. They report of these dogs too, that at the ringing of a bell, they all meet in a moment's time, and receiving their meat do march out every one into his quarter to the aforesaid purpose, like so many scouts or spies. The Christian prisoners that are kept in slavery by the *Turks*, sensible of this, do as often as pro-

vidence puts an opportunity in their way, steal out in the night-time towards this fort, and meeting the dogs there, are by them safely guided home to their friends. For even whilst we were there, we saw one that had made his escape out of *Rufsa* in that manner. The same evening having taken some refreshment, and got some provision for our voyage, we went on board our ship again, and weighing anchor immediately, we sail'd from that place with a very small gale of wind.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> day we sail'd among the *Cyclades* that are scattered in the sea, not without fear of pirates and dangers of the perilous sea. For we stood on our watch night and day, and always arm'd, being ready upon the first appearance of danger to engage.

The islands *Cyclades* are situated on the *Aegean* sea, now called the *Archipelagus*, and are so called because they lie round in the form of a circle. They are seventy four in number, all of them placed between the *Aegean* and *Maeian* seas. In the middle of them is *Delos*, called also *Ortygia*, from the quails first seen there, and *Pyripile*, because fire was first found there; by some 'tis called *Asteria*, by others *Cynthia*. Of the *Cyclades* the first is *Rhodes* towards the east: Towards the south *Carpathos*: To the north *Tenedos*: And to the west *Cythera*. But the *Aegean* sea is so dangerous to mariners, that 'tis believed there is no place in the universe more subject to earthquakes, thunder and lightning, than it is.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXI.

*The Seamen's way of catching the Wind. Catching of Remoras's. News from Chios. The Cretans whip themselves severely. News from Rhodes.*

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cap. ii.

Catching  
the wind.

Catching  
of fish  
called E-  
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How they  
are eaten.

News  
from Chio-  
s.

Cretans  
lash them-  
selves on  
Good Fri-  
day.

ON the 9<sup>th</sup> day, having by God's goodness got clear of the *Cyclades*, we came within sight of *Crete* near the promontory of *Samonium* or *Salamon*, where we being becalm'd, could make but little way by plying our oars.

The next day our pilot putting his finger in his mouth, then holding it out in the open air, prognosticated to us that we should have wind very speedily, which indeed proved accordingly; but there was but very little of it, so that it could move nothing with its force.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> we gain'd our desired harbour, and having there tarried several days, we saw the catching of the *lampreys*, or *remoras*, in Latin *echini*, or *echeneines*.

They are caught thus: They who are most expert at swimming do strip themselves, and carrying in their hands sharp knives, wade in the water along the rough stony shore, where these fishes haunt, at the same time looking steadily to the bottom to see if they can discover them by their sight; and if they can't, they feel them with their feet: they are readily spy'd with the eye, because of a black colour, and felt because of their being rough and prickly. As soon as they either see or feel them, they clap their head under water, and turning up their heels, they rest themselves on one hand, with the other in which they have the knife, they pluck them from the rocks or stones, and bringing them to the top fling them into a basket that they keep swimming close by them. They are eaten raw, pouring the waterish liquor out of them.

On the 22<sup>d</sup> of *April*, which happen'd that year to be the vigil of *Easter*, we had bad news from the isle of *Chios*, that three galleons of the *Rhodians* were intercepted by the *Turks* and taken. But the day before, which was *Good-Friday*, we saw a very cruel and bloody sight: There

were almost three hundred *Cretans* all in a company, *Latins* and *Greeks*, who in a disguise had their face and all their body cover'd except their back. They went thro' all the streets of the city, lashing and whipping themselves most unmercifully, inasmuch that their clothes, scourges, and flesh were bloody; nay, the very stones of the street were not only stain'd, but run down with gore. They told us that there were some among them who voluntarily and superstitiously inflicted this punishment on themselves in recompence of the passion of *CHRIST*. But the most part of them were hired by others to undergo the severity: It being customary that the seniors and better sort of this country, when by reason of old age or infirmity they are not able to inflict this severity, nor endure it on their own bodies, do hire others to do it for them. And there you might see young striplings, for the lucre of a little money, madly and furiously lashing and whipping their own bodies, as if they were so many blocks of wood, or statues without life or feeling, the blood streaming from every lash they gave, and all about them stain'd with it. For what will not a blind and vain superstition do? Besides, the city was all in confusion, old and young, men and women going up and down, bawling out ever and anon, some in *Latin*, some in *Greek*, every one in his own language, *Misericordia, misericordia*.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> day we had better news than the former, viz. That one galleon of *Rhodes* had met with the seven *Turkish* brigantines or sloops which a while before had taken and slain some of their men; that they engaged them, and by a contrary fortune had recovered all the goods, and many of the prisoners. For which remarkable victory a publick day of thanksgiving was straight appointed, and ordain'd to be strictly observed over all the island.

CHAP. XXII.

*The Dolphins describ'd: Their appearing ominous to Mariners. A great Storm at Sea followed. Miserable Life of Sailors. A Jest of a Mariner. Our stay at Candia. The Nature of the Island.*

ON the 25<sup>th</sup> day we sailed out of the port of *Candia*, and launching out some miles in the main sea, we were becalmed, so as we could not move either backwards or forwards: We had prefages of this disaster, by some dolphins that appeared to us within a stone's throw of the ship tumbling in the sea. They were enticed to come very near us by our finging and whistling, so that we could see them very plain. The dolphin is a sea-fish, the swiftest, not only of fishes, but also of beasts, it swims almost as fast as a bird can fly; and if it was not for his mouth that is so very large, that it reaches almost to his belly, no fish could escape his swiftness; but providence has thwarted nature in this, for he cannot catch any thing but when he swims on his back. They have a tongue (contrary to the nature of sea-animals) that they can move as they list, and make a noise or sound resembling the sighs or groaning of a man; they have broad backs, and their back-bone is edged like a knife: They have flat snouts, whence they are called *Simo's*. They are extremely delighted with musick, especially with singing in a concert. The dolphin is not afraid of a man; it comes and meets ships, as histories relate, and particularly in the case of *Arion* the musician. It mightily loves boys and children, which *Appion* says he was eye-witness to at *Puteoli*, and *Theophrastus* says the same too. But the seeing of these fishes proved very unlucky, and almost fatal to us.

The mariners have a common observation, that on whatever side of the ship they observe the dolphins to tumble in the sea and shew themselves, from that corner they expect the winds, tempest and storm; and 'tis observable that they never appear but in a calm sea, or inclining to a calm.

While we had for some time thus struggled in the calm sea (as it frequently happens, that an alteration to the better is commonly the beginning of misfortunes) all on a sudden there arose a violent hurricane, and a strong contrary wind: The seas swelled prodigiously, and we were surrounded with a dark mist or fog, inso-much as we could neither sail on, nor lower our sail. Here being forced back with the winds the same way we came, no small fear seized us, every one expecting nothing but present death, and revolving with them-

selves what sea-monster they should become a prey to.

The ship reeled to and fro like a drunkard, sometimes sunk quite under the waves; by and by it recovered itself again, and all of a sudden was overwhelmed with the rains that fell down, and the seas that broke against her: sometimes you would have thought that the ship was really sensible of danger, and feared the mighty billows that were ready to overset her, by nimbly avoiding their force, and escaping. But because the mercies of the Lord are manifold, the storm turn'd to a calm at last, and we got into a certain narrow bay of *Candia*, called *Trafchea*, where we came to an anchor and staid all that night, being all the while most grievously tolt with the wind and the rains. What state of life, friendly reader, can be harder, think you, than that of mariners? How many heats and colds must they endure? how often must they be frighted with thunder and lightning, and daily, nay hourly, exposed to the violence of the winds and rains? How often must they be tormented with hunger and thirst, and poisoned up with dirt and nastiness, their lodging being no better than a prison, having little or no furniture, and if any, very nasty, hard bedding, coarse diet, and such as require iron teeth to devour it, stinking drink, dirty clothes, inconveniencies of all sorts, restless nights, and ever unquiet and in the open air? Not to mention their perpetual banishment from their native homes, being exiles, wanderers, stragglers, in perpetual motion; deprived of all the enjoyment and society of a wife and children, than which there is not in the world a greater pleasure. Who would not judge such to be the most abject and most miserable of all mortals? I omit *Seylla*, *Caribdis*, *Malaea*, *Syrtes*, *Simplogades*, and many other places dangerous to sailors. I omit also the storms and tempests (than which nothing is more dismal to see) wherein they are daily exposed to the greatest dangers, their ships and themselves shaken and tolt, and at last frequently drowned. O the foolish and unnecessary devices of men's covetousness, who not contented with what may be had on land, dare trust their precious lives to a feeble and brittle board, within four or five inches of death, being in the mean time secure, jovial and merry. A sailor being once asked where his father died? he answer'd,

5 Y

BAUN-  
GARTEN

Trafchea  
a bay of  
Candia.

Miserable  
life of  
sailors.

Dangerous  
places for  
sailors.

from Chios.

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their body  
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pnors. For  
publick day  
appointed,  
observed over

A storm  
arose.

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
Sailor's  
jef.

At sea. And the same person asking him where his grandfather, great-grandfather, and the father and grandfather of his grandfather died? the sailor replied as before. And are not you afraid, said he, to go to sea? The sailor answered sily, And where died your father? In his bed, said the other. Where died your grandfather, continued he? A bed too says the other, and so did all my ancestors. Then, says the sailor, are not you afraid to go to bed? So much for sailors.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> day at sun-rising, because the wind proved contrary, and the city

Candia being hard by, we were driven into the harbour again by a mighty storm of wind and rain. Moreover not forgetting the danger we had been in, we paid the ship's master for our passage, and went to our old lodging to give God thanks for our safety. After this we bargain'd with a large ship to carry us to Venice, and staid till she had taken in her full lading. In the mean time we got acquainted with many noble Venetians, and several Grecian gentlemen, by whom we were very kindly and honourably entertained.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Our departure in another Ship from Candia. We are again distressed at Sea. News from Rhodes. A Storm and Earthquake. Malvasia a Castle there. Lacedæmonia. Corinth. Patros.*

A contrary  
storm.

News  
from  
Rhodes.

Nea.  
Paros.  
Polland.  
Pr. Cervi.  
Naxos.  
Nilo.  
Falcona-  
ria.  
Bellapola.

A storm.

ON the 23<sup>d</sup> day our ship having taken in her lading, having first gone to prayers, we got out of harbour; and all our sails being spread, we sail'd but slowly, the wind being, tho' fair, but moderate. But he that puts his trust in the winds, must himself be as inconstant as they; for a violent contrary storm arising, drove us back from our intended voyage to a corner of Candia, *Trafchea*, the same place where we avoided the late storm. Here furling our sails, and letting go our anchors, we staid two days waiting for a fair wind. In the mean time two Venetian arm'd galleys standing towards us, having had the same fate, told us, That the *Rhodians* had intercepted thirty sail of Turkish ships of several sorts, full of guns, scaling-ladders, and other instruments for storming and taking of towns; and said moreover, that they saw the express and the letters sent to the governor of Candia about it.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> having got a moderate gale, we moved from thence; and not steering directly forward, but as the wind served us ploughing the sea, we left those islands to the right of us, viz. *Nea, Paros*, whence *Parian* marble is named, *Policandrum*, *Promontorium Cervi*, *Naxos*, where *Homer* was bury'd, *Milo* consecrated to *Cybele*, *Falconaria*, and several others.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> having happily arrived at *Bellapola*, before we could well let go our anchors, whilst our ship's crew were employ'd in lowering and handing the sails, of a sudden there came a great storm and a dreadful tempest, which seemed to raise the sea

from the very bottom, and tossed up the foam and froth in the air like feathers. The yards and ropes caused a most frightful rattling and noise; and if it had not been our good fortune to be in a place where our anchors held, we had been certainly cast away. And this was the day on which, as shall be said afterwards, the city was shaken, and a great part of it destroyed by a terrible earthquake.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> having a moderate and fair wind, we mov'd from thence, and had in our view *Peloponellus*, which is now called *Morea*; we pass'd a castle too, called *Napoli de Romania*.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> we sail'd about *Malvasia*, we were becalmed. *Malvasia* is a city or town belonging to the *Venetians*, whence vines were first transplanted into *Crete*, which produce that wine that we call *Malmsey-wine*. *Malvasia* lies from *Napoli de Romania* at seventy miles distance. And there are the two only places of strength the *Venetians* retain in all the *Morea*, The *Turk* being master of the rest. But because the *Morea* has been already described, I need not now repeat a description of it; only this I may add, that *Lacedæmonia*, of old

the eye of Greece, is situated between the promontory of *Malca* and *Malvasia*, towards the *Ægean* sea. But *Corinth*, which *Horace* calls *Bimaris* (i.e. lying between two seas) looks to both the *Ionian* and *Ægean* sea. *Patros* borders upon this city, the place where *St. Andrew* was crown'd with martyrdom. *Argos* and *Micene* were in former times remarkable cities in the *Morea*.

Morea.  
Napoli de  
Romania.  
Malvasia.

Situation  
of Lacedæmonia.

Of Corinth. Patros, Argos, and Mycene.

### CHAP.

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Precision  
from Cy-  
thera.

Promon-  
tory Me-  
tapano.

Mal.

Origin of  
the name.

Superstiti-  
on of the  
jailers.

Morea,  
Napoli de  
Romania,  
Malvasia.

Situation  
of the  
Lacedaemonia.

Of Co-  
rinth, Pe-  
trot, Ar-  
gos, and  
Myceae.

*Provision got at Cythera. Danger about the Promontory Metapano. Promontory Malea. A Partridge lost. Islands Strophades. Original of the Name Zacynthos.*

ON the first of June we came to the promontory of *Malea*, having it on the right hand, and *Cythera* which is right against it on the left. The sea was then calm, which the sailors call *Bonaza* commonly. We sent our boat with some men to the island *Cythera*, who having got some provision, brought likewise with them two deers, three goats, and wood and water: whether they bought them with their money, or purchased them otherwise we knew not; but they no sooner brought them aboard, but there arose a contrary wind which fatigued us extremely: For having several times attempted to put out to sea, and to get clear of the point of the promontory *Metapano*, being drove back by the winds, we were fain to make our way under the rocks. But not daring to stay there because of the danger, we put out to sea again, and by steering different courses backwards and forwards, and failing sometimes with, and sometimes against the wind, we spent the time to no purpose; for it is always very dangerous failing there, for which reason this place is accounted one of the most dangerous places of the sea.

*Malea* (which the common sort call *Casmalie*) as *Servius* relates, is a promontory of *Laconia*, which is stretch'd out into the sea for the space of fifty miles, where the current is so violent, that it seems to pursue those that sail there. It took its name from *Maleus* a king of the *Argives*, who built upon it a magnificent temple for *Apollo*, which he also call'd after his own name. On the ruins of this temple there is at this day a chapel built to the honour of *Michael* the archangel. Here we could not but laugh at the foolish superstition of the sailors, who say, when the wind blows from that place, that 'tis occasion'd by the violent motion of *Michael's* wings; because, forsooth, he is painted with wings: And for that reason, when they sail by *Michael*, they pray to him that he may hold his wings still. It happens sometimes that 'tis two or three months before such as sail from the east can get clear of this promontory; but by the singular goodness of God, we pass'd it very quietly, which made us labour stoutly lest we should be forced back again to struggle longer with it.

On the fourth day, by the favour of a south wind, we joyfully pass'd a great many promontories, with which *Peloponnesus* is

divided as by so many fibres. Sailing by *Chorona* a city of the *Morea*, we lost a partridge. This bird had been carried from *Chorona* to *Candia* where we bought it; and by our carelessness being suffered to fly out of the ship, smelling its own country, and endeavouring to get thither, was drown'd before it could get so far. The same day about sun-setting we sail'd by *Modona* and *Lepantum*, both cities of *Peloponnesus*.

On the fifth day in the morning we sail'd by the *Strophades*, which are commonly call'd *Strivali*. These islands (as *Pliny* witnesseth in his fourth book of *Nat. Hist.* and *Virgil* in his third *Aeneid*) are situated in the *Ionian* sea against *Cephalonia*, first call'd *Plote*, afterwards *Strophades*. Plotæ. Of which *Virgil*,

*At length we land upon the Strophades,  
Safe from the danger of the stormy seas.  
Those isles are compass'd by the Ionian  
main:  
The dire abode where the foul Harpies  
reign:  
For'd by the winged warriors to repair  
To their old homes, and leave their costly  
fare.  
Monsters more fierce, offended heaven ne'er  
sent  
From hell's abyss, for human punish-  
ment:  
With virgin faces but with wounds ob-  
scene,  
Foul paunches, and with ordure still un-  
clean;  
With claws for hands, and looks for-  
ever lean.*

These islands are two in number, the one greater, and the other smaller. In the former is excellent pasture for cattle; in the latter a very fine Greek monastery. The same day we had a fair wind, set our sails, and went merrily on whither the wind and our pilot directed us.

Then we discover'd woody *Zacynthus*, *Zacyn* which is now call'd *Alfanto*, a small but thus pleasant island. *Zacynthus* has one city of its own name, with a fortified castle, both seated on a rising ground.

When we endeavour'd to leave *Zacynthus* on our right hand as we sail'd by it, a contrary wind arose, which obliged us to leave it on our left, and there we lay at anchor all that night waiting a fair wind

BAUST-  
GARTEN  
A par-  
tridge lost.

Islands  
Strophades.

On

BAUM-  
GARTEN

On the sixth day, having suffered the same fortune as before, we fastened the ship at the very mouth of the harbour of the

city, and sent out our boat, but had much ado to get any provision.

## CHAP. XXV.

Castle of Tornez. *A Gun lost. Island Ithaca. Dulichium. Leucada. Nicopolis. Promontory of Acarnania. Paxus. Antipaxus.*

Castle of  
Tornez.

ON the seventh we weighed anchor, and sail'd towards the castle of *Tornez*, hoping there to find a fair wind: which not happening according to our mind, we put out our lead to found the bottom, and found it twenty five fathom, which we were very glad of, and so let down our anchors, and rode there. Here we killed the deer we got at *Cythra*, and dividing it in equal portions among the men, feasted upon it, and so past the time very merrily in eating and drinking, for the whole lading of the ship was almost *Mahnsy* wine. The castle of *Tornez* is seated on a very high hill in *Peloponnesus*, which the *Venetians* shamefully surrendered to the *Turks*, by virtue of an article of a treaty they made with them.

The eighth day the wind not serving, we came again to the port of *Zacynthus*, where a great number of our men went on shore to the city and castle, and brought with them some provision.

A gun lost.

On the tenth loosing from thence, we sailed between *Celaphonia* (but truly called *Cephalonia*) and *Zacynthus*, which are very near one another, and both belong to the *Venetians*: There we met a *Cretan* ship, which perceiving us to be friends by the ordering of the ship and sails, they saluted us very kindly with loud shouts, and hoisting up their flags. And while they were discharging a great gun, that it seems had not been well enough fixed in its place, so soon as it was off, the force of the powder drove it quite over-board, so as it was never seen again. And thus seeking to put an obligation on us, they did themselves a mischief. Presently after there came another contrary wind, which forced us back to the left side of *Cephalonia*, so that we lost as much of our way this night as we had got the day before.

On the twelfth we past by an island commonly call'd *Vallis de Compare*, by the *Latins*, *Ithaca*. This, as *Pliny* in his fourth book of *Nat. Hist.* has it, is situated against *Leucada* and *Achaia*, and was the celebrated dominion of *Ulysses*, in which there is a mountain call'd *Neritos*, whence the whole island is called *Neritos* island.

Amidst our course Zacynthian woods appear:  
And next by rocky *Neritos* we steer.  
Virg. *Aeneid*. 3.

Near this island is another call'd *Dulichium*, having on the east side *Strophades*, and on the west *Ithaca*. The same day we past the island *Leucada*, in which is a castle called *S. Maura*, which was given up to the *Turk* by the *Venetians*, in a capitulation they made with them, in the same manner as *Tornez* was. The island *Leucas*, according to *Pomponius Mela*, lies right against the bay of *Ambracium*, where also there is a city of the same name, which *Augustus* named *Nicopolis*, having obtained there a victory over *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, which island has a very high mountain of the same name. *Leucas* was once joined to the continent, as *Ovid* says, *Metamorph. lib. XV*. It is a small channel, and hardly capacious enough to admit of two galleys at once, that parts *Leucas* from the continent. Then also we past a promontory of *Acarnania*, which is now called a dutchy.

The 13<sup>th</sup> we past by *Paxus* and *Antipaxus* islands, known only for their names, being but very small. Then we came within sight of *Corcyra* a small creek, and were forced there to anchor all night for the calmness of the weather.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Corfu. *The Venetian Admiral and three thousand Men drowned. An Earthquake in Candia. The Damage done by it. Story of a Genoese Traitor.*

ON the 14<sup>th</sup> in the morning we arrived at *Corcyra*, or *Corfu*, and making fast our ship in the harbour, we went into the city, where we made much of our selves for a considerable time, eating and drinking of the best we could have for our money.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> while we were here, there came in a brigantine, that brought the sad news of the *Venetian* admiral's being cast away in a storm, (just when he had discharged that office his appointed time, and was on his return to resign his commission) with

Earth-  
quake of  
Candia.

Mischief  
done by it.

Island  
Santorini.

Story of a  
Genoese  
traitor.



with two great galleys, one ship, and ten other smaller vessels of several sorts; of three thousand men he had with him, six only were saved, the rest with the admiral himself were all drowned.

Earthquake of Candia.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> (as human affairs are always fluid and uncertain) there arrived another brigantine, with little better news, viz. That the city Candia on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of May was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, most of the buildings both sacred and private being either quite overthrown, or so shattered and broken that none durst inhabit them; that above six hundred people had been destroyed by it, among whom the chancellor, a very worthy man, and to whom we were extremely obliged, besides many other noble persons both Greeks and Italians, citizens and common people. And not only Candia but several other cities and towns in the island felt the dire effects of this earthquake, particularly Sittia, where the citadel and most of the houses fell to the ground, and truly the inhabitants were sensible of it all over the island. Another island hard by named Santorini, was so split and cleft in the middle, that it became two islands, which in some measure confirms the opinion of the ancients concerning Sicily and Italy; viz. that both formerly had been one land.

Mischiefs done by it.

Island Santorini.

*The Italian shore,  
And fair Sicilia's coast were one before,  
An earthquake caus'd the flaw. The roar-  
ing tides  
The passage broke, that land from land  
(divides)  
The lands retire, the rushing ocean rides.*

On the 17<sup>th</sup> another piece of bad news was brought of a wicked design that was enterprized, but by the providence of God not brought to perfection, of a Genoese traitor.

Story of a Genoese traitor.

This fellow having long lived among the Turks, did acquire their language and manners perfectly, and being drunk with the poison of malice went to the Turk, and proffered to deliver Rhodes into his hands

without the expence of any of his subjects blood. The Turk believed, and encouraged him to it with fair words, gifts and promises, to go on with the design. He taking upon him a Turkish habit immediately went to Rhodes, as if he had been a prisoner of the Turks, and having falsely told them that he was among the Turks counsellors, he pretended to discover many of the secret councils of the Turks. In short, he had such a faculty of discourse, and so great a power of persuading, that they really believed what he said to be true, and received him among the chief men of the Rhodians. Now he had ordered before, when he was in Turkey, that there should be sent to him twenty barrels or vessels with caviare, which is much used there, in the middle of which casks there should be put swords, darts, arrows, and other weapons. And he had laid his design so, that in the harvest time when most of the people of the city were gone out to their harvest into the fields, he would take his opportunity, and set at liberty all the Turks, Saracens, Africans, Jews, and others that were kept prisoners there, and so arm them with these weapons; by which means they might easily put all the inhabitants to the sword, seize the city, and send to the Turk, who was to lie with an army not far off, expecting the issue. But God turned this mischievous design on the head of the traitor: for in the mean time another who had really fled from the Turks, coming to Rhodes, and had privately certain intelligence of the whole matter, discovered it to the great master of Rhodes, shews him the projector of the villany, and gives him information of several prisoners who were privy to it; several of whom being put to torments confessed the matter, nor did the traitor himself deny it. Many of the conspirators were put to death, and the rest put in fetters, and closer prison. The traitor himself they reserved to be tortured with more exquisite punishments, because these arms were daily expected, which were concealed in the caviare. This caviare is a certain meat or sauce prepared of the entrails of fish.

BAUM-GARTEN  
His industry and cunning.

Stratagem of the traitor.

The plot discovered.

Caviare.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Country of Epirus. Mountain Dodone. Casope. Velona Hydruntum, ruin'd by the Turks. Dyrrachium. Scutaris, &c.

BAUM-  
GARTEN  
Castle of  
the great  
men of  
Corcyra.

ON the 18<sup>th</sup>, which was the feast of the holy Trinity, loosing from Corcyra we sail'd close by a rock near Corcyra, upon which is erected a castle full as big as the hill itself; to which castle the great and wealthy men of Corcyra are wont to retire in the time of a pestilence, and sometimes to divert themselves.

*The sight of high Pheacia soon we lost,  
And skim'd along Epirus rocky coast.  
Then to Chaonia's port our course we bend,  
And landed, to Buthrotus heights ascend.*

At this last place our men having purchased for us some small fishes caught in the river running by it, and some eggs, returned to us again, and having made the ship fast, because of the boisterous wind that blew, we staid there two days.

Epirus.

Epirus (in which is Buthrotus) in Latin is called the firm land. This country of old was called *Molossa*; afterward from *Cleon*, Helen's brother, it was called *Chaonia*. In it the mountain Dodone, the wood and temple of Jupiter, made famous by the verses of the Greek and Latin poets, were remarkable. To this temple they feign'd that two doves were wont to resort, which gave responses from heaven, one of which flew to *Delpbos* a city in *Beotia*, and there made the oracle of *Apollo Delphicus* renowned. They gave out that the other flew to the temple of Jupiter *Ammon*, which prophesied and delivered oracles at *Chaonia*; the devil being industrious to find a new theatre for himself.

Chaonia.  
Mountain  
Dodone.

Doves of  
Apollo.

This city is very poor and almost ruined, being under the dominion of the Venetians.

ans, who squeeze out of their subjects all their substance, and carry it to *Venice*.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> day with a gentle east wind, we weigh'd from thence, and came near to *Casope*, a town of *Corcyra*, of old a colony of the *Epirots*. From thence putting out to sea to the right-hand, we pass'd by *Ceraunia*, which I made mention of in the first book, whence we had a very short and speedy passage to *Italy*. We sail'd by *Sallyno* too, and the two *Merlera's*, *Pbanon*, and several other islands.

On the 22<sup>d</sup> day we sail'd with a very fair wind, and quickly lost sight of several towns on our right-hand, one whereof is call'd *Velona*, situated in *Albania*. *Bajazet* the first king of the *Turks*, conquered this city, and *Amuratb* subdued it afterwards when it revolted. Out of this town the *Turk* march'd *an. 1480.* when he took *Hydruntum* a city in *Apulia*, having put to the sword many thousands of men, and levell'd it to the ground. Next to it we saw *Dyrrachium* in *Epyrus*, built in the time of *Ancus Marcus* the fourth king of the *Romans*, which had formerly been call'd *Epidamnos*. Foras *Pomponius Mela* relates, when this town had been the common port to all *Greece*, and that name seeming to portend some loss or misfortune, abandoning the old, it took a new name, viz. *Dyrrachium*. This they call likewise *Epidaurus*, and it is now subject to the *Venetians*. Then we sail'd by *Scutaris*, once *Corura*, seated in *Albania*, which also the *Venetians* surrendered to the *Turks* in a capitulation. After this we saw and lost sight of *Budua*, and *Catbera* cities of *Dalmatia*.

Casope.

Island, Sallyno and Merlera.

Hydruntum.  
Pever.

Lib. V. Chron. Dyrrachium.

Epidamnos.

Epidaurus.

Scutaris.

Budua.  
Catbera.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Ragufium a City of Dalmatia. Island Meleda. A Sea-Dog. City Lefina. Island Lissa; great plenty of Fish here, which yield the Venetians Tribute. A new Admiral.

ON the 23<sup>d</sup> about break of day, we sail'd by *Ragufium*, one of the principal towns in *Dalmatia*, which for its magnificent buildings, both private and publick, excels all the rest, having a very convenient harbour secured by a chain. It is a free state, and govern'd by its own fenators, as *Venice* is. The same day and the next we sail'd by several other islands belonging to the *Ragufians*, not far from

the continent, viz. *Calamutbo*, island de *Medio*, *Zupana* and some others.

After this, sailing under the island *Melida*, by the violence of the winds, we were driven into a certain harbour, where we saw fish as big as cockboats tumbling in the water; and when some of the sailors went out of the ship to cool themselves with swimming, one of them spied from the top-mast a sea-dog, which alarmed the swimmers,

Calamutbo.  
Zupana.

Melida.

Offera.

Ancona.

A sea dog.

mers so, they immediately came aboard, and with flinging stones at him drove away the sea-dog.

From hence on the 26<sup>th</sup> we sailed between *Melida* and the continent: and then steering our course to the right of the island *Augusta*, we fastened the ship among the rocks of the island *Corfula*.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> sailing between *Lefina* and *Corfula*, in no small danger both from the rocks and storms, we put into the harbour of the city *Lefina*; for not many days before a ship laden with corn had been cast away there.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> day we went into the city, made much of our selves, and set out our things in the sun-shine to dry. The town it self has no wall about it, but it hath a castle, which by reason both of situation

and fortification, is impregnable. In the harbour of *Lefina* we saw such a prodigious swarm of fish, as no other place could produce. Within view of *Lefina* is the island *Lissa*, where all sorts of fish are taken in such plenty, that they are able sufficiently to furnish such as sail from *Venice*, *Apulia*, *Genoa*, *Crete*, *Corfu*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other strangers: And they say there arises a vast income to the *Venetians* yearly out of the duty imposed on fish alone.

In the evening of this day arrived an armed galley of *Lefina*, bringing the new admiral, with beating of drums and sounding of trumpets. After which there arrived another galley like the former, with three brigantines, in the dark night, in the same harbour.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Port of Sessula. Cahocista Promontory. A Storm. A Quarrel among the Sailors. Rubinum of Histria. Return to Venice. Another Earthquake in Candia.*

ON the 30<sup>th</sup> day of June we left *Lefina*, and sailed by the islands *Bracia* and *Solta*; and afterwards we were driven by the wind into a port call'd *Sessula*. This port is in figure like a hemicycle (or half-circle) a very convenient harbour for shipping, and so safe that ships can ride here without anchors: It is eighteen Italian miles from *Spalatrum* a city in *Dalmatia*.

On the first of July we sailed from *Sessula*, and passing by *St. Andrew's* rock, came in sight of a certain promontory they call *Cahocista*, about which place the sailors, by an old and inbred custom, do pay their debts, if they owe one another any thing. There are not far from this promontory many craggy rocks that make it dangerous sailing here.

The second, third, and fourth days we were becalm'd, and could not stir by help of wind or oars; besides, our provision fell short, the wood we put on the fire vanish'd into smoke, the sun scorched us severely, and in short, we were grievously distress'd. However, we made a shift to sail by the castle *Sibinigo*.

On the fifth day as we were sailing out of a certain harbour, the winds rose, and there came on a terrible storm, which split in two our sprit-sail, which they call *Trinceto*, and much ado we had to mend it again.

On the sixth day having met with the like bad weather, we sail'd by *Offera*, and saw as we sailed the mountains of *Ancona* over against it. The same day the master of the ship, the pilot, and most of the sailors, being madly drunk, rose up in arms one against another, pulling and

lugging one another by the hair, and throwing down stones from the round-top; some engaged with swords, and run one another through the legs and arms, in the mean time exposing the ship to manifest danger. At last when they thought they had enough, they began to steer again, and in a very little time we got clear out of sight of *Pola*.

On the seventh of July we arrived at *Rubinum* in *Histria*, where being unwilling to trust our selves any longer in this drunken ship, we paid for our passage, and having got our things out, hired a boat to carry us to *Venice*.

The eighth day, the weather promising very fair, we went on board our boat, and setting up a sail, and plying our oars, we had a very safe and speedy passage to *Venice*, mistress of the seas; for about six a clock our watchman from the mast-head cried out aloud to us, that he discovered the towers of the city and tops of the churches. We no sooner heard the name of this desirable and welcome city, but we all at once joyfully cried aloud, *Venetie, Venetie*. After sun-setting we entered into the wished for city, where being welcomed with the utmost expressions of joy by our friends and acquaintance, we spent a great part of that night in their company; for it was not enough to them to hear us once tell how we did, but they asked us a thousand questions of what we had done and suffer'd, and seen and heard, and they listened very attentively while we told them.

The day following we went to church to give God thanks; and having offered up

Augusta.

L. Lina.

Corfula.

Cafope.

Island, St. Ilyno and Metler's.

Bracia. Solta.

Port of Sessula.

Promontory of Cahocista.

Sailors call them here.

Sibinigo.

A storm.

Offera.

Ancona.

BAUM-GARTEN  
Plenty of fish.  
Lissa.

A new admiral.

Pola.

Rubinum.

Return to Venice.

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up our prayers, bestowed our charity upon the poor.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> one *James Todisebin* a *Venetian* factor, whom we had formerly been acquainted with (having gone passengers in the same galley with him to *Alexandria*) told us that *Candia* had again suffered very much by another earthquake that happened there on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July*; and that what

Second  
earth-  
quake in  
Candia.

the former earthquake had left standing of the town, had been destroyed by the second: That the stately tower which guarded, and was an ornament to the harbour, and many more fine buildings had been thrown down: And that the *captain* himself, and several other persons of note had lost their lives by it.

#### C H A P. XXX.

*Their Journey from Venice to Kuefstein home. They give Thanks to God.*

ON the 29<sup>th</sup> of *July*, leaving *Venice* with a resolution to return home to our own country, the first place we came to was *Margera*; and here we hired horses, which they commonly and truly call *marburs*, and came to *Tervisum*; from thence to *Velleres*, next to *Trent*, *Bulsanum*, *Brixina*, *Oenipons*, *Hallas*, *Schwatz*, *Rotemburg*, and at last into our dear little native country *Kuefstein*, a small town, but very plea-

sant and well fortified. Here we were received very affectionately, and welcomed by all the town, in a splendid and triumphant manner. We gave our most hearty thanks, in the best manner we possibly could, to the immortal, holy, and most gracious God, by whose merciful providence we escaped so many dangers of sea and land. To the eternal Trinity be eternal thanks.

A  
V O Y A G E

To the KINGDOM of

*Chili in America.*

Performed by

Mr. *Henry Brewer*, and Mr. *Elias Herckeman*,

In the Years 1642, and 1643.

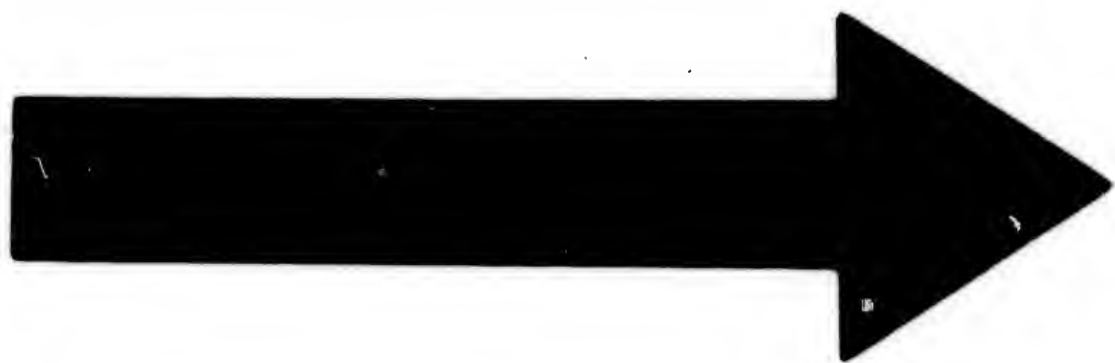
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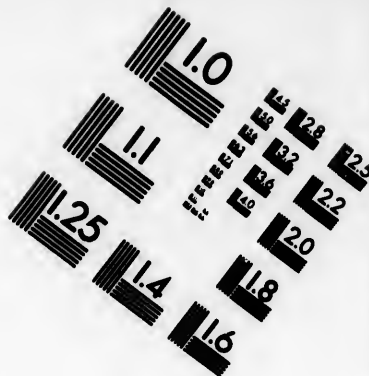
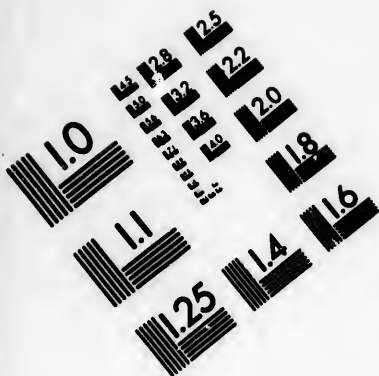
The Isle of *FORMOSA* and *JAPAN*.

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

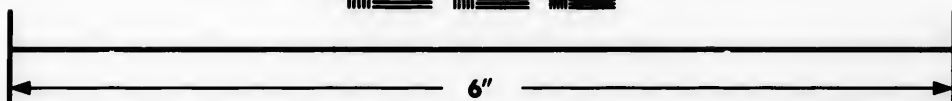
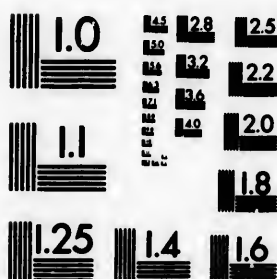
*Translated from the High-Dutch Original, Printed at Frankford  
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## Advertisement to the Reader.

**M**R. Henry Brewer, one of the directors of the Dutch West-India company, having in the year 1642. frequently urged the settling of a commerce with the inhabitants of the kingdom of Chili (who were then declared enemies of the Spaniards) the said voyage was resolved upon accordingly: And Mr. Brewer offering his service, was pitch'd upon as commodore of the ships intended for that expedition. Accordingly he set sail with three ships from the Texel 1642. and arriving the 22<sup>d</sup> of Decemb. at Fernambuco in Brazil, pursued his voyage from thence Jan. 15. 1643. with five ships, viz. the Amsterdam, Flisfingen, Concord, Orange-tree, and the Dolphin-yacht; and arriv'd the 30<sup>th</sup> of April upon the coast of Chili. They met with no small difficulty before they could discover the real inclinations of the Chileſes towards them. During which Mr. Henry Brewer died, Aug. 7. 1643. of a lingering disease; and his corps was buried, Septemb. 16. at Baldivia, pursuant to his own directions in his life-time. Mr. Elias Herckerman being by commission appointed his successor, knew so well how to insinuate himself with the Chileſes, that they shewed a great deal of readiness to comply with his demands, offer'd all the service they were able to perform, and what provisions they stood in need of; and at last entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with them against the Spaniards. But the general coming ashore, Sept. 23. with most of the officers, in order to mark out the place for a fort, agreed to be built near Baldivia; they found the Chileſes not in a condition either to furnish them with sufficient provisions, or to give them any real assistance till about three months after; which made them resolve in a council of war, Octob. 18. to quit that coast. Accordingly the general took his leave of the Chileſes the 19<sup>th</sup>, who alledged their inability of not furnishing necessaries, by reason they had not notice given them of their coming; promising, that if they could return in two years time, they might be assured of all possible assistance. Hereupon they set sail from that coast Octob. 28. and about the end of December following, arrived safely with the remainder of this squadron at the Recief in Brazil.

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*An Account of a Voyage to the Coast of  
Chili, performed by Order from the  
Dutch West-India Company, in the  
Years 1642, and 1643, under the Com-  
mand of Mr. Henry Brewer their Ge-  
neral.*

IN the year 1642, it was resolved in a court of the directors of the *West-India* company in *Holland*, to send some ships to the coast of *Chili*, a country of *America* bordering upon the kingdom of *Peru*, to endeavour the settling a good correspondency with the *Chilese*, the better to annoy the *Spaniards* on that side.

Among the directors of the said company, there was one Mr. *Henry Brewer*, who knowing the *Chilese* to be at enmity with the *Spaniards*, did not only encourage this undertaking, but also offered himself to go in person to accomplish it. Pursuant to this resolution, Mr. *Brewer*, with several other gentlemen, were ordered first to steer their course to *Brasile*, to consult with his excellency earl *Maurice of Nassau* then governor there, how to put their intended design in execution.

Accordingly the beforemention'd Mr. *Henry Brewer*, being constituted commander in chief, set sail from the *Texel* with three good stout ships on the sixth day of *November*, in the year 1642, and with a prosperous gale arrived the next following 22<sup>d</sup> of *December* safely at *Fernambuco*, where he was welcomed at his landing the same evening, under the discharge of the great artillery from all the forts and batteries.

After some time spent in consultations about the prosecution of their intended design, it was resolved at last to send five ships well equipp'd, with men and other necessaries, to the coast of *Chili*; to wit, The *Amsterdam* admiral, which was to carry the general; the *Flisfingen* vice-admiral, in which was to be counsellor *Elias Herkeman*; the *Concord*, in which was to be counsellor *Elvert Crispijnson*; the *Orange-Tree*, and *Dolphin* yacht: which five ships put to sea on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *January*, in the year 1643.

The next following day, being the

16<sup>th</sup>, the allowance was settled among the *Brewer* seamen in the following manner: A good cheese to each for the whole voyage; three pounds of bisket, half a pound of butter, and a quarter of vinegar, *per week*; about a pint of fresh water *per diem*; every *Sunday* three quarters of a pound of flesh; six ounces of salted cod every *Monday* and *Wednesday*; a quarter of a pound of stock-fish for every *Tuesday* and *Saturday*; gray pease, and three quarters of a pound of bacon, for *Thursday* and *Friday*: besides this, as much oatmeal boiled in water as they could eat.

On the fifth day of *March* we got sight of the traits of *le Maire*; the western *Le Maire* <sup>They get</sup> shore (which is called *Mauricius Land*) <sup>the trait</sup> was all covered with small round hills; but upon the eastern shore (commonly known by the name of *Staaten Land*) they discover'd many piquet mountains covered on the tops with snow. It happening to be a very clear day, we had the satisfaction to behold, that this *Staaten* <sup>Island cal-</sup> *Land*, which hitherto has always been taken for a part of the continent, was an <sup>Island</sup> *Island* of about nine or ten leagues long, destitute of any convenient bay or port fit for anchorage; of a barren soil, producing nothing but some few trees: The shore surrounded with many rocks, and so boisterous a sea, that there was no landing but with a great deal of danger. We were four days together endeavouring to pass the straits; but finding it impossible by reason of the boisterousness and changeableness of the winds we were forced to change our course on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *March*, and resolve to sail round about the said island. The weather continued so stormy, that we were several days (during which time we saw many whales) before we could get clear of the island, and did not come to *Valentines* bay till the 18<sup>th</sup> of *March*, where we came to an anchor the same evening.

*Valentines*



BREWER.  
Description  
of Valentines  
bay.

Valentines bay is situated on the western side of the straits called *Mauricius's Land*, under forty four degrees and four minutes, where there is pretty safe anchorage in several places for ten or twelve ships, there being nine or ten fathom depth, a black sand; but by reason of the nearness of the mountain, subject to storms, and changeableness of the winds. The shore is full of rocks, but covered with a muddy earth, in some places ten foot deep: There is good store of springs and fuel here, but no wood fit for building, or any other use. It affords a kind of currants both black and red, which were then just come to maturity; as also a herb not unlike our parsley; muscles and snails in great abundance: and the seamen shot some wild ducks, not unlike ours, but that their bills were not so broad, and their feathers distinguished by various colours. Fish they met with none, but saw among the rocks several sea-lions and sea-dogs, about the bigness of a good *European* calf, some of a grayish, some of a brownish colour, making a noise not unlike our sheep; and at the approach of our men they betook themselves to the sea. They could not get sight of any of the inhabitants, it being very probable, that being terrify'd at the discharge of our cannon from the ships, they had sheltered themselves in some more remote places. Their footsteps, which appeared to be seventeen and eighteen inches long, seemed to intimate that they were strong and robust. Their huts were very artificially twisted, and made up of straw and grass in the form of our soldiers tents: they afforded nothing within but muscle-shells, which probably may be their daily food.

Our general ordered the *Dolphin* yacht to sail again towards the island of the *Staaten*, to endeavour to make some discovery, and gave them some pigs to be put on shore there.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of *March* it was resolved to continue our voyage towards the coast of *Chili*.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> the ship called the *Orange-Tree*, having lost her mast, was forced to stay behind; and having heard no tidings of her afterwards, it was concluded she was returned to *Fernambuco*.

Whilst they were steering their course towards *Chili*, we met with very bad weather; so that after having weathered several great storms mixed with hail, at last we got sight of the coast of *Chili* on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *April*.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of *May* they perceived a great smoke near the sea-shore, which made the general order the *Dolphin* yacht to approach as near that way as she could, and to endeavour to get some prisoners, from

whom they might have some information concerning the place. Accordingly the yacht approached as near the shore as was possible, and hoisted up her white flag to see whether any body would come on board: some few on horseback, attended by several footmen, came in sight of them upon the shore, but soon retired into the adjacent woods; and the sea running so high at that time that they durst not venture to land, they returned, and gave the general an account of what they had seen.

The said yacht being again ordered to sound the coast thereabouts, spent eight days before they could meet with a bay fit for anchorage, so that it was the 9<sup>th</sup> of *May* before the fleet cast anchor in a bay which they called *Brewer's* harbour. They all put out their white flags as a signal of peace, but no body offering to come aboard, it was resolved that the yacht should sound the entrance of a small river which was thereabouts.

The 10<sup>th</sup> of *May* it blew so hard that the yacht durst not venture to go, and the ship *Frisingen* was forced from her anchors among the rocks, and they were obliged to cut down her main-mast.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, the weather being pretty fair, Mr. *Elbert Crispin*, one of the counsellors and assistants to the general, and major *Blewbeck*, with twenty five soldiers, came on board the yacht, and passing within the river's mouth, came towards evening to anchor at twelve fathoms depth.

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, the major with some soldiers went higher up the river to try whether he could meet with some who could give him intelligence of the constitution of the place they were in. Being returned, he gave an account that after he had sail'd about two leagues up the river, he had met with two small boats not unlike those of our watermen, but somewhat flatter; and not far from thence with two houses built on the top of a very high hill; the houses were covered with reeds, and a great wooden cross stood at the entrance of them: he discovered also at a considerable distance about four or five on horseback, two of whom came down to the very bank, but retired soon after into the woods. The major took a small white flag, a knife, and some corals; these he left upon the bank near that place where he had seen the horsemen, crying out to them as he went aboard, That they were friends, and they needed not fear any thing. Upon this two on horseback, and three footmen came and took up the things, which they carried to the rest, who being at some distance on the top of a high hill, immediately after sent back one of the horsemen to throw

1643. throw the before our ceived few back to us but so as to ple the la them; so the place and went

On the people ap ver, some others in in the fa corals the ceive tha body; and distance f boat to r saw there tho' the v sheep, w jacent ph to underl titude of t to some i with the the entran the reason country w Spaniards had seen the dres thereabou irrigated ing from themselves

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1643. throw them into the water, which he did before our eyes. In the afternoon we perceived several more both on foot and horseback to approach the banks of the river, but so as not to give the major and his people the least opportunity to speak with them; so he left again a few corals near the place where he had laid them before, and went aboard again.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> they saw a great number of people appear upon the banks of the river, some being in black, some in red, others in white; the major landed again in the same place where he had left the corals the day before, but could not perceive that they had been touch'd by any body; and perceiving a great smoke at some distance from thence, he ordered his long-boat to row that way immediately: they saw there two houses, but no inhabitants; tho' the vast number of oxen, horses and sheep, which were feeding in the circumjacent plains, were sufficient to give us to understand that the country was not destitute of them, but that they were retired to some places of safety, which together with the large wooden crosses standing at the entrances of their houses, gave us all the reason in the world to believe that this country was under the subjection of the *Spaniards*; tho' at the same time those we had seen near the shore had appeared in the dress of the *Chilese*. The grounds all thereabouts were very well cultivated, and irrigated with many rivulets, which flowing from the tops of the hills, did exonerate themselves in the bay.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> the yacht returned to the fleet, and after they had given an ample account of what they had observed, it was resolved, that the major should be sent back again up the river, with a whole company of soldiers, to bring certain intelligence, either by fair or foul means. Accordingly they came on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May (after they had been struggling for some time with the contrary winds) to the same place where they had seen those horsemen before, and discovered in an adjacent plain abundance of horsemen, at the head of whom appeared one with a lance in a threatening posture. Those in the yacht put out the white flag again as a signal of peace, and saluted them with two cannon-shot; but those that were on shore, called to them in a language they did not in the least understand; till some of them at last began to cry out in Spanish, *Ha connados byos de pontos: You don't come here with any good intention*: Which being a convenient argument to those in the yacht, that they were no *Indians* but *Spaniards*, they put out the red flag as a signal of war. The next thing they did was to cannonade the

woods, under favour of which the major <sup>Brewer.</sup> having landed his men, marched in good order up the same hill, where they had discovered the two houses before, which they found desolate, the inhabitants having left their habitations at our approach. The same afternoon a detachment was sent deeper into the country under the command of a lieutenant, who brought back an old *Chilese* woman with two children, whom <sup>Some pri- soners taken.</sup> he had made prisoners, but she could not well be understood by any body there. There were also several ambushes laid, under the command of the two captains *Osterman* and *Flori*, the last of which had the good fortune to surprize a *Chilese*; but neither he nor the old woman understanding the Spanish tongue, they were useless for to make any discovery by them. Some of the seamen had also got ashore, and lost one of their comrades, from whom without question the *Spaniards* got intelligence of the design of the *Hollanders*.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of May it was resolved in a council of war to send the major with a company of soldiers towards the channel of *Oferno*, and the gulph of *Ancud*, to endeavour to take some prisoners in some of islands thereabouts, by whom they might be informed concerning the present condition of the city of *Castro*. Pursuant to this resolution the major went on board the yacht, and for their better convenience took a great boat along with him; they came to an anchor towards evening near the shore; and because the great boat was somewhat behind, they set up a lantern upon the stern of the ship, and gave them the signal by the discharge of several cannon: but having received two or three cannon-shot from the shore, they took in their lantern as soon as the boat came up with them. It was resolved to send the mate of the yacht with some seamen, and sixteen musquetiers, under the command of lieutenant *William van Bergen*, to sound the bay, and to get what intelligence they could ashore, which was put in execution accordingly: and those in the yacht hearing very brisk firing near the sea-side, were of opinion to send six musquetiers more under the command of a serjeant to their assistance: but whilst they were busy in preparing themselves, the lieutenant return'd, and gave an account how he had discovered a great number of houses behind an adjacent hill, where he had heard them found the alarm both with drums and trumpets, that he had been fired at briskly by some of them, and had returned them the same; in the mean while that the mate had been sounding the coast, which he found from nine to eighteen foot deep: thus they continued till break of day.

BREWER. The 20<sup>th</sup>, after they had put up the red flag, the lieutenant was ordered to land with fifty men, within half a musquet-shot from the before mentioned houses, being followed by the major with sixteen musquetiers in a lesser boat: he ordered the ensign, that as soon as the great boat had landed the lieutenant, he should send all the remaining soldiers to their relief. He was no sooner got ashore but he put his men in a fighting posture, whilst the enemy both horse and foot to the number of ninety were marching from the town towards them, but met with so warm a salute from the cannon of the yacht, that the horse scamper'd off immediately to the woods, and the foot fell down upon the ground, and so likewise made towards the hedges and bushes. The major having in the mean while had sufficient time to put his men in order, marched up to the enemy; the lieutenant led the van with some fusiliers, who as they advanced to the wood had six men wounded by the enemy's fire; but then they entered the wood, and soon put them to the rout, leaving six of their men dead, and sixteen horses, which were taken by the *Hollanders*, behind them. From thence the major directed his march towards the hill, from whence they had cannonaded the yacht the night before; but meeting with no cannon there, he concluded they had thrown them into the sea. He mounted some of his men upon the horses; and so searching all the corners of the wood they met with a *Chilese*, whom they made a prisoner; and having discovered several troops of horse and foot posted in a plain behind the wood, he dispatched the ensign to the general, to give him an account how matters stood with them. In the afternoon the lieutenant was commanded with sixty men towards the wood, and took the *Chilese* along with him, to try whether they could find out some of the enemy's treasures, which they believe to be hidden thereabouts, but were not advanced very far, when they met with the enemy drawn up in order of battle in a small plain: they attacked them so successfully, that they forced them to retreat into the wood, leaving their commander in chief, *Andreas Munes Ifferera*, among the slain, and their whole baggage to the enemy. Thus the *Dutch* became masters of *Carel Mappa*, a fort built near the sea-side, surrounded with strong palisades, and defended by a garrison of sixty men, and two pieces of ordnance. The *Spaniards* have another fort about four leagues further, called *St. Michael de Calibuco*, in which there is commonly a garrison of forty men, and one piece of ordnance; they both are from-

A sketch  
of the  
Carel  
Mappa.

Which is  
taken by  
the Dutch.

tier places, built against those of *Oferno* and *Coneo*, with whom they are constantly at enmity. 1643.

The general had no sooner received intelligence of what was pass'd thereabouts, but he resolv'd to come thither in person, and took the two companies commanded by capt. *Osterman* and *Flori* along with him. They arrived in the ship called the *Concord* on the 21<sup>st</sup>, and continued there till the 24<sup>th</sup>, when orders were sent us to prepare every thing for our departure.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> *Carel Mappa* was burnt to the ground by the general's order; and after we had destroyed all thereabouts, and even kill'd our horses, we re-embark'd to pursue our voyage towards *St. Michael de Calimbuco*, situate in the gulph de *Acued*; but the harbour being of very difficult access there, by reason of the creeks and sands that surround it, it was resolv'd to leave it unattempted, and to continue our course to the fort of *Castro*.

Accordingly we pursued our voyage on the 29<sup>th</sup>, when we came to an anchor towards night betwixt two islands, at fourteen fathoms depth. Some of the men got ashore to take some cattle, but with nothing but one sheep which they found tied to a tree.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> we came to an anchor near another island, and not knowing what place it was, the major in person went ashore, with both the captains and all the soldiers, to endeavour to take some prisoners, but could meet with none of the inhabitants, who were fled, leaving their sheep behind them; of which they took a good number, and among them three camel-sheep, whose necks are near four foot long; their wool is very fine, but their flesh not fit to eat. Camel-sheep.

The sheep are thus described by the *Spaniards*: Among other qualifications belonging peculiarly to the sheep of Peru, this is very remarkable, that they are able to carry a burden from fifty to seventy five pounds weight with ease, just as camels do, whom they resemble much in shape, except that they have no such bunches upon their backs. They are able (if the *Spaniards* may be believed) to carry a man four or five leagues a day. When they are tired, they lie down upon the ground, and are not to be rais'd again by beating, or any other way, but must be unloaded. If their riders force them by beating, or otherwise, beyond what they can bear, they turn their heads, and blow their stinking breaths into their faces. It is a very useful creature (especially those call'd *Pancos*) they eat and drink very little, sometimes they don't drink in four or five days.

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The Figure of a Camel-Sheep, with a Chilese and his Wife.



The rest of the sheep were both in bigness and otherwise like our *European* sheep, and proved beneficial to us.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of *June* the fleet came within sight of *Castro*, and discovered the enemy, both horse and foot, upon the hills near the shore. The major, by order from the general, landed with all the soldiers, the lieutenant leading the van; so they march'd in good order towards the city, which they entered without any resistance, the inhabitants being all fled, after they had laid most of the houses in ashes, had untiled the churches, and carried their ornaments, and all their other precious moveables and best household-goods along with them into the woods. Several parties were sent abroad to endeavour the taking of some prisoners, but in vain; they having got the start of us, and being better acquainted with the by-ways than it was possible for us to be without a guide. The soldiers found a *Chilese* in a ditch, whom we suppos'd to be lately killed by the *Spaniards*, with an intention to shew him after our retreat to the neighbouring *Chilese*, to deter them from joining with us against them: but the *Dutch* officers took care to have him buried before they left the place, thereby to disappoint the *Spaniards* design against them. The seamen got abundance of very good apples, and the soldiers carried ashore all night, in hopes to meet with some cattle the next day.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of *June* the general finding that there was but little prospect of getting any prisoners, order'd the country thereabouts to be laid desolate, and that we should set sail again the next day.

The city of *Castro* was formerly a magnificent place, full of very stately buildings, but is now laid desolate, it is pleasantly situate upon a high hill, surrounded with all sorts of fruitful trees, and many fine springs; the grounds thereabouts are very well cultivated, and at the time of our arrival the fruits of the earth were for the most part as yet standing in the fields.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> being becalmed, we were forced to come to an anchor at night not far from thence; and the major going ashore with some soldiers, brought back a booty of above a hundred sheep, and twelve hogs, and set fire to some houses near the sea-side.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> we came to an anchor near an island; the major being again order'd to land some of his men, the lieutenant took a young *Chilese*, and some of the other soldiers an old *Castilian* woman of seventy five years of age, and such a vast number of sheep, that they were forced to leave many behind.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> we came back to the channel of *Oorno*, which we pass'd, and arrived on the seventeenth safely at *Brewer's* harbour. Our general was fallen sick in this last voyage, and continued so till his death.

On

The general falls sick.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> it was resolved in a council of war, to send the ship the *Concord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht, forthwith to *Baldivia*, and that the yacht should come back to give an account to the general concerning the situation of that harbour, and the constitution of their inhabitants, their government, and what enemies we were like to meet with there: After which the two ships, the *Amsterdam* and *Flisfingen* were to follow them thither. But it happening to blow very hard for a considerable time together out of the north, they were forced to stay till they were all ready to sail.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> it was resolved, that provision beginning to fall short, each man should have no more than two pounds and half of flesh for his weekly allowance.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of July complaint being made, that there were many among the seamen and soldiers, who made it their business to steal bread, meat, and tobacco from the rest, a strict order was issued against it, forbidding the same under pain of death.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> it was resolved, that seeing there was no going out to sea from *Brewer's* harbour, by reason of the strong northwinds, we should return to *Carel Mappa*.

Accordingly we arrived on the eleventh before *Carel Mappa*; some soldiers being landed to fetch cattle, they found that the *Spaniards* had been thereabouts since our retreat, because they found abundance of empty chests in the woods, which they had dug from under the ground where they had been hidden before.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> the lieutenant of capt. *Flori*, whose name was *Rembach*, was ordered with thirty soldiers to go out upon parties deeper into the country. He return'd on the seventeenth, bringing along with him three *Spaniards*, whom he had taken near a place called *Las Babias*, about three leagues from *Carel Mappa*, where they kept guard with three more that made their escape, to keep a watchful eye over the *Ancas*, or the rebellious *Chilese*. One of them was call'd *Juan Mascaregnas de Sosa*, a Portuguese by extraction, but born at *St. Francisco de Quito* in *Peru*. He told us he was about threescore and eight years old, of which he had served forty in *Chili*; to wit, seven years in the fort of *Conception*, and three and thirty at *Carel Mappa*, where he had served as a serjeant. That since his arrival in *Chili*, he was not acquainted with any of the *Spanish* garrisons there, except with those two before-mentioned, and with *Castro* and *Arauco*, which as he said was defended by a fort royal call'd *St. Philippe*, about a cannon shot from the sea-side, in which the *Spaniards* us'd to keep a garrison of five hundred men; and that at some farther distance from the sea

there was another fort, but of no great consequence. He further told us, that this was their winter, but that the worst was past; besides, that they had had no extraordinary great storms of late, which sometimes were so violent thereabouts, as to tear up trees by the roots, blow down the houses, and to shake the very mountains: That in *August* the wind used to begin to blow from the west, but did not continue there very long: That there was vast store of gold in *Ojorno*, and rather more in *Baldivia*, but that they wanted miners to dig it: That the *Indians* wear pieces of it of half a finger's length for ornament, which they fasten upon strings, and wear about the neck and head; but that there was no gold to be seen of late years in *Castro*, because the *Indians* had not dug in the mines these forty years, since their last revolt.

He also related that the present governor of *Castro* was a native of *Ojorno*, of *Spanish* parents, his name *Don Ferdinando Alvarado*, a generous and quiet person; who being but lately come to *Castro*, had not had the opportunity as yet to enrich himself, his yearly salary not exceeding a thousand patacoons; and the whole cargo he brought along with him thither upon his own account, consisting only in forty pipes of wine, and some woollen and linen cloth.

He gave further an account, that it was near forty eight years since the *Spaniards* were chased out of *Baldivia*: That some time after they had sent another governor thither, with three hundred *Cassilian* soldiers, but most of them perish'd for want of provisions and other necessities, the rest with their commander escaping, not without a great deal of danger, to *Ojorno*: That about sixteen years before a *Spanish* ship coming from *Lima*, had landed some men thereabouts, under the conduct of *Pedro Ricco Marcellan*, and had made great booty, so that many of the common soldiers got from six to twenty pounds weight of gold. He assured us further, that in the fort *Conception*, not above a league distant from thence, there were not above a hundred soldiers, and about two hundred inhabitants, very slightly fortified, but the harbour inaccessible to ships of any burden or bulk; and that *Imperial* was quitted by the *Spaniards*, the place lying quite desolate.

The *Spanish* woman whom they had taken in one of the *Chilese* islands, was called *Loyfa Pizarra*, widow of *Jerónimo de Tinco*, a native of *Ojorno*, which she had been forced to quit in the year 1599, at the time of the rebellion of the *Chilese*, since which time she had lived at *Quintana*; she

They take three *Spaniards* prisoners.

Their dispositions.

the declare before the *Spaniards*, their *Ojorno*; the hundred *Indians* obliged to tribute in quite other intolerable arms in the *Spaniards* later they w as to eat relief, they the *Indians* to retire to where they ble remain had been t undergone nefs of t sides, that their canoe backs, for over three Since whic *Mappa*, a incursions *Chilese* island tion.

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she declared, That about forty years ago, before the *Indians* revolted from the *Spaniards*, the last lived in great splendor in *Oorno*; the meanest *Spaniard* having three hundred *Indians* for his vassals, who were obliged to pay their lords a certain weekly tribute in gold: But that the *Indians* being quite tired out with this slavery, and other intolerable impositions, had taken up arms in the year 1599, and besieged the *Spaniards* so closely in their forts, that after they were driven to such extremity as to eat the barks of trees, despairing of relief, they were forced to capitulate with the *Indians*; according to which they were to retire to *Carel Mappa*, and *Calimbuco*, where they arrived at last with the miserable remainders of their forces; after they had been travelling a whole month, and undergone incredible fatigues by the badness of the ways and the season; besides, that they had been forced to carry their canoes, or little boats upon their backs, for the convenience of their passage over three several large and rapid rivers: Since which time they had fortified *Carel Mappa*, and *Calimbuco*, to prevent the incursions of those of *Oorno* into the *Chilese* islands under the *Spanish* jurisdiction.

She related also, that the island of *Cbili* was divided into about a hundred *encomendorns*, or lordships, the chiefest of which had twenty eight or thirty *Indians* under them, the least five or six. These *Indians* are slaves to their lords, who employ them in making them quilts, cultivating the ground, sowing pease, beans, flax, hemp, and such-like: As also to look after their sheep (of which they have vast numbers) goats, hogs, horses, and cows, tho' they have but very few of the last.

These poor *Chilese* have nothing that they can call their own, the *Spaniards* allowing them nothing else but food and clothes; and they take care also that they be instructed in the Christian religion. They have but one privilege belonging to them, that they must not be sold, or be transported into another country, but are to end their days in their native country. The *encomendorns* are bestowed by the king upon such as have served him faithfully in the war, or otherwise, and are inheritable by their sons or daughters, and for want of them by their widows; but after their decease return to the king.

She further added, that there was no gold or silver now to be found in *Cbiloee*; tho' some years before a certain quantity of both had been dug out of the mines there: That since the year 1633. this had been quite given over, because a violent plague had taken off at least one third

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part of the inhabitants, and the rest finding no considerable overplus in the digging of the mines had apply'd themselves to the manuring and cultivating of their lands; so that of late there was no such thing as any gold or silver coin or bar to be seen among the *Spaniards* there; and if they were ask'd for any of that metal, their answer was, that they must go and look for it in *Oorno* and *Baldivia*, where it was in great plenty; that for this reason they carry on their traffick by way of exchange, so that the ships coming every year from *Conception* and *St. Jago* (being only three in number) with linen and woollen clothes, oil, flower, wine, pepper and iron, carry back in lieu of them quilts, deal-boards, flax, hemp and such like. The deal-boards were brought from among the mountains about seven or eight leagues distant from the sea-side, where they are cut with axes only, without any saws, not without a great deal of time and incredible labour, but that both stand them there in little or nothing.

She gave an account that in the month of *March* last past a *Spanish* vessel call'd the *St. Domingo* was sent from *Conception* to reinforce the garrisons of *Carel Mappa* and *Calimbuco* with thirty soldiers; in which vessel her own daughter was come over, and had brought letters to several persons there, which all agreed in that, those of *Oorno*, *Baldivia*, *Imperial*, *Villanca*, *Tucapel*, *Auraco* and *Purzen*, who for several years last past had liv'd in a good correspondence with the *Spaniards*, had now taken up arms against them, which had made the governor of *Conception* to cause several of their hostages in his custody to be beheaded there; that about three weeks before the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet in those parts, the *Spaniards* had made an incursion out of *Carel Mappa* into the territories of those of *Oorno*, where they had taken thirty prisoners, for whom they expected a considerable ransom; but during the general consternation they were put in at the arrival of the *Dutch*, they had found means to make their escape. This is the whole substance of what was depose by the *Spanish* woman.

Our soldiers had among the rest taken a *Chilese*, with his wife and child; these were set at liberty on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *July*, under condition that they should deceive their countrymen of what had been insinuated to them by the *Spaniards* concerning the barbarity of the *Dutch*, and to assure them that they were their friends, and enemies to the *Spaniards*.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> the major was sent ashore again with some prisoners, who promised to shew the place where some silver was

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buried

**BREWER** buried deep under ground; they return'd on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and brought a chest along with them, in which were three hundred and twenty five reals or pieces of eight, and twenty five pound weight of plate. The same day came on board of us six *Chilefes*, among whom were two *Casiques* (or leaders) who assur'd us, that having understood that the *Hollanders* were their friends, and were come to assist them against the *Spaniards*; they had been extremely rejoiced at so welcome a piece of news; upon which they were told, that we had brought good store of arms along with us to exchange them with those of *Oorno*, *Baldivia*, and others desirous of our assistance, for such commodities as their countries afforded; by which means they might be enabled to carry on the war the more vigorously against the *Spaniards*; and that we were ready to assist them to the utmost of our power. The *Chilefes* return'd this answer, that many of them had some time ago taken a resolution to retire towards *Oorno* and *Baldivia*, to shelter themselves against the tyranny of the *Spaniards*; and that nothing else had made them delay this their resolution, but the hopes they liv'd in of being shortly reliev'd by the *Dutch* fleet; that therefore they intreated them to receive them with their wives and children into their vessels in order to transport them to *Baldivia*, the ways thither by land being at present, by reason of the *Spaniards* who would observe their motions, and the great rains which had swell'd the rivers, impassable for women and children. Our general was so generous as not only to grant them their request, but also presented each of them with a half-pike and sword, so that they parted from us extremely well satisfied, and gave so advantageous an account of their good reception, and the great quantity of arms brought by the *Hollanders* for the use of the *Chilefes*, that there pass'd not a day but many of them came to visit us aboard our ships, whilst the rest were providing themselves with provisions and all other necessaries for their intended voyage to *Baldivia*.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> some *Chilefes* came aboard to discover a certain place near the shore, where the *Spaniards* had buried one of their brass cannon, which being dug up was found to be eight foot long. The same day it was resolv'd in the council of war to lay up our ships for the winter-time in *Brewer's* harbour, considering that the general's sickness increased daily, and the danger there was of the tempests, which commonly rage most violently on that coast in the month of *August*, and had about eight years before continued for forty days together with such fury as to

shake the earth and adjacent mountains, and had torn vast numbers of trees up by the roots.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> two principal *casiques* (or chief captains) came aboard of us from *Carel Mappa*; one was called *S. Don Diego*, the other *Don Philippo*, who both commanded about *Carel Mappa*: they testified their satisfaction at our arrival, and the assurance they had received of the good inclinations of the *Dutch* towards their nation, and of the enmity they bore to the *Spaniards*; they assur'd us that they were glad to understand that they had brought so many arms to exchange with them, offering at the same time their service against the *Spaniards*, whose yoke they were resolv'd to shake off: As a confirmation of which *Don Philippo* produced a *Spaniard's* head, whom he said he had slain about fourteen days before, the scent of which was very offensive to our nostrils. They further added, that they were resolv'd to retire to *Oorno* and *Baldivia*, for which purpose they had already brought together two hundred *Chilefes*. Our general confirm'd them in their good intention, desiring them to make all possible haste, to be there before our arrival; and for an encouragement they were presented with eighteen swords, and as many pikes, besides five muskets, with necessary powder and ball, in lieu of which they promised to send us five cows, which they performed accordingly; the boatswain with some others being sent to *Carel Mappa* to fetch them, and at the same time to deliver a letter to the governor of *Castro* about a seaman, who had been taken by the *Spaniards* on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *May*, as we told you before.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of *August* eighteen *Chilefes* came in a canoo from *Dolphin's-ferry* towards us, desiring to be transported to *Baldivia*, which was readily granted.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> Mr. *Henry Brewer* our general died betwixt ten and eleven a clock in the forenoon, after a very long sickness: his last request was, that his corps should be interred in *Baldivia*; accordingly his entrails being taken out and buried on the 15<sup>th</sup> near *Brewer's* harbour, the carcass was embalmed in order to be transported to *Baldivia*.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> the boatswain who had been sent to *Carel Mappa* returned, and gave an account of a very strange adventure that had happened to them. They were forced by a violent storm to shelter themselves with their boat under an island called the *Horse-Isle*; and the boatswain ordering some of the seamen to put her into some convenient place for safety sake, seven of them who endeavour'd to execute his orders, were on a sudden carried by the tempest

Some Chilefes come on board.

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1643. pest into the open sea, where they were for- swallowed up by the waves in the sight of their comrades, who beheld this miserable spectacle from the shore-side. But their greatest grief was, that they did expect a worse fate themselves in an island, where they saw themselves destitute of all means, either to sustain themselves, or to hear any tidings of their countrymen. As they were roving about, they found a small cottage and six sheep near it, with a good quantity of *patates* (a root not unlike our potatoes, of which they make bread in those parts) which was no small comfort to them in their affliction. They husbanded their provisions with all possible care, but the sheep being all consumed, and they reduced to the last extremity, the boat belonging to the ship *Amsterdam* happened very luckily to land in the same island, without having the least suspicion of their being there, they being given over for lost a considerable time before: by which accident they were relieved very seasonably, when they began to prepare themselves for death, which they looked upon as unavoidable.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> some soldiers straggling about the country, found in a wood a letter affixed to a tree, being an answer of *Ferdinando de Alvarado* governor of *Castro*, to a letter writ on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July last past by *Mr. Herckeman*: The letter was writ in *Spanish*, and had the following direction; To *Mr. Elias Herckeman* lieutenant general of the *Dutch* ships now at anchor in the *English* harbour, whom God blest.

My Lord, Lieut. general;

I Received yours, out of which I perceive your intention of exchanging one of your seamen call'd John Lomberts, with one *Doisi* a Spaniard; I am not at the least surpriz'd at your request, it being no more than what is allowable by the custom of war; if you will be pleased to send me the said *Doisi*, I promise you upon the word of a cavalier, that I will intercede in the behalf of the other prisoner with the king; if the said prisoner were as yet in my custody, I would have sent him to you immediately, but it is near a month ago since I sent him in an advice boat to the marquess de Bayle governor of the Conception fort, where I believe him to be very well used. If you had been in my station, you would have done as I did, it being my duty so to do,

An Account or Description of *Brewer's Harbour*, and the circumjacent Places on the Coast of Chili.

THIS harbour or bay, which by some is called *Chilova*, by others the *English* harbour, and by us *Brewer's* harbour, is situate forty one degrees thirty minutes

which I don't question you will accept of as a sufficient reason, being my king's and natural liege lord's subject, for whom I am bound to sacrifice my life. God blest him.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> the boat of the under commander was sent to *Dolbin's-ford* with ten soldiers, because the *Spaniards* appeared as yet sometimes thereabouts; they returned the next day, and brought a good number of *Chilese* along with them; these were followed by more every day.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> *Mr. Elias Herckeman* open'd his commission in the presence of the council and all the captains, by which he was constituted commander in chief of this expedition: on which occasion he received the congratulations of all there present, and was saluted with six cannon from each ship.

By this time a great number of *Chilese* being ready to embark for *Baldivia*, were put on board our several vessels. *Don Diego* and *Don Philippo* had prepared themselves to go with their followers by land; but having received certain intelligence that the *Spaniards* kept a strict guard on all the passes, they desired likewise permission to come on board us to pursue their voyage, which was granted to their satisfaction; so that there were in all four hundred and seventy *Chilese*, who had provided themselves with all necessaries, such as barley, pease, beans, potatoes, sheep and hogs. Before we set sail, there was one among them who proposed, that since it could scarce be advisable to come in so great a number to *Baldivia* without giving notice of it beforehand, for fear they should be taken for enemies, he would venture to make his way by land notwithstanding all the precaution of the *Spaniards*, provided there were two more among them who would accompany him in this journey; and there being two brave fellows ready to undertake it, they accordingly proceeded forthwith on their journey by land to *Baldivia*.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> the weather being very fair, and the wind blowing a favourable gale from the south east, the signal was given to hoist up our sails, and we directed our course to the north-west by north, being under the elevation of forty one degrees and twenty seven minutes.

beyond the line, a very convenient harbour for anchorage, fishing, and going out into the open sea. There is great plenty of wood for firing, and fresh water, as also

**BREWER.** also of fish; about the full moon you meet with very large crawfish and muscles, but not quite so big as those found in the straits of *Le Maire*, where they are near a foot long and a hand broad.

The country thereabouts, and adjacent islands abound in cattle, such as sheep, hogs, horses, and goats; have also plenty of fowl, the grounds being likewise fertile in wheat, pease, beans, turnips, potatoes and flax; but it often happens that the fruits of the earth are spoiled by the storms before they come to maturity.

Their potatoes are some round, some of an oval figure, of all sorts of colour, red, white, and yellow, but most generally white; they roast them, and use them for their ordinary food.

The *Spaniards* affirm that there are several rivulets thereabouts which flow in the day-time, and are quite dried up in the night; which seems strange to those who don't guess at the true cause, which

is, that the sun melts the snow upon the hills in the day-time, which ceasing in the night, the rivulets also cease to run. 1643.

The men in those parts are not very tall, but very strong and well set, resembling the inhabitants of *Brasil*; they are of a dark brown complexion, their hair coal black, cut short to their ears; they pull out the hair of their beards, and tie a broad ribbon about their heads.

Their apparel is very mean, but very neat; the men wear a kind of wide pleated breeches like the *Dutch* seamen, and about the waste a ribbon in the nature of a girdle: they don't use either shirts or waistcoats, but only a piece of the same stuff they make their breeches of, of half a yard square, in which they make a hole, putting their heads through let it hang down over their shoulders, their arms and legs being left bare, without either hat or shoes: their weapon is a pretty long pike.

Their women are not so tall as the men; they wear

### The great Gulf of Chili.



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1643. they wear only a piece of stuff fastened to their middles, and another about their neck, which hangs down backwards, their heads, breasts, arms and legs being quite bare. Some among them twist their black hair with ribbons of divers colours, others let them hang carelessly down their backs. Notwithstanding their clothes are not very well fitted for the coolness of the climate, yet they are commonly extremely healthful, which we made frequent observations of whilst they were on board us, when we saw sometimes their women go about their business in half an hour after they were brought to bed, with their bantlings upon their backs; their breasts are so long, that they can throw them over their shoulders when they suckle their children: They are very seldom idle, but constantly employed in weaving stuffs for their wearing apparel.

The inhabitants of *Chileva* it self were then not above two hundred in number, because a few years before, to wit in the years 1637 and 1638, two thirds of them had been swept away by the plague.

Most of the inhabitants of *Chili* are subject to several lordships of the *Spaniards*, some of them having forty, fifty, a hundred, nay a hundred and fifty vassals under their jurisdiction; but they can't sell them, or transport them to any other but their native place.

The lords employ these *Chilese* in cultivating the ground, and other servile works, has been told before.

Their habitations are very mean and low, without any windows, except the hole which passes for the chimney.

There is no gold or silver to be found or digged here now; partly because the *Chilese* are very hard to be brought to digging in the mines, partly because the mines turn but to a slender account.

Every year in the months of *February*, *March* and *April*, there commonly arrive three ships from *St. Maria* and *Conception* laden with wheat, wine, clothes, and all sorts of iron-work, which they exchange for deal-boards, tents and quilts; there is also every year a vessel sent from *Lima* a cruising thereabouts, to see whether any foreign ships are in those seas.

The naval force of the king of *Spain* at *Lima* consisted in six or seven men of war, the biggest of which carried forty five guns, the rest from twenty four to thirty guns, besides abundance of merchant-men. *Lima* is the only place hereabouts where they build any men of war; in the harbours of *Valgarise* and *Conception* there are no men of war, but only some merchant-men and other small craft.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of *August* our fleet came to the mouth of the river *Baldivia*, the en-

trance of which they found about a league over: after we had sailed about half a league within the mouth of the river, we let fall our anchors, there being three several branches, which made us uncertain which to chuse; at last we entered the middle branch, where we got upon the sands, and so were forced to tarry there till next morning.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> ten inhabitants of *Baldivia* came with three canoes, (cut out of the trunks of trees) aboard us; their chieftain brought along with him a small vessel laden with all sorts of merchandizes to exchange them with us, they seemed to be mightily surprized at our ships, and that we had such a quantity of arms and men on board.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> the ship called the *Concord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht being got clear of the sands, came to an anchor before the city of *Baldivia*. This city was inhabited by the *Castilians* till the year 1599, when the *Chilese* chased them from thence, burnt the town, and killed all the *Spaniards*. The governor they poured melted gold down his throat whilst he was alive, they used afterwards his skull for a drinking cup, and made horns out of the bones of his legs. There were as yet remaining some ruins of their ancient gates, which appeared to be very high and strong; it had contained formerly about four hundred and fifty large houses, was divided into several large streets, besides lanes, and had two stately market-places; but when we saw it, it was quite desolate, full of bushes and weeds, resembling more a wilderness than a city: We saluted the place, each ship with six cannon; the *Indians* came aboard in whole troops, and were much surprized at our ships; the worst was, that we found them much inclined to stealing, especially of iron, tho' they spared nothing that came in their way, even to the compasses themselves, which they took out of the cases; so that the next time we were better aware of them, and kept every thing under lock and key.

There appeared at the same time about three hundred more upon the shore, all well armed with pikes eighteen feet long, both horse and foot; some of the *Cafiques* begged heartily of Mr. *Crispinson* that he would order his soldiery to be drawn up in order of battle in their presence, to instruct the *Chilese* in warlike exercises, of which they were altogether ignorant; and for want of which they were not in a condition to cope with the *Spaniards*: but he excused himself upon that point, because the general with the other two ships were not come up with them as yet, but hoped they would be by next day. In the mean

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**BREWER.** while those *Cbilefes* whom we had brought along with us from *Carel Mappa* and *Castro*, were busy in unloading their baggage, and landing their men.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> the general *Herckeman* finding that the two ships the *Amsterdam* and the *Flissingen* could not so soon get off of the sands, caused two companys of the soldiers to be embarked in the yacht, and landed them near the city of *Baldivia*, where they found about seventy *Cbilefes* standing at their arms, the rest to the number of two hundred being marched away the day before, with an intention to return in a few days. The general made an harangue to them, addressing himself to their chieftain, who was a *Baldivian*. He told them that the reason of their coming to this place was, to make them sensible that since the *Dutch* had got a firm footing in *Brasil*, they should be in a condition to assist them with arms, and all other necessaries against the *Spaniards*. He delivered at the same time his credentials from the prince of *Orange*, which being interpreted to them by one of the *Spaniards*, who was a prisoner among us, they seemed to be extremely well satisfied. He likewise presented the *Casique* with two swords and a pike in the name of the prince of *Orange*, which he received with a most profound respect. After several other discourses, they parted towards the country, (the city being uninhabitable) with a solemn promise to return suddenly, as soon as those of *Ojorno* and *Conco* could join them, when they would agree upon the articles, which were to be the conditions of the future confederacy. We were very sensible, that unless those *Cbilefes* that came from *Carel Mappa* had assured them that the *Hollanders* were enemies to the *Spaniards*, we should never have been able to bring them to any compliance or conference with us, especially since there was not one among the *Cbilefes* who understood the *Spanish* tongue.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> a certain *Casique*, attended by eight *Cbilefes*, came aboard us, to let us know, that he had been informed by some *Cbilefes* who were lately come by land from *Conception*, that there lay two stout *Spanish* ships ready to sail to *Baldivia*. Our general desired to see those *Cbilefes*, partly to shew them his acknowledgment, partly to learn from them the posture the enemy was in, in that place. They gave further information, that a good number of *Cbilefes* of *Conco* and *Ojorno* were upon the road, and that they would be at *Baldivia* in two or three days; that the governor of *Castro* had caused many of the *Casiques* to be hanged upon suspicion that they intended to make their escape; which had so exasperated the rest, that they were

all fled to *Ojorno* and *Conco*, with an intention to follow the others to *Baldivia*.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> day of *September* the general went ashore to view the ground where to build a fort. The same afternoon arrived above a thousand *Indians* of *Ojorno* and *Conco* to be present at the conclusion of the league, which was concluded the next following day.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of *September* all the soldiers were landed with their baggage, and about thirty canoes brought us some cattle, and abundance of *Sbitie*, which the *Cbilefes* use for their drink, and is prepared thus: They take a good quantity of the root *Imite* roasted in the sands, which their wives chew for a considerable time, and then throw it into a vessel with water, adding to it some other roots peculiar to that country; after it has stood two or three days, it works like our beer, some of it being red, another sort white; but resembles in taste our milk when sowed: they exchanged it for old iron.

The same afternoon our general *Herckeman* made another Harangue to the *Casiques* of *Ojorno*, *Conco*, and *Baldivia*, being attended in the field by about 1200 *Cbilefes*: He told them, that the chief motive of their voyage to *Chili* was the renown of their brave actions, which had reach'd as far as the *Neiberlands*, and how bravely they had defended themselves against the *Spaniards* ever since the year 1550. That the *Hollanders* having been at war with the *Spaniards* upon the same score of their liberty for eighty years last past, had carried on the same with such success as to have extended their conquests to *Brasil*, from whence they might in less than two months time sail to *Chili*; whereas before, by reason of the vast distance of their country, and that the enemy's were betwixt them, they could not come to them so soon nor so well as they could have wished: But that things being now in a better condition, they were come on purpose to enter with them into a confederacy; for which end they had brought along with them good store of arms and cannon, musquets, pikes, swords, powder and ball, which they were ready to exchange for the products of their country, to enable them not only to defend themselves against the *Spaniards*, but also to act offensively against them.

Which done, a letter from the prince of *Orange* was delivered to each of the *Casiques*, which they received with a great deal of reverence, kiss'd the same, and told the general, That they looked upon themselves as the most fortunate people in the world, that they should come from so far distant countrys to furnish them with weapons.

Our

General's  
speech to  
the *Chilese*.

1643.

Enter in-  
to a con-  
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inquiry  
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purpose.

1643. Our general to sound the bottom of their inclinations, then propos'd to them, That being in want of provisions, he desired they should send on board us hogs, sheep, cows, and other provisions, in lieu of which they should have arms and other merchandizes; but if they were not willing to comply with his desire, they would be necessitated to leave this coast. The *Chilese* answered with one voice That they were ready to do what they asked, their country being plentifully furnished with cattle, provided our fleet would not stir from thence.

*Enter in to a confederacy.* The general and his counsellors looking upon this declaration as a full assurance of their good intentions, offer'd in the name of the *States* and the prince of *Orange*, to enter with them into a confederacy against the *Spaniards*. Which being readily accepted by them, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded, by virtue of which they were to assist one another against any aggressors.

They could not however be prevail'd upon to have the articles drawn in writing, this being, as they alledged, against their custom; there mutual promises being look'd upon among them as the strongest tie, and that as a pledge of it they would keep the prince of *Orange's* letter.

It was then propos'd that it would be absolutely necessary for their mutual security to build a fort near *Baldivia*, which might serve them for a safe retreat upon all occasions; which they willingly assented to, leaving the whole management of it to the general and his counsellors.

Matters being thus far brought to a happy end, some of the *Hollanders* began by degrees to sound their inclinations, whether they would not be willing to exchange some gold for arms, (this being indeed the main motive of our voyage) because they had been credibly inform'd that there was great plenty of this metal there. The *Casiques* hereupon declared unanimously that they knew of no gold mines there, neither was any gold now in use, or wrought among them; that they remembered very well that formerly they had been forced to pay heavy taxes to the *Spaniards* in gold, and that in case of failure they had paid for it with the loss of their noses and ears, which had created in them such an antipathy against this metal, that they could not endure ever since to hear it named among them, much less that they should either value or covet it.

*The Dutch inquiry after gold to no purpose.* The general gave them for answer, That neither he nor any that belonged to him were come thither to exact any contributions from them, but were ready to pay them for it with arms, and such other

merchandizes as they had brought along *Brewer.* with them. Neither did they desire to oblige them to any certain quantity to be delivered monthly, but every one should be at his own liberty to exchange what he pleas'd. The *Casiques* then look'd stedfastly upon one another, without returning one word in answer.

We had at the same time certain intelligence that there was very rich gold mines thereabouts; which gave us some reason to hope that considering the eagerness of the *Chilese* after our *European* weapons, they would by degrees be prevail'd upon to exchange it for them: but knowing them to be a barbarous and unpolish'd people, we thought it not convenient to urge them any further upon that head for the present, lest they should imagine we would serve them for their gold sake as the *Spaniards* had done.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> it was resolv'd in the council that Mr. *Crispinson* should sail forthwith with the ship *Amsterdam* to *Brasil*, to give an account to the government there concerning the state of affairs in *Chili*; accordingly Mr. *Crispinson* went the next day aboard the said ship, and after having made an inventory of what was to be found there belonging to the late general *Brewer*, return'd to *Baldivia*.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> a certain *Chilese* came to us, *A Chilese* whom we look'd upon as a spy, to discover *spy.* our intentions, whether we were real enemies of the *Spaniards*; he pretended a great deal of simplicity in all his actions, and would needs speak with the general himself, being prosecuted by his countrymen the *Chilese*: He told us, he was come in six days from *Manchmes*, that he had been at *Conception* to trade with the *Spaniards* about some iron, that two ships lay ready there to sail with the first fair wind to *Carel Mappa* and *Castro*; that the *Indians* about *Arauco* had lately revolted against the *Spaniards*, and that two of their principal *Casiques* were retired towards *Imperial* to carry on the war against them.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> in the afternoon the body of the late deceased general *Brewer* was magnificently (considering our present circumstances) interred at *Baldivia*. *Burial of the late general Brewer.*

The same day Mr. *Crispinson* took his leave of the general, and the other counsellors, in order to embark aboard the ship *Amsterdam*, bound to *Fernambuco* in *Brasil*; leaving with us the ships, the *Flislingen*, the *Concord*, and *Dolphin* yacht, with a hundred and eighty seamen, and three companies of soldiers making two hundred and ninety men commanded by major *Blewbeck*, by captain *Oberman*, and captain *Flori*. Our general then went aboard the *Concord*.

**Brewer.** On the 23<sup>d</sup> the general went ashore with all the officers; and a place being mark'd out to erect a fort, they began to work upon it immediately.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> the general thought fit to send the boatswain of the *Concord* to Mr. *Crispinson* on board the *Amsterdam*, riding then at anchor in the river of *Baldivia*, where she was taking in her ballast, with a letter containing that *Courewang* the chief *Casique* or captain of *Villaricea* was come with two hundred men, to give him a visit a second time; that he intended to send the ship the *Coucord*, and the *Dolphin* yacht against *Oslober*, (if nothing prevented his design) to the isle of *St. Mary*, to make themselves masters of it; that he intended to have done it before, if he could have spared so many men, who were now busy in working on the design'd fort at *Baldivia*: That he did not in the least doubt of the success, but much questioned whether any of the *Chilese* would be prevail'd upon to transplant themselves thither from the continent to cultivate the ground; because the *Spaniards* in *Conception*, and some other neighbouring garrisons might easily intercept their passage, and make them their slaves: That those of *Osorno*, *Conco*, *Baldivia*, *Imperial* and *Villaricea*, were all unanimous in persuading him to chase the *Spaniards* out of *Arauco*, *Penco*, and *Bio-Bio*; and offered their assistance in this expedition: That if these places were taken, it would be no difficult task to attack them in *Conception* itself, and consequently to deliver a great part of *Chili* from the *Spanish* yoke, or at least to restore *Cbilova* to its ancient liberty; he being assured that the whole force of the *Spaniards* in *Chili* consisted only in one thousand and five hundred disciplin'd men, to wit, three hundred in *Vale Paraiso* and *St. Jago*, three hundred in *Conception*, a hundred in *La Zarena*, a hundred near the river *Bio-Bio*, sixty in *Junbel*, five hundred in *Arauco*; a hundred and twenty in *Cbilova*, *Carel Mapapa*, and *Calimbuco*; without reckoning the *Spanish* inhabitants, who were more numerous: That he was fully persuaded, that in case ten ships, and three yachts with eight hundred soldiers (seamen, cannon and ammunition in proportion) were sent to his assistance, he did not question to make himself master of these places, with the assistance of the *Chilese*, without the least fear from the enemies naval force at *Lima*: That this might serve as a means to encourage those of *Peru* to a revolt against the *Spaniards*; it being unquestionable that the *Indians* had conceived a general hatred against the *Spaniards*, and had a strong inclination to, and great confidence in the *Dutch*, as was evident from hence, that

Strength  
of the *Spaniards* in  
Chili

four hundred and seventy *Chilese* had voluntarily embark'd themselves with their wives and children aboard their ships, to be transported from *Cbilova* to *Baldivia*, where both they and the *Dutch* were met and congratulated by the *Casiques* of *Baldivia*, *Osorno*, *Conco* and *Villaricea*, in the presence of twelve hundred of their best men; who had shewn a most particular respect for the prince of *Orange's* letter, and look'd upon it as their greatest happiness, that they should come from so far distant a country to their assistance; desiring the *Dutch* to continue on their coast, and promising to furnish them with all manner of necessaries.

He gave him also an account, how he had been credibly inform'd, that the *Indians* of *Rio de la Plata* had lately murdered several jesuits, which he look'd upon as the forerunner of a revolt to shake off the *Spanish* yoke; that he desir'd this might be taken into serious consideration in the council of *Brasil*, to send them what assistance they were able to encourage their undertaking, it being not improbable that when the war should be once kindled on that side, the flame might spread all over the *Spanish* *Indies*, and consequently fly over *Chili*, as far as to mount *Potosi*.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> the general went again ashore, to confer with the *Casiques*, who were arrived the day before; they told him, that it was impossible for them to furnish any quantity of cattle, sheep or swine, till about four or five months hence, which was very surprizing to the general, especially when he found that those of *Osorno* and *Conco* confirm'd what the others had said, knowing the provisions began to be scarce aboard; for which reason he dispatch'd an advice-boat to Mr. *Crispinson* to give him notice of this unexpected change, but too late, the ship *Amsterdam* being gone to sea some time before. On the 27<sup>th</sup> the general went ashore again, and brought along with him some *Casiques*, who were very well entertained aboard our ship the *Concord*; he took this opportunity to talk to them once more concerning the promised provisions, whether they could not procure them sooner, and they should have some of the best arms in lieu of them; but they would not engage to furnish us with any till after the expiration of two months, and so left our ship.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of *Oslober*, came aboard us *Manquiente* the head-*Casique* of *Manquiente*; he did not return till the 7<sup>th</sup>, and at his departure was saluted by the general's order with one cannon: he presented the general with twenty six sheep, two hogs, and eight cows; and was presented by him with some glass beads, two hatchets,

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Deliverance of a  
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prisoner.

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1643. and some other toys. He promised to come aboard again within eight days after, and to bring us more cattle of all sorts, and some gold, to exchange it for some weapons, which he admir'd much; especially since (as he said) his vassals were more ingenious and industrious in ironwork than the other *Chilese*, which they use to purchase for gold from the *Spaniards* at *Conception*, and for the future would willingly exchange from the *Hollanders*.

Deliverance of a Spanish prisoner.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> the secretary of the general gave him a relation of an odd accident which happen'd not long before. As he was walking upon the banks of the river, he saw a good number of *Chilese* in arms, who were carrying away one of our *Spanish* prisoners, whose name was *Antonio Zambies Zimes*. They threaten'd him very hard, and were upon the point of sacrificing him to their resentment, because, as they pretended, he was the occasion that the *Dutch* had erected a fort near *Baldivia*, they being persuaded by him that there was a great deal of gold among them. He denied the thing, alledging that he was taken and brought a prisoner hither by the *Dutch*; but in vain, for they were just a going to kill him, if the secretary had not come very opportunely, and had satisfied them that he was not guilty of what they had laid to his charge.

The same day the beforementioned *Casiques*, and some *Chilese*, brought us twelve sheep and one hog; in exchange of which they had four hatchets, two knives, and some corals. One of these *Casiques* was call'd *Cbeculemo*, the other was a deputy of the *Casique Tunomanguo* from *Imperial*. He brought advice that two thousand *Spaniards* were rendezvousing near that place, with an intention to march by land to *Baldivia*; and that if the general with some of his men would follow his directions, he would put them in a way to get a good booty. But the general who began to be mistrustful of them, excus'd himself; and to try their inclinations, ask'd them whether they were willing he should leave that coast? Upon which *Cbeculemo* answered, That he would advise him to stay, and to fortify himself well near the sea-side; he gave us likewise this caution, not to send any of our men along with the other *Casiques*, for fear they should be had into an ambush, from whence there would be no retreating. And so they departed towards evening, and were saluted at their request with one cannon.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> some more canoes came aboard, with two *Casiques* of *Baldivia*; they brought some sheep, which they exchanged with the seamen. They gave an account that two hundred *Spaniards* were arrived

lately with thirteen ships at *Imperial*, and that they intended to come to *Baldivia*. The same day towards evening the before-mentioned *Spanish* prisoner *Antonio Zambies* discovered to our fiscal, whose name was *Cornelius Faber*, that one day as he was taking a walk in an adjacent wood, he was met by some of our soldiers (but of what company he knew not) who persuaded him to make his escape with them to the *Spaniards* in *Conception*, telling him there were fifty more who had taken the same resolution. He having promised them to comply with their request (for fear of being murdered by them if he refused) they appointed a certain day when they were to meet in the same wood again, and so left him for that time.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> it was resolv'd in a general council, that considering provisions began to be scarce, and that they could expect no supply from the *Chilese* (which was also uncertain) till about five months after, it would be convenient to prepare every thing for their return to *Brasil*.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> the beforementioned four soldiers appeared at the appointed time in the wood, in hopes to meet with the *Spaniard*; and when they found him to fail in his promise, resolv'd to proceed alone in their way to *Conception*, for fear they should be severely punish'd if they return'd aboard. Towards the evening two *Chilese* horsemen brought advice that they had met four soldiers making the best of their way, but did not know whither they were bound, but they shew'd us which way they had taken. Whereupon an ensign, call'd *Otto ler Vielle*, with two serjeants and thirty fusileers, was sent in pursuit of them, with orders to kill two of them wherever he could meet with them, and bring the two others alive into our head-quarters.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> as we were busy in preparing our selves for our intended voyage, word was brought to the general, that some of our men being gone ashore to exchange some toys for cattle with the *Chilese*, they had refused to let them have any, under pretence that they had orders to the contrary from their *Casiques*. Whereupon the general immediately summoned another general council, in order to put the resolution taken on the 13<sup>th</sup> last past, concerning our departure, in execution. Pursuant to which a certain writing was drawn, which was to be subscribed by all the officers of the ships: Whereas it was resolv'd in council, on the 13<sup>th</sup> last past, that considering we stood in want of provisions, and the *Chilese* shew'd but little inclination to furnish us with any, or to dig in the gold mines, we should prepare for our departure, that we might reach *Brasil* before

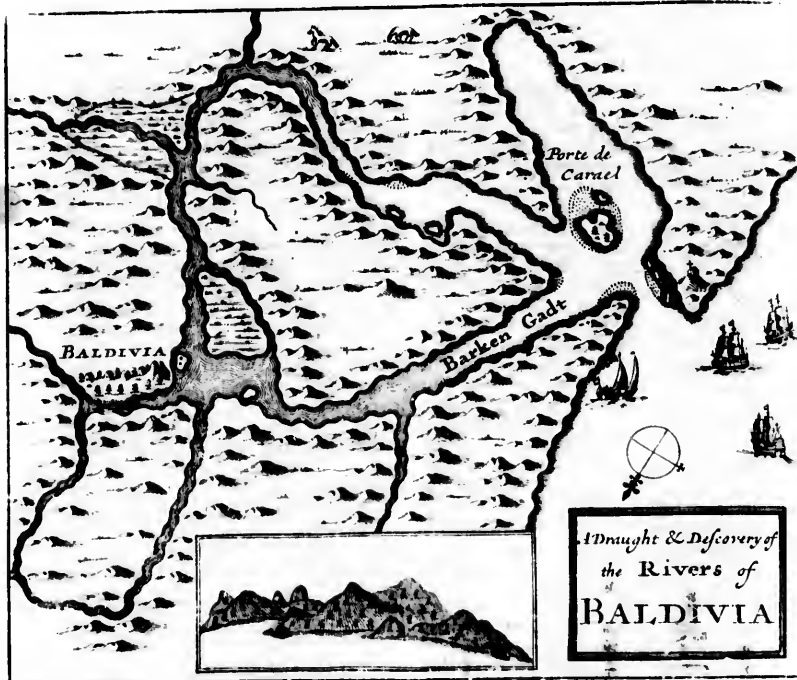
*Barren.* all our provisions were spent, and prevent any succours to be sent from thence to our assistance. We the underwritten officers of the ship *N.* confess by these presents, that we don't only approve the said resolution, but also judge it absolutely necessary to begin the said voyage to *Brasil*. In the ship *N.* the 18<sup>th</sup> of *October*, 1643.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> the ensign returned to the garrison, having according to order shot two of the deserters upon the spot, and brought the other two to our quarters.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> the general went once more ashore to take his last farewell of the *Casiques*, who for that purpose were assembled in an adjacent field. They excused them-

1643. selves that it had not been in their power to furnish us with sufficient provisions; and in case they had had any notice about twelve months before of our design, they would have taken effectual care to provide us all we could expect; it being their custom not to sow any more corn, pease and beans, than for their own consumption, for fear of the *Spaniards*, who used frequently to take away all they could meet with; and that if our general would promise to return in two years time, or thereabouts, they would lay up provisions accordingly. Towards evening the general returned aboard with all the soldiers, who had their quarters assigned them in the several ships.

*A Description of the River of Baldivia, and the circumjacent Country, under 39 deg. 59 min.*



The river or harbour of *Baldivia*, is situated under the elevation of 39 deg. 40 min. to the south of the equinoctial line, in a large bay. At the mouth of this

river is a small island, which if it were fortified would command its entrance, all vessels being obliged to pass and repass not above a good musquet-shot from thence.

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1643. The people of *Baldivia*, *Oferno*, and *Concepcion*, do much resemble those of *Chilova*, except that they are fatter and more corpulent, because they spend most of their time in eating and drinking, dancing and feasting, leading an idle life, without religion. Every one has as many wives as he pleases, whom they buy from their parents, and are obliged to cultivate the ground, unless perhaps one or two who are their favourites, the rest being no more than their slaves, who are to attend their husbands pleasure; some of them have fifteen, or twenty wives at their devotion. They don't differ from the *Chiloveses* in their habits; they also pull out the hair of their beards, and cut the hair very short upon their heads, to prevent their enemies from laying hold by it. They are so much strangers to the *Spanish* tongue, that we could not meet with one among them who understood the least of it.

The country abounds in sheep, cows, hogs, goats, tame-fowl, and horses; and produces good store of peas, beans, and some wheat; as also very good apples, and several other sorts of fruits. Their weapons are long pikes, about fourteen or fifteen foot long; some tipp'd with iron, others only sharpened at the end; sometimes you meet with some *Spanish* *Stocadoes*, and armours among them which they have taken from the *Spaniards*. They are good horsemen, and manage their lances with great dexterity on horseback.

*Deserters  
condemn'd.*

On the 26<sup>th</sup> a court-martial was summon'd on board the *Concord*, to try the deserters and their accomplices; six of whom were condemn'd to be shot to death, and six others to undergo the strapado; which was executed accordingly, one of the six being only saved, who was pardoned after his five comrades were shot to death, and he stood at the stake in expectation of his fate. Scarce was the execution over, when several *Chilese*, and among them a *Casique* of *Canten* or *Imperial*, whose name was *Canmanqui*, and another call'd *Casique Nicolanta* of *Calicaly*, presented a camel-sheep to the general, and seem'd to be much concern'd at our resolution of leav-

ing their coast; they were told that it was *Bazwa*. occasion'd by their want of faith in not sending us provision: so they departed without making the least reply; and we made a present to them of two rusty swords. The *Chilese* call these sheep *Chilutwee* in their language, which is as much as to say a province: They never kill them but against an extraordinary feast; and when they are in the height of their mirth, they take the heart, of which each there present bites a piece as a token of friendship, and their fraternity.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> the following allowance was settled for our intended voyage: A quart of oatmeal for eight men *per diem*; a pound and a half of stock-fish, four pounds of meat; besides for each man four pounds of bread, and three pounds and a half of biscuit *per week*, a quarter of a point of oil, as much vinegar, and a quart of water *per diem*.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> we got out at sea, and continued our voyage till the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November*, when we repass'd the straits of *le Maire*, without discovering any land; so that having no opportunity of getting fresh water, the daily allowance of water was shortned to one pint and a half till the first day of *December*, when by order from the general they were told, that if we did not meet with contrary winds, they should receive their former allowance.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of *December* we discovered the coast of *Brasil* about six leagues at sea, and not long after met with a small vessel, the master of which told the general that the ship call'd the *Amsterdam*, that had left us on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *September* last past near *Baldivia*, was arriv'd with Mr. *Crispinson* about three weeks before: and the *Orange-tree* but fourteen days ago, they having met with many and great tempests at sea: That the ship *Hollandia* was ready to sail to *Baldivia* to our relief; and that a yacht call'd the *Hunter* was to be sent to *Holland* to give an account how matters went with us. We came the same evening to an anchor in the harbour of *Fernambuco*.

*A short Account of the Island of Formosa in the Indies, situate near the Coast of China; and of the Manners, Customs, and Religions of its Inhabitants. By George Candidius, Minister of the Word of God in that Island.*

THE PREFACE.

CANDIDIUS

**A**FTER the Dutch had established themselves in the East-Indies, they made it their chiefest care to settle a good correspondence in China, both to carry on their traffick in those parts, and to annoy the Spaniards their enemies, who carried on a considerable commerce with the Chineses from the Philippine islands. But tho' several treaties were set on foot for this purpose, the Chineses could not be brought to any reasonable terms, till such time that the Dutch equipped a good fleet, which was sent to the river Chingcheo one of the principal rivers of China, where they built a fort in one of the islands called Pehou by the Chineses, from whence they intercepted the Chineses trading to the Philippine islands, and committed many other hostilities, as is evident from the relation of the voyage of capt. William Bontekuh. The Chineses being at last tired out by these inconveniences, began to hearken to their propositions, pursuant to which it was agreed, that the Dutch should raise their fort in the island of Pehou, as being too near to the coast of China; in lieu of which the harbour of Tagowang in the isle of Formosa, ten leagues further from the coast, should be assigned them, where they should have the liberty of erecting a fort at pleasure, and whither the Chineses were to come to traffick with them. The Dutch were willing enough to accept of this offer, because the Chineses had blocked them up in their fort with four thousand men, and a hundred and fifty small vessels at that time, and great preparations were making in China, to sink several thousand vessels at the entrance of the harbour, to render it useless. Accordingly the Dutch caused a strong fort to be built in the said isle of Formosa (called by the Chineses Paccande) a description of which island being come to our hands from a person who had been several years a minister among the Dutch there, we thought we could put no greater Obligation at this time upon the curious World, than to impart to them so authentick a Relation.

*A short Description of the Isle of Formosa, by George Candidius Minister of the Word of God there.*

**T**HIS island is situate in the 22<sup>d</sup> degree of northern latitude, its circumference one hundred and thirty leagues; 'tis very populous and full of large and fair villages, having no peculiar language of their own, neither are the inhabitants govern'd by any king or prince, whom they acknowledge for their sovereign being constantly at war with one another. The country abounds both in cattle and fish; there are also several kinds of wild beasts here, among the rest one with horns like a stag, called *Olang* by the inhabitants; some tygers,

and a certain creature called by them *Tinney*, not unlike a bear, but much bigger; its skin is in high esteeme among them.

The country is very fertile, but is not much cultivated; most of their trees grow wild, tho' there are some few that are planted and bear fruits: There is also some ginger and cinnamon there; and many are of opinion that this isle is not destitute of gold and silver mines. Thus much of the country in general; the manners and customs of all the inhabitants I will not pretend to enlarge upon at this time, as being unknown hitherto, but will confine myself

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self to those whose manners, language, customs and religion I am satisfied in by my own experience: These being comprehended within the compass of eight cantons, or large villages, are called by the following names, *Linkan, Mandaw, Soulang, Backloany, Tassacan, Tifulcan, Teopan and Tefurang*: All these agree in their manners, language and religion, are situate along the sea-shore within two days journey of the fort; the last, which is also the furthest, lying only among the mountains, about three days journey from it.

The inhabitants.

The inhabitants appear at first sight to be very wild and barbarous, the men very tall and strong limbed, beyond the size of other men; they are of a dark brown complexion like most of the other *Indians*, they go naked in the summer; their women are low of stature, but very strong and fat, their complexion inclining more to an olive colour: they wear clothes, and don't discover their nakedness, unless when they wash themselves, which they do constantly twice a day in warm water.

This nation is very good natured, affable and faithful; they have always been courteous to us; they are not addicted to stealing, but if they meet with any stolen goods they will not rest satisfied till they have seen it restored to the right owners, unless it be in the canton of *Soulang*, where live abundance of robbers and thieves. They are very trusty to one another, and will rather suffer death than betray their accomplices, and have a good natural understanding, and a very strong memory. Most of the *Indians* are addicted to begging, but this nation exceeds them all in this quality; the best is, they are satisfied with a very small matter.

Their way of living.

Their chief business is agriculture, they sow rice; and tho' they have plenty of very rich grounds, so as that it is believed, that these eight before-mentioned cantons could be able to maintain one hundred thousand men more, yet they don't cultivate any more than they think will just suffice for their present maintenance, so that sometimes they happen to fall short. The women are to cultivate the ground, and to do all the servile labour; they use neither horse, oxen or plough: if the rice happen to come up thicker in one place than in another, they transplant it, which is not performed without a great deal of labour and pains; they know nothing of scythes or sickles, but make use of an instrument like a knife, wherewith they cut their corn *balm by balm*; neither do they thresh it, but the women hang in the evening two or three small bundles over the fire to dry, and rise early in the morning to stamp it for their use the next day, and this they

Stalk by stalk.

repeat every day throughout the year. They sow likewise another seed not unlike our beans; they plant ginger, sugar, rice and water-lemons, and some other fruits unknown to us. They have no wine or other strong liquor, such as flows from the trees in some other parts of the *Indies*; but they make in lieu of that another sort of drink, both pleasant and no less strong than other wine, which is made by the women in the following manner: They take rice which they boil up a little, then they stamp it till it becomes of the substance of a paste; afterwards they take rice flower, which they chew, and afterwards put into a vessel by it self, till they have a good quantity of it; this they use instead of our leaven, and mix it among the before-mentioned paste, and work it together till it be like a baker's paste; this they put in a large vessel, and after they have poured water upon it, they let it stand thus for two months. In the mean while the liquor works up like new wine, and the longer they keep it the better it is, and will keep good many years; it is a very pleasant liquor, as clear as fair water at top, but very muddy to the bottom, which they eat with spoons, or else they put more water upon it. When they are to go abroad into the fields, they take some of the muddy part in a vessel of cane along with them, and in another as much water as they have occasion for; a little quantity of the uppermost fine liquor serves to refresh themselves. When the women have any leisure, they go abroad fishing in their little boats (which they call *champanes*) for next to their rice they esteem fish their best food; they salt their fish with scales, guts and all: when they take them out of the salt, they are commonly full of maggots, but this is not in the least nauseous, but rather pleasing to them.

The men lead generally an idle life, especially the young ones, from the age of eighteen till twenty four: the old ones of fifty and sixty years are the only persons who are abroad with their wives in the fields, where they have small huts, in which they sleep and dwell, and come scarce once in two months to the village. Their greatest pastime is hunting and fighting; they hunt three several ways, either with nets, with small lances (called *afegays*) or with bows and arrows; their nets are again of two different kinds, some they spread cross the roads or by-ways where they know the stags and wild boars usually pass; and so they force them into the net, which is made of canes twisted together; or else they lay traps, which they cover with earth, in those places where they know the deer or other wild beasts come in great

Their manner of hunting.

**CANDIDUS.** numbers; and if one of them happen to touch but the trap, they are caught. When they go abroad a hunting with their lances, a whole village, or sometimes more, meet together, each having two or three lances; they carry likewise a vast number of hounds into the field to put up the wild beasts; then they make a great circle, sometimes a whole league in circumference, and such beasts as once are forced within this circle scarce ever escape with life. Their lances are about six foot long, made of cane, have a bell at one end, and a small rope fastened to the other where the iron is, which has three or four hooks to prevent its being torn without great difficulty from the wounds of the beasts: This iron is not so well fastened to the wood of the lance, but that it falls easily out, when the beast is running away, and being entangled in the string, prevents its running so fast as it would do otherwise, the bell being at the same time a sure signal to them whereabouts the beast is. With their bows and arrows they hunt in the following manner; Two or three of them go abroad together, and when they discover a troop of deer or stags, they pursue them (for they are very swift on foot) and let fly their arrows among them till they have killed one or more; thus they kill abundance of them throughout the year: they seldom eat their flesh, but exchange it with the *Chineſes* for linen, wood, and such like commodities; the entrails alone they keep for their own use; if they can't eat them fresh, they salt them just as they take them out: sometimes they cut a piece of their flesh (immediately after they are killed) warm out of the side or otherwise, which they devour raw, so that you may see the blood run along their chops; sometimes they devour the young ones with hair and all, immediately after they have cut them out of their mother's bellies. This is one of the mens employments.

The second exercise is, when they go abroad a fighting, which is performed in the following manner: If a difference arises betwixt two or more cantons, they denounce war to one another; which done, twenty or thirty join in company, or more if they please, and row in one of their boats near to the place, where they hope to meet with the enemy, and stay there till night (for it is to be observed, that their wars are carried on by treachery only) then they search the fields whereabouts to see whether they can surprize some of them in their field-cottages; (where, as we told you before, those advanced in years sleep most commonly) if they meet with any, they are sure to kill them immediately without any respect to age or sex: afterwards they cut

off their heads, arms and legs, nay sometimes they cut the whole carcass in pieces, that every one may have a share to carry home to his village; if they are in haste to get off, they take only the head along with them; and if pursued, are sometimes contented with the hair as a token of victory. If they happen to meet with no body in the field, they make up to the next village, where they surprize the first house they meet with, kill all that comes before them, and away with the heads, arms and legs they go before the village can be raised; for they have a certain signal to alarm the rest when an enemy is at hand, so that if they don't retire speedily, they often pay for it with their lives before they can save themselves by flight. If they think themselves strong enough, they are the first who sound the alarm in the village to draw out the enemy into the open field, where they fight it out stoutly, till one party is worsted, which is commonly done as soon as a few men are killed; for the loss of a man is looked upon with them as much as among us *Europeans* the loss of an army is. Their chief weapons are lances, but somewhat different from those they make use of in hunting; for the irons are without hooks, and without bells, and the iron very well fastened to the pike: they also fight with swords, and have long and broad shields to cover the greatest part of their bodies. They also use sometimes *Japaneſe* scymitars, bows and arrows. They go to the war without any commander or leader, the only title to a command among them being the heads of their enemies; for if any one can shew some of them, he is sure never to miss of twenty or more who will follow him, and acknowledge him for their head; neither is it much enquired into whether he has slain the persons with his own hands or not, provided he can but produce the heads, his title stands good among them. They are not altogether without stratagems in their wars, they sometimes divide themselves in several bodies, and whilst one is engaged with the enemy in the field, the others fall into the village, and surprizing those within their houses carry off a few heads: which done, they draw off, and attribute to themselves the honour of the day. Sometimes they take a great number of canes, pointed at one end, of about a yard in length; these they stick pretty deep into the ground, bending that way with their points from whence they expect the enemy; who being eager in the pursuit, and very swift, are apt to run upon them, and being wounded are forced to desist: this is done in the night-time.

Sometimes they deceive their enemies under

Their  
warlike  
exploits.

Their go-  
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under the specious pretence of friendship, as it happened whilst I was there: You must know, that about three leagues from *Formosa*, there is another island call'd in their tongue *Tugin*, by us the *Golden-Lion* island, because a certain ship call'd the *Golden-Lion* being driven upon their coast by tempest, they kill'd the captain and most of his crew. This isle is in perpetual enmity with ours, they being a people so jealous of strangers, as not to suffer them to set a foot on their shore. 'Tis true, they have some traffick with the *Chinese*, but they don't come ashore, but remain in their small vessels: The islanders come out to them in their boats, and so exchange their commodities, taking with the right hand what they are to have, whilst they give with the left their portion to the *Chinese*. and they are sure not to let go their hold, before they are well satisfied in the other, so jealous they are of one another. Not long ago about sixty men belonging to the canton of *Soulang*, sail'd thither disguised like *Chinese* merchants, under pretence that they came to exchange some commodities with them; whereupon some of the islanders coming out to them as usual, they took hold of one's arm, which he was stretching out to lay hold of what they offered him; and so forcing him into their vessel, cut him in pieces, which they brought home as a token of a most signal victory. So much for their manner of making war.

After they have brought home one or more heads of their enemies, nay if it be but a handful of hair upon a lance, they enter their village in triumph. The head they fix on a pike, which is thus exposed to the sight of all the inhabitants, who dance and sing to the praise of their gods, and wherever they pass by they are entertain'd with strong liquor. Afterwards the head is carried to the temple belonging to the family of him who has gain'd the victory (for to sixteen or eighteen families there appertains a temple, where also the young folk sleep nights) there it is boil'd all to rags; the bones are dry'd again, and dipp'd afterwards in strong liquors: they offer sacrifices of hogs to their idols, and feast for fourteen days without intermission. These heads, weapons, arms, or legs of their slain enemies, are as much esteemed among them, as in *Europe* gold, silver, and precious stones. If a fire happen to break out in one of their houses, they leave all and take care to save such a head; for he that can boast of such a victory, is respected by all; so that for the fourteen days after scarce any body dares to approach him.

Their government.

All these villages in general acknow-

ledge no head, no more than each of them <sup>CANDIDUS.</sup> in particular is govern'd by any superior power. The only thing which has any resemblance to a civil state, is a council of twelve men; these are changed every two years, they must be all of the same age, and above forty years old; and tho' they are ignorant of the computations of time as used among us, yet they have certain marks whereby to distinguish their ages. After the expiration of the term of two years, those who have been members of this council, cause some of their hair to be pull'd out on the crown, and below both the temples, as a token that they have borne this office. Their authority is kept within very narrow bounds, for they have no authority of making a decisive decree, but in matters of any moment they are oblig'd to summon the whole village to appear in a temple, where they propose the matter to the people, and endeavour with various arguments (of which they treat with a great deal of eloquence, even to admiration) to persuade them to what has been consulted in the council beforehand: if they accept of it, it is valid; if not, it has no force. Their chief authority consists in this, that when their priestesses (for priests they have none) think fit to enjoin any thing to appease the anger of their gods, to see it put in execution, and to punish the transgressors: But this punishment does not extend to imprisonment, much less to death, but only to an inconsiderable fine, perhaps of one of their suits of clothes, of a waistcoat, a buckskin, a small quantity of rice, or a certain measure of their strongest liquor. There is a certain time in the year appointed for the men to go quite naked, else, they say, the rice will not thrive for want of rain. Now if it happen that a member of this council meets any one during that time who appears in his clothes, he has a power to take them away, or to make him pay a fine of a buck-skin, or such-like: For which purpose they watch them towards the evenings, and in the mornings, in those places where they must needs pass, going to and coming from the village. Of this I saw once an instance my self; for as I was coming one day from the village of *Sincan* to the village of *Mattan*, I met with some who were returning home out of the fields: one of them having some clothes about him, and seeing at a good distance some of those counsellors, desired me to take his clothes till we were past them; which I did accordingly. As we came near to them, one was very pressing with me to tell him to whom those clothes I carried belonged; which I refused to tell, and so we went into the village, where I restored



CANDIDUS. restored them to the owner, who was very thankful to me.

At certain times of the year they are allow'd to wear clothes, but nothing made of silk, unless they will run the hazard of having it taken away by these counsellors. If their females are excessive in their clothes upon their festivals, they have power to punish them, or to take their clothes in pieces. These constraints are also confined to certain rules of decency; when the rice begins to ripen, they must not drink to any excess. They must not eat any suet or fat, for else, as they pretend, the deer and wild-bears would consume the rice. If they happen to transgress in any of these points, they are despised by the rest.

There is no punishment appointed here for thieving, fornication, adultery, or murder: in these cases every one is his own judge, and gets the best satisfaction he can. If any thing be stolen, and the thief discovered, he that has lost his goods, goes with his friends to the other's house, where he takes as much as he judges to be an equivalent for what he has been robb'd of; if the thief makes any resistance, they fetch it out by force. So if any one finds another man to have an amorous commerce with his wife, he makes himself amends, by taking two or three of his hogs. If any one be kill'd, the thing is made up among the friends of both parties, who are commonly satisfy'd with some hogs or buckskins, to discharge him who has committed the fact.

Tho' there be no such thing as different degrees of dignities among them; nay, tho' their language does not so much as afford a word by which you might express what we call by us *master* or *servants*, they are nevertheless not void of all respect to one another: And it is very observable that they don't measure their esteem by riches, but by the age. If a young man meets another pretty well advanc'd in years, he goes out of his way, and turns his back to him till he be past by. Nay if they happen to talk with one another, the younger will be sure not to turn about till they have done. If an aged person bids a young one to do a certain thing, he never dares to refuse it, tho' it were to go two or three leagues. When old and young people are mix'd in company, the latter never attempt to speak; and at a feast those advanced in age are always first served.

Their marriages.

Their men are not at their own liberty to marry when they please, no man being allowed to marry before he comes to the age of twenty one. And tho', as I told you before, they have no certain computation of time, yet they have a way of put-

ting such as are born in the same year in one class, which they call in their tongue *Saer Cassiwang*; so that those who don't belong to the same *Cassiwang*, must not marry with the rest.

They have a custom of clipping the hair of young people up to the ears, till they are sixteen or seventeen years old; after which time they give it full liberty to grow, as the *Chinenses* do; and when it is come to a certain length, they judge them fit for marriage. But their women are not restrain'd to any certain time, but may marry when they are come to maturity. Their courtships they perform in the following manner: If a young man fancies a young woman, he sends his mother, aunt, sister, or some other friend to his sweetheart's habitation, who bring along with them the presents usually offered upon such occasions, to obtain her parents or friends consent; if they accept of them, the business is done, and the young man has free admittance the next night, without any further ceremony.

These presents differ in value, according to the persons that give them: The richer sort give commonly seven or eight coats, with as many shirts; three or four hundred arm-rings twisted, of reed or canes; ten or twelve other rings, which they wear on their fingers; these are made either of metal or white harts-horn, four or five inches in circumference, and tied to their fingers with red dogs-hair; four or five girdles made of coarse linen-cloth; ten or twelve waistcoats made of dogs-hair, call'd in their language *Eibarno*; twenty or thirty *Chinese* waistcoats, each of which costs about half a florin; a bundle of dogs-hair, as much as a man is able to carry, which is a commodity mightily esteem'd among them; a cap made in the form of a mitre, made of straw and dogs-hair, very artificially twisted together: four or five pair of breeches of buck-skin: all which together do not amount to above the value of ten pounds *sterling*. This is for the rich, but the poorer sort come off with less.

Man and wife do never habit here in one house, but each lives in a house by it self: the wife always eats, drinks, and sleeps in her own habitation, whither the husband has the privilege to come in the night-time; but he must be careful either not to come before they are all in bed, or if he does come before, he must not come near the fire to be seen by any body, but to bed he sneaks; and if he wants any thing he dares not call, but by coughing or otherwise gives the signal to his wife, who steals to him as soon as the rest of the family are gone to sleep. They make

make use of pieces of skins of furs before they must retire the house to sure his wife he must first admit good hum away he own grown man; the nor she is by the mother, and father. In them, bring forth thirty six wherefore children in One of the lays the and squeezed forced the into more forth a course of this not but because priestesses, cannot come bringing children age of the thousands ber a certain self, miscarry was then she promised When the thirty six, begin to our women They come tho' at the at home, in the fire made on

Their divorces.

They may at pleasure if the husband of divorce he made can prove a demeanour leave all the same their husbands may see a new wife; time, but much esteem Vol. I.

make use of no pillows; their bolsters are pieces of wood, and their under-beds the skins of stags or deers. The next morning before break of day, the husband must retire again, and not appear near the house in the day-time, unless he be sure his wife be at home alone, and then he must not venture in without desiring first admittance: if the woman be in a good humour, she gives him leave; if not, away he goes again. The wife has her own grounds and family, and so has the man; the man does not provide for her, nor she for him. The children are kept by the mothers till they are three years old, and then they are sent home to the father. But one thing is very remarkable in them, that their wives are forbidden to bring forth any live children, till they are thirty six or thirty seven years of age; wherefore they are oblig'd to kill their children in the womb, which they do thus: One of their priestesses is called in, who lays the woman with child upon a bed, and squeezes her so long, till the child is forced thus from her, which puts them into more violent pains, than if they brought forth a child according to the regular course of nature: They declare, they do this not for want of tenderness to them; but because they are forced to it by their priestesses, who persuade them that they cannot commit a greater crime, than to bring children into the world before the age of thirty six, by which means many thousands are lost in a year. I remember a certain woman there, who told me her self, that she had thus been forced to miscarry sixteen several times, and she was then big with the seventeenth, which she promised she would bring forth alive. When they are arrived to the age of thirty six, or thirty seven, they then first begin to bring children into the world as our women do, and from that age till fifty. They cohabit together in the same house, tho' at the same time they are but seldom at home, but live for the most part abroad in the fields, where they have little huts made on purpose to sleep in.

*Their divorces.*

They may be divorced from one another at pleasure, with this difference only, that if the husband can't alledge any real cause of divorce, the wife keeps the presents he made her before marriage; but if he can prove either adultery, or any other misdemeanour against her, she is forced to leave all behind her. The women have the same liberty allow'd them in respect of their husbands. Hence it comes, that you may see a man here have every month a new wife; some have two or three at a time, but these are but few, and are not much esteemed of by the rest, who ge-

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nerally have no more than one at a time. <sup>CANDIDUS.</sup> They are in general very lascivious, and will frequently follow other women besides their own wives, provided it may be done in private. They are very careful not to intermarry with those that are ally'd to them by consanguinity, are jealous of their wives, and take it very heinously if any body enquires after their health, or whether they be handsome, or so, especially if it be done in the presence of strangers. Young men that are unmarried have their peculiar places to sleep in. I told you before that a certain temple belongs to fifteen or sixteen families: here it is they have their beds, where all the young men, from the fourth year of age, sleep in the night-time.

Their houses are very stately and lofty, <sup>Their houses beyond what is to be observed in any part of the Indies, are all built upon a small eminency, their floors are of cane; their ornaments both within and without are the heads of boars and stags; their furniture is of Chinese linen, (which they exchange for rice and venison) buck-skins, which pass among them at the same rate as gold and silver in Europe; some instruments belonging to agriculture, lances, shields, swords and bows: but their best ornaments were the heads of their enemies. Their eating vessels or dishes are all of wood, not unlike our hog-troughs; their drinking cups, some earthen, some cane; all their victuals are nastily drest except rice: they have neither set-festivals, nor any other days appointed for their devotions; besides, that they meet at certain times of the year to be merry, when they dance with their wives, who then appear in their best apparel.</sup>

Their best stuffs for clothes and other ornaments are made of dogs-hair, which are pull'd out of the dogs-skin whilst alive; these they dye red and of other colours, and use them as the Europeans do wool.

Their burials differ from all other nations, for they neither bury them, nor burn them, as most of the pagans do throughout the Indies. <sup>Their burials.</sup> They lay the dead carcase upon a table of about three foot high from the ground; round about which, at a convenient distance, they make a moderate fire, in order to dry by degrees the moisture of the corps: in the mean while they feast and dance, kill abundance of hogs, and drink briskly of their strong liquor. The women have a very odd way of dancing at this time; for they take several trunks of trees hollowed out within, these they lay before the mourning house, and four or five of them at a time (after they have been summon'd together by beat of drum, made likewise of the trunk

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CANDIDUS. of a hollow tree) jumping upon it with their backs turn'd to one another, they make a strange sort of a noise, which serves them for their best diversion for about two hours in a day: this is continued successively for nine days, when the corps being well dry'd, and wash'd in the mean time once a day, is wrapt up in mats, and being laid upon a pretty high stage in one corner of the house erected for that purpose, it continues there three whole years; after which they take the remnants, which are nothing but the bones, and bury them in a certain place of the house.

I can't forbear to mention here, how I once saw them my self handle one of their sick men, in the canton of *Trofsany*: this man being very ill, and complaining of a most violent pain all over his body, they ty'd a rope about his neck, and so drawing him up quite to the ceiling, let him fall again all on a sudden to hasten his death.

Their religion and sacrifices.

Before we conclude, we must also not pass by in silence their manner of worship, or religion. They are not acquainted with any thing like books or writing, all that they know of this kind being transmitted to them from their ancestors by tradition. They believe the immortality of the soul; which unquestionably has introduced this custom among them, that as soon as any person dies, they erect a small hut before the entrance of the house, adorned with green boughs and flags; in the middle of it they put a vessel full of fair water, with a cup by it to fill it out; this is intended to purify the soul from all excrements: This is practised by every body; but there is not one in a hundred who can give a reason for it, unless it be a few of the ancient and most understanding among them, who did alledge this custom for their opinion of the immortality of the soul to me; and at the same time affirmed to me, that it was a very ancient tradition among them, that such as had not lived well, would be precipitated in a deep hole, full of dirt and filth, where they would be forced to undergo great torments; but that such as had led a good life, would dwell in a very pleasant and plentiful country. Their opinion is, that cross this great hole there is a bridge, which the souls must pass over, before they can enter into this pleasant country; and that when those that have not lived well, are likewise to pass that way, the said bridge gives a turn and precipitates them into the hole. The sins which are supposed to deserve this punishment are far different from what is believed among Christians as to this point, as having not the least reference to the ten commandments; they consist only in a neglect

of their superstitions; such as to have neglected the certain seasons of the year, when they were to go naked, or to abstain from wearing of silk; to have brought forth live children before the age of thirty six; to have catch'd fish or oysters out of season; to have despised the observations made of the flying of the birds, and such like: tho' at the same time they don't encourage lies, murder and thefts, yet they are not accounted mortal sins. When they are to confirm any thing by a solemn oath, they break a piece of straw stalk betwixt them, which is look'd upon as a thing so sacred, that they seldom forfeit it. Drunkenness as well as fornication is accounted no sin neither in men nor women; tho' as to the last they are very cautious not to do it in publick. And it is worth observation, that a stranger will find it a hard task to persuade a woman here to lie with him; tho' at the same time they are of opinion (as I have heard them confess my self) that their gods take a great deal of pleasure in fornication; for which reason it is, that parents never take any notice of it in their children, but rather sport with it, and look upon it as a thing allow'd to young people, they being not to marry till they have attain'd to the 21<sup>st</sup> year of age.

They know nothing of the resurrection of the body; instead of one God, they acknowledge many, unto whom they offer their prayers and sacrifices. One of these gods is called *Tamagisanbany*, his residence being in the south; he is reputed to make them handsome and vigorous. His spouse, they say, dwells in the east, being called *Taxanepada*. When a storm of thunder arises in the east, they say this goddess is attending her husband, because he sends not rain; and the husband being overpersuaded by his spouse, furnishes them with wet weather. These are the two favourite gods of the women. They have also another whose residence being in the north, is very hurtful to mankind: they say, that after the god *Tamigisanbany* has made them beautiful, this god renders them deformed by the French pox, and such like distempers: wherefore they adore him, for fear he should hurt them, and offer their sacrifices to *Tamigisanbany* to bridle his malice, he being the supreme governor of the rest. They pray likewise to two other gods, as often as they go to war; one's name is *Talafula*, the other's *Tapalipe*; these two last are in greatest esteem with the men: besides these they have several other gods, too many to be named here.

All other nations, as far as ever I knew, make use of men for their priests, to sacrifice and attend the other rites belonging to their

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their Divine worship: these people are the only one who have women for their priestesses, whom they call *Inibi*. Their public service is performed by praying and sacrificing; the last is performed with the slaughter of a great number of *hogs*, by offering rice and strong liquor in the temples to their gods; after which one or two of their priestesses make a long oration to them, and whilst they are talking turn the eyes in their heads, make many exclamations, till their gods (as they say) appear to them, at which time they fall down upon the floor in an ecstasy, like dead: several persons are employed to recover them, which being done, at last they tremble as if they were in the greatest agony in the world, whilst the people send forth miserable cries and lamentations. After they have continued this for an hour, the priestesses get

on the top of the temple, strip themselves stark naked in the presence of the whole congregation (who are for the most part women) they shew their nakedness to the gods, pointing their fingers at, and clapping with their hands upon it, whilst they address their prayers to them in a long and tedious harangue: the whole ceremony is concluded with taking a large dose of their strong liquor. These *Inibi* or priestesses are also sent for sometimes into private houses, where they perform certain ceremonies belonging to their function; they also pretend to banish the devil, and to fetch things to come: when they banish the devil, they do it with their *Japane* scymitars, with a hideous clamour, and doleful noise, by which they say, they frighten the devil, who drowns himself in the next river.

## Some Curious Remarks upon the Potent Empire of JAPAN.



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**J**APAN is generally esteemed to be an island, tho' this is call'd in question by some. From the province of *Oceanto*, the most considerable of the whole empire, where is also the imperial residence. *Jedo*, is accounted twenty seven days journey to the north-east to the lands-end, call'd *Sungay*: from thence you may cross the sea for eleven leagues to the country of *Jesso*, abounding in rich furs, but for the rest barren, and full of inaccessible mountains. Its circumference is not known hitherto, tho' the *Japoneses* have several times endeavour'd to find it out, but in vain, being forced to desist from that enterprize, for want of provi-

sions and other necessaries. In some places they met with inhabitants, who are hairy all over; the hair of their heads and beards exceeding the rest in length, resembling the wild *Chinese* living in the north parts of that empire. This sea does neither ebb nor flow, but is rather a lake enclosed betwixt *Japan* and *Jesso*, being forty leagues in circumference; washing the high mountains in the desarts of *Japan*, near the province of *Ocio*, the sea-shore of which is as yet undiscovered.

The two islands call'd *Chickcock* and *Sayekock*, the two biggest lying near the continent of *Japan*; the first is under the jurisdiction of a king and three lords, the

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second is bigger than the former. The empire of Japan it self, called by the inhabitants *Nippon*, is opposite to these two islands and the before-mentioned country of *Jesso*, and is divided into six provinces, viz. *Dewano*, *Jeibesen*, *Jamayfiro*, *Je-*

*ibengo*, *Quito* and *Oebio*. Out of these provinces and the lordships belonging to them, the chief men of the empire draw their revenues, as you find them specified in the following pages.

*A List or Account of the Revenues (without reckoning those belonging to the Emperor himself) of all the Kings, Dukes, Princes and Lords of the Japonese Empire, together with the Names of the Lordships, Cities and Castles from whence they arise; calculated according to the Value of the Japonese Coekiens, each Coekien making four Rixdollars, or 18 s. Sterling.*

**C**Angano T. Siunango king of Canga, *Ilsen* and *Natta*, his residence being in the castle of *Natta*; his revenues amount to 1190000  
*Surngano* Daynangon king of *Surngatoto* and *Nicawva*, resident in the castle of *Fayfsu*, his yearly revenue 700000  
*Ourwarino* Daynangon king of *Ouwary* and *Afuno*, resides in the castle of *Nangay*, his revenue 700000  
*Sendeyro* T'Siunangon king of *Massamme* and *Oyfo*, his residence is in the impregnable castle of *Sendoy*, his revenue 640000  
*Satsumano* T'Siunangon king of *Satsuma*, *Ofumy*, *Fianga* and *Liukio*, resides in the castle of *Cangafuna*, his revenue 600000  
*Oynacouny* Daynangon king of *Kino* and *Icke*, his residence is in the castle of *Wacke Jamma*, his revenue is 550000  
*Catto* Finganocamy king of *Fingo*, and of the circumjacent countries, resides in the castle of *Koumamotta*, his revenue 554000  
*Matfendeyro* Jemonofke king of *T'iukifen* and *Faccata*, is resident in the castle of *Fonkofa*, his revenue 510000  
*Matfendeyro* Ijonocamy king of the large province of *Jeibesen*, resides in the castle of *Oedy*, his revenue 500000  
*Catta* S'Cibo king of the vast province of *Oebio*, residing in the castle of *Ais*, his revenue 430000  
*Ojfino* Tayfima king of *Bingo*, residing in the castle of *Oby*, his revenue 420000  
*Matfendeyro* Nangoto king of *Sovo*, his residence is in the castle of *Fangy*, his revenue 370000  
*Milono* T'Siunangon king of *Fytayits*, residing in the castle of *Mito*, his revenue 360000  
*Nabiffima* Sinano king of *Fifien*, residing in the castle of *Logiois*, his revenue 360000  
*Matfendeyro* Sintaro king of *Inabafocky*, he resides in the castle of *Tackians*, his revenue 320000  
*Tado* Ifumy king of *Inga Icke*, residing in the castle of *T'Sou*, his revenue 320000  
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*Matfendeyro* Coundy, king of the country of *Bifen*, his residence is in the castle of *Ocalamma*, his revenue 310000  
*Inno* Camman king of *Tolomey*, residing in the castle of *Sanoalamma*, his revenue 300000  
*Foffacauwa* Jetibien king of the country of *Boysen*, residing in the castle of *Cocora*, his revenue 300000  
*Ojesungy* Daynfio king of the large province of *Jeifengo*, residing in the castle of *Juny Samwa*, his revenue 300000  
*Matfendeyro* Senfio king of *Jeifengo*, residing in the castle of *Foriando*, his revenue 300000  
*Matfendeyro* Auwa duke of *Auwa*, residing in the castle of *Inots*, his revenue 250000  
*Matfendeyro* Jetibizono Camy duke of *Conge*, resides in the castle of *Tackato*, his revenue 250000  
*Matfendeyro* T'Siufio duke of *Jo*, residing in the castle of *Mais Jamma*, his revenue 250000  
*Arima* Cimba duke of *T'Sickingo*, his residence is in the castle of *Courme*, his revenue 240000  
*Mormo* Imafack prince of *Mimafacka*, residing in the castle of *T'Sijamma*, his revenue 200000  
*Tory* Ingonocamy prince of the country of *Dewano*, residing in the castle of *Jamangatta*, his revenue 200000  
*Matfendeyro* Tola prince of *Tofanocory*, residing in the castle of *Tocafi Jamma*, his revenue 200000  
*Satake* Okiou prince of the great province of *Dewano*, he resides in the castle of *Akita*, his revenue 200000  
*Matfendeyro* Simofanocamy prince of *Simofa*, residing in the castle of *Tatebayr*, his revenue 200000  
*Foriwo* Jamayfiro prince of *Infino*, residing in the castle of *Matfdayi*, his revenue 180000  
*Icouma* Ickino Camy prince of *Sainke*, residing in the castle of *Koeqnon*, his revenue 180000

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| <i>Fouda Kynocamy</i> knight and lord of <i>Fari-</i><br><i>man</i> , residing in the castle of <i>Tayino</i> , his<br>revenue 150000                       | at <i>Firando</i> , his revenue 60000                                                                                                  |
| <i>Sackay Counay</i> knight and lord of the large<br>province of <i>Sifen</i> , residing in the castle<br>of <i>Fackfo</i> , his revenue 150000             | <i>Sengockfiobo</i> lord of <i>Sinano</i> , his seat at <i>Ojen-</i><br><i>da</i> , his revenue 60000                                  |
| <i>Tarefouma Sinad</i> knight and lord in the<br>great province of <i>Fifen</i> , residing in the<br>castle of <i>Carats</i> , his revenue 124000           | <i>Catta Deward</i> lord of <i>Fyo</i> , his seat is at<br><i>Oets</i> , his revenue 60000                                             |
| <i>Kicafingock Wasafa</i> knight and lord of<br><i>Wasa</i> , he resides in the castle of <i>Offam-</i><br><i>ma</i> , his revenue 120000                   | <i>Tofauwa Okiow</i> lord in the country of <i>De-</i><br><i>wano</i> , his seat at <i>Chincbire</i> , his revenue<br>60000            |
| <i>Fory Tango</i> knight and lord in the great<br>province of <i>Jetebesen</i> , residing in the<br>castle of <i>Kawano Kiffima</i> , his revenue<br>120000 | <i>Matfendeyro Iwany</i> lord of <i>Farima</i> , his seat<br>at <i>Chifongorys</i> , his revenue 60000                                 |
| <i>Minfno Fiongo</i> knight and lord of <i>Bingo</i> ,<br>residing in the castle of <i>Foucki Jamma</i> ,<br>his revenue 120000                             | <i>Matfura Bungo</i> lord of <i>Fien</i> , seated at <i>Sim-</i><br><i>mabarra</i> , his revenue 60000                                 |
| <i>Sachay Borra S'Kibou</i> knight and lord of<br><i>Cogke</i> , residing in the castle of <i>Tattayts</i> ,<br>his revenue 120000                          | <i>Ifcauwa Tonnamon</i> lord of <i>Bongo</i> , seated at<br><i>Fita</i> , his revenue 60000                                            |
| <i>Matfendeyro Cowwats</i> governor of the im-<br>perial castle of <i>Quano</i> , his revenue<br>110000                                                     | <i>T'Sungar Jetebieu</i> lord in the province of<br><i>Oebio</i> , seated at <i>Timgaer</i> , near the sea-<br>side, his revenue 60000 |
| <i>Ockendeyro Imafacba</i> knight and lord of <i>Si-</i><br><i>malke</i> , resides in the castle of <i>Oetfuo-</i><br><i>mio</i> , his revenue 110000       | <i>Ongafaurara Sinano</i> lord in the country of<br><i>Farima</i> , his seat is at <i>Sekays</i> , his revenue<br>60000                |
| <i>Taitfibana Finda</i> knight and lord of <i>T'Sic-</i><br><i>kingo</i> , residing in the castle of <i>Junnan-</i><br><i>gaurwa</i> , his revenue 110000   | <i>Iibo Chibury</i> lord of <i>Fonga</i> , seated at <i>Oraty</i> ,<br>his revenue 50000                                               |
| <i>Ongafaura Oubon</i> knight and lord of <i>Far-</i><br><i>ima</i> , resides in the castle of <i>Akays</i> , his<br>revenue 100000                         | <i>Furia Fiobo</i> lord of <i>Iwani</i> , lives in the ca-<br>stle of <i>Dayfiro</i> , his revenue 50000                               |
| <i>Indaty Tontamy</i> knight and lord of <i>Fyo</i> , re-<br>siding in the castle of <i>Iafima</i> , his re-<br>venue 100000                                | <i>Wakifacka Awows</i> lord of <i>Sinono</i> , seated at<br><i>Ina</i> , his revenue 50000                                             |
| <i>Namboi Simano</i> knight and lord of the<br>large province of <i>Oebio</i> , residing in the<br>castle of <i>Marilamma</i> , his revenue 100000          | <i>Coucky Nangata</i> lord of <i>Lebe</i> , his seat at<br><i>Toba</i> , his revenue 50000                                             |
| <i>Niwa Grofeymon</i> knight and lord likewise<br>of the province of <i>Oebio</i> , he resides in<br>the castle of <i>Siracawa</i> , his revenue<br>100000  | <i>Arinna Seymonofke</i> lord of <i>Nico</i> , his seat at<br><i>Akkanda</i> , his revenue 50000                                       |
| <i>Aveno Bitchion</i> governor of the imperial<br>castle of <i>Iwatfuky</i> in the large country<br>of <i>Mauleys</i> , his revenue 80000                   | <i>Outa Fiobo</i> lord of <i>Jamatta</i> , seated at <i>Ouda</i> ,<br>his revenue 50000                                                |
| <i>Kiungock Oemnio</i> knight and lord of <i>Tanga</i> ,<br>residing in the castle of <i>Tannabe</i> , his re-<br>venue 70000                               | <i>Matfendeyro Sewad</i> a lord in the large<br>province of <i>Jetfesen</i> , his seat at <i>Oune</i> , his<br>revenue 50000           |
| <i>Mickino Surungo</i> lord in the large country<br>of <i>Jetzing</i> , his seat called <i>Nangawecka</i> ,<br>his revenue 70000                            | <i>Minfno Knyts Foky</i> lord in the large<br>country of <i>Jetfenge</i> , his seat at <i>Chibaitba</i> , his<br>revenue 50000         |
| <i>Nackangaurwa Neysen</i> lord of <i>Bonge</i> , seated<br>in the city of <i>Nangonu</i> , his revenue<br>70000                                            | <i>Inaba Mimbow</i> lord of <i>Boungo</i> , seated at<br><i>Oufi-firo</i> , his revenue 50000                                          |
| <i>Matfendayro Tamba</i> lord of <i>Simano</i> , his seat<br>at <i>Matbmute</i> , his revenue 70000                                                         | <i>Corda Kaynokamy</i> lord of <i>Sinano</i> , his seat at<br><i>Camra</i> , his revenue 50000                                         |
| <i>Neytjamma</i> lord of <i>Fitayits</i> , his seat in the<br>city of <i>Iwayno</i> , his revenue 70000                                                     | <i>Matfendeyro Sou</i> lord of <i>Ijmy</i> , lives at <i>Kif-</i><br><i>nowaddei</i> , his revenue 50000                               |
| <i>Ikenla Bitchion</i> governor of the imperial<br>castle of <i>Gens matbjamma</i> in the country<br>of <i>Bitchion</i> , his revenue 60000                 | <i>Tonda Sammon</i> lord of <i>T'Sounocamy</i> , dwells<br>in the castle of <i>Amangafack</i> , his revenue<br>50000                   |
| <i>Matfura Fifenno Camy</i> lord of <i>Fis</i> , his seat                                                                                                   | <i>Stotfy Janangy Kemnatb</i> lord of <i>Iebe</i> , resides<br>in the castle of <i>Kangen</i> , his revenue<br>50000                   |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Fonda Icbenocamy</i> lord of <i>Micauwa</i> , lives<br>in the castle of <i>Ofafacke</i> , his revenue<br>50000                      |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Matfendayro Jamofyro</i> lord of <i>Tomba</i> , his<br>seat is at <i>Safajamma</i> , his revenue 50000                              |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Mary Caynocamy</i> lord of <i>Ingaicbe</i> , his seat<br>is at <i>Sourofada</i> , his revenue 50000                                 |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Fouda Notano Camy</i> lord at <i>Farima</i> , is<br>seated at <i>Fundys</i> , his revenue 50000                                     |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Akitto Chionofke</i> lord of <i>Fitays</i> , his seat at<br><i>Chibbindo</i> , his revenue 50000                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Affano Denime</i> lord of <i>Chiono</i> , dwells at<br><i>Caffama</i> , his revenue 50000                                           |

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Nayto Cbinocamy lord of *Cbiono*, his feat at *Akandate*, his revenue 50000  
 Catto Skibedonne lord in the large province of *Ocbio*, his feat at *Oyns*, his revenue 50000  
*Soma* Dayfennocamy likewise a lord of the province of *Ocbio*, his feat at the castle of *Soma*, his revenue 50000  
*Foinda* Jammata lord of *Tayfima*, seated at *Ijins*, his revenue 50000  
*Ouckaba* Cangato lord of *Mino*, dwells at *Canuo*, his revenue 50000  
*Neyto* Boyfen a lord of *Dewano*, his feat at *Jodata*, his revenue 50000  
*Inaba* Aurways lord of *Tamba*, is seated at *Fonkuit* Sijamma, his revenue 40000  
*Camyn* Deyrick lord of *Awami*, his feat at *Mongamy*, his revenue 40000  
*Castaingy* Lijmou lord of *Jamatta*, lives at *Tatfa*, his revenue 40000  
*Fanoa* Findano Camy a lord of the province of *Jetebesen*, his feat at *Maruko*, his revenue 40000  
*Itacakra* Sovodonne governor of the city of *Miaci*, has his revenue assigned him by the emperor upon the country of *Jamaysino*, his revenue 40000  
*Matfendeyro* Bongo lord of *Iwaray*, his feat at *Nackajima*, his revenue 40000  
*Fonda* Nayky lord of *Farima*, his feat at *Fimeis*, his revenue 40000  
*Matfendeyro* Tunge a lord of the province of *Ocbio*, is seated at *Snyky*, his revenue 40000  
*Cannamovriy* Ioum lord of *Finda*, is seated at *Oumory*, his revenue 40000  
*Cbionock* Cbiury lord of *Tango*, his feat at *Tarmabe*, his revenue 36000  
*Outa* Giobe lord of *Mino*, seated at *Ishoduy*, his revenue 30000  
*Matfendeyro* Jeshio governor of the imperial castle of *Jondo*, in the country of *Jamaysiro*, his revenue 30000  
*Matfendeyro* Ouckon lord of *Farima*, his feat at *Ako*, his revenue 30000  
*Minfonoja* Icbeno Camy lord of *Kooke*, is seated at *Cbinotains*, his revenue 30000  
*Jammafacka* Kaino Camy lord of *Bitchion*, his feat is call'd *Narfe*, his revenue 30000  
*Matfendeyro* Jamatta, a lord of the province of *Jetebesen*, his feat at *Gofke*, his revenue 30000  
*Inno* Fiobo lord of *Cofke*, his feat called *Anna*, his revenue 30000  
*Matfendeyro* Tonnomon, a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, his residence in the castle of *Juffinda*, his revenue 30000  
*Akijucky* Nangato lord of *Nieko*, his feat at *Sununo*, his revenue 30000  
*Sova* Inaba a lord of *Sinano*, resides in the castle of *Sova*, his revenue 30000  
*Fousuna* Fingo a lord of the country of *Sinano*, resides at *Tacaboits*, his revenue 30000

*Sunganoma* Ouribe lord of *Totomy*, dwells in the castle of *Sefe*, his revenue 30000  
*Simas* Oemanofke lord of *Nieko*, his feat call'd *Sandobarra*, his revenue 30000  
*Kinofay* Jemon lord of *Bongo*, his feat called *Fins*, his revenue 30000  
*Sono* T'Suffima lord of the ifle of T'Suffima, his revenue 30000  
*Koinda* Kinano lord of *Tonga*, resides at *Otoda*, his revenue 30000  
*Fonda* Simofa governor of the imperial castle of *Gens* Niffino in the country of *Micauwa*, his revenue 30000  
*Gorick* Sefhiocamy a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, resides at the castle of *Fammamats*, his revenue 30000  
*Cbinfo* Suruga lord of *Fitaitis*, his feat is call'd T'Sintoura, his revenue 30000  
*Sakama* Fifen lord of *Sinano*, dwells at *Iralamma*, his revenue 30000  
*Todo* Tausfima lord of *Mino*, dwells at *Minangauwa*, his revenue 30000  
*Fonda* Ifumy lord of *Fitayts*, his feat call'd *Mingauwa*, his revenue 30000  
*Tongauwa* Tofa lord of *Bitbifin*, dwells at *Nikays*, his revenue 30000  
*Matfendeyro* Tofa a lord of the province of *Leifefen*, his feat at *Konemata*, his revenue 30000  
*Sungfarra* Foky lord of *Fitayts*, dwells at *Oungoury*, his revenue 20000  
*Kinofay* Kounay lord of *Bietbieu*, his feat at *Cowroly*, his revenue 20000  
*Matfendeyro* Koyfiro lord of *Farima*, dwells at *Farima*, his revenue 20000  
*Inafacka* T'founo Camy, governor of the imperial castle of *Ofaka*, his revenue 20000  
*Matfendeyro* Kennots lord of *Tamba*, resides at *Camnejamma*, his revenue 20000  
*Matfayfacke* a lord of the province of *Ocbio*, is seated at *Sambomnats*, his revenue 20000  
*Oumowra* Minbau lord of *Fis*, his feat at *Daymats*, his revenue 20000  
*Matfendeyro* Ifumy lord of *Mino*, is seated at *Icamoura*, his revenue 20000  
*Matfendeyro* Cinocamy lord of T'founo County, his feat is call'd *Frynotory*, his revenue 20000  
*Minfo* Fayto a lord of the country of *Micauwa*, resides in the castle of *Aria*, his revenue 20000  
*Neyto* Tatewaky lord of *Cbiono*, his feat at *Ifoaffowa*, his revenue 20000  
*Ongafawara* Wakafa lord of *Aynofa*, his feat is *Jado*, his revenue 20000  
*Ficbicatta* Cammon lord of *Cbiono*, dwells at *Mawaffa*, his revenue 20000  
*Iwaky* Sirroty lord of *Cbiono*, dwells at *Jedoura*, his revenue 20000  
*Keckengo* Fiongo lord of *Dewano*, is seated at *Jury*, his revenue 20000

*Tackenacka Oenieme* lord of *Boinigo*, his seat is called *Founay*, his revenue 20000  
*Mowry Ibenocamy* lord of *Boungo*, dwells at *Ounays*, his revenue 20000  
*Wackeba Sackiou* lord of *Totomy*, his seat at *Oumiso*, his revenue 20000  
*Itssioy* *Inno Camy* lord of *Totomy*, is seated at *Kosioys*, his revenue 20000

The following list contains the names of some lords, who draw their revenues from the islands.

*Sangora Sasyoye*, his rev nue 20000  
*Fory Mimajacka* 20000  
*Qua Jamma Sammon* 15000  
*Fossacawwa Gamba* 15000  
*Sackinadayen* 15000  
*Maisendeyro Deysendo* 15000  
*Gotto Auways* lord of the isles *Gotto* near *Firando* 15000  
*Caitaingiry Iwany* 15000  
*Crussima Jefsingo* 15000  
*Couboury Totomy* 15000  
*Tackandy Mondo* 15000  
*Miake Jefsingo* 15000  
*Saccay Oucondo* 15000  
*Conda Zwany* 15000  
*Nasho Jouts* 15000  
*Oudaura Bisen* 15000  
*Tojamma Giobo* 10000  
*Faraouka Givemom* 10000  
*Ofcky Jemon* 10000  
*Fuissten Gaurwa S'Kiboww* 10000  
*Outon: Tango* 10000  
*Fino Ouribe* 10000  
*Onky Cayno Camy* 10000  
*Outona Monsoys* 10000  
*Mainda Jamaita* 10000  
*Tayisibana Sackon* 10000  
*Tackibe Sangora* 10000  
*Mainangawwa Chimanocamy* 10000  
*Foydsio de Wanocamy* 10000  
*Congay Inaba* 10000  
*Outona Coxways* 10000  
*Niewa S'Kibow* 10000  
*Fory Auways* 10000  
*Fosio Mimajacca* 10000  
*Saingowacka Sucky* 10000  
*Tondo Inaba* 10000  
*Mijangy Siusen* 10000  
*Sannada Neyky* 10000  
*Ilou Tangou* 10000  
*Ikenda Let's* 10000  
*Tonda Neycky* 10000

The following list contains the names and revenues of some of the emperor's privy counsellors, and other ministers of his court, which are paid them out of the imperial demesnes.

*Dayno Oyedonne*, his revenue 150000  
*Sackay Outadonne* 120000

*Nangay Sinaned* 100000  
*Sackay Sannicked* 90000  
*Ando Onkiond* 60000  
*Inoye Carwayssede* 60000  
*Inaba Tangede* 50000  
*Sackay Aruwade* 40000  
*Neyta Ingadama* 30000  
*Sackay Jamassinode* 20000  
*T'jutsia Nunbode* 20000  
*Nisou Ouckioudé* 20000  
*Maisendeyro Lemonde* 20000  
*Jammanguyis Tasimad* 20000  
*Maisendeyro Injide* 20000  
*Abe Boungode* 15000  
*Auwo Jamma Ouckorad* 15000  
*Chiongock Siusen* 15000  
*Itacaura Neysiend* 15000  
*Narjie Injide* 15000  
*Akimonto Taysunade* 15000  
*Forito Cangade* 10000  
*Miura Simade* 10000  
*Minda Gongkede* 10000  
*Miseno Jamattade* 10000  
*Fory Ilynocamy* 10000  
*Miura Oemanokede* 10000  
*Fonda Sanjade* 10000

Besides which the emperor of Japan allows for his and his sons tables, and to the rest of his officers belonging to his court, the yearly sum of 4000000 Coekiens.

What is allowed to the soldiers, and the nobility that serve in the army, according to their different qualities, amounts to 5000000 coekiens.

The total sum of the revenues belonging to the abovementioned ministers of state, amounts to 28345000 coekiens. Besides these, all the foot-soldiers, being not gentlemen, such as musqueteers, pike and bowmen, and such like (of whom there is a vast number) are likewise paid out of the emperor's revenues; for which the imperial rents coming from the gold and silver mines are assigned in particular.

Those soldiers, who are gentlemen, serve all on horseback, each of them being obliged to keep five, ten, or twenty servants, according to their different qualities and estates: these servants are obliged to fight upon occasion as well as their masters.

These following qualifications are required in one who will serve as a gentleman on horseback under the imperial standard: he must be very nimble and active, very well instructed in the exercise of arms, not ignorant in books; and above all, must have the reputation of being a man of honour. Nothing is more surprising, than to see so many hundred brave chosen fellows, as attend the emperor when he goes abroad as his guard, all clad in black silk, to keep their ranks to an admiration; and neither they, nor his halberdiers who surround

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surround his person, speak one word; nay, tho' he passes thro' a great city, there is not the least noise of men or horses to be heard, at a considerable distance from the place where the emperor is. The streets are very well cleansed, and covered with sand; no body dares so much as to open a window, much less to stand at his shop or house-door, as his majesty passes by, but must either remain at home, or else kneel down in the street. His nobles, generals and colonels, follow his majesty at the head of several thousand men, horse and foot, in his progress; but they must keep at a distance, and not come within his sight.

A gentleman who has a yearly revenue of a thousand coekiens, is obliged to maintain for the service of the country, twenty foot-soldiers, and two horsemen. So that the number of forces which the kings, dukes, and lords are obliged to bring into the field, amounts to 368000 foot-soldiers, and 36800 horse: besides which, the emperor maintains 100000 foot-soldiers, and 20000 horse at his own charge, who keep garisons in the frontier, and other strong places and castles of the empire.

From *Jedo*, the imperial residence, to *Miaco*, is a hundred and thirty five leagues.

His majesty goes once in five, seven, or nine years to this last place, to pay his reverence to *Dayro*: this journey is perform'd in twenty eight stages, in each of which there is a royal palace, furnish'd with every thing necessary to entertain the emperor and his whole court. But among these twenty eight palaces, are reckon'd twenty strong castles, provided with good garisons.

There are twelve several sects in *Japan*, each of which is instructed by priests of their own. Eleven of these sects are forbidden to eat any thing that has been killed; they are also to abstain from women, but may commit sodomy. The twelfth sect may marry, and eat what they please.

There is another thing worthy our observation, which is, that whenever one of the forementioned kings, dukes or lords, happens to die, their servants (to testify their love to their deceased masters) rip up their bellies with a knife to accompany them, as they say, to the other world; and to testify to the world, that they will never shrink from the duty and obedience due to their lords, but will serve them with the same faithfulness, even after their death.



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*Translat*

A N  
A C C O U N T  
Of a most Dangerous  
V O Y A G E

Performed by the Famous  
Captain John Monck,  
In the Years 1619, and 1620.

By the special Command of *C R I S T I A N* IV.  
King of *Denmark, Norway, &c.* to *Hudson's Straits*,  
in order to discover a Passage on that side, be-  
twixt *Greenland* and *America* to the *West-Indies*.  
With a Description of the *Old* and *New Green-*  
*land*, for the better Elucidation of the said Trea-  
tise.

*Translated from the High-Dutch Original, printed at*  
*Frankford upon the Maine, 1650.*

# ACCOUNT

OF THE

# VOYAGE

TO THE

COAST OF AFRICA

IN THE YEAR 1781

BY  
JAMES CLARK, ESQ.  
OF THE ROYAL NAVY.  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
LONDON:  
Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.  
MDCCLXXXII.

Printed by J. DODD, in Pall-mall.  
MDCCLXXXII.



*The Outside of the head of the Unicorn as it looks at the Upper part.*



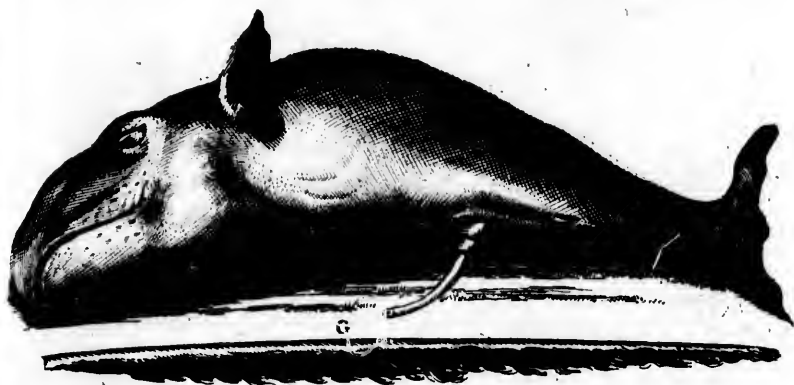
*The hinder*







*The hinder part of the head of the Unicorn as it looks towards the neck*



*The outside as it looks all the Under part*

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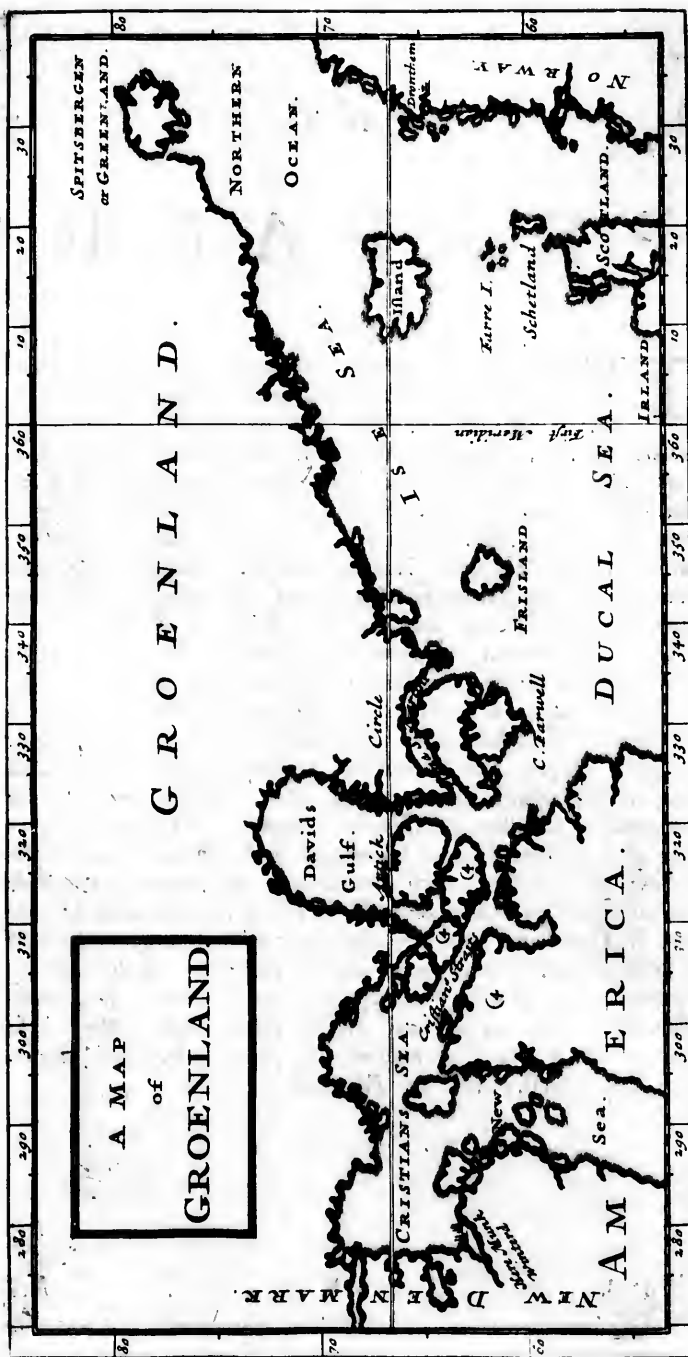
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VOL.

T H E

# P R E F A C E.

**T**HERE are four principal points worth the curious reader's observation in the following treatise: (1.) A description of the Old and New Greenland, their first discovery, names, fertility, living creatures, &c. among the last of which those which produce the noted unicorns, being none of the least remarkable, I had the curiosity to get an exact draught thereof from my brother Mr. Michael le Blou, who living at Amsterdam, purchased the same from the Greenland company. This horn was found on the sea-shore, with part of the body of the fish; the head of which, together with the horn, being cut off, was brought entire to Amsterdam; the horn being so white that no ivory was to compare to it; tho' we were oblig'd, for want of sufficient extent of the paper, to represent it in the annexed draughts in several pieces. The whole length of the horn is four foot nine inches; the head one foot and ten inches, making together six foot and seven inches. (2.) An account of divers voyages, made by the command of Christian IV. king of Denmark, &c. for the discovery of a passage betwixt Greenland and America to the East-Indies; the success of which proved very unfortunate, as will be evident from the ensuing treatise. (3.) A representation of that part of Greenland known by the name of Spitsbergen. (4.) A succinct account of that monstrous fish call'd the whale, and the manner how it is taken, having not been treated of so circumstantially, as far as I know, by any other author before: the whole of which I have comprehended in several draughts, mark'd with A. B. C. D. E. F. and G. Farewell.



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## Advertisement concerning the Map of GREENLAND.

**T**HIS map is regulated according to four several elevations, which were best known to us; to wit, of cape Farewel, of Iceland, of Spitsbergen, and of that place in *Christians* sea, where capt. Monck pass'd the winter in his voyage, which in this map is to be found under the name of Monck's Winter-Harbour. The longitude of places is taken from the meridian fixed to the isle called *Insolo del Ferro*, one of the *Canary* islands, in which we have followed the footsteps of the most and ablest mathematicians of *Europe*. The longitude of Monck's harbour is remarkable above the rest, by an eclipse of the moon mentioned in capt. Monck's relation, to have appear'd there in the year 1619, the 20<sup>th</sup> day of *December*, about eight a clock at night. The same eclipse did, according to the best computation, appear at *Paris* in the same year on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of *December* about three a clock in the morning; from whence it is evident, that there was no more than seven hours difference betwixt them. Now if you allow fifteen degrees to each hour, it is plain that the difference betwixt the meridian of *Paris*, and the meridian of Monck's harbour, is of 105 degrees: And supposing *Paris* under 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  degree of longitude, the beforementioned harbour must consequently be put under the 278 $\frac{1}{2}$  degree, or 81 $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees beyond the *Canary* islands. And supposing twelve *French* leagues to make a degree (for two of those degrees make but one in the greater circles) the product will amount to one thousand and sixty leagues,

the true distance betwixt *Paris* and this Monck harbour.

The southern side of *Greenland* is represented in this map as if it were composed of two islands: in which we have followed a map composed by the direction of a certain master of a ship living at the *Briel* in *Holland*; who having made two several voyages, to wit, in the year 1624, and 1625, to *Greenland*, styles it an island, tho' it be uncertain whether it be an isle, or composed out of several islands; or whether it be annexed to the continent.

The coast from cape Farewel to *Hudson's* straits, and so further to Monck's harbour in *Christians* sea, is taken from a map drawn by capt. Monck's own hands; which we were the more willing to follow, because it agreed with *Hudson's* map (who was the first that entred those seas.) I will not pretend to determine whether the western coast betwixt *Davis's* straits, and Monck's harbour, is really a part of *Greenland*; it being not impossible but that this country may be separated from the continent of *Greenland*, either by some other channel, or perhaps by an inland-sea, and that consequently it may be annexed to *America*: And in *Denmark* they are not so very positive as to this point, as they are in relating of the coast from cape Farewel or *Spitsbergen*, which they unquestionably account a part of *Greenland*. What account they make of it in *England* and *Holland* I am not able to tell, my intention being only to inform the reader of what I could find out in *Denmark*.



# Memoirs concerning the Old and New GREENLAND.

MONCK  
Situation.

**G**REENLAND is called that country lying to the utmost point of the north, which extends from south to east, from cape *Farewell* through the *Mare Glaciale*, or frozen sea, as far as *Spitsbergen* and *Nova Zembla*. Some are of opinion, that it adjoins to the *Great Tartary*, without any certain reason, as shall be shewn hereafter. To the east it borders upon the frozen sea, to the south upon the ocean, to the west upon *Hudson's* straits, by which it is separated from *America*, and its bounds to the north are unknown hitherto. Some are of opinion, that it is upon the same continent with *America*, because the supposed straits, called *Davis's* straits, have since been found to be no more than a bay; but capt. *Monck* who attempted the same passage, gives us great reason to believe that it is separated from *America*, as will appear from his own relation.

Two different chronicles of Greenland.

In this present description of *Greenland* we have followed the footsteps of two chronicles, one of which was very ancient, and written in the *Iceland* tongue originally, but translated into *Danish*; the second being a *Danish* chronicle of a newer date. The author of the *Iceland* chronicle was one *Snorro Sturleson*, who in his life-time was judge in that country. The second is composed by a *Danish* minister, called *Claudius Christerson*, who about twenty years ago writ the same in verse.

The *Danish* chronicle makes the first inhabitants of *Greenland* *Armenians*, who being by tempest forced upon that coast, settled and continued there for some time; till afterwards passing over to *Norway*, they fixed their habitations among the rocks. But this favours much of the ancient fables, who used to fetch their origin from far distant countries; it being much more probable that the *Norwegians* were the first inhabitants of *Greenland*, which they possess'd themselves of in the following manner.

First discovery of it.

A certain *Norwegian* gentleman of considerable quality, called *Torwald*, and his son *Erick*, having committed several murders, were forced to fly to *Iceland*. *Torwald* died there soon after; and his son *Erick*, surnamed *Red Hair*, being of a turbulent spirit, and being prosecuted on the account

of another murder committed there, went to sea in quest of a country, which lying west off of *Iceland*, was called *Gundebium*; he was not long at sea before he discovered two promontories, one of which jetted out into the sea from the continent, the other from an island very near to the shore. The promontory on the island was called *Wisercken*, that on the continent *Warf*; betwixt both is a good bay, where there is safe riding at anchor: unto this he gave the name of *Sand Stafu*. The promontory of *Wisercken* exceeds the other both in height and circumference. *Erick* Red hair called this promontory of the island *Muckla Jockel*, which is as much as to say, the *Great ice shoal*; afterwards it got the name of *Blowserckan*, which is as much as *Blow-shirt*; and lastly it was called *Wisercken*, or *Whitehart*, unquestionably from the colour of the ice and snow, which covers a great part of it all the year round. *Erick's* first landing place was in the isle which he called *Ericksun*, where he pass'd the first winter.

The next spring he passed over to the continent, where meeting with some grass he gave it the name of *Greenland*; the place where he landed was called by him *Ericksforden*, near which he built a castle called *Osterburg*. About the fall of the leaf he built another towards the west, unto which accordingly he gave the name of *Westerburg*. The next winter he pass'd over to *Ericksun*, and the next following summer again to the north of *Greenland*, where he met with vast rocks, which he called *Snowrocks*; and not far from thence with a very good harbour, which by reason of the number of ravens he saw thereabouts, he gave the name of *Ravensforden*. This harbour lies directly north from *Ericksforden*, which is to the south, being separated from one another by a branch of the sea. *Erick* after he had continued three years in those parts, took a resolution to go over into *Iceland*, where he gave such an advantageous account of the good pasturage, and plenty of cattle, fish and fowl of his new found country, that a great number of the inhabitants embarked themselves to follow him into *Greenland*.

*Erick* had a son whose name was *Leif*, he had followed his father formerly into *Greenland*,

The Christian religion received in Greenland.

*Greenland* went on to *Olaus* nicle re the con who ha religion in the C baptize summer priest, faith in ceived b named t happily met nor ther's h with him had save thinking dition o But the the fath were un

Thus Red Haws wergians Greenland tions T left the der the the Ric which is year of 6 nicle, v year 777 comput able than Lewis, nish king (gion) G mous; there is fourth, of Bren the nor and the of Iceland written wit, in The posterit multipl that adv met wi and spr it into cording mention they bu Norway traffick they b they g Vol.

The division of Greenland.

Greenland, and whilst he was in Iceland went over to Norway to give an account to Olaus Trugger, who (as the Iceland chronicle relates) then reign'd in Norway, of the condition of Greenland: This king, who had lately embraced the Christian religion, took care to have Leif instructed in the Christian doctrine; and after he was baptized, sent him back the next following summer to his father in company of a priest, who was to propagate the Christian faith in Greenland. Leif was joyfully received by the inhabitants there, being surnamed by them the *Fortunate*, because he had happily escaped several dangers; but he met not with the same reception at his father's hands, because he brought along with him several foreign seamen, whom he had saved from a shipwreck; his father not thinking it for his interest to have the condition of the country discovered to strangers. But the matter was composed at last, and the father received baptism with all that were under his jurisdiction.

The Christian religion received in Greenland.

Thus much is recorded concerning *Erick Red Hair*, and his son *Leif*, and the Norwegians who made the first discovery of Greenland. The Iceland chronicle mentions *Torwald* and his son *Erick* to have left the harbour of *Jedren* in Norway under the reigns of king *Hacon Jarls* surnam'd the *Rich*, and of king *Olaus Trugger*, which is computed to have been near the year of CHRIST 982. But the *Danish* chronicle, which goes back as far as to the year 779, seems to come nearer to the true computation of time; it being unquestionable that under the reign of the emperor *Levis*, surnam'd the *Pious*, (when the *Danish* kings first received the Christian religion) Greenland was already become famous; for in the chronicle of *Bremen* there is extant a bull of pope *Gregory* the fourth, by which *Ansarius* the then bishop of *Bremen* was constituted archbishop of the north, but particularly of Norway, and the islands thereunto belonging, viz. of *Iceland* and *Greenland*, which bull was written after the year of CHRIST 800, to wit, in the year 835.

The division of Greenland.

The *Danish* chronicle assures us that the posterity of *Erick* and his followers did multiply considerably in *Greenland*; and that advancing deeper into the country they met with fertile ground, good pastures, and springs of fresh water. They divided it into eastern and western *Greenland*, according to the situation of the two before-mentioned castles: In the *East Greenland* they built a city called *Garde*, whither the *Norwegians* used to come every year to traffick with the inhabitants. Afterwards they built also another city unto which they gave the name of *Alb*, and (being

great zealots) laid the foundation of a monastery dedicated to *St. Thomas*, at a small distance from the sea-shore. The city of *Garde* was the episcopal residence, where the cathedral was dedicated to *St. Nicholas* the patron of sea-faring men.

One *Arngrim Jonas* a native of *Iceland*, has written a treatise, which he intitles *Specimen Islandicum*, wherein he gives us a catalogue of the bishops of *Greenland*, from their beginning till the year 1389. And *Pontanus* in his *Danish* history takes notice of a certain bishop of *Garde* named *Henry*, who in the same year 1389. was present at the assembly of the states of *Denmark* held in the city of *Nieuburg* in the isle of *Fich-nen*. As *Greenland* had a dependency on *Norway* in temporal matters, so it acknowledged the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Druntheim* in *Norway* in spiritual affairs, so that their bishops used sometimes to come thither to confer with them concerning matters of moment. *Greenland* was governed according to the laws received in *Iceland*, under a governor sent thither by the kings of *Norway*, whose names and chief actions are related by *Arngrim Jonas* in his before-mentioned treatise.

The *Danish* chronicle speaks of a rebellion which happened in *Greenland* in the year 1256. they refusing to pay the annual tribute to *Magnus* the then king of *Norway*. But *Erick* king of *Denmark* sending a good fleet to the assistance of *Magnus* his brother-in-law, the *Greenlanders* were so terrified at the sight of it, that they quickly sued for peace, which was concluded in the year 1261. The same is made mention of by *Arngrim Jonas*, who inserts the names of the three plenipotentiaries of *Greenland* sent to conclude this peace, by virtue of which they submitted to a perpetual annual tribute to be paid to the crown of *Norway*.

The *Iceland* chronicle has a whole chapter intitled, a description of *Greenland*, containing a summary account of what the *Norwegians* were possess'd of in that country, but without any order or chronological computation. It runs thus: The city which lies most easterly is call'd *Scagenfiord*, near an inaccessible rock, the whole sea-shore thereabouts being surrounded likewise with rocks, which make the harbour of difficult access, unless with a very high tide; at which time also, especially if it be stormy weather, whales and many other sorts of fish are caught. A little beyond it to the east is another small harbour, called *Funchebudet*, from a certain gentleman belonging to *Olaus* then king of *Norway*, who suffered shipwreck near that place. At some small distance from thence, opposite to the *Ice-rocks*, there is an isle

Greenland recorded.

A confused description of Greenland.

Menck called *Roanfen*, full of all sorts of wild beasts, but especially of white bears; beyond which there is nothing but ice to be seen.

On the west side is *Kindelford*, surrounded by a branch of the sea; it has a church called *Krojkirk*, the diocese of which extends to *Peterfuyek*; near which is *Wandelenburg*, and beyond this a monastery dedicated to St. *Olaus* and St. *Aufin*, the jurisdiction of which extends as far as *Bollen*. Not far from *Kindelford* is *Rempefingford*, where there is a nunnery, surrounded with many small islands, in which you meet with many hot springs, which rise to such an excessive degree of heat in the winter, that they are quite useless, but are made use of with great success in the summer season. Near this is *Eynotsford*; and betwixt this and *Rempefingford*, a royal palace called *Fos*, with a large church adjoining to it, dedicated to St. *Nicolas*. Near *Limesford* is a great promontory, near which jets out a neck of land into the sea, called *Grantwig*, where there is a seat called *Daller*, belonging to the cathedral church of *Greenland*; as does likewise *Limesford*, and that large island which lies opposite to *Eynotsford*, unto which they have given the name of *Reyatsen*, from the rein-deer which are there in great numbers. The same isle produces also a certain stone, called *Talkstone*, which is proof against fire, and nevertheless so soft as to be frequently cut out into drinking kitchen-vessels. Further to the west you see another isle called *Langen*, which contains eight farms. Not far from *Eynotsford* is another royal palace, named *Hellefatti*, and next to this *Eriksford*; and at the entrance of the bay of the isle of *Herricoen*, one half of which belongs to the cathedral church of *Greenland*, the other half to the church call'd *Diurnes*, being the first you meet with in *Greenland* from *Eriksford* side; which extends its jurisdiction to *Midford*, a tract of ground running north west from *Eriksford*. To the north of it is *Bondeford*, near which you may see many islands, and several good landing-places. The country betwixt *East-erburg* and *West-erburg* is destitute of inhabitants, tho' there remains as yet a church call'd *Strofnes*, which was formerly the cathedral of *Greenland*, where was also the episcopal residence. The *Skrog-lingers*, or *Scherlingers* are in possession of the whole country of *West-erburg*, tho' we meet with no people there, neither pagans nor Christians, but with abundance of oxen, horses and sheep. This was the verbal account of one *Iver Boty*, who being a steward of the episcopal court of *Greenland*, was sent by the governor to chase

the *Scherlingers* out of the country, but met with nothing but cattle, of which they took so much as their ships were able to carry. Beyond *West-erburg* they saw a large entire rock, call'd *Himnebradsfield*, beyond which no body dares to venture at sea, by reason of the many whirlpools.

Thus far the *Iceland* chronicle. And because we are destitute of maps, or any other history relating to this country, we are obliged to acquiesce in what this author has left us; tho' at the same time it is taken for granted by all, that the episcopal seat of *Greenland* was in the city of *Garde*, which this author attributes to the church of *Strofnes* betwixt *East-erburg* and *West-erburg*: for the *Danish* chronicle lamenting the loss of this country, says expressly, That if the city of *Garde* were yet in being, we should questionless not be destitute of some ancient records, which might give us a sufficient insight into the history of *Greenland*. *Arngrim Jonas* speaking of the episcopal residence, has these words, *Fundata in Bareum* (instead of *Gardum*) *episcopali residentia in sinu Enotsford Greenlandie orientalis*. I am apt to believe the forementioned *Iver Boty* was no very nice historian, for he does not so much as tell us who were those *Skroglingers*, against whom he was sent; tho' it is very probable that they were the ancient inhabitants of the country, who liv'd beyond *Kindelford*. 'Tis true, our author affirms them to have been in possession of the whole country of *West-erburg*, which must be understood of some part only, the rest being inhabited by the *Norwegians*, who perhaps having made an excursion from *Kindelford*, were put to the rout by the savages; to revenge which the governor or judge (as they term him there) sent some men and ships to chastise their insolence. It is more than probable that these savages at the approach of the *Norwegians* left their habitations, and sought for shelter among the rocks; which has questionless misled our author, to affirm there were no men, but abundance of cattle to be found there. From whence it also appears, that *Greenland* was inhabited before the *Norwegians* got footing there, who defended their country against them. This is confirm'd by the *Iceland* chronicle, where it is said, that all that part of *Greenland* which was possess'd by the *Norwegians*, was only accounted one third part of a bishoprick, which are not very considerable in *Denmark*. The *Danish* chronicle is more positive upon this account, for it is expressly said there, that the *Norwegians* were not possess'd of above a hundredth part of *Greenland*, the rest being inhabited by the natives, distinguished into several nations and principalities, whereof very few

No true history of Greenland.

Nature of the soil of the country.

Beasts in Greenland.

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few were known to the *Norwegians*.

The *Iceland* chronicle speaks very differently concerning the fertility of the country. In some places it is said, that the soil produces very good corn, and oak-trees bearing acorns as big as our apples; whereas in other places it is expressed that the soil of *Greenland* is barren by reason of the excessive cold, and that the inhabitants don't so much as know what bread is. The *Danish* history seems to agree with the last, when it relates of *Erick Red Hair*, that at his first landing he was forced to live upon fish, the soil not producing any thing for the sustenance of human life; tho' at the same time it is to be observed, that the said chronicle says in another place, that the posterity of *Erick* being advanced deeper into the country, met with very fertile grounds, pastures and fresh water-spring, which were not discovered in *Erick's* time. What is alledged concerning the excessive cold is of no great moment, it being evident, that that part of *Greenland* inhabited by the *Norwegians* lies under the same elevation of the pole with *Upland* in *Swedenland*, where grows abundance of very good corn. And the same chronicle in a certain passage assures us, that it is not so cold in *Greenland* as in *Norway*, where also there grows corn; and not only that, but in some places they sow and reap twice in a summer, which tho' it seems almost incredible, yet being confirm'd by persons of unquestionable credit, can't be absolutely rejected, especially if we trace the true cause of it, which is, that these grounds being valleys enclosed within the rocks, the rays of the sun reflecting from these mountains upon them during the three months of *June*, *July* and *August*, have such a powerful influence upon them, that in six weeks time they sow and reap their corn; and these grounds being continually moistened by the melted snow, which is conveyed thither from the rocks, affords the countryman another harvest at the end of the other six weeks.

It seems very probable that in *Greenland* as well as in other countries there are barren as well as fertile grounds; tho' at the same time it is unquestionable, that this country is full of rocks; and the *Iceland* chronicle says that it affords great store of marble of all sorts of colours: but this does not hinder but that the vallies afford good pasturage for horses, deer, hares, and rain-deer, besides wolves and bears. There are also martins to be found here, not inferior to some jabels, as also great store of the best falcons, that were formerly in great esteem among persons of quality.

The sea about *Greenland* affords some fish, such as sea-wolves, sea-dogs, and sea-

calves; but especially whales. I suppose *Monck* the great white *Greenland* bears ought to be number'd among the amphibious creatures; for the black bears which are always <sup>White bears, &c.</sup> in the ashore never eat any fish, whereas the *Greenland* white ones are always to be seen upon land <sup>land sea.</sup> the ice, and live upon fish; they exceed the black ones in bigness, and are more savage. The sea-dogs and wolves are their best dainties, especially the young ones, which the old ones cast upon the ice, for fear of the whales; they being their enemies as well as they are to the bears, who for that reason are very cautious of venturing far to sea, when the ice begins to melt; tho' it happens sometimes that they are forced along with the great ice-shoals upon the coasts of *Iceland* and *Norway*, when being enraged by hunger they tear in pieces all that they meet in their way; of which there are many instances in those countries.

*Greenland* likewise furnishes us with those <sup>unicorns found in Greenland.</sup> horns which are called unicorns, of which there are several to be seen in *Denmark* entire, and many pieces, great and small ones. These do altogether resemble those horns which in other places are shewn for the true unicorn; and that which the king of *Denmark* keeps at *Fredericksburg*, exceeds that of *St. Denis* in *France* in bigness: they are accounted an excellent antidote, and are found on the head of a certain kind of whales: concerning which I think it not beyond our purpose, to insert here a letter of a certain *Danish* gentleman, called Mr. *Wormen*, who had the reputation of a person of great learning.

Being some years ago with my lord <sup>Account of them.</sup> chancellor, I among other discourses began to complain of the carelessness of *Danish* seamen and merchants, who all this while had not made the least enquiry after the beast from which these horns were taken, and they have brought of late years into *Denmark*; and how unaccountable a thing it was, that they should not bring some of their flesh or skin, from whence judgment might be given of their nature and constitution. My lord chancellor reply'd, sir, they are not so careless as you imagin, and thereupon ordered his servants to bring a large skull, on which was fix'd a piece of a horn of about four foot long. Being extremely glad to meet with such a rarity, this made me desire my lord to send it to my house, that I might make my speculations upon it, at my own leisure. The skull appear'd like that of a whale, with two holes or pipes, through which this creature evacuates the water which it has swallowed before; the horn (as it is call'd) being fix'd to the upper part of the left jaw-bone. I sent for a painter, who in

No true history of Greenland.

Nature of the soil of the country.

Beasts in Greenland.

Monck the preface of several of my friends, who were eye-witnesses that it was drawn exactly after the original of it made a draught of it. I was at the same time credibly inform'd, that sometime before, such another fish had been brought into *Iceland*; which made me write to *Thorlac Scalonius*, the bishop of that island, whom I had formerly known a student at *Copenhagen*, to send me an exact draught of it, which he did accordingly, and writ me word, that the said fish was call'd by the *Icelanders*, *Narwaill*, which implies as much as a whale living upon dead carcases: *Wall* signifying as much as a whale in their tongue, and *Nar* a dead carcase. Thus far Mr. *Wormen*.

It is sufficiently known that the name of unicorn is attributed to a beast call'd *Onik*, and likewise to the *Indian* als by *Aristotle*; and *Pliny* gives us a description of a certain wild beast, whose head is like that of a deer, his body like that of a horse, and his feet resembling the elephant's feet, with a long horn in the forehead, very swift and strong; which probably is the same creature, of which mention is made in the holy scripture in several places, but especially by *Moses*, who when he gives us an account of God's attributes, compares him to the unicorn, by reason of its vigour and cheerfulness: and it being evident out of several other passages of scripture, where this beast is described as a four-leg'd creature, that it ought to be number'd amongst the terrestrial creatures, we must consequently suppose two kinds of unicorns, to wit, the land and the sea unicorns; as there are sea-wolves and sea-calves. But it seems to be worth our enquiry, whether this horn of the whale may properly come under the denomination of a horn, it being evident from the preceding description, that it resembles rather a tooth, as being fix'd to the jaw-bone. *Arngrim Jonas* in his before-mentioned treatise, call'd *Specimen Islandicum*, speaking of several things that were cast ashore, after a ship, in which was a *Greenland* bishop, had been shipwreck'd upon the coast of *Norway* in the year 1126, says among other things, several whales teeth of great value were cast ashore, mark'd with *Danish* letters writ upon them with some glutinous matter, scarce to be effaced by the art of men. These whales teeth are the same that are call'd unicorns; tho' in my opinion they should rather be call'd teeth, they being fix'd to the jaw-bone, and not to the front of this creature, as has been mentioned in the preceding description.

They are however not inferior to those horns, (both in respect of their shape and virtue) that are generally so much in re-

quest among the physicians; and the *Danes* used in former ages to sell them at a very high rate; and be always very cautious of discovering to the world, that these horns or teeth belonged to a sea-fish, which is the reason they were taken for the true unicorn.

It is not many years ago that the *Greenland* company of *Copenhagen* sent one of their factors into *Muscovy* with a good cargo of these teeth; there being one among the rest of a considerable bigness: it was offered to sale to the great duke, who taking a fancy to it, offer'd a good sum; but had the cunning to let it be first examined by his physicians, who all approv'd of it but one, who being more skillful than the others, assured the great duke that it was the tooth of a fish, and not the true unicorn. So that the factor missing his aim, was fain to return into *Denmark*, where the best excuse he could make for himself was, to rail at the doctor who had spoil'd his market: But was answered by one of the company, that if he had not been a fool, he might have dazled the doctor's eyes by the means of two or three hundred ducats, so that he would not have been able to find out the difference. But it is time to return to *Greenland*.

The *Iceland* chronicle says, that the air in *Greenland* is not altogether so sharp as in *Norway*; that it snows less there, and the cold is not quite so violent; not but that it freezes there very hard, and is very tempestuous weather: but these happen not very frequently, and continue not long.

The *Danish* chronicle mentions a tempest as sometimes extraordinary, which happened there in the year 1308, when a church in *Greenland*, call'd *Seal-bolt*, was burnt down to the ground by the thunder and lightning, which was followed by such a hurricane, as tore to pieces the points of several rocks, which threw out such a vast quantity of ashes. As covered all the circumjacent country, the inhabitants being in great fear of being buried under them.

The next following winter proved so excessive violent, that the ice did not melt all that year: which seems to intimate that there are sulphureous burning mountains, as well in *Greenland* as in *Iceland*; of which the many hot springs in *Greenland*, which are intolerable hot in the winter, seem to be an evident proof.

The summer air is very clear in *Greenland*, both day and night, tho' the last is no more than a medium between both, like our dusky part of the evening as long as the summer lasts; as in the winter the days are extremely short, the rest being night.

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The *Iceland* chronicle makes mention of a certain wonder of nature, which ought not to be past by in silence; This is a certain meteor of an oblong square figure, which always appearing at the time of the new moon, gives a light no less than if it were full moon; and the darker the nights are, the more conspicuous it is. It constantly keeps its course in the north, moves backward and forward, and leaves thick vapours behind it; neither does it cease till the sun rises, its motion being so swift, as not to be imagin'd but by those who have seen it: it is commonly call'd the *North Light*, and there are some who assure us, that in very clear weather it has been seen as far as in *Iceland*, nay in some parts of *Norway* itself. It is not improbable but that this meteor may be of the same nature with that which appear'd in the year 1621, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *September* all over *France*; and was observ'd, among others, by that famous *French* philosopher *Gassendus*, who stiles it *Auroram Borealem*, or the *northern morning-light*.

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The *Danish* chronicle mentions, that in the year 1271, a prodigious quantity of ice, with white bears upon it, being forc'd upon the coast of *Iceland* by a strong north-west wind, they began to be of opinion that *Greenland* extended much farther to the north than they had hitherto believed; which made the *Icelanders* send several ships that way, but met with nothing but ice. Since which time the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* have several times sent their ships thither, but with no better success.

The eagerness of discovering the north part of *Greenland*, was occasioned by a certain opinion they had, that there was good store of gold and silver, and precious stones in those parts; for the *Danish* chronicle says expressly, that in former ages some ships brought great treasures from thence; and that under the reign of *Olaus*, firnamed *The Holy*, king of *Norway*, some *Frislanders* attempting the discovery of the passage thither, were at last by tempest forced into a small creek of the northern *Greenland*; where being gone ashore, they saw not far from thence some miserable huts, half under ground, and a great quantity of metallick stones, of which they took as many as they were able to carry. But whilst they were making the best of their way to the sea-side, they were set upon by the savages of the country, who falling out from their huts, armed with slings, bows and arrows, put them so hard to it, that they were glad to get aboard their ship again, with the loss of one of their comarades, who having the misfortune of being taken by them, was torn in pieces in their sight.

In the *Iceland* chronicle, there is among the rest, a chapter under this following title, *The course taken by the ships from Norway into Greenland*.

The true course to *Greenland* (as has been related by the *Greenlanders* themselves, or else by such as have often performed this voyage) is from *Norðstaf* *Sundmur* in *Norway* directly to the west towards *Horenfund*, situated on the eastern side of *Iceland*. From *Schneke's Fokel*, a noted sulphureous mountain in *Iceland*, to *Greenland*, is seven days voyage: the shortest course is the western course; about half way you see *Gundaburn Skeer*. This was the true course taken by the antients, before the vast quantities of ice that were forced from the north, had render'd those seas so dangerous, if not quite unpassable. Another passage in the same chronicle says thus: From *Langenes* in *Iceland*, which is the uttermost northern point of *Iceland*, to *Easterborn*, are eighteen leagues; from thence to *Walsfrette*, is a voyage of twice four and twenty hours. It is certain that the voyages to *Greenland* have at all times been very dangerous, as is evident from the voyage of *Leif*, and of the bishop *Arnold*, who suffer'd shipwrecks, and from the dangerous undertaking of the *Frislanders*. There is another chapter in the *Iceland* chronicle, under the following title; *An account of Greenland, taken out of an ancient treatise, called Speculum regale*.

Three very remarkable sea-monsters (say they) were in former ages observed in the seas of *Greenland*: the first was called by the *Norwegians*, *Hafstramb*, appearing in the shape of a man as far as the girdle, with the same eyes, nose, and head; the last of which was somewhat sharper on the top as the head of other men, with very broad shoulders, and two arms, but without hands. It never appear'd above water below the girdle; and being transparent like ice, it was always look'd upon as the forerunner of a violent tempest. The second being called *Marguguer*, appear'd like a woman, with large breasts, long hair, and fingers at the arms end, which were join'd together like geese-feet. This monster has been seen to catch fish with its hands, and to devour them in an instant; this was likewise the forerunner of an imminent tempest: and if the monster did turn its face towards the ship, they look'd upon it as a good omen, they should escape the danger; but if it turn'd its back as it was going under water, they gave themselves over for lost. The third was, properly speaking, nothing else but a whirlpool, occasioned by the hurricanes and whirlwinds, which raising the waves to a most prodigious height, such ships as

MONCK had the misfortune to fall in betwixt them, were commonly swallowed up in the bottomless abyss of the sea. The same treatise mentions that the ice-shoals sometimes represent various figures of a dreadful aspect, and advises those who undertake the voyage to *Greenland*, to keep to the south-west, before they attempt to get ashore; because that oftentimes all the summer long there is a vast quantity of ice near the shore. It further gives this advice to those who are got betwixt the ice, viz. to put all their provisions in their chalops, which they may put upon the ice, and stay either till it melts; or, if they fail in that, they may draw them to the shore upon the ice.

Thus far reaches the history of the old *Greenland*, which is, in the *Danish* chronicle, ended with the year 1348, when an epidemical distemper swept most of the *Greenland* merchants and seamen away; since which time, the correspondence with *Greenland* was first interrupted and quite ceased at last.

There is an ancient manuscript *Danish* chronicle, in which it is related, that about the year 1484, under the reign of king *John*, there were at *Bergen* in *Norway* about forty seamen left, who once a year sail'd to *Greenland*, and brought several good commodities from thence: which they refusing to sell at a certain time to some *German* merchants, they were by them invited to supper, and all murder'd at once.

But this carries but little probability along with it, the *Greenland* voyages being too dangerous to be perform'd at so easy a rate, as is evident from what has been related before, and from what will be said hereafter upon this head.

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It is to be observed, that the revenue arising from *Greenland*, was allotted for the kings of *Norway*'s table; so that none were allow'd to sail their without a pass, under the forfeiture of their lives. It happen'd in the year 1389, when the states of *Denmark* were assembled in *Finland*, under the reign of queen *Margaret* (who united the two kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway* under one head) where also a bishop of *Greenland* was present; that several merchants and seamen were accused of having been in *Greenland* without licence; which being fully proved against them, they were in danger of having paid for it with their lives, if they had not unanimously declared that they were forced thither by a tempest; so that upon their oaths they were at last dismissed, after they had suffered great hardship in prison. But this ill treatment, which was followed by a severe proclamation, forbidding all her subjects to traffick in *Greenland* without special leave, had such an influence upon the merchants and mari-

ners, that they did seldom attempt it afterwards. Sometime after the queen equipped some ships at her own cost and charge; which being sent into *Greenland*, were never seen or heard of afterwards, being supposed to be lost among the ice. This so terrified the rest of the seamen who used to sail thither, that they shewed but little inclination to venture on that voyage any more: and the queen being afterwards engaged in a war with *Sweden*, had more weighty affairs upon her hands, than to trouble her self much about *Greenland*, which at last proved the occasion of the total loss of that country.

The same *Danish* chronicle further mentions, that in the year 1406, the then bishop of *Drumheim* in *Norway*, called *Eskild*, sent one *Andrew* to *Greenland*, to succeed bishop *Henry* in his function there, if he were dead; and if not, to bring him some tidings from thence; for since the said bishop had left the beforementioned assembly of the estates, they had not had the least news from him. But questionless the same fate attended *Andrew* that had attended bishop *Henry*, for neither of them was ever heard of afterwards, he being the last bishop that was sent from *Norway* into *Greenland*.

The *Danish* chronicle gives us a catalogue of all the kings who have reign'd since the death of queen *Margaret*, with an account of their endeavours for the recovery of *Greenland*; of which we will insert the chief heads, so far as they will give us a true insight into the reason of the loss of *Greenland*, which was so much frequented in former ages.

*Erick* duke of *Pomerania* succeeded queen *Margaret* in the throne; but being a foreigner, and consequently not well versed in the northern affairs, did not in the least trouble himself about *Greenland*.

King *Christoph* duke of *Bavaria* his successor, bent all his thoughts against the *Hanse Towns*, with whom he was engaged in war.

Among those of the *Oldenburg* line, which obtain'd the royal dignity in the year 1448, *Christiern* I. spent his time in a pilgrimage to *Rome*, where he obtain'd from the emperor and the pope, the investiture of the country of *Ditmarshen*, and a bull to erect an university at *Copenhagen*.

*Christiern* II. obliged himself by his coronation oath, to endeavour the recovery of *Greenland*; but instead of bringing new acquisitions to the crown, he lost both the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, being deposed by his subjects; which is the reason he is always painted with a broken sceptre.

Under his reign one *Erick Wackendor*, a brave *Danish* lord, was lord chancellor of *Denmark*;

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Denmark; who being after his master's disgrace constituted bishop of *Druntheim* in *Norway*, bent all his thoughts on the recovery of *Greenland*. For which reason, he search'd all the antient records, and advised with the oldest and ablest mariners, who were supposed to have any knowledge of that country: but whilst he was laying the foundation of this design, a quarrel arose betwixt him and another great lord in *Norway*, in the year 1524, who being too powerful for him, procured his banishment to *Rome*, where he died.

*Frederick II. Christiern's* uncle, being got into the possession of the two kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, was busy in persecuting those whom he believ'd to have the least kindness for *Christiern*; which made him encourage the banishment of *Walcendor*, who was thereby disabled from prosecuting his design of the recovery of *Greenland*.

*Christiern III.* succeeded *Frederick I.* attempted the recovery of *Greenland*, but without success, which made him recal the severe prohibition of going to *Greenland* without licence. But *Norway* being at that time reduced to great poverty, and not in a condition to undertake such a design, this remedy proved likewise ineffectual.

King *Frederick II.* succeeded his father in the throne, and being willing to endeavour the recovery of *Greenland*, sent one *Magnus Henningson* to prosecute this design. If what is related in the chronicle may be taken for authentic, there must be some fatality which prevented the discovery of *Greenland* at that time: for this *Henningson*, after he had been tossed up and down at sea by tempests for a long time, came at last in sight of the shore; but, to his great amazement, found his ship to stop in the open sea, where there was neither ice nor sands: so that after he found all his endeavours of getting near the shore, to be in vain, he was forced to return to *Denmark*, where he gave an account to the king of what had befallen him, and laid the fault of his miscarriage upon the magnet-stones, which he believed to be in prodigious quantities thereabouts, in the bottom of the sea. If he had been acquainted with what is related concerning the fish *Remora*, he might perhaps have come off better. This happen'd in the year 1588.

Not many years before, viz. in the year 1577. *Martin Forbisber* an *Englyshman*, made the first discovery of that country, which is now called *New Greenland*; and because his account contains many remarkable things concerning the inhabitants and their manners, we will give the reader some of the most material passages of it here.

This *Martin Forbisber* set sail from *England* in the year 1577, to endeavour the discovery of *Greenland*, which he got sight of at last; but by reason of the vast quantities of ice, and the approaching winter, not being able to reach the shore, was forced to return home, where he gave an account of his voyage to queen *Elizabeth*, who then sway'd the sceptre in *England*.

This great queen sent him the next following spring, with three other ships, to pursue the former design, when he got safely to *Greenland*. But the inhabitants, at the approach of the *Englysh*, leaving their huts, retir'd among the rocks, from whence several precipitated themselves into the sea.

The *Englysh*, after they had in vain endeavoured to mollify these savages, went to their huts, which were tents made of the skins of sea-calves and whales, fix'd to strong poles, and sew'd together with the sinews of beasts: they had an opening towards the south and west, but were closely and very artificially join'd together to the east and north, the better to defend themselves against the coldness of those winds. They met with no living creature there, except an old woman, with a child in her hand, which they took from her, and she made a most miserable outcry for the loss of it.

From thence they sail'd along the coast, where they saw a sea-monster's head above water, with a horn about three or four foot long. They landed again, and found the surface of the earth rocky, but very good grounds beneath it; they also met with great store of glittering sand like gold, of which they took three hundred tuns along with them.

They used their utmost endeavours to enter into discourse with the savages, who seemingly shewed no great aversion to them, and gave them to understand, by certain signs, that if they would row up higher in the river, their expectation should be answered: accordingly *Martin Forbisber* got into a boat with some soldiers, and having ordered his ships to follow him, went up the river; and seeing a great number of the savages posted among the rocks, he did not think fit to expose himself by approaching too near the banks. At last, three among them, who appear'd somewhat better than the rest, having made a signal for him to land, he resolved to do it, all the rest being at a considerable distance; but his boat scarce touch'd the bank of the river, when the savages began to appear in great numbers, which made him soon chuse the stream again. Nevertheless the savages endeavoured to persuade them by signs to come ashore, throwing to them some

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MONCK raw flesh. But finding the *English* mistrustful, they resolv'd to draw them thither by the following stratagem: they laid one of their men upon the bank, who pretending to be lame, they suppos'd the *English* would come to take him, whilst they pretended to be retir'd at a further distance, being all out of sight behind the adjacent rocks. But the *English* being aware of the snare, discharged a gun at him, which made him soon recover his legs; and the savages coming to his aid, pelted the *English* in the boat with stones and arrows, but were soon dispers'd by their great guns.

These savages are very treacherous and barbarous, not to be mollified by fair words or presents. They are strong and well set, of an olive colour; their clothes being made of the skins of *sea-calves*, sew'd together with the sinews of beasts. The womens apparel is not different from that of the men, for they wear breeches, with many pockets in them, in which they carry their knives, needles, yarn and looking-glasses, which they either get from strangers, or else are cast ashore by the sea. Their faces are painted with blue, and some let their hair grow very long, hanging down over their shoulders untwisted. Their shirts are made of fish-guts sew'd together with sinews, their garments loose fasten'd about the middle with a girdle; they are naturally very nasty, and freely expose their privy members. All their riches consist in their slings, bows, arrows, and boats. Their bows are very slender, and their arrows thin, tipp'd at the end with a pointed bow or horn; they manage them with great dexterity, and hit the fishes as they are swimming in the water. Their boats are cover'd all over with the skins of *sea-calves*, and fitted only for one single person. Their larger vessels are made of wood, and covered with the skins of whales, they are big enough to contain twenty men at a time: their sails are made of the same materials with their shirts, and notwithstanding there is not the least iron-work about them, are so strong, that the savages venture with them very deep at sea.

No venomous creature is to be found here unless they be spiders, and the nats are very busy in the summer-time; they have no fresh springs, but this defect is supply'd by the melted snow. They have dogs of a prodigious bigness, which they use before their sleds instead of horses. But we must return to *Denmark*.

Among all the *Danish* kings, no body has been more zealous to promote the discovery of *Greenland* than king *Christian IV.* for which purpose he sent for an expert seaman out of *England*, who being ac-

quainted with those seas, he gave him three *King Christian IV.* ships under the command of *Gotke Lindenau*, a *Danish* gentleman. They set sail from the *Sound* in the year 1605, in the summer, and continuing their course for some time together, the *Englishman* at last turn'd to the south-west to avoid the ice, whilst the admiral steer'd his course to the north-east, and safely arriv'd in *Greenland*. He had no sooner cast anchor near the shoar, but the savages came with their boats all about his ship, and were welcom'd with some wine, which however they did not relish very well; but seeing some oil of whales, they begg'd some of it, which being given them, they drank it off very greedily. They had brought along with them good store of skins of bears and sea-calves, and several pieces of the unicorn, which they exchanged for needles, knives, looking-glasses, and such other toys. They did not seem to put any value upon gold or silver, but were extremely fond of iron, for which they would exchange their bows, arrows, boats, oars, nay their shirts. The admiral *Gotke Lindenau* tarried three days on this coast, but durst not venture ashore. On the fourth day, being ready to set sail again, he detain'd two of the savages who happen'd to be aboard of him, and were so outrageous that they were forc'd to bind them; the rest seeing their companions in danger of being carried away, made a most horrible outcry, and shot at the *Danes* with their arrows, but were soon put to flight by the discharge of a cannon; after which the said admiral return'd happily into *Denmark*.

The *Englishman* had in the mean while landed on the other side of *Greenland*, where he met with several good harbours and plenty of pasturage. The savages exchanged their commodities with him, as they had done with the admiral, but seem'd more mistrustful; for no sooner had they got any thing from the *Danes*, but away they went in all haste to their ships, as if they had stolen it. The *Danes* being desirous to take a view of the country, went ashore well arm'd, and met with good grounds, but rocky like *Norway*. The smell of sulphurous vapours, which was not a little offensive to their nostrils, seem'd to intimate that there were sulphureous mountains not far from thence. They found also a certain silver oar, of which they carried a certain quantity into *Denmark*, a hundred weight of which yields about twenty ounces of silver. As they were returning to their ship, they took four savages, one of whom was so refractory, that they were forc'd to knock him down with the but-end of their musquets, which frighted the others into a more pliable

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able temper. But the savages having taken the alarm, pursued the *Danes* to relieve their companions, and had found means to cut off their passage to the ship; but by the help of their fire-arms, and the great canons from the ship, they soon cleared their way, and got safely aboard with the other three savages, whom after their return into *Denmark*, they presented to the king; they were found better proportion'd, and more civiliz'd than those that were brought over by *Lindenau*, from whom they likewise differ'd as well in their manners and languages, as in their apparel.

The king being very well satisfied with what progress they had made in this voyage, did order the before-mentioned *Lindenau* in the year 1506, to go with five ships a second time to *Greenland*. They set sail from *Denmark* on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *May*, taking along with them the same three savages that were brought from *Davis's Straits* by the before-named *Englisbman*, they being to serve for interpreters; at which they seem'd exceedingly pleased, yet one of them died by the way. *Lindenau* taking the same course the *Englisbman* had done, arriv'd on the third day of *August* with four ships in *Greenland*, the fifth being separated from them by storm. The savages appear'd in great numbers near the sea-side, but were as mistrustful of the *Danes* as they were of them, which made them fail in quest of another harbour, which they reach'd soon after, but found the savages of the same temper with the others, appearing in a posture to fight them if they should attempt to land. The *Danes*, who by reason of the vast number of the savages, thought themselves no equal match for them, sail'd along the coast; and the savages would follow them at some little distance in their boats, of whom they took six, and then carried them together with their boats and oars aboard their ships.

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One day as they were riding at anchor in a certain small bay, the admiral *Lindenau's* gentleman being a resolute fellow, very earnestly desir'd his master to give him leave to go ashore, to try whether he could treat with the savages; or, if that would not do, he did not question to make his way back again: which being granted, at last he went ashore, but had scarce walk'd a few paces, when the savages falling upon him, cut him to pieces in an instant. Their knives and cutlasses are made of unicorn, so sharp edg'd, by whetting them against stones, that they cut as well as if they were made of the best steel. *Lindenau* finding but little hopes of succeeding in his enterprize, returned to *Denmark*; and one of the savages, being not able to brook his captivity, drown'd him-

self. In his return he met with the same Monck ship that was separated from them before by stress of weather; but another storm arising soon after, they were again dispersed, and did not meet again till near a month after, when they pursued their voyage to *Denmark*, and arriv'd at *Copenhagen* on the fifth day of *October*, after a second dangerous and troublesome voyage.

The same king sent a third time two stout ships to *Greenland*, under the command of *Carsten Richartsen*, a *Holsteiner*, who having aboard some of the most experienced mariners of *Norway* and *Iceland*, set sail from the *Sound* on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of *May*, and got sight of *Greenland* on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *June*, but could not approach the shoar by reason of the ice, which lay heap'd up like mountains, some leagues deep at sea; for it is to be observed, that there are some years when the ice continues all the summer long without being melted: which obliged the *Holsteiner*, who had been separated from the other ship, and was afraid of being intangled in the ice past retreating, to return to *Denmark*, where he, notwithstanding his miscarriage, was well received by the king.

The savages which were taken and brought into *Denmark* in the two first voyages, had liberty to walk about where they pleased, under the guard of some waiters. They liv'd upon milk, cheese, butter, raw flesh and fish, according to their own custom, being averse to bread and boil'd meat, but much more to wine; the oil of whales being their beloved liquor. They would frequently turn their faces to the north, and fetch a heavy sigh. One time their waiters being careless in observing them, some of these savages got to their little boats, and without more ado put to sea, but by a strong wind were forced twelve leagues beyond the *Sound*, ashore in *Sebonen*, where being taken by the country people, they were sent back to *Copenhagen*. This serv'd as a warning to their waiters to be better upon their guard for the future: but they pined themselves at last to death one after another.

At a certain time, when a *Spanish* ambassador was sent into *Denmark*, there being five of those savages as yet living, the king ordered that for the diversion of the ambassador they should row upon the sea in their little boats; these boats were shap'd not unlike a weaver's shuttle, being about ten or twelve foot long: they are made of whale-bones of an inch thick, join'd together by the help of the sinews of beasts, and cover'd all over with the skins of whales: there is in the middle a hole big enough for one man to put his body in. Thus they go to sea putting their legs underneath,



**MONCK** derneath; and if any space be left round their body, they stop it up with their jackets, which are made of the skin of *sea-calves*, and that so tightly that no water can enter; which done, they are proof against all storms and tempests beyond what may be expected from ships of a considerable bulk; for tho' they are oftentimes turn'd topsy-turvy, they always turn again upright. They make use only of one oar, which they manage with the same dexterity as the rope-dancers do their poles, to keep an even ballance; and with this they row so swiftly, that (as it was tried at the same time) they could keep pace with a boat with sixteen oars.

The ambassador extremely well satisfied with this spectacle, gave each of them a very good present, wherewith they bought themselves clothes made after the *German* fashion, and other accoutrements, such as boots, spurs and feathers, and afterwards offer'd to serve the king on horseback. But this gay humour was of no long continuance, for the desire of returning to their native country being soon reviv'd, two of those who had once before ventured to make their escape at sea, and consequently were not in the least mistrusted of attempting so dangerous an undertaking a second time, did once more attempt to reach *Greenland* in their boats. They were pursued with all imaginable speed, but one was only overtaken, the other being questionless swallowed up in the waves. It was observable in him who escaped, that whenever he saw a woman with a child in her arms he used to fetch a deep sigh, which made the *Danes* believe that he had left a wife and children behind. The rest were more narrowly watch'd, which serv'd only to increase their melancholy, of which they died one after another.

There remain'd however at last two alive, who lived near twelve years after all the rest of their companions were dead: they were cherish'd with all the fair promises imaginable, which seem'd to be some comfort to them; but they could never be brought to the true understanding of the Christian faith, being quite ignorant of the *Danish* tongue. They were sometimes observ'd to lift up their eyes towards heaven, and to adore the rising-sun. One of them died whilst he was employ'd in pearl-fishing at *Coldingen*. For it is to be observed that the muscles thereabouts contain generally some pearl-dust, and among them are sometimes found pearls of a good bigness. This *Greenlander* having given them to understand one day, that he was very dexterous at fishing of pearls, the governor of *Coldingen* took him along with him to make use of him upon that ac-

count, which the savage perform'd with so much dexterity, that he seldom return'd without some good pearls. The governor, who was very avaricious, being over eager after such a booty, would not stay till the next spring; but forcing the poor savage to dive in the midst of winter under the ice, no otherwise than if he had been a spaniel dog, he fell ill and died. His comrade remaining now alone inconsolable for the death of his companion, found means the next spring to get to sea in his little boat unperceiv'd by any body; he was however pursued with all speed, but having the start of them, was got thirty leagues out at sea before he could be retaken. They gave him to understand by certain signs, that it would have been impossible for him to have reach'd *Greenland*, but that he must have perish'd among the waves; at which he made certain signs to shew that he intended to have run along the coast of *Norway* to a certain height, from whence he would have cross'd the seas, taking his directions by the stars. He was brought back to *Copenhagen*, where he died soon after with melancholy.

This was the end of these unfortunate *Statute of the Greenlanders*, who approach'd in stature to the *Laplanners*, being well set, but short, of a swarthy colour, with flat noses and thick lips. Their boats, apparel, and other implements are to be seen to this day at *Copenhagen*, as also a *Greenland* almanack, composed of twenty eight or thirty small sticks fastened to a leather string, by which they used to distinguish their time.

Since that time the king of *Denmark* did not think fit to send any more ships at his own charge to *Greenland*: But some merchants of *Copenhagen* being join'd in a company (in which several persons of quality had likewise a share) called the *Greenland Company*, they sent in the year 1636, two ships to *Davis's Straits*, where they were no sooner come to an anchor, but eight savages came in their little boats aboard of them. Whilst they were busy in laying out their *sea-calves* and fur-skins, and several pieces of unicorn, in order to exchange them with the *Danes* for needles, knives and looking-glasses, it happen'd accidentally that a gun was discharged aboard the ship, which put the savages into such a fear, that they all leapt over-board under water, and did not so much as put out their heads again till they were at least two hundred paces distant from the ship; but being given to understand by certain signs that they intended them no harm, they returned, and continued to traffick as before.

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How the Danes were deceived in their expectation.

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Their manner of dealing is thus: they choose among the *European* commodities what they like best, which being laid on one side, they lay down as much of theirs as they think fit to give in exchange, and this is continued thus till both parties are agreed. They saw at the same time a dead fish upon the shoar, with a horn or rather tooth on one side of his head, which the savages had broken in pieces, and sold to the *Danes*. This fish is of a prodigious strength, and a declared enemy of the whales, just as the *Rhinoceros* is to the *Elephant* among the terrestrial creatures; for if he meets the whale, he strikes his horn into his sides as deep as it will reach. Some assure us, that it sometimes runs with such a force against the ships, that thereby they become leaky.

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But the intention of the *Danes* was not so much to exchange there commodities with them, as to take a full view of the country; and the mate of one of the ships having taken notice near a certain river where he landed, that the sand resembled both in weight and colour true gold sand, loaded his whole ship with it, and with great joy return'd straitways to *Denmark*, telling his ship's crew as they were under sail, that now they were all rich enough. The lord high steward of *Denmark*, who had a considerable share in the ship, being surprized at the sudden return of this ship, the mate told him how he was freighted with gold, which made the lord high steward send some quantity of it to the goldsmiths of *Copenhagen*, to try whether they could bring any quantity out of it; but these being not able to produce one grain from this sand, he was so much exasperated at this disappointment, that he immediately commanded the mate to go out to sea, and to throw his pretended gold-sand into the bottom of it, without speaking one word more of it to any body. The poor mate was forced to obey, but with so much reluctance, that finding himself disappointed in the hopes of his supposed treasure, he died soon after for grief. Neither was it long before the lord high steward repented himself for his rashness; for some sand altogether resembling this was found in the mines of *Norway*, from whence several persons who were well versed in the separation of metallick bodies, drew a pretty quantity of very good gold, which the unexperienced goldsmiths of *Copenhagen* would not have done in this any more than in the before-mentioned sand.

A piece of  
unicorn  
valued at  
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In this voyage it was they brought that before-mentioned piece of the unicorn from *Greenland*, which was to have been sold to the great duke of *Muscovy*; it is still

to be seen at *Copenhagen*, and valued at six *Monck* thousand crowns. The *Danes* had likewise taken two savages, whom they tied to the masts till they were a great way at sea, when they were untied again; but they no sooner found themselves at liberty, but leap'd into the sea, in hopes, as may be supposed, to reach the shore by swimming, which was impossible for them to do by reason of the great distance from thence.

This is all I have been able to meet with concerning the old and new *Greenland*; of the old *Greenland* formerly inhabited by the *Norwegians*, of the new *Greenland*, discovered by the *English*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, as they went in search after the old *Greenland*. It is most probable that the ice from the north-west has quite stop't up that passage betwixt *Iceland* and *Greenland*, and that whilst the mariners were endeavouring to make their way through this passage, they were drove upon the *Cape Farewel* and *Davis's Straits*, or rather *Gulph*, and so discovered that part of the country which now is stiled new *Greenland*.

It is evident out of the *Iceland* chronicle, that betwixt *Iceland* and the old *Greenland* there were several islands and rocks; as for instance, that which they call'd *Gundebior Scheer*, which strengthens our opinion; it being easy to imagine that the ice might with less difficulty be heap'd betwixt those islands; which being of such a thickness as not to be melted by the beams of the sun, has render'd the sea betwixt *Iceland* and *Greenland* quite impassible, so that 'tis impossible to give an account of the posterity of the ancient *Norwegians* who settled there; perhaps they bore their share in the plague which raged so furiously in *Norway* in the year 1348. and almost depopulated that kingdom. It is not altogether improbable but that *Gotske Lindeman*, who in his first voyage steer'd his course to the north-east, may have cast anchor near *Old Greenland*, and that perhaps these two savages were descended from the ancient *Norwegians*; but tho' they differ'd from the other savages that were brought over from *Davis's Straits* both in manners and language, yet had theirs not the least affinity with the *Danish* or *Norway* tongues: The *Danish* chronicle tells us, that the three savages brought over by the *Englishman* did talk so swiftly, that it was impossible for any body to distinguish one word from another, unless it were the two words *Oka indeeba*, the meaning of which no body understood. Thus much is unquestionable, that what was call'd *Old Greenland*, was no more than a small point of the northern part of *Greenland*, viz. where it lay nearest to *Iceland*, and that the ancient *Norwegians* durst not venture very far

MONCK far into the country, no more than those who have since discover'd the *New Greenland*. The *Danes* in their before-mention'd voyage to *Greenland*, in the year 1636. did by certain signs enquire of the savages, whether there were any considerable number of inhabitants in the inland countries there; upon which the savages gave them to understand by signs, that their were as

many people there as they had hairs upon their heads, that they were very tall, arm'd with large bows and arrows, wherewith they kill'd every thing they met in their way. From whence we may draw this conclusion, that neither these people nor their country, no more than the *Old Greenland*, are in the least known to us at this time.

*A particular Account of the Voyage performed by Capt. Monck.*

CHRISTIAN IV. king of Denmark being desirous to find out a passage betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, to facilitate the voyage to the *East-Indies*, did order one capt. *Monck*, a person of great bravery, to sail with two stout ships to the *Straits*, which were not many years before discover'd by one Mr. *Hudson* an *Englishman*.

This Mr. *Hudson* having been several times before on the northern coasts, was at last prevail'd upon by some *English* merchants to try his fortune, whether he could find out a passage betwixt *Greenland* and *America* to the *East-Indies*; accordingly he set sail from *England* with one ship only in the year 1610. and passing along the coast of *Greenland* was, what with the fogs and what with storms, forc'd into a strait passage, which at last brought him into an open sea; which made him begin to conceive certain hopes that he had been so fortunate as to be the discoverer of the said passage. But after he had for a considerable time cruised up and down this sea, without being able to discover the desired passage, he resolv'd (contrary to the opinion of the rest) to pass the winter thereabouts, tho' he was not sufficiently stor'd with provisions for so long a time: and they must infallibly have perished for want of food, if they had not met with several sorts of birds, and among the rest with white partridges, of whom they catch'd above a hundred dozen; and these leaving that part of the country towards the spring, they were in their stead supplied with swans, ducks, geese, and other such like water-fowl, which were easily catch'd. Besides they met with a certain tree there of a most miraculous nature, its leaves being green inclining to yellow, had a strong taste of spice, and being boil'd afforded a balsamick oil; the decoction itself being a present remedy against the scurvy, the sciatica, and other distempers occasioned by cold and viscous humours. The approaching spring furnish'd them with such store of fish, as would be sufficient to freight their whole ship, if Mr. *Hudson* had not been more intent upon his intended discovery than any thing else,

which however being not able to effect, he saw himself under a necessity of bending his course back to *England*. In the mean while there happen'd a mutiny against the captain, carried on by one *Green* his clerk, who being educated by him, but by reason of his misbehaviour threatned as well as some others of the ship's crew who had been wanting in their duty, and dreaded the punishment, did force his cabin, from whence they took him and his son, and putting them with seven more in a chalop, committed them to the mercy of the sea. In this place I cannot pass by in silence the generosity of one *Philip Staf*, who being a carpenter and a good seaman, would not stay behind with those villains, tho' they press'd him earnestly to it, but rather chose to go along with his captain in the chalop than to tarry among those perfidious wretches. What is become of them is unknown, tho' it be probable that they either perished for want of food, or else were murdered by the savages. The same fate attended the ring-leaders of this mutiny, who were slain by the savages; the rest arrived not till the following year 1611, on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of September in *England*, after they are suffered to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, being forced to live upon grass, and the skins of birds, the flesh whereof they had eaten long before.

But we must return to capt. *Monck*, who set sail from the *Sound* with two ships, one man'd with forty eight men, the other with sixteen, on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of May in the year 1619: He arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June near *Cape Farewell*, being very rocky, cover'd with ice and snow, and situate under 62 $\frac{1}{2}$  degree. From thence steering his course to the north-west towards *Hudson's Straits*, he was much incommoded by the ice, which however did him no considerable damage, he having sea-room enough. Among other accidents that befel him, it froze so violently on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June at night, and the winds blew so hard and cold, that his sails were render'd useless by reason of the ice that adhered to them; yet the next following day proved so effective

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He did not arrive at *Hudson's Straits* till the 17<sup>th</sup> of July, which he call'd after the king of *Denmark*, *Christiern's Straits*. His first landing was in an island, directly opposite to *Greenland*; and having sent some of his people to take a view of the country, they found no men, but by their footsteps were convinced there were some in this island. The next following day they saw some of the savages, who seeming to be surprized at the sight of the *Danes*, hid their arms behind a great stone-heap, and then advanced toward them in a friendly posture, but kept continually a watchful eye upon their arms, for fear the *Danes* should come too near them. Notwithstanding which they found means to get betwixt them and their arms, which they seized. The savages seem'd to be exceedingly troubled at this loss, and in an humble posture begg'd the *Danes* to have them restored, without which they were not able to subsist, hunting being their only livelihood. They offered to exchange their clothes for them, which moved the *Danes* at last to compassion; so that they not only gave them back their arms, but also presented them with several toys, which they received very thankfully, and in lieu of them brought the *Danes* several sorts of fowl and fish. One among them having got a small looking-glass, and seeing himself in it, was so overjoyed, that he put it into his bosom, and did run away as fast as his legs could carry him. The *Danes* laugh'd heartily at his simplicity; but what diverted them more than all the rest was, that they perceived some of these savages to make their courtship, after their way, to one of their ship's crew, who having long black hair, and being of a swarthy complexion, with a flattish nose, they took him for one of their countrymen, who perhaps had been carried away from *Greenland* some time before; which often furnished them afterwards with matter of laughter, so that the poor fellow was always jeer'd as long as the voyage lasted.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of the same month capt. *Monck* ordered the sails to be hoisted up in order to leave this island, but was forced to return into the same harbour by reason of the ice, which obstructed his passage. In the mean while they left no stone unturned to find out some of the inhabitants, but in vain; they found some nets spread near the sea-shore, on which they hung knives, looking glasses, and other such like toys, in hopes to allure them to the sea-side; but no body ap-

pear'd, whether out of fear of the *Danes*, *Monck* or because they were commanded to the contrary by their superiors, is uncertain. Capt. *Monck* being disappointed in his hopes of meeting with the inhabitants, ordered a wild rein-deer to be shot, of which there were great numbers there; wherefore he gave the name of *Reensund* to the island, from whence so being situated under the 64<sup>th</sup> degr. and 20 min. and after he had planted the *Danish* arms there, he once more left the said island on the 22<sup>d</sup> of July, but met with such bad weather, and so many vast ice-shoals at sea, that on the 28<sup>th</sup> of the same month he was forced to seek for shelter betwixt two islands, near one of which he came to an anchor: but finding it unsafe to continue thus, he brought his ships as near the shore as possible he could, so that at low water they lay upon the sand; and the high tide carried such a prodigious quantity of ice to the shore, that they were in no small danger, if by their industry they had not prevented it. There was a great ice-shoal, near fifty foot thick, which being loosened by the violence of the sea, carried all before it, and among the rest their chalops which narrowly escaped sinking.

Ashore they saw several footsteps of men, a sign that the place was not destitute of inhabitants; but whatever care they took, they could not get sight of any. They also found there some mineral stones, and very good talck, of which they carried off several tun-weight. There were several other small islands thereabouts, but the sea did run so high near the shore, that the *Danes* durst not venture to land. These islands are situate under 62 degrees, 20 min. about fifty leagues within *Hudson's*, or as *Monck* calls it, *Christian's Straits*. The bay where he came to an anchor, he called *Hareford*, from the great number of hares they meet with there. He again set up the arms of *Denmark*, and the initial letter of his royal master, viz. C. IV signifying *Christian IV*.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of August he set sail again from this place with a north-west wind, steering his course west south-west, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> came to the south of the straits of *America*, and cast his anchor near a large island, unto which he gave the name of *Snow-Island*, because it was all covered with snow.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of August he directed his course to the north-west, being then (as his own diary testifies) exactly under the elevation of 62 degr. 20 min. but there fell so much snow, and the wind did blow so violently that they could see no land, tho' the straits were not above sixteen leagues over thereabouts, which shews, that they

Monck are broader in some other places. After having past these straits, he got into *Hudson's* sea, which he furnished with another name, or rather gave it two names instead of one. For that part of it which washes the *American* shore he called *Mare novum*, or the *New Sea*. To the other part which extends to *Greenland* (if it be really *Greenland*) he gave the name of *Mare Christianum*, or *Christian's Sea*: He continued his course west north-west till he came to 63 degrees, 20 min. when finding himself surrounded on all sides by the ice, he resolved to pass the winter there; the harbour he called *Monck's Winter Harbour*, and the country *New Denmark*. In his relation he makes only mention of two islands in the *Christian Sea*, which he styles the two sisters; and in the *New Sea*, but one called *Dickles Oeland*. He advises those who undertake the voyage through these straits, to keep as much as possibly they can in the middle, to avoid being carried away by the stormy tides, and the great ice-bergs which are of such a thickness there, that if a ship happen to get betwixt them, it seldom escapes. He says that it flows exactly five hours in the *Christian Sea*, the tide being regulated by the moon.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of September capt. Monck cast anchor there, and after his people had refreshed themselves for some days, he ordered them to bring the ships into a little creek, where they were sheltered against the violence of the winds and ice. The next thing they had to do was to provide themselves good huts against the approaching winter-season. This harbour lay near the entrance of a river, which was not frozen up in *October*, tho' the sea was full of ice all round about.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the same month, capt. Monck had a mind to go up the river in a boat, but could not go further than about a league and a half, by reason of the cataracts, or rocky water-falls that opposed his passage. He then marched with some of his men about four leagues deep into the country, to see whether he could meet with any of the inhabitants; but no body appearing, he resolved to return another way. Here he met with a certain stone raised above the ground, upon which was painted an image resembling the devil, with claws and horns; near this stone was a place of about eight foot square, enclosed with lesser stones. On one side of this enclosure there lay a heap of small flat stones, intermixt with moss of trees; on the opposite side was a large flat stone laid upon two others in the shape of an altar, upon which they found three coals laid across. They saw several more of those altars, as

they were walking about, and some foot-steps of men near each of them; tho' they did not come in sight at that time. It is very likely that the inhabitants used to sacrifice upon those altars, either with fire, or perhaps offer their sacrifices to the fire it self; for round about them they saw abundance of bones, which probably were the bones of the sacrificed beasts, whose flesh the savages had devoured raw, according to their custom. They met also with many trees, cut down to the roots with iron instruments; and with dogs that were muzzled. But what most confirmed them in their opinion, that this isle was not destitute of inhabitants, was, that in many places they could discover the holes where they had fixed the poles belonging to their tents, and found many pieces of skins of bears, wolves, dogs and sea-calves, wherewith they used to cover them; which seemed to intimate, that the inhabitants here did lead a vagabond life like the *Tartars* and *Lapponians*.

After the *Danes* had planted their huts, they cut good store of wood to be laid up for the winter, and killed abundance of wild fowl. Captain Monck kill'd a white bear with his own hands, which they eat; and he says expressly, that it agreed very well with them. They caught abundance of hares, partridges, and other fowl, besides four black foxes, and some fables.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of November there appeared three suns to them, and on the next following 24<sup>th</sup> of January two. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of December old stile, there happened an eclipse of the moon, which they saw about eight a clock at night; after which they saw the same night the moon surrounded with a very bright circle, through the middle of which was a cross, which divided the moon in two. This seemed to be the forerunner of those evils which these poor wretches were to suffer hereafter, as will appear out of the following account.

The cold began to encrease with the winter-season, to such a degree, that they saw ice of three hundred, nay three hundred and sixty foot thick: no beer, no wine, or brandy was strong enough to be proof against it, but froze to the bottom, and the vessels split in pieces; so that they cut the frozen liquor with hatchets, and melted it before the fire, before they could drink it. If they happened to leave any quantity of water in their copper or tin vessels, they found them all in pieces the next morning: Neither were the poor *Danes* able to resist so excessive a frost, which mastered the metals, for they all fell sick, and their sicknesses encreased with the cold; they were generally seized with a gripping looseness, which did not leave them

*The Danes provide against the winter.*

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them till it put an end to their days. Thus they dropt away one after another, so that about the beginning of *March* the captain was fain to do duty as a centry, for want of others. The worst was, that the spring did augment their distemper, for their teeth were ready to fall out, and their gums swelled to that degree, that they could not take any other nourishment but bread soaked in water. The poor remnants of these unfortunate wretches were in the next following *May* seized with another loofeness, with such violent pricking pains in their limbs, as made them look like meer shadows; their arms and legs being quite lame, and full of blew spots, as if they had been beaten; being a distemper not unknown to seamen, by whom it is commonly called the scurvy. So many of them died, that there were not enough left to bury them, the rest being likewise sick and very weak: and to compleat their misery they began to want bread, instead of which they made use of raspberries which they diged out from under the snow, which supplied the defect of bread; but they were fain to eat them as soon as they were taken from under the snow, where they kept fresh, but soon grew useless afterwards.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> day of *April* it rained the first time after seven months; and towards the end of *May* there appeared again all sorts of fowl, such as wild geese and ducks, swans, swallows, partridges, ravens, snipes, falcons, and eagles, but they were too weak to catch them.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of *June* captain *Monck* himself fell down so dangerously ill, that he did take no food for four days together; and expecting nothing else but present death, he made his last will, in which he desired those that might by chance come to this place to bury his corps, and to send the diary of his voyage to the king of *Denmark*. After four days were past he began however to recover a little, and with much ado got out of his hut, to see whether there were any of his ship's crew left alive, of whom he found no more than two of sixty four persons he brought along with him. These two being overjoyed to see their captain in a condition to stir abroad, took him in their arms, and carried him to a fire, to refresh his spirits. They now began to encourage one another, promising to stand by one another to the last gasp. They digg'd every where among the snow, till at last they met with a certain root, which being both restorative and food to them, they were restored in few days. The ice began now to melt apace, so that on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *June* they catch'd some salmon, and othe fish, which with what

exercise they used in hunting, so strength-*Monck* ned them in a little time, that they resolved to return to *Denmark*.

The summer season approaching, they were extremely pester'd with gnats, which made them hasten their departure; so that on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *July* they went aboard their lesser ship (leaving the biggest behind) and steer'd their course towards *Monck's* harbour; they were much incommoded by the ice, and lost their boat and rudder. Whilst they were busy in making a new one, they fastened their ship to an ice-rock; which being loosened by the tide, their ship was carried away with it; but the ice being melted soon after, they got clear again, and met with their boat which they had lost ten days before. It was not long before they got fast within the ice once more; but the weather changing almost every day, they were soon released again. Having at last repa's'd the *Straits*, they sail'd by *Cape Farewell* into the ocean; but were on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *September* overtaken by a most terrible tempest, which threatened no less than their total destruction, they being quite tired out, and not able to manage the ship: so that leaving themselves to the mercy of the winds, they lost their mast, and the sails blew overboard, which however they made shift to save.

In this condition they were forced upon the coast of *Norway*, where they cast a piece of an anchor (the only one they had left) in a small creek, where they hoped to shelter themselves against the storm; but found themselves deceived in their hopes, for they were in most imminent danger of being dash'd to pieces against the rocks, if by good fortune they had not got betwixt them and the shore; where after they had refresh'd themselves for some days, they pursued their voyage, and arrived at last in *Denmark*.

Capt. *Monck* had no sooner set foot ashore, but he went to *Copenhagen* to give the king an account of his unfortunate voyage; who not imagining him to be still among the living, received him with all imaginable marks of his favour. Thus we have seen the brave capt. *Monck* return to the *Danish* shore, which, as might reasonably be supposed, would put an end to all his sufferings; but it seems his ill destiny had preserved him for more, which was to put an unhappy period to the life of this brave man.

For whilst he was in *Denmark*, he used often to ruminate upon his past adventures; and being by degrees convinced of what had been the chief cause of his miscarriage in his voyage through the *Straits*, he took a resolution to try his fortune once more,

in

MONCK in which he hoped to supply the defects of the former, arising from the want of knowledge of those seas, and some other circumstances. Accordingly he proposed his design to some persons of quality; who approving of it, equip'd two ships, which he was to command in chief.

Having provided himself with all necessaries for such a voyage, he was ready to set sail, when (as his ill fortune would have it) the king sent for him, and happening, among other things to speak of his former unfortunate voyage, told him, that he had lost two ships by his want of conduct. Which the captain answering somewhat briskly, the king took his cane and push'd it in anger against his breast. The captain took this affront so heinously, that he immediately went home to bed, and would not be persuaded to take the

least nourishment; so that in ten days after he died for melancholy and want of food.

The preceding account seems to intimate, that there is a passage of a considerable length and breadth betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, and beyond that a large sea, the extent of which is not known hitherto, nor whether it be an open or only an inclosed sea; tho' it seems capt. *Monck* was of opinion that *Greenland* was separated from *America* by this sea, which was questionless the reason which induced him to try his fortune a second time; in which, as we told you before, he met with such encouragement from several persons of note in *Denmark*, that in all likelihood he would have ventured his utmost for the discovery of the truth, if he had not been prevented by this sinister accident.

The English first attempted the north-east passage.

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VOL. I

## An Account of that Country commonly call'd Spitsbergen, being reckon'd a Part of Greenland.

*With the Manner of its first Discovery, and what Method is used in catching the Whales on that Coast.*

**A**FTER the Portuguese had found out the way to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to China and Japan, several other nations being invited by the treasures of those countries, did endeavour to discover a shorter passage thither by the north, of which we have several accounts abroad, some having attempted to find out the said passage on the north-west side of America: which course was taken by the English, viz. by *Forbisher*, *Davis* and *Hudon*, and likewise by *capt. Monck*, whose unfortunate voyage we have spoken of in the preceding treatise.

Others have attempted to pass to the north-east by *Nova-Zembla* (as the Russians call it) and the *Great Tartary*; of which number are the *Hollanders*, who in 1594, and the following years, have (tho' with ill success) endeavoured to open their way on that side to China.

The English first attempted the north-east passage.

The English were however the first who attempted to find out this passage: for in the year 1553, under the reign of king *Edward VI.* several persons of note entered into a society, which they call'd, *The company for the discovery of unknown countries*. The chief director of this company was the famous *Sebastian Cabot*, who under the reign of king *Henry VII.* first discovered the northern part of America; from whence in some ancient maps that part is called *Sebastian Cabot's country*.

This company equip'd three ships, under the command of *Sir Hugh Willoughby* an English knight, and *Richard Chancellor* vice-commodore, with orders to endeavour to find out a passage to the north-east through the *Tartarian-sea* to China.

Those three ships pursued their voyage together, without any sinister accident, till they came to the height of *Wardbut* and *Lapland*, where *Richard Chancellor* being separated from the rest by foggy and stormy weather, he cruised up and down on those seas, in hopes to meet with them again; till at last he arrived accidentally in the

bay of *St. Nicholas*, under the *Muscovite* jurisdiction, but unfrequented by any Europeans before. Being got into the acquaintance of some *Muscovites*, he resolved to wait in person on the then great duke *John Basilovitz*; who being then engaged in the *Livonian* war, which had much interrupted the *Eastland* trade, was very willing to encourage the English, by granting them considerable privileges for the promoting of trade; which has been since carried on by the English to their no small advantage.

*Sir Hugh Willoughby*, after he had been toils'd up and down for a long time, did at last (according to the diary writ by his own hand) viz. on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, come to an anchor near a country situate under the 72<sup>d</sup> degree; which country since has been fill'd in many maps, *Sir Hugh Willoughby's country*. From thence he pursued his voyage along those coasts, till the sudden approaching winter obliged him to enter a certain harbour, where to pass the winter. He sent abroad three of his men to the south-west to view the country, and to endeavour to discover some of the inhabitants: but these returning without success, within three days after he ordered three others to the west side; but these also failing in their hopes, three more were dispatch'd towards the south-east, who likewise returned without having been able to find out any inhabitants. Thus far *Sir Hugh Willoughby's* diary. He himself was found frozen to death, with the crew of his two ships, consisting of seventy persons, in an obscure harbour of *Lapland*, call'd *Areina Kacea*, being discovered by some Russian fishermen who accidentally came that way; for it is the custom of the *Laplanners* to dwell all the summer season near the sea-side, for the conveniency of fishing; but with the approaching winter they retire to the inland parts of the country, which makes the coast to be quite desolate as long as the frost lasts. The said *Sir Hugh Willoughby's* corps was afterwards, by some English ships trading to *Muscovy*,

Monck carried to England, where he, with some of his company, was honourably interred at London.

The English ships trading to Muscovy, becoming thereby acquainted with those northern coasts, had observed a great number of sea-horses in those seas; so that several ships were sent out from England to catch them, chiefly for their teeth-fake, which were sold at a very dear rate in Muscovy.

Description of sea-horses.

The sea-horses are very strong creatures, approaching to the bigness of a moderate ox, having four legs (the two hindermost being very unshapable) and a very thick hide; there have been some seen at Amsterdam that weighed above four hundred weight. Their heads are vastly large, having two teeth each of above a foot long, as white as the best ivory, which is what they are pursued for with so much eagerness. They bring forth sometimes one, sometimes two young ones at a time, of whom they are very fond. They live both in the sea, and upon ice; they are not easy to come at whilst they keep in the sea, by reason of their prodigious strength; but when they are catch'd upon the ice, they are not able to make any considerable resistance, by reason of the shortness of their legs and unweildiness; but they must be hit in the head, their skin being impenetrable. If they happen to see one of their own kind dead upon the ice, as many of them lay themselves upon it, till it is covered all over and corrupted. The English call them *sea-horses*; the Dutch, *walrusjes*; and the Muscovites, *morses*.

It was in the year 1593, that the English sent the first time their ships to catch those sea-horses. They landed in an island, called by the *Hollanders* the *Island of Bears*; by the *English*, *Cherry-Isle*, from one of the chief directors of their company. The sea-horses are in great numbers thereabouts, of which they kill'd a great many, kept their teeth, and made oil out of their flesh. Which trade they continued with great advantage for several years after.

But in process of time the sea-horses began to be so shy, that as soon as they perceived any men they got into the sea; which rendering the catching of those beasts the more difficult, and subject to great danger, the whales began to be pursued by the industrious mariners.

In the year 1610, the beforementioned English company sent one John Pool into the frozen sea, who discovered that country, which indeed was found out by the *Hollanders* before, in their third voyage to *Nova-Zembla*, made in the year 1596; and being by them taken for a part of *Greenland*, was, by reason of the highland piqued

mountains which are seen a good way off at sea, called *Spitsbergen*.

Mr. Pool having made his particular observations upon the great number of whales found thereabouts, gave an account of it after his return to the company, who the next following year sent him thither with two ships; and they had the good fortune to catch good store both of whales and sea-horses; but by an unfortunate mishap lost both their ships, the ships crew being carried back to England by another English ship which came that way accidentally: these were the first ships that came on that coast on the account of catching of whales.

In the year 1612, the English sent two ships more thither, who meeting with a Dutch vessel which was sent thither upon the same errand, they obliged them to return home without any booty.

The next following year 1613, they pursued the same design with more vigour than before: for having obtained a patent from king James, forbidding all others, as well foreigners as natives (except the *Muscovia* companies) to fail to *Spitsbergen*; they equipp'd seven men of war, wherewith they chased the Dutch, French, those of *Biscay*, nay the English themselves that were interlopers, from thence.

In the year 1614, the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* appeared near *Spitsbergen* with eighteen stout vessels, under convoy of four frigats of thirty guns each; so that the English who were but fifteen strong, durst not enter into a dispute with them at that time. The same happened in the next following year, 1615.

In the next following, two years the English had the better of the Dutch; but in the year 1618, the *Zelanders* came with a strong squadron, and disputing the preference with the English, plundered their ships, and forced them to retreat.

This contest betwixt these two nations continued for some years after, till both sides being weary of it, the passage thither was left free and open to all nations.

The English alledged in their behalf, that they having been the first discoverers of that country, it was but reason they should reap the benefit of what expences they had been at. But the Dutch pleading a precedency, as having been there in 1596, the English answered, That the country found out by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, could be no other but *Spitsbergen*, there being no other country situate under those degrees; and that perhaps he had mistaken the numbers, in putting 72 for 77. But these disputes are of little weight where the sword decides the quarrel.

The king of Denmark did likewise lay a claim to *Spitsbergen*, founded upon this supposition, that it wasa part of the *Old Greenland*,

Situation of Spitsbergen, and its name.

Three sorts of four-legged beasts here.

First Dutch ship of whales.

Difference between the English and Dutch hunters.

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Excessive cold at Spitsbergen.

land, which depended on the crown of Norway, and consequently on him. This claim was back'd by some men of war, but they were not strong enough to oblige the other nations (as their intention was) to pay them a certain custom.

*Situation of Spitzbergen, and its name.*

This part of Greenland, or *Spitzbergen*, is the most northern part of the world, which hitherto is come to our knowledge, being situated betwixt *Nova-Zembla* and *Greenland*, and extends from the 76 to the 80 degree. It is call'd *Spitzbergen* from its high and piqued mountains which are seen at sea. These mountains are of a coarse sand, intermixed with small flat stones like our slates, and consequently have no firm bottom.

*Three sorts of four-leg'd beasts here.*

The country itself is uninhabited, but affords three several kinds of four-leg'd beasts, viz. white bears, not inferior in bulk and strength to our oxen, they live for the most part upon the ice. Besides these, there are likewise foxes here, grey, white, and black; and *rain-deer*, somewhat smaller than a stag, but very like them in shape, and every thing else, only their horns are not so smooth. Their food is a certain green moss, inclining to a yellowish colour, which sprouts out among the sand and stones, being for the rest not unlike that which grows upon trees. Some are of opinion that deeper in the country there grows some grass; and probably there may be some hot springs there, as has been observed before in *Greenland*, and perhaps also some grounds not so much exposed to the snow, which afford some sustenance in winter to those beasts.

In the beginning of *June*, when the foreign ships commonly first appear on these coasts, the country is all over (as far as you can see) covered with snow; and the *rain-deer* are so lean, that they can scarce hang together: But in six weeks after, when the snow is melted away, they thrive to that degree, that they have two inches of fat on their ribs. They don't fly from men, but rather meet them, and that so near, that sometimes you may lay hold of them, or at least can't fail to hit them with a gun; at the noise of which the rest disperse, but return soon after to the same place.

*Exceeding cold at Spitzbergen.*

The country is exceeding cold; and tho' the whole summer is but one continued day, the sun not going below the horizon for six weeks together, yet is this but a slender allay to the cold, which is there the more fierce, the more clear the sky appears, as may be likewise observed with us in winter-time; the mountains especially send forth such cold damps as are intolerable. The air is frequently foggy here, to such a degree, that you cannot see the length

of a ship from you; so that nothing but a *MONCK* thirst after lucre could induce mankind to expose themselves to so many inconveniences.

It is farther to be observed, that though *Plenty of* this country affords neither trees nor shrubs, yet those who are employed in boiling the oil ashore, are never in want of fuel; this defect being supplied by a great quantity of trees, with their roots and branches, which are cast ashore there by the sea: and not only here, but likewise in all the other Northern countries, viz. in *Nova-Zembla*, *Greenland*, and the *Ile of Bears*. From whence those trees come is variously conjectured, some will have them come from the *Tartarian* rivers, which exonerating themselves into those seas, are frozen up in the winter; and in the spring a sudden thaw ensuing, the thick ice-holes, forced along by the swiftness of the current, tear up many trees, nay sometimes whole forests by the roots; which being carried into the sea, are cast on those northern shores. But to this it is objected, that since it is evident that the winter-season has been the same many years ago in those parts, it must necessarily follow that the ice would have forced away all the trees at any reasonable distance from those rivers long before this time; and that consequently those rivers could not furnish so vast a quantity every year, it being impossible these trees should grow so fast, being especially kept back by the continual overflowings of those rivers. Thus much however is certain, that the two great rivers *Oby* and *Petzora*, carry a considerable number of trees every year into the sea; but those cannot come in any comparison with that prodigious quantity which is cast on the northern shores.

*Spitzbergen* has some water-fowl, such as wild ducks of two several kinds. The northern parrots resemble the other parrots both in their bills, and colour of their feathers, but their feet resemble the ducks feet and wild geese. The sea is also barren of fish, such as are fit for nourishment, unless it be now and then a haddock.

The many ships which are every year sent thither from *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the *Netherlands*, come only on the account of the whales, from whence they draw an oil by boiling; each nation having its own station, bay or harbour for that purpose.

It is farther to be observed, that there are several different kinds of whales in the frozen sea, not to speak here of some sea-monsters, which are mentioned by some upon the very credit of the mariners who pretend to have seen them. The whales may conveniently be divided into white and black ones. The black are again of two different

*fuel here*

*wild-fowl here.*

*Different kinds of whales.*



MONCK different kinds, for some have only one hole or pipe, and those are all of one sort; out of the head of those is taken that matter which is call'd by the apothecaries *sperma ceti*: others have two, and these are again distinguished by their different degrees of bigness. The biggest kind is called *Grand-bay*, the rest are subdivided into five several sorts, all which agree in this, that they have no fins on their backs. There is one kind which is never found without them, and for that reason has got the name of *fin-fish*; but being a fierce beast, and commonly very lean, is not much sought for. The white whales are so call'd, because their backs are covered with many white cockle-shells.

Every nation, as I told you before, has its own station or harbour, where they have fix'd their coppers, huts, and other instruments fitted for the boiling of the whale oil, which are always left behind.

The states general of *Holland* have granted a patent to a certain company to catch whales at *Spissburgen*, with exclusion to all others of their subjects: but such as did not belong to the said company, and yet were willing to carry on a trade with whale-oil, being inform'd that not only near *Greenland*, but also in many other parts of those seas, there were a great many whales; have since sent abroad their vessels, which never came ashore, but pursue them in the open sea till they catch them; when they cut them into small pieces, and putting them up in barrels, carry them thus into *Holland*, where they boil the oil in the same manner as they do in *Spissbergen*. But it is to be observed, that this oil has a certain rankness and ill smell contracted by the keeping of the flesh so long in the Barrels. We will now come to a conclusion, after we have given you a short account of the manner of catching the whales.

#### *An Account of the Manner of the catching of the Whales.*

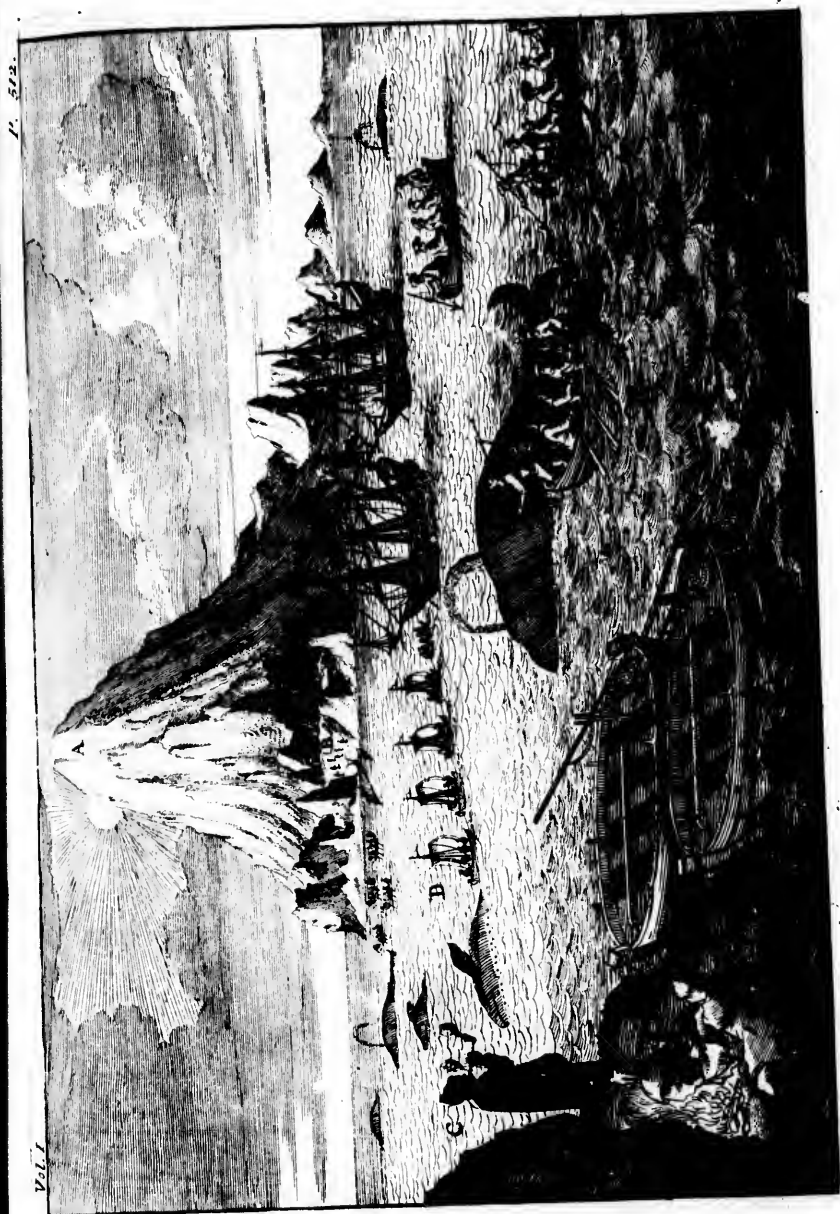
Grand-bay the best of the whales.

AMONG the beforementioned several sorts of whales, that kind which is called *Grand-bay*, is commonly esteemed the best, by reason of his bigness, and the great quantity of fat which affords the most oil; as also because he is the most unweildy, and the easiest to be catch'd; this beast being as lumpish as it is bulky: the head makes up one third part of the whole body, with very small eyes in the midst of it, no bigger than oxens eyes; the eye-balls being no bigger than a good pea. Instead of the ears, appear on the out-side only two holes, so small, that they are scarce to be found out, and will scarce admit of a single straw; but within the head they have a larger orifice, and are formed like ears, which afford them a sharp hearing. On the top of the head he has two pipes, for the drawing in and out of the air, and the discharging the water which he swallows in his mouth, which is forced out through these holes in a vast quantity, and to a great height. His tongue is about eighteen foot long, and ten broad, weighing commonly near six hundred weight; of such a bulk, that when it lies upon the ground, the tallest man cannot look over it. This tongue is inclosed within a good quantity of hair, not unlike to horse-hair, which are fastened to and cover that we commonly call *whalebone*; of those there are about eight hundred within the compass of the mouth great and small; the broad ends are join'd together on both sides of the palate, as the lesser are below: those would questionless wound the tongue by their sharp edges if they were not covered with hair, which

are like a bed for the whales tongue to rest in. He is destitute of teeth, and after he is opened you scarce find any thing within but a few sea-spiders, and some sea-moss which is cast up from the bottom of the sea; from whence it seems probable that neither of those are the ordinary food of this monstrous creature, but the sea-water, which conveys those spiders and moss into his belly; tho' at the same time the mariners look upon it as an infallible sign that whales are near at hand when they meet with many of those spiders, which sometimes cover the surface of the sea. His mouth is about four or five fathom wide, with thick and broad lips weighing sometimes six thousand weight. He is very thick from the head to the middle, but thinner and sharper towards the tail; the fins of which don't stand upright in swimming like other fish, but are on both sides like our crawfish; those he makes use of in swimming with incredible swiftness. The tail itself is about twenty seven foot long, and at the end one and a half or two foot thick; the fins are very strong, wherewith he performs miracles, his whole strength consisting in them. The privy members of the whale are on the outside like the four-leg'd creatures, the yard being about fourteen foot long, and in the thickest part about a foot in circumference. The female commonly exceeds the others in bigness, its privy members are within the body, not unlike those of women, and open and shut as occasion requires. They are to be seen next by their breasts, (where you also find those of the males) as you may see in the cut;

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cut; she never brings forth more than one young one, which follows the old one every where, and sucks her two breasts.

*The whole length of a whale.*

The whole length of a whale is about seventy or eighty foot, having on each side a fin of a fathom in length, and half a one broad.

*The sword fish his enemy.*

There is a certain fish in those seas call'd the *swordfish*, or *finfish*, who is the declared enemy of the whale; it is not above seven or eight foot long, but not easily to be catch'd by reason of its strength and vigour; there being instances, that such a fish after it has been wounded by the harpun, has swam so long and with such swiftness afterwards, that the chalops being tired in the pursuit, have been glad to cut the line. These fish, as we said before, are dangerous enemies to the whale, who flies before them with all his might; but they surround him in vast numbers, pinch and pull out his fins by degrees, whilst he makes the best of his way from them, and endeavours to keep them off with his tail. But after they have bereaved him of his chiefest strength, I mean his fins, they get into his mouth, where they devour his tongue, nothing being more common than to find dead whales floating upon the water without tongues.

*How the whales are catch'd.*

The manner of catching and killing of the whale is performed thus: as soon as they espy a whale either from the shore or ship, they put out three chalops, man'd with six men each, among whom is one who being call'd the *barpuneer*, is the person who is first to wound the whale with his *barpun*. Those three chalops row as fast as possibly they can after the whale, but must be very cautious they don't come too near his tail; when they come pretty near him, they are as silent and make as little noise with their oars as possibly they can, for fear the whale should take to the bottom of the sea. When they are near enough, the *barpuneer* of one of these chalops, who believes himself to be within reach, throws his *barpun* at him with all his force; this *barpun* is about three foot long, having on both sides hooks or notches to prevent its being torn out again, after it once is fixed in the body of the whale: it has a wooden handle, the better to ballance it for the conveniency of throwing, and a line fastned at the end, which being about two hundred fathom long, is laid in a vessel in the chalop; for no sooner finds the whale himself to be wounded, but with incredible swiftness he goes towards the bottom of the sea; so that the line smoaks, being rub'd against the sides of the chalop, and would certainly take fire if the men did not continually pour water upon it. There is also one whose business it is to take care that the line be not entangled; for if that should happen,

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they have nothing to do but to cut the line, *Monck* for else it would overset the chalop. If they find one of the lines fall short, those of the next chalop furnish them with theirs, which they fasten to it: But all this would stand them in little stead, if the nature of this fish were such as to be able to abide long under water; whereas after he has run some hundred fathoms deep, he is forced to come up again to take breath, at what time he sends forth such a terrible sound through his pipes, that it may be heard at half a league distance, tho' some make a much greater noise than others. As soon as the fish appears upon the surface of the water, the chalops pursue him, being directed by the line which shews them the way. The *barpuneer* who comes first nearest to him, throws another *barpun* into his body, which makes him once more take towards the bottom; but after he comes up again the second time, they don't make any further use of the *barpun*, but of certain small pikes, not unlike a lance, of which there are two sorts, throwing-lances and pushing-lances. The throwing-lances resemble an arrow, and are used much in the same manner, but have no hooks at the end; for they are thrown into the body of the whale, and drawn out again, the intention of which is to tire the fish by so many wounds till they dare venture at him with the pushing-lances; for whilst he is in his full strength no-body dares to come near him, for whatever he hits with his tail and fins he batters in pieces, as has been seen sometimes in some chalops, which have been torn in splinters, and the men thrown up to a great height into the air. When they find him almost tired, and his strength considerably abated, they draw nearer to him, and make use of other lances, which resemble our pikes; with those they wound him, but especially near the fins, where this creature is most sensible; and this they hold so long till they have hit his lungs or liver, at which time the fish spouts out a vast quantity of blood through the pipes, which rises into the air as high as the mast: then they desist, and the fish finding himself wounded in so sensible a part, begins to rage most furiously, battering the sea and his body with his fins and tail, till the sea is all in a foam; and when he strikes the fins against his body, and his tail at the waves, you may hear itself a league distance, the sound being no less than if a great cannon was discharged. This struggling affords so agreeable a spectacle to the beholders, that those who have seen it assure us, that they could never be tired with the sight of it. Whilst the whale is making his last efforts, the chalops are obliged to follow him sometimes for two leagues together,

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Monck till having lost all his strength he turns upon one side, and as soon as he is dead upon his back: then they draw him with ropes either ashore (if it be near *Spitsbergen*) or else to the ship, where he is kept so long till he rises above the water; for the first day he lies almost even with the surface of the water, the second he rises about six or seven foot above it, and the third sometimes as high as the sides of the ship. On board each ship there is one whose business it is to open the fish, who after he has put on his garment fitted for that purpose, cuts open his belly with a very large knife, which is not done without a roaring noise, and an intolerable smell sent forth from the entrails of this beast: but notwithstanding the man proceeds in his business, separating the flesh from the bones by pieces of two or three hundred weight, which are convey'd thus either ashore or on board the vessel, where they are cut again in smaller pieces. The tail of this creature serves for

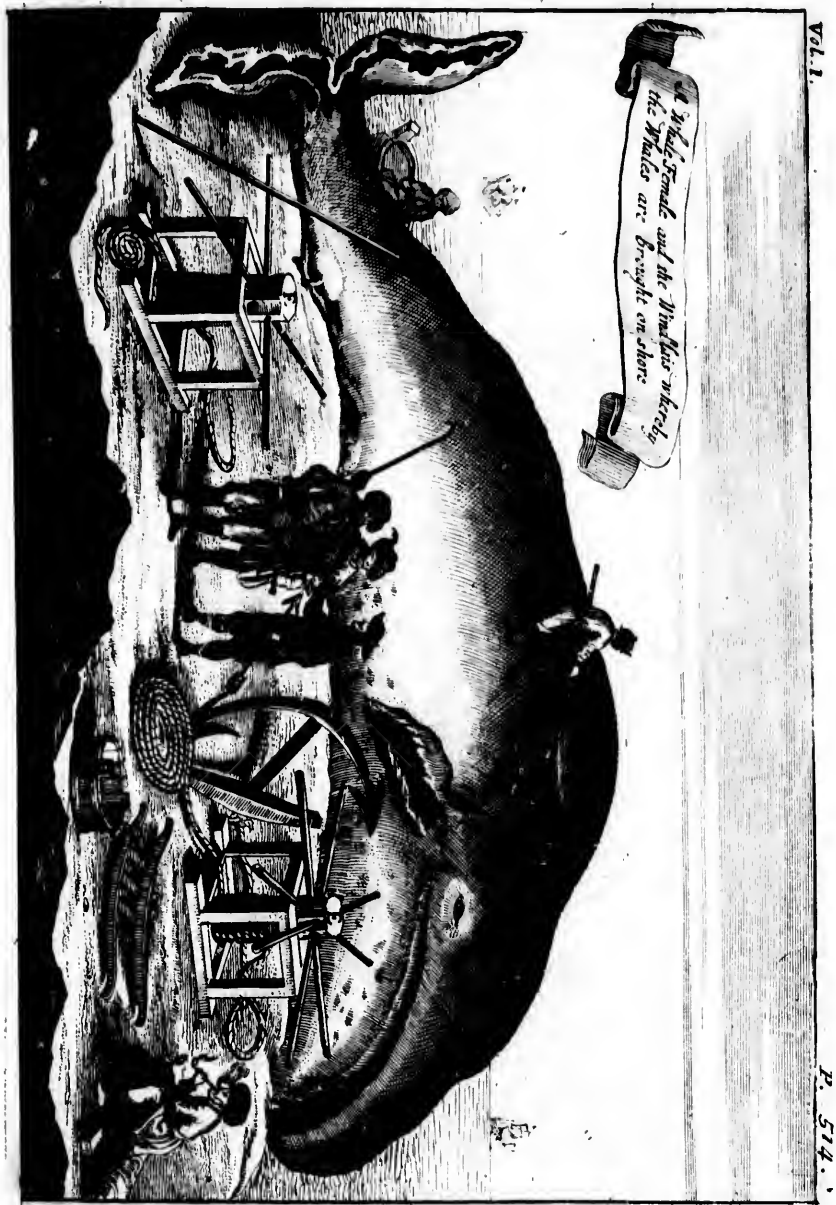
a hacking block, being so very nervous and strong, that it exceeds any wood whatsoever for this use. Being thus cut into small pieces, those who have their settlements at *Spitsbergen* extract the oil immediately by boiling it ashore, which being put into barrels, is thus transported to the respective places to which the ships belong. But those who want this conveniency, and go only abroad to catch the whales in the open sea, are fain to put up those pieces in barrels, which they carry home, and boil them after the same manner as they do at *Spitsbergen*; but this is of less value than the other, as having a very disagreeable scent. Each fish is computed to afford from sixty to one hundred barrels of oil, at three or four pounds sterling the barrel, according as the market goes. There are three *bar-puncers* to each ship, every one of whom has ten pounds for every whale that is kill'd; and sometimes one ship catches ten whales in a voyage.



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DESCRIPTION  
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UKRAINE,  
Containing Several  
PROVINCES  
OF THE

Kingdom of *Poland*,

Lying between the Confines of *Muscovy*,  
and the Borders of *Transylvania*.

Together with their Customs, Manner of Life, and  
how they manage their Wars.

*Written in French by the Sieur de BEAUPLAN.*

*The*

**T**HE *Sieur de Bauplan*, author of this small account, had a long time to make himself perfect in it, having serv'd as he tells us, seventeen years in the Ukraine, as ingineer to the king of Poland. He gives a particular account of the manners of the Poles and Cossacks, with whom in so many years he could not but be extraordinary well acquainted: he describes their persons, particularises much upon their manner of making war, which was his profession, sets down to a tittle the manner of the Cossacks making their irruptions into Turkey and Tartary by way of the Black Sea, describes the country, and particularly the river Boristhenes, with that exactness, as may be expected from a mathematician who had view'd all those parts, and made special observations, not only for his own curiosity, but to fulfil the duty of his employment, which was to erect forts, and even build towns in convenient places. Tho' he calls this only a description of Ukraine, yet he stops not there, but sets down the manner of electing the kings of Poland, the greatness of their nobility, and way of treating in solemn feasts. Nor is this all, but he runs into Tartary, and besides describing the country of Crim and Budziak, takes his course quite round the Black Sea, observing all places of note upon it, and not only acquaints us with the manners and customs of both those people, but very particularly informs us, how they make their irruptions into Poland and the Ukraine, both in summer and winter, and how they do to avoid coming to battle when pursued. Nothing is wanting, but the map which in some places he refers to; but in a short advertisement he informs the reader, that all his papers and draughts, which it seems he had left to be engraved in Poland, had been there seized by the king, which has deprived us of the satisfaction of so exact a map as we might reasonably expect from him.

## A Description of Ukraine, and the River Boristhenes, commonly call'd the Nie- per, or Dnieper, from Kiow down to the Sea into which it falls.

The city  
Kiow.

**K**IOW, otherwise called *Kiowia*, was one of the antientest cities in *Europe*, as may be seen still by the remains there of antiquity: as for instance, the height and breadth of its ramparts, the depth of its ditches, the ruins of churches, the old tombs of several kings found within them. Of the churches, only two remain as a memorial, which are those of *S. Sophia* and *S. Michael*; for of all the rest there is nothing left but ruins, as of that of *S. Basil*, whose walls are yet standing five or six foot high, with *Greek* inscriptions on them of above fourteen hundred years standing upon alabaster stones, but now almost worn out with age. Among the ruins of those churches are to be seen the tombs of several princes of *Russia*.

The churches of *S. Sophia* and *S. Michael* have been rebuilt after the antient manner. That of *S. Sophia* makes a fine front, and looks graceful on every side, for the walls are adorn'd with several histories and *Mosaick* figures: which work is made of very small bits of several colours, shining like glass; and so well put together, that it is hard to discern whether it is painting or tapestry: the arch is made only with earthen pots fill'd and plaister'd all about. In this church are the tombs of several kings; and the *Archimandrita* or chief of all the monks reside there. *S. Michael's* church is called the *Golden Roof*, because it is cover'd with gilt plates. The body of *S. Barbara* is shewn there, said to be brought thither during the wars of *Nicomedia*.

This antient city is seated on a plain that is at the top of a hill, which commands all the country on the one side, and the *Boristhenes* on the other, that river running along the foot of the hill; between which and the water stands *New Kiow*, a town at present but little inhabited, there being not above five or six thousand people in it. It is about four miles in length along the *Boristhenes*, and three miles in breadth from the *Boristhenes* to the hill, being enclosed with a scurvy ditch twenty five foot wide. Its shape is triangular,

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encompassed with a wooden wall, and *BEAU-*towers of the same materials. The *CITTE PLAN.* stands on the ridge of a hill commanding the lower town, but commanded by *Old Kiow*.

The *Roman* catholicks have four churches in this town, which are, the cathedral, that of the *Dominicans* in the market-place, the *Bernardines* under the hill, and of late years the *Jesuits*, who have taken up their quarters between the *Bernardines* and the river. The *Greek Russians* may have about ten churches, which they call *Cerkuis*; one of which is near the town-hall, where is an university or academy, call'd by them *Bracha Cerkuis*, and another at the foot of the castle, called *S. Nicolay*: if I mistake not, the rest are in several parts of the town, which I don't particularly remember.

This town has but three good streets, all the others being neither strait nor regularly bending, but running in and out like a labyrinth. It is look'd upon as divided into two towns, one of which is called the *Bishop's Town*, where the cathedral is; the other the *Common or Publick*, in which the other three catholick and *Greek* churches are. There is a good trade, considering the country: the principal commodities are corn, furs, wax, honey, tallow, salt, fish, &c. There belong to it, a *bishop*, a *palatin*, a *castellane*, a *tarosla*, and a *god*. And there are four several jurisdictions, or courts; that of the bishop, that of the palatin or *tarosla*, which is the same; the third of the *wouyt*, and the last of the consuls or sheriffs.

The houses are built after the manner of *Muscovy*, all upon a floor, low enough, and seldom above one story high. They use candles made of sticks of wood, so cheap, that for a double, which is less than a farthing, there are more of them than will serve the longest winter night. The chimneys are sold in the market, which is very comical, as is their manner of dressing meat. Their weddings, and other ceremonies, we shall speak of hereafter. And yet from hence came that brave people, known at present by the name of

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*Zaporouky*



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*Zaporouky Cossacks*, spread of late years into so many places along the *Boristhenes*, and the neighbouring parts, whose number at present amounts to 120000 disciplin'd men, and ready in less than eight days upon the least command they receive from the king. These are the people, who very often, and almost every year, make excursions upon the *Euxine Sea*, to the great detriment of the *Turks*. They have several times plunder'd the *Crim Tartary*, ravag'd *Anatolia*, sack'd *Trebisond*, and run to the mouth of the *Black Sea*, within three leagues of *Constantinople*, where they have put all to fire and sword, and then returned home with a rich booty, and some slaves, which are generally young children, whom they breed up to serve them, or present them to some lord of their country; for they keep none that are grown up, unless they think them rich enough to pay a good ransom. They are never more than between six and ten thousand men when they make their ravages, and cross the sea miraculously in pitiful boats they make themselves, and of whose shape and structure I shall speak hereafter.

Having mention'd the bravery of the *Cossacks*, it will not be amiss to give an account of their manners and employment. It is therefore to be understood, that among those people in general there are men expert in all sorts of trades necessary for human life, as house and ship-carpenters, cartwrights, smiths, armourers, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, coopers, tailors, &c. They are very expert at preparing of salt-peter, whereof there is great plenty in those parts, and make excellent cannon-powder. The women spin flax and wool, whereof they make cloth and stuffs for their own use. They all understand tilling, sowing, reaping, making of bread, dressing of meal, brewing of beer, making of *hydromel*, *breba*, *aqua vite*, &c. There is no body among them, of what age, sex, or condition soever, that does not strive to outdo another in drinking, and carousing effectually; and no Christians trouble themselves less for tomorrow than they do.

There is no doubt but all of them in general are capable of all arts; yet some are more expert than others in certain professions, and others there are more universally knowing than the common sort. In short, they are all ingenious enough, but they go no further than what is necessary and profitable, particularly in country affairs.

The land is so fruitful, it often produces such plenty of corn, they know not what to do with it, because they have no navigable rivers that fall into the sea, except

the *Boristhenes*, which is not navigable fifty leagues below *Kiew*, or *Kiovia*, by reason of thirteen falls on it, the last of which is seven leagues distant from the first, which makes a good day's journey, as may be seen in the map. This it is that hinders them carrying their corn to *Constantinople*; and is the cause of their sloth, and that they will not work but just when necessity obliges them, and that they have not wherewithal to buy what they stand in need of, chusing rather to borrow of the *Turks*, their good neighbours, than to take pains to earn it. So they have meat and drink, they are satisfied.

They are of the *Greek church*, which in their language they call *Rus*; have a great veneration for festivals, and fasting-days, which take up eight or nine months of the year, and consist in abstaining from flesh. They are so positive in this formality, that they believe their salvation depends on this distinction of meats: and I believe there is no nation in the world like this for liberty in drinking; for no sooner is one drunken fit off, but they take a hair of the same dog. But this is to be understood when they are at leisure; for whilst they are in war, or projecting some enterprize, they are extraordinary sober. Nothing belonging to them is so coarse as their habit, for they are subtle and crafty, ingenious and free-hearted, without any design or thought of growing rich; but are great lovers of their liberty, without which they do not desire to live: and for this reason it is, they are so subject to revolt, and rebel against the lords of the country, when they see themselves crush'd, so that they are scarce seven or eight years without mutinying against them. In other respects they are a faithless people, treacherous, perfidious, and not to be trusted but upon good security.

They are of a strong constitution, able to endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst; indefatigable in war, bold, resolute, or rather rash, not valuing their lives.

They shew most valour and conduct when they fight in their *tabards*, and cover'd with their carts (for they are very expert at their fire-arms, their usual weapons) and in defending strong places. At sea they are not bad, nor very good a horseback. I remember I have seen two hundred *Polish* horse, rout two thousand of their best men: true it is, a hundred of these *Cossacks*, under the shelter of their *tabards*, do not fear a thousand *Poles*, nor as many *Tartars*, and were they as brave a horseback as they are afoot, I should think them invincible. They are well made, strong and sinewy; love to be well clad, and make it appear when they have been plundering

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plundering among their neighbours, for otherwise their garments are indifferent enough. Naturally they are very healthy, and free enough even from that distemper peculiar to Poland, which the physicians call *Polonica*; because all the hair of the head is sensible of it, tangles and clogs together in a most unaccountable manner; the people of the country call it *cośbes*. Few there die of sickness, unless they be of a very great age, most of them dying in the bed of honour, being kill'd in war.

The nobility among them, whereof there is but a very small number, hold of that of Poland, and seems to be asham'd to be of any other religion but the catholick, to which they daily go over; tho' all the great men, and those that are called princes, are come out of the Greek church.

The peasants there are very miserable, being obliged to work three days a week, themselves and their horses, for their lord; and to pay, proportionably to the land they hold, such a quantity of wheat, abundance of capons, pullets, hens, and goslings; that is, at *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, and *Christmas*: Besides all this, to carry wood for the said lord, and a thousand other jobs they ought not to do; besides the ready money they exact from them, as also the tithe of their sheep, swine, honey, and all sorts of fruit, and every third year the third beef. In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay up any thing, being under such hard circumstances. Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the *Polish* nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves. This slavery makes many of them run away, and the boldest of them fly to the *Zaporouys*, which is the *Cossacks* place of retreat in the *Borishbenes*; and after having pass'd some time there, and been once at sea, they are reputed *Zaporoufsky Cossacks*; and this sort of desertion much increases the number of their troops. This the present revolt sufficiently testifies; these *Cossacks* after the defeat of the *Polanders*, rising in rebellion to the number of 200000; who being masters of the field, have possessed themselves of a country above a hundred and twenty leagues in length, and sixty in breadth. I had forgot to observe, that in time of peace, hunting and fishing are the usual employments of the *Cossacks*; and this is what I had to say in general of the manners and customs of these people.

Now to return to the matter in hand: *BEAU-* It is believ'd that at the time when the *PLAN.* ancient *Kiaw*, or *Kiovia*, was in its splendor, the channel in the sea which runs to *Constantinople* was not open; and there are grounds to conjecture, or rather certain proofs, that the plains on the other side, the *Borishbenes*, which stretch out as far as *Muscovy*, were once all under water, as appears by the anchors and other tokens found of late years about *Lofficza*, upon the river *Sula*. Moreover all the towns built on those plains, seem to be new structures erected within some few centuries. I had the curiosity to enquire into the histories of the *Russians*, thinking to learn something concerning the antiquity of those parts, but without success; for having asked some of the most knowing among them, I could only be inform'd that the great and bloody wars which have always harassed their country from end to end, had not spar'd their libraries, which even from the beginning had been burnt; but that they remember'd it was delivered to them by ancient tradition, that formerly the sea covered all those plains, as has been said, which was about two thousand years since; and that it was about nine hundred years since *Old Kiaw* had been totally ruined, excepting those two churches before mentioned. Another powerful reason is alledged to prove that the sea extended as far as *Muscovy*, which is, that all the ruins of old castles and ancient towns in those parts are upon high places, and mountains, and not so much as one on the plain, which gives cause to believe it was under water. Besides all this, in some of those ruins there have been found cellars full of a sort of copper coin with this impression.



However it was, I shall only add, that all the plain reaching from the *Borishbenes* to *Muscovy*, and further, is very low and sandy, except only the northern bank of *Suly*, and those of *Worfo* and *Piczol*, as may be seen much better in the map. It is farther to be observed, that the motion of these rivers is almost undiscernible, and much like a standing water: and if you add all these reasons to the violent and rapid motion of the channel in the *Black-Sea*, which running before *Constantinople*,

Russian nobility.

Peasants, their duty to their lords.

The country along the river Boristhe-

\*A sort of carts used which the Cossacks use when they march up on plain ground.

BEAU- nople, falls into the *White-Sea*, you will  
PLAN. find it no difficult matter to grant that  
these places have been formerly under  
water.

Let us go on with the description of our  
*Boristhenes*. A league above *Kiow*, and  
on the other side of it, the river *Desna*  
falls into the *Boristhenes*, which comes  
from near the city *Mosko*, and is above a  
hundred leagues in length.

Half a league below *Kiow* is a burrough,  
and in it a great monastery, the usual re-  
sidence of the metropolitan, or patriarch.  
Under the mountain, that is, near the  
monastery, there are abundance of caves in  
the nature of mines, full of great number  
of bodies, preserved there these fifteen  
hundred years, in the nature of the *Egyptian*  
mummies. It is believed the primitive  
Christian hermits digged those subterrane-  
ous places to serve God there in private,  
and lived peaceably in those caverns dur-  
ing the heathen persecutions. There they  
shew a certain *S. John*, who is entire down  
to the waste, being so far buried in the  
ground. The religious men of that place  
told me, that the said *S. John* finding the  
hour of his death draw near, digged his  
own grave, not at length after the usual  
manner, but in depth. His time being  
come, for which he had long before pre-  
pared, and having taken leave of his bre-  
thren, he put himself into the earth; but  
Divine providence so ordained it, that he  
could go but half way in, though the hole  
was deep enough. There is also to be  
seen one *Helen*, whom they hold in great  
veneration, and an iron chain, wherewith  
they say the devil beat *S. Antony*; and that  
it has the virtue of expelling those wicked  
spirits out of such bodies as are bound with  
it. There are also three mens heads on  
dishes, from which there daily distils an  
oil of sovereign use for curing of certain  
distempers. In those places are kept also  
the bodies of several persons of note, and  
among the rest those of twelve masons,  
who built the church; and these are pre-  
served like so many precious relics to be  
shewn to curious persons, as they did to  
me several times; I having once my win-  
ter quarters at *Kiow*, where I had leisure  
to learn all these particulars. For my part,  
as I said before, I find no great difference  
between these bodies and the *Egyptian*  
mummies, but that their flesh is neither so  
black, nor so hard; and I believe it is the  
nature of those caves or mines that preserves  
them from corruption, they being of a sort  
of petrified sand, hot and dry in winter,  
and cold and dry in summer, without any  
dampness. There are abundance of monks  
in that monastery, where, as has been said,  
the patriarch of all *Russia* resides, and owns

no superior but him of *Constantinople*. Be-  
fore this monastery there is another where  
a great many nuns live, to the number  
of a hundred, who work at their needle,  
and make abundance of fine works on  
curious handkerchiefs, to sell to those that  
come to visit them. They have the liberty  
to go abroad when they will, and their  
usual walk is to *Kiow*, about half a league  
distant from their monastery. Their habit  
is all black, and they go two and two to-  
gether, as most catholic religious men do.  
I remember I have seen as fine faces among  
those nuns as any in all *Poland*.

On the mountain that looks towards  
the river between *Kiow* and *Piebarre*,  
there is a monastery of *Russian* monks,  
which has a very fine prospect, and is cal-  
led *S. Nicolay*. Those monks eat nothing but  
fish, but they have the liberty to go abroad  
when they please, to divert themselves,  
and make visits.

In a bottom under *Piebarre*, is a bur-  
rough, which they call *Tripoly*.

Below that is *Stayky*, on the top of a  
mountain; the town is antient, and there  
is a ferry-boat to pass over the river. Then  
follows *Richow* seated in the same manner  
on a mountain. This is a place of conse-  
quence, and deserves to be fortified, because  
the river there is easy to pass.

Lower yet is *Tretemirof* a monastery of  
*Russians*, seated amidst precipices, encom-  
passed with inaccessible rocks. Thither it  
is the *Cossacks* convey their best goods;  
there is another ferry over the river.

A league from thence, on the other side,  
you come to *Pereaslav*, a town that seems  
not to be very antient, because standing  
low, yet very considerable for its situation,  
naturally strong, and there might easily  
be built a considerable citadel, to serve as  
a place of arms against the *Muscovites* and  
*Cossacks*. The place has about six thousand  
houses, and the *Cossacks* keep a regiment  
there.

Lower towards *Russia* is *Kaniow*, a very  
antient town and cattle, in which a regi-  
ment of *Cossacks* always keep garison, and  
there is a ferry.

Below still on the other side are *Bobunsk*  
and *Domontou*, places of small note.

Lower yet, and still on the side of *Russia*,  
stands *Cirkacre* a very antient city, well  
seated, and easy to be fortified. I have  
seen it in its splendor, when it was in a  
manner the center of the *Cossacks* places of  
refuge, the general residing there; but  
we burnt it in the year 1637, on the 18<sup>th</sup>  
of *December*, two days after we had gain'd  
a victory over the said *Cossacks*. During  
that war they kept a regiment of theirs in  
this place, and there is a ferry upon the  
river.

Further yet are *Barowiche*, *Baugia*, *Woronowka*; and on the other side *Czereben*, about a quarter of a league from *Ambrowa*; as also *Krilew*, on the *Russian* side upon the river *Nazemien*, a league from the *Borishbenes*.

Lower still on the side of *Muscovy* is *Kremierkzow*; there are some ancient ruins, on which I designed a castle in the year 1635. This place is very pleasant and convenient to live in, and is the last town, for beyond it is all a desert country.

A league below it is the mouth of *Pieczol*, a river abounding in fish; and beyond it on the side of *Russia* is a little river they call *Omelnick*, which falls into the *Borishbenes*, and is very full of crayfish. Lower on the same side is another little river, called *Drug Omielnik*, like the other very full of crayfish. Opposite to it is *Woroko*, a good large river, abounding in fish, and runs into the *Nieper*; and on the same side is *Orel*, still richer in fish than the others. At the mouth of this river it was I saw above two thousand fishes taken at one draught of a net, the least of which was a foot long.

On the other, which is next *Russia*, there are several lakes, so very full of fish, that the great quantity which dies for want of room in that standing water, causes an extraordinary corruption, which infects the very water. They call those places *Zamakam*, about which I have seen dwarf cherry-trees two foot and a half high, or thereabout, which bear very sweet cherries, as big as plums, but are not ripe till the beginning of *August*. There are whole thickets of these little cherry-trees, very thick, and sometimes half a league in length, but not above two or three hundred paces over. It is pleasant at that time of the year to see those little groves of cherry-trees, whereof there are many in the plains, and for the most part in the bottom of valleys. There are also abundance of dwarf almond-trees, but wild, and the fruit very bitter; nor are there such numbers as to make one of those little woods, as there is of the cherries, which are as good as if they were cultivated. I must confess that my curiosity prevailing with me to transplant some of those cherry and almond-trees to *Bar*, my usual place of residence, the fruit grew bigger and better relish'd, and the tree outgrew its natural smallness. Above those places is a small river, called *Demokant*, full of crayfish, above nine inches long. There they gather water-nuts, which are like water-calthrops, very good to eat boil'd.

Lower still is *Romanow*; which is a fort of a mount where the *Cossacks* sometimes meet to consult together, and bring their

troops into a body. It would be a convenient and pleasant place to build a town.

Below this is an island half a league long, and one hundred and fifty paces over, which in spring is overflowed, they call it *Romanow*; several fishermen from *Kiow* and other places put in there. At the end of this island, the river has its full breadth, without being any more divided or stopped by islands. For which reason the *Tatars* are not afraid to pass over there, being in no danger of ambushes, especially above the island.

Lower still on the *Russian* side, is a place called *Tarenki Rog*, one of the pleasantest I ever saw to live in, and of great consequence to build a fort, which would command the river; for there it has its full breadth, and is not above two hundred paces over, and I remember I shot a carabine which carried from one bank to the other. The farther bank is somewhat higher, and is called *Socogura*; to add to the conveniency of the place, it is all encompass'd with channels abounding in fish, which run among the islands.

Below is the island of the monastery all hemmed in with rocks and very high, with precipices all round twenty five or thirty foot high, save only toward the upper end, where it is lower, and for that reason it is never overflowed. There was formerly a monastery in it, whence the name was given it. Were not this island commanded from the shore, it would be good living there; the length of it is about one thousand paces, the breadth eighty or a hundred: In it there are abundance of snakes and other serpents.

Next is *Konefky Ostro*, near three quarters of a league long, and a quarter over at the upper end, full of woods and bogs, and flooded in spring. In this island there are abundance of fishermen, who for want of salt preserve their fish with ashes, and dry a great deal. They fish in the river *Samar*, which on the other side falls into the *Nieper*, upon the right of the upper end of *Konefky Ostro*. This river of *Samar* and its territory is very considerable, not only for its plenty of fish, but for the honey, wax, deer, and wood for building, whereof it has greater store than any other. Thence was brought all the wood used to build *Kudac*, of which place we shall soon speak. This river runs very slow because of its windings; the *Cossacks* call it the holy river, perhaps on account of its fruitfulness. I have seen herrings and sturgeon caught there in the spring, for there are none at any other time.

Below the end of *Konefky Ostro*, is *Kniarow Ostro*, a little island all of solid rock

Islands on the Borishbenes.

River Pieczol.

Lake.

BEAU- about five or six hundred paces long, and  
PLAN. one hundred broad, free from being flood-  
ed, as is *Koracky Ostro* still lower, all  
rock too, without wood, but full of  
snakes.

Within cannon-shot lower is *Kudac*, which is the first *porouy*, that is, a ridge of rocks running quite cross the river, and hindering navigation. There is a fort which I caused to be erected in *July 1635*. but in *August* following, after I was gone, one *Solyman* general of certain rebellious *Cossacks*, in his return from the sea, perceiving that castle obstructed his return into the country, surprized it, and cut the garison in pieces, which then consisted of about two hundred men under the command of col. *Marcon*: and *Solyman*, after taking and plundering the fort, returned with the *Cossacks* to *Zaporouy*; yet they continued not long masters of it, being besieged and taken by the other loyal *Cossacks*, under the command of the great *Koniefpolsky* catelan of *Cracofsky*; and lastly, that general of the rebels was taken with all his followers, and carried to *Warsaw*, where he was quartered. The *Polanders* afterwards neglected that fort, which made the *Cossacks* insolent, and gave them the means to revolt in the year 1637. when we met them, being eighteen thousand strong, in their *tabort* at *Komaiky*, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *December* the same year, about noon; and though our army consisted but of four thousand fighting men, we fell on and routed them. The fight lasted till midnight, of them about six thousand were killed upon the spot, and five pieces of cannon taken; the rest escaped by the assistance of the night then very dark, leaving us masters of the field. We lost about a hundred men, and had a thousand wounded, and among them several commanders. *Monsieur de Morueil* a French gentleman, who was a lieutenant colonel, lost his life, together with his ensign. Captain *Jukesby* was killed, and the lieutenant to *Monsieur de Crofede*, besides several other strangers. After this defeat the war with the *Cossacks* lasted till *October* following, and then peace was concluded. That great and noble *Koniefpolsky* went in person to *Kudac* with four thousand men, and continued there till the fort was made tenable, which was done in a month, or thereabouts: Then the general went away carrying along with him two thousand men, and commanded me with some forces and pieces of cannon to take a view of the country as far as the last *Porouys*; and at my return ordered me to come up the river in their boats with my lord *Ostrowok* great chamberlain, which gave me the opportunity of seeing thirteen falls of the water, and of making

the map as you see it. In those parts one hundred men nor a thousand can travel in safety; nor ought armies to march but in good order, for those plains are the usual abode of the *Tartars*, who having no settled place to be in, are continually ranging up and down those vast plains, and never go fewer than five or six thousand, and sometimes ten thousand in a body. We leave it to another place to give an account of their manners, and way of making war. In this place I will only say, that I have seen and observed all the thirteen falls, and passed over them all in one single boat, going up the river, which at first sight seems impossible; some of those falls we have made way thro', being seven or eight foot high; judge whether those were not places to ply the oars. Among them none can be admitted as a *Cossack*, that has not gone up all the *Porouys*; so that by their rule I may be a *Cossack*, and that is the honour I acquired by that voyage.

To give you the true definition of the word *Porouy*, I must inform you that it is a *Russian* word signifying a stone or rock; and this *Porouy* is a ridge of such stones reaching quite cross the river, whereof some are under water, others level with the surface, and others eight or ten foot above it. They are as big as a house, and very close to one another, so that it resembles a dam or bank to stop the course of the river, which then falls down five or six foot in some places, and six or seven in others, according as the *Boristhenes* is swoln. For in spring when the snow melts, all the *Porouys* are cover'd with water, except the seventh, call'd *Nienafites*, which alone obstructs navigation at that time of the year. In summer and autumn when the waters are very low, the falls are sometimes ten or fifteen foot; and between these thirteen falls there is but one place, which is betwixt *Budilou* the tenth and *Tawolzan* the eleventh, where the *Tartars* can swim over, the banks there being very easy to get up. In all the distance from the first to the last *Porouy*, I observ'd but two islands that are not flooded: The first is athwart the fourth fall call'd *Srelezi*, which is all rock thirty foot high, all precipices quite round: It is about five hundred and eighty paces long, and seventy or eighty over: I know not whether there is any water in it, for no creature goes into it but the birds, yet all about it is cover'd with wild vines. The second is much bigger, all rock too, but not so full of precipices as the other. The place is naturally strong and pleasant to dwell in. In this island there grows abundance of *Tavalala*, which is a red wood as hard as box, whose quality is to make horses stale.

The



The island is call'd *Tawolzano*, the name of the eleventh fall, as has been said before. The thirteenth *Porony* is call'd *Wolny*, and is a very convenient place to build either a town or fort.

A cannon-shot above it is a little rocky island call'd by the *Cossacks* *Kaczawanice*, which signifies boiling of millet, to express their satisfaction for being come down all the falls in safety; therefore they feast in this little island, and it is with millet that they treat themselves on their voyages.

Below *Kaczawanice*, and as far as *Kuokosow*, there are pleasant places to inhabit. *Kuokosow* is a little river which falls into the *Nieper* or *Boristhenes* on the side of *Tartary*, and which gives name to a neck of land enclosed by the said *Boristhenes*, and hemm'd in by two inaccessible precipices, as appears in the map, so that there is no coming at it but on the land-side through a place about two thousand paces in breadth and low enough. It were need only to close up this place to make a fine strong town. It is true that the ground not being plain, it makes a fort of hollow, so that the *Tartar* banks command these places, and they again command the *Tartar* banks. These places are very high, the river is there free and undivided, and very narrow, especially towards the south, which you will find mark'd down in the map by pricks. Those are the narrowest parts I have so marked, and I have seen *Polanders* with a bow shoot across the river, and the arrow has fallen above a hundred paces beyond the bank. There is the best and safest ford the *Tartars* have, for there the channel cannot be above a hundred and fifty paces over; the banks are easy, and the country open, so that they have no ambushes to fear: This pass is also call'd *Kuiskosow*. Half a league lower is the head of *Chortiza*, but I having gone no further on that side, shall only tell you what I learn'd by information from others, and therefore I do not deliver it as undeniable. They say that island is considerable because of its great height, and being almost hemm'd in with precipices, therefore not very accessible. It is two leagues in length, and half a league in breadth, especially towards the upper end, for it grows narrower and lower towards the west: it is not subject to floods, has abundance of oaks, and would be a very good place to build a town, which would be as it were a watch-tower over the *Tartars*. Below this island the river grows very wide.

Below it is *Wielky Ostro*, an island two leagues long, and all plain; it is of no great consequence, because in spring it is flooded, only about the middle, where there remains a place dry of about one thousand

and five hundred or two thousand paces *BEAU-diameter*. Opposite to this island on the *PLAN.* *Tartar* side there rises a river which falls into the *Nieper*, and is call'd *Konsekawoda*, very rapid, makes a channel apart, and holds its own till two leagues below the island of *Tawan*, along the *Tartar* banks; sometimes it breaks out of the river, then returns to it again, leaving great banks of sand between its course and the *Nieper*.

*Tomabowka* is an island about the third part of a league diameter, or thereabouts, almost round, very high and lofty, like a half globe, all cover'd with wood: From the top of it may be seen all the *Nieper* from *Chortika* to *Tawan*. This island is very pleasant, I could not learn after what manner the banks of it are, but that it is nearer *Russia* than *Tartary*. *Czemislky* had made choice of this place for his retreat when he was threatn'd with a siege, and it was there they began to rendezvous when they rebell'd and took the field in May 1681, and won the battle on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August near *Korjani*.

A little below the river of *Czertomelik* about the middle of the *Nieper* is a pretty big island, with some ruins. It is encompass'd by above ten thousand other islands, lying every way in a very confused and irregular manner, some of them dry, others stony; besides they are all covered with reeds like pikes, which obstruct the channels that part them: and into those confuse places the *Cossacks* make their retreat, which they call *Scharbniza Woyskowa*, that is, the treasure of the army. All these islands are drowned in spring, and only the place on which the ruins are remains dry. The river is full a league between the two banks. In these places it is that all the power of the *Turks* can do no good; many *Turkish* galleys have been lost there as they pursu'd the *Cossacks* returning from the Black Sea: for being got into this labyrinth, they could not find their way back, and the *Cossacks* with their boats play'd upon them, drawing them in athwart the reeds. Ever since then the galleys do not go up the river above four or five leagues. It is believ'd that there are many pieces of cannon in *Scobnicza Woyskowa*, hid there by the *Cossacks* in the channels, and none of the *Polanders* could find them out: for besides that they do not go into those parts, the *Cossacks* who are very close will not reveal the secret to them, and there are but few *Cossacks* that know it. All the cannon they take from the *Turks* they sink; nay their money is hid there too, and they only take it out as they have occasion, every *Cossack* having his particular hiding-place. For after pillaging among the *Turks* they divide the spoil,

BEAU- spoil, when they return to these parts; then  
PLAN. every one hides his little concern, as has  
been said, that is, such things as will not  
decay under water.

Cholna is  
a boat in  
which  
they go to  
sea.

In these places they make their *Cholna*,  
that is, boats to cross the sea, which are  
about sixty foot long, ten or twelve in  
breadth, and eight in depth, with two  
rudders as we shall shew in their draught.

*Kair* is an island five or six leagues long,  
all plain, and cover'd partly with reeds,  
and partly with willows: when the channel  
runs on the *Russian* side, the island is larger  
towards *Tartary*. The west side is never  
drowned.

*Wieleky Wola*, that is, the great water  
opposite to *Skoruke*, where there are but  
few islands, and in the midst of the river  
an empty space without any.

*Nosokowka* is an island about two leagues  
long, without any wood, and drowned in  
springs. The *Tartars* pass over across this  
island, as they do across *Kair Kosmaka*,  
which is but half a league. Betwixt this  
island and *Russia* is a channel call'd *Kosma-  
ka*, down which the *Cossacks* slip when they  
go to sea, for fear of being discover'd by  
the guard kept at the antient ruins of the  
castle *Aslan Korodiche* upon the strait of  
*Tawan*, for there the *Turks* always kept  
guard.

*Tawan* is a streight and great passage of  
the *Tartars*, because there the river runs  
all clear without interruption, and is not  
above five hundred paces over. The *Russi-  
an* side is very high and steep, but the  
other bank is low, which is the island of  
*Tawan*, yet not subject to be drowned,  
and is a proper place to erect a fort, to  
curb the *Cossacks* and prevent their going  
to sea. The river runs all together, that is,  
it makes but one channel till two leagues  
below, where it begins to spread and make  
islands and channels again.

The island of *Tawan* is about two leagues  
and a half long, and a third part of a  
league over. The channel between the  
said island and *Tartary* is *Konskowoda*,  
whereof we have spoken. When the river  
is swollen, it is fordable; about half  
the island floods on the west-side.

The island *Kosaky* is about half a league  
long, but drowned.

The island *Burbanka* about the same  
length, and flooded, but is a place where  
the *Tartars* pass over, tho' there are three  
channels there, viz. the *Konskawoda*, and  
the *Dnieper* twice, and none of these chan-  
nels are fordable.

For, the  
Tartars  
pass over.

Between *Kuockasow* and *Oraakow* there  
are five places where the *Tartars* may pass  
over.

The first is *Kuczkasow*.

The second *Nosowka*: This pass is very

troublesome, being at least three quarters  
of a league over; being full of islands and  
reeds troublesome to pass, and several chan-  
nels: Besides, the *Tartars* are afraid of  
the *Cossacks*, who are not generally far  
from those parts, and lay ambushes for  
them.

The third and best is *Tawan*, being  
the most convenient, as well in regard it  
is but a few day's journey from *Crim Tar-  
tary*, as because the passage is easier, there  
being but two channels; the first *Konska-  
woda*, commonly fordable in that place;  
then the *Dnieper*, that must be swam, but  
it is not very wide, yet may be about five  
or six hundred paces.

The fourth is *Burbanka*, not so good as  
the last; there are three very large chan-  
nels to cross, viz. *Konskawoda* and the *Dnie-  
per* twice, all three not fordable.

The fifth and last is *Oczakow*, which is  
the mouth of the *Dnieper*, a large *French*  
league over. The *Tartars* pass it thus,  
they have flat boats, across which they  
lay poles, to which they tie their horses  
one before another, and as many on the  
one side as on the other to balance equally;  
they put their baggage into the boats, make  
the beasts swim: the horses so ty'd, follow,  
and easily cross the mouth of the river;  
it puts them out of breath, but being tied  
short to the pole which bears them up,  
and the boats going gently along, they  
get over with ease; this is to be understood  
in fair calm weather. In my time the  
*Turks* pass'd all their cavalry over in this  
manner, and it consisted of forty thousand  
horse, when the grand seignior sent to  
besiege *Ozow*, or *Azak*, a town upon the  
*Don*, which the *Muscovite Cossacks* had taken  
the year before, which was 1642, from the  
*Turks*, and he carried it.

Three leagues above *Donczakow* is the  
mouth of *Bog*, where there is a triangular River  
island. If a league long opposite to *Se- Bog-  
menwiruk*.

Above *Semenwiruk* on the *Bog*, is *Wina-  
radnakricza*, which is a fountain of water  
on a precipice; a pleasant place, and fit  
to be inhabited, as well for the conveniency  
of wood, as for the mills that might be made  
there. *Andre Ostro* is an island about a  
league long, and a quarter over, full of  
wood. *Piczane Brod* is very fordable, the  
river does not carry there above three foot  
of water; is narrow, and the banks of an  
easy ascent, so that heavy cannon might pass  
over there. Below that place the river is  
navigable, and above fordable in many  
places, as may be observ'd in the map.

*Krzeminczow* is an island about one thou-  
sand and five hundred or two thousand  
paces in length, a thousand in breadth,  
and between twenty and twenty five foot  
high;

Oczakow  
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high; upright on the north side, and low on the south. Wood for building is but half a league off towards *Oczakow*. North of the said island on the shore, there is a convenient place enough to erect a castle or fort, encompass'd with deep valleys like precipices. *Oucze Sauram*, or *Kansopol Nowe*, is the dwelling-place the *Polanders* have towards *Oczakow*, which I founded in the year 1634; and in 1635 I caus'd a fort royal to be built there; a good place of arms might be there made against the *Turk*.

*Oczakow*  
a Turkish  
garrison.

Let us return to *Oczakow*, to inform the reader, that it is a town belonging to the *Turk* upon the mouth of the *Dnieper*, call'd in the Turkish language *Dziancrimonia*. This town secures the galleys that guard the mouth of the *Boristhenes*, to hinder the *Cossacks* from running down into the *Black Sea*. There is no harbour, but only good anchoring. Under the castle there are two towns seated on a hill inclining on one side, and an absolute precipice on the other, well secured from the south-west to the north-west. The walls of the castle are about twenty five foot high, but those about the town are much lower. In the town there are about two thousand inhabitants. South of those towns there is another little castle in the nature of a platform, on which some pieces of cannon are planted to shoot cross the river to the other side of the *Boristhenes* (which is at least a league wide of the mouth) where there is a tower in which the *Turks* keep guard to discover the *Cossacks* at a distance on the sea, and give the signal to the galleys. But the *Cossacks* laugh at that, for they can pass and repass, as I shall shew hereafter.

About a league from *Oczakow* towards the south-west there is a good harbour, call'd *Berezan*, the mouth of it is at least two thousand paces over; there is no passing it without a boat; it is deep enough for galleys, which can run two leagues up the river that makes the harbour, its name is *Auczakrick*.

*Jezero*, that is, lake *Teligol*, is eight leagues long, and between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> part of a league over; there is a natural dike or bank along the sea-shore to hinder the lake and sea from mixing. It breeds such abundance of fish, that the water stinks for want of an outlet.

*Jezero Kuialik* is two thousand paces from the sea, and is as full of fish as the other. There go caravans to these two lakes from above fifty leagues off for fish. There are carps and pikes of a wonderful bigness.

*Bielegrad* is seated a league from the sea upon the river *Niester*, which the *Turks*

call *Kierman*. This town is also subject to the *Turk*.

*Kilia* is another Turkish town, wall'd round, and with a counterscarp. The castle is seated above the town upon the river *Danube*, a league from its mouth. On the other bank opposite to it is old *Kilia*, of which some ruins are still to be seen.

*Budziak* is between *Bielegrad* and *Kilia*, *Budziak* where is a plain about twelve leagues in length, and five or six in breadth, whether the mutinous *Tartars*, who own neither the *Cham* nor *Turk*, retire. There are about eighty or ninety villages of those libertine *Tartars*, who daily run into the desert plains to steal Christians and sell them to the galleys, for they live upon rapine like birds of prey. They sometimes break into the *Ukraine* and *Podolia*, but make no long stay there, and are forc'd to retire hastily, because they are not above four or five thousand *Tartars*; but they are continually upon the borders, and in the desert places. Their villages are moveable, and their houses built upon two wheels, like the shepherds huts in *France*; for when they have eaten up the grais in one valley, they raise the camp and remove, as I shall at last relate.

*Tendra* is an island three or four leagues from the mouth of the *Dnieper*, but plain, with some bushes: In it there is very good fresh water, and all about it good anchoring.

Two leagues from the mouth of the *Danube* is a low island about two leagues in compass, in which there is also fresh water; the *Turks* call it *Illanada*, that is, island of serpents.

*Smil* is a Turkish town, not wall'd: A league above *Smil* is the place where *Osman* the great *Turk* laid a bridge over, in 1620, when he came into *Podolia* with six hundred thousand fighting men; it is a cannon-shot below *Oblizicza*, and yet he did nothing but take a poor castle call'd *Kofin*, which is upon the river *Niester* in *Walachia*; and the *Polanders* deliver'd it up on condition the *Turk* should return to *Constantinople*; which he did, after losing above eighty thousand men, either by the sword or distempers that rag'd in his army.

The river in that place is very narrow, not above five or six hundred paces over, for the *Turks* with their bows shoot over it. Below that bridge the *Danube* divides into several branches, and the chief channel runs down to *Kilia*.

Between *Rene* and *Oblizicza* are two islands, as may be seen; *Palleco* is a small island between the *Danube* and the sea, about two thousand paces in circumference, being round and encompass'd with precipices, and all wooded; but every year the

**BEAU-PLAN.** *Danube carries away some port, its current being very rapid, and the island of a sandy soil.*

*Galas is in Walachia, the inhabitants Greek Christians; it is seated on the Danube betwixt the mouths of the rivers Serrek and Prul.*

South of it is *Warna*, a port on the *Black Sea* in *Bulgaria*: There is no other place in the *Black Sea* till you come to *Constantinople*, but only the towers of the *Black Sea*, which are upon the mouth of the *Strait* three leagues from *Constantinople*.

### Of the Crim Tartary.

**Tartars.** **C** *CRIM* is a great peninsula in the *Black Sea*, south of *Muscovy*: It is full of *Tartars* come out of the great *Tartary*, who have a king whom they call *cham*, who holds of the great *Turk*; and these are the *Tartars* who so often make inroads into *Poland* and *Muscovy*, to the number of eighty thousand, who burn and ravage all they find in their way; and then return home with fifty or sixty thousand *Russian* slaves, and sell them to serve aboard the galleys, for these people live only upon rapine.

**Description of Crim Tartary.** This peninsula's isthmus is not above half a league over, which if cut it would be an island: Upon it there is a pitiful town without any wall, with only a ditch about it, twenty foot wide, and six or seven foot deep, half fill'd up, encompass'd with a poor rampart six or seven foot high, and about fifteen foot thick. This town is seated about three hundred paces from the eastern shore; has a stone castle, enclosed within another castle, which encompasses it round. And from this town to the western shore there is about half a league, and a ditch that reaches to the sea. In the town there are not above four hundred inhabitants: The *Tartars* call it *Or*, and the *Polanders*, *Perecop*, that is in *English*, a land trench'd about; for which reason geographers call that part of *Tartary*, *Tartaria Precopensis*.

*Kofesow* is an ancient town eastward, belonging to the *cham*; it may contain about two thousand inhabitants, and has a harbour.

*Gopetorkan*, or *Cberfonne*, is an ancient ruin'd place.

*Baciefary* is the *cham* of *Tartary*'s place of abode, and has about two thousand inhabitants.

*Alma*, or *Foczola*, is a village where there is a catholic church dedicated to St. *John*, it contains about fifty houses.

*Balucławia*, a port and town, where they build the grand seignior's ships, galleys, and galleons. The mouth of the harbour is about forty paces over, the port it self about eight hundred paces in length and four and fifty in breadth: What water it has I could not learn; or what bottom, whether sand, owze, or rock;

but it is likely to be above fifteen foot, since vessels above five hundred tun go in loaded. This borough has not above one hundred and twenty houses. It is one of the pleasantest places, and best harbours in the world, for a ship is always afloat in it; and whatever storm blows, it is not to be feared, for it is sheltered from all winds by high mountains that enclose the harbour.

*Mancupo* is a pitiful castle, upon a mountain called *Baba*: All the inhabitants are *Jews*, and there cannot be above sixty houses.

*Cassa* is the capital city of *Crim Tartary*, where there is a *Turkish* governor for the grand seignior. The *Tartars* do not much live in this city; but most of the inhabitants are Christians, served by slaves they buy of the *Tartars*, who take them in *Poland* and *Muscovy*. In this town there are twelve *Greek* churches, two and thirty of *Armenians*, and one of *Catholics*, call'd *S. Peter*: It may contain five or six thousand houses, but there are in it thirty thousand slaves, for in that country they make use of no other servants. This is a city of great trade, and deals to *Constantinople*, *Trebisond*, *Sinope*, and other places; and in short to all parts, as well in the *Black Sea*, as throughout all the *Archipelago* and *Mediterranean*.

*Crimenda* is very ancient, belongs to *Other* the *cham*, and has about an hundred houses.

*Karajsi* also belongs to the *cham*, and has about two thousand houses.

*Tusla*, where the salt-pits are, has about eighty houses.

*Combas* about two thousand houses.

*Kercy* about one hundred houses.

*Akmeçery* about a hundred and fifty houses.

*Arabat*, or *Orbosce*, is a stone castle which has a tower seated on the neck of a peninsula, enclosed by the sea of *Limen* and *Tineka Woda*; and this neck is not above half a quarter of a league over, and is palisado'd from sea to sea. The peninsula is called by our *Cossacks*, *Cofa*, because it is shaped like a sythe; where it is the *cham* keeps his breed, which is accounted to amount to above seventy thousand horses.

*Tinkawoda*

*Tinkawoda* is a strait between the continent and *Cofa*, is but two hundred paces over, and fordable in calm weather. The *Cossacks* pass over in the *tabori*, when they go to steal the *cham*'s horses, as we shall mention hereafter.

From *Baluclawa* to *Cassa*, the sea-coast is very high, and perpendicular, all the rest of the peninsula is low and plain. On the south side towards *Or* there are abundance of moving villages of *Tartars*, living upon carts with two wheels like those of *Budziak*.

The mountains of *Baluclawa* and *Carofu*, are called mountains of *Baba*, whence spring seven rivers that water all the peninsula, and are all shaded with trees.

The river *Kabats* produces vines. On the river *Sagre* are abundance of gardens, and much fruit.

The strait between *Kercy* and *Taman* is not above three or four French leagues over.

*Taman* is a town belonging to the *Turk*, in the country of *Circassia*. This borough has a poor castle, where about thirty *Hanckbares* keep guard; as is the like at *Temruk*, that secures the pass at *Azak*, or at *Zeuf*, which is a town of note. At the mouth of the river *Donais*, east of *Taman*, is the country of the *Circassians*, who are Christian *Tartars*, and look'd upon as the faithfullest.

BEAU-PLAN.

## Of the Crim Tartars.

SINCE we are upon the *Tartar* country, I think it will not be amiss to say somewhat of their manners, way of living, how they make war in the field, what order they observe in marching through an enemy's country, and how they make their retreats into the desert plains.

The *Tartars* for several days after they are born, do not open their eyes, like the dogs and other creatures; their stature is low, for the tallest of them are scarce above our midling men; they are rather slender than gross, but lusty and bony, their stomach high and large, their shoulders thick,

Nature and qualities of the Tartars.

*Cassa* is the capital of *Tartary*.

*Tartary*, for the most part, is inhabited by them in towns there and thirty thousand, called six thousand, they make a city, *Constantinople*, and in the *Black Sea*, and *Me-*

belongs to Other hundred towns.

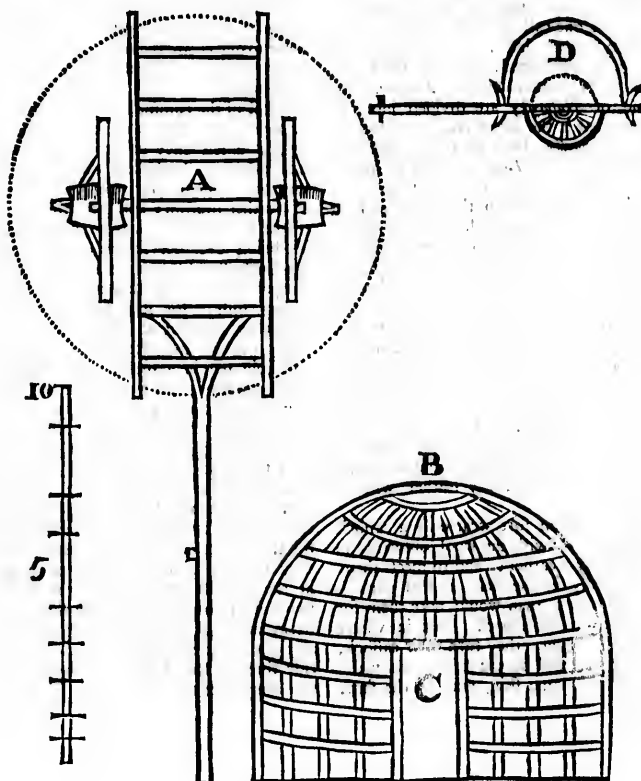
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*Tinkawoda*





BEAU- their neck short, their head big, their face almost round, their forehead high, their eyes narrow, black and long, their nose short, their teeth as white as ivory, their complexion fallow, their hair black and harsh, like a horse's mane. In short, they have quite another physiognomy than Christians, and a man may know them at first sight. Their shape and countenance is somewhat like that of the *American Indians* about *Maragnon*, and of those they call *Caraibes*. They are all of them lusty and bold foldiers, hardy to endure fatigue, and all the sorts of weather. For from seven years of age when they come out of their *cantares*, that is, their houses or huts upon two wheels, they never lie under any other roof but the canopy of heaven, and after that age they never give them any thing to eat but what they fetch down with their arrows. Thus they teach their children to hit a mark, and when they come to twelve years of age they send them to the wars. It is their mothers care when their children are very young, to bathe them every day in water that has salt dissolved in it, to harden their skin, and make them less sensible of the cold, when they are forced to swim rivers in winter.

Crim Tartars.

We shall take notice of two sorts of *Tartars*, the one called *Hayky*, and the other *Crimky*; these last are of that peninsula we have mentioned, in the *Black Sea*, commonly called *Scythia Taurica*. But those of *Nabayky* are divided into two sorts, that is the great *Nabayky*, and the little *Nabayky*, both of them inhabiting between the river *Don*, and that of *Kuban*, but moving, and as it were savage; part of them are subject to the *cham*, or king of *Crim Tartary*, and others to the *Muscovites*. There are some of them subject to no body. These *Tartars* are not of so generous a temper as those of *Crim Tartary*, nor these so brave as those of *Budziak*. They are clothed after this manner, they wear a short shirt of cotton, which reaches but half a foot below their waste, drawers and close cloth breeches, and the common sort of cloth pinked; the finest among them have a *casellan* of pink'd cotton cloth, and over it a cloth gown, lined with fox-skins, or fables, their cap of the same, and their boots of red *Turky* leather without spurs.

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The common sort wear only a cassock of sheep-skins, with the wool outwards in hot or rainy weather; and to meet them unexpectedly in the field in this garb is frightful, for a man would take them for white bears a horseback. But in winter and cold weather, they turn their cassock, wearing the wool on the inside, and make a cap of the same skin, and in the same manner.

Their weapons are a scymitar, a bow and a quiver, with eighteen or twenty arrows, a knife stuck in at their girdle, a flint to strike fire, an awl, with five or six fathom of small leather-thongs, to bind the prisoners they catch. Every one of them carries a sun-dial in his pocket. Only the richest wear coats of mail, the others for want of better provision go to the war without any armour. They are all good horsemen, and resolute, but set ill, their legs being bent, because they ride short, and so they let a horseback as a monkey would upon a hare; yet for all that they are very active a horseback, and so expert, that as they ride a large trot, they will leap off one horse when he is tired upon another they lead, that they may fly the better when pursued, and the horse as soon as eas'd of his master's weight comes about to his right hand, and keeps along even with him, to be ready to receive him again when he has occasion to mount him, according to their usual manner of activity. Thus are the horses taught to attend their masters. In other regards the horses are ugly and ill shaped, but good to endure fatigue; for those *Baque-mates* (so they call that sort of horses) that have a very thick main, and hanging down to the ground, and their tail in the same manner, are the only beasts for running twenty or thirty leagues without drawing bit.

Most of the common sort of those that remove from place to place do not eat bread, unless they be among us. They had rather eat horse-flesh than beef, yew-mutton, or goats, for they know nothing of weather-mutton; and they kill no horse till he is very sick, and no hopes left of his being ever serviceable; and though the horse should die naturally of any distemper whatsoever, they will not forbear eating him, for it is to be conceived that they are not at all dainty. They that go to war live after the same manner, and join ten in a mess; and when any horse among them is not able to travel, they cut his throat; and if they can get any meal they mix it with the blood, as if it were hogs-blood to make puddings; then they boil it in a pot, and eat that as a curious dish. The flesh they dress thus, they quarter the horse, and lend their comrades that want three quarters, keeping for themselves only a hind-quarter, which they cut out in as large slices as they can in the fleshiest part, and only an inch or two thick; this they lay upon their horse's back, and the saddle over it, girdling him as tight as they can: then they mount, ride three or four hours a gallop, for all the army goes the same pace. Then they alight,

alight, unsaddle, turn their slice of meat, and stroking up the horse's sweat with their hand, baste the flesh with it, that it may not grow dry; then they saddle again, and girt hard as before, riding on three or four hours longer, and by that time the flesh is dressed to their mind, as if it were stewed, and this is their dainty cookery. As for the rest which cannot be cut into slices, they boil it with a little salt, but never skim it, for they are of opinion that in skimming the pot they throw away all the juice and relish of the meat. Thus that miserable people lives, drinking fair water when they can meet with it, which is but very seldom, for all the winter they drink nothing but melted snow. Such as are able, as for instance the *morzas*, that is gentlemen, and others who have mares, or she-asses, drink their milk, which serves them instead of wine and brandy. The horse's fat they mix with mullet or barley, or buck-wheat meal, for they lose nothing; and of the hide they make thongs, bridles, saddles, whips (being skilful at all these trades) to put on their horses, for they wear no spurs. Those that do not go to war, eat as it happens, or according to the season, ewe, ram, kid, hens, and other fowl, (as for swine's flesh, they eat none of it no more than the *Jews*) if they can get meal, they bake cakes in the embers; and their most common food is millet, barley, and buck-wheat meal. These sorts of grain are sowed among them, and they eat rice brought from abroad. As for fruit they have very little, but honey is common among them, and they are great lovers of it, and make a sort of drink, but not boiled, so that it causes terrible gripes. Those that dwell in towns are more civilized, and make bread somewhat like ours; their common drink is *breba*, made of boiled millet. This liquor is as thick as milk, and will make a man drunk. They also drink brandy brought them from *Constantinople*. There is another sort of liquor which the poor who cannot buy *breba*, make thus: They put cow's, sheep's, and goat's milk into a churn, and churn it very well, make a little butter, and keep the butter-milk to drink; but this soon growing sour, they make fresh every day. They are a sober people, eat little salt with their meat, but a great deal of spice, and among the rest *Guinea* pepper. They make another sort of liquor, like that used by the people of *Madagascar*, which is when they boil their meat with a little salt without skimming, as has been said, they keep the broth, and call it *cheurbe*, warming it when they drink. When they roast, they spit a whole ewe or ram; when roasted, they cut it into pieces a foot long, and four inches broad. Thus those people feed.

VOL. I.

Since we have said how they live in the *Beau-* field, we will now give an account how *PLAN.* they enter an enemy's country to pillage, and burn and carry away slaves.

When the *cham*, their lord, receives orders from the grand seignior to break into *Manner of Poland*, he with all expedition gathers his troops, that is, eighty thousand men, when he goes in person, for at other times their armies consist but of forty or fifty thousand men, when a *morza* commands them. Their irruptions are generally about the beginning of *January*, but always in winter, that they may meet with no obstacles in their way, and that the rivers and marshes may not hinder them from ranging where-soever they are directed. Being assembled and mustered, they advance; but the reader must observe, that the *Crim Tartary* lies between 46 and 47 degrees of north latitude, yet the desert plains that lie north of them, are covered all the winter with snow till *March*, and this encourages them to undertake such a long course, because their horses are not shod, and the snow saves their feet, which could not be were the ground bare, for the hardness of the frost would batter their hoofs. The greatest and richest men among them shoe their horses with horn, and fasten it to the hoof with leather, but that is not lasting; for which reason they dread a winter when the snow does not lie, and the frost, where their horses that are best shod will slip. Their marches are but short, generally about six *French* leagues, and so move on day after day, laying their business so that that they may be back before the frost breaks, and make their retreat in safety. Thus they come to the frontiers of *Poland*, still travelling along the valleys they are acquainted with, and which seem to succeed one another: and this they do to secure themselves in the open country, and prevent being repulsed by the *Cossacks* who lie in wait in several places to discover when they come, and what way they take, to alarm the country. But the *Tartars* are so cunning, as I observed, that they travel through the deep valleys only, and at night when they encamp, they make no fire; for the same reason they send out parties to discover, and endeavour to take some *Cossacks* that may give them intelligence of their enemies: so the watchfullest and cunningest surprizes his enemy. Thus the *Tartars* march one hundred in front, that is three hundred horses, for every one of them leads two, which serve for relays, as has been said before: their front may extend eight hundred or a thousand paces, and they are eight hundred or a thousand in file, which reaches three long leagues, or four when they keep close, for at other times they extend above ten leagues.

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leagues. This is wonderful to those that have not seen it, for eighty thousand *Tartars* make up above two hundred thousand horses: Trees are not thicker in the woods than horses are at that time in the field; and to see them at a distance, they look like a cloud rising in the horizon, which increases as it rises, and strikes a terror into the boldest, I mean those who are not us'd to see such multitudes together. Thus these mighty armies march, halting every hour, about half a quarter of an hour, to give their horses time to stall; and they are so well manag'd, that they do it as soon as they stop; then the *Tartars* alight and piss too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the signal of a whistle; and when they are come within three or four leagues of the borders, they lie still two or three days in some place chosen on purpose, where they think they are conceal'd; there they give out orders, and refresh their army, which they dispose in this manner. They divide it into three parts, two thirds are to compose one body, the other third is subdivided into two parts, each of these two making a wing, one on the right, the other on the left. In this order they enter the country. The main body moves slowly (which in their language they call *Choebe*) with the wings, but continually without halting day or night, allowing but an hour to refresh, till they are got sixty or eighty leagues into the country without doing any harm. But as soon as they begin to march back, the body holds the same pace: then the general dismisses the two wings, which have liberty each on its own side to stray ten or twelve leagues from the main body, but that is to be understood half of the way forward, and the other half sideways. I had almost forgot to say, that each wing, which may consist of eight or ten thousand men, is again subdivided into ten or twelve squadrons, of five or six hundred men each, who run up and down to the villages, encompass them, making four *corps de garde* about each village, and great fires all the night, for fear any peasant should escape them: then they fall to pillaging and burning, kill all that make any resistance, and take and carry away all that submit, not only men, women, and sucking babes, but the cattle, horses, cows, oxen, sheep, goats, &c. As for the swine, they drive and shut them up in a barn or such like place, and fire the four corners, so great is the loathing they have for those creatures. The wings being allow'd to stray but ten or twelve leagues (as has been said) return with their booty to the main body, which is easily done; for they leave a great track, marching above fifty in front, so that they

have nothing to do but to follow; and in four or five hours they join their body again, where as soon as they are come, two other wings consisting of the like number as the former, go out on the right and left to make much the same havoc: then they come in, and two others go out, and so continue their excursions without ever diminishing their body, which, as has been mention'd, makes two thirds of the army, and move gently, to be always in breath, and ready to fight the *Polish* army, if they should meet it; tho' their design is not to meet but avoid it, as near as possible. They never return the same way they broke in, but take a compass the better to escape the *Polish* army: for they always fight in their own defence, nay and they must be forced to it, without they knew themselves to be ten to one; and yet would they consider of it before they fell on, for these robbers (so we may call the *Tartars*) do not enter *Poland* to fight, but to pillage and rob by way of surprize. When the *Polanders* meet them, they make work, forcing them to get home faster than their usual pace. At other times after they have sufficiently stray'd, plunder'd and robb'd, they enter upon the desert plains of the frontiers, thirty or forty leagues in length; and being in that place of safety make a great halt, recovering breath, and putting themselves into order, if they were in any confusion on account of meeting the *Polanders*.

That day sev'night they bring together all their booty, which consists in slaves and cattle, and divide it among themselves. It is a sight would grieve the most stony heart to see a husband parted from his wife, and the mother from her daughter, without hopes of ever seeing one another, being fallen into miserable slavery under *Mahometan* infidels, who use them inhumanly. Their brutish nature causing them to commit a thousand enormities, as ravishing of maids, forcing of women in the sight of their parents and husbands, and circumcising their children in their presence to devote them to *Mahomet*. In short, it would move the most insensible to compassion to hear the cries and lamentations of those wretched *Russians*; for those people sing and roar when they cry. These poor creatures are dispers'd several ways, some for *Constantinople*, some for *Crim Tartary*, and some for *Anatolia*, &c.

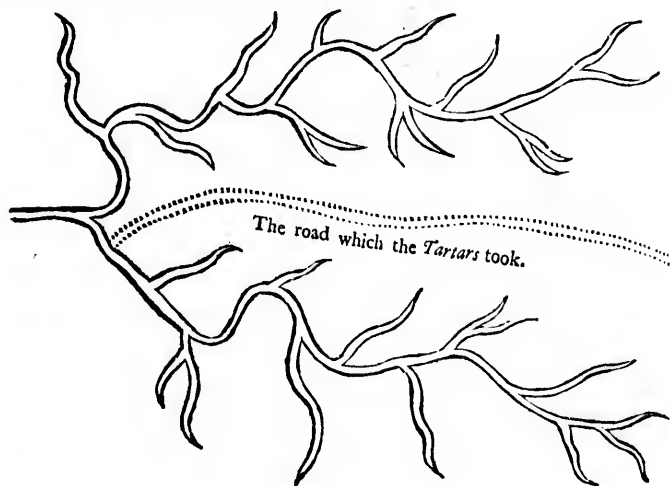
Thus the *Tartars* gather and carry away above five hundred thousand souls in less than a fortnight: thus they use their slaves when they have shar'd them, and then sell them if they think fit, when they return into their country.

Now let us relate how the *Tartars* enter *Poland* in summer, being generally but ten  
or

or twelve thousand strong, because if they came in a greater number, they would be too soon discover'd. Thus it is.

When they are within twenty or thirty leagues of the frontiers, they divide their army into ten or twelve squadrons, each of them containing about a thousand horse: five or six of these troops they send to the right, about a league or a league and a half distant from one another; the other five or six squadrons doing the same on the left, that their front may extend ten or twelve leagues, sending out careful scouts above a league before them to get intelligence, that they may know how to proceed. In this manner they travel athwart, keeping close together, appointing to meet again upon a day prefix'd at a certain place of rendezvous, two or three leagues from the frontiers, like several beams joining in one common center. The reason why they march in several distinct bodies, is, that if the *Cossacks*, who lie two or three leagues out in the plains as centinels to observe

their motions, should spy them, they may not judge them to be so great a number, being able to give an account but of the squadron they see. For these *Cossacks* having discover'd the *Tartars* at a distance, immediately retire to alarm the country, and seeing but a thousand or thereabouts, are not much frighted at that number, but are surpriz'd some days after they have received the news. The *Tartars* enter upon the frontier after this manner, they run along between two great rivers, and always keep the upper country, seeking the heads of little rivers that fall into the great ones, some into one and some into another: by this means they meet with no obstruction in their inroads, plunder and ravage as the others do in winter, but never go above ten or twelve leagues up the country, and immediately return. At most they stay but two days in the country, and then retire as we said before, divide the spoil, and every one returns home.



These *Tartars* are libertines, who obey neither the *Cham* nor *Turk*, and live in *Budziak*, which is a plain lying between the mouths of the *Niefter* and the *Danube*, as we said before, where in my time there were at least twenty thousand of them that had fled, or were banish'd thither. They are braver than the *Tartars* that dwell in *Crim-Tartary*, being better exercis'd, and daily upon action: They are also better mounted than the others. The plains lying between *Budziak* and the *Ukraine* are generally stor'd with eight or ten thousand *Tartars*, who live divided in troops

of about a thousand each, ten or twelve leagues asunder, to seek their fortune: and because of the danger there is in crossing those plains, the *Cossacks* go in *taboris*, that is, they travel in the middle of their carts, which march in two files on their flanks, eight or ten of them in the front, and as many in the rear: they themselves are in the middle with firelocks, and half-pikes and scythes upon long poles; the best mounted among them about their *taboris*, with a centinel a quarter of a league before them, another at the same distance behind, and one upon each flank. If these discover

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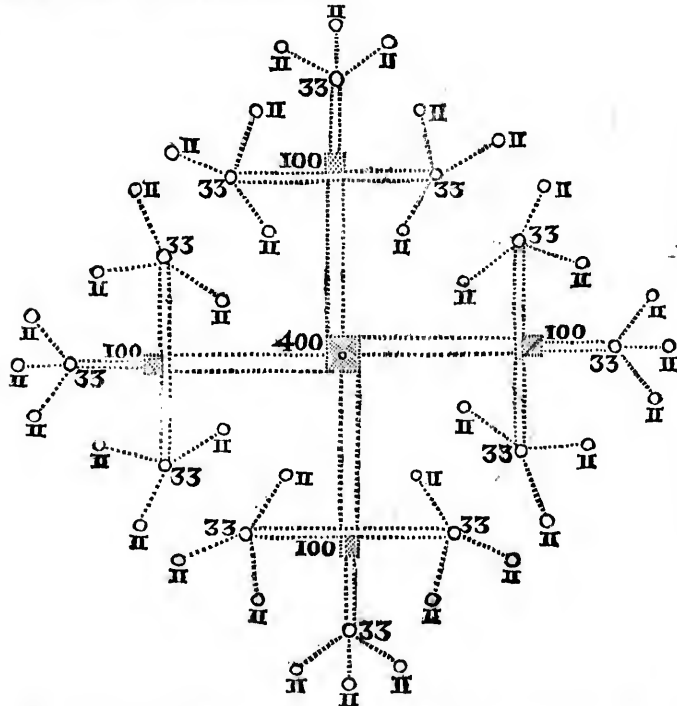
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*Tartars*, they make a sign, and the *tabors* halts. If the *Tartars* are discovered first, the *Cossacks* beat them; and if the *Tartars* discover the *Cossacks* first, they give them a fierce assault by way of surprize in their *tabors*. In short, they who travel over those plains must have, as the *Italians* term it, good feet and good eyes. I have often met them in the field at least five hundred together, who assaulted us in our *tabors*; and though I had but fifty or sixty *Cossacks* with me, they could do us no harm, nor could we gain any advantage over them, for they would not come within the reach of our arms, but after making several essays as if they would fall upon us, and let fall showers of arrows on our heads, for they shoot flights twice as far as our arms will carry, they go off and cunningly hide themselves in the plains to surprize some *Caravan* before they are discover'd. You must understand that those

plains are cover'd with grass two foot high, so that they cannot go without treading it down, which leaves such a track as it is easy to guess what number they were, and which way they went; and therefore for fear of being pursued by a greater power, they have found out this contrivance, that if there are four hundred in a troop, they will make four ranks of about an hundred men each, some march north, others south, others east, and others west: every one of them goes about a league and a half strait on its way, and then each little parcel divides into about thirty three in a company, where, as is mention'd before, excepting the river; then at about half a league distance they divide into three again, and so travel till they come to be but ten or twelve together, as may be better conceiv'd by the draught than can be explain'd by words.



All this is done in less than an hour and a half, and riding a large trot; for when they are discover'd they can never make haste enough; they have all of them these tricks at their fingers end, and know all

the plains as well as pilots know their harbours. Every little squadron of ten or eleven crosses the country at discretion, without ever meeting in their range, but at a day appointed they rendezvous ten

or



### *A Description of Ukraine.*

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or twelve leagues from the place where they broke up, in some bottom where there is water and good grafs, for there they lie. Every little troop travels by itself, some have but a little way to the rendezvous, but others by reason of their windings and the compass they take, have a long journey; and the grafs trod but by eleven horses, rises again the next day, so that no sign remains. When together they lie hid some days, then move in a body, and fall upon some open town on the frontiers, which they surprize and carry; which done, they fly, as has been said before. This crafty method have the *Tartars* found out to conceal themselves in the plains, and the better to delude the *Cossacks*, who pursue them hotly, knowing they are not above five or six hundred: the *Cossacks* mount to the number of one thousand or twelve hundred, pursue them, seek the tracks, and having found them, follow them to the maze abovemention'd, where their measures are broken, and they know not where to look for them, because the track goes every way, which obliges them to return home, and say they could see nothing. You see how difficult a matter it is to find those *Tartars*, unless they light upon them by chance, eating or drinking, or resting at night, but always upon their guard. Their eyes are sharper and clearer than ours, because they are not so open, and therefore the rays are stronger, and they see better than we do: They discover us before we do them, and policy, not strength, carries it. If they meet in the morning or evening an hour before sun-rising, or after his setting, they both contrive to have the sun in their back, as two ships at sea strive for the wind. If the *Polanders* fall in with the *Tartars*, and they find they are not strong enough to stand them with sword in hand, they will scatter like flies, and run every one a several way, shooting with their bow as they gallop full speed, so dexterously that they never miss their man at sixty or a hundred paces distance.

*How they fight.* The *Polanders* cannot purfue them, their horfes being fhorter than the *Tartars*. Thefe rally again a quarter of a league off, and give a freſh charge upon the *Polanders*, and when drove diſperſed again, ſhooting over their left ſhoulder, for they cannot over the right, and ſo tire the *Polanders* that they are forced to go off: and this is when the *Tartars*, as I ſaid before, perceive they are ten to one, otherwiſe they go clear off without looking back. Thus thoſe people made war in that country.

Now let us give an account how the *Tartars* swim rivers, and those the biggest in *Europe*. All their horses swim well, ef-

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pecially in that country which is cold, and the water heavier than ours in *France*, as not being so well purg'd by the sun: but I am satisfied that were their hories brought into *France*, they would not cross the *Seine* as they do the *Boriffenes*, for, as I said, the water is heavier, and consequently bears other bodies better, as I have found by experience. When their army would cross the *Boriffenes*, which is the greatest river in that country, they seek out where the banks are easiest on both sides, and every one provides rushes, or reeds, as they find, and make two little trusses, three foot long, and ten or twelve inches thick, about a foot distant from one another, and join'd together with three sticks well bound at top, and one under from corner to corner, well fastened and tied to the horie's tail. Then the *Tartar* puts his saddle upon his float, strips himself, lays his clothes on the saddle, and on that his bow, arrows and fymcym, all well bound and fastened together; then enters the river stark naked with a whip in his hand, and drives on his horse with his bridle on his neck, which

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yet he holds sometimes with one hand and sometimes with the other, together with the mane; and so putting on his horse, makes him swim, and he swims with one hand, holding the mane with the other, and the bridle which he never quits; and thus leads his horse, putting him on with the whip till he has pass'd the river. Then when his horse finds his feet upon the other side, and the water reaches but to his belly, he stops him, takes the float from his tail, and carries it ashore. All of them pass together in this manner, for they make a front half a league in length upon the river. All the cartel pass in the same manner. This is what I could learn of the Tartars.

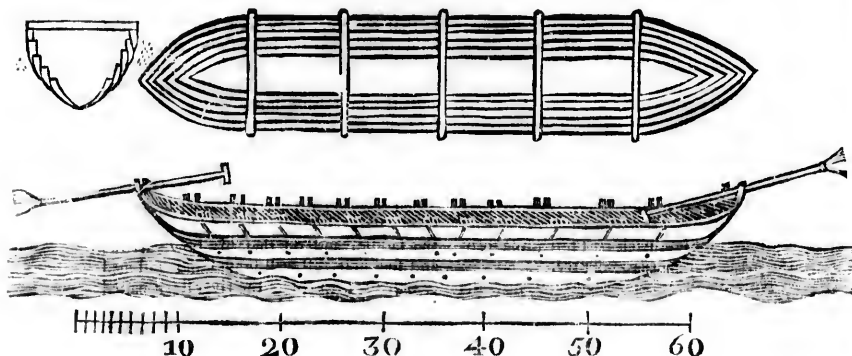
How the  
Cossacks  
choose  
their general.

It remains that we perform what we promised before, which is, how the Cossacks choose their general, as also how they make their excursions, crossing all the Black Sea even to *Anatolia*, to make war upon the *Turks*. Thus it is they choose their general; when all the old colonels and ancient Cossacks, who are in esteem among them, are assembled together, every one gives his vote for the man he thinks fittest for the employment, and he that has most voices carries it. If he that is chosen will not accept of the place, excusing himself as being incapable of it, or for want of experience, or his great age, that does him no good, for they make no other answer, but that he is not worthy of that honour, and immediately kill him upon the spot as a traitor; and it is they themselves that are treacherous in so doing, which you may remember I said they were when I spoke of their manners and frequent infidelity. If the Cossack elected accepts of the generalship, he thanks the assembly for the honour done him, tho' unworthy and incapable of that post, yet protests he will use his utmost endeavours to be-

come worthy to serve them either in general or in particular, and that his life shall be always exposed for the service of his brethren (so they call one another); having spoke these words, they all shout, *Vivat, vivat, &c.* then they go in order to pay their respects to him, and the general gives them his hand, which is the manner of saluting one another among them. This is the manner of choosing their general, which is often done in the desert plains. They are very obedient to him, and in their language he is called *betman*. His power is absolute, and he can behead and impale those that are faulty. They are very severe, but do nothing without the council of war, which they call *ruds*. The general may fall into disgrace, if he have not such conduct when he leads them out to war that no disaster befall them, and if he does not appear brave and politic upon any unexpected or unlucky accidents; for if he commits any act of cowardice, they kill him as a traitor. Immediately they choose another among themselves in the usual manner, as was said before. It is a troublesome employment to lead and command them, and unfortunate to him it falls upon; for during seventeen years I served in the country, all that had this post died miserably.

When they intend to go to sea, it is without the king's leave, but they take it of their general, and then they hold a *ruds*, that is, a council, and choose a general to command them during that expedition, observing the same ceremonies we have mentioned in the election of their great general, but this now chosen is but for a time. Then they march to their *Szabauisza Worskova*, that is, their place of rendezvous, and there build boats about sixty foot long, ten or twelve foot wide, and twelve foot deep; these boats have no keel, but

How the  
Cossacks  
go out to  
rob on the  
Black Sea.



but are built upon bottoms made of the wood of the willow about forty five foot in length, and rais'd with planks ten or twelve foot long, and about a foot broad, which they pin or nail one over another, like the common boats upon rivers, till they come to twelve foot in height, and sixty in length, stretching out in length and breadth the higher they go. This will be better understood by the rough draught I have inserted here. You may observe they have great bundles of large reeds put together as thick as a barrel end to end, and reaching the whole length of the vessel, well bound with bands made of lime or cherry-tree; they build them as our carpenters do with ribs and cross-pieces, and then pitch them, and have two rudders one at each end, as appears in the draught, because the boats being so very long, they should lose much time in going about when they are forced to fly back. They have commonly ten or fifteen oars of a side, and row faster than the *Turkish* galleys: they have also one mast, which carries an ill-shaped sail made use of only in very fair weather, for they had rather row when it blows hard. These vessels have no deck, and when they are full of water, the reeds above-mentioned tied quite round the boat, keep it from sinking. Their bisket is in a tun ten foot long, and four foot diameter, fast bound; and they take out the bisket at the bung. They have also a puncheon or half-tun of boil'd millet, and another of dough dissolved in water, which they eat mixed with the millet, and make great account of it: this serves for meat and drink, and tastes sourish; they call it *salamake*, that is, a dainty food. For my part, I found no delicacy in it, and when I made use of it upon my voyages, it was for want of better. These people are very sober, and if there be a drunkard found among them, the general causes him to be turn'd out; therefore they are not permitted to carry any brandy, being very observant of sobriety in their expeditions and enterprizes.

When they resolve to make war upon the *Tartars* in revenge for the mischiefs received from them, they take their opportunity in autumn. To this purpose they send all necessaries for their voyage and enterprize, and for the building of ships and other uses to the *Zaporouys*; then five or six thousand *Cossacks* all good able men well armed take the field, and repair to *Zaporouy* to build their boats: sixty of them go about a boat, and finish it in a fortnight; for, as has been said, they are of all trades. Thus in three weeks time they make ready eighty or a hundred boats, such as I described above; between fifty and seventy

men go aboard each vessel, with each of them two firelocks and a scymitar, carry four or five falconets upon the sides of the vessel, and provisions proper for them. They wear a shirt and drawers, have a shift, a pitiful gown, a cap, six pounds of cannon powder, and ball enough for their small arms and falconets, and every one carries a quadrant. This is the flying army of the *Cossacks* on the *Black Sea*, able to terrify the best towns in *Anatolia*.

Thus provided, they run down the *Boristhenes*; the admiral carries his distinction upon the mast, and generally has the van, their boats keeping so close that the oars almost clash. The *Turk* has commonly notice of their coming, and keeps several galleys ready at the mouth of the *Boristhenes* to hinder their coming out; but the *Cossacks*, who are cunninger, slip out in a dark night about the new moon, lying hid among the reeds that are three or four leagues up the *Boristhenes*, where the galleys dare not go, having fear'd ill there formerly, and think it enough to wait their coming out, in which they are always surpriz'd: yet the *Cossacks* cannot slip by so swiftly but they are discovered, then all the country takes the alarm, and it runs as far as *Constantinople*. The grand seignior sends expresses all along the coast of *Anatolia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, that all people may be upon their guard, giving them notice that the *Cossacks* are at sea. But all this is to no purpose, for they make such use of their time, that in thirty six or forty hours time they are in *Anatolia*, where they land with every man his firelock, leaving but two men and two boys to keep each boat: There they surprize towns, take, pillage and burn them, and sometimes go a league up the country, but return immediately, and go aboard with their booty, hastening away to try their fortune in another place. If by chance they meet with any, they fall on; if not, they return home with their booty. If they find any *Turkish* galleys or other ships, they pursue, attack and make themselves masters of them, which they do in this manner: their boats are not above two foot and a half above water, and they discover a ship or galley before they themselves can be perceived by them: Then they strike their masts, observe how the enemy winds, and endeavour to have the sun upon their backs at night; then an hour before sun-setting they row with all their might towards the ship or galley till they come within a league of it, for fear of losing sight of it, and so continue: Then about midnight (the signal being given) they pull up again amain towards the vessel, half the crew ready to fight, only expecting when they come together

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to board. Those in the ship or galley are astonished to be attacked by eighty or a hundred vessels, which fill them full of men, and in a moment bear all down: this done, they pillage what they find in silver, or goods of no great bulk, that cannot be spoil'd by the water, as also the brass guns, and what they think can serve them, then sink the vessel and men in it. This is the practice of the *Cossacks*: had they skill to manage a ship or galley, they might carry it away, but they have not that knack. When they are to return home, the guards are doubled upon the mouth of the *Boristhenes*; but tho' weak they laugh at that, for when they have been forced to fight, they have often lost many men, and the sea has swallowed some of their vessels, for they cannot be all so good, but some must fail. Therefore they land in a creek, three or four leagues east of *Oczakow*, where there is a valley very low, about a quarter of a league in length, the spring tides sometimes overflowing it half a foot deep, and is about three leagues over to the *Boristhenes*: there two or three hundred *Cossacks* draw their boats across one after another, and in two or three days they are in the *Boristhenes* with their booty. Thus they avoid fighting the galleys that keep the mouth of the river of *Oczakow*. To conclude, they return to their *Karbenicza*, where they share the spoil, as was said before. Besides this, they have another refuge, they return by the mouth of *Don*, through a strait that lies between *Taman* and *Kercy*, and run up the mouth to the river *Mius*, and as far as this river is navigable, from whence to *Taczawoda* is but a league, and *Taczawoda* falls into the *Samar*, which runs into the *Dnieper* a league above *Kudac*, as may be seen in the map. But they rarely return this way, because it is too long for them to return to *Zaporouy*. Sometimes they go this way out to sea, when there is a great force at the mouth of the *Boristhenes* to obstruct their coming out, or that they have but twenty or twenty five boats.

When the galleys meet them at sea in the day time, they set them hard with their guns, scattering them like so many rocks, sink several, and put them in such a consternation, that those who escape make haste to put in wheresoever they can. But when they fight with the galleys, they do not ply their oars, which are lashed to the side by withs; and when they have fired a musquet, their comrades give them another ready loaden to fire again, and thus they ply it without ceasing, and effectually. The galleys are not able to board one of them, but their cannon does them much harm. Upon these occasions they com-

monly lose two thirds of their men, and seldom come off with half; but they bring rich booty, as *Spanish* pieces of eight, *Arabian* sequines, carpets, cloth of gold, cotton, silks, and other commodities of great value. Thus the *Cossacks* live, and these are their revenues; for as for trades they use none, but drinking and debauching among their friends when they return home.

To proceed in the performance of what I promis'd, something must be said of the customs they observe in some of their marriages, and how they make love, which will seem odd and incredible to some persons. There, contrary to the practice of all other nations, the maids make love to those young men they take a liking to; and a certain superstition they have among them, and observe punctually, is the cause they seldom miss of their aim, and they are more sure to succeed than the men would be, if application were made by them. This is the manner of it.

The maid that is in love goes to the young man's father's house, at such a time as she judges she may find the father, mother, and gallant together. Coming into the room, she says, *Pomogaboa*, that is, God bless you, the common salutation used at entering their houses. Having taken her place, she compliments him that has won her heart, and speaks to him in these words, *Juan, sedjur, demitre, woitek, mitika*, &c. (in short, she calls him by one of these names, which are most usual among them) perceiving a certain goodness in your countenance, which shews you will know how to rule and love your wife; and hoping from your virtue that you will be a good *Despodorge*: These good qualities make me humbly beseech you to accept of me for your wife. Then she says as much to the father and mother, praying them to consent to the match. If they refuse her, or make some excuse, saying, he is too young, and not fit to marry; she answers, She will never depart till she has married him, as long as he and she live. These words being spoken, and the maid persisting, and positively asserting she will not depart the room till she has obtain'd her desire; after some weeks the father and mother are forced, not only to consent, but also to persuade their son to look favourably upon her, that is, as one that is to be his wife. The youth perceiving the maid fully bent upon loving him, begins to look upon her as one that is in time to be mistress of his inclinations, and therefore intreats his father and mother to give him leave to place his affections upon that maid. And thus amorous maids in that country cannot miss of being soon provided, for by persisting they force the father, mother,

How the  
maids  
court the  
young men.

How a  
young  
man court  
a gentle  
woman.

ther, and son, to comply with them; and this, as I said above, for fear of incurring God's wrath, and that some disaster may not befall them; for to thrust the maid out would be an affront to all her kindred, who would resent it; and in this case they cannot use violence, without incurring, as I was saying, the indignation and punishment of the church, which is very severe in these affairs, imposing, when such a thing happens, penances, and great fines, and declaring the family infamous. Being kept in awe by these superstitions, they, as near as may be, avoid the misfortunes they believe, as firmly as they do their articles of faith, will befall them, by refusing to give their sons to those maids that demand them. And this custom holds only among people of equal rank, for in that country the peasants are all rich alike, and there is but little difference as to their worth.

Now I will speak of other unequal amours between a peasant and a gentlewoman, allowed by ancient custom and privilege kept up among them.

It is the custom in all the villages of that country, for all the peasants, with their wives and children, to meet at the usual place of rendezvous, every Sunday and holiday after dinner. The place of rendezvous is the tavern, where they spend the rest of the day a merry making together; but only the men and women drink, while the youth spend their time in dancing to a *douda*, that is, a horn-pipe. The lord of the place is usually there with all his family to see them dance. Sometimes the lord makes them dance before his castle, which is the most usual place; and there he dances himself, with his wife and children. At that time the gentry and peasants mix together; and it is to be observed, that all the villages of *Podolia* and *Ukraine* are for the most part encompassed with underwoods, where there are lurking-places for the peasants to retire in summer, when they are alarmed with the coming of the *Tartars*. These underwoods may be half a league over; and though the peasants are kept under like slaves, nevertheless they have this ancient right and privilege of conveying away, if they can, out of this dancing assembly, a young maiden gentlewoman, though she were their own lord's daughter, provided he does it so dexterously as to come off well, otherwise he is a lost man, and that he can fly into the neighbouring copses, where if he can lie hid four and twenty hours, without being discovered, he is clear'd of the rape committed; and if the maid he has stole will marry him, he cannot refuse her without losing his head; if not, he is acquitted of

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the crime, and cannot be punished: but if *BEAU-* it happen that he is taken within the twenty-four hours, his head is immediately chopped off, without any form of law. Though I lived there seventeen years, I never heard that this was once done. I have seen the maids make love to the young men, and often succeed, as I said above; but this last practice is too dangerous, for a man must have good heels to carry away a maid by force, and run away with her in sight of a considerable company, without being overtaken; and it would be yet harder, unless the maid was consenting to it; besides that at present the peasants are more kept under than they were formerly, and the nobility is grown more haughty and imperious. It is likely this privilege was granted the peasants when the *Polanders* at the election of their kings, preferred him that ran swiftest barefoot, looking upon him as the bravest and best man; as if valour and worth consisted in swiftness and activity of body. Hence I suppose it came too, that the nobility make the king swear, the day after his election, before the altar, that he will imprison no nobleman for any crime whatsoever, except treason against the state, or himself four and twenty hours after the fact committed, to shew they had as great value for those that ran well and were nimble. And this may be further observed by the great value they put upon fleet-horses, for that is all they look for, and give any thing for them, to they run well: and this, I guess, is that they may overtake a flying enemy, and fly themselves swiftly when pursued.

Since we have spoken of the amours of the *Russians*, let us say somewhat of the wedding-feasts and ceremonies observed at it.

The nuptial ceremonies are these: The youth on both sides are invited, and have orders from the bride and bridegroom to bring all their kindred, to be present at the *Wesele*, that is, the wedding, to authorize them for performing this duty; each of them has a garland of flowers given him, which he puts upon his arm, carrying a list of all the guests invited, to whose houses they go the day before the wedding, by two and two. The first of them who delivers the message, and makes the speech, has a rod in his hand. I shall not spend time to give you an account of the dishes, and what varieties are served up to table; I shall only inform you, that the bride being well dress'd after their manner, that is, in a long gown of a sad colour cloth hanging on the ground, stiffen'd with whalebone all round, which makes her spread, and laced with broad laces, half silk and half woollen, her head bare, her

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hair

How a peasant may marry a gentlewoman.

How the maids court the young men.

Of their wedding.



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hair spread on her back, shewing nothing naked but her face, and a garland of such flowers as the season will afford on her head; her father, brother, or nearest kinsman, leads her to church, a violin, hornpipe, or cimbal going before. After she is married, one of her near relations takes her by the hand, and leads her home again with the same musick. I omit the rejoicings at the wedding-entertainment, tho' they are extraordinary, and wherein they are nothing inferior to other nations; and shall only observe, that what encourages them the more to debauchery, to which they are naturally inclined, is, that upon weddings, and christning of their children, the lord of the place gives them leave to brew beer, which liberty makes them drink it the cheaper, and much more extravagantly; for it is to be observed, that at other times the lords have common brew-houses, where all his vassals are obliged to buy their store.

When it is time to put the bride to bed, the bridegroom's female kindred carry her into a room, where they strip her stark naked, and search her all round, even her ears, hair, between her toes, and other parts of her body, to see whether there is no blood, pin, or cotton dipped in some red liquor hid about her; and should they find any such thing, it would discompose the wedding, and cause much disorder: but if they find nothing, they put her on a fine smock of cotton cloth, very white and new; and then lay her between two sheets, making the bridegroom steal to bed to her. When they are together, they draw the curtains, and yet most of the people at the wedding come into the room, with the horn-pipe, dancing, and every one with a glass in his hand. The women dance and skip, and clap their hands, till the matrimony be absolutely consummated; and if she makes any demonstration of joy at that happy moment, all the company leaps, and clapping their hands, give great acclamations of joy. The bridegroom's kindred are still watching about the bed to hear what is doing, waiting to draw the curtain as soon as the sport is over. Then they give the bride a clean smock, and if on that they take from her they find the tokens of a maiden-head, they make the house ring with joyful acclamations, in which all the kindred joins. After that, when she is dress'd, it is after the fashion of women, into which number she is admitted, that is, her head is covered, which is only allowed to them, for maids never wear any thing but their hair, and would look upon it as a disgrace.

Next day another no less comical part is acted, which to those who have not seen it

must seem very strange, which is, that they run a staff through both the smock sleeves, turning it the wrong side outwards, and so in great state walk with it all about the town, like a banner bearing the honourable tokens of the combat, that all the people may be witnesses, both of the bride's virginity, and the bridegroom's manhood. All the guests follow with the musick, singing and dancing more eagerly than before. And in this procession, the young men leading the young maids that were at the wedding, walk all about the town; all the multitude runs out, hearing the noise, and follow them till they return to the house of the new-married couple.

But if on the other side they should not find the marks of honour, every man throws down his glass, and the women forbear singing, for then the feast is spoiled, and the bride's kindred disgraced, and out of countenance. There ends the wedding: then they commit a thousand extravagancies in the house, make holes in the pots the meat was dressed in, break off the mouths of the earthen cups they drank out of, put a horse collar about the bride's mother's neck; then set her upon a table, and sing a thousand filthy beastly songs to her, giving her to drink in one of those broken-mouthed cups, and upbraid her unmercifully for not having been watchful in preserving her daughter's honour. In short, after having used all the vile language they can think of to her, every one goes home vexed to have been at so disagreeable an entertainment. Especially the kindred of the bride keep in their houses as if they absconded, and continue there some time without stirring abroad, because of the shame of that misfortune. As for the husband, it is left to his choice to keep or leave her; but if he will keep her, he must resolve to put up all affronts that shall be offered him upon that account.

I must add this one word more upon this subject, concerning the manners of their women, and allow them the honour of being chaste when fasting; but the liberty allowed them of drinking *aqua vite*, and their liquor made of honey, would render them more easy of access, were it not for fear of publick shame, and the dishonour done to maids if they will marry, as has been shewn above, without having the tokens of their virginity.

Before I conclude this discourse, I will say something of the ceremonies they observe at *Easter*. Upon holy saturday they go to church (which they call *cerkeil*) to be present at the ceremonies perform'd there, which are putting an image of our Saviour into a sepulchre, whence they draw it out with great solemnity: which representation

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sentation being ended, all the men, women, and children go in their turns, and kneel down before the bishop (whom they call *veladik*) and present him an egg painted red or yellow, speaking these words, *Christos vos Christ*; and the bishop lifting up each person says, *Oyistinos vos Christos*, and at the same time kisses the women and maids. Thus the bishop, in less than two hours, gathers above five or six thousand eggs, and has the satisfaction of kissing the handsomest women and maids in his church: true it is, it would be some trouble to him, and displeasing, to kiss the old women; but he has ways to make a distinction between them; for when he does not like the faces, he only gives them his hand to kiss. The metropolitan call'd *Mogilla*, who is head of all the bishops, exercised this function at *Kiow*, as do all the meanest curats, whom they call *despode*.

For eight days there is no going about the streets, without a quantity of those painted eggs, to give such of your acquaintance as you meet, saying the same words they do to the *veladik*, or *despode*. Then the friend, whether man or woman, answering as above, they embrace one another and kiss; and he or she thus saluted, is obliged to return another egg, performing the same ceremony over again.

On *Easter* monday, very early in the morning, they have another pleasant custom, which is, that several young fellows go about the streets together, and take up all the young maids they meet, whom they carry to the brink of a well to bathe them, throwing five or six pails of water over their heads, that they may be wet all over. This sport is only allowed till noon.

On tuesday following the maids have their revenge, but more cunningly: several of them hide themselves in a house, with each of them a pitcher full of water ready, and have a little girl that stands sentinel, and gives notice by some sign, when a young man goes by; then all the maids run out into the streets, and seize the man with great shouts; which the neighbours hearing, all the maids flock to their assistance, and two or three of the strongest holding him, the rest pour all their pitchers of water down his neck, and let him not go till he is well washed. This is the sport between young men and maids at *Easter*.

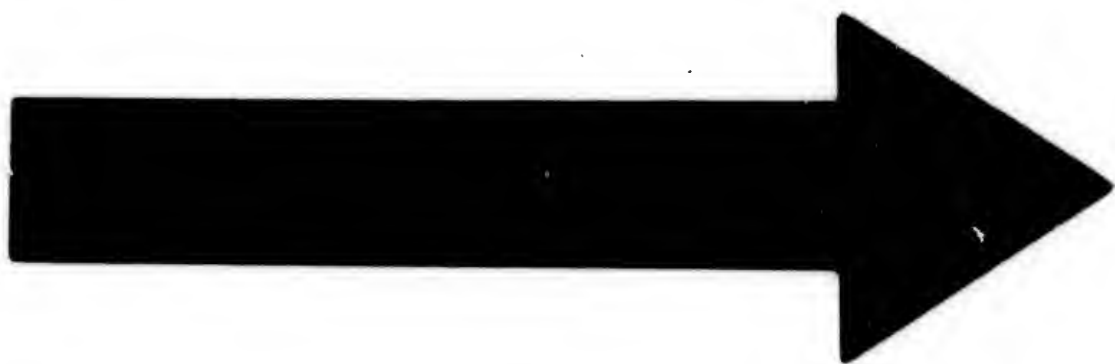
The men play another game on *Easter* monday, which is, that they go in the morning in a body to the cattle to meet the lord, who devoutly expects them; and after making their obeysance, every one draws near, and presents him with pullets, or some other sort of fowl. The lord in return for these offerings, treats his vassals

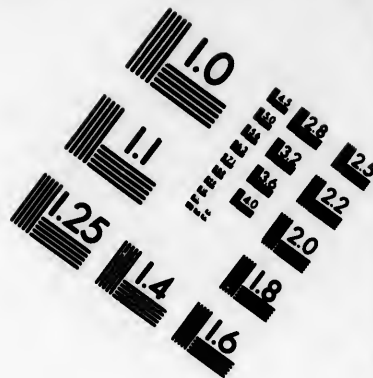
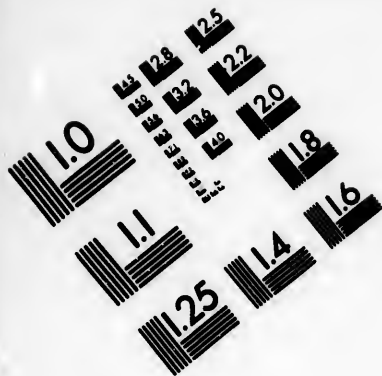
with *aqua vita*, causing the head to be beat BEAU- out of a cask, which is set upon the other head in the middle of the court: then all the peasants make a ring about it, and the lord comes with a great ladle, which he fills, and drinks to the eldest in the company, then gives the ladle to him he drank to; so they all drink round, and begin again till the cask is out; and if it be out before night (which often happens) the lord must cause another full cask to be brought instead of the empty one, for he is bound to treat them after this manner till sun-set, if the peasants can hold out; but after sun-set they found a retreat. Those that are able go home, those that cannot lie down in the street and sleep it out, unless their wives and children have so much clarity as to lay them on a hand-barrow and carry them home; but they who have overcharged themselves, remain in the court of the castle to sleep their fill. It is an odious thing to see those wretches so drunk, without having eaten a morsel of bread, rolling in their filth like swine: and I have seen one of those brutal fellows carried away dead upon a cart, and it was not then above two a clock in the afternoon. Those are strange customs which make men die miserably; and how brutish is the proverb they have always in their mouths. *That a man bad as good drink fair water if he does not feel the effects of drinking?* Those people can hardly sleep after their common meals, but when they are drunk they sleep sound; so that the next morning they remember nothing that happened the day before, drunkenness so drowning their reason that they have nothing left but the shape of men. Upon these occasions, such as design to get any thing from them by way of gift, do pretend to be drunk with them; and when they see them hot-headed (for then they are very free-hearted) they beg something they have a mind to of them, which is immediately granted and delivered, which he that receives takes and sends away; but in the morning they are surpris'd, for having forgot what they did, and not finding what they gave away, they grow sad, being concerned at their prodigality, but comfort themselves with the hopes of catching another the same way to make up their loss.

Since we are entred upon the subject of our *Russians*, or *Cossacks*, it will not be amiss to relate what more we know of them, and speak of their manner of behaviour upon several other occasions. I have seen *Cossacks* sick of a fever, who take no other medicine but half a bandcleer of cannon-powder, and dissolve it in half a pint of *aqua vita*; and having stirred it well together, drink it off, and go to bed upon

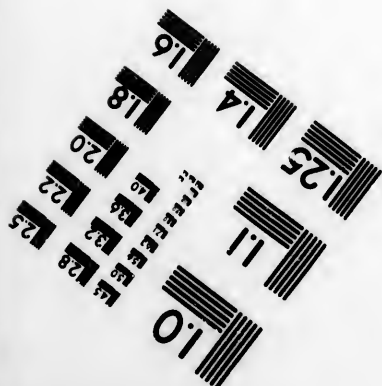
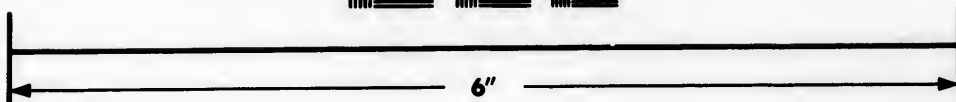
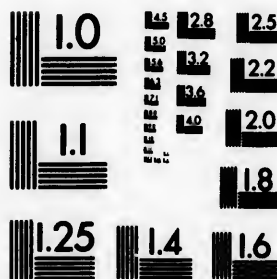
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A drunken  
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BEAU- upon it, and rise in the morning in perfect health. I had a coachman whom I have seen do it several times, and who has often cured himself with this drench, which the physicians and apothecaries would never think on. I have seen others take ashes, and mix them with *aquavite*, tempered as above, which they have drank with success. I have often seen them wounded with arrows, and being far from surgeons, dress themselves with a little earth, tempered in their hand with their own spittle, which healed them as well as the best salve; which shews that necessity exerts ingenuity as well in this country as any other.

This puts me in mind of a *Cossack* I once met upon the river *Samar*, who was boiling fish in a wooden bowl, which the *Polanders* and *Cossacks* carry behind them on the saddle to give their horses water: to do this he heated flat stones in the fire, and threw them into the bowl; which he did till the water boiled, and the fish was ready; an invention which at first sight has but an indifferent aspect, and yet is ingenious enough.

I remember I once made mention of a disease they call *gofcheft*, to which they are subject, and whereof it will not be amiss to speak a few words.

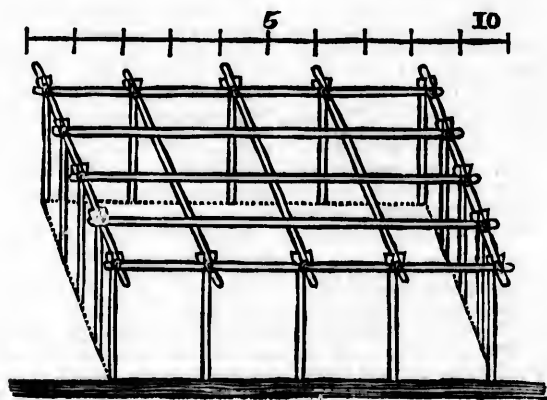
Gofcheft  
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The persons afflicted with this disease (which the *French* call *coltons*) are lame of all their limbs for a year, as if they were struck with a dead palsy; but endure great pains in all their sinews, so that they are continually crying out. After a year is expired, their head falls some night into a great sweat, so that in the morning they find all their hair clung together, and flat, like a tail of salt-fish. Then the sick person finds much ease, and some days after is perfectly well, nay better in health than

ever he was before, only that his hair looks scurvily, and cannot be comb'd; and if he should happen to cut it off within two days, the humour that purges out at the pores of the hair would fall upon his eyes, and he would be quite blind.

Among them they look upon this disease as incurable; but I have cured several after the same manner as we do the pox in *France*. Some perceiving this disease come upon them, go away for a while into other countries for change of air, which is another remedy that cures them insensibly. This disease is not got by drinking out of the same glass with those that have it; but if one person lies with another that has it, the husband gives it his wife, and the wife the husband. The physicians make a distinction between male and female, and say, that old *Babas*, as they term them, poison the men and give them this distemper, making them eat of certain cakes. Others giving it in the steam of hot water; so that he who receives it, finds his brain disturbed, and falls ill within a few days after. There are children born with their hair clotted together; but that is a good sign, for as they grow it loosens, and those children can never after have this distemper.

I must further add, as a thing very remarkable in that country, that there is an infinite number of flies along the banks of the *Borjsthenes*. In the morning there are those of the common sort which do no harm; at noon others as thick as a man's thumb, which trouble horses very much, and sting them through the skin, so that they are all over bloody; but at night it is still worse along that river because of the gnats, and other insects, so that there is no sleeping without a *palent* as the *Cossacks* call it, which is like a little tent, under

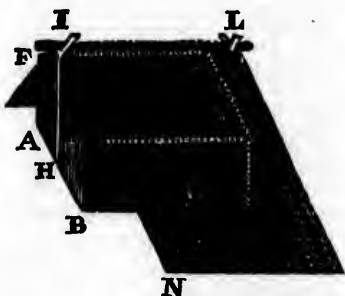


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which they lie to secure themselves against those vermin, and without which in the morning their faces would be all swollen. I once felt it, and can give an account of it; three days passed before my face came to itself, and I could scarce see or open my eyes, for my eye-lids were swelled, and I looked monstrolously. But, as I said, the *Cossacks* have a *Polent* made after this manner: They cut sixteen little forks of hazle, about an inch thick, and two foot and half long, or thereabouts: these they fix in the ground about two foot one from the other, and breadth-way a foot distance. Then they lay five cross pieces of the same hazle upon the forks, and five more athwart them, and bind all together with a withy. Over this they lay a cotton-cloth made on purpose, and sewed, to fit this Ugness; which covers not only the top, but all the sides, about a foot or more lying on the ground, which is tucked in under the quilt or bed for fear the flies should get in: thus two persons lie very well. Only principal officers use this, for all people have not the little tent or pavilion. When they see it will rain, they cover themselves as in the following draught, which will better demonstrate it than all I can say. In short, they are so persecuted in that country, that they are fain to make a fire continually, that the smoke may drive away the insects.

ABCDEFG is the *Polent* covered with cloth, HI and LM are two forks on which a cross pole IL rests, which supports the *Turkey* carpet made of twisted thread, which the rain cannot pierce, and serves as a roof to the *Polent*.



After the flies, let us talk of the grasshoppers, or locusts, which are there so numerous that they put me in mind of the scourge God sent upon *Egypt*, when he would punish *Pharaoh*. I have seen this plague for several years one after another, particularly in 1645, and 1646: those creatures do not only come in legions, but in whole clouds, five or six leagues in length,

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and two or three in breadth, and generally come from towards *Tartary*, which happens in a dry spring; for *Tartary* and the countries east of it, as *Circassia*, *Bazza*, and *Mingrelia*, are seldom free from them. These vermin being drove by an east, or south-east wind, come into *Ukraine*, where they do much mischief, eating up all sorts of grain and grass: so that wheresoever they come, in less than two hours they crop all they find, which causes great scarcity of provisions; and if the locusts remain there in autumn, and the month of *October*, which is the time when they die after laying at least three hundred eggs apiece, which hatch next spring if it be dry, then the country is three hundred times worse pestered. But if it rains when they begin to hatch, they all die, and the country escapes that year, unless they come from other parts. It is not easy to express their numbers, for all the air is full and darkened; and I cannot better represent their flight to you than by comparing it to the fleas of snow in cloudy weather drove about by the wind: and when they alight upon the ground to feed, the plains are all covered, and they make a murmuring noise as they eat, where in less than two hours they devour all close to the ground; then rising, they suffer themselves to be carried away by the wind; and when they fly, though the sun shines never so bright, it is no lighter than when most clouded. In June 1646, having stayed two months in a new town called *Novogrod*, where I was building a citadel, I was astonished to see so vast a multitude; for it was prodigious to behold them, because they were hatched there that spring; and being as yet scarce able to fly, the ground was all covered, and the air so full of them, that I could not eat in my chamber without a candle, all the houses being full of them, even the stables, barns, chambers, garrets, and cellars. I caused cannon-powder and sulphur to be burnt to expel them, but all to no purpose; for when the door was opened, an infinite number came in, and the others went out fluttering about, and it was a troublesome thing when a man went abroad to be hit on the face by those creatures, sometimes on the nose, sometimes the eyes, and sometimes the cheeks; so that there was no opening ones mouth, but some would get in. Yet all this was nothing, for when we were to eat, those creatures gave us no respite; and when we went to cut a bit of meat, we cut a locust with it; and when a man opened his mouth to put in a morsel, he was sure to chew one of them. In short, the wisest men were confounded to see such innumerable multitudes, which were such as cannot be expressed; and they

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BEAU- that would conceive it, should have seen  
PLAN. it, as I did. After they had destroyed all  
that grew in the country for a fortnight  
together, and having gathered strength to  
fly further, the wind took them up and  
carried them away to do as much mischief  
in some other place. I have seen them at  
night when they sit to rest them, that the  
roads were four inches thick of them one  
upon another; so that the horses would  
not trample over them, but as they were  
put on with much lashing, pricking up  
their ears, snorting and treading very fear-  
fully. The wheels of our carts, and the  
feet of our horses bruising those creatures,  
there came from them such a stink as not  
only offended the nose but the brain. I  
was not able to endure that stench, but  
was forced to wash my nose in vinegar, and  
hold a handkerchief dip'd in it continually  
at my nostrils. The swine feast upon them  
as a dainty, and grow fat, but no body  
will eat of them so fatned, only because  
they abhor that sort of vermine that does  
them so much harm. These vermine in-  
crease and multiply thus: They generate  
in *October*, and with their tails make a  
hole in the ground, and having laid three  
hundred eggs in it, and covered them with  
their feet, they die, for they never live  
above six months and a half; and tho' the  
rains should come then, it would not de-  
stroy the eggs, nor does the frost, tho'  
never so sharp, hurt them, but continue  
till spring, which is about mid-*April*, when  
the sun warming the earth, they hatch  
and leap all about, being six weeks before  
they can fly, without going far from the  
place where they received life; but when  
stronger, and that they can fly, they go  
wherever the wind carries them. If it should  
happen that the north-east prevails when  
they first take their flight, it carries them  
all into the *Black Sea*; but if the wind blows  
from any other quarters they go into  
some other country to do mischief. But  
if the rains fall when they begin to hatch,  
and continue but eight or ten days, all  
the eggs are lost, and so in summer eight or  
ten days continual rain kills all the locusts  
upon the ground, for they cannot fly,  
and so the people are delivered from them.  
But if the summer prove dry (which is  
most usual) they are tormented with them  
till they die in *October*. This is what I  
have observed several years in those parts  
concerning the locusts, which are as thick  
as a man's finger, and three or four inches  
long. I have been told there by persons  
that understand languages well, that these  
words are writ on their wings in *Chaldee*  
letters, *Boze Gnion*, in *English*, *Scourge of*  
*God*; for the truth of it I rely on those  
that told me so, and understand the  
language.

Now let us proceed to what I found  
most remarkable beyond the *Dniester*,  
where there are two rivers, one call'd *Sula*,  
the other *Supoy*, which both fall into the  
*Nieper*, between which rivers there are lit-  
tle creatures which they call *Babaques*, in  
shape and bigness much resembling the  
*Barbary* rabbits, which have but four teeth,  
two above, and two below, their hair and  
colour like a badger. They make bur-  
rows like rabbits, and in *October* shut  
themselves up, and do not come out again  
till *April*, when they run about to feed,  
and spend all the winter under ground,  
eating what they have laid up in summer.  
They are great sleepers, and good mana-  
gers, nature directing them to lay up their  
provision, inasmuch that one would think  
there were slaves among them, for they  
take those that are lazy and lay them on  
their backs, they lay a great handful of  
dry herbage upon their bellies, which they  
hold fast with their paws, or rather hands,  
because they make use of them almost as  
the monkeys do; then the others drag  
those drones to the mouths of their burrows,  
and so those creatures serve instead of bar-  
rows, whence they make them carry the  
provision into their holes. I have often seen  
them practise this, and have had the curio-  
sity to observe them whole days together,  
and making them run to their burrows to  
see their apartments. and have found se-  
veral holes parted like chambers, some  
serve for store-houses, others for burying-  
places, whither they carry the dead; and  
others for other uses. They live eight or  
ten in a family together, and every one has  
its apartment by it self, where they live  
very orderly; and their government is no-  
thing inferior to that of the bees or ants,  
of whom so much has been writ. I must  
add that all these creatures are hermaphro-  
dites, and being taken young in *May* are  
easily tamed. In the market they do not  
cost above a penny or three half-pence. I  
have bred several of them, and they are  
pleasant in the house, being as diverting as  
monkeys or squirrels, eating the same sort  
of food.

I had forgot to say that these creatures  
are very cunning; for they never go  
abroad without posting a centinel upon  
some high ground, to give notice to the  
others whilst they are feeding. As soon  
as the centinel sees any body, it stands  
up on its hind-legs, and whistles. Upon  
which signal they all fly into their bur-  
rows, and the centinel after them, stay-  
ing there till they think the people are  
gone by.

The distance between these two rivers  
of *Sula* and *Supoy* is not above six leagues;  
and from the *Nieper* to the borders of

*Muscovy*,

*Babaques*  
little crea-  
tures like  
*Barbary*  
rabbits.

*Quail.*

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*Muscovy*, is not above fifteen or twenty leagues. These creatures I have describ'd live there, and are not to be found elsewhere. There is no good galloping in those parts, because the ground is full of little burrows (like a warren) and if a horse treads into a hole, he falls and is in danger of breaking his legs; I have been catch'd so several times. In *May* and *June* the peasants catch them after this manner, they pour five or six pails of water into their burrows, which makes them come out, and clapping a sack or net at the mouth of it, take them in it. The young ones, though never so tame, cannot forget their own nature; and in *October*, if they are not secured, they will earth in the house, and hide themselves to sleep a long time; and perhaps if they were let alone, would sleep out six whole months, as the dormice and mountain-mice do. Mice have been hid a fortnight, and after much seeking we found a hole; I caus'd them to be dig'd out, and found them quite wild.

*Quail.* There is a sort of quails in those parts with blew feet, which are present death to any that eat of them.

In the desert plains toward the *porows* along the river *Nieper*, I have met a beast about as tall as a goose, but its hair very fine and smooth, and soft as fatten, when it has cast its coat, for afterwards it grows harsher, and is of a chestnut colour. This creature has two white shining horns, in the *Russian* language they call it *Sounaky*. Its legs and feet are very slender, has no bone in its nose; and when it will goes backward, not being able to graze otherwise. I have eaten of it, and the flesh is as good as kid; the horns which I keep as a rarity, being white, shining, and smooth.

In those same parts there are also stags, hinds, troops of wild goats, wild boars of a vast bigness, and wild horses, who keep in flocks of fifty or sixty, and have often alarmed us, for at a distance we took them for *Tartars*. These horses are not serviceable, and the colts tho' taken up and broke, are good for nothing but to eat: their flesh is very dainty to look to, and tender than veal; yet in my opinion not so well relished, but unfavoury. Those people who eat pepper, as we do pease, took away all its sweetness with their spice; the old ones being no way to be broke, or only fit for the flames, where their flesh is sold as common as beef and mutton. Besides, their feet are spoiled, for the hoof does so bind their feet that they cannot be shod nor pared down, and consequently cannot run, which shews the providence of God; and that this beast is wholly design'd for the use of man, because when out of his hands, it becomes unfit for use, and unable to run.

There are also along this river birds, *BEAU-* that have such a large neck, that within *PLAN.* it there is as it were a pond, where they keep live fish, to eat when they have occasion. I have seen some of the same sort in the *Indies*. The other most remarkable birds there, and most numerous, are the cranes, of which there are vast multitudes. As for buffaloes, and other large creatures, they are on the frontiers of *Muscovy*; as are the white hares and wild cats. There are also in that country, but towards *Walachia*, sheep with long wool, their tails shorter than usual, but much broader and triangular. The tails of some of them have weighed above ten pounds, generally it is above ten inches broad, and more in length ending in a point, all of it excellent fat. The great men of the country have fine horses spotted like leopards, beautiful to behold, which draw their coaches when they go to court.

The greatest inconvenience in that country of *Ukraine* is the want of salt, and to supply that want they have it brought from *Pocouche*, a country belonging to *Poland*, on the frontiers of *Transylvania*, above eighty or a hundred leagues in length, as will appear in the map. In that country all the wells are of salt-water, which they boil, as we do white salt, and make little cakes an inch thick and two inches long, giving three hundred of them for a penny. This salt is very pleasant to eat, but does not salt so much as ours. They make another sort of elder and oak, which is good to eat with bread; they call this salt *Kolomey*. About *Cracow* they have mines of salt, as clear as crystal; that place is called *Wieliczka*. That country is also ill furnished with good water; I believe it is that which in some measure breeds the distemper they call *Golibets*, whereof we have spoken before.

Notwithstanding those countries are *Excessive* near in the same latitude with *Normandy*, *cold*, yet the cold is much more severe and sharp than in *France*, as we will make appear. Among other things to be observed there, is the cold, which some years is so violent, and excessive, that it is insupportable, not only for men, especially to those that belong to the army, but to the brute beasts themselves, as horses and other serviceable creatures. Such as are exposed to the rigor of it, if they lose not their lives, come off well with the loss of any part, as fingers or toes, the nose, cheeks, ears, and even that part modesty forbids to be nam'd, the natural heat of which parts is sometimes put out in a moment, and it produces a mortification. Sometimes those parts escape a sudden mortification, but if not speedily relieved are subject to cancerous tumours,

No salt in Ukraine.

*Sounaky*  
a Russian  
beast.

*Wild*  
*bores.*

BEAU- as painful as those proceeding from a ma-  
PLAN. lignant burning humour, which made me  
sensible whilst I was there that cold has as  
much power and force to destroy any thing  
as fire has to consume. The beginning of  
those tumours is so small, that the place  
where the pain is at first is not so big as a  
pea; but in a few days, nay sometimes a  
few hours, it grows so big, and spreads so  
that it destroys all the part: and thus two  
persons I am acquainted with, in a trice lost  
the pleasantest part of them.

Sometimes, and that very frequently, it  
seizes men so violently, that there is no  
possibility of escaping it, especially when  
both inward and outward precautions have  
not been used, and it kills two ways. The  
one is quick, being violent, and may be  
said to be easy, because a man is not long  
in pain, and dies in his sleep. For they  
that are abroad, whether a horseback, in  
coach, or waggon, if they have not used  
the necessary precautions, and are not well  
clad and lined, and naturally of a disposi-  
tion fit to endure such terrible cold, it seizes  
the extreme parts of their hands and  
feet, and by degrees all the rest of those  
parts, in such manner that being become  
insensible of the cold, they are taken with  
a sort of lethargick heaviness, which causes  
an extraordinary inclination to sleep, which  
if they are suffered to give way to, they  
sleep, but never wake again; but if they  
use all possible means to shake off that drow-  
ziness, they escape death. And thus have  
I escap'd it several times, being very  
near it; for my servants who were stronger,  
and more us'd to the like inclemencies of  
the air, awak'd me. The other sort of  
death, tho' not so sudden, is so cruelly  
painful and insupportable, that it almost  
distracts those that endure it. This it is  
that happens to the strongest constitutions,  
the cold seizes the body on the right side  
of the reins, and all about the waste,  
the troopers under their armour; so pinch-  
ing and straitning those parts, that it freezes  
up all their belly, especially the stomach  
and entrails; so that tho' they are always  
hungry, if they eat such things as are of  
easiest digestion, such as broths or gravy,  
when they are to be had, they are forced  
to cast them up as soon as they have swal-  
low'd them, with such violent pains, and  
intolerable gripes, as are not to be express'd.  
Those persons who are thus seiz'd and  
tormented, are continually complaining,  
loudly and frequently crying out that all  
their bowels and other parts of their belly  
are torn to pieces. I leave it to the ablest  
physicians to examine into the cause of  
such horrible pains; and this being none  
of my province, I shall think it enough to  
relate what I have seen, assisted by the

curiosity of some of that country, who  
being desirous to see what was the effect  
of so violent and irresistible a distemper,  
caus'd some that dy'd of it to be open'd,  
the greatest part of whose bowels they  
found black, burnt up, and as it were  
glue'd together; which made them sensi-  
ble that such diseases are generally incur-  
able, and that as their entrails consum'd  
and mortify'd, they were forced to com-  
plain and cry out day and night without  
respite, which render'd their death terrible,  
tedious, and without intermission.

This terrible cold assaulted us in the  
year 1646, when the *Polish* army enter'd  
*Muscovy*, to expect the return of the *Tar-  
tars*, who had made an irruption, to fight  
and take from them all the prisoners they  
had seized. The cold was so violent and  
cutting, that we were forced to remove  
our camp, with the loss of above two thou-  
sand men, most of whom dy'd in the cruel  
manner above mention'd, and the rest were  
maim'd. This cold did not only kill the  
men, but the horses too, tho' much more  
hardy and strong (for in that campaign above  
a thousand were spoil'd, that being seiz'd  
with that cold fit, were never able to go,  
and among them six horses belonging to  
lieutenant general *Pototski's* kitchen, he who  
is now generalissimo and castellan of *Cra-  
cow*. This cold came upon us when we  
were near the river *Merlo*, which falls into  
the *Borjibenes*. All remedies generally us'd  
are only by way of precaution, as being  
well clad and provided with all things that  
warm and repel such violent cold. For  
my part being in a coach or waggon, I  
kept a dog upon my feet to warm them, co-  
vering them with a thick woollen blanket,  
or a wolf's skin, and wash'd my face with  
good spirit of wine, as also my hands and  
feet, and wrapp'd them in clothes dipp'd  
in the same liquor, which I never suffer'd  
to dry up: and by these means, with the  
assistance of God, I prevented all the ill  
consequences before-mention'd, to which  
a man is more subject if he does not  
take some hot meat or drink, such as for  
example what they usually take three times  
a day: which is made with hot beer, a  
little butter, pepper, and bread, and serves  
them instead of pottage, fortifying their  
bowels against the cold.

The king being dead, the archbishop of *Edin*  
*Gnesna* takes upon him the administration  
of the king.  
of affairs; and two or three weeks after  
the king's death, holds a great assembly  
at *Warsaw*, where he presides: All the  
senators meet there to debate and con-  
clude upon the time and place for electing  
a new king. This point being settled, every  
senate returns to his palatinate, there to  
hold a little diet of that territory; that  
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is, he assembles all the nobility under his direction, at a certain time and place appointed, where none of them fail to come; and being all together, they confer about naming a new king. Every one shews reasons, according to his inclinations; and after all their contests and debates, they fix upon several princes; one of whom the deputies appointed for the election make choice of, and no other, after every one has shewn his commission for being at the election, and consenting to one of those five or six nam'd, so that every one of the senators has done the same thing in his palatinate at the same time. Thus all the deputies of the palatinates, or provinces, are the first voters, and have the plurality of voices in the diets above the palatines; yet they always deliver themselves in the name of all; for before they come there they have all conferr'd notes, and are agreed upon what is to be done without contradicting one another; so that all depends on them, for nothing can be concluded on there, which all the deputies have not consented to; and if there be but one that opposes, and cries out aloud *Nie- wolena* (which is, you are not allow'd it) all would come to nothing: for they have this power, not only at the election of kings, but may in any diet whatsoever break and disappoint all that the senators have concluded upon; for they hold these as fundamental maxims in their dominions.

1. That no nobleman can pretend to the crown, or name or give his vote for another to be so.

2. That whosoever is chosen king, must be of the *Roman* catholic and apostolick religion.

3. That he who is elected be a foreign prince, that he may have no lands in their dominions: and tho' the sons of the kings of *Poland* are princes, and born within their territories, yet that does not hinder them from being look'd upon as stranger princes among them; and they may not purchase lands of inheritance as the native nobility may: And for this reason they may be chosen kings, as happened to *Uladislaus* the fourth, who was then eldest prince, after the death of *Sigismund* the third his father, who was succeeded by *John Casimir* his brother now reigning; and yet this is to be no precedent to render the crown hereditary.

The manner of their elections is thus: It is generally made in open field half a league from *Warsaw*, the capital of *Mosovia*, were the king usually resides; and in the castle of which place the diets are commonly held, that town being as it were the center of all the provinces belonging to the crown of *Poland*. The place of

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election is half a league from *Warsaw* to *BEAU-*wards *Dantzick*, where there was a small *PLAN*. inclosure made about one thousand or twelve hundred paces in compass, inclos'd by a pitiful ditch about five or six foot wide, which serves only to hinder horses from going into the said inclosure; in which there are two great tents, one for the election where all the senators sit, and the other where all the deputies of provinces meet, who confer together before they go into the great audience of the senate. Every one shews his commission, and what he may consent to; and in this conference they all agree upon what they may oppose or grant. They meet thus every day before the audience, which every time lasts six or seven hours; during which time they propose all they can think on towards preserving their liberties. At least a fortnight was spent at the election of the late king *Uladislaus*; during which time there were no less than eighty thousand horse about that little inclosure, all soldiers following the senators; for every one of them had a little army, some greater, some less, as the palatine of *Cracow* who then had seven thousand men; and so others according to their power; for every one is attended by his friends and subjects in the best condition they can; being well disciplin'd, and with a resolution to fight in case they cannot agree. Observe, that during the time of the election, all the nobility of the country was upon its guard, every one with his foot in the stirrup ready to mount upon the least disagreement or falling out, to fall upon those that should attempt to infringe their liberties. At length, after several sittings and audiences, they agreed upon a prince for their king; every one, or at least the chief of the senators and deputies, put his hand to it, but did not publish it till next day. Then every one returning to his quarters, gives orders to his troops to be ready to draw up, according to the great general's command (for then they all put themselves under the great standard of the crown) and were ready to cry, *Long live the king*, calling him by his name. After three shouts they fir'd volleys of all the cannon and small arms, expressing their satisfaction, and repeating it three times. Then all the senate rose, and the principal senators went to the elder prince who had been chosen king, and was then at a village half a league off. After saluting him in the name of all the republick, they made a speech declaring how they had chosen him for their king, desiring him to accept of it, and to receive them under the government of his wisdom, assuring him they would be his most faithful and most obedient

7 A

**BRAU-** dient subjects. The king accepting, the  
**PLAN.** senators shew'd him their laws and statutes  
 (tho' he was not ignorant of them) which  
 he promis'd to observe inviolably. Next  
 day they conducted him to St. John's church  
 at *Warsaw*, where before the altar the king  
 took his oath; these that follow were the  
 articles read to him in the presence of all  
 the assembly.

Articles  
 the king  
 swears to  
 observe.

1. That he shall never enjoy any demesne  
 of the crown but what is assign'd him; so they  
 term their state.

2. That it shall not be in his power to pur-  
 chase or possess one foot of land in it.

3. That he shall not give out commissions  
 for raising of men, unless they have been ap-  
 pointed in the diet.

4. That it shall not be in his power, af-  
 ter the expiration of 24 hours, to cause any  
 Polish gentleman to be imprisoned, unless it be  
 for high treason against his person, or the  
 state.

5. That he shall not declare war, nor so  
 much as send an ambassador upon affairs of  
 state, without the consent of the republick.

6. That he shall always allow three senators  
 to be near his person to assist him in council;  
 and that they shall have an eye upon his actions,  
 for fear he should contrive any thing to their  
 prejudice. These three senators serve quar-  
 ters, so that the king can bring about  
 what must be presently known.

7. That the king shall not marry, make any  
 alliances, nor go out of the kingdom, without  
 consent of the senate.

8. It shall not be in his power to make  
 any commoner noble for any service done, un-  
 less it be to the state, and then the senate must  
 consent to it.

The king's  
 power.

The king, tho' thus ty'd to conditions,  
 yet has the power, not only of bestowing  
 all ecclesiastical benefices, but all lands  
 belonging to the crown, as they fall, but  
 it must be to gentlemen that are subjects  
 of the crown; and particularly to such as  
 have merited by their service, either in war  
 or embassies, or other publick service, that  
 this may be a reward, and make others  
 vie to be useful and virtuous.

He has also the sovereign power to  
 grant leave to burn wood in those lands;  
 and governments he bestows, for making  
 of pot and other ashes, which yield a great  
 revenue, tho' it destroys much wood.

He has also the right of bestowing all  
 offices, from the highest to the lowest,  
 and that for life; for no man can be re-  
 moved from his employment without his  
 own consent, or being proceeded against  
 according to law.

He appoints the meeting of diets, which  
 are usually held every two years. When

he goes to war, he may oblige all the  
 gentry of any province to attend him by  
 way of arrier-ban; and whosoever fails,  
 forfeits his head, his race loses his nobility,  
 and his goods are confiscated to the crown.

This is the extent of his power; and  
 tho' he be a king, his hands are tied up  
 in many cases, not doing as he thinks fit,  
 but being forced to consent to many things  
 against his inclination. Nevertheless he is  
 head of the republick, and all things are  
 done in his name, tho' he can do nothing  
 of himself.

The Polish nobility are all equal, there being no superiority among them, as is  
 usual in *France, Germany, Italy, Spain, &c.*

where there are dukes, marquisses, earls,  
 barons; for they have no other title but  
 that of *sarska*, which are governments  
 and demesns the king bestows on the no-  
 bility; for all the lands of noblemen are  
 held without any mention of fief, or un-  
 der-fief, so that the poorest gentleman  
 thinks himself no way inferior to one much  
 richer than himself; but they pay a respect  
 to those that are officers of the crown.  
 The meanest of them pretend they are  
 capable of being senators, when it shall so  
 please the king; and to this purpose they  
 all from their infancy learn *Latin*, because  
 all their laws are writ in that language.  
 They all aspire to hold some lands be-  
 longing to the demesns of the crown; and  
 this makes them strive to outdo one an-  
 other in virtue, and to appear in the army,  
 and there to perform some notable exploits  
 upon occasion, that they may be taken no-  
 tice of by their general, and be recom-  
 mended to the king, who rewards them  
 with some of those estates.

The nobility, as has been said, has the  
 power of chusing their king, who cannot  
 after 24 hours imprison any of them for  
 any crime whatsoever, except treason. Nor  
 can any of them be imprison'd till his  
 cause be try'd, judgment given, and he  
 thrice summon'd to appear. So that the  
 nobility have liberty to come and go, to  
 make interest with their judges, and be pre-  
 sent at the examination of witnesses who  
 depose against them, without fearing to  
 be apprehended before sentence is pass'd; af-  
 ter which they have time to withdraw into  
 a monastery, which very often is the sanc-  
 tuary of wicked men, who are not able  
 to support themselves by main force; for  
 the great lords laugh at justice, and tra-  
 vel with company enough to oppose them  
 that have caus'd them to be convicted.  
 The sentence is usually to be beheaded.  
 and their goods forfeited. Then they are  
 three times summon'd by a crier to appear,  
 and come before the court of justice in an  
 hour: But they are not such fools to put  
 themselves

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themselves into the hands of the hangman, knowing they are condemn'd to die. They not appearing, infamy is added to the sentence; that is, any one that meets, is authoriz'd and allow'd to kill them; and they that eat or drink with them are accounted guilty of the same crime. Then the plaintiff being too weak for the party condemn'd, comes to some composition, and for a sum of money discharges the other: After which the criminal may sue out the king's pardon, which costs two or three thousand livres; by which he is cleared of his crime, and of the infamy, and restored to his goods. But when the criminal is not so powerful as the party griev'd, he must fly the country to save his life, and his goods are forfeited to the crown. These are the benefits the king cannot enjoy, and which he gives the nobility for life. But, as they say, guilt wears out in time; for after some years past, friends endeavour to make up the business, either because the party concerned is dead, or that he relents and forgives, or through some other means, after which the criminal may easily recover his goods, if he has any interest.

It is not so among soldiers, for upon the least offence they are secured, without being look'd upon as gentlemen, but as soldiers, and are accordingly try'd by a council of war, and judgment no sooner given than executed.

The nobility may farm land without any disparagement, and sell the product of the earth; but they are not allow'd to trade, any more than in France.

No single  
dist.

In private quarrels they are not oblig'd to seek satisfaction of the wrong done them, man to man. When they think themselves injur'd, they gather all their friends, and the most resolute of their vassals, and march out with the greatest strength they can make, to attack and worst their enemies wheresoever they can meet them, and do not lay down their arms till they have fought, or else some friends have interpos'd and reconcil'd them; and instead of a scymitar put into their hands a great glass full of the liquor they call *toquoye*, to drink one another's health.

They have also the liberty of wearing little crowns over their arms, as being petty sovereigns, to cast as much cannon as they please, and to build as considerable forts as they are able, without being obstructed by the king or republick; and they only want the privilege of coining, to be absolute sovereigns. Formerly money was coin'd in the name of the republick, at present in the king's name only. In short, it appears at the beginning of this relation, that they have sovereign and ab-

solute authority over the peasants that *BEAU-* hold of them; that is, who are their vassals in their hereditary possessions: for they have not such full power over the peasants that live upon crown-lands, which they hold only for life; for of these they can put none to death with legal process, nor seize their goods without shewing a reason for it; the peasant of the crown, when molested, having their complaints heard before the king, who protects them, and keeps their privileges.

A gentleman cannot be condemn'd to death for killing a peasant belonging to another gentleman, but is by law to pay forty *grievens* to the heirs of the party kill'd to have their discharge; a *grievence* is worth thirty two *solis*. In these cases the testimony of two gentlemen is sufficient to condemn a peasant, but there must be fourteen peasants to convict a gentleman.

Strangers may not purchase land there, nor the native peasants, who never can possess any of their own; but they and their children hold their farms for life, pay great rents to their lords, and cannot sell or mortgage, but the lord can enter upon them when he pleases. In towns the burghers may buy houses and gardens, about the same towns within their liberties. By this it appears that all the lands in that republick are possess'd by the nobility, who are very rich, excepting only the lands remitted to the crown (which are not hereditary, like those we have spoken of) where there are certain villages depending of the crown, which the kings have given to *boyars*, who are a sort of people inferior to the gentry, and above the trading sort, to whom the king has given estates for them and their heirs, who enjoy them upon condition they shall serve in the wars at their own expence, as often as the great general requires, and do all they are commanded for the service of the state. Tho' most of these are very rich, yet there are some among them poor enough; but the nobility is rich, as has been said. In *Moldavia*, where there is a great number of them, being at least the sixth part of the inhabitants, they are not so well to pass; for which reason a great many of them go to plow, and serve great men as gentlemen-followers, which is more honourable than to be coachmen, as the most stupid of them are forc'd to be. Of this sort were two that serv'd me as coachmen several years, whilst I was in that country employ'd as first captain of the artillery, and the king's engineer, tho' they were gentlemen of good birth.

The patrimony of the nobility is free from winter-quarters and garisons; and the army is only permitted to march thro', being

**BEAU-PLAN.** being never allowed to be in garison, but upon the demefins of the crown.  
When several brothers are coheirs, the eldest divides, and the youngest chufes.

A widow marrying again, may, if she pleafes, give all the has to him that marries her, and fo difappoint her children: This law makes children obedient to their parents.

**Manners of the Polish nobility.**

The *Polifh* nobility are humble, and complainant enough towards fuperiors, fuch as the *palatines* and other officers of the crown; courteous and well-bred to their equals and countrymen, but haughty and infolent to their inferiors; affable to ftrangers, whom yet they do not much affect, or willingly converse with: as for instance, the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whom they feldom fee but in war, and with fword in hand. As for the *Mufcovites*, by reason of their brutality, they do not affociate, or deal with them; nor with the *Suedes* and *Germans*, for whom they have fo great an averfion that they cannot bear with them, but hate them mortally; and whensoever they make ufe of *Germans*, it is for very great need. On the contrary, they call the *French* brothers, sympathizing with, and being ally'd to them in behaviour, as well in their free way of delivering themselves without difsimulation, as in their eafy jovial temper, which inclines them to laugh and fmg without any melancholy. So the *French* who converse with thofe people, have a great efteem for them, becaufe generally they are good-natur'd, generous, void of malice, not given to revenge, witty; and thofe that apply themselves, improve mightily. They have excellent memories; are magnificent, honourable, expenfive in their habit, wearing rich linings; and I have feen fome of fables worth about two thoufand crowns, adorn'd with large gold buttons fet with rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and other precious ftones. They carry abundance of fervants after them; are very courageous, refolute and fkilful at their weapons, wherein they outdo all their neighbours, as making it their common exercife; for they are feldom or never without war againft fome of the powerful princes of *Europe*, as the *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Mufcovites*, *Suedes*, *Germans*; and fometimes two or three of them together, as happen'd in the years 1632, and 1633, when they were at war with the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Mufcovites*, and came off very well, after feveral victories obtain'd over them, follow'd by that over the *Suedes* in 1635.

After which peace was concluded be-

tween the two crowns of *Sweden* and *Poland*, by the mediation of monsieur *Devauvy*, his moft Chriftian majesty's embaffador, to the fatisfaction of both kings. Befides their generofity in other refpects, they entertain their friends in their houfes very civilly, being honoured and vifited by them; nay, they are moft obliging to ftrangers they never faw before in their lives, and treat them with the fame civility as if they had been long acquainted.

There are in that country fome very rich lords, for there are thofe whole perfonal eftates amount to 800000 livres *per annum*, without reckoning thofe that hold by gift of the crown, which are the fixth part of the kingdom; and the caufe of this great wealth is, becaufe the peafants can have no inheritance, fo that all belongs to the nobility, being fallen into them, either by conqueft, or by confiscations from rebels and turbulent perfons, whose eftates have been confiscated, and annex to the demefn. The nobility, fearing left the king, if poffefs'd of fuch vast eftates, might make himself absolute, they obftrudt his being mafter of them, and are themselves gainers by it.

Thefe people, when they go to war, ferve after a ftrange manner; and fhould we fee fuch as them in our armies, we fhould rather gaze at than fear them, tho' they are loaded with all forts of offensive arms. I will give a description of them by what I faw my felf in the perfon of monsieur *Deczeinsky*, *Rofsmaster* of a troop of *Cossacks*, who are thus arm'd. In the firft place he has his fcymitar over his coat of mail, his headpiece, which is a fteel cap, with labels of the fame fort as his coat of mail, hanging down on both fides, and behind over his back, his carbine, or elfe his bow and quiver; there hung about his wafte a *czidela*, a *steel*, a knife, fix filver fpoons made to lie one within another in a purfe of red *Turkey*-leather; a piftol in his girdle, a fine handkerchief, a purfe of drefsed leather that folds, holding about a pint and half, which they ufe to take up water to drink in the field; *faletas*, a *naiyque*, two or three fathom of filk rope about the thicknefs of half a man's little finger to bind the prifoners they take. All thefe things hang on the fide oppofite to the fcymitar; and befides all this, a horn to drench their horfes. There alfo hung by the faddle, on the off-fide, a wooden bowl that would hold half a pail to water his horfe; alfo three *noganfs* of leather to hold his horfe whilft he feeds. Befides, when he had not his bow, inftead of it he

<sup>1</sup> That is, a captain.

<sup>2</sup> Who are horfemen with bows and arrows.

<sup>3</sup> An owl.

<sup>4</sup> This fteel

ferve to fharpen his fcymitar and knife, and to ftrike fire.

<sup>5</sup> It is a great flat pouch of red cloth to

carry papers, their combs and their money.

ferret, holding three of the horfes legs as he feeds.

<sup>6</sup> A little leather webp to put on his horfe.

<sup>7</sup> Leather

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carried his carbine at his belt: he had, moreover, a *ladonnequis*, a worm for the carbine, and a flask. Judge whether a man thus loaded be in a condition to fight.

The *boufarts* are lancers, and all of them gentlemen of considerable estates, as far as 50000 livres a year; are excellently mounted, the worst of their horses worth two hundred ducats, being all *Turkish* horses brought from *Caramania*, a province in *Anatolia*. Every one of them serves with five horses, for in a company of a hundred lancers, there are but twenty masters, who all march in the front, being file-leaders; and the four other ranks are their servants each in his file. Their lances are nineteen foot long, the spear hollow, the rest of solid wood. At the point of their lances they wear a streamer or flag of red and white, or blue and green, or black and white, but always of two colours, four or five ells long, which, I suppose, is to fright the enemies horses; for when they have couch'd their lances, running with all the swiftness their horses heels can carry them, these streamers twirl about, and discompose the enemies horses they are to charge. They are armed back and breast, arms, head, &c. By their side they have only their scymitar, a palache under the left thigh; and on the right side of the pomel of the saddle is fasten'd a long sword, broad at hand, and tapering downwards with a square point, which is to run a man thro' as he lies on the ground, if he is not yet dead; and therefore this sword is five foot long, and has a round pomel that they may the better thrust against the ground to pierce the coat of mail; the *palache* is to cut flesh, and the scymitar to hack and hew the coats of mail. They also carry battel-axes, weighing at least six pounds, made like our square pick-axes, well temper'd, with a long handle to strike upon the helmet, and enemy's armour, which they pierce with these instruments.

Polish entertainments.

As their armour and manner of waging war seems to us very different from ours, we will let you see, by what follows, that their banquets and their behaviour at them, is different from what is us'd by most nations in the world. For the lords who value themselves most upon this particular, the people that are very rich, and those that are in a medium, treat very splendidly according to their ability; and I can with truth affirm, that their common meals do much exceed our feasts in all points, by which sensible men judge what they do when they debauch and make extraordinary treats. The great lords of the kingdom, and other officers of the crown,

upon leisure days, when they are excus'd *BEAU-* from going to the senate, and hold the *PLAR.* diet at *Warsaw*, have made entertainments that have cost fifty, and even sixty thousand livres, a very great expence, considering what is served in, and how it is served. For it is not there as in those countries, where amber, musk, pearls, and costly dressings arise to prodigious sums. All that is serv'd here is very ordinary and coarsely dress'd, but in prodigious quantities, though it be but for a small occasion. But the waste their servants and family make, as shall be shewn hereafter, is what enhances the charge. Now that you may guess at the value of the whole by a small sample, I must inform you upon my own knowledge, that very often (according to the bills of expence which I have seen) there has been one only article which mentioned a hundred crowns in glasses only, and they were not curious ones, but only a penny a piece. When they begin, they are generally only four or five lords senators, and sometimes the ambassadors that are at court join with them, which is but a small number for so great an expence as we have spoke of, but increased by the number of their gentlemen followers, to the number of twelve or fifteen, who are all bid welcome, and in all make seventy or eighty persons, who all sit down to a table, made of three tables put end to end, and near a hundred foot in length, generally covered with three fine large table-cloths, and all the service gilt; upon every plate a loaf under a very little napkin, no bigger than a handkerchief, with a spoon but no knife. These tables so placed are commonly in a spacious hall, at the end of which is a sideboard full of plate, with a rail about it, within which no body is to go but the butler and his assistants; upon that sideboard there are often eight or ten heaps of silver dishes, and as many plates as will reach the height of a man, and they are no short ones in that country. Opposite to this sideboard, and generally over the door, is a gallery for the musicians, as well vocal as instrumental, which are not to be heard confusedly all together, but begin with the violins, which are followed by cornets in a proportionable number, after them come the voices with children that make an harmonious comfort enough. All these several sorts begin again alternatively, and last as long as the feast. The musicians have always eaten and drank before the feast begins, during which, being bound to attend their business, they could have no leisure to eat or drink. All things being thus in order, the tables are covered with all sorts of varieties; then the lords are led into the hall,

2 A cartridge-box for carbine and pistol.



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PLAN.

in the midst whereof there are four gentlemen, two of whom hold a gilt basin, at least three foot diameter, to wash in, and the ewer proportionable to it. The gentlemen drawing near the lords, give them water for their hands, and withdrawing, give way to the other two, who hold a towel about three ells long, each holding an end, and offering it to the lords, who dry their hands. After this, the master of the house having performed the honours due, gives to every one his proper place, according to his rank and dignity. Being thus seated, they are served by gentlemen-carvers, three at each table, and treated with the varieties which are dressed and seasoned after their manner, that is, some with saffron, whose sauce is yellow; others with juice of cherries, which makes the sauce red; others with the juice of prunes, and that sauce is black; others with juice of boil'd onions strain'd, and this makes a greyish, and is by them called *gonche*. All these sorts of meat in their several sauces are cut into bits as big as a ball, that every one may take what he pleases. No soup is served up to table, because the meat has its broth with it in the dishes, among which there are some pasties. Every one of the guests eats according as the sauce pleases him, which are never any more than those four we have mentioned, besides the several sorts of meat. They serve up beef, mutton, veal and pullets without sauce, well seasoned according to the custom of that country, with salt and spice, and so well that they have no need of salts, which are therefore never used. As soon as one dish is emptied, they set on another, as salt-cabbage, with a piece of salt pork, or millet, or boiled dough (I suppose dumplings) which they eat as a great dainty. They make another sort of sauce of a root they call *crefen*, which they bruise and steep in vinegar, and has the relish of delicious excellent mustard, fit to eat either with fresh or salt beef, and with all sorts of fish. The first course being thus over, and the dishes emptied, most of the meat not eaten by the guests but their servants, as we shall mention more fully hereafter, they take off, and not only the dishes, but the first table-cloth with them, and then comes the second course of roast-meat, as beef, mutton and veal, cut into large pieces, capons, chickens, pullets, gossins, ducks, hares, venison, kid, wild-boar, and all other sorts, as partridges, quails, larks, and other small birds, whereof they have great plenty. As for pigeons, they never use them, because they are rare in that country, as are rabbits and woodcocks. All these sorts are served up without any order, but confusedly, intermixing them with several salads

of divers sorts. This second course is attended by an intermix of several sorts of strained pease with a good piece of bacon, whereof every one takes part and cuts it into bits, which they eat with a spoon, dipping in the soup, and look upon it as a dainty dish, swallowing it without chewing; and the value they put upon it is so great, that they think they have not been well treated if it be wanting; as also if they have not millet buttered, and husked barley dressed in the same manner, which they call *cacba*, and the *Dutch, gru*. They have also bits of paste like macaroons fry'd in butter full of cheese: and another sort made of buck-wheat, like very thin cakes, which they dip in the juice of white poppy-seed, which I suppose they eat to fill them up quite, and dispose them to sleep. This second course being taken away, as the first was, the desert is brought in, such as the season and opportunity will allow of, as cream, cheese, and many other things I cannot at present call to mind. All which dishes and dainties are so far inferior to the meanest of ours, that I should value one *French* dish above ten of theirs. But for fish they understand it wonderful well, for they not only have that which is very good, but dress it to perfection, and give it so fine a relish that it will raise a decay'd appetite, wherein they exceed all other nations, not only in my opinion, but by the general consent of all *French* and other strangers, who have been entertained by them. Nor is it any wonder, for they spare neither wine, nor oil, spice, currants, pine-apple kernels, nor any other thing which with their ingenuity can contribute to season it well. During dinner they drink but little, to lay a good foundation, and what they drink is beer out of long round glasses as big as a *French* pot, into which they put toasted bread sprinkled with oil. It was above-mention'd, that though the dishes of the first and second course were taken from table almost empty, yet the guests had eaten the least part; which is very true, for it is to be observed that every one of those that is at table has one or two servants, and when they would have clean plates, they fill their foul ones with what is next them, and give them heaped to the said servants, who being well provided, get together to devour it in some corner of the room, as it were by stealth, making an indecent noise, which yet their masters do not hinder, but cause it by supporting such a custom. After the masters have eaten heartily at table, without much drinking, and the servants gormandized what their masters have given them in the corners of the hall, then they begin in earnest to drink one another's

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healths, not in beer as before, but in their wine, which is the best and noblest in the world; and though it be white, yet it makes their faces red, and enhances the expence of their treats, for they consume abundance, and it costs four livres a pot, paying so much rather for its goodness than scarcity. When one has drank his friend's health, he gives him the same glass of that wine that he may pledge him, which they do easily without the help of servants, the tables being cover'd with great pots of wine and glasses, which are as soon filled as emptied: so that an hour or two after this pleasant work begins, it is no less pleasant to see the vast number of glasses every one has before him, to such a prodigious quantity that it is impossible he should drink them off, than to observe the forms and figures they stand in, for sometimes they are squares, sometimes triangles, sometimes oblongs, and sometimes circles; and these glasses are so variously moved, and in so many several forms, that I cannot believe the motion of the planets can be more irregular and disagreeing than that which is caused by that excellent pleasing white-wine. When they have spent four or five hours at this notable but not laborious exercise, some of them overcome, fall asleep; others go out to make water, and return more able to carry on the work; others discourse of their brave actions on the like occasions, and of what advantages they gain'd over their companions. But all the masters do, is nothing compared with the behaviour of the servants, for if they were expensive in eating, they are so much more in drinking, and destroy ten

times as much wine as their masters, and consequently they commit unparallel'd insolencies, rubbing the dirty greasy plates against the hangings, though never so rich, or else against their master's hanging-sleeves, without any respect to them or their rich garments; and to crown the work, they all drink to such a pitch that none of them goes off without feeling the effects of wine, for masters, servants and musicians are all drunk. Yet they that have the charge of the plate, are not generally so gorged, but that they take care, as near as they can, that no man shall get out of the house till all the plate be secur'd by those to whom it is committed: but these officers generally making use of their time, cannot perform their duty so well as they should, so that there is generally something lost.

To conclude; this is what at present I can call to mind of what I have seen and heard in that northern country, as to its situation, the people inhabiting it, their religion, manners, and way of making war; if my memory which has furnished me with what hitherto I have found to divert you, shall bring to light any thing else I shall think worthy to present you with, I shall not forget my duty, but will most willingly acquaint you with it, hoping that if this I have presented you with does not answer your expectation, you will easily excuse my inability to write more politely, which I thought improper for a soldier, who has spent all his days in throwing up works, casting of canon, and burning of salt-petre.

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A Curious and Exact ACCOUNT

OF A

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TO

C O N G O,

In the Years 1666, and 1667.

*By the R.R. F.F. MICHAEL ANGELO of Gattina,  
and DENIS DE CARLI of Piacenza, Capuchins,  
and Apostolick Missioners into the said Kingdom of  
Congo.*

VOL. I.

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TO

T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**T**HE authors of this small work being two persons who travelled not out of any vain curiosity, or out of any design of gathering wealth, but only out of a pure zeal to propagate the Christian religion; it would appear somewhat unchristian to call in question the truth of their relation. No worldly interest could bias them, who proposed to themselves no gain, nor indeed were they capable of any, their profession not permitting them to possess any thing. It is needless to say much in vindication of them; for in truth whosoever reads, will scarce find any thing but what is credible enough, unless they be such persons as being altogether strangers to the world, will credit nothing but what they see is frequent in their own country. I do not pretend to apologize for the book, every man will give his judgment whatever I can say for it. Therefore all I shall add is, that to some the account of Congo will not appear so diverting as they perhaps might have conceived it, because they always expect things very surprizing from countries very remote. This is not a history of a country, or of its conquest, and therefore there are no warlike expeditions to please the reader. The people are rude and ignorant, and therefore there are no fine descriptions of cities and noble structures. The authors were religious men, and therefore added no romantick invention of their own to make their writings taking. The account is very particular, it speaks not only of Congo, but of Brazil and some parts of Europe, the first part being made out of the letters of F. Michael Angelo who died in Congo, and the rest composed by F. Denis who returned home, and sets down particularly all that befel him there in his way back to Italy. The translation is faithful, without adding or diminishing in the least; and even the stile of the authors, which is plain and easy, is followed: which is all that I think requisite the reader should know before he enters upon the voyage.

*A Voyage*

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*A Voyage to Congo, in the Years 1666, and 1667. By the R. R. F. F. Michael Angelo of Gattina, and Denis de Carli of Piacenza, Capuchins, and Apostolick Missioners to the said Kingdom of Congo.*

**T**O satisfy the curiosity of several persons, who press me in such an obliging manner as I cannot easily withstand, to give them an exact account of what I have seen and learned during the long voyage, from which I am lately returned, I will write a relation of the kingdom of Congo and of *Africk*, where the duty of my mission made me acquainted with strange customs, and go through abundance of hardships, omitting at present to speak of *Brasil*, and some other parts of *America*, whither we were first carried, and of which I shall say but very little.

*The author appointed for the mission.*

In the year 1666, *Alexander* the 7<sup>th</sup> being pope, fifteen *Capuchin* missioners, of which I was one, were dispatched by the cardinals *de propaganda fide*, and received the commissions or patents at *Bononia*, where I then resided, at the hands of *F. Stephen de Cesa*, of the noble family of *Clermont*, whose virtue has been since rewarded with the post of general of the said order. Our patents contained the following privileges: to dispense with any irregularity except incurred by bigamy, or wilful murder: to dispense and commute simple vows even to that of chastity, but not that of religion: to dispense with marriages within the second and third degrees, and for *pagans* converted to keep one of their wives: to absolve in cases reserved to the pope: to bless church-stuff, churches, and chalices: to give leave to eat flesh and whitemeats, and to say two masses a day in case of necessity: to grant plenary indulgences: to deliver a soul out of purgatory, according to the intention of the priest, in a mass for the dead said on Monday and Tuesday: to wear secular clothes in case of necessity: to say the rosary for want of a breviary, or any other impediment; to read forbidden books, except *Macchiavel*.

*His voyage to Lisbon.*

As soon as these letters patents were delivered to me, I set out for *Piacenza* my native country, arrived there at the begin-

ning of Advent, and received orders to expect *F. Michael Angelo of Reggio*, who was to be my companion in this voyage. He being come, we went together to *Genoa*, where all the missioners were to embark: thence we sailed for *Lisbon*, and having resided there some months, took the opportunity of a *Portuguese* vessel bound for *Brasil* to load there, and sail over to *Africk* to the coast of *Congo*.

We spent three months in our passage from *Lisbon* to *Brasil*, the fair winds usually on these seas befriending us. By the way we had often the satisfaction to see the flying fishes about our ship: this is a very white fish about a foot long, with two wings or fins proportionable to the body; it is not unlike a herring, save that its back is of an azure colour, and its fins larger, and fitter to serve instead of wings. This fish flying from another called the *dorado* or *dory*, which pursues to devour it, springs out of the water, and flies as long as any moisture is in the fins, which once dried by the air it falls back into the sea, and is devoured by its enemy, who never loses sight of it, or else is taken and eaten by the seamen if it happens to fall into the ship, or is sometimes caught in the air by some bird of prey. So that this wretched creature, as it were banished by nature, can scarce find any place of safety in the air, in the sea, or on the earth, the delicacy of its flesh being the cause of its unhappiness. There is another sort of fish in those seas called a *shark*, very greedy of man's flesh: they catch it with a rope and a chain at the end of it, to which is fastned a strong hook baited with a piece of flesh: the *shark* perceiving it swallows the flesh, hook, and most of the chain; then the sailors draw the head above water, and batter it with clubs; after which they bind the tail where its greatest strength lies, and bringing it aboard cut it in pieces.

Drawing near the coast of *Guinea*, we began to feel much heat from the sun, which is there in the zenith; and as we

ANGLO. went farther it grew so violent, that in a few days we were so weak that we could neither eat nor sleep; and to add to our sufferings, the provisions and drink were full of maggots. This lasted for fifteen days we sailed under the line, so that 'tis a sort of miracle we should live amidst so many hardships, tho' it was then the month of *August*, the most temperate time of the year in those parts.

Sports at sea.

The *Portuguese* use generally to make some rejoicing, and keep holiday, to beg of God a good issue of that dangerous voyage. They also observe this ancient custom: those who have never been under the line are obliged to give the sailors either a piece of money, or something to eat or drink, or at least money's worth, from which no man is excused, not even the *Capuchins*, of whom they take beads, *Agnus Dei's*, or such like things; which being exposed to sale, what they yield is given to lay masses for the souls in purgatory. If any man happen to be such a miser as to deny paying this duty, the sailors clothed like officers carry him bound to a tribunal, on which a seaman is seated in a long robe, who acting the part of a judge, examines him, hears what he has to say, and gives judgment against him to be thrice ducked in the sea after this manner: the person condemned is tied fast with a rope, and the other end of it run through a pulley at the yard-arm, by which he is hoisted up, and then let run amain three times under water; and there seldom fails to be one or other that gives the rest this diversion. The same is practised in passing the straits of *Gibraltar*, and cape of *Good-Hope*.

Having passed the line, the wind still continued right astern, but so very violent, that if it had not pleased God we had met with so rapid a current of water as stemmed our furious course, I know not how we could have escaped. Some time after, when we had made considerable way, the wind calmed, and consequently we lost that refreshment we had so much need of in the great heat, which had not yet ceased; this calm falling out no less unluckily for our provisions, which we were afraid would soon fall short. What increased our fear was, the impression remaining in us of the disaster lately had happened to the ship called *Catarinetta*, which the reader will not be displeased to be acquainted with.

Strange account of a ship.

The vessel being laden with commodities of great value set sail from *Goa*, and meeting with a prosperous wind, arrived safe in *Brazil*, whence putting to sea with as fair a wind as could be wished, it took its course for *Lisbon*, but in passing the line the master died, overcome with the violent heat of the climate, and soon after

him all the best sailors: so that the ship being left, like a horse that has shook off the bridle, to the mercy of the waves, drove about in a piteous manner upon the sea for seven months, which forced such as were left alive, after consuming all their provisions, to eat the cats, dogs, and rats that were in the ship, and to dress their shoes and any other leather, which they endeavoured the best they could to make eatable. At last nothing being left, only five remained of four hundred men they were at first. One of these five was the captain, who being distracted with the dismal thoughts which a miserable death near at hand is wont to inspire, fancied that death would not be the greatest of his misfortunes, but that together with his life he should lose his reputation; and that fame, which commonly spreads abroad false news, would report, that he was fled into some far country to make his advantage of the great treasure he was entrusted with, and enjoy the fruits of his dishonesty out of danger. So that being ardently desirous that at least some one of them might survive to carry home the news of their misfortune, he proposed to his companions to cast lots which of them should be killed to serve for food to the other four. Not one of them contradicted that inhuman proposal, but only they would exempt their captain from being subject to the rigour of it. They used their utmost endeavours to make him consent; but after much contending, he solemnly swore he would not be exempt from falling a sacrifice to the rest, if it fell to his lot, since absolute necessity made that course just and reasonable. In short, having cast dice, the lot fell upon the unhappy captain, who was already offering up his soul to God; but the others bewailing their misfortune, began to conclude it was better they should all die like good catholics, than like *Barbarians* to imbrue their hands in the blood of their companion. God inspiring them in return for this good resolution, one of them went up to the top-mast head, from whence looking about on all sides, he spied at a great distance something dark, which he told the captain; who going up with a perspective glass, discerned that it was the coast of the continent. They steered that way the best they could, and being come up with the shore, found it was a port then in peace with *Portugal*. Being landed, with God's assistance, they went immediately to the governor, whom they acquainted with their misfortune. The governor gave them good entertainment, and furnished them with all they stood in need of. During their stay there, they were advised by physicians to make use of some medicines, and proper restoratives

Story of a church in Brazil.

restoratives to recover their health, and return to sea; yet two of them more spent than the rest, gave up their ghosts; the other three, with the help of the good medicines applied, were perfectly recovered. They gave thanks to God for his mercy, and to the governor for his civility, refitted their vessel, and set sail again for *Lisbon*. As soon as they came thither, one of the three who relapsed by the way, died. To conclude, the captain and sailor that remained, landed, and were immediately introduced to the king of *Portugal*, to whom they gave a dismal account of their adventures, which turned to their advantage; for the king moved at their sufferings, comforted, and gave them gifts of value, making the captain admiral of the fleet, and the sailor captain of the best ship.

Now I return to our voyage.

Being in ten degrees of south latitude, we discovered about evening cape *S. Augustin* at a great distance; and in the morning it pleased God, we saw abundance of land-fowls flying near about us, and whales, which spouting up great streams of water, at that distance looked to us like fine fountains gushing in the midst of the sea. There are such numbers of them in that sea, that I shall scarce be believed, if I say a merchant pays the king of *Portugal* fifty thousand crowns in gold for the patent to make oil, though nothing be more true.

Passing by our lady of *Nazareth*, we all saluted her with three *ave maries*, and a triple discharge of our cannon. This church is but five miles from the town of *Fernambuco*; near to which place *Francis de Brito* a *Portuguese* nobleman, travelling before the church was built, the good lord who had a special devotion for the blessed Virgin, met a poor woman clad in white, with a child in her arms, who humbly begged an alms of him. He putting his hand into his pocket, gave her a ducat; and whilst he was giving, and she receiving, the woman's face seemed to him to be altogether changed. *Brito* following on his way at a small distance from the place, as if he were quite surprised at what he had seen, turned about several times to see the person that had won his heart; but tho' it was a plain field, where there was no place to be concealed, nor any thing to obstruct the sight, he could never see the beautiful beggar again. This breeding a dissatisfaction in his mind, he returned to the very place where he left his alms, and his thoughts, and only found the print of two feet upon the earth, which made him conclude that the poor woman was the blessed Virgin, that had inflamed his heart with her heavenly eyes, and ravished his soul with her divine beauty; and there-

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fore in that very place he erected a stately <sup>ANGLO.</sup> church in honour of the most holy Virgin, endowing it with a revenue, and chaplains proportionable to the worth and generosity of that noble gentleman.

When we were under the tower, which <sup>Port of</sup> serves as a fort to the harbour of *Fernam-  
buco*, we cast anchor there, saluting the town after the usual manner, the port being too little for ships to lie in.

The captain went away in the pinnace, to get leave for us to land. Whilst he was gone, we observed that a wall runs from the tower, which the people there call *arcefe*, which creditable people say is natural, running three hundred miles, one part of it inclosing the harbour, and securing it against any weather. This same wall in like manner parts the sea from a river that runs through the middle of the city; and when the sea grows boisterous, it sometimes raises its waves above the wall, mixing its salt with the fresh waters of the river, which is the cause that the people catch fresh and salt-water fish indifferently in the river, and in the sea, as if by a sort of metamorphosis the sea were become a river, and the river sea.

As soon as we landed in the port of *Fernambuco*, we saw a great croud of people, as well *Blacks* as *Whites*, about us, and among them a black woman, who kneeled, beat her breast, and clapt her hands upon the ground. I enquired what the good woman meant by all those motions with her hands; and a *Portuguese* answered me: father, the meaning of it is, that she is of the kingdom of *Congo*, and was baptized by a *Capucin*; and being informed you are going thither to baptize, she rejoices, and expresses her joy by those outward tokens.

In going to the house appointed for our entertainment, we passed through the middle of the town, which we found to be indifferent for bigness, but very full of people, especially of black slaves they bring from *Angola*, *Congo*, *Dongo*, and *Mattamba* every year, to the number of ten thousand, whom they employ about their tobacco, sugar-works, and to gather cotton, abundance of which grows there upon shrubs, about the height of a man; as also to cut wood for dying of silk, and other stuffs of value, and to work in coco and ivory.

As for the original natives of *Brazil*, or <sup>Indians of</sup> *South America*, the *Portuguese* have not been able to subdue them to this day, they being a people too free and barbarous. They call them *Tapugas*, or *Caboclos*, and the colour of their skin is a dark tawny. They go quite naked, and carry a bow an ell and half long, with arrows made part of cane, and part of a hard wood sharpened to-

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Story of a  
church in  
Brazil.

ANGULO. wards the point like a saw, that where it hits it may make the wound bigger, more troublesome, and be the harder to be drawn out; and it is most certain that when they shoot with a design, and their best, they strike a board or plank through and through at a musket-shot distance. These *Tapugas*, when they can, eat man's flesh; and when they have none of their enemies about them, they feast upon such strangers as they can catch in their country.

They wear little bits of wood and stone of several colours set in their faces; I know not whether for ornament, or to appear more terrible. At their ears they have pendants, not of lead as our lap-dogs have, but great pieces of the same sort of wood. They live upon such beasts as they hunt, and upon men; for when any one among them takes his bed, they assign him a certain time to recover, which if he does not within the time limited, they kill him without mercy and eat him, to put an end charitably to his sufferings. The same favour or inhumanity they use towards their parents, and old people, become unfit for hunting, whom the children kill and eat with their near relations, invited by them to that cruel feast; thus killing those to whom they owe their life, and burying those in their bowels, from whose bowels they came. In short, they are miserable pagans plunged in idolatry. The rest of the inhabitants of that new world, whether good or bad, are Christians, or at least bear the name.

At the place of our reception we found two of our companions sick of a fever, and we ourselves felt some indisposition, which obliged us to go into the doctor's hands, it being usual and almost inevitable for all who come into that country to fall sick, whether it proceed from the change of air or food.

One morning we heard an admirable concert of trumpets all aboard the fleet, as well within as without the port, sounding, to the number of eighty ships, including ours, which was loading with sugar, of which she carried no less than one thousand chests. Nothing could be pleasanter than that prospect, which seemed to represent a town where the houses were tost at the pleasure of the waves, or like a forest floating about as drove by the wind. There we received the news of the death of *John Mary Mandelli* of *Pavia*, prefect to the two missions of *Angola* and *Congo*, who die among those people with the reputation of sanctity, after enduring a thousand hardships for their spiritual advantage during twenty five years he lived there.

Town of  
Olinda.

We took a time to go see the town of *Olinda*, but three miles distant from *Fernambuco*. It was formerly a great town,

but at this time almost ruined, since the *Dutch* made a descent there. In a marshy field we were shown certain trees, which like others have their roots in the ground, but have others above, the leaves being all covered with them. There we saw abundance of great parrots, several sorts of *macacos*, that is, monkeys or apes, of which the least called *sagorini* are most valued. We went this way in a canoe, which is a large trunk of a tree hollowed; and our watermen were two *Blacks*, naked like the people of *Brasil*, having only a little rag before them for decency.

The temper of that climate though very hot is not bad, nor the great dampness of the moon dangerous, so that there is good travelling enough by night as well as by day. Silver and gold money in this town goes as it does in other parts of *Brasil*, they give two testons for a mäs, and thirty or forty for a sermon. The country produces neither wheat nor wine, but there is enough carried out of *Europe*, and sold dear enough. The ground being sandy, the natives and travellers are troubled with a kind of insects, which some call *Pbaraab's* lice, alledging that was one of the ten plagues wherewith God formerly punished *Egypt*. They are less than lice, and work themselves insensibly in between the flesh and the skin, and in a day's time grow as big as a kidney-bean, or other small bean. Some experienced *Black* undertakes the cure, for were they left unregarded, they would corrupt all the foot in a very short time. Observing two days after I came that something hindered my walking, I caused a *Black* to search me, who took out four of those insects pretty big grown, and there was not a day but they came and took out ten or twelve apiece from us. It is no small misfortune, if any one escapes undiscovered by the *Blacks*, for they gnaw and torment the feet.

During our stay at *Fernambuco* there was a great feast of the rosary kept in the great church called *Corpo santo*, or the holy body. The order of it was very magnificent. The church was hung with ten thousand bells of silk of a fire-colour, and other rich stuffs: the tabernacle which was lofty, covered with silk embroidered full of flames of gold, and a silver galloon over it, which dazzled the eyes: the musick of harps, violins, and cornets, making a concert to the holy hymns. The religious are not at this great expence, but chuse the richest merchant in the city, who looks upon it as a point of honour to open his purse freely upon such an occasion. He that bore the charge that year, protested to us the next day, that he had spent four thousand ducats in bonfires, the night before; but he meant

Sagorini.

Fruit.

meant thus: we being impatient to go over into *Africk* as soon as possible to perform the duty of our mission, went to see that merchant, who had a great kindness for us, to beg of him that when a ship of his bound for *Africk*, was laden and ready to sail, he would be so charitable as to assign us the great cabin to go in, which he readily granted. The vessel being found unfit for the voyage, was unloaded, all the iron-work and rigging taken out, and the timber burnt, which he said cost him four thousand ducats, that being the cost of the ship.

Sugar-works.

To divert us we went one day to see sugar-works, which is a great curiosity. The engine they use is a great wheel turned violently about by a number of *Blacks*; it turns a press of massy iron, in which the sugar-canes cut in pieces are bruised, the moisture that runs from them falling into a great chaldron over the fire. It is wonderful to see the *Blacks*, who are naturally lazy, labour so hard, and clap the canes so dexterously under that mass of iron, without leaving their hands or arms behind them.

Fruit.

The fruit in that country, which generally lasts all the year upon the trees, is very delicious, and among the rest the *nicettes*, which are like our lemons. They grow on a stalk like an *Indian* cane, and two of its leaves would clothe the biggest man. This stalk sometimes produces but one bunch, in which there are about fifty *nicettes*. To ripen them, they must be cut off green and hung in the air, where they grow yellow in a little time. When they are cut through the middle, there appears on both sides the exact figure of a crucifix. When the bunch is cut off, the stalk withers, and another soon grows out of the same root. The *bananas* is much of the same nature, only the *nicette* is three foot high, and the *banana* twice as much.

The *ananas* are like a pine-apple, about a span long, and the plant produces but one. The rind being taken off, they look yellow, and the juice of them is like that of a muscadine grape, but it must be eaten with moderation, being hot in the third degree. There are other sorts of fruit, as that called *fruta do conde*, or the count's fruit, which grows on a plant as high as an orange-tree, of a very pleasant flavour. *Managets*, like our small melons, and growing on very large trees. *Maracoupas*, like a great round apple, and yellow without, of which I sent the draughts, as I did of several other curious sorts of fruits, to the *Sieur Jaques Zanoni* apothecary of *Bononia*, who will make them public in his book of plants now in the press.

As for *European* fruits, such as grapes,

pomgranates, melons, figs, gourds, cucumbers, oranges, lemons, and citrons, they grow there to a wonder; and these last are like our gourds in *Italy*, by reason of the goodness of the radical moisture of the earth. So the *Portuguese* orange-trees do not only multiply there, but improve very much; and the young plants grow up to vast high trees. Little other meat is eaten there but beef and some pullets. Wine is dearer than saffron, for it is brought from the *Maderas*, that is above six hundred and fifty leagues, and pays above eight pistoles a pipe custom. All the *Whites* in that country are either *Portuguese*, or descended from them, and drink little wine. The commonalty drink all water, which is none of the best. Instead of bread they eat cakes made of the meal of a root called *maniocca*. In that country there are properly but two seasons, spring which is temperate enough but rainy, during which the trees don't lose their leaves; and summer, which is very hot and dry, inasmuch that did not the dew make some amends, the country would be quite dry'd and parch'd up. The town of *S. Paul*, and country about it, which lies furthest up in *Brasil*, may be call'd the true lubberland, or country of pleasure. Any stranger that comes thither, though never so poor, is welcome, and presently meets with a wife to his liking, provided he submit to the conditions, which are to think of nothing but eating, drinking, and walking, but particularly of being kind to no woman but his own. If he gives the least cause to suspect he will make his escape, she certainly poisons him; but if he agrees well with her, he is cherished and made much of, every one striving to outdo another in kindness.

A happy country.

Their wealth comes out of a river that waters the country, and which is so rich, that it can relieve the miserablest wretch who implores its assistance; for they need only take the sand of the river, and separate the gold from it, which abundantly requires their trouble, there being only the fifth part due to the king by way of acknowledgment. Much more curious and extraordinary is reported of that country; but not having been there myself, because it lies in the furthest part of *Brasil*, and near to the river of *Plate*, I dare not avouch all for truth, tho' in reality nothing ought to appear incredible to those who are well acquainted with the extravagant customs, and absurd manners of those barbarous nations.

At length on the second of November 1667, we set sail for the kingdom of *Congo*, and were forced, to avoid contrary winds, to run into 29 degrees of south latitude, even with the cape of *Good Hope*, which might



ANGLO. might better be called the cape of *Death*, because of the continual fear of death they are in who come near it. For the space of eight days we were toss'd in a terrible manner; sometimes lifted up to the clouds, and sometimes cast down to the deep, either way dreading to perish. At last the wind fell, the waves settled, and we saw some bones of cuttle-fish, which the goldsmiths make use of for casting, float upon the water, esteemed a token of fair weather, and of being within sixty leagues of the continent, that fish never going far from shore.

In short, next day we saw land, and began to hope well of the success of our voyage, because there are never any storms on that coast, and ships may run along within musquet-shot of it, without any danger of sands. Our boat being out for several days, founding to discover some rocks that lie under water along the shore; we fished as we went, and always brought aboard a great deal of fish. Among the rest we caught one that weighed about 15 or 16 pound, which the captain said he would treat us with. The colour of it was red, the head large and round, the eyes sparkling like fire, the nostrils flat upon the forehead, the fins beating, the scales rustling together, the whole body tossing and puffing in a hideous manner. The captain knowing it to be one of the most delicious fishes in those seas, would dress it for us himself, making a sort of white sauce with sugar, spice, and juice of oranges and lemons; so that it being all like a dish of curds, we eat it with spoons, and could not distinguish whether the sauce made the fish good, or the fish mended the sauce.

Coast of  
Africk.

I had a great mind to go ashore, but the master would not suffer it, assuring me there were *Blacks* along that coast that eat man's flesh. We discovered two of them, who as soon as they saw us, ran away far enough, which made the master put off from shore, for fear those *Blacks* were gone to call some magician to sink our boat, and seize us. Some days after the master went out of the boat ashore to comply with some corporal necessity; but as soon as he got behind a little rock, he ran back to the water out of breath, calling out to us to come to his assistance, as we did with all possible speed. The cause of his fright was that behind the rock he saw a fire lighted, near to which there was a string of fishes drying, a certain token that some *Blacks* lived near, which so terrified him, that forgetting the need he was in, he had no occasion for three days after.

When we had pass'd that coast, which is hideous to look to by reason of a long

ridge of barren mountains, about the latitude of 14 degrees we discover'd some green trees, and a pleasanter shore, in which there were good sorts made by nature, capable of containing two or three thousand ships. Upon *Christmas* eve we touch'd at *Benguela*, capital of the kingdom of the same name, where there is a *Portuguese* governor and garison; and we found about two hundred white inhabitants, and abundance of *Blacks*. The houses are built with mud and straw, the church and fort being made of no better materials.

Abundance of small boats came aboard us, each carrying two black fishermen, who came to exchange fish with the seamen for *Brazil* roll-tobacco.

The father superior and I went ashore, where I preach'd the first time in *Portuguese*. The temper of that climate is so bad, that it gives the food the country produces so pernicious a quality, that those who eat of it at their first coming certainly die, or at least contract some dangerous distemper; which is the reason that passengers take care not to go ashore, nor to drink the water which looks like lye. This made us unwilling to accept of the dinner the governor invited us to, tho' he assur'd us there should be none of the country provisions, and we should drink wine brought by sea, which he perform'd, giving us a treat altogether after the fashion of *Europe*. After which he further express'd his kindness, sending very good *European* fruit aboard after us, with a whole beef stead, but little, and without horns, very well tasted, as is all the meat of the country, whereof there is great plenty and very cheap.

Any body that sees the *Whites* who live in that country, may easily discern how little that air agrees with them: they look as if they were dug out of their graves, their voices are broken, and they hold their breath in a manner between their teeth; which made me, in the most obliging manner I could, refuse the governor's request, who wanting priests would have kept me there some time to administer the holy mysteries. The courts at *Lisbon*, as a punishment for some heinous crime, often banish criminals to *Angola* and *Benguela*, looking upon those countries as the most wretched and infectious of any the *Portuguese* possess: Therefore the *Whites* there are the most deceitful and wickedest of men.

Having taken leave of the governor, we went aboard again, and proceeded on our voyage, which we ended happily before the wind, arriving on *Twelfth-day* at the port of *Loanda*, which is the finest and largest I ever yet saw. My companion and

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and I landed, and were received by an infinite number of *Whites* and *Blacks*, who strove to outdo one another in expressing their joy for our arrival, kissing our habita, and embracing us. Attended by this croud, we proceeded to our *hospitium* or house for our reception, in the church whereof we found above three hundred persons, with the chief men of the town, who came out to meet us. Having ador'd the blessed sacrament, and returned thanks to God for our prosperous voyage, we went into the convent, where we found three fathers, an old layman threescore and ten years of age, an under-guardian of *Congo* recovering after a fit of sickness, and one of *Angola* in a fever. We were informed, to our great regret, that two religious men of our company, who came away a little before us from *Genoa*, dy'd both of them as soon as they arrived, one at *Loanda*, and the other at *Messagrana* not far off. Those fathers, who were of a vigorous constitution, now enjoy the reward of their pious intention, which they had not the power to put in execution, being prevented by death. Soon after the sub-guardian of *Congo* intended to set out and conduct me and my companion to the county of *Sango*, and thence to the county of *Bamba*, there to be expos'd to all those fatigues for which we had prepared our selves. The country of *Bamba* is no less in extent than the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* together.

Descripti-  
on of Lo-  
anda.

*Loanda* is an island and town of the same name, being the capital of all those countries the *Portugueses* possess in those vast regions of the *Blacks*. The *Dutch* once made themselves masters of it, but the *Portugueses* with much bravery beat them out. There is a good number of *Jesuits*, who are allow'd by the king of *Portugal* a pension of two thousand *Cruzadoes* a year, that is, 266 l. 13 s. 4 d. They keep schools, preach, and perform other functions for the salvation of souls. To requite their labours, the people of that country have given them the property of several houses, and of twelve thousand slaves of sundry trades, as smiths, joiners, turners, and stone-cutters, who when they have no employment at home, serve the publick, and bring their masters in a *Cruzado* a day. We also found *Carmelites* there, and some of the third order of *S. Francis*, all of religious men, of a very exemplary life.

The city *Loanda* is large and beautiful enough. The houses of the *Whites* are of lime and stone, and cover'd tiles; those of the *Blacks* are of mud and straw. One part of the city stretches to the brink of the sea, the other rises up to the top of the hill. There are about three thousand

*Whites*, and a prodigious multitude of *Angolos*. *Blacks*, whose number is not known: They serve as slaves to the *Whites*, some of whom have fifty, some a hundred, two or three hundred, and even to three thousand. He who has most is richest, for they being all of some calling, when their masters have no use for them, they go work with any that wants them; and besides, saving their masters their diet, they bring home their earnings.

The *Whites* when they go about the town, are followed by two *Blacks*, with an hammock of network, which is the convenience us'd for carrying of people even when they travel. Another *Black* walks by his master's side, holding a large umbrella over him to keep off the sun, which is violent hot. When any two that have business meet, they join their umbrellas, and walk side by side in the shade. When the *White* women go abroad, which is very seldom, they are carry'd in a cover'd net, as is us'd in *Brasil*, with attendance of slaves. The slaves, both men and women, kneel when they speak to their master.

At *Loanda* they eat abundance of fish, cow-beef, which is the best sort of flesh, goat and mutton. Each of the last may be said to have five quarters, the tail being the biggest of them; but it is not wholesome because of its great fatness, nor indeed is any flesh in that country. Instead of bread they use the root of *manjora*, as they do at *Brasil*, and *Indian* wheat, of which they make little cakes, and other things of paste, which yet are not so good as bread. The water they drink is very bad: It is brought from a neighbouring island, where they dig a trench even with the sea, and the water freshens as it strains through the sand, but not thoroughly. Else they go for it to a river twelve or fourteen miles from *Loanda*, and load their canoes, which are boats made of one piece of timber. These canoes have a hole at the bottom, which they open when they are in the river, and stop it up when the canoe is full enough. When they come home, they strain it from the dirt, and let it stand some days to settle. Wine brought from *Europe* is sold for sixty *mil reys* the pipe, that is twenty pound sterling; when there is a scarcity, it rises to one hundred *mil reys* a pipe, and sometimes there is none at all to be had.

There is but little money passes in that country; but instead of it they buy and sell with *macutes*, *birames*, and *Indian* pieces, or *mulebes*. The *macutes* are pieces of cloth made of straw a yard long, ten of which are worth one hundred *reys*. The *birames* are pieces of coarse cotton cloth made in the *Indies* five ells long, and cost two

ANGELO. hundred *reys* the piece. The *Indian* pieces, or *mulebes*, are young *Blacks* about twenty years of age, worth twenty *mil reys* each. If they are younger, they are valued by people who have judgment in them. Young women are of the same value as men. Besides these there are shells they call *zimbi* which come from *Congo*, for which all things are to be sold as if they were money; two thirds of them are worth a *macoute*. The people of *Congo* value these shells, though they are of no use to them, but only to trade with other *Africans* who adore the sea, and call these shells which their country does not afford, *God's children*: For which reason they look upon them as a

treasure, and take them in exchange for any sort of goods they have. Among them he is richest and happiest who has most of them.

The inhabitants of *Loanda* courted us to stay with them for a year at least, to use our selves to the air and provisions, before we ventured further into those deserts and unhealthy countries of *Bamba*, where our lives would be in danger. We answered, it would be a happy exchange to meet with death that would purchase us true life, and to lose our bodies to find so many souls, for whose salvation Providence had brought us thither.

*All that follows to the End is writ by F. Denis Carli.*

CARLI.

Kingdom  
of Congo.

Province  
of S. Salvador.

WE set out both of us for our mission of *Bamba*, where a great duke subject to the king of *Congo* resided; for in that kingdom there are five provinces. The first is that of *S. Salvador*, or *S. Saviour*, where the king of *Congo*, whose name is *D. Alvaro*, resides. It takes name of the capital city call'd *S. Salvador*, which is best seated, and in the wholesomest air in the kingdom, built upon a hill. In it there are scarce any flies or gnats, fleas or bugs, as there are in the rest of the kingdom; but it is not free from ants, which are very troublesome. The king's palace is almost a league in compass. Formerly it was the only house that was boarded, but the *Portugueses* who have settled there have put the great men in the way of adorning and furnishing their houses. The cathedral is built with stone like those of our *Lady*, *S. Peter* and *S. Anthony of Padua*, in which are the tombs of the kings of *Congo*. That of the *jesuits* dedicated to *S. Ignatius* is not the meanest. Our *Lady of Victory* is made of mud, but whitened both within and without; it was given to the *Capucins* by king *Alphonso* the third. The second province is that of *Bamba*, where the great duke call'd *D. Theodosio* rules. The third that of *Sondi*, where there is another duke. The fourth that of *Pemba*, where a marquis resides; and the fifth that of *Songo*, in which there is a count who has not own'd the king of *Congo* for some years: He resides in the town of *Songo*, a league from the river *Zaire*.

Having provided all things necessary, *F. Michael Angelo* and I went aboard, and coasting along the continent, in two days came to *Dante*, on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Angola*, where the *Portugueses* have a fort. We went to wait upon the governor, and shew'd him the letters we

brought from the lords of the council of *Loanda*, who then govern'd the kingdom, the viceroy that was expected not being yet come; they were letters of recommendation for him to help us to *Blacks* to carry us and our goods. During two days we stay'd there, the governor sent out a fishing, and salted the fish for us; and among other sorts there were soles and pilchards above a span long. Our provision being ready and thirty *Blacks* appointed to carry us and our equipage, hammocks were provided for us; the gentlemen of that city giving us to understand, that it was impossible for us to go afoot, being clad and equip'd as we were; so that there being no other remedy, we comply'd with the custom of the country.

We set out, and there being no great roads in those wild countries, but only paths, were forced to go in file. Some *Blacks* went before us with their burdens, next *F. Michael* in his hammock follow'd by some *Blacks*; then came I carry'd in my net, which to me seem'd an easy sort of carriage; and after me follow'd the rest of the *Blacks*, to relieve those that carry when they are weary. It is wonderful to see how soft they go tho' loaded. They are arm'd with bows and arrows, and were to carry us to one of their towns, which in their language they call *libatte*, as we shall always call them in this relation. There we were to provide other carriers.

The lord or governor of the *libatte*, whom in their language they call the *macolonte*, came immediately to visit us, and assign'd us two of the best cottages in the place; for throughout all the kingdom there is never a stone house, but only straw and stubble; and the finest are of mud walls, and thatch'd, most of them without windows, the door serving for a window.

window. We must except the city of S. Salvador, as was said above.

The *macolonte* was clad after this manner: He only wore a clout of the bigness of a handkerchief made of palm-tree leaves, for decency-sake, to cover that which modesty requires should be cover'd, and a cloke of *European* cloth reaching down to the ground; it was blue, a colour much esteem'd among them; the rest of his body was naked. The *Blacks* that attended the *macolonte*, and who were his officers, had only one of those handkerchiefs, which they send to be dy'd blue at *Loanda*: The rest of the people had only leaves of trees, and monkeys skins; and those who live in the open country, and lie under the trees, whether men or women, wear nothing at all, but go quite naked without any sense of shame.

This first *libatte* was pretty large, consisting of about a hundred cottages, separate from one another, and without any order: It may be said they don't live in them in the day-time, for the men go abroad a walking, to take their diversion, to converse together, and play upon certain instruments, which are wretched and ridiculous enough, till night, being altogether strangers to melancholy. The women on the other side, go out in the morning to till the ground, carry a basket at their backs, into which they put a black earthen pot, which they call *quousou*, and one of their children carrying the youngest in their arms, who takes the breast without the mother's help. They lead one by the hand, and very often carry another in their belly, for these people are fruitful and incontinent. The rest of the children, if there be more, follow the mother; but when they are grown somewhat big, they let them go where they will, without taking any more care of them than if they were not their children.

We presented the *macolonte* with a string of beads of *Venice* glass, which they call *missanga*, and hang about their neck, having no pocket or other place to keep it. The *macolonte* having receiv'd and return'd his compliments, sends a *Black* all about the *libatte*, to order the inhabitants to bring their children to be baptiz'd; the youth being almost all baptiz'd before, we having had that mission thirty years. They acquaint them that a *Capucbin* is come, whom in their language they call *Gramga*, adding, by way of respect, the word *somet*, which is as much as father or master. As soon as they hear of our coming, they all flock in, bringing their children, and by way of alms two of their handkerchiefs of palm-tree leaves, or else 3500 little shells, which, as has been said, is the money of

the country, call'd by them *zimbi*; or else <sup>ANGLO.</sup> a pullet, for a quantity of them was once carry'd thither, but the wars have almost destroy'd them. They also bring a little salt upon a leaf to bless the water, and give one of the presents above-mention'd for baptizing their children, and if they have nothing to give, they are christen'd for God's sake. In this first place we baptiz'd thirty; each of us fifteen, to our great satisfaction, they being the first we had made Christians. I spoke to the *macolonte* to prepare things to say mass next day; and immediately he sent out several *Blacks* to cut wood, and palm-tree leaves, wherewith they erected a little green chapel, as was the altar, I having given them the height, and breadth; and then we furnish'd it, all the missionaries carrying a chest along with them, containing all things necessary for the holy sacrifice. Whilst my companion said mass, the *macolonte* sent notice to other *Blacks* that were at a small distance from thence, who came time enough to hear the second mass: after which we baptiz'd ten children of that neighbouring *libatte*. There was a great number of people present, the chapel having been erected on a rising ground, to the end they might at least see, if they could not hear the mass. Next we catechis'd, dividing the people into two parts, and explaining what we said to them by the help of an interpreter.

That done, they fell a playing upon several instruments, a dancing, and shouting so loud, that they might be heard half a league off. I will describe but one of <sup>A musical instru-</sup> their instruments, which is the most ingenious and agreeable of them all, and the chief of those in use among them. They take a piece of a stake, which they tie and bend like a bow, and bind it to fifteen long, dry, and empty gourds, or *calabas* of several sizes, to sound several notes, with a hole at top, and a lesser hole four fingers lower, and stop it up half way, covering also that at the top with a little thin bit of board, somewhat lifted above the hole. Then they take a cord made of the bark of a tree, and fastening it to both ends of the instrument, hang it about their neck. To play upon it they use two sticks, the ends whereof are cover'd with a bit of rag, with which they strike upon those little boards, and so make the gourds gather wind, which in some manner resembles the sound of an organ, and makes a pretty agreeable harmony, especially when three or four of them play together.

They beat their drums with open hand, and they are made after this manner: They cut the trunk of a tree three quarters of an ell long or more; for when they hang them

Drums.

CARLI, them about their necks, they reach down almost to the ground: they hollow it within, and cover it top and bottom with the skin of a tiger, or some other beast, which makes a hideous noise when they beat it after their manner.

The gentlemen, or gentlemen's sons carry in their hand two iron bells, such as the cattle among us wear, and strike sometimes the one, sometimes the other, with a stick, which is seldom seen among them, this instrument being only carried by the sons of great men, who are not very numerous among them.

We preparing to be gone, our *macolento* made a sign for his *Blacks* to stand still, and be silent, which was done in a moment, and they had need enough of it, being all in a sweat. Having given them our blessing, we set out, and they began afresh to play, dance and howl, so that we could hear them two miles off, not without surprize and satisfaction, it being a comfort of so many curious, and to us strange instruments.

By the way.

By the way we saw several sorts of creatures, particularly little monkeyes, and abundance of apes of divers colours, who all fled to the tops of the highest trees. We discovered two *pacasses*, beasts somewhat like *buffaloes*, that roar like lions: the male and female go always together, they are white, with black and red spots; have ears half an ell long, and their horns straight: when they see any body, they neither run away, nor do any harm, but look upon such as pass by. We saw another beast with black and yellow hair upon a mountain; the interpreter told us it was a leopard, but it was far enough from us. There is also in those parts a beast shaped like, and as strong as a mule; but its hair is distinguished by white, black and yellow streaks, which go round the body from the back-bone under the belly, which is very beautiful, and looks as if it were done by art, it is called *zebra*.

Going on our journey we came, before we were aware of it, upon a beast that lay asleep, and was waked by the shouting of the *Blacks* as they travel; it rose, took a great leap, and fled; the body was like that of a wolf, whereof there are abundance, but its head was like a bullock, which is disproportionably and frightful to behold: I asked what beast it was, and they assured me it must be some monster. There were abundance of beasts like our goats, which ran away, and then staid for one another; and a multitude of wild hens, bigger than the tame, which taste like a hare.

Nothing extraordinary happen'd to us at the second *libatte*, and we did there as we had done at the first. One night when we

were got into one of those *libattes*, they shut the door, which was made of dried thorns; all the inclosure, like the walls of our towns, being hedges of thorn as high as a pike. Cottages were assigned us to pass the night; but the heat being excessive, I chose rather to lie in the open air in my hammock, fastening one end of it to the top of the cottage, and the other to two poles set up across one another; F. Michael Angelo did so too. About midnight came three lions roaring that they made the earth shake, which waked me thoroughly; and had it not been for the thorny hedge, F. Denis had never seen Italy again. I lifted up my head to try whether by the moon-light I could discern one of them, but the hedge was so close and full of leaves, that I could perceive nothing, tho' I was sensible they were not far from it. I was almost resolv'd to go back into the cottage, but thinking it impossible they should leap such high hedges, I lay quiet till day, not without pining for fear now and then. Day being come, I went to ask F. Michael Angelo, who was in a cottage hard by, whether he had heard the lions in the night; to which he answered, he never slept better, because the night was fresh, and had heard nothing. You are happy, said I, for if they had broke in, you had gone to heaven without knowing which way. He reply'd, That God's providence always watches over his elect, and that it was not his will that they should be expos'd to the cruelty of those merciless beasts.

After baptizing several children, we set out, and having travelled till noon, the *Blacks* told us we must stay and rest, there being a little river of good water hard by. Being set down, we got into the shade under some trees, there to make ready our dinner. Some of our men went to gather buck-wheat, others to bring wood to make fire. F. Michael Angelo would have made use of his steel to light; but a *Black* who was cook, said, Father, we have no need of that; and taking a piece of wood about two fingers thick, with many holes in it which did not go quite through, then taking another little stick about the thickness of ones finger, and putting it into one of those holes turn'd, rub'd the two sticks hastily one against another with both hands, and the little one took fire, which is their way of lighting it. The others who came loaded with buck-wheat, took it out of the ear, and put it into four pots to make broth, and boil'd *batutaes*, which are tolerable good roots.

Whilst every one was busy about the cookery, on a sudden we discovered an elephant, not much less than a cart loaden

with



with hay in *Lembarde*, his head hanging a little, one of his teeth being already dropt: All the *Blacks* got up hastily, and laying hold of their bows, began to let fly arrows at him with their usual cries; but one of them more cunning than the rest, took a firebrand and ran to set fire to a neighbouring thatch'd cottage: the elephant seeing that great flame, presently fled with three arrows in his body. The fire of the cottage being spread by the wind laid hold of the next herbage, which being dried up with the excessive heat of the sun, and very high, burnt so that the conflagration spread for above a league, consuming the grafs, trees, and all it met with; so that all the beasts thereabouts being frightened, we could continue our journey to the next *libatte* in all manner of safety, though now and then my fancy represented to me that terrible beast which frightened us.

Another day being upon our journey, we saw a great serpent crawl near to us; it was without any hyperbole twenty five foot long, which I should not be so ready to assert, had I not seen and measured the skin of such another, nothing inferior to it, which was presented to *F. Michael Angelo*, and which he sent with some other curiosities to his father. This creature had a head as big as a calf, and what frightened us more was, that it came along the same path we were upon. The *Blacks* according to custom gave a great shout, and striking out of the way, made us go up a rising ground to give it time, either to go back or move forwards. I observed that in going on it made as much herbage shake, as if there had been twenty people. We waited above an hour for it to pass, after which we came down and went on our way. *F. Michael* told me in *Italian*, that he might not be understood; I thought being so many of us we were safe, but I perceive these *Blacks* are more fearful than we. To which I answer'd, We were to expect no farther assistance from them but what their heels could afford us, carrying us the best they could, and rather flying from enemies than attacking them. And to say the truth, we often wished we had brought a gun along with us, which would have been very useful, being often at such a non-plus and in so great danger, that without God's special assistance we could never have come off, being forced throughout the journey, either to fly, or to fire the herbage to secure our selves from wild beasts.

One day as we drew near a river, where we were told there was never a *libatte*, but only two thatch'd houses to entertain and lodge the *Blacks* that go from *Loanda* to

*S. Salvador* the capital of the kingdom, *CARLI*. being come within sight of the river, we discovered a number of cottages, and heard a great noise of people sounding trumpets, and playing on drums, fifes, and other instruments. The *Blacks* halting a little, said, Perhaps that might be the great duke lord of the province; but coming up we perceived they were all new cottages encompassed with a thick hedge of thorn to secure them against the wild beasts that come to drink at the rivers. We asked a *Black* what there was in that place, and he told us there was the brother of the captain-major of *Dante*, of whom mention has been made before. That gentleman hearing of our approach, sent four *Mulattoes* with muskets to meet us. *Mulattoes* are the children of a *White* and a *Black*: with them came many *Blacks* with fifes and trumpets. We went to wait upon that gentleman, who received us with much courtesy, and told us that every evening wheresoever night came upon him, he caused such a village to be built enclosed with thorns.

That worthy gentleman shewed us abundance of respect, and treated us with pullets and fruit of the country. We would have staid there till he was gone, especially because there was no *libatte* on the other side of the river; but he said it was better we should cross whilst he was present, because there were several *Blacks* well acquainted with those parts, who would take care we should receive no harm. He bore us company to the river with all the instruments, and there was such a multitude of people with him, that a man would have thought it had been the king of *Ebiopia*, there being above eighteen hundred men, besides women and children, which was the reason we had been forced to stay two days at *Dante*, where we found not men enough to bear us company. He had so much patience as to see us carried over and out of danger; and having saluted him, he returned to his cottage, where he caused his people to make ready to march, which we had the pleasure to see. Among the rest he had twenty four *Mulattoes*, who are bold, daring, and undaunted fellows in all dangers; they were arm'd with muskets and scymitars; the *Blacks* had bows and arrows, and half-pikes: the instruments sounded, and the cries were redoubled at their departure, which made us admire to see with what state and attendance great men travel in those parts.

We went from the river, and the sun being very low, had scarce travelled half a mile when we stopp'd at the two cottages, but perceived we should not be very safe there from wild beasts, because there

CARLI. were no thorny hedges, only four trees where watch might be kept, and where we might rest that night, there being little huts on the tops of them. The Blacks told us we might go into one of the cottages, and that some of them would stand sentinel all night upon the trees, and the rest would go into the other hut. F. Michael Angelo said we should be safer if we got up the trees; but the Blacks assured us we could not sleep there, telling us we need not take care, for they would watch all night in their turns. We went into the best cottage, and caus'd some straw to be brought to lie on, as we did, after eating of what the Black gentleman had charitably bestowed on us, and giving thanks to God for having brought us safe so far. After making the sign of the cross we gave our selves up to sleep.

About midnight we were disturb'd by a lion and the tiger that came sporting together towards our huts; perceiving their roaring draw nearer and nearer, I asked my companion whether he had heard the lion? Too much of it, said he, and it would not be amiss whatsoever may happen that we should hear one another's confessions. Having done so, we look'd thro' the crevices of the cottage, whether we could perceive them by the light of the moon: it was easy to see them, they not being a stone's throw off; and any body may believe it was not without some heart-aking that we silently expected how God would be pleas'd to dispose of us. We heard the Blacks on the trees, and those in the other cottage talk together; and soon after they lighted fire, which made those beasts fly towards the river. Thus were we again deliver'd from that danger, thro' the mercy of God, to whom we had heartily recommended our selves.

The next day, having travell'd half our journey to the next *libatte*, we heard a great noise of people, and drawing near them, found they were Blacks carrying a *Portuguese* he was canon of S. Saviour, where the cathedral of all the country is. Having view'd him, and remembring we had seen one another at *Loanda*, where he came every day to say mass in our church, we express'd the great satisfaction we received in meeting so fortunately, and travelled together the remaining part of the day. We ask'd him how he could leave so fine a city as *Lisbon* his native country, to come into those wretched and desert countries? To which he answer'd, he had a good pension allowed him of 50 mil. *reys* a year, which is about 17 l. *sterling*. I would not undertake such a task, said I to him, for a thousand millions of gold. What do you come to do here then, quoth he? It is for the

love of God and of our neighbour, reply'd we, that we left *Italy*; and we shall think all our care and fatigues sufficiently rewarded, if but one soul purchases heaven through our means. Discouraging in this manner we came to the *libatte*, where we found but few people, which troubled us, because there were not Blacks enough to convey us all; which made us desire the canon to go before, and we would stay till his carriers came back, but we could never prevail with him, though it had proved better for him, for he died a few days after at *Bombi*, whence we were gone before he came, and where we might have comforted and done the last duties towards him, if he were past the others.

*Bembi* is a very great *libatte*, where there resides a marquis subject to the great duke of *Bamba*, as he is to the king of *Congo*. There we found a son of the marquis who spoke *Portuguese*, and offer'd to go along and be our interpreter, not only on our journey, but during our stay at *Bamba*, which we accepted of with the consent of his father, the marquis. When the sun was up, we set out better pleas'd than before, because we had that youth of twenty five years of age with us, who express'd himself well in *Portuguese*; yet we suffer'd never the less for that, for when we least thought of it, we perceiv'd at a distance a great fire the Blacks had lighted among the herbage, which running on before the wind, drove all the wild beasts towards us; our men said, Fathers we must shun the fury of these beasts, for perhaps there are lions and tigers among them, the best way is to climb the trees. Hearing this, and being sensible there was no other remedy, we open'd one of our trunks, and took out a ladder of ropes made in *Brasil*; then we made a Black get up a tree to fasten it, after which, my companion and I, and the marquis's son went up, drawing up the ladder after us, all the rest getting up other trees. And in truth we were in the right not to lose time, for that troop of wild beasts was with us immediately, and their number was so great, that as many as we were, we should all of us have scarce made one good meal for them. There were tigers, lions, wolves, polecats and rhinoceroses, which have a horn over their nose, and several other sorts of creatures, who as they pass'd by lifted up their heads, and look'd at us. Our Blacks who had arrows for the most poison'd with juice of herbs, wounded some of them, but that did not make them run so much as the fire they felt drawing near. This danger being past, we came down, and went on our way, giving thanks to God for having deliver'd us from such danger of death.

The

The next day we came to a *libatte*, where we found but very few people; they told us they were gone to the war with the duke of *Bamba* against the count of *Songo*, who had been long revolted against the king of *Congo*: That after some were destroy'd on both sides, the rest concluded a truce, and some time after took up arms again.

There being but few men in that place, we resolv'd to part, that so one might expect the return of those that carried him who went first. *F. Michael Angelo* offer'd to go before, our residence at *Bamba* not being far off, and send me twenty men from thence to carry me and our burden which was to remain behind. I staid six days with the marquise's son, both of us living upon kidney-beans, which in their language they call *cazazaza*, and the young man gather'd them every day: but perceiving that food of kidney-beans did not nourish me, and that I could scarce stand upon my legs thro' weakness, I began to string beads, sitting upon a little straw at the door of my cottage; which the *Blacks* observing, who were most of them good old men, they flock'd about me, admiring those beads with silk tassels, to which the medal was fasten'd, and earnestly entreated me to give them a pair of beads for the *macalonte*. I told them I would, provided they gave me a pullet, having seen a great many about the *libatte*, which they did. Necessity oblig'd me to do so, there being never a child to baptise there, and they being little acquainted with giving alms for God's sake. In short, with the help of the beads, I liv'd the best I could.

At last the *Blacks* my companion sent me came; and being on our way not far from the *libatte*, where we were to lie that night, we were surpris'd to meet a lion so wounded that he could scarce go, and left a track of blood wherefoever he went. The *Blacks* in a fright sat down their burdens and me so hastily, that I had much ado to get loose out of my net: They laid hold of their bows, and one of them taking the two sticks, as I described them before, lighted fire, and put it to the herbage, which immediately flamed, it being then almost dry, very tall and thick, because it was the month of *March*, contrary to what is usual in our *European* countries: the flames rising, and the *Blacks* continuing their cries, the lion who was coming towards us in a fury turned about and took another way. We came to the *libatte* an hour before night, but it had no enclosure of thorns like the rest, and went to the great place in it, where we found all the people gather'd about a wounded man: I came down from my hammock, and asked

what the matter was? they told me it was *CARLI*, the *macalonte* who had fought a lion. They made way for me, and drawing near, I saluted him, telling him he was in the wrong in not making a thorn hedge about the *libatte* as was about others. Father, said he, as long as I live there will be no need of a hedge; when I am dead, they may do as they think fit. His wound was but slight, and I desired him to tell me how he had fenced with the lion. Father, said he, as I was standing here talking with my people, a hungry lion led by the scent of man's flesh came upon us so unexpectedly, without roaring as is usual, that my people who were all disarm'd had scarce time to make their escape; I who am not us'd to run away, clapt one knee and one hand on the ground, and holding up my knife with the other, struck him with all my force in the belly; he finding himself wounded, roar'd, and came upon me so furiously, that he wounded himself again in the throat, but at the same time with his talon he tore a piece of skin off my side: however, my people returning with their weapons, the lion wounded in two places ran away swiftly, losing much blood. That was the lion which we met, certainly in a bad condition, being wounded with a knife made after the manner of a *Genoese* bayonet, guided by the hand of so brave a man as the *macalonte*.

I was further inform'd by him, that the great duke of *Bamba*, who had fought with the count of *Songo*, was made the king's generalissimo. At this time they brought me a handsome young black woman stark naked to be baptis'd. Being oblig'd to catechise her, I caus'd her to be cover'd with some leaves, and reprov'd her for deferring to be baptis'd so long, it being a long time since the kingdom had received the faith of *JESUS CHRIST*. She answer'd, That she liv'd in the open country, as many others do, who lie under trees; and that she had but then heard of the coming of the *Capucins*. Having instructed her in the principles of Christianity, and it being St. *Joachim's* day, I call'd her *Anne*. The ceremonies of baptism being perform'd, all the *Blacks* of the *libatte*, men, women, and young lads, whom they call *muleches*, made a ring, and took her in the midst of them, dancing, playing on their instruments, and crying, Long live *Anne*, long live *Anne*, with such a noise and hubbub, that I was quite stunn'd and beside my self. *F. Michael Angelo* having gone before me, there were no children to baptise. I only baptis'd some of the country, who will not draw into the *libattes*, that they may be more at liberty, tho' it be not without danger.

A notable  
encounter  
with a  
lion.

Next

CARLI.

Next morning I continued my journey towards *Bamba*, and being forced to alight in a great valley, because the way was bad, I got out of the net, and walk'd about half a league in a stony way, a very rare thing in that country, where till then I had not seen one stone. The *Blacks* who were bare-footed suffer'd much, and I was not without fatigue, the heat being excessive, and the path narrow; besides, the grafs which was high and thick beat against my legs, which flead them, and they were fore for two months after. My companion had far'd no better, for I found his legs swath'd.

Through the midlt of the valley there ran a river, narrow, but very deep. The *Blacks* founded the ford to carry us over where there was least water, which was four foot deep. We lay in our hammocks, and two of the lustiest carriers held the staff over their heads, not without danger of falling together into the water; but they only laugh'd at it, and stopt to bathe themselves. We took notice of abundance

Fine birds.

of very beautiful birds of several colours, green, red, yellow, and some which I thought the finest with white feathers, and black fillets, looking like the scales of fish; their tail, eyes, beak, and feet, of the colour of fire. These are *Ethiopian* parrots, which talk like those of *America*, and are rarely brought into *Europe*, but scarce ever into *Italy*.

Being very near *Bamba*, I heard a bell, which they told me belong'd to our convent, seated on a hill. *F. Michael Angelo* had made it ring to mass, and having said it, came to meet us with several *Blacks* playing on instruments after their manner. After performing my devotions in the church for my good journey, I went into the convent, where I found four little cells of mud-walls covered with straw, an entry and porch, and sacristy or vestry, and church all built with the same materials. Whilst we were giving one another an account of what had happen'd to us, there came a *Black* from the great dutchefs to bid me welcome, and let me know she was desirous to see me. Finding my self very much weaken'd and spent with continual sweating, I desired him to excuse me to her, and assure her that as soon as I was a little recovered I would not fail of going to pay my respects to her. I had great need of rest, but being in a strange country where every thing was new to me, curiosity made me go out to see our garden, where I could not sufficiently admire such variety of fruits of the earth, not only of *Africk*, but of *America* and *Europe*, observing all those sorts there which I had before seen in *Brazil*. Those of *Europe* were grapes, fennel, cardoons, or thistles, all

sorts of salleting, gourds, cucumbers, and many other sorts, but no pears, apples, nuts, or such like fruits as require a cold climate. At night the dutchefs sent me a bottle of wine made of the palm-tree, as white as milk. I tasted a little, but neither I nor *F. Michael Angelo* liking it, we gave it to our *Blacks*, who look'd upon it as a great dainty, often repeating the word *malaf*, which among them signifies wine.

It is to be observed that in the kingdom of *Congo* there are two harvests every year; they begin to sow in *January*, and reap in *April*. After that they have their winter when our summer is; but that winter is like a sweet spring or autumn in *Italy*. The heat begins again in *September*, when they sow again, and have a harvest in *December*.

*F. Michael Angelo* had already taken several *Blacks* into our service, and settled the affairs of the house. The house and church being old, and threatening ruin, he had thoughts of building new ones. He had appointed two of our *Blacks* to be gardeners, one to be cook, one sacrifician, two to go fetch water to drink and dress our meat, one to look after the little shells which serve instead of money in that country, and to buy honey, wax, fruit, meal, buck-wheat; and our interpreter, who continued with us. We found a great many *Blacks* who understood *Portuguese*, *Bamba* being in the road to go to *St. Salvador*; these *Blacks* having often occasion to speak that language with those who carried such merchandize as the *Portuguese* merchants at *Loanda* transport to *St. Salvador*. *Bamba* is a great town, seventy leagues from the sea, the capital of the province of that name, and well peopled, because of the great duke's residing there.

I went to visit the great dutchefs, and we agreed together to send a *Black* to the great duke to advise him to make a truce with the enemy, and return to his own estate. But being informed that the king of *Congo* was come to *Pemba*, distant ten days journey from *Bamba*, *F. Michael Angelo* told me we ought to lay hold of that opportunity to go both of us to pay our respects, and the more because our labour would not be lost; for whatsoever place we went through, we should find children and youth to baptise and instruct, and might preach our holy faith. We set out the next day with several *Blacks* allowed us by the great dutchefs, rather for our guard than any thing else, we carrying nothing with us but what was necessary for saying mass, and for our subsistence, leaving the rest in our house. We being to pass over some very desert mountains,

The king of Congo.

Journey to Pemba.

were told that abundance of lions were abroad, and that it was requisite to give them time to get further off and lose themselves in the wood; which moved us, that we might force them away the sooner, and not lose our time to no purpose, to set fire to the fields, as we had done in the way to *Bamba*, and it succeeded with us; for the wind spreading the flame every way, made the lions go off very soon.

We found abundance of children to baptize by the way as we had foreseen; and being come to *Pemba*, went to our *hospitium*, or little house of reception, where *F. Antony de Saraverre* a *Capuchin* of the province of *Tuscany* resided, who received us very courteously, and was astonished to see us so young, for we could not make up sixty years between us. Having told him our design, which was to pay our respects to his majesty, and return immediately to our mission of *Bamba*; we presently heard a great noise of trumpets, fifes, drums and cornets, which drew near us; and *F. Antony* told us, it was certainly his majesty, and we might go out and salute him. No sooner were we out of the convent, but we met the king, who was a young *Black* about twenty years of age, all clad with a scarlet cloak and gold buttons. He commonly wears white buskins upon carnation silk stockings, or of any other colour; but they say he has new clothes every day, which I could hardly believe in a country where fine stuffs and good tailors are scarce. Before him went twenty four young *Blacks*, all sons of dukes or marquises, who wore about their middle a handkerchief of palm-tree died black, and a cloak of blew *European* cloth hanging down to the ground, but all of them bare-headed and footed. All his officers, being about an hundred, were much in the same dress. After them came a croud of other *Blacks*, with only those black handkerchiefs.

Near to his majesty was a *Black*, who carried his umbrella of silk, of a fire-colour, laced with gold; and another who carried a chair of carnation velvet, with gold nails, and the wood all gilt. Two others clad in red coats, carried his red hammock, but I know not whether it was silk, or died cotton; the staff was covered with red velvet. We bowed and saluted his majesty, whose name was *D. Alvaro*, the second king of *Congo*. He told us we had obliged him in coming into his kingdom, for the good of his subjects, but that it would be more pleasing to him, if we would go along with him to *S. Salvador*. We humbly thank'd him, and answered, that there was more need of us at *Bamba*, there being never a priest in all that province, whereas there were many at *S. Salvador*. After this we

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talked with him of several matters concerning *Italy* and *Portugal*; after which he ordered his secretary, who was a *Mulatto*, to give us letters of recommendation to the great duke, that upon all occasions whatsoever he might not fail to assist us in all things relating to our mission, or our private concern.

Being thus dismissed by his majesty, he made us several presents, as we did of several jewels of devotion, which were very acceptable to him, he being a person very religious and affable. We took leave of *F. Antony*, and thanked him, returning very well satisfied that we had saluted the king, and seen in what state he goes, carrying such a number of people about with him. King *Alphonso* the 3<sup>d</sup> in 1646, when he gave audience to some missionaries of our order, was more richly clad. He had on a vest of cloth of gold set with precious stones, and on his hat a crown of diamonds, besides other stones of great value. He sat on a chair under a canopy of rich crimson velvet with gilt nails, after the manner of *Europe*; and under his feet was a great carpet, with two stools of the same colour and silk, laced with gold.

We went through our journey easily enough, meeting with no particular obstacle, and every day saw all sorts of beasts, so that one would have thought they had rendezvoused there from all parts of the earth. One day as we were upon the road I heard the crying as it were of a little child; and making the *Blacks*, who went very fast, stop, bid them take notice of that voice, to go see what it was. We hear it, said they laughing, but it is a great bird that cries so. Which was true, for within a moment after we saw it rise off the ground and fly away. It was a bird bigger than an eagle, of a dark yellow. During this expedition both going and coming home, we had certainly starved had we not been paid for our ecclesiastical functions. It is true, the people of the country are very charitable among themselves; for if we gave one of them any thing to eat, he would give a little of it to the next he met, and so all of them eat together, which ought to put many *Europeans* to the blush, who let the poor starve rather than give them a bit of bread. This I say without any reflection upon those who have more compassion for their neighbour's wants.

Being come again to *Bamba*, they began to bring us children to baptize, from all the country about. Others came to be married, but these were few, and only some of the best sort and most civilized; for the main difficulty lies in bringing the multitude to keep but one wife, they being wholly averse to that law. Others sent us

7 G

their

The king of  
Congo.

A bird  
cries like a  
child.

How these  
people  
live.



CARLI. their children to school, which we were fain to keep in the church, because of the great number of them, inasmuch that upon holidays not only the church, but all the place before it was full. We often said two masses a day: true it is, we usually went to say the second in another *libatte*, where the *macolonte* treated us with kidney-beans, common beans, and other things the women sow in the country, scarce eating any thing else, whilst they are there, and at work. When harvest is over, which is twice a year, they put all the kidney-beans into one heap, the *Indian* wheat into another, and so of other grain: then giving the *macolonte* enough for his maintenance, and laying aside what they design for sowing, the rest is divided at so much to every cottage, according to the number of people each contains. Then all the women together, till and sow the land for a new harvest, the earth being fruitful and black like the people.

So they have something to eat, they don't trouble themselves about laying in great store of provisions, scarce minding in the morning whether they shall have any thing at night for supper. It has often happened, when I have been travelling with them, that having nothing to give them, because I had it not for myself, they without any concern would take a piece of wood, which they cut, and shap'd so as to serve instead of a mattock, and sitting down on the ground would cut up the grass, and near the roots found certain little white balls which they fed on: which did not a little surprize me, for having tasted of them, I could not for my life swallow one of them; and yet after such a wretched meal, they would skip, dance, and laugh, as if they had been at a feast. What greater happiness can there be, than not to be afflicted when a man has nothing, nor so much as to desire what he has not? So when they have any thing good to eat, they express no more satisfaction than when they have the worst.

Our employment continued as usual. There was never a day but we baptized eight or ten children, and sometimes fifteen or twenty, the poor people coming many leagues to us, which we considering resolv'd to divide, one to stay in the manstry, and the other to go into the country. F. *Michael Angeli* offer'd to go abroad first, promising not to stay above a fortnight, and to let me hear from him, I being to take my turn after the same manner, to the end that by this means both the town and country might receive some spiritual comfort. During his absence I continued administering baptism, and teaching school.

The great dutchels had two sons, *D. Peter*, and *D. Sebastian*, who never missed coming, especially to learn *Portuguese*. At the same time I instructed them in the mysteries of faith, and their genius appeared to be suitable to their birth, though *Blacks*; being of a sharp and ready wit, learning all I taught them, and behaving themselves as became such princes. Now and then some *Black* would come to me to complain that a wolf had devoured some one of his children in the night; to which I answered, what would you have me to do? if you who are the father or mother do not take care of them, must I look to them, who do not know where they go? for to say the truth, they take no more care of them when they are big, than if they were none of their own.

I began then to be sensible what it was to live without eating bread, or drinking wine: for though I was well in health, I had very much to do to stand upon my legs, I was so spent with living upon that food which has so little nourishment, and with which I was forced to be satisfied in those parts. So I recommended myself to God, that it might please him to preserve my health, for the benefit of those poor *Blacks*; not so much, to say the truth, because I found myself incapable of undergoing very long the fatigue of our continual employment, as because of the little likelihood there was of seeing any other missionaries come into that country to succeed us, and to ease me of that employment, which I found to be above my strength.

One evening an hour after sun-set, I heard abundance of people singing, but in such a doleful tone as caus'd horror. I enquired of my domesticks what that meant? they answered, it was the people of some *libatte*, that came with their *macolonte* to discipline themselves in the church, because it was a *friday* in *March*. This surprized me, and I presently went to open the church doors, light two candles, and ring the bell. Before they came in, they continued a quarter of an hour on their knees before the church, singing the *salve Regina* in their language, with a very doleful harmony; then being come into the church, I gave them all holy water. They were about two hundred men carrying great logs of wood of a vast weight, for the greater penance. I spoke a few words to them of the benefit of penance, which if we will not undergo in this world, we shall be forced to endure in the next. They were all on their knees, and beat their breasts. I caus'd the candles to be put out, and they disciplined themselves a whole hour with leather-thongs and cords made of the bark of trees. After that we said the Litanies of

Colla, a  
sort of nut.

our lady of *Loretto*; and having dismissed them, they returned home, leaving the branches of trees they brought without the church, which served us in the garden. This action, so much to be admired in those poor people, comforted and encouraged me, considering how it pleased God those miserable *Ethiopians*, almost destitute of all spiritual assistance, should one day upbraid the *Europeans* for their negligence, since they are so far from doing any thing, though they have full liberty and convenience, that they even despise those that do, and in contemptible manner call them, *bermits*, *executioners of Christ*, and *very necks*. Be this said without offence to those who do not approve of such injurious words, and whose thoughts are more agreeable to their character of catholicks.

Another night after the *Ave Mary* bell, our *Blacks* that were in the garden called me to see the heaven burn. I went out, imagining it might be some fire on a mountain, but found it was one of the greatest blazing stars I ever saw in my life. I told them how it was called, and that it foreboded some ill to the world; that therefore they should do penance for the sins they had committed against the majesty of so great a God, who is merciful to bear with sinners, but just with those that are impenitent. It was in *March 1668*, that this comet appeared.

Colla, a sort of nut.

One day they brought me a quantity of round roots like our *truffles* (in *English* *pignuts*) but these grow on trees and are as big as a lemon: opening them, there appear four or five such nuts red within. To keep them fresh, they put earth about them; when they will eat of them, they wash them, taste a little of each, and drink of their water. In eating of them they have a little bitterness, but the water drunk after makes them very sweet. In their language they call them *colla*; and I having observed that the *Portuguese* made great account of them at *Loanda*, had some sought out, and sent them to those gentlemen my good patrons, who in return sent me some presents come from *Europe*.

F. *Michael Angelo* returned, well-pleased with his progress, having baptized abundance of infants and youths, who had never seen priests; for there are but six *Capuchins* in the whole kingdom, except at *S. Salvador*; and these have the hardest task in the world to preserve their health; and when any one of them dies, as it often happens, it is a matter of no small difficulty to get another into his place. My companion being come home, he applied himself to cultivate the garden, whence we had our chief nourishment; and finding there some vine-plants, he transplanted them to a ri-

ling ground. He sowed several sorts of *European* grain, which all came up in perfection. He had brought with him a great many iron tools; for having baptized very many in a *libate* that was near an iron mine, he had caused spades, shovels, hooks, axes, and other utensils to be made of it for the garden and cutting of wood. He also caused to be made twelve sharp spears two foot in length, to be fixt upon staves, to serve the *Blacks* to defend themselves against the wild beasts when they go through the desarts; for being sometimes surprized when they least think of it, they can make no use of their bows.

The father told me what had happened to him during his absence; and particularly, that flying once from the paws of a tiger, he was forced to run a great way into a thicket of brambles, there being never a tree to get up, without which shift he must have lost his life, as one of the *Blacks* did; who to avoid pricking his skin among the briars, trusted to the swiftness of his heels, which could not deliver him from death, that merciless beast soon overtaking him. The *Capuchin* habit did the father a kindness to keep off the prickles of the thorns, which had made as many holes in his legs as in a cullender.

I set out in my turn, after saying mass, with twenty of those who had accompanied F. *Michael Angelo*, and came to several places where no *Capuchin* had been of many years; so that in some *libates* I baptized above a hundred children, taking something of those that would give, and bestowing my charity for God's sake on those that had nothing. I accepted of the presents of the *macolentes*, which were beans, and kidney-beans, to maintain those that went with me, who were satisfied to attend us, provided we maintained them. In some places they fled as soon as they saw me, having in all probability never seen any *Capuchins*. After fifteen days travel, during which time I never returned to the same place, I came back to our house, where I found my companion busy in the garden, which he had made up after the manner of *Italy*, and planted vines, orange and lemon-trees, so that one would have thought it was not the same garden we found there at our coming.

Since that nation has received the faith of *Jesus Christ*, there still remain among them abundance of forcerers and incanters (as there are hereticks in *Europe*) who are the ruin of those people, otherwise tractable enough. It is in a manner impossible for the king to root them out, inasmuch as that prince, who is a very good Christian and zealous catholick, has given leave to several of his great men, who know their lurking-places, to fire their cottages; but they

CARLI.

CARLI. they having spies abroad, though they meet at night, make their escape, and are very seldom taken.

The country very populous.

The great duke was now come home, and frequented our convent every day. He was surprized to see the alteration of our garden; and the more, because in those parts the country is always green; and when the ground is burnt any where, the grass springs up again immediately. I enquired once of the great duke, where he had left his army, which consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand *Blacks*. He told me he had dropt them in the *libattes* as he came along, to which they belong'd; and when he came to *Bamba*, he had but ten thousand left. It is not to be admired there should be so many people, for there being no sort of religious person, and most of them keeping as many wives as they please, the country cannot chuse but be well peopled. One of the kings of *Congo* led nine hundred thousand *Blacks* to the war against the *Portugueses*, an army one would think should make all the world shake; and yet the *Portugueses* gave him battel with four hundred musketeers, and two field-pieces. The terror of that cannon loaded with partridge shot, and the death of the king, put them to flight. I spoke with the very *Portuguese* who cut off that king's head, and he assured me they found all the utensils belonging to him of beaten gold. For that reason they don't at present work in the gold mines, which are near those of iron we have spoken of, lest the *Portugueses* should make war upon them; for what mischief will not gold stir up men to?

Great duke of Bamba.

There was scarce a day but the duke, who lived near us, came to our church, in which there was a chapel of timber-work pretty big, where were the tombs of the dukes deceased, over which there were figures made of clay like our mortars, coloured with red. He once told us he had refused to be king, that he might be nearer the *Portugueses*, to have the opportunity sometimes of drinking wine and brandy. We understood him perfectly well, but would not seem to do so, to prevent using him to such familiarity; for it is difficult to get wine to say mass, there being none but what is brought out of *Europe*. This duke went habited like the king, but with fewer attendants. He wore a coat down to his knees made of palm-tree leaves dyed black, and over it a cloak of blue cloth; a red cap with a gold galloon about it; about his neck he had a large pair of beads with above fifty medals, his legs and feet bare like the rest. The son of some lord carried his hat, another his scymitar, and a third his arrows. Fifty *Blacks* went before him playing confusedly on several instru-

ments; twenty five men of note, and one hundred archers followed him. It is no difficult matter to find such abundance of soldiers, the men exercising no trade, except some few who work in iron, or make those clothes of palm-tree leaves.

The women of quality wear the finest cloth of *Europe*, whereof they make petticoats down to their heels. They cover their back, breast, and left arm, with a short mantle of the same sort, leaving their right arm naked. The inferior sort wear stuffs of less value, and the commonalty stuffs made of palm-tree leaves, whereof they have only a petticoat.

F. Michael Angelo one day told me he F. Angelo found himself much spent, and presently died.

after he fell into a fever; which troubled me very much, and the more, because in that country there are neither physicians nor medicines, but all must be left to nature. Bleeding is the only remedy used, and to that purpose I sent to the great duke's surgeon: he was a *Black*, who had learned that profession at *Loanda*; for being used to bleed the *Blacks*, it was easier for him to practise upon the *Whites*, whose veins are more visible. During his sickness, F. Philip our superior came to *Bamba*, which was a great relief to me, because he spoke the language of the country, and knew the manner of curing sick persons in those parts. I was sensible I should soon have need of his assistance, not being very well myself. Our sick man let me understand that disease would be his last, because he found it prevailed upon him. I spoke some words of comfort to him, signifying that his disease being but a double tertian, he might hope to recover; but however advised him to leave all to God, and resign himself up to his holy will. Soon after he complained of a pain in his left ear, which spread over his neck. I mistrusted it might be an ulceration in the almonds of his ears, and acquainted the superior with my thoughts, who was of the same opinion. We anointed him with oil of *Angelico* made at *Rome*, which seemed to work a wonderful effect, taking away the pain; but it removed to the other side, and the swelling increased, which made us forbear using our oil, for fear it might do more harm than good; and to say the truth, hearing him complain with so slight a fever, I concluded he was worse inwardly than appeared outwardly. In short notwithstanding all the care we took of him, I had the mortification to see him die the fifteenth day, having received all the sacraments, and expressed a saint-like resignation; hoping that the Lord, who does not forget to reward his servants, lets him now enjoy the recompence of all his labours.

My

F. Carl  
fish.

My heart was more sensible of my trouble for this loss than my pen can express; and without doubt, had not our superior been there, sent by God's special direction in so sorrowful a conjuncture, and giving us all worldly and spiritual assistance, I had died too, having already lost half my life, in that of the dear companion of my travels snatched away by death. He had been blooded fifteen times; and being apprehensive it was too much, I gave an account at my return of his distemper to the physician at Angola. He told me it had been better to have bled him thirty times; but his hour was come, and it was the will of God.

F. Carli  
fit.

The superior finding me in a fever, which increased, thought Providence had sent him to bury us both, and would not go away till he had seen the end of it: however he resolved to try means to cure me, causing me to be blooded twice a day, which I suffered to be done without speaking one word: but in truth that usage in a few days brought me into a desperate condition, having been forty times blooded, and the fever never decreasing. I confessed, and received the holy *vaticum*, being nothing but skin and bones. The father, but for whose charity I believe I had died like a beast, perceiving the disease was like to be tedious, the fury of the fever abating, gave me to understand, that for the good of the mission he must of necessity begone. I had scarce strength, bowing myself, to tell him, that since he could not stay longer, he should inform my Blacks how they ought to manage me; and that he would please to send F. Michael de Orvietto to me, with whom I had travelled, and who knew how to look to the sick. He promised to do so, but his orders miscarrying, he came not. I was left in my bed, not able to turn my self; and the worst was, that so much bleeding had almost blinded me. In that condition, half alive and half dead, I was left to the mercy of those Blacks, who stole what they could, and brought me, when they thought of it, a porringer of broth; I being able to swallow nothing of substance, and loathing all sustenance.

One day when I was more cast down with melancholy and sadness than the distemper itself, I received a visit from a Portuguese Jesuit, who came from S. Salvador. and was returning to the college at Loanda. When he saw me in that miserable condition, How now, father, said he, are you so sick, and yet stay in this desert? I came, said I, very well in health into this country, but after losing my companion, I fell sick, and have been now some months struggling with death; but I perceive it is not God's will it should have the upper hand, though it was one of

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my wishes. Two days he staid comfort-  
ing me, and presented me with some pul-  
lets, which were more acceptable for com-  
ing from his hand, than for their own ra-  
rity. We consels'd to one another, he  
declaring it was a satisfaction to him to be  
thus provided, being to pass through many  
places, where the firing of the dry herbage  
made the wild beasts run about the coun-  
try. He assured me that as he came, he  
was forced to get up a tree, tho' there were  
sixty Blacks with him, to avoid death  
threatned them by two tigers. Therefore  
we are not to believe what some authors  
have writ, that the tigers do not assault  
Whites, but only Blacks.

After his departure I remained with my  
continual distemper; but what comforted  
me was, that every day I baptized ten or  
twelve children; and not being able to  
sit up alone in my bed, was held up by  
two Blacks, another holding the book, and  
another the basin, receiving what alms they  
gave me; not for my own sake, for I could  
eat nothing, but for my family, who would  
all of them have forsaken me had they want-  
ed meat. I married several of the chief  
people; one of them gave me a she-goat,  
whose milk I drank every day, which in-  
deed was little in quantity, but counted a  
great dainty in that country. This happi-  
ness I had in my indisposition, that I slept  
all night, which is twelve hours long, ne-  
ver varying half an hour all the year round.  
I would willingly have eaten an egg, but  
sick people there are forbid eggs, they be-  
ing looked upon as unwholesome for those  
that are ill, being too hot in those parts.  
Whilst I lay thus in bed, several cripples  
came to beg of me, and I gave them some  
of those shells that serve instead of money,  
of which three thousand five hundred make  
the value of a pistole; so many are given  
for a pullet, for at Lisbon a pullet is worth  
a crown, in Brasil a piece of eight, at An-  
gola ten shillings, and at Congo a pistole,  
which seems to me cheaper than a crown at  
Lisbon.

My bed was against the wall, which was  
of fat clay ill put together, and might well  
be called a nest of rats; for there were so  
many of them and so large, that they trou-  
bled me very much, running over me eve-  
ry night, and biting my toes, which broke  
my rest very much. To prevent this I  
caused my bed to be laid in the middle of  
the room, but to no purpose, for those  
curst creatures knew where to find me.  
I caused mats to be laid all about my bed  
for my Blacks to lie on, and defend me not  
only against the rats, but any other wild  
creatures that might come. This precau-  
tion stood me in no stead, for there was no  
nights but the rats disturbed me. Another

7 H

consideration

CARLE. consideration mov'd me to keep those *Blacks* in my chamber, which was, that they might see how I lived, and be witnesses of my behaviour, that country being no more free from detraction than others.

I took the freedom to acquaint the great duke with the trouble I had from the rats, and the stink of my *Blacks*, who had always some wild and disagreeable smell. He said he would give me an infallible remedy against those two inconveniences, and that had he known it sooner, he would not have failed of sending it: This was a little monkey that would secure me against the rats by blowing on them when he spied them, and would expel the ill scent by that of his skin, which smelt of musk. I gave him a thousand thanks for his charity towards me, and said I should expect that favour from him. He sent me the tame monkey, whom I laid at the feet of my bed, and who performed his duty exactly; for when the rats came as they were wont, the monkey blew hard at them two or three times, and made them run away; and the scent of musk with which he perfumed the chamber, corrected the ill smell of the *Blacks*. These monkeys are not the same creatures as the civet cats, for I have seen several of those cats at *Loanda*, where they keep them shut up in a wooden cage, and fastened with an iron or silver chain, and the owner of them once a week with a spoon takes off the civet, which they call *angeglia*, and which is found in a purse between the hind legs. In short, the little monkey did me extraordinary service, not only for those uses already mentioned, but to keep my head and beard clean and comb'd, better than any of the *Blacks* would have done: and to say the truth, it is easier to teach those monkeys than the *Blacks*; for these have enough to do to learn one thing well, but the others do every thing they are put to dexterously.

Strange  
multitude  
of pit-  
mires.

I just began to mend, tho' the fever had not left me, when one night as I lay asleep, I felt the monkey had leaped upon my head; I thought the rats had frightened him, and made much of him to still him, but at the same time the *Blacks* arose crying, Out, out father. Being thoroughly awake. I asked them what was the matter? The ants, said they, are broke out, and there is no time to be lost. There being no possibility for me to stir, I bid them carry me into the garden, which they did, four of them lifting me upon my straw bed: Their nimbleness stood me in good stead, for the ants already began to run upon my legs, and get to my body. After shaking them off, they took straw, and fired it on the floor of four rooms, where the ants were already above half a foot

thick; and there must needs be a wonderful quantity, for besides the chambers, the porch and walking place were full. They being destroy'd by fire, as I said, I was carried back to my chamber, where the stink was so great that I was forced to hold the monkey close to my face. Having caused the mats to be shaken, we had scarce slept half an hour before I was awaked by the light of a flame of fire at the chamber-door: I called my people to see what it was, they found the fire had taken hold of the thatch of the house; and fearing the fire might encrease with the wind, I caused my self to be carried again into the garden. The fire being put out, we endeavour'd to go to sleep again, but all this hurry had discomposed me too much; and before the troublesome night was quite over, I heard a great noise near us: I waked my *Blacks* that they might be in readiness, in case there was some other army of beasts to engage. One of them laid hold of one of the halberds *F. Michael Angola* had caused to be made, and went out to see who made all that hurly-burly: He came back again to tell us; that the pismires having again broke into a neighbouring cottage, they had burnt them as we did; but the hurt being all of straw, it was consumed as well as the ants, which made the *Blacks* get out of their houses for fear the wind should carry about the flame and burn all that quarter. I got off, causing my self to be once more carry'd into the garden, giving God thanks that he had delivered me from the pismires; for had I been alone fast in my bed, and unable to stir, as I then was, it is certain they had eaten me up alive. This often happens in the kingdom of *Angola*, where in the morning there are cows found devoured in the night by ants, and nothing left of them but the bones. It is no small deliverance to escape them, for there are some that fly, and are hard to be removed from the place where they lay hold: but God be praised that my body was not devoured by them alive.

I had a young tiger given me, which I did not care to keep, especially because the monkey would not lie upon the bed with him: I gave it goat's milk to preserve it, but it did not live long, and I was not sorry for it, it being no satisfaction to me to see that fine beast, tho' little, and as yet unfit to do like the old ones. The great duke's visits were a great comfort to me, and when he could not come himself, he sent some of his chief men, who would stay three or four hours sitting about me upon mats; but they always having their pipes in their mouths, and the smoke offended my head; I was forc'd to tell them they would oblige me in coming,

but

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but that I beg'd for God's sake not to take tobacco in our house, and that the rather because their pipes, which are an ell long have great bowls like a little pot, which are never out. They were so obliging as to comply with me, and when they came left their pipes in the garden.

The author returns to Loanda.

I found no other remedy for my distemper but to recommend my self to God, through the intercession of the glorious S. Antony of Padua. In short, after long continuing irresolute, I resolv'd to cause my self to be carried to Loanda, notwithstanding I was sensible of the fatigue of the journey, and could find no Black that would go along to be my interpreter. I spok'd to the great duke, who promised me a great many Blacks, but he found not enough to carry my baggage, part whereof was therefore left behind to be stolen. I took another way different from that we came, and did not pass thro' Dante: All the poor Blacks flocking about me at my departure, came to express their concern for losing me, and I comforted them with the hopes of my return, if it should please God to restore my health.

I went as far as the next *libatte* without an interpreter, but could speak enough to be understood. I endur'd all that can be imagin'd in such a condition, for my conscience check'd me for putting my self into such danger, as if I would have tempted God; but I had such confidence in S. Antony, whom I had taken for my advocate, that I fancied I saw him before my hammock. During all this journey, which lasted twenty five days, I could not open my mouth till night, so that the Blacks often came to see whether I was not dead. One day being to pass through a river, they discover'd about twenty five elephants that were gone to drink, which troubled them very much, and made them stay till they were gone another way from us. Having cross'd the river with some danger, the two Blacks who carried me going up a hill, did not hold the staff fast, and let me fall plumb on the ground, which put me quite beside my self, the staff having hit me on the head and almost broke it: They took me up again, and I bound my head with a handkerchief without speaking one word, fearing if I complain'd of being hurt, they might leave me there, and fly unto the woods; therefore I thought it better to hold my tongue, than talk to people that have no compassion.

Being come to a *libatte*, they left me alone in a cottage upon a little straw, and carry'd away my staff I had brought out of Italy, but I was resolv'd to be concern'd at nothing. I look'd whether any body would come in, being very weak for

want of sustenance; but no body appeared all day till sun-setting, when the women return'd with their children from their labour in the fields; I desir'd them to boil me a pullet I had brought with me: They having dress'd it very well, I took the broth, and gave them the fowl, which made a great feast among them. All my sustenance during the journey was a porringer of broth a day. They gave me two *nicestas*, which are so refreshing and dainty, that I could not forbear eating of them, tho' cautiously, for fear of causing my distemper to increase upon me.

Next day they carried me to a *libatte*, where I found all the people made staves of palm-tree leaves, and therefore would not leave their business to carry me. Finding them positive, and not knowing what other way to take, I bethought my self of a bag of those shells they call *zimbi*, I had along with me, and began to call them, but they were deaf to me, tho' sitting in the next cottages on the ground about their fire: That is their usual posture. After night-fall, that the women are return'd out of the fields with their children, they light a fire in the middle of their cottage, sit round it on the ground, and eat of what they have brought; then they talk till sleep makes them fall backwards, and so they spend the night without any further ceremony. Finding it was to no purpose to call and spend my breath, I dragg'd out of the bed where they had laid me, which was about a foot from the ground, and crawling upon all four to the cottage door, called a *mulebe*, or young lad, who was playing with his companions, and getting him to help me, open'd my portmantua, whence I drew the bag of *zimbi*, and shaking the bag that they might sound, drew those hard-hearted Blacks to me, and told them I would pay them in *zimbi* if they would carry me to the next *libatte*: they agreed to it, but being too few to carry all my goods, part of them was left to their discretion. There was no remedy but patience, and at length by the help of *zimbi*, beads and medals, I came to Bamba, the first place belonging to the Portuguese.

There I was met by a Portuguese who liv'd in the place, with a priest of Portuguese extraction, but born in Africa; they carried me to their house, and seeing my countenance as yellow as saffron, said to me, father, how came you to travel through these deserts in such a condition? I could not answer them, nor open my eyes. They understanding by my carriers that I had eaten but one porringer of broth a day, and never spok'd all the way, endeavour'd to bring me to my self with malinkey and new-laid

CARLI.

**CARL.** new-laid eggs. Being a little recovered, I found all their people weeping about me. I told them nothing had befallen me but what I had foreseen when I left *Italy*, and that I had concluded I should not return out of that country, as is the common fate of the missionaries sent thither. I continued there two days, and having thank'd them for their civility and charity they had us'd towards me, went away to *Loanda*. The *Portuguese* gentleman would needs bear me company thither. I was kindly received by the chief men of my acquaintance, who wondered to see me alive still with that dead countenance. They sent me some refreshment, which I did not taste for want of appetite: There I continued six months without being able to stir out of my bed, and never quit of the fever: I loath'd flesh, and could eat nothing but a little fish. After that I bled at nose, and lost three or four pounds a day, as if I had not been blooded during my sickness; the heat I endur'd going on the hammock contributed much towards it: It was surprizing to me that there should be so much blood in a man's body. The physician told me that all the water I drank turn'd to blood, and I drank five or six bottles a day, for they allow the sick to drink as much as they will. The physician had me blooded twenty four times by way of revulsion; for I kept account how often I was blooded during my three years sickness, which was ninety seven times, without reckoning the blood that ran in great quantities at my nose, mouth, and ears, which to me seems prodigious.

During my stay at *Loanda*, the *R. F. John Chrysostome*, superior of *Loanda*, came thither with two or three *Capuchins* of our mission, who had much ado to know me, and were yet more surprized to hear that most of our fellows were dead in that country. The father superior resolving to provide the province of *Messangrano*, one of the chiefest in the kingdom, with missionaries, sent thither *F. Peter de Barchi*, and *F. Joseph Mary de Buffette*: and within a few days news was brought that one of them was dead, and the other at the point of death, which much troubled the superior, who had taken a great deal of pains to bring them from *Italy*, which shews how little that climate agrees with our bodies. I desired the father superior to send me to *Colombo*, two days journey from *Loanda*, to try to recover my health. I went thither with *F. John Baptist de Sallizan* to a house of our father's near the river *Coawza*, where there are abundance of crocodiles. We have there a very fine garden, in which are orange and lemon trees, and other sort of fruit. There is a sort of fruit in *Africk* like our *S. John*

apple, at the end of which is a chestnut little differing from ours: The apple is not eaten because it is full of fibres, but they suck the juice which has a muscadine taste. The chestnut is boil'd, and tastes like our almonds, is very hot, but the apple cold, it is call'd *bejou*.

Near that place live several *Portuguese* farmers, who keep a number of swine, cows and sheep, but know not how to make cheese, it being very difficult there to bring the milk to curd. We sometimes took the cool air under a fine row of trees ten paces distant, reaching from the church to the river. These trees bear a certain sort of fruit like great plums, but very harsh; they hold their leaves all the year round. One day as we were walking under those trees, we discovered a great serpent crossing the river to our side: We would have made it go back by shouting, and throwing clods of earth for want of stones, which are not to be found, but in spite of us it came over, and went to take up its post in a little thicket of reeds near the house. There are some of them there twenty five foot long, and as thick as a good colt, that make but a mouthful of a sheep: when they have swallow'd one, they go into the sun to digest it: the *Blacks* who know the manner of it watch and kill them, to make a good meal of them, for they are as fat as pork; and having flead them, they throw away nothing but the head, the tail and the entrails.

*F. John Baptist* gave me an account of <sup>Of the country of</sup> his travels in those parts of *Africk*, and among the rest of his being at *Cassangi*, where a black prince resides who rules a large country, and is call'd great lord: That he came there at a time when that prince's birth-day was celebrated after an odd manner: he makes all the people of his country that can travel come into a great plain; they leave only one place empty, in which there are several trees, on which there are huts built for the great lord and principal men of his kingdom, who go up thither with several musical instruments sounding. One of the most furious lions in the country is fastened to a tree standing at some distance from the rest. The signal being given, the string that holds him is cut, and then after some roaring he falls upon the first he meets: They instead of flying run together from all parts to kill him, being obliged to do it without any weapon, and thinking themselves happy in flying before their prince. The lion before he is tir'd kills several of them, and revenges his own death sufficiently, being at last born down by the multitude. After that the survivors eat the dead, and accompany their king with abundance

dance of joyful acclamations to his palace, making all parts resound, *Long live the great lord of Cassangi*. Thus they solemnize this festival, which the father assured me he had been an eye-witness of. A hellish invention, and fit for those barbarous people!

He also told me he would go to the kingdom of *Malemba* or *Mattemba*, where of late years queen *Singa* had reigned, who dy'd a catholic; but that after her death the people forsook the christian religion, and returned to their ancient superstitions. I agreed with him to go thither, if he could gain admittance into the country, provided he sent for me; but when he was gone, I heard no more from him, and was left alone with two *Blacks* at *Colombo*. I baptiz'd but very few there, the country about being possess'd by the *Portugueses*, but sometimes there came boats full of slaves who were baptiz'd; they brought me salt to use in the baptismal water, dug out of the mountains, which when pounded is very white. Whilst I was there, the fishermen took a great fish as round as a coach-wheel, in the middle it had two tets, and upon it several holes through which it sees, hears, and eats, the mouth being a span long: The fish is delicious, and the flesh of it like fine veal. Of the ribs of it they make beads to stop bleeding; but having try'd them upon my self, they did no good; this distemper growing upon me, inasmuch that they once thought I was dead, which obliged the father superior to make me return to *Loanda*. The dread of going to sea again, made me unwilling to go from *Colombo*, tho' in other respects the place was scarce to be endured, being tormented day and night with infinite numbers of gnats and flies, which almost darken the air; besides the continual fear of serpents, crocodiles, and lions, who seldom fail'd a night of devouring some cow, calf, or sheep.

At that time a vessel was loading at *Loanda* for *Brazil*. Having obtained leave to return to *Italy*, I spoke with the captain, who was very willing to receive me, thinking himself happy in having a priest, and especially a *Capuchin*, with him; for not only the *Portugueses* but the *Blacks* themselves, cannot sufficiently admire to see us take progresses into those barbarous countries, without proposing to our selves any other interest but the spiritual good of our neighbour, and the propagation of the catholic faith. I remember the great duke of *Bamba* one day sent me several *Blacks* to be my slaves; which I would not accept of, but sent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make slaves, but rather

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to deliver those from the slavery of *CARLI*, the devil whom he kept in miserable thralldom.

The ship I went aboard of, when it was ready to sail, was loaded with elephants teeth and slaves, to the number of six hundred and eighty men, women, and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold, how all those people were bestowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastned one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the *Whites*. The women were between the decks, and those that were with child in the great cabin, the children in the steerage press'd together like herrings in a barrel, which caus'd an intolerable heat and stench. The captain had made me a bed upon the quarter-deck, with mats to keep me from the rain and dew.

This voyage is generally performed in thirty or thirty five days at furthest; because there is no occasion for going to the cape of *Good Hope* for a wind; but they sail in a line: However we were fifty days, being many of them becalmed, during which time we endured great heat under the line. Being we made no way, the captain desired me to baptize some *Blacks* that came last aboard, it being forbid under pain of excommunication, to carry any *Blacks* to *Brazil* that are not baptiz'd; which I did, instructing them in the principles of Christianity.

The *Portugueses*, who knew there was danger in that calm we were in, either in regard of the great heat of the sun, or because among so many mouths the provisions grew short, one day took the image of *S. Antony*, which they set against one of the masts, saying these words on their knees, *S. Antony, our countryman, you shall be pleas'd to stand there, till you have given us a fair wind to continue our voyage*. This done, and some prayers said, some little wind came up, which set us forward, and made us rejoice. We pass'd very close by the island called the *Assumption of our Lady*, where we did not touch, thinking we had no need of any thing. Nevertheless the voyage holding longer than we had imagin'd, a few days after we began to want provisions, the proveditor not having rightly considered how great a number of mouths there was to feed.

The captain came to be full of affliction, and said, Father, we are all dead men, there is no remedy for it. My usual fever being upon me, and a dish of blood before me, I told him that was no surprising news to me, and that having lost so much blood, I did not expect to live long. He made me sensible he spoke of all the ship in general, and that they

7 I

wanted

A dangerous calm.

**CARLI.** wanted provisions, being still far out at sea without discovering any land. To comfort him in some measure, I bid him look into the stern-lockers, for I remember'd my friends had given me some provisions, which might keep the *Whites* aboard alive some time; and as for the *Blacks*, he must have patience if they died, since there was no possibility of relieving them; but that nevertheless since there were still forty butts of water, they should give them as much as was necessary; and the climate being hot, they might live two days at least upon water only: That yet God might relieve us, and we ought to confide in him, and not give way to despair.

I would have spoke some words of comfort to the ships-crew, and silenced them; but the dismal news I thought to acquaint them with being already come to their knowledge, the children began to cry for mercy; the women hearing them, set up the same cry, and the men made up the dismal harmony; which would have daunted the boldest heart. In fine, when they were a little pacified, I began in *Portuguese* to exhort them to confide in the mercy of God, who never forsakes those who sincerely rely on him; adding, that God sent us that affliction to punish our sins, and for the blasphemies wherewith they dishonoured his holy name, and perhaps because some of them were come aboard without confessing. Then turning to the *Whites*, I told them, that the ill example they gave these new Christians, making themselves drunk every day with brandy, had drawn that punishment upon them: That the blessed Virgin was also offended at them, because they had given her name, to which all respect was due, to a rope's-end with which they beat the *Blacks*, which was not the way to persuade them that we believ'd her to be the mother of God. This discourse made them again cry, *Mercy*, but with a more sincere intention than at first. After the hymns of the holy Virgin, which I caused them to repeat, they made a vow to cause eighty masses to be said, forty for the souls in purgatory, and forty in honour of *S. Antony*.

Their minds being a little settled, the captain ordered every *Black* a porringer of water; but those poor wretches, especially the children, began to cry for hunger. The compassion their cries moved in me, without any means of relieving them, made me retire to my cabin of mats. I continued so a day without eating, for fear of sharpening their hunger if they saw me eat. It was likely that unless God wrought some miracle, we were all lost.

As I lay full of these thoughts, I heard some begin to talk of living upon man's

flesh, so far had despair disorder'd them; for which I reproved them severely, protesting that rather than suffer any one to be killed to maintain another, I would sacrifice my own life if it might any way contribute to prolong theirs. Notwithstanding all this affliction, there were those abroad who did not forbear doing some vile actions. The master being drunk, mortally wounded a sailor; but he being the ablest and most experience'd seaman in the ship, it was requisite to pardon him, and wink at it. At length God taking compassion on us, we discovered land; three days we continued without eating, and the water was spent before we got to the shore. Who can express the joy which succeeded the former sorrow! To hear all their discourse, one would have thought all the people in the ship had been out of their right senses. I observed the ship lay much more to one side than the other, and obliged the captain to redress it; the burden of men being greater on that side which inclin'd. He did it by filling four casks with sea-water, and fastening them to the other side.

We discovered cape *St. Augustin*, well known to the *Portuguese*, and on Sunday enter'd the port of *Baya de todos os Santos*, or the bay of all saints, the capital town of all *Brasil*, where the viceroy resides. There we found several vessels of all nations. Next morning several boats came to us with merchants and others who had slaves aboard. Understanding we had been fifty days at sea, they concluded that most of the *Blacks* were dead, and were pleasantly surpris'd when they were told there wanted but thirty three of the number, it often happening, that half of them die in that passage. They thank'd God for that miracle wrought in their behalf, for it would have been a very considerable loss, if all the slaves had been dead.

I went ashore as well as the rest, but my weakness was such, I had no use of my legs. A good woman into whose shop I went, had compassion on me, and lent me her hammock to carry me into the *Franciscans*, who received me very courteously. A *Genoese* captain of my acquaintance would have carried me to his house, but I excused my self on account of the obliging reception I had met with in the convent; declaring that unless I found I was a burden to them, I would not leave it till my departure out of the country. The governor of the island of *St. Thomas*, which is under the line, sent his steward to make me a visit, and to desire me to come to his palace to see a *Capucin* that kept his cell, and had been sixteen years in *Africa*, either in the aforesaid island, or the kingdom

*Baya de todos os Santos.*

*Voyage to Libon.*

of Benin and Overola. I could not go immediately, but went afterwards several times to see that father, being carried in a hammock. He wondered to hear I was so obedient to my physician, who was the same that had him in hand; but the physician told me, that according to his way he could not live long; and so it proved, for he died soon after at Lisbon.

A proof-  
fin.

In this convent there is a chapel of the third order of S. Francis. On Maunday-Thurs day the fathers made a procession, in which all the images of saints of the third order were carried. Then followed three hundred Blacks, carrying whole trees for mortification; others had their arms bound to a great beam in the nature of a cross, and others after other manners. I was told their fathers confessors had enjoined them that penance for robbing their masters, and committing other sins. It is not the custom there to make sepulchers that week, but they expose the blessed sacrament with an infinite number of white wax-lights, whereof there is great plenty there, as well as of honey.

The Genoese captain, who was to sail for Lisbon, had given me my passage aboard his ship. Being ready to sail, the viceroy sent to desire the captain, that since he had a good fighting ship, he would, for the king's sake, convoy the merchants ships that were ready to sail, for fear they might fall into the hands of the Turks; when they came near the coast of Portugal; that kept us till Holy Saturday. Leave to depart being obtain'd of the viceroy, the captain sent me word to come aboard; which I did, against my will, not liking to begin so long and dangerous a voyage upon a holy Saturday; but he carrying me out of charity, I will submit to his will. We sail'd, firing all the canon, and all the bells in the town clattering.

Voyage to  
Lisbon.

The ship was like Noah's ark, for there were aboard it so many several sorts of beasts, that what with the noise, and the talk of so many people as were aboard, we could not hear one another speak. The loading was a thousand chests of sugar, three thousand rolls of tobacco, abundance of rich wood for dying, and making of cabinets, elephants teeth; besides the provision of wood, coals, water, wine, brandy, sheep, hogs, and turkeys: besides all this, abundance of monkeys of several sorts, apes, baboons, parrots, and some of those birds of Brasil, which they call *arracas*. The ship carried fifty guns, four and twenty patareoes, and other necessaries. The people aboard were of several nations, as *Italians, Portuguese, English, Dutch, Spaniards*, and *Indian* slaves who followed their masters. The great cabin was hired

by a rich Portuguese merchant, whose name was *Amare*, and who was returning to Lisbon with all his family, that is, wife and four children; gave a thousand crowns for his passage, and had laid out two thousand upon provisions and necessaries for so long a voyage. That honest man seeing me to sick, freely offered me a place in his cabin, which was large, painted and gilt. I accepted of his offer, his wife giving her consent, who being a virtuous lady, was glad to have a religious man's company. He would have allowed me his table, but I told him I was engaged to the captain, but that I might breakfast with him sometimes after mass, which I said every day in the great cabin during the voyage, which lasted three months, excepting only three days of stormy weather; and not only he, but all the Portuguese aboard were at it. The chaplain of the ship said upon deck to the seamen and officers of the ship.

As we were under sail, having scarce run two leagues, and being busy placing the trunks and goods aboard us, it pleased God to mortify us, who thought our selves the safest of the five ships, that we might learn to honour holidays better; for we struck five times furiously upon a bank, which threw both the men and goods not yet lash'd to, from side to side, and put all into a great consternation, the vessel sticking fast upon the flat. The officers and pilots in a fright thought to save themselves from imminent danger of death which threaten'd, and leapt hastily into the boat to get to land, which was not far off, for we were still in the harbour, it being four leagues in length. The sailors and passengers seeing themselves forsaken, began to cry aloud, *We are all dead, we are all dead*. And who can be able to describe what a sad spectacle that ship was, which but just before look'd like a castle on the sea? This confusion made me rise from a mat on which I lay struggling with the fever; and being upon deck, perceived we made no way, though the sails were all loose, and a plank floating upon the sea, which made it appear the ship was fast.

Nothing could be heard but cries and complaints. Some cast a barrel into the sea, others a roll of tobacco, others a chest of sugar to lighten the ship, and every one did something to save his life; only the captain sat still like a statue, without being able to speak or stir, though he had fought six Turks in that same ship. They would have fir'd a canon for the others to come to our assistance, but in that hurry they could neither find gunner, powder, nor match. The several sorts of animals hearing such a noise, began to play their

part



CARLI. part and increase the confusion. In this general consternation both *Whites* and *Blacks* came to cast themselves at my feet, crying, *Father, father, confession, absolution*. Having caus'd them to make an act of contrition, I gave them absolution, wanting time to hear them singly. I met the captain of the ship in his shirt, his countenance altered and looking ghastly, though he was one of the bravest men aboard, as he had often made it appear, fighting with the *Turks* upon several occasions. After bearing his confession according to his desire, I ask'd him, What he intended to do in that case? O God, said he, *I had no mind to come aboard, but I suffer'd my self to be deluded*. I would have encouraged, and made him conceive, that God had not altogether forsaken us, but we might yet escape that danger. *Suppose it does so fall out*, reply'd he, *I am resolv'd to swim for it, and get ashore*. The others hearing his resolution, renewed their complaints and exclamations. I went into the great cabin, and found the *Portuguese* lady sitting on a carpet, and leaning upon two cushions, with her four children on their knees, their hands clasp'd together in a fright, and crying, *mercy*; the husband sitting on a chair, rather dead than alive. I comforted them both the best I could, and heard their confessions.

In the mean while there came aboard us a captain, who was a friend to *Senhor Amaro*, to carry him and his family away to his ship. He seeing the horrid confusion we were in, began to encourage all the people, and sent two of his men to the pump, and into the hold, to see what harm was done. They neither found water, nor any thing broken, and perceived that the plank we had seen on the water, was only some of the sheathing which had given way. Our captain taking heart, ordered to cast the lead, and found but little water for so great a ship. Then he caus'd the ship's head to be brought about, which made the vessel move; and it was well for us there happen'd to be but little wind, for had it blown hard we must have been beaten to pieces. They that were ashore seeing us make way, came back with the boat; and we continu'd our voyage towards *Fernambuco*, a hundred leagues distant from *Baga de Todos os Santos*. There we came to an anchor five miles from the town, the harbour being unfit for great ships.

The governor kept us there five days before he dispatch'd us. As we were weighing anchor, when it was already above water, it broke off so suddenly, that all the men who work'd at hoisting it, being forty of them, fell down and hurt themselves,

some on the head, some the sides, and others in other places. They would have recover'd it, but there was no doing of it, because it dropt in a place that was very foul and full of small rocks.

It was pleasant to see our ship, where every tradesman work'd at his trade, as if he had been in his shop; there were gunsmiths, armourers, butchers, shoemakers, tailors, coopers and cooks. Others mended the colours, there being an hundred of several sorts very fine upon great days, and particularly the pendant at the main top-mast head, eight ells long, and all of carnation taffety. When the weather would permit, the other vessels bore up to us, and gave us a consort of drums and trumpets, saluting us with three huzzas all the sailors gave, taking the signal from the boatwain's whistle. The captain exercis'd his men in firing volleys. These diversions were one day interrupted by this accident. Eleven *Englishmen* came together to complain to the captain that they were not allowed water enough to drink, which put him into such a passion that he went to lay hold of a sword, and had done them some mischief had not care been taken to appease him. He caus'd one to be put into the bilboes with two men to stand centinel over him, till we came to *Lisbon*, for fear he should raise some mutiny among his comrades; for that *Englishman* was wonderful strong, would manage a canon as another man would a musket, and had formerly blown up some ships, setting fire to the powder. He punished him after this manner to teach the rest, not to come in a body like mutineers to make their complaints to him, whereas one alone should come when they wanted any thing. There was another *Englishman* whom they called *Kill Turk*, whom he also put into the bilboes, because he had made himself drunk with two bottles of brandy, and was not sober again in three days. He was so strong, that they said he had cleft a man with his cutlass, and therefore it was feared he might do some mischief in the ship, being in that condition.

One morning before sun-rising, being near the coast of *Portugal*, we heard a canon fire, and the shot fell not far from us. I turned out to see what was the matter, and observed that captain *Joseph*, brother to our captain, had put up the red antient, which was a signal of battle. Our captain took a prospective glass to discover what it was that had occasioned it, and a moment after told us his brother was mistaken, and that those sails we discovered to the number of five hundred were fishing boats that sail with any wind. The sun rising, it appeared he was in the right, and we per-

The author arrives at Lisbon.

Embarks again.

perceived without the help of a glass a prodigious number of boats covering all the coast. It is not to be admired that there is so much fishing, for most of the people in *Lisbon* eat fish at night, even upon flesh days, which causes an infinite consumption, and it is not sold by weight, but by the barrel.

The author  
arrives at  
Lisbon.

We arrived at *Castais*, a little town without the bar, and sail'd on to fort *S. Julian*, where we fired so many guns that the report reached the city. Being come to the mouth of the river *Tagus*, we saw abundance of boats coming towards us, as well *Italians* as *Portugueses*, that seemed to cover all the harbour; they were merchants and others who had some concern aboard us. I knew several who did not know me. They were surpris'd to see me alive, after they had received an account that I was dead, and expressed much joy that the news had proved false. Having taken in pilots belonging to the port, as is the custom, we came to an anchor just before his highness prince *Peter* then regent of *Portugal's* palace, the king being sent away to the islands *Terceras*. All that came aboard the ship had put on such fine clothes, that I scarce knew them again. This they do at every port, being but meanly apparel'd, as long as they are at sea. After my compliments to all those who had been kind to me during the voyage, and particularly to our captain, I went ashore to our convent, to expect some ship bound for *Spain*.

Inherits  
again.

It was not long before an opportunity offer'd: captain *Dominick*, a native of *Corsica*, who was desirous to have a priest aboard him, came to offer me my passage in his ship, which was to sail in company of two other, the *Loretto* and the *Princes*. His ship was called the *Paradise*, and it was too good an omen to refuse to be chaplain to the *Paradise*. Several *Dominicans*, *Benedictines*, and other religious men went aboard with me, inasmuch that one said, We were afraid we should want a chaplain, but here are enough to keep a choir. However those good religious men, who were very much afraid of death, were no sooner under sail, but they kept themselves so close under deck, that not one was to be seen. They admired that I being indispensed, the sea did me no more harm than if I had been ashore: but I said to them, Fathers, you need but go to the *Indies*, and then you will be no more afraid of the sea than I am.

During this voyage I fell into discourse with an *Irishman*, tho' he was a heretick, because I found some disposition towards gaining that soul to *JESUS CHRIST*, and the more because he was of an inoffensive

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nature. He observ'd what I did, especially *CARLI*. when I said mass, and was pleased to hear the truth; so that in a few days, with God's assistance, without which the endeavours of the ablest men are useless, I brought him to waver in his opinion. He told me, he would have abjured in publick immediately, but that he would first go visit a brother of his at *Cadiz* to receive absolution. In fine, I was informed by him in that very town, that he was become a catholic, which nevertheless I would not publish, tho' I saw him more pleasant than he used to be, fearing he might do this like many others, who sometimes appear very zealous, and yet afterwards forsake the good way they were in.

Though our ship was the biggest of the three our convoy consisted of, yet our captain had consented that the captain of the *Loretto*, as being the elder, should be commodore. One day we discovered a ship, and it being our captain's duty to know what she was, he made all the sail he could. We fetch'd her up in a quarter of an hour, and fired a gun without ball to make her strike, as the strongest usually do. They instead of answering our expectation, crouded up all the sail they could, as if they would fly, their vessel being much less than ours; that made our captain suspect they might be *Turks*, since they had put out no antient. He fired at them with ball, and put up the red antient, which made them answer with one gun but without bullet. Being very near, the captain made a trumpeter, who spoke several languages, hail them. He spoke to them in *French*, because they had put up white colours, but we suspecting it was a cheat, bid them send somebody on board. They launcht their pinnace, and the master came aboard, by whom we were informed that the imagined *Turk* was a vessel laden with salt-fish from *Nantes*, and bound for the islands *Maderas*. They drank the healths of the most Christian king, and the republick of *Genoa*, and every one made the best of his way.

At last we came to an anchor in that great and noble port of *Cadiz*, one of the famousest in *Europe*, full of an infinite number of ships, galleys, barks, caravels, tartans, and other vessels, which I was assured at that time amounted to an hundred sail. Just at the entrance of the harbour we saw twenty five ships of an extraordinary bulk. There is a continual resort of ships from all parts of the world, even from the *Indies*; and it is usual there to see thirty or forty sail come in or go out in a day, as if they were but little boats. I went ashore with an *Italian* gentleman, and some *Spanish* merchants, and we were all of us presently stopp'd by the custom-

**CARL.** custom-house officers: I gave an account of my self, and so did the gentleman; but he added he was a soldier in the king's service, and they let him pass: the *Spaniards* said so too, and we caused our goods to be loaded to go to our several homes. No sooner were we in the town, but the chief officer of the custom-house with his followers stopt the porters, and bid them carry the goods to the custom-house. The *Spaniards* said they were all cleared, and there was no need of further search. The customer gave a surly answer; one word drew on another, so they came to ill language, and from ill language to blows. An hundred swords were drawn in a moment, but they were throng'd so close together, that they fought with the points of their swords up, striking one another with the pummels, and making such a noise, that one would have thought they were going to cut one another in pieces. The dust flew so thick there was no seeing one another, and the field of battel being near the harbour, the people ran thither in crowds, fearing there were many killed and wounded. There was much crouding to part the combatants, hearing their cries, and the clattering of their swords; but what abundance of rational sober people could not do, was done in a moment by four drunken *Englishmen*, who, to make way to go to their ships, began to throw stones so furiously, that every man thought himself happy enough that his legs were found to run away. Those who were fighting, not thinking it safe to stand that shower of stones, made their escape in an instant, some one way, and some another.

*Sails again for Porto.*

I repaired to our monastery, where my fever which had granted me no respite increas'd, and kept me in bed a month, being forced in that time to be six times blooded again, and that while our ships were gone. Before I could continue my journey into *Italy*, I took the opportunity of going to the shrine of *S. James* the apostle in *Galicia*, and to that purpose associated my self with a *Milanese* religious man of the third order of *St. Francis*, with whom I embarked for *Porto*. A stormy sort of gale carried us thither in a few hours, from whence we went by sea to *Birona*, and from *Birona* with much difficulty afoot to *Compostella*, where we visited the famous church of *S. James* the apostle. The canons of this church are all clad in scarlet, and called cardinals. They told us that none must say mass at the saints altar, but prelates and grantees of *Spain*, for which reason the sacriltan would not permit us to say at the altar. The saint's shrine is placed on the altar, with his image upon it, so that the pilgrims who

*Account of Compostella.*

go thither for their devotion, ascend four or five steps, and put their hat on the head of that effigies, which is clad like a pilgrim. There are abundance of silver lamps about it, but they are all black, as if they were of wood. Having said a *Pat-ter* and *Ave*, we went away; and the father told me, that if he had thought it was as he found it, he would never have come into the country. I lodg'd at a goldsmith's, who treated us at table with *Florence* wine, *Bolonia* sausages, and *Parmesan* cheese; which made me admire that *Italian* wines and provisions should be found in so distant a country, and we may well say, it is the garden of the world.

We had received information that at *Taket ship* cape *Finisterre*, there was a ship ready to sail for *Cadiz*, which made us hasten our departure. Just as the captain was going into his boat to embark, we got thither; and though I knew he was a heretick, I begged of him to give me my passage to *Cadiz* aboard his ship for God's sake. He without answering made me a sign to go into the boat, which when I had done, seeing he had not answered me, and perhaps because he did not understand *Spanish*, I spoke to him in *Portuguese*, then he answered I was welcome, and that he would not only carry me to *Cadiz*, but to *Sevil* if I would. I thanked him for his charitable offer: but my companion, who would have been glad to be in such a habit as mine, was forced to pay for his passage. It was a great *English* man of war of seventy guns, and three hundred men, laden with anchors, and other naval stores. It was bound by order of his *Britannick* majesty to all the ports of *Spain*, to find out twenty four frigates belonging to that crown, sent against the *Turks*, and was to furnish them with what they wanted.

When we were out at sea, I saw the captain with a prospective glass endeavoured to discover some sails that appeared at a great distance; after which he went into his cabin, and talked to his officers in *English*, who went to give out orders, and presently after the drums began to beat, and the soldiers to take their posts. My companion and I guest they were making ready to fight, tho' we saw no ships, but they had seen them. We directed our course towards them, sailing with a side-wind, and adding two small sails on the sides of the main sheet; so that having fourteen sails abroa, we flew like the wind it self, and cut the water in a most violent manner.

Within an hour we came up with the two ships the captain had descri'd, and they having put out no colours, he gave them a gun to bring them in; but they

seeing

*A sea-fight.*

A sea-  
fight.

seeing they were two to one, and doubtless never imagining our ship was so well mann'd, answer'd with a bullet, and at the same time we heard from one of those ships a confused noise of voices as it were of people that complain'd. Our captain said he did not question but one was a *Turkish* vessel that had taken the other which was a Christian, and it prov'd so. At the same time he furl'd his sails, and gave them a broad side of twenty guns, which made such a thundering as would daunt the bravest heart. It was happy for us we had the wind, which carried all our smoke upon the *Turks*. Yet they fir'd like madmen from both ships, for the prize was mann'd with *Turkish* sailors and soldiers, and the poor Christians were forced against their will to help at the guns, the chief of them being put into irons. The cannonading continued an hour and a half, and not knowing what the event might be, the father of the third order and I confess'd to one another. He was vex'd at heart to be in that business, but I arm'd myself with patience against whatever might happen, whilst no ball reached me.

Our captain perceiving the fight was like to hold, caused one of the enemies to be boarded, grappling with them to come to handy strokes. Then it was we began to hear the groans and cries of the poor wounded men lying about the deck one upon another, and serving to shelter those that fought. The attack was furious, and the resistance vigorous; but the enemy being inferior in number, began to give way and yield. Our men without losing time leap'd aboard, put the *Turks* in irons and set the Christians at liberty, who took up arms to be revenged of the infidels, and to secure the liberty they had newly obtained. The other vessel being left alone fled for it, but our brave captain soon had all things in order, and put men aboard the prize, which being less than his ship, could better pursue the other that fled, which being loaded with goods taken from Christians was soon fetch'd up by the other we had taken, that had nothing aboard but provisions and ammunition. They fir'd some guns, but perceiving our great ship came up and was within cannon-shot, yielded. The lieutenant, who had the command of the first given him, went to take possession of the other, putting the *Turks* in irons, and releasing the Christians, who were in number four-score in all, sailors, merchants and passengers, besides twelve that were killed: of the *Turks* there were a hundred and thirty, the rest being either killed or dangerously wounded.

The three ships drew close together, and

our captain ordered all the Christians to be brought before him, who all knelt down to thank him for their deliverance out of the hands of those barbarians: he asked who was their captain; and a lusty man half stript told him in *Spanish* it was he; and afterwards in *Portuguese*, which our captain understood better, gave an account how they had been taken: that sailing from *Malaga* laden with wine, and being out of the straits near cape S. Vincent, that *Turkish* ship, which carried no goods, but was well man'd with about two hundred and twenty five soldiers and sailors, had attack'd him, and being much the stronger made themselves masters of his vessel after some resistance. The captain bid them go dress themselves, and take possession of his ship again, making the *English* come out. They return'd him abundance of thanks, and beg'd of him to convoy them to *Cadiz*, since he was bound thither as well as they, which our captain granted them. The *English* divided themselves, some aboard our ship, and some aboard the *Turk*, put all things in order, and held on their course rejoicing that they had kill'd two birds with one stone, having taken the *Turk*, and delivered the *Spaniard*, among whom there were some *Neapolitans*, *Milanese* and *Flemings*.

As we proceeded on our voyage, making all the sail we could, the sky began to grow dark on a sudden; and fearing some storm was gathering, we lowered our sails, which indeed was done just in time, for but a moment after the wind blew so outrageously that there was no keeping the ship to her course, but she was left to the mercy of the wind. Then were there heard throughout the vessel such hollowing and calling as increased the terror of approaching death; yet the captain bid us fear nothing, for that the ship being new would certainly bring us off: however we did not cease to offer up our fervent prayers. The father seeing we were every moment in danger of perishing, told me we had done ill in going aboard those hereticks, who are always under excommunication; but I answered, Those who travel about the world must make a virtue of necessity. In the mean while the man at the topmast-head cried, land, land. The captain ran up, and perceived we were on the coast of *Barbary*, the storm having carried us a great way up the *Mediterranean*; for which reason before any *Turks* might discover us, he gave orders to steer towards *Oran*, a strong place belonging to the king of *Spain*. We got thither in less than an hour, the wind blowing so hard, and gave God thanks for delivering us from the *Turks*, the wind if we had not minded it carrying us directly to *Algier*.

Our

CARLI.

Arrives  
at Oran on  
the coast of  
Africa.

Our captain went ashore next morning with some of his officers and the *Spanish* captain; they went to the governor, and gave him an account of our fight, and he in the name of his Catholic majesty thanked the *English*. This fortress seems to be of great consequence, and in a manner impregnable: it is well provided with cannon, and very serviceable to Christians when they are drove by storms upon the coast of *Barbary*, there being no other place where Christians can put in. Next morning the wind being fair, we weighed anchor, and soon arrived at *Cadix*. I had thoughts of going ashore to our monastery, but the captain told me, that he having some business at *Sevil* had hired a bark to go thither, and that if I pleased he would carry me in it for God's sake, which made me not neglect so good an opportunity. I staid about a day till he had dispatched some business he had at *Cadix*, and then we set out, carrying thirty men with us to row in case the wind failed us. We touched at *S. Lucar*, staid there some hours, and having kept going all night, arrived at *Sevil*. I thanked him for so many favours I had received of him, declaring I was so much the more sensible of their greatness, because I could not have received more from a catholic. He made me such an answer, as implied that *Capuchins* were in good esteem among them.

Comes to  
Sevil.

I went to our monastery, which is great considering our poverty, and has a considerable number of religious men. There I continued eight days, as well to rest myself, as to see the town, which would not be unlike *Milan* were the streets handsome and wide: The dome is nothing inferior to that at *Milan*, only that it is not of marble, but of a stone somewhat like, yet softer and easier to work. It is the custom throughout all *Spain* to make their choir and high altar in the middle of the church, particularly in cathedrals, which is very inconvenient where there is a great resort of people, tho' otherwise they are great and stately structures. The steeple is so large and well built, that a man may go up to it a horseback, or in a litter: Going up to it, I was surpriz'd to see so many bells, for there are no less than three and thirty. Whilst we were there they came to ring them, and all being to ring but two or three that belong to the clock, we made haste down for fear of being stunn'd with the terrible noise of their clattering: As soon as we were in the street, they began to ring with such a noise, that it sounded as if all the bells in the town had been rung.

I went to see the king's garden, which is fine enough, and has abundance of water-

works, orange and lemon trees, yet there is nothing in it but what we have in *Italy* in greater plenty. I visited the convent of the *Racolats*, which is very large, but of an ancient structure: there are in it above one hundred and fifty religious men, besides those in the infirmary. The bell they ring to call to the refectory is twice as big as that which serves our church. The canons of this city are very rich, and always go in coaches drawn by four mules: They then expected monseigneur *Spinola* an *Italian*, who had the archbishoprick of that city conferred on him.

I set out from thence afoot for *Cordova*, passing through *Carmona*, and other small places, of which I will give no account for fear of tiring the reader; yet I cannot forget the wretched road, where there is neither house nor tree, nor so much as water to cool one's mouth to be found. This made me provide a bottle of wine, which I had through the assistance of a gentleman I met on the road, who bought it for me, there being no hopes of having it given me for God's sake by the inn-keeper. And were it not for people of quality that relieve us, it would be impossible for *Capuchins* to live upon charity according to their ways, the people being wholly strangers to giving of alms. Being in a town where we have no convent, I beg'd some bread for God's sake of a baker, which was so surprizing to him, that he stood in amaze like a man besides himself: I left him and his bread, for fear if I should beg any longer of him, he would be quite beside himself. I continued my journey, begging of God that he would soon let me get out of a country where there was so little charity.

Being come to *Cordova* I went to our monastery, where I was forced to be satisfied with the *Spanish* dish they call *olla podrida*, signifying a rotten pot; which name is not improper, for it is an extravagant medley of several things, as onions, garlick, pumpkin, cucumber, white beets, a bit of pork and two of mutton, which being boiled with the rest are almost lost. The fathers ask'd me whether I liked it: I told them it was very fit to kill me, being as I was almost sick, and so weak that I had need of some better restorative than that *podrida*, to which I was not us'd. They put so much *Saffron* into it, that had I not been yellow enough already with my distemper, that alone might have been enough to dye my skin of that colour. It is a great dainty for *Spaniards*, but a scurvy mess for those that are not us'd to it.

The cathedral on the outside look'd to me bigger than all the town, and I was not deceiv'd, for being in it, I was amaz'd

At Cor-  
dova.

Aust  
church.

to

Alcala.

Granada.

Lerenna.

Antequera.



to behold a church so large, that from one side of it a man can scarce see the wall on the other; and were it proportionable in height, it would be one of the wonders of the world: There are on the inside ten rows of pillars, and sixteen pillars in each row: The middle aisle is very spacious after the modern manner, and gilt about the high altar and choir. A canon told me there were in it three hundred and sixty six altars; on the chief of them is a very large tabernacle all of precious stones, which has a revenue of three thousand livres appropriated to it. In a large chapel there is a great silver ciborium that weighs ninety six ounces. I observed upon a pillar standing by it self, a man painted kneeling: They told me it was the picture of a Christian who had been many years a slave in that town when it was in the possession of the Moors, and had with his nails carved a cross upon that pillar: It was shewed me, and a man would have thought it had been done with a pen-knife. I believe he was very long about it, for the pillar is very fine marble. This city is seated in a great vale, a river running by the walls; formerly it ran through the midst of the city, which was then very large, but at present indifferent, and has in it nothing else remarkable that I know of.

Alcala. I set out for *Alcala la Real*, and met with some *Spaniards* who told me, that *Andalusia* was the garden of *Spain*: Whereupon I said to my self, God keep me from the rest of *Spain* if this be the garden, I had better return to sea. That town stands upon a hill, and I saw nothing remarkable in it. *Granada*, whither I went next, is a beautiful and very large city, but yet inferior to *Sevil*. Our fathers have two monastries there, one for a novitiate, the other to study: The palace of the *Moorish* kings, called the *Albambra* stands upon a hill; which though very high has plenty of water. There are such abundance of rooms in this palace, that a man may lose himself, as if he were in a labyrinth. There are two baths where the *Moors* us'd to wash themselves, one of hot water, the other of cold: The cielings of the rooms are very curious, being made of a colour'd plaister that still looks new. There is another hill on which the infidels did put holy martyrs to death, and where abundance of relics are kept.

Lerenna. From *Granada* I went to *Lerenna*, the wine of which place is look'd upon to be the best in *Spain*, but the people speak such ill *Spanish*, that they are hardly to be understood: They call them *Biscalins*. I held on my journey to *Antequera*, a town as big as a city. I rested there eight days in one of our monastries, and the guardian

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who did me a thousand good turns would have kept me there as long again. Thence I went to *Malaga*, which is an indifferent good sea-port town, very populous, and full of trade. The archbishop is a dominican, brother to *Don John of Austria*: I was told his revenue was worth eighty thousand ducats a year.

I lay there waiting some opportunity of shipping, and finding my self still very ill, my bleeding at the nose, ears and mouth not yet being over, I put myself into the hands of an *English* physician, who had so much success as to mend my condition, for I bled only at the nose: For eight days I was pretty well, and then relaps'd as bad as ever. After waiting some weeks, a very good opportunity offered: Six *Spanish* gallies returning from the straits of *Gibraltar*, came to an anchor in the port, to take in provisions, and go winter at *Cartagena*: I apply'd my self to the marquis of *Bayona* who commanded them, he was then called marquis of *Santa Cruz*, having resigned the title of *Bayona* to his son, who is now general of the gallies of *Sicily*. That noble lord understanding I was an *Italian*, did not only grant me my passage, but would have me aboard his galley; and though I could speak *Spanish*, would have me converse with him in my mother tongue, because he spoke *Italian* to perfection, having been formerly general of the gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The priest belonging to those gallies having been left sick at *Cartagena*, during our passage I had the post of chaplain, and confessor to his excellency.

Our voyage lasted fifteen days, and in that short time I found what it was to be at sea in gallies: I envy'd their happiness who were aboard great ships, which are more commodious and expeditious than gallies. The bad weather made us put back three times; a calm ensuing, we made way with our oars; discovering a sail by the moon-light, the oars were hard ply'd to fetch it up: when we were near, she set up *English* colours, yet we hemm'd her in, and gave her a gun. She answered, and the captain launching his boat, came aboard his excellency. That vessel appeared like a mountain to us that were aboard the gallies, the stern was all gilt; they were cruising upon the *Turks*, whom they mortally hate: and did all princes follow their example, I believe those wicked pirates would scarce shew their heads at sea.

We held on our course to *Almeria*, *Almeria*, where we continued two days laying in water and other fresh provisions: The town is neither large nor populous, but seems to have been considerable in the

7 L.

time

**CARLI.** time of the *Moors*, being encompass'd by mountains, and defended by a good fort: It is adorn'd with abundance of fountains of very pure water. As I was there quenching my thirst proceeding from the fever and effusion of blood, I heard the warning piece for sailing, and returned aboard the galleys. We set out about night-fall, being saluted by the fort, and in our way took three *Turkish* brigantines; the men were distributed among the galleys, and the vessels man'd with Christians and *Turkish* slaves. At last we arrived at *Carthage*,

*Carthage*.

where is an excellent port formed by nature, shut in with mountains and very safe, especially for galleys. The town seems to have been formerly considerable, but is at present the most wretched place in *Spain*; for after the inhabitants had stoned their bishop, they were seven years without rain, but it seems God took compassion on them after that, for now it rains twice or thrice a year: However the country is barren, and they carry basket thither out of *Italy* to maintain the people belonging to the galleys that winter there. Thence I

*Caravaca*.

went to *Caravaca*, where I saw the holy cross brought by an angel from heaven, and set on an altar where a priest was saying mass without a cross. I went on to *Valencia*, a very fine city, delightful for its gardens, the pleasantest of which is the archbishop's. Thence to *Murcia*, and *Alicant* a little town, but of good trade, the houses high and well built: Having staid there five days, I continu'd my journey through

*Murcia*.

*Alicant*.

*Tortosa*.

*Tarragona*.

*Monfer-*

*rate*.

*Tortosa* and *Tarragona*, where there is a beautiful dome, and then came to *Monfer-rate*: This place inspires respect, and draws tears from the eyes of those who go thither with a spirit of devotion. There are as many chapels as mysteries of the holy rosary. One would think all the way to it was hew'd out, it being all through a rock. There is a very great number of silver and gold lamps, and some of amber, the ornaments of the altars being answerable to that grandeur. There are continually pilgrims on the road going thither, or returning from thence.

From our lord of *Monfer-rate*, I went to

*Barcelona*,

*Barcelona*.

the capital city of *Catalonia*, and a bishoprick: I resided there six weeks, because of a pain I felt, which made me unfit even to ride a horseback. Three monasteries we have there, are out of the town: That of *S. Matrona* is upon the side of a hill under the fort, and in the church is the body of that saint. The second is that of *S. Eubalia*, where that saint's house stood, among the mountains two miles from the city, and that is the novitiate. The third is that of mount

*Calvary*, not that it is seated on a moun-

tain, but it is so call'd because of three crosses there are in it: To this it was I betook my self, because it is the greatest, and has an infirmary. Those *Catalonian* fathers receiv'd me with extraordinary civility, especially when they understood I came from so far a country. The city is large and beautiful, abounding in all things necessary for human life, and would be the most considerable place in those parts, had it a safe harbour for great ships. I took notice of the musick they use upon rejoicings, for instead of violins at weddings they have fifes and trumpets, which make the church shake.

During my stay at *Barcelona* there came thither one of our lay-brothers, whose name was *Peter de Sessari*, from *Argier*, where he had been ransom'd among other slaves by the catholic king: He had been taken six months before with *F. Luis* of *Palermo* in their way from *Clagari* to *Sassari*. Those two *Capuchins* being carried to *Argier*, *F. Luis* found no difficulty to get his living by preaching, masses, and hearing confessions, and could besides pay his master to whose share he fell, so much a month as they agreed upon; for which reason he was not put to the oar, but was allow'd to go about the town freely: So when they were about ransoming of him, his master set him at three thousand ducats, whereas the brother was sold for three hundred, being only fit for the oar; and it being easier to raise that sum, he was first ransom'd. I propos'd to him to go into *Italy*, and his head was so possess'd with his late misfortune, that he gave me to understand that his only design was to return home as soon as he could. We resolv'd therefore to lay hold of the opportunity of a bark bound for *Sardinia*, the captain whereof, *D. Car-*

*los de Pifa*, a very devout *Catalonian*, receiv'd us very courteously: we were two hundred and fifty souls aboard that bark, which set sail with a fair gale. The wind being very brisk, we had made much way, and were entering the gulph of *Lions*, when the weather becoming boisterous, it grew to one of the most terrible storms imaginable, the waves tossing our bark like a nut-shell, and mountains of water covering of it every foot. The disorder, confusion, and especially the cries of the women terrified those that were most inured to such tempests. The worst of it was, that the seamen could not hear one another with the noise of the sea and of the passengers, which oblig'd the captain to draw his sword to drive all those under deck who could not help, but only serv'd to hinder the sailors: All upon the deck and in the cabin were wet; the vessel seem'd to be ready to overset with the beating of the sea, which drove

all the people to that side which inclined, when a wave struck against it with such violence that it broke the lashings of one of the guns. The cannon being loose ran down to the lower side with such fury, and gave such a shock, that it was a wonder the bark was not staved: The noise it made increased the terror, which the darkness of the night spread. The sailors wet and spent, resolv'd to let the bark run before the wind, provided she did not run aground. I thought with my self, how comes it about that I who have twice crossed the ocean, should come now to be drowned in a puddle of water; for to say the truth, I never thought my self so near being cast away as that time, seeing one of the masts spent, the sails half rent, the bark battered, and the seamen all cast down. This storm lasted all night, so that we knew not whither we were going. About day-break the sea seem'd to grow somewhat stiller, and the sky clearing by the rising of the sun, we discovered mountains, which were not above a league from us, and found we were on the coast of Spain near cape Gata. So that perceiving I was drove back, and had in six hours space lost near as much ground as I made in six months, I resolv'd to go no more to sea. However we soon took heart, for whilst we were making to shore, there started up such a fresh gale from the north, that the pilot thought it would not be amiss in some measure to regain the time and ground we had lost. We bent our course for Catalonia, and in a few hours arrived at *Matalana*, our pilot's native country.

Being come to an anchor, I landed with my companion whom I had not seen during the storm, and went to rest us at our convent, which stands on a hill without the town. I designed to have staid there some time, but understanding the pilot would sail up to *Ablana*, which is a better harbour, I suffered myself to be tempted to make use of that conveniency, being willing to put to sea again, as soon as I was ashore, because of the distemper I still laboured under. In a few hours we got to *Ablana*, and went to our monastery seated on a rock in a peninsula joined to the town by a small neck of land; so that the sea serves for an inclosure to the monastery and garden, which I thought the finest situation of any convent of our order, the air being very temperate. I acquainted my companion that I intended to stay there some time, in order to return home through France, a more worthy object for my curiosity than *Sardinia*. The crew of our vessel, and particularly the officers, who were all *Italians*, hearing of it, came to

confession to me, expressing how much they were concerned that I should leave them. They sailing again for *Sardinia*, I rested eight days in that delicious place, and then set out with two companions for *Girona*; so that I saw almost all *Catalonia*, which is a very fruitful country, and the people extraordinary well tempered. From *Girona* I went to *Higuera* on the borders of Spain; whence crossing some mountains, I entered upon the earldom of *Roussillon*, and the first town of it called *Cerat*.

From *Cerat* I went to *Touy* in the vale of *Perpignan*, and I remember I there pass'd over a river upon a bridge, that has but one arch, the feet whereof rest upon two hills, so that the middle of it is a prodigious height, and frightful to look down. They say there is not so high an arch in all France, and for my part I must own I have not seen any like it in all those parts of the world where I have been. I saw all the country about full of soldiers; and asking what might be the reason, was told, That country had once belonged to the crown of Spain; but being since under the dominion of France, and the price of salt being raised, the people had revolted; for which reason troops had been sent thither from *Languedoc* to quell them.

*Perpignan*, which I saw next, is a fort royal seated on a high rock, encompass'd by three lofty walls with good ditches, and well stored with cannon. To appearance it looks impregnable, yet the most Christian king took it after a siege of eight months; which was the easier for him to do, because there is a very populous town adjoining to the fort; for had it been a fort alone without a town, eight months had not been enough to starve the place, where they might have laid up three years provision. Our monastery there is without the town.

Having pass'd the mountains, I came to *Narbonne*, through the midst of which there runs a river that falls into the sea a league off. The city is not large, but very populous, as are all the cities and towns in France. The churches are not beautiful, but there is such a resort of people to them, especially upon holidays, that there is scarce room for the priest to turn himself at the altar. The priests of the church of *S. Justus* are habited like monks. The two steeples have a notable echo, which is pleasant to hear.

Next I saw the towns of *Languedoc* and *Provence* that lay in my road, whereof I shall say but little. *Beziers* stands on a hill in a delightful country, and well water'd, I went to the cathedral to see the archbishop *Monseigneur de Bonzy* a *Florentine*, but he was then absent. He has been

since

CARLI. since made archbishop of *Tolouse*, and his most Christian majesty's ambassador at *Madrid*. Yet the king allows him the revenue of his bishoprick, till it is bestowed on another. In this church I took notice of a very large organ over the great gate, where there are only those pipes that appear outward in sight, the others being distributed by three and three among the pillars, which makes the church shake when they play, tho' it is extraordinary great, which is a notable piece of curiosity.

*Tolouse*. *Tolouse* is a city worth seeing, for the great number of relics kept there, as also for its greatness, and the number of its inhabitants; which made me take care not to go by the churches when mass or vespers were ending, the throng being so great that it would have forced me back.

*Agde*. *Agde*, an antient town, where was held the council called *Agatenfe*. In our monastery, which is on the strand, there is a miraculous image of our *Lady*; for the sea having three times swelled up to the town, has never incroached since the image was placed there, but rather gone back, for which reason it is called *Nostre Dame de Güt*.

*Arles*. *Arles*, an archbishoprick, and populous enough.

*Martegues*. *Martegues*, a place curious to behold, for it is divided into four hamlets built upon the sea, with bridges from one to the other. We have two monastries, one at each end of the town; in one of which there are fourteen religious men, and twelve in the other; and there being none of any other order, they hear confessions there, as they do in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and some parts of *Italy*. The only support of this town almost, is fishing, there being eight hundred tartans for this purpose, besides a vast number of little boats that cover a great part of the sea.

*Aix*. Thence I went to *Aix* the capital city of *Provence*, and to *Marseilles*, a considerable town, and of great trade, yet not so large as I had fancied it. The harbour is very handsome and safe, more especially for barks and galleys, because great ships cannot go in loaden. There I saw twenty five galleys laid up close by one another, and in the midst of them the royal galley, which all vessels that come into that port salute with a gun. Her stern is finely carved, and gilt. True it is, she is not so big as the royal galley of *Spain* I saw at *Cartagena*, which carried the empress: This town has three forts, of which the new one at the mouth of the harbour has three walls, and four on one side. His most Christian majesty has caus'd the wall that had enclosed the side next to the hill to be thrown down to en-

large its compass, which has brought our monastery into the town, and will make it much more considerable, being fill'd with a vast multitude of people of all nations: Several bodies of saints, and abundance of relics are to be seen there, particularly *S. Andrew's* cross. I went to see the churches of *S. Maximin* and *S. Beannes*; they are places that inspire devotion, and draw tears from the hardest hearts.

I took ship for *Clofat* and *Toulon*. This *Toulon* is an indifferent town, but the port very considerable, and capable of receiving any number of the biggest vessels: I saw the royal *Luis*, which must be finished by this time, and carries a hundred and twenty guns; it has three galleries, and the stern all gilt, as are the sides, head, and cabins. The glider that was about it told me they had already laid out three thousand crowns in leaf-gold. I took the opportunity of a vessel bound for *Savona*: The first day we sail'd right afore the wind, and at night put into *S. Trompes*; but the next day the bad weather forced us into a place where there were but two houses, at a great distance from the city *Grasse*, which stands on a hill encompass'd by other hills, so that we could scarce see it at sea, and therefore we must either go thither, or starve. Finding myself somewhat hot of that which the physicians at *Marseilles* called a *Hettick Fever*, making me unfit to travel, I lay down to sleep under a tree, but hunger would not suffer me to close my eyes. Being thus weary of my self, and not able to go to *Grasse* as the others did, I knew not what course to take, when God, who has always reliev'd me in distress, as I have often found by experience in my travels, ordained that I should meet a person that to me seem'd of some note, and said to me, father, what do you here all alone? My distemper, said I, which you may discern by my looks, has made me stay here; but at present hunger torments me more than my fever. He answer'd, I am come in that cover'd felucca you see near that rock, and it is mine; I have caught some pilchers, if you please we will sup together. The offer was very pleasing to me, as any man may imagine, and so I follow'd him very readily. We went into the felucca, where two seamen had made all ready. How shall we do, said he, for we have no bread but bisket? Any thing is good in a time of need, said I, and I have been often without either bread or bisket. That good man talk'd to me in *Portuguese*, which I admir'd, being so far from that country, and therefore I ask'd him whether he was a *Portuguese*. He told me he was not, but that he had been there sometimes.

*Grasse*.

*A strange story.*

We began to eat and drink, without regarding that the sun shined violent hot in our faces, hunger making me lay about me, and giving an excellent relish to any sort of meat. Having eaten, and given thanks to Almighty God, we walk'd along the shore discoursing together: I step'd forwards alone to see a dolphin that made a noise in the water, as if he had been fighting with another fish, and was busy throwing some stones at him. When I had done, I look'd about and found that good man did not follow me, which made me turn back for fear he should be gone before I could return him thanks; but I fought him in vain, nor could I discover the felucca. I went back to the place where it lay, and saw nothing, which put me almost beside my self. And indeed when I reflect upon it, I cannot tell what to think. One thing I know, which is, that having carefully examin'd those that were left aboard our brigantine, whether they had seen that felucca that came to the shore with three men in it; they answer'd, they had seen no creature, tho' they had been all the while ashore fishing in that little creek. I held my peace, and in my heart thank'd God, the source of all that is good, for that he had been pleas'd, without any desert of mine, to relieve me in that distress, into which I was fallen for his sake. Whether it was by the hands of a man, or of an angel, I could not tell, but I felt an unspeakable comfort; and such it was, that had my health permitted, I should have certainly returned to Congo, since I could still make use of my missionary's patent which was not yet expired.

Next day we went aboard, and sailing before the wind, arriv'd near to Nice; but the port not being safe, went on to *Villafrauca*, where I went to our monastery, which looks like a paradise amidst so many high mountains, and so many uncouth rocks. Three days after I set out aboard a *Genoise* galley, which carried me safe to *Monaco*: This is a place of considerable strength, very pleasant and delightful. Thence I took the opportunity of a brigantine bound for *Savona*; but we had like to have perish'd in a storm, and were forced back. I would not trust the sea again, after finding it so mercurial and uncertain, for fear, lest after so many dangers as I had gone through, I should at last be shipwreck'd in the very harbour. I thought the land would me more favourable to me, and making short journeys, took my way through *Menton S. Remy*, which is as it were the paradise of *Italy*, *Savona*, *Sestri di Ponente*, and *Genoa*. In the monastery call'd the *Conception*, which

is without that city, I expected my superior's orders having sent them an account of my return. A violent fever which held me forty days, had like to have done the work, a hectic fever could not perform in three years. It was a comfort for me to be among my acquaintance, who did me abundance of favours.

During that time brother *Michael de Orvietto* came to *Genoa* from *Congo*, being sent to *Rome* by the superior, to represent to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, to what a low condition that mission was reduced, most of the missionaries dying in a short time, and only three remaining in the whole kingdom. He brought us news of the death of *D. Alvaro* king of *Congo*, and the election of another as devout as he. Besides, he told us that the *Blacks* had eaten *F. Philip de Galefia*, a missionary of the province of *Rome*, which happen'd in this manner: The great men having obtain'd leave of the king to burn such forcerers as they could find, went to a place where they knew they were got together, and set fire to their cottages. As soon as the flame began to rise, and meeting with *F. Philip* in their way, fell upon, kill'd, and eat him; which the *Blacks* who pursued them saw by the light of the flames, and carried the news to *S. Salvador*. This happen'd in the province of *Sonda*, where a duke who is the king's subject resides.

Contrary to all expectation I recovered, and passing through *Piacenza*, came to *Bologna*, where, God be praised, I am at this time with some relics of my distemper, left me by the great fatigues of my travels, thinking my time well enough spent, if but one of two thousand seven hundred children and youths I baptized, obtains salvation through my ministry. *F. Michael Angelo*, before he departed this life, told me he had baptized three hundred and sixteen; and it is no wonder we should baptize so many in so short a time, the people being innumerable. A *Black* told me, that a *Macolonte* had got fifty two children upon several women. God of his mercy preserve those that for the future shall be appointed for this mission, for fear if they fail, all those people should turn *Pagans*. Be it all to the glory of God, whose judgments are incomprehensible, and the means he uses for our salvation various and wonderful in all respects. I desire the readers to pray for those poor converted *Ethiopians*, that they may persevere in the faith of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and that we may all together attain to our desired port of the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

CARLI.

A Capu-  
chin eaten  
by the  
Blacks.



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V O Y A G E  
T O  
C O N G O,  
AND SEVERAL OTHER  
C O U N T R I E S  
CHIEFLY IN  
*SOUTHERN-AFRICK.*

By Father *Jerom Merolla da Sorrento*, a *Capuchin* and  
Apostolick Missioner, in the Year 1682.

*Made English from the Italian.*

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## *The Author's Preface.*

**T**HE author of our salvation *Christ Jesus*, the only begotten Son of God, descending from the bosom of his Father to visit our tottering mansions here on earth, never had greater desires than to teach us by his word and works the secure and infallible way to heaven, and thereby to deliver us from the horrid and deplorable slavery designed us by the devil and his ministers; and wherein we were all miserably involved by the sin of our first parents. Hence it is, that after his most glorious ascension he commanded his disciples to go preaching his most holy word thro' all the habitable parts of the earth; and that in defence thereof, if necessity so require, they should be ready to shed their dearest blood, which all the apostles and martyrs have accordingly done in obedience to his most holy commands, and for the good and propagation of the only true catholick church. Now, because the preaching of this word of God to a people that were wholly ignorant thereof before, was one of the greatest of spiritual undertakings, father *Francis da Montelione*, a *Capuchin* frier and native of the province of *Sardinia*, determined to go to *Congo*, and other neighbouring kingdoms, to expose his life for that purpose; and the rather by reason that those people, especially the *Giagbi*, were so far from paying any adoration to the true God, that they sacrificed directly to the devil; and what is yet worse, their oblations were not sheep and oxen, but men and women. Being thus earnestly resolved, this frier, enflamed solely by fervent charity, requested of the sacred college *de propaganda fide*, permission for himself and his companions to effect what he had thus proposed; and to the end he might not be thought to have any regard to self-interest, he profered to go *gratis*, thereby depriving himself of what had always been accustomed to be given by that college to *missioners*, and trusting entirely to Divine Providence for support. Having obtained leave for himself, he further begged of the said college that I might go as his companion, which being likewise granted, I accepted the honour and great favour done me, tho' I was but little capable of so difficult an undertaking, either in respect of my health or ability. What follows is the product of some few years observations in those parts, which, tho' short and imperfect, yet I assure my readers is wholly true, and that especially which I have affirmed myself to have been an eye-witness of.

*Authori pro Argumento Operis.*

*QUISQUIS amat Congi fines peragrarè nigrantes,  
 Africæ & Æthiopum cernere regna, domus;  
 Æthram flammantem, multiplex clima locorum,  
 Diversum tegmen corporis, atque togas;  
 Quadrupedum variam sobolem, variumque ferarum  
 Ortum, serpentum lethiferumque genus;  
 Nubiugas acium turbas, volucresque loquaces,  
 Fluminis, & ponti squamigerumque pecus;  
 Obliquos amnes, jucundo murmure rivos  
 Currentes, vastos æquoreosque sinus;  
 Arboreos fœtus, ridentes gramine ripas,  
 Plantarum sylvas, fructif. umque nemus;  
 Multiplices fructus, epulas, escasque, cibosque,  
 Quas humus Europæ fundere nostra nequit;  
 Affectus, mores, naturas, prælia, ritus,  
 Facta, gubernaculum, jus muliebre simul;  
 Eventus, casus, præstantia mira stuporem,  
 Auribus ac menti, luminibusque suis.  
 Perlegat hunc librum, quæ dixi namque videbit,  
 Ut propriâ spectans luce MEROLLA refert.*

*Fr. Angelus de Neap. Piccardus.*

*A Voyage*

The au-  
 thor sets  
 out, 1682.

A great  
 Previ-  
 dent.

Stay at  
 Corica.



# A Voyage to CONGO, &c.

## PART I.

The au-  
thor sets  
out, 1682.

ON the fifth of May, in the year of our Lord 1682. and under the pontificat of his holiness pope Innocent XI. we set sail from Naples in a felucca for Corsica and Sardinia, and arrived at Bastia the capital city of the former, on *Whitsunday*; where meeting with a *Genoese* ship ready to go for the salt-pits, the wind being favourable, we immediately went on board her, and soon came up with a large *Genoese* sloop with only three men on board. We hailed her, and begged of the master to transport us missionaries to the bay of *Algberi* in *Sardinia*, whither we were bound in quest of some of our companions. Our request being readily granted, we exchanged our vessel, and coasted along the island, often endeavouring to enter the bay; but the wind proving contrary, were as often forced back to sea. We had recourse to our prayers, because in great distress for want of provisions: however the Divine Providence, that orders all things for the best, saw it not convenient that we should be so heard as to land where we desired; and therefore instead of suffering us to proceed on our voyage, we were driven back to a small port near the point. Here my companion being well acquainted with the country, would needs go ashore and climb a small mountain, intending to beg a lamb for charity of any shepherd he could meet: as soon as he had reached the top, he began to call out to us below with great earnestness, requiring us speedily to come up to him; where when we came, we plainly perceived that had we turned the point, we had infallibly fallen into the clutches of a *Turkish* corsair that lay there upon the catch. To be the better convinced of this, we took our glasses, and found what he shewed us to be real; besides that, some coral barks he had chafed assured us of the truth of it. Then began our master to lift up his hands to heaven, and to offer up acknowledgments with a flood of tears to *St. Francis* for having delivered both him and his companions from so imminent a danger on our account.

Stay at  
Corsica.

The night following the pirate being wholly out of sight, and we probably out

of danger, we went again on board our *Merolla* sloop to prosecute our interrupted voyage. In few hours after arriving at *Algberi*, we saw near an hundred *Genoese* barks fishing for coral, which it seems greatly abounds in those seas; as also for tunny-fish, and several other sorts, whereof there is great plenty. At our landing in the bay, we immediately dispatched a messenger to the father guardian of our monastery, to acquaint him that we were come ashore, and to desire of him to send us a horse to carry our baggage to the convent. Instead of a horse he sent an ox, that being the beast of burden commonly made use of in this country. This seemed very strange to me, especially when I understood that he was likewise a pad upon occasion, and all this by reason of the extreme smallness of their horses. Which I was the more easily induced to believe, when some *Portuguese* gentlemen told me, that the same was done in the island of *Cabo Verde*, subject to them, where there was a breed between oxen and she-asses, which they compassed by binding a fresh cow's hide upon the she-ass, and this to the end that the cattle bred of them might be expeditious. The consideration whereof I refer to philosophers.

In this city I staid about a month waiting for my companion, who was gone about the island in search of the other missionaries, who were to go with us to the kingdom of *Congo*. During my stay, the bishop of the diocese made a solemn entry into the city, and shewed himself to be much devoted, and well affected to our order; for the next day after his arrival at his palace, he came to our convent to visit us. Moreover on the feast of *St. John Baptist*, the patron of our church, he assisted with us at mass. Likewise as a farther instance of his favour, having been informed by some of our brothers, that I was going on a mission to the *Southern Africa*, without any extraordinary provision of necessities: he gave me a letter of recommendation to several of his friends in *Spain* to supply me with what I wanted. Which kindness of his, as it happened, was of no use to us, because we touched at no port in *Spain*.

My

Civility of  
a bishop.

us.

page

MR. ROLLA  
Departure

My companion returning, brought along with him only one frier, named father Francis da Bitti a preacher, the rest having been detained by some business. All things being now dispatched here, and finding a ship of *Provence* ready in the harbour, we immediately embarked and sailed towards that country. The captain being nephew and brother to two of our order, used us very courteously, not only while we were on board him, but after our landing, inviting us to his house, where we staid for some time. And to complete his civility towards us, understanding that the king of *Portugal's* fleet waited at *Villafranca* to carry his royal highness the duke of *Savoy* to *Portugal* (whither he was going to solemnize his nuptials with the *infanta* of that kingdom) he would needs take a felucca at his own charge to conduct us to that port, where we soon after arrived, and were received with great joy and civilities by the *Portuguese* commanders, telling us, that if we could not find conveniences elsewhere in their ships, we might oblige them in accepting of their own cabbins.

Land at  
Villafra-  
ca.

Our superior father *John da Romano* coming from *Genoa*, with father *Amedeo da Vienna*, and a secular priest of *Piedmont*, we all six went ashore to a convent of our order, where we remained three months, and had every week a charitable subsistence of two weathers, a small cask of wine, and sufficient bread sent us by those gentlemen, besides other presents made to the monastery on our account.

The delay the fleet made to set sail lasted in all six months, and which was occasioned by the duke of *Savoy's* falling sick, and growing worse every time he resolved upon his departure; which politicians tell us happened through the Providence of God, and for the benefit of *Italy*.

Voyage  
continued.

Not before the 4<sup>th</sup> of *October*, being the feast of our glorious patron *St. Francis*, did the fleet put to sea, the wind north. For our better accommodation our superior had ordered our company to go but two in a ship. Himself and his *Piedmontese* companion went on board the admiral, the count of *St. Vincent* commander. I and father *Amedeo* were in the ship called the *Fiscal*, commanded by signior *Gonsalo de Casta*, and the other two in *Don Lewis Lobo's* ship, named the *St. Benedict*. This last person had been vice-roy of the kingdom of *Angola* in *Ethiopia*. His singular piety and kindness to us was so remarkable, that I cannot omit giving one particular instance of it. The first of *November* being come, when we were to bid a farewell to flesh, and the land of *Portugal* being in view, but which we could not reach that day, he sent a boat ashore on purpose to fetch us refreshment,

to the end we might pass the last day of our carnival with the greater satisfaction.

On the second of *November*, being *All-Saints* day, we entered the port of *Lisbon* at *Lisbon*. about sun-set. The waters here are a proportionable mixture of salt and sweet; the latter being plentifully poured out by the river *Tagus*, so famous for its golden sands, and not unlike the *Lydian Pactolus*, according to *Juvenal* and others.

*Quod Tagus, & rutila Pactolus voluit arenâ. Juvenal.*

*Hic certant Pactole tibi Duriusque Tagulque. Sil. Ital.*

*Quod suo Tagus amne vebit, fluit ignibus aurum. Ovid.*

Here we were obliged to make use of a Landing-pilot (this port being near as dangerous as the *Fare of Messina*) and that by the king's orders, to prevent any more wrecks, too many having happened here already. This kindness is used towards friends, but as for enemies they are left to the mercy of many sharp rocks, and of several well fortified castles and forts.

Our vessel coming to an anchor, we entered our boats and landed, not at the usual place *Belem*, or *Bethlelem*, by reason of the too swift eddy that ran there, but at the palace royal between the hours of one and two at night. Not knowing the way to our monastery, we endeavoured to get a guide, but there was none to be had, tho' a religious man that came with us, and was well provided, offer'd a considerable reward to any that would shew us the way. At last a *Negro* native of *Congo* conducted us gratis, protesting the many favours and civilities his countrymen had received from the religious men of our nation moved him to it. As soon as we came to the monastery, after ringing the bell our guide was ready to be gone: we entreated him to accept of some reward, or at least of a glass or two of wine for a refreshment; but tho' the people of that nation are immoderate lovers thereof, yet could he not be prevailed upon to accept of a drop, which made me have a more than ordinary affection for the people of *Congo*.

Whilst I was at *Lisbon* I visited the house where *St. Anthony of Padua* was born: it is now converted into a church, and though rich in respect of its ornaments, is good in regard of its structure, being both low, and built in the angle of a street. I visited likewise the parochial church and font of baptism of the saint: the church is now called *St. Engraca*, which after it had been many years building with a vast expence, fell down, and was at this time erecting again. I likewise paid my devotion

Short description  
of the city.

tion to the convent of the *Canons Regulars*, amongst whom *St. Anthony* lived for some time, and whose statue in the habit of this order, is placed over their high altar. Their church is also the chapel royal, and the burying-place of the kings, and of several heroes of *Portugal*.

*Trade.* I shall not busy myself in any farther description of this famous city of *Lisbon*, its worth being already sufficiently known, and its situation admired. I shall only add, that its port is so large that it runs out thirty miles in length, though the bay before the city is but six miles over, and that its custom-house is considerably employed with entries of pearl, incense, and ebony, from *Arabia*, of rubies and emeralds from *Bengala*, of cassia and amber-grease from *Ethiopia*, of cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs from the *Moluccas*, of slaves, ivory and civet from *Congo* and *Angola*, of great varieties of silk and linen from *India*, of sugars, tobacco, and several sorts of wood from *Brasil*, and of divers commodities from other places, which I have neither room nor leisure to enumerate here.

*Unsuccessful.* Not having spent above a month in this city, I looked out every day for a ship to proceed onward on my voyage: for this purpose, I addrest myself to a captain of a ship, and desired of him to let me go as his chaplain to *Brasil*: he told me he could not accept of me as a chaplain, having one aboard him already, but go with him I might if I pleased as a passenger. I thanked him kindly for his proffer, but withal acquainted him, that my *superior* had commanded me to go in no other capacity; and so I took my leave of him.

*Accept a proffer.* It happened a little after that another ship bound for *Brasil*, having paid off her chaplain and left him ashore, set sail with all imaginable expedition; but she had not been many days at sea before she was tossed with so violent a tempest, and threatened so many ways with destruction, that she was glad of a turn of wind to drive her back again to *Lisbon*: the captain vowing never to sail again without his spiritual guide at whatever rate. Upon his landing therefore, being acquainted that some of us had a mind to go for *Brasil*, he courteously received and promised me all the accommodation his vessel could afford, my companions being already provided. This coming to the first captain's ear whom I before had applied myself to, he began, with what reason I know not, to be in a great passion, affirming that I ought not to have promised another, since he had first proffered to carry me. The cause of this stickling about us I guessed to be by reason that we were to do our office at easier rates, for *Capuchins* are to have only their

Vol. I.

table free: when by the laws of *Portugal*, a priest or other religious person is to have not only his diet, but likewise a stipend of so much a month, and when he comes to land must have moreover a house hired for him, and three *carlino's* a day allowed him. This put the captain into such a passion, that he threatened to challenge him that had taken me aboard, and would have done it had not all the rest blamed and condemned his proceeding.

The first of *December* we went on board, but for want of a wind could not sail till the eighth, being the feast of the *immaculate conception*: we were in all five ships, in two of which went our other two companions, father *Amedeo da Vienna*, and father *Francis da Bitti*. Having left *Lisbon*, I wasted a farewell sigh towards the beautiful and happy *Europe*, and immediately after we fell into the gulph of *Mares*, so called from the furious agitation of its waves. We had now over against us the island of *Madera*, which before its being inhabited was all over woody, and thence had its name *Madera*, in *Spanish* signifying wood, but after being discovered it was by fire rendered exceeding fertile. Its present inhabitants have a more than ordinary desire to a convent of our order among them; but for want of religious men those pious inclinations have been laid aside. I am very sure that a gentleman from that island came once to *Lisbon* on purpose to solicit that affair with the king of *Portugal*, at the request of the devout inhabitants.

From *Madera* to the island of *Palma* are three score and ten leagues: this *Palma* is one of the *Canaries*, and whither we must go from *Madera* with a strong convoy to prevent pirates: from thence we may sail forward unguarded without any fear of danger. Those that are bound for *Brasil* steer towards the height of *Cape Verd*, situate in fourteen degrees of north latitude, and distant from *Palma* about two hundred and sixteen leagues. Sailing near three hundred leagues more, you come into the torrid zone, and have the sun perpendicularly over your head. Hence the latitude of either *pole* is reckoned by degrees, each of which is generally computed at sixty leagues; but because the degrees may differ in many respects, I shall leave their number of leagues undetermined.

Our voyage now was so prosperous, that every short space of time we found ourselves considerably advanced: but notwithstanding the many brisk gales of wind we had, the heat, by reason of the propinquity of the sun, was still prevalent; and though we were in the midst of winter, made us considerably sweat and languish. At length by the grace of God we passed

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*MEROLLA* the *equinoctial*, when it has often happened that others have been kept under it for some time with no small prejudice to their health, and frequent danger of their lives.

*Ceremony among mariners.* I think I shall not much interrupt the thread of my relation, if I mention here a certain ceremony used by the mariners the day they cut the *line*. A sort of court is erected among them, and by consent of the commanders: then two judges dressed accordingly sit at a table, where they take full cognizance of all such as have not yet past the *line*; those they find, they upbraid with having lived so many years, and not having yet cut the *line*; and then, as if it were a great crime, they mulct them according to their quality: such as are not ready to pay their fines, or at least willing to offer something, are seized in a trice, and by a rope about their middles hauled up to the main-yard-arm, whence they are let thrice successively into the sea. From this punishment or a fine none are exempt, and 'tis said that with the latter they maintain a church.

*Devotion.* Whilst the winds gently played their parts, we now began to devote ourselves to spiritual exercises, continually celebrating mass; morning and night we sung the *Rosary*, and in the evening the *Litany*. On holidays we had always a sermon preached by one or other of us. Our ship was dedicated to our Saviour, the blessed Virgin, and St. Joseph, which made us to celebrate the Holy Nativity with more than ordinary solemnity. Those merchants that were on board us not only adorned the altar with the richest things they had, but likewise hung the outsidings of our ship with several carpets and rich clothes, the air being at that time serene, and the sea calm. Having just then finished my *lent*, and it happening to be a Friday, when we were obliged to fast by the rules of our order, Providence so ordered it, that that very night a flying fish of a considerable bigness darted against our sails, and dropt down into our ship: this fish with a great deal of pleasure our captain presented me, and which was received with no small thanks by me; for God knows how much I had suffered during that whole course of my abstinence, flesh being the only provision of our ship, and my constant diet boiled lentiles, biscuit, and stinking water. The difficulty of getting fish I believe was partly contrived by the seamen on purpose to make me break my *lent*, they having often told me, that in such long voyages as this, there was no obligation to abstain from flesh; but I thank God, notwithstanding their opinion, I still persevered in my duty.

*A wonderful Cur.* On twelfth-day about two in the morning, we discovered a star so large and

luminous, as is almost incredible to believe: the captain declared he had never seen the like, though he had sailed those seas forty times. This, said others, may probably be that guide which on this day conducted the *magi* to *Beblehem*. But for my part, I am of opinion it was no other than the planet *Jupiter*.

*Fishing.* During all this time we had but only one calm half day, and that the captain proposed to spend in fishing. Here it is most wonderful, that having cast the lead in that vast ocean, and ten degrees from the line, we found but ninety foot water. Among other fish we took one called the *dorado* or *gilt-fish*, and truly not without reason, having perfect rays of gold on his back, and being moreover excellent meat. This seems to me to be the fish *Martial* speaks of in his thirteenth book, where he says,

*Non omnis pretium laudemque aurata meretur.*

The prey this fish most delights in is the flying fish, with which these seas greatly abound, and which is like to our sea-swallows, and unlike them only in that it has a blue back: the flying fish has this particular unhappiness, that it is neither safe in the air nor in the sea, being persecuted by the birds in the former, and by the golden fish in the latter.

*Arrival in America.* On the seventeenth of January we arrived at *Baia*, or the city of *San Salvador* in *Brazil*. It situate in thirteen degrees of south latitude. The port of this city is not a little remarkable, whether it be for its capaciousness, or its security for shipping, the latter being occasioned by two mountains on either side the entrance of it, as likewise by its distance from the sea.

*Landing in Brazil.* At our landing we met a widow carried in a net with a pole through it on the shoulders of two black slaves, with mourning clothes wrapped about them, and the net covered with a quilt, at the four corners whereof marched four women slaves. This at first sight being a thing new to me, I took to be a corps going to be buried, and upon enquiry found it to be a Portuguese widow. I thereupon demanded, *Why being a Christian she had not a cross carried before her*; and immediately out of pure charity and devotion fell to saying the *de profundis* for her soul. This occasioned an immoderate laughter in the standers-by, who began to gather about me, whilst I hanging down my head, and perceiving my mistake of a living woman for a dead, was glad to steal off as fast as I could.

The ordinary sort of these nets I spoke of have only one pillow or cushion in them whereon either to lie or sit: those for the women have a carpet under to sit on, and another

*Description of the chief town.*

*Traffic.*

*Sugar-work.*

*Fish dear in these parts.*

*Water jars.*

another over; and the women slaves, whom they call *Mocommas*, being the same that wait on them in their chambers, walk by their sides. The richer sort of people have these coverings like to the tops of coaches, with curtains on each side, but then the nets change their names to *palangas*, and are much in use, not only in *Brazil*, but likewise all over *Ethiopia*.

Description of the chief town.

This city of *Baia* or *San Salvador* is the metropolis of all *Brazil*, and has both a governor equal in power to a viceroy, and an archbishop. The shores of this kingdom are chiefly inhabited by *Portuguese*, beginning at the river *della Plata*, and extending to that of the *Amazons*, as likewise up as far as possible into the country. Beyond the natives have their residence. The principal traffick here is for tobacco and sugars, of which every year great quantities are fetch'd away by the *Portuguese* ships, and that not only from this city, but likewise down the rivers of *San Francisco* and *Janciro*.

Traffic.

Sugar-works.

To uphold the sugar-works a vast number of slaves is required as well to plant and cultivate the canes, as to provide sufficient fuel for the prodigious furnaces that are employed both night and day: Some there are who have no less than five hundred slaves for this purpose, and whose labour is so hard, and their sustenance so small, that they are reckoned to live long if they hold out seven years.

So great is the application of the *Brazilians* to this traffick of tobacco and sugars, that few or none take care to till the ground, or sow corn. Hence it is that all manner of provisions are excessive dear in these parts. Their bread is generally made of the root of the herb *mandioca*: The way they have to propagate it is by tearing off a branch of it, and burying it in the earth, when in a short time it will cast forth a root, and shoot up a stalk and leaves like to our *lupins*. At certain seasons of the year they press the juice out of the stalks and leaves by a sort of hand-mill, and that serves them either for drink or broth. The same custom is used likewise in the kingdom of *Angola*, and other places.

Fish dear in these parts.

Fish is extreme dear in this country, there being but very few that apply themselves to catch it. Flesh likewise is at a great rate, and that by reason of the great distance of pastures, insomuch that cattle often either die by the way in bringing, or else are harassed to skin and bone by their journey. Water also, that necessary element, is scarce, and what they have is for the most part brackish; so that a traveller in these parts must of necessity provide himself as well with this as with victuals.

Water scarce.

Fruit they have here of many excellent kinds, and which, tho' different from ours of *Europe*, yet is no less palatable and nourishing. Amongst others, there is a sort of palm called *coco*; whose nuts shoot out with a stalk in a cluster to the number of twenty, more or less, at the bottom of a thick croud of long sharp and bending leaves, not unlike scythes: each of these nuts is of the bigness of a stalk with its straw clothing, with two rinds, whereof the latter being saw'd asunder, serves for cups to drink out of. Its fruit is of an excellent savour, and white as milk, but very substantial; in the midst of it there is about an ordinary glass full of liquor, which while the fruit is green, is in greater quantity, though not so pleasant, but, as they say, cooling; yet when ripe, they say it becomes hot. This sort of palm is to be found in *Ethiopia* and in the *East-Indies*, and in time of year by tapping, affords a great deal of wine. Here is another kind of fruit called *mamao*, which grows on a tree mostly without branches, and whose trunk is like to a beam adorned with leaves and fruit; each leaf produces its fruit like to melons or pumpkins in shew as well as taste: the seed is like pepper, and has something of the taste of it: the stalks on which the leaves grow, are long like the shoots of our vines in *Europe*, bowing with the weight of the large leaves, and four or five spans long.

Maceolla Fruit.

Another sort of fruit-tree is the *banana*, but which may rather be termed an assemblage of leaves interwoven and twisted together so neatly, that they form a plant about fifteen spans high: at the top it throws out one cluster of fruit like to a bunch of those grapes which we in *Italian* call *corniole*, and which is of it self a sufficient burden for one man: every berry of this cluster is about a span long, and as thick as ones wrist, with a rind like to an *orange*. When the fruit is once gathered, you cut down the tree to make it sprout anew, insomuch that being once planted, and thus ordered, it will often be ready to offer a grateful return to its planter. This fruit the natives called *cacbio*, and which even while green, they gather and hang up in their houses, where by degrees it ripens, and grows as yellow as gold: when dry, they cut it across the middle, and it tastes much like to a dried fig of *Calabria*. The leaves of this plant are so neatly streak'd and sleek'd, that one would think they were rather the work of art than nature: they are generally about ten spans long, and about three in breadth. Many are of opinion, and argue that these were the leaves our first parents cover'd their nakedness with, after transgressing the



**MEROLEA** the Divine precept in *Paradise*, which is not unlikely, because of their length and breadth before mentioned, and because in some countries this sort of fruit is called a fig; and the scripture tells us they made them aprons of fig-leaves; unless it were that fig in *India*, which the *Arabs* and *Per- sians* call *mouz*, and the *Portugueses* the *Indian* fig, one leaf whereof serves for a table-cloth at a feast.

More  
fruit.

The fruit *nices* are much of the same kind with the former, being produced by a like plant, and disagreeing only in that these are somewhat less. This fruit being cut in the middle, or any ways except in length, shews a sort of a sketch or rough draught of a crucifix, and which I take to be more wonderful than that of the fruit of the plant *baruth*, vulgarly called the *Paradise* fig, wherein when cut is to be plainly seen the impression of the *Greek* letter *tau*, when in this our fruit is as easy to be discovered the figure of our Saviour upon the cross.

For want of a conveniency to carry me farther up into the country, I was fain sometimes to rely upon the relations of others, but then I always took care to take them from persons of credit, and natives of the place. I was told that up higher there were vast woods of large citron-trees, which seems not improbable, if we consider the great quantity of candied citron-peel preserved, and brought yearly from thence. To ripen them, they bend down the tenderest branches of the tree, and cover the citrons with earth, whereby they soon become soft and yellow, and are pleasant to eat. I forbear to mention the many fruits that are to be found in these woods, and will confine my self to speak briefly of the trees.

Trees, and  
their ver-  
tues.

The trees in the forest are some of them so vastly great, that large boats called *canoes*, are made out of them all of a piece. One of these I saw in the port of *Baia*, higher than one of our *felucca's*, as broad, and of length sufficient for ten or eleven men to row with long oars, having only the rudder added to it from another tree. This I must tell you was something extraordinary, for commonly they row these boats with oars like shovels, and that standing more or less on a side as occasion serves. The *Indian* fishers have other sorts of boats made of reeds raddled together, and which serve their turn well enough, for they value not the waters coming in, having no clothes to spoil. In this country there is great quantity of the wood called *brazile* wood, some red of the colour of *jorphyry*, and another sort quite black like *ebony*. Here are also some trees that distil the true balm, others that produce a

kind of oil called by the natives *coppaina*, and which is an absolute cure for green wounds, as likewise a remedy against old aches, and good to comfort the stomach. A third sort called *almesaga*, which distills a liquor like to frankincense, and serves to heal contusions and bruises in any part of the body, and moreover comforts the stomach if taken inwardly. There are also some plants to be met with here named *bicaia*, or nutmeg, whose juice is a great relief against, if not an absolute cure for fluxes and gripes.

Not many years since cinnamon was first ordered to be brought hither by the king of *Portugal* from the *East-Indies*, with express command to the captains of ships, that they should deliver it to the reverend fathers of the society of *Jesus*, who about four miles from the city of *Baia*, have a marsh belonging to them, where it has thrived to a miracle. The birds likewise, by picking the seed and dropping it about the country, have mightily contributed towards its encrease; for when I was there I saw many little trees of it in several places, and which could not have come thither by any other means. Also at my being there, the trees that were first planted were begun to be flawed, and about fourteen pound of the bark ready to be sent as the first fruits to the king.

Cinnamon,  
when first  
planted  
here.

I imagine I shall not much stray from the na- my subject, if I give some light here into tures. the origin of the natives of this country from a certain *Franciscan* writer, who writ in the *Portuguese* tongue, and had his information from the *Hollanders*. He says, that these people came from the islands of *Swedeland*, either because of the great colds that reign there, or being thrown on these coasts by a tempest. The *Indian* natives of *Brazil* have the name of *Tobareos*, and those born of a *Portuguese* and a native are called *Cabollos*. The former sort are of a brownish complexion, have long straight hair, with little round eyes, and thick well set bodies of a middle size: their clothing is no more than they came into the world with: they maintain themselves with hunting and fruit, which is the reason that they seldom continue long in one place, but wander about according to the seasons proper for their purpose. Sometimes they feed upon man's flesh, and that upon the following occasion: when any one of their relations or friends falls desperately sick, before he grows worse they knock him on the head, and cutting his body to pieces, distribute it amongst the rest to eat; alledging, that it is much more honourable for him to be devoured by them, than to be prey'd upon by worms and insects. And thus as they have lived like beasts, so like beasts they die.

I was

Very deci-  
ble.

Reduced to  
govern-  
ment.

Conversion  
and trade.

Very docile.

I was told by one father *Martin* a *Casquin*, who had lived fourteen years in those parts, and was then superior, that these sort of people are very apprehensive and docile, and that though they could not read, yet they would sing and assist at mass, and vespers. This father told me likewise, that he had brought over great numbers of them to the true faith, and that they were in appearance so good Christians, that when they were at church (I speak this to our confusion and shame) they might be seen kneeling on both knees like statues, without the least motion; and tho' they heard any noise, not one of them would offer to look behind him, or speak the least word, thinking it a sacrilege. He added further, that at first he found great difficulties in learning their language, but that at length in the space of four years he made himself an absolute master of it.

Reduced to government.

And because that these people lived without a ruler and government, when he came among them, the same father chose out the best among them for their governor, and whom the rest readily obey'd. He then reduced them to our way of living, and brought them to eat their meat at due times of the day, whereas before the pot was always ready, and they did little else but eat and drink. He taught them also to plant their *mandioca* spoken of before, and instructed them in the art of spinning and weaving their cotton, to the end that they might conceal those parts which decency requires should be hid. He told me likewise that before that time he had met with but one among a great number that had any thing to cover his nakedness, and that was given him by a missionary.

Conversion and trade.

This father in process of time becoming perfectly skilled in their language, and being moreover well-beloved by them, had a more than ordinary opportunity to inculcate religion into them; and which undertaking of his was likewise facilitated by their having no idols or worship among them at the time of his attempting it. Their notions of a Deity are, that there are two great persons much in favour with God, and they pray for them continually; but who these persons are they can't tell yet, which may be easily excused in regard that some of them believe nothing at all. How zealous they are for their new religion may be seen by the following instance: A certain wizard, instructed perhaps in his hellish science by some *Blacks* that had run from their masters, was on a time seized by them, and carried before father *Martin*, by whom being sharply reprimanded for his wicked practices, he was let go on condition that he should forsake

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his horrid profession. But this readiness of his to promise, rather proceeded from want of liberty, than from any inclination to recant; inasmuch that in a very short time he relapsed into his former error, and was seized a second time by such as did not think fit to release him any more without the loss of his head. This done, they drag'd his body before father *Martin*, to whom they addressed themselves in these words; *O dear father, you are too forward in forgiving. These sort of people may prove a great check to the growth of our new religion, and therefore we have lop'd off the head of this wicked wizard, to prevent his doing any more mischief among us. Here are his head and body to dispose of as you shall best think fit.* And to give them their due, they are more than ordinarily careful to protect the sacred truths established among them.

The flesh they eat is generally that of wild creatures, killed by them in great abundance with their bows; and especially of a sort of serpent called *bomma*, which they love inordinately. This serpent after he has well filled his belly, falls asleep; and being so found by the hunters, they dart their arrows into him, and kill him. They say his flesh is exceeding white, and well relished, and in fatness much like a hog. After they have cut off his head, and torn away the bowels, they devour the rest of it greedily. At a certain feast in *Baia*, I observed the windows, instead of tapestry and arras, adorned with the skins of these serpents, as wide as that of a large ox, and long in proportion.

Father *Martin* having taken care that the *Indian* governor elected by him should pay obedience to the *Portuguese*, it soon happen'd that a mutual commerce was established between both nations; and tho' the merchandize of the former was but of small returns, yet it nevertheless served them to clothe their nakedness, and to furnish them with iron for their uses. The things they traded in were chiefly *Brasil* wood, skins of beasts, divers sorts of monkeys, parrots of all kinds, and the like. Of these last, the hens are called in the *Indian* language *coricas*, and are observed to be far more loquacious than the cocks. *Araras* are another sort, these are about the bigness of our capons, and have long tails of divers colours. The parrots are equal to our thrushes in bigness, and generally green, whereas the others for the most part are grey and crimson. They all imitate the human voice when taught.

Apes and monkeys likewise they have of all kinds, but none without tails. One of these sorts is very much esteemed; but no less difficult to transport into any part

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of

*Manoia* of Europe, because of the cold; they are called *sagoris*; or *sagerini*, are no bigger than dormice, and are kept in cotton in muffs. Those few monkeys that are brought to Portugal, are bought by the ladies there for about a pittance apiece; and if they be of both sexes, the price is much greater, and they serve for a considerable present. These, and many other things no less curious than gallant, are brought by these people to sell to the Portuguese all along the coasts of *Brasil*. Such among them as have no genius to trading, voluntarily list themselves in the Portuguese service for so much a month or a year.

*The ostridge.*

Because I have before begun to speak of birds, I will here give some short account of the ostridge, if I may have leave to call that a bird, which is more beholden to its legs than its wings. In this country the ostridge is called *biena*, and is of that largeness as may be guessed at by the dimensions of its egg; I have seen both young and old, little and great of them: their feathers are of a light brown, and their wings strengthened by a double joint. They eat all sorts of food, and will digest wood and iron, both which they greedily devour. Their eggs they lay in the sand, wherewith they cover them, I know not whether out of design that it should serve them for a tomb or a cradle; for it often happens that not remembering where they have laid them, they by mistake hatch those of another, and the chicken is no sooner out of the shell but it shifts for it self. When they run from you, they only raise one wing, and for the rest trust to their feet, whereon they have but two claws on each. They are so swift, that provided they have the wind for them (which they always take a great deal of care to procure) they will out-run a horse in his full career. When the hunters have a mind to take them, they always follow them full speed, and with a long hook stretch'd forth catch them, if they can, by the neck; which, if accomplished, they soon conquer, and have enough to boast of all the remainder of their lives.

*Vermin.*

Before I leave *Brasil* to proceed on my voyage, I must take notice of another sort of hunting there, and that not of animals by men, but on the contrary of men by animals, and those of the smallest size. You must know then that here is a sort of worms almost invisible, which are called in the country language *nigua*, which hopping upon mens toes for some time like fleas, afterwards penetrate the skin, and hide themselves between the flesh and nails of the toes. This at first gives a pleasant tickling, but at length they grow to the bigness of a vetch, and occasion a great

deal of pain, reducing the patient, if not timely prevented, to a manifest danger of either losing his toe or foot. When they are thus enter'd the skin, the only way to get rid of them, and restore the part, is by paining away the flesh so far as least as is infected; for they are of a sort of venomous nature, and will rot and corrupt whatever they lie long upon. For my part I have experienced both the pain and the danger of them. But a certain French friar of our order was more particularly plagued with them, for had he not had speedy recourse to a skilful surgeon, he had infallibly lost all his toes.

Some will needs have these worms to be *Conjecture* one of the ten plagues of Egypt, sent by God to humble *Pharab*, and father *Michael Angelo de Guattini*; a Capuchin missionary to the kingdom of Congo, hints as much in a letter to his father from *Fernambuco*.

In the islands of *Cape Verde* there are *Other vermin.* another sort of worms that penetrate the heel, and thence creep up under the skin like a horse-hair. The way to extirpate these, is either to scarify the flesh as before, and so stop their progress; or else to seize them by one end, and by little and little to draw them out whole. Of this sort *Della Vale* speaks in his travels; but his, it seems, were of a more contagious kind, and of a much longer size.

During my stay at *Baia*, however diverted, my mind still ran on pursuing my *Pursuit of the voyage.* voyage, and consequently my chiefest business was to enquire for ships bound for *Africa*. We were but three of us, and heard of one, but that was not to part in four months; therefore so great delay could not at all suit with our desires to be gone. At last we lighted on a smack or brigantine, which was to set sail the first fair wind, and whose captain proffer'd to carry us to *Angola*. His kindness we readily accepted: but whilst we thought our selves secure of a passage, the governor of *Brasil* commanded him to transport nine prisoners in chains to *Angola*, amongst whom was his own secretary, disgraced for speaking disrespectfully of his master; and for his greater punishment, chain'd by the leg and arm with a Black slave. The captain having received these orders, excused himself of his promise to us, alleging that he had not room in his ship for us all, and therefore desired we would provide our selves elsewhere. This however did not discourage us, for we immediately applied our selves to the governor, and begged of him to let part at least of the prisoners be left ashore, that we might proceed on our mission. He was so far from yielding to our request, that he com-

manded

*Sight of land.*

*A providence.*

manded that we likewise should be gone on board, not caring whether there were any accommodations for us in the ship, or no. We were obey'd, but scarce were we got out of the port, before the captain (whether moved by zeal or gold, I won't determine) called me to his crew, and ask'd them, *Where we poor Capuchins should lie, advising that it was both his and their duty to take care of us.* And so hoisting out the long-boat, he put the secretary and two other prisoners into it, and sent them ashore, and I believe he had done as much for the rest had they presented him, by which means we got some accommodation. We afterwards heard that this secretary proved so great a thorn in his master's side, and secretly rais'd so powerful a faction against him, that in a short time he occasioned him to be seized and sent to *Lisbon*. This it seems has been a common practice in the *Portuguese* colonies at so great distance from court; for whenever they do not like a governor, they forthwith embark and send him home, and he ought to be thankful if he escapes so. The same has been sometimes done in the kingdom of *Angola*, and elsewhere in the *Portuguese* dominions. If the succeeding governor does not bring a general pardon for all delinquents, he is not admitted ashore; and this because of their having once been called to account and severely punish'd for want of such policy.

Seventy seven days were we coop'd up in this smack without discovering land; but what most griev'd us was, that we could not say in all that time that we had seen either sky or sea, being kept down in the hold continually to avoid the rain or waves. Towards the cape of *Good Hope*, we met a furious tempest, whose vehemence broke down part of our prow, and we saw our selves at death's door; but at length, through God's grace, and the diligence of the seamen, that danger was removed. All the while the pilot was extremely concerned that we saw no land, when by his computation it should have appear'd at least eight days before. Nevertheless, at length we had sight of it, and found our selves much nearer to it than we thought we had been. Then began joy to shine out in each man's countenance, and a feast was ordered throughout the whole ship; and the pilot was so well pleased, that he gave the seaman a pair of silk stockings, who first brought him news of the land.

After this we put our boat to sea, and some of the ship's company going in her a fishing, had so good luck in a very short time, as almost to fill her with excellent fish. This sight surprized me, and put

me in mind of the sea of *Genesareth*, where *MAROLLA* the apostles, through our Saviour's blessing, had the like good fortune. We left the boat at sea all that night, fastened only with a rope to our smack, and with two men in her. About five hours after night, a whale happening to pass between the boat and the smack, broke the rope in two, and set the boat adrift; which was not all, for she gave such a shock to the vessel, as put out the light at the bittake, and the steersman being in the dark, we were in evident danger of being lost; and must have inevitably perished, had the taken us across the middle of our keel. The night was exceeding dark, inasmuch that we could by no means discover which way the men and boat were driven; therefore we furl'd our sails, and 'ay by,' and at the same time threw up some fire-works in the air to serve for a guide to those miserable wretches to find us; who at length appeared, when we had given them over to be lost.

Amongst other fish observed by me in these dangerous seas, is the Shark: his nature is to follow ships in hopes of prey. His head is like that of a dog, and his bigness more or less according to his age; but generally at full growth as thick as an ox. He has a very large mouth, and a treble row of exceeding sharp teeth. When he eats, his upper jaw only moves; and man's flesh is one of the greatest of his dainties. Our mariners with a bait of salt-beef took one of them, but in hoisting him up to the ship he escaped; yet shewing in the hook speedily he was taken again. Having open'd his belly, we found therein a great many of the bones of meat which we had thrown for several days into the sea; and whereby it appeared that he had followed us for some time. I observing that his heart beat long after it was torn from his entrails, took it up and kept it till the next day; when going to view it again, to my great wonder, it still panted. This fish always swims attended by a great many little ones of divers colours, and which some will have to subsist upon the steam that flies from his mouth. These little fish are called by the *Portuguese*, *remeiros*, which signifies pilgrims. There are another sort of about a span long which stick to him, with their bellies upwards, and noses like nutmeg-graters; these have the name of *pegadores*, that is, stickers, from this action. They are mentioned by *F. di Gennaro*, in his *sacred oriental*, lib. I. c. 7.

That this shark-fish is more than ordinarily greedy of man's flesh, may appear by the following instance. Our ship having a brisk gale of wind most of the way between

Sight of land.

A providence.

*MIRROLA* between *Lisbon* and *Brasil*, a poor mariner about break of day happen'd to drop off the yard-arm into the sea. At this accident the centry immediately gave notice, which occasioned us all to come speedily running to the man's assistance: Some threw over-board to him whatever planks they could find, whilst others endeavour'd to tack about the ship; but all in vain, for being under so full sail we made too much way. At last finding all means to save him fruitless, I caus'd one to call out to him from the poop of the ship to give a sign of confession; which the unhappy wretch immediately did, by holding up his arm; which I perceiving, gave him absolution, and then he soon sunk. Not long after I spied a shark-fish, half above and half under-water, rather flying than swimming towards the body; which was a terrible sight to all, but more particularly touch'd me to the heart.

Another sort of fish we saw, whose name is *bonito*, as large as the lanternfish, and of a yellow and green colour; but which the more pleasing it was to our sight, the more pernicious it would have proved to us had we eaten of it, for it causes sudden death, which makes the fishermen as soon as taken to throw it away.

*Birds.*

The birds that fly most about in these seas are *alcatraz*, a sort of sea-gulls as big as geese, of a brownish colour, with long beaks, wherewith they take fish; and which they feed on, either upon the surface of the water, or after they are up in the air. At night when they are disposed to sleep, they dart themselves aloft as high as possible, and putting their head under one wing, support themselves for some time with the other; but because the weight of their bodies must needs force them down again at last, they no sooner come to the water but they retake their flight, and both which being often repeated, they may in a manner be said to sleep waking. Oftentimes it happens that they fall into the ships as they sail, and into ours there fell two one night, and one another: Those that know the nature of them, farther say, that in time of year they always go on shore to build their nests, and that in the highest places, whereby they facilitate their flight, having but short feet, and those large like unto a goose. Of this we made an experiment upon them that fell into our ship, and found that being left at liberty upon the plain deck, they could by no means raise themselves.

*Ciber joriti.*

Before we had a sight of the cape of *Good Hope*, we saw several other birds called *velvet-sleeves*, as large as geese; exceeding

white, and with long black bills. These, like the pigeons out of the ark, were as so many messengers to inform us that the land was at hand, their custom being a days to flutter about upon the waves, and at night to return to the shore to rest: The sight of them make the seamen leap, and cry out for joy like madmen.

There are also other signs of land being near, as those they call the *caravels of Bristany*, being weeds, or rather reeds like the *Indian canes*; or rather like grass, but as thick as ones finger, thrown out by the rivers, and which seem at a distance to be a small island fixed in the ocean, being met sometimes an hundred miles at sea. Whilst we sailed along the coasts, some of the seamen would needs shew me a great cross cut in a mountain, and which they told me was made there long before those countries were discovered by the *Europeans*. But notwithstanding all the diligence I could use, with the help of a prospective glass, I could not perceive it by reason of the great motion of the ship. I asked them who was supposed to have introduced this sign of our salvation amongst these ignorant pagans? But they could give me no manner of satisfaction.

Now we are coasting along the shore of the cape of *Good Hope*, I imagine it will not seem any ways improper to discourse of something relating to the inhabitants of this country. By the relations of many, those people are said not to have the gift of human voice, but to understand each other only by a sort of hissing tone, and motion of the lips: Likewise that whatever pains have been taken with them, they could never hitherto be brought to speak articulately. Instead of clothing in winter-time, they generally anoint their bodies all over with a certain liquor distill'd from a tree; and which the better to settle upon their skins, they bedaub themselves sufficiently with wild oxes dung, which when dried and hardened, cannot be easily got off. When they would take off that crusted coat, they do it with hot water, which leaves them naked as before, as they go in hot weather, and eat much flesh. Which makes me say with *Ovid* in his *de Tristibus*, lib. V. cl. 7.

*Sive homines, non sunt homines hoc nomine digni.*

The *Portugueses* call them *papagentes*, that is, men-eaters on account of some accidents that have happened there, one of which was told me I will insert.

In one of the ports formed by nature, where there are many on these coasts capable of receiving two or three thousand ships

*Ministers.*



ships each, a certain vessel came to an anchor; the captain with some of his crew came ashore, well armed, and happening to stray a little further than ordinary from his companions, saw two women entirely black and naked carrying of wood. These women at the sight of a white man, began to stand still; which he perceiving, and being willing to encourage them, threw them down several trifles, such as fine knives, glass, coral, and the like. At this they immediately cast away their burdens, and fell to gathering up the toys, leaping and dancing about the captain. This pleased him so well, that he was resolved to have as much of it as he could, and for that end squat himself down on the grass. They perceiving his security, continued their gambols for some time; but at length one of them seizing him behind across the arms, and the other catching up his feet at the same time, flew away with him with such dexterity and swiftness, that it was impossible for his companions, who both saw and heard him cry out, either to rescue or come near him. Being deprived of all hopes of recovering him, they thought it advisable to return to their ship, where they reflected on the barbarous banquet those, rather beasts than human creatures, were to make that night.

To confirm the probability of this story, father *Michael Angelo de Guatina*, relates in a letter to his father from *Loanda*, a city in this country, that whilst he was sailing along these coasts, not above a musket-shot from shore, the pilot of the ship went ashore to ease himself; but scarce was he out of the long-boat before he leaped back again with great surprize and amazement, having it seems discovered behind a rock, abundance of fish drying at a great fire, by which he understood the *Papagentes* were not far off, and put him into such a fright, that he never thought of the business he went about in three days after.

*Ministers.* Another story I have heard as follows. The captain of a certain ship having been in a great storm, drove into one of these ports to repair his damage; his passengers going ashore to look about them, discovered at a distance a sort of sea-monsters like unto men, and that not only in their figures, but likewise in their actions; for they saw them plainly gather a great quantity of a certain herb, with which they immediately plunged themselves into the sea. Having observed what sort of herb this was, the passengers gathered several bundles of it likewise, and laid the same upon the shore; the sea-monsters returning, and finding it ready gathered to their

hands, took it up and plunged into the sea <sup>as before.</sup> But O the great example of gratitude that reigns even in the deeps! These creatures knowing themselves to have been obliged, forthwith drew from the bottom of the sea a great quantity of coral, and other sea herbs, and carrying them ashore, laid them in the same place where they had found the herbs. This being repeated several times, the passengers thought these creatures endeavoured to exceed them in benefits; and therefore as a great rarity, scarce to be parallel'd even in rational animals, they resolved if possible to take them. For this purpose they procured a net from the ship, and pitched it in a proper place; but tho' their design succeeded so far as to take them, yet could not they hold them, they shewing them another human trick, which was by lifting up the net and making their escape, never appearing there after as long as the ship staid.

Another relation I have had made me, <sup>Excessive cold.</sup> which may not be improper to insert here: The *Portugueses*, for the conveniency of sailing thole stormy seas, would needs some years since make a certain experiment on these parts. For this end they brought from *Lisbon* six or eight condemned persons, and left them in one of the three points of the cape of *Good Hope*, with provisions of all things sufficient for a year. These men they commanded to take strict notice of all mutations of seasons, of the climate, the land and the sea; and withal enjoined them to let nothing pass of any moment each day they were there; promising them withal, that if they observed these their commands, they would come the next year and fetch them away, and give them their liberty to boot. These wretches being thus left, instead of escaping destruction, met a more than common fate by these means; for in a short time through the excessive cold that reigns there, more than in any other of the points of the said *Cape*, they were all frozen to death. At the return of the ships, the last of them that survived having observed many particulars, and related the manner of his other companions deaths, was found frozen to a stone with his pen in his hand. The last thing remark'd by him was, *That the greatest fire was scarce capable of overcoming the most intense cold of this country.* But all this I must submit to the reader, having it only by hearsay, and not having experienced it my self.

After three or four days sailing along these coasts right afore the wind, we entered a port in the kingdom of *Bancbella*, or *Banquilla*, a conquest of the *Portugueses*. Here the people through a bad temperature of the air, which infects their victuals,

**MEROLLA** have all the countenances of death, speak with broken voices, and as one may say, can scarce keep their souls between their teeth. Our arrival being but just known, the vicar-general came to visit us at one a clock in the morning, bringing along with him several refreshments of flesh, fruit, and herbs. At this unexpected charity and civility, we were at first surprized; but after we came to know that both he, and four of his brethren, had been bred in our monastries, that wonder ceas'd. This vicar may be said to be general only over himself, there being no catholick priest in all this country but he.

Charity  
and civi-  
lity.

Some years past there was another mission of our order into these parts; but because the chief man gave no good example himself, few of the *Blacks* were converted, and those that were gave but little attention to what was taught them, giving for reason, *That if the law of God was so negligently observed by Whites, how could they be expected to practise it more devoutly?* The two last of the friars employed at that time, dy'd martyrs to their lenity; for they chusing rather to admonish than correct, to exhort than reprove a certain great man of a scandalous life, in about eight days time died of poison, thereby terminating both their mission and their lives: The truth of this ought not to be doubted of, because it was the common talk when I was there. The other *Pagans* that live up higher in the country, lead the infamous life of the *Giagbi*, a people that shall be spoken of more at large hereafter.

Observa-  
tions at  
landing.

As soon as day-light appeared we went on shore to return thanks to Almighty God for our safe arrival. Here the first thing I observed was, a great abundance of date-trees, which it seems of all lower *Ethiopia* flourish most in these parts, tho' in goodness they are far inferior to those of the east. I likewise took notice of many arbours and walks of vines, which by reason of the moistness of the earth, springs being every where near the surface, produce grapes twice a year in great plenty. Nevertheless no wine is made, because the excessive heat that reigns here, would rather putrify than purge it. Every house hereabouts has spring-water, it lying not above two foot deep; and which is the greater wonder, by reason that it is so near the sea.

Beasts and  
their vir-  
tues.

If this country abounds with bad men, it is no less productive of good beasts. Of elephants here are many, which with their ivory teeth bring great profit to those that take them. The elk likewise, that so much desired and salutiferous beast, is frequently to be met with in these parts;

and which for the virtue of one of his feet, has deservedly obtained, in the *Congolan* language, the name of *neoco*, signifying *The excellent beast*. It is only called in *Spain* *la gran bestia*, or the *great beast*. The way to find out in which foot the virtue lies, is by knocking him down; when to recover himself of the blow, he will immediately lift up that leg which is most efficacious, and scratch his ear. Then must you be ready with a sharp scymitar to lop off the medicinal limb, and you shall find an infallible remedy against the falling-sickness treasured up in his claws. *Peter Cobero Sebastian* says, in his travels, that he has seen many of these beasts in *Poland*. Those seen by me were of about the bigness of little asses, of a brownish colour, with long broad ears hanging down like to those of *English* spaniels.

In these woods may also be found another creature, called by the natives *engalla*, and much like unto a wild boar: The two tusks of which beast being reduced to powder, expel fevers, evacuating by way of sweat the malignity of the distemper. This powder being likewise made up with the juice of a palm-tree, called *mateba*, composes an admirable antidote. Here is also the unicorn, called by the *Congolans*, *abada*, whose medicinal virtue being sufficiently known, needs not to be taken notice of. These unicorns are very different from those commonly mentioned by authors; and if you will believe what I have heard say, there are none of that sort now to be found. A *Theatine* missionary to the *East-Indies* told me, at his return from *Goa*, that he had endeavoured to get one of these last, but whatever diligence he us'd, he could by no means obtain it. He added moreover, that he had heard several of the *Eastern* people, especially the *Chinese* astrologers, say, that according to their computations those unicorns all dy'd the same day that our Saviour dy'd. What allusion these can have to our Saviour may probably be from their chastity, but I must leave all to my reader, who will condemn and approve as he thinks fit. The unicorn or *abada* of this country commonly arrives to the bigness of an ox, and the male only has a horn in his forehead: These have the same virtue as the other sort, if taken young, and before they have coupled; for the old ones lose much of their virtue by coupling.

These forests likewise breed another four-footed animal called *zerba*, not unlike a wild mule: The skin of this creature is so beautiful, that one would rather take it for a fine woven silk than a hide: Its beauty consists in several equidistant streaks four fingers broad of white and black,

A ridicu-  
lous super-  
stition.

black, bordered on both sides with russet. This animal is no less swift than beautiful, inasmuch that if the natives can but tame one of them, no price is thought too great to offer for it. Our superior, father *da Romano*, amongst other things sent several skins of this beast as a present to the great duke of *Tuscany*.

*A ridiculous/superstition.*

Here are also abundance of another kind of beasts call'd by the *Negroes* *impallanche*, of about the bigness of the foregoing, and in colour much like to what we call in horses a *forrel*: These have straight twisted horns, by the several degrees of which wreathings, their age comes to be known. They have in like manner some resemblance of a mule, their flesh is white, and would be more in esteem were it not spongy and insipid; but in rutting time, say the natives, it ought by no means to be eaten, for fear of doing harm. The same is reported of the wild goat, that if it be eaten when it is lustful, it causes such a rot in the feet that the toe-nails drop off. This is held to be so infallible, that it can never mis. An instance whereof happen'd in my time in the following manner. Some hunters having taken one of these goats, suspected of being in the aforesaid condition, brought it to our monastery at *Sogno* to sell: Our fathers not knowing the nature of it, eat part of it, reserving the rest for another time. This coming to the *count's* ears, he came in mighty haste to our convent with a numerous attendance, and going directly into the kitchen, he commanded all the flesh to be thrown away, the vessels that it had touch'd to be broken, and would moreover have set fire to the house as infectious, had not our father remonstrated to him in an humble manner, *that they were sensible of no harm it had done them, and that they verily believed there was none to be feared upon that occasion: As also that whatever mischief had formerly happened, it was rather to be attributed to some other accident, than to any pestilential quality in the goat.* With these and the like reasons they at length prevailed upon the *count* to depart, without doing them any further damage. When these wild goats are old, there are certain stones to be found in their bellies not unlike to *Bezoa* stones, and whereof those produced by the male are of the nobler kind, being experienc'd remedies in several cases, especially in that of poison. At the first taking them out they are soft and tender, but having been a while in the air they begin to harden, and in a short time become perfect stone. They must be taken as soon as ever the beast is killed, otherwise they will soon dissolve.

Another sort of beasts in this country

are the *impanguenza*, so called by the natives: These are a kind of wild cows, whereof some are red, others ash colour, and some quite black: They are all very swift-footed, and have a pair of exceeding long horns in their foreheads. When they are wounded in the chase, like wild bulls or *buffalo's*, they immediately face the assaulter, and if he does not instantly take care to save himself in some tree or other, instead of killing he will be in no common danger of being miserably killed. The flesh of this beast is very well relish'd and substantial; its marrow is an infallible remedy against cold humours and aches: Of its skin the *Negroes* make targets, which will resist the swiftest force of an arrow, so that if a man stands bowing behind it he is altogether safe.

'Tis now high time to leave the wild beasts to range in the woods, and to come to speak of a certain brutish custom these people have amongst them in making of slaves, which I take not to be lawful for any person of a good conscience to buy here. Every one of these *Negroes* takes to wife as many women, be they slaves or free 'tis no matter, as he can possibly get: These women by his consent make it their business to charm men to their embraces, which when they have done so as to make them commit the act, they presently accuse them to their *barracan*, so they call their supposed husband, who feigning himself to be in a great rage, immediately runs and imprisons the lovers, afterwards in a short time sells them to strangers, without being subject to any account for so doing: With the money he has thus unjustly got he buys other slave-women, which are permitted to do the same thing; so that from time to time he is suffered to go on in this wicked round without any manner of controul. Of these women I fancy *Tibullus* speaks when he cries out,

*Ab credule genus! Nec fidum semina no-*  
*men.*

*Ab pereat! didicit fallere siqua virum.*

There are others who, not by means of women but of themselves, going up into the country thro' pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves.

The current coin of this kingdom is little bits of glass coral brought hither by the *Portugueses*, and which the natives call *misangas*: This they make use of not only for money, but likewise for ornament, making of them both bracelets and necklaces. The forts and houses of the *Whites* here are composed of wood and clay after this manner. Two rows of strong posts

*Misolla*

*A brutish custom.*

*Coin.*

*Fort and houses.*

are

**MEROLLA** are fixt in the earth about two spans asunder, and joined together at top by several transverse pieces of a smaller size. The space between these rows is filled up with clay well beaten, and smoothed within side and without, and which being chequer'd with creases seem at first sight to be a stone-wall. The roofs are made with reeds laid over rafters, as with us. This is all I could observe of this country, having been but one day in it, and that in a continual hurry in preparing for our farther voyage.

**Arrival at Angola.** After our departure hence, in four days sail we reach'd the port of *Angola*, the utmost end of our desires, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *May*, in about a year from our leaving of *Naples*.

**Its port.** I reserve the description of this city of *Angola* for another place, intending at present to speak only of its port: This is as secure as famous, being form'd neither by art nor nature, but only by chance, having a long slip of sand thrown up by the sea, and forming a plain island about ten leagues in length, about a mile from the city, behind which the ships ride: The entrance into it is by two narrow passages at the extremities of the slip. Here

**Fresh water.** all the drinking water us'd in the city is taken up, and the greatest wonder is, that it is freshest at the flood, and saltest at the ebb. Here, and no where else on these coasts, are caught crabs and lobsters, as likewise cuttle fish, and those little shell-fish called *zimbi*, which pass for money.

**Shell-fish.**

**A pleasant island.**

Heretofore the king of *Congo* reserved the right of fishing for these only to himself, but now the *Portugueses* usurp that liberty upon him. In the aforesaid pleasant island the citizens of *Angola* delight themselves as much as the *Neapolitans* do in their retirement to *Posilippo*: For this purpose they have several little houses there, which being intermix'd with verdant trees afford a very delightful prospect. They likewise cultivate the earth in that island, which being well water'd proves not a little fertile.

**Landings.**

Being got into port, and our arrival known, the governor immediately gave notice thereof to our father superior, who forthwith sent father *Joseph da Sestri*, and father *Francis da Pavia* to bring us ashore. At our landing in the city I could perceive joy in every countenance on the occasion, and which was seconded by the great civilities shewn us by the citizens; for as we pass'd by their houses, they not only sent us *Umbrella's* to defend us from the scorching heat, but likewise to honour us. Being come to the church, our fathers sang *Te Deum* for our safe arrival. For eight days together we received visits and

treats from the principal persons of the city, in return whereof we presented them with some small reliicks brought from *Italy*, which were nevertheless accepted with a great deal of devotion and thanks. The accustomed ceremony used at the arrival of missionaries or a prefect, was not shewn for us, by reason that we were only three. The ceremony is this. No sooner is the news spread abroad that there are several *Capuchin* missionaries come into port, but our brethren accompanied by the nobility and gentry of the city go out to meet them: Having received them into a barge, they conduct them ashore, where are posted a great number of white singing-boys dress'd like *Capuchins*, who going before in procession sing all the way to the church, and afterwards perform *Te Deum* there: Then the governor, and all the clergy, and laity of the place come to pay them their respects.

In about a fortnight's time I was obliged to depart from hence with some of our fathers, who altho' they had been here above nine months, were not yet gone out on their mission, and that by reason of their expecting the heat should abate, which it seems it is wont to do about this month of *May* just contrary to our country, where the cool weather begins with *September* rains. Father *Joseph Maria da Bassetto*, a man of great learning and experience, chose me for his companion in his mission to *Sogno*, and ask'd me of our prefect, father *Paul Francis da Portomaurizio*. Tho' I found my self not altogether recover'd of my last fatigue, yet considering the easiest way of travelling was by sea, as also that this mission of *Sogno* was not only the ancientest, but likewise the best we had, thro' the commodiousness of its river, and the disposition of its inhabitants, I readily consented to accompany this father thither. Hereupon the day appointed for our departure being come we went on board a skiff, and in four days arrived at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, the port of *Sogno*. At our entering this river the wind blew so hard, and the waves rose so high, that we were not a little afraid of being lost. At length having weathered the first point, we spy'd some fishermen ready as we thought to assist us, but expected to be called; yet we taking them for heathens, and fearing that instead of helping they might rather hinder us by their sorceries, gave them no sign.

My companion conjur'd the winds and seas, but I having said my prayers betook myself to an oar, at which I tugg'd heartily for some time, till at length by the sole mercy of God we were courteously received into the embraces of the river. After

*Ceremony on that occasion.*

*Enter the Zaire.*

*Description of it.*

*Occasion of its name.*

*Congo discover'd 1485.*

ter having pass'd the first reach, our souls began to revive, and we took pleasure in casting our eyes about towards both shores, which seem'd to be strew'd with vegetable emeralds; or might be taken at first sight rather for the industrious workmanship of *Pallas*, than the capricious product of nature. The water also appeared more like a crystal caufway, than any part of the inconstant element. As we row'd along the winding banks of this river, we were continually shrowded with trees called *mangas*, not unlike the royal laurels: These trees at the joining of each branch sprout forth a long hanging root, which at length reaching the mud, and taking root shoots up anew, and in a short time of one tree forms a kind of a little wood, in a manner that you can hardly distinguish the suckers from the plant. I was shewn one of these trees wither'd and decay'd, and was inform'd that a certain bishop of Congo having been ill treated by some of these people, made the sign of the cross upon it, whereupon it immediately dy'd like the fig-tree curst by our Saviour.

Descripti-  
on of it.

Altho' my business should be to write only what I observed in my voyage, and not to take notice of other matters, yet cannot I forbear speaking of some particulars relating to this large and famous river: Its mouth then is about ten leagues wide, tho' some writers will needs have it to be thirty; but their mistake I presume arises from including the mouth of another branch of it, not far distant from the former. The waters of this river are something yellowish, by which they are known above thirty leagues at sea, and which was likewise the cause of this country's being first discover'd; for the king of Portugal *Don John II.* having sent a fleet under the command of *Don Diego Cano* to make discoveries on this southern coast of *Africa*, that admiral guess'd at the nearness of the land by nothing so much as by the complexion of the waters of *Zaire*; and putting into it, he asked of the *Negroes* what river and country that was; who not understanding him answer'd, *Zevoco*, which in the *Congolan* tongue is as much as to say, *I can't tell*: From whence tho' the word be corrupted, it has been since called *Zairo*. After this on one of the points of this river the *Portugueses* first planted a cross of fine marble, which some time after being found out by the *Hollanders*, they out of envy broke it to pieces; nevertheless so much remained of it when I was there, as to discover plainly the *Portuguese* arms on the ruins of the *basis*, with an inscription under them in *Goibick* characters, tho' not easy to be read.

Congo  
discover'd  
1485.

The first discovery of this part of the  
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world by the *Portugueses* happen'd in the *MEROLLA* year, so fortunate for them, 1485. and because they had been so courteously receiv'd by the *Negroes*, and admitted among them with so many tokens of love and affection, this kingdom of *Congo* has never yet been subjected by the *Whites*, when it far'd quite contrary with the queen of *Singa* and others. The first religious persons that set footing there, were three *Dominican* friars, as is testified by father *Maffeus* a jesuit, in the first book of his history of the *Indies*. One of these was kill'd by the *Giagbi* at the time when they over-ran the kingdom of *Congo*, and routed the *Congolan* army under the conduct of their general *Zimbo*. This barbarian of a conqueror amongst other spoils seiz'd upon the sacred vestments and utensils of this unhappy friar, and not contented with the bare possession of them, would needs ridicule and profane them by putting them on, as likewise by appearing at the head of his followers with the *chalice* in his hand. As for the other two missionaries, they dy'd in a short time after their arrival, through the excessive heat of the climate, which is often fatal to us *Europeans*.

To these succeeded twelve *Franciscans* of the order of *Observants*, who were carry'd hither by the same *Don Diego Cano* in his third voyage into these parts. Some attribute the whole conversion of this country to these fathers, not allowing that the three that were there before through the shortness of their continuance, could have time to do any thing towards it. But for my part I am of opinion that it is next to impossible, those who had been courteously received, and who found the people so easy to be wrought upon, should not convert many of them before they dy'd. Likewise it is certain that the friar that was killed by the *Giagbi* had been chaplain to the *Congolan* army, and consequently was in a post to do with them even what he pleased. Nevertheless not to carry the argument farther, let me be allow'd to say, that it is probable the first friars might sow the seed, and that the last were those that cultivated and caused it to flourish.

Several other evangelical labourers had been sent out from time to time into this vineyard, and at length at the request of *Don Alvaro* sixth king of *Congo* made to pope *Urban* the eighth, that his holiness would be pleas'd to send some more *Capuchin* missionaries into his kingdom, there were others sent with letters patents from the said pope in the year 1640. although through the many rubs and difficulties they met with, partly occasioned by *Philip* the third king of *Spain's* death, and the seizing of the crown of *Portugal* by the duke

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**MEROLLA** of Braganza, they did not arrive till the year 1645. which was under the pontificate of pope Innocent the tenth, and in the reign of Con Garcia the second, successor to the before-named Don Alvaro. These fathers entering the river Zaire, the first place they landed at was the country of Sogno, where they were received with extraordinary demonstrations of love and joy by the people, especially by the count, who went out to meet them many miles from the place of his residence, and assisted with them at mass with great devotion in the church of Pinda, a town near the mouth of Zaire, adorning their altars moreover with the richest furniture in his wardrobe. Hither flocked an infinite number of people upon this occasion, as well out of curiosity to see these new apostles (whose awful deportment filled them with wonder and amazement) as to vie with each other which should shew most obedience to the gospel. But this is no wonder, since the first converts made by the aforesaid Franciscan friars were the Sogneses, and who still seemed to have lively impressions left upon them of their former instructions. The first that were baptized among these Negroes were the count and one of his sons, whereof the former had the name given him of Don Emanuel, and the other of Don Antonio. This Emanuel dying, besides the funeral commonly made for other counts, he had a particular ceremony paid to his memory every year after, and which I may self have more than once performed on his account. After the count of Sogno, the king and queen of Congo, together with their eldest son, were prevailed upon to be baptized, the two former taking the names of Don John and Donna Eleonora, the king and queen of Portugal, and the latter that of the king's son the Infante. Thus began the Christian faith to be first established in these parts, and which has been all along since maintained through the grace of God, and by the labours of several poor missionaries successively sent in the service of the gospel.

But let us return to speak farther of the description river Zaire. This river is commonly said to take its rise in the kingdom of Matamba, subject to the queen of Singa, which kingdom being altogether governed by the female sex, I may number it among those nations described by Claudian in *Eutrop.* lib. I. §. 323.

— Medis, levibusque Sabæis  
Imperat hic sexus, reginarumque, sub armis  
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

In this Matamba there is a vast collection of water, which dividing itself into two

principal streams, one runs through *Ethiopia*, and in this river *Zaire*, and the other flows towards *Egypt*, being the *Nile*. This last was formerly adored by the *Egyptians* as a god, and that because of their being not able to find out its source, imagining that therefore it had none. I believe the cause why they could not discover its head, was by reason they could not go far up it, being hindered by the cataracts which fall in such a dreadful manner, that they at the same time offend both the eye and the ear. In this vast lake before-mentioned, before it divides it self into the aforesaid rivers, are to be found several water-monsters, amongst which there is one sort which differs from human kind only in want of reason and speech. *Fati* or *Francis da Pavia*, one of our missionaries living in this country, would by no means believe that there were any such monsters in this lake, affirming they were only illusions devis'd by the *Negroes*; whereupon the queen of *Singa* being informed of his infidelity, invited him one day to go a fishing for them: Scarce had the fishermen thrown in their nets, but they discovered thirteen upon the surface of the water, whereof they could nevertheless take but one female, which was big with young. The colour of this fish was black, it had long black hair and large nails upon very long fingers, which perhaps were given it by nature to help its swimming: It lived not above twenty four hours out of the water, and during all that time would not taste any the least food that was offered it.

Throughout all the river *Zaire* there is to be found the *mermaid*, which from the middle upwards has some resemblance of a woman, as in its breast, nipples, hands, and arms, but downwards it is altogether a fish, ending in a long tail forked: Its head is round, and face like to that of a calf: It has a large ugly mouth, little ears, and round full eyes: Upon its back it has a large hide tack'd, perforated in several places. This hide or skin seems to have been design'd by nature in a sort of mantle to cover it, being contrived either to open or shut. The ribs of this fish are proper to stretch blood, but the greatest of its physical virtues lies in two little bones in its ears. I have eat of this fish divers times, and it seems to be well-relished, and not unlike swines-flesh, which its entrails likewise resemble. For this reason the *Negroes* name it *ngullu à mafa* (the water-fow) but the *Portugueses* call'd it *pieux molker* (the woman-fish.) Altho' it feeds on the herbs that grow on the sides of the river, yet does it not nevertheless ever go out of the water, but only hold its head out. For the most part it is to be taken only when

Monsters.

The sea-horse and his virtues.

The mermaid, and its virtues.

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when it rains, for then the water being disturbed, it cannot so well discern the approach of fishermen. Those that go to take them have a little boat for that purpose, in which they paddle up softly till they come to the place where the fish lies, and which they know by the motion it causes in the water; then having a lance ready, they immediately dart it with all their force into her, and if through the smallness of their boat, or for want of strength, they cannot hold her, they let go the lance and leave the fish at liberty, well knowing that being exceeding long the lance must necessarily discover where he flies with it. But if on the other hand they can maintain their stroke with another lance, they dart a second time, by which means at last they easily tire and take the fish. After the same manner, but with less trouble they take pilchards, which are fat, and as large as herrings, and they have no other way to take them but this. I should have told you what sort of fashioned lances these were, because they differ something from ours of Europe; they have a very long round staff made of wood, but as hard as iron, round, and so thick, that as many darts are made fast to it a small distance from one another, that they take up six or seven spans in compass.

There is also in this river the water or sea-horse, as large as two land ones: he has short thick legs, round feet, a large wide mouth, with a double row of hook teeth, and long tusks besides in the lower jaw like to those of a large wild boar, with which when he is in fury he tears whatever comes near him. As I was once sailing along this river, I saw one of these horses floating near our boat, and neighing like a horse, of which he has great resemblance: a-nights he goes ashore to feed, but in the day-time he keeps for the most part close in the water; but wheresoever they are, the female is always at hand, in whose defence the male fights desperately; and when the female is with young, or has lately dropt her colt (which she generally does in the fens where there is but little water) the male is most furious, and being exceeding jealous will assault the barks as they pass along the river, and sometimes if they be small overturn them with his heels: this makes those that know his nature to avoid the marshes at that time, not caring how far they go about, so they can but have their passage safe. The time to hunt them is a-nights, when they go to feed upon the land: then the hunters block up their way back to the river with boats, and afterwards wait for their return. Being returned, they let fly their arrows at them like hail; but was to him that

happens to be in any one of their ways *Mazolla* after being wounded, for he will then assuredly tear him to pieces, if they have not trees to save themselves on, which they generally take care to procure. Sometimes these creatures will fly away after they are wounded, and not finding a passage open to the river, will run to the next precipice, and leap off from thence into the water, whereby they break their legs, and then are easily taken. The flesh of these animals is little valued, being generally esteemed food for the meaner sort of people, allowed by divines to be fish because they live and breed in the water, tho' they feed on land. The yard of the male, and the two stones found in his ears, as large as hen-eggs, are good to dissolve the stone, as well in the kidneys as the bladder. This last is likewise a remedy against a stoppage of urine, being pulverized and dissolved in fair water, and given about a spoonful at a time. As I was once going up this river, I observed in a low island hard by, several small houses set upon stakes, about ten foot from the ground, with a ladder at the door to draw up and let down. Having inquired what these meant, I was told that they were built in that manner to prevent the inhabitants from being injured by the sea-horses, that always feed thereabouts a-nights. The like sort of houses I have seen near the forests, to prevent the ravage of lions and tigers: but what makes me wonder most of all is, at the name of these sea-horses, it being their nature to keep always out of the salt-water, which they hate and cannot subsist in.

Here are no crocodiles as in other rivers, *Other fish.* but there are nevertheless several kinds of excellent fish which are taken various ways, though never in any great number, by reason of the slothfulness of the inhabitants, who are naturally enemies to hard labour. The right of fishing with nets is wholly reserved to the prince, who nevertheless is accustomed to give leave to do it to any that will ask it of him; and when he wants fish, he sends his servants with his own nets for it.

Having sailed up this river, about mid- *Progress* night we arrived at the town of *Pinda*, up the ri- twelve miles from the sea. landing im- mediately, we retired to a church, the first built here by the *Portugueses*, and dedica- ted to the Virgin *Mary* whose statue of *Basso-relievo* is constantly worshipped every Sunday by a vast number of *Negroes* who flock hither for that purpose. Here like- wise was formerly a convent of our order, but by reason of the badness of the air, being too near the river, it was thought ad- visable to remove it to the city of *Sogno* where the count resides, about two miles off. Hither we went next morning with a great

**M**EROLLA great deal of willingness, though I could not say I had wanted for satisfaction all the way I came up this river. Being got to our convent, the count came immediately thither to congratulate and welcome our arrival, and that more especially on account of my companion who had been there three years before. After his visit he ordered us a present of several things of the product of the country. In this our convent we found only one priest, named father Paul da Varese, and he returned to Loanda in a few days in the same skiff that brought us; there remaining then with us only a lay-brother, one Leonard da Nardo, an old man of a good life, and extraordinarily well versed in the customs of the country, thro' the long stay he had made there.

Applicati-  
on to bu-  
siness.

We now began forthwith to apply our selves to the business of our mission, and it fell to my share to celebrate the first mass; but not knowing much of the language, I could not pretend to preach in publick. I therefore hastily composed a short sermon, and preached it in the congregation adjoining to our church, which consists of the better sort of persons, and who generally understand something of Portuguese. Out of some of this congregation 'tis that the counts are mostly chosen, provided they are of the *Sangre de Cagera*, as they call it, which is an expression borrowed from Portuguese, and signifies, *The blood of the throne*. My companion always preached publicly every holiday; but we were fain to say mass late, because of the count and his followers, who never came till then. He always came in great pomp, being better attended than any prince of the lower Ethiopia is wont to be. The fifth sunday after *Whitsunide* it happened, that when I was just ready to come out to say mass, the count came in. My companion, and superior, presently spied him, and turning to me, bid me preach that sermon in publick, which I had prepared for the private congregation, that the count might not go without a sermon on that day. I began to stir up my shoulders, and to excuse it, not thinking myself yet qualified to speak in publick; till at length he bid me obey, and God would assist me. I began mass; and after the gospel, the usual time of preaching, took for my text the words of the commandments, *Thou shalt not kill*. From this text I took occasion to inveigh against wizards, who bear a mighty sway in this country, proving, *That it was much worse to kill the soul, by inclining it to diabolical illusions, than to murder the body*. Now because I often repeated the word *kill* in my sermon, the people began to give a great hum. I nevertheless went on, and was rather encouraged thereby to exaggerate the

heinousness of the offence, than affrighted from speaking against it. But the more I raised my voice, the greater was the murmur, I might have said clamour; the count only all this while continued silent. At length the sermon being ended, and the substance of it explained by the interpreter according to custom, I and my superior were in a thousand doubts about this humming. We enquired of every one we met concerning it, yet none durst satisfy us therein; but all went away smiling. When all the rest were gone, we took one into the house, and treating him with *agua vite* and roll tobacco, intreated him to tell us the cause of the disturbance in the church, believing it could not be caused by the sermon, in which nothing was to be condemned, either as to the subject or language.

*The discourse*, said he, *was most excellent, though not designed by the father; for the people, though not well skilled in the Portuguese language, imagine that the fathers missionaries know all that has happened, and that hum was a token of their approbation, they having taken his words in another sense*. Pray tell me what has happened, said F. Joseph: I will so, replied he; but take notice, there is no less penalty than death for him that discovers it to the missionaries, and therefore your reverence must take care that you do not make me lose my life. Being assured we would keep his secret, he proceeded thus; *Your reverence must then know, that in the time of holy week, father Paul da Varese officiating in the church, great multitudes of this principality flocked thither from all parts to join with him in devotion. At the same time the devil, who is never wanting to promote his interest as often as he sees occasion, took the opportunity to put it in the count's and his relations head, that several of this congregation, under pretence of religion, were met together with a treacherous design. Hereupon a great number of the count's vassals and friends being assembled to wish him a merry Easter, that prince ordered them to see the oath taken (what this oath is shall be explained hereafter) by such and such as he then pointed out in three several places of his dominions, and whereby (continued he) there are many already dead, and more and more die thereof every day. Is it so? (quoth father Joseph) for the future you shall have no reason to fear any more dying by these means. Neither shall you (said he to the Negro) be in any danger for your discovery of these devilish practices. The second mass after the same father preached, and resuming the subject which I had been upon before, took occasion from thence to hint something against this scandal.*

Towards night we both went to court, *The auditor goes* and desired private audience of the count; which was readily granted us. The first that

Manner of  
giving an  
oath.

A test of  
loyalty.

that began with him was my companion father *Joseph*, who warmly represented to him, *That being a Christian, he had behaved himself like a pagan, commanding those people to make such a devilish oath on a groundless suspicion.* To this smart charge the count at first gave no answer, being no doubt surprized with so unexpected a reproach; but instead thereof, though a *Black*, became almost pale, and thereby convinced us at the same time both of his guilt and remorse. This strange and sudden alteration put me in mind of what the poet said of queen *Dido*.

*Manusque trementes  
Interfusa genas, & pallida morte futura.*  
Virg. l. 4. *Æneid*.

*I cannot believe*, added the father, *that don Antonio Baretto da Silva* (so was this prince's name) *could do this of his own head, but rather imagine it to have been contrived by his counsellors or relations.* The poor count immediately fell on his knees, weeping and lamenting like another *David* before *Nathan* the prophet, and confessing his crime in the following words; *Truly* (said he) *I have been exceedingly to blame, in ordering so barbarous a test of my subjects' loyalty: but since I have sinned like David, like him I also beg pardon.* To which father *Joseph* replied in the words of *St. Ambrose* spoken to *Theodosius* the emperor, *Since you have imitated a king in his sin, follow him in his repentance.* The effect of this was, that the count the same night countermanded his orders, and thereby all further mischief was prevented.

The aforesaid oath *bolungo* is administered to the supposed traitor, by a sort of wizard called *Gangazumbo*, who making a certain composition out of herbs, serpents flesh, pulp of fruit, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink, who if guilty (as they tell you) will immediately fall down in a swoon, or trembling, to the ground, inasmuch that if they did not presently give him an antidote, he would infallibly die away; but if not guilty, no harm would happen to him. A manifest and open cheat this, though not discovered through the blindness of this people; for the wizard in case he has a mind to acquit the accused, omits those ingredients in the composition which he puts in where he designs to condemn him. This order from the count was an absolutely new thing, and never practised before; for he had commanded every one of his subjects, not excepting any, to go to one of those three places where these ministers of the devil reside, and there to undergo a test of their loyalty, after the following manner: the supposed traitor was made to look into a great vat of water, wherein if

he fell he had immediately his head struck off; but if he was innocent, he came away safe and sound. Whence it proceeded that they did, or did not fall, time must discover; but they that performed this work being heathens, it is to be supposed that they poisoned the water.

Now we are upon the subject of these oaths or tests, give me leave to inform you of several other sorts now in use among these wicked people: one of these is called *chilumbo*, and which might rather be said to be applied than administered; for the person accused hath a red hot iron passed over his naked leg; which if it causes any blister, he is forthwith thought guilty; but if not, he is released. The deceit of this is, that if the patient be determined to be acquitted, the subtil wizard has a certain preparation concealed in his hand, of an exceeding cold nature, with which stroking gently over the part, the fire when applied there loses its force; but if he be to be found guilty, that remedy is omitted, and then the iron is left to cause its effect.

The following passage happened when I was in my mission at *Bengo* in the kingdom of *Angola*, on the account of my health: the son of a *Mulatto* being sick, was ordered by a physician to be let blood; and a slave of his that had been a surgeon, undertaking to perform the operation, thro' an unsteady guidance of his lance, happened to prick an artery, whereby soon followed a gangreen, and in a short time the patient died. The father of this youth supposing that the slave had done what he did on purpose, resolved to have him undergo the trial of *chilumbo*, and thereupon immediately caused him to be seized and carried to one of those three beforementioned places where the wizards live. This done, he was soon brought to the test, and had not only the red hot iron passed over his thigh, which burnt him miserably; but the enraged father likewise not contented with what he had already suffered, would needs bind him hand and foot, and after that thrust a flaming torch several times into his face. The knowledge of this coming to my ear the next day, by means of a courier belonging to the bishop of *Loanda*, who likewise heightened the fact, alledging that the *Mulatto* had moreover burnt the slave alive, and afterwards thrown his ashes into the river; I told the courier that I could give no credit to what he related, unless he would bring two witnesses to vouch the truth thereof. Hereupon they were presently produced, but could only affirm, that they saw the *Mulatto* thrust the torch several times in the slave's face; and that they afterwards heard he was burnt and thrown

**MEROLLA** thrown into the river. Upon these depotions I used all the means I could to get the wizard into my power, that had performed this hellish ceremony; but found it impossible, because he had suspected I should be informed of it, and so fled away. The next thing I had to do was to catch the *Mulatto*, which I soon accomplished by the diligence of some special friends. Being brought before me, he accosted me after this manner: *I would fain know (quoth he) for what reason I am brought before you? For having wickedly burnt your slave (said I.) That's not so (answered he) for he is yet alive. Bring him then hither (said I) that I may see whether he be or not.* Hereupon he immediately ordered some others of his slaves to bring him in; which they forthwith did, but bound after that barbarous manner, that it was impossible to loose him without cutting the cords. Then I demanded of the *Mulatto*, *Why he used his slave so barbarously?* He answered, *For having murdered his only child. That was his misfortune, rather than his fault (said I) and therefore you have not done what you can justify. I will justify it (said he) before any magistrate whatsoever. Then you shall do it (replied I) to the bishop of Loanda.* And accordingly I ordered both him and his slave to be sent away to that city. I afterwards heard that the said bishop had discharged the slave, but shut up his master in prison till he had satisfied for his offence.

Account of  
oaths continued.

There are many other species of this test of *chilumbo*, but which I shall only hint at here, they having been more at large described already by father *Montecuccolo* in his *historical descriptions*.

The second way of administering this *chilumbo* test is, by taking a tender and soft root of the tree *banana*, which is put into the mouth of the person accused. Now if this root stick to his mouth, and make him seem to be eating of something clammy, then he is immediately thought guilty, and worthy of punishment; or if it happen otherwise, then is he forthwith discharged.

The third way is, by eating the fruit of a certain palm call'd *embà*, which yields oil: this being first tasted by the wizard, to shew that there is no danger in it to the innocent, is afterwards poisoned and given to the person intended to be convicted; but if that person be wary, and has a mind to come off safe, he must grease the fifts of the distributors, and by those means may escape.

The fourth trial is, by a pot of boiling water, into which the wizard throws a stone, or any other thing of the like nature, and then takes it out himself with his naked hand, ordering the rest to do the same; they that take it without being scalded,

are supposed innocent, whereas the contrary declares their guilt.

The fifth, and which is chiefly practised in the kingdom of *Congo*, is to clap several snail-shells to the accused person's temples; where if they tick he is condemned, but if not, discharged. Let the reader judge if there may not be any fallacy in this way, or not.

The sixth, most in use among the *Blacks*, is to light a torch made of a certain *bitumen* distilled from trees, and to quench the same in water; and afterwards to give that water to the supposed criminal to drink; which, if he be guilty, will do him harm; but if not, will cause no alteration in him.

The seventh is practised only by smiths, who are sometimes wizards, and called by the natives *nole fianzumdu*. The manner of administering this *chilumbo*, is by heating an iron red hot, and afterwards quenching it in water as before; which water is immediately given to drink to those that take the oath. Now if it is observed that they cannot easily get it down, as it sometimes happens, through apprehension only, then are they pronounced guilty without any farther proof; or else, by their easy swallowing of it, discharged.

Others make this trial, by the water wherein their lord's feet have been washed, and which is called *ny-a-masa*. The rest of the kinds I shall omit speaking of, for the reasons before mentioned.

There are other ways of discovering theft and forcery, as likewise for absolving any that have taken the aforesaid oaths.

As for the first, a subtil wizard is commissioned with the name of *nbaci*, who takes a long thread in his hand, either of linen or woollen, and holding one end himself, gives the other to hold to him that is the supposed thief. This done, he applies a red hot iron to the middle of the said thread, and if it burns, the delinquent is fined to the value; or if the thief be great, he is made a slave; but if otherwise, absolved. Whether the devil has any hand in this I cannot decide, not being thoroughly acquainted with the matter of fact.

Concerning the second, to discover who has been dealing with the devil, they make the following experiment: the root of a certain tree called *neassa*, is dissolved in water; and after dissolution that water is put up in vessels, and given to the person accused to drink. Afterwards he is delivered into the hands of several strong men to misuse, and shake about in a manner, that in a very short time he falls down in a swoon; some imagine that this is rather occasioned by poison given him instead of the said root. This tree is pretty tall, and of a red colour, and has a wonderful

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wonderful virtue for curing the tooth-ach and sore gums. It is likewise extremely pernicious to birds who fly from it; for if they should once settle on its boughs, they would immediately fall down dead to the ground.

As for the third, to absolve from any sort of oath, it is performed by a minister called *ganga*, or *nzi*, who rubs the tongue of the person to be absolved with the fruit of the palm that produces oil, and after muttering some few words to himself he thereby frees him from his oath, and so sends him home to his house.

Lastly, there is another sort of trial, which is performed not by the deceitful hand of a wizard, but by a person of some quality, after the following manner. Two obstinate fellows being at law together, and the truth being hard to be got out of them, the judge summons them both to appear before him, where being come he fixes to each of their foreheads a sea-shell, and at the same time commands them to bow down their heads; now he that the shell first drops from is taken for the liar, and the other acquitted.

*A wizard condemned, but pardoned.*

Whilst I was in *Bengo* above-mentioned, my companion father *Francis da Monte Leone*, having seized upon one of the aforesaid wizards, sent him to the *Portuguese* governor to be punish'd, who immediately upon conviction condemn'd him to death: his time of suffering being come, he was exhorted by father *Francis* to confess his crime, but instead thereof, being an obstinate fellow, he gave this answer; *What! would you have me to accuse myself where I have committed no crime? My practice has always hitherto been to do good to all men and not evil; for when the poor people of my country have sowed, and the earth became afterwards dry for want of rain, if I out of mere charity have caused the clouds to dissolve to supply that necessity, was this a crime? If I have conversed with tigers, serpents, lions, and other wild animals, and they have answered me, was there any harm in it? If at a time when there was no boat to be found in the river, I out of pure compassion called crocodiles to carry us over, must this be accounted a sin?* After this and the like manner he justified his crime for some time, yet however at length thought fit to own himself guilty; but because he had been prosecuted by a *missioner*, he was afterwards pardoned his life, and sent bound to *Brasil*.

*The count reprimanded.*

We had not been many months in *Sogo* before the people, through remorse of conscience, discovered to us that the sister of a certain nobleman of that country cured persons publicly by the help of magick; and that moreover to make her

self the better known for a forcerer, she went clothed like a witch, and wore long dishevell'd hair, contrary to the custom of these parts. They further informed us, that she frequently had a drum beat before her to publish her profession, and likewise that she had a son who practised the same art, and lived with her in the house. This being heard by us with great abhorrence, we immediately drew up a charge against both mother and son, and at the same time made use of our utmost endeavours to get them apprehended: but the former being timely acquainted with our designs, escaped up in the country, while the latter fell into our snares, and was sent by us bound to the count. This prince, notwithstanding our diligence to seize the prisoner, gave him nevertheless so much liberty, that he soon found means, though bound, to get to his father's house, by whom he was instantly loosed, and sent to an island in the *Zaire* to be protected. This was the first displeasure we received from the count, whom we afterwards severely upbraided with destroying the tender plants of Christianity in his county, and putting a stop to all the good works we had begun there; telling him, he imitated but ill his predecessor count *Stephens*, who after having extirpated these wicked wizards almost totally out of his dominions, commanded his governors that wherever they were found at any time to have returned, they should immediately be seized, and have their heads lopt off without any further ceremony; and in case any of his officers did not put this law in execution, he was liable to the same sentence. After this manner were our missionaries assisted in their endeavours during count *Stephens*'s reign: nay, he was so zealous in his assistance, that he would travel about with them himself, and observe how things passed with his own eyes; and if he found any whoremonger, he would reprove him in the following words: *Either this woman pleases you, or not; if she does please you, why don't you marry her? and if not, why does she continue with you?*

This reprimand we gave the count success. A cunning trick. He seemed afterwards inclinable in some measure to comply with our desires, alledging that he would willingly bring those offenders to punishment, but that he could not catch them, by reason of their being removed too far up into the country. Notwithstanding the father that had before released his son without authority, being afraid of being imprisoned himself for so doing, thought it advisable to feign himself sick to evade that danger, and consequently sent for me to confess him: I immediately complied with his desires,

MEROLLA desires, and confessed him, but soon found that what he had done was more out of hypocrisy than sincerity; for it is a custom in this country, that where any person has received absolution, he forthwith becomes free from any crime, and may consequently depart at liberty, though he were in hold before. The reason they give for this is, *That if God has pardoned them, how can man pretend to find them guilty?* The same was answered us by the count, when we requested him upon finding out the fellow's dissimulation, to have him imprisoned again. *Have ye not absolved him?* (quoth he) *Is he not free? How then can I pretend to lay hands upon him?* Nor would he hear any reason to the contrary, because the offender was his kinsman.

A wizard  
is not, but  
relig.

A while after the count sent us another of these wizards, with an assurance that for the future he would let none escape that came into his power. This person we immediately carried into a room to examine; but while my companion went into an adjoining apartment to fetch a paper, leaving the prisoner for me and the interpreter to keep, he, notwithstanding our diligence, and the great number of people in the next room, got from us. A dog we had in the house being alarmed at the noise immediately run after him, while I by another way pursued him so luckily, that I soon met him and tript up his heels, and at the same instant follow'd his fall and leapt upon his back, belabouring him with all my might, notwithstanding the fear the people have here of meddling with wizards, with the cord of my *order*, invoking all the while St. Michael and the rest of the saints to my assistance. At the same interim my companion came in, and could not forbear laughing to observe how lustily I laid him on. A little after the people that had brought him to us came up and bound him in such a manner that he could not stir; for you must observe they were not afraid to touch him, by reason of the *agnus* and other preservatives that we had furnished them with. Being thus in our power, we soon brought him to abjure his errors, and afterwards set him at liberty. The laws of this country as to these cases are as follow: If the wizard that is taken be a freeman, and abjures, for the first offence he is only enjoin'd penance; for the second he pays an *Indian* piece of about the value of a slave; but if he offends a third time, he is forthwith sold for a slave, and the price of him distributed among the poor: If he be a slave himself that offends, although it be the first time, he is nevertheless presently sold, and sent among the *Whites*, a thing so much abhor'd by them that they would almost purchase

their redemption with the price of their lives. When any of these three last cases happens, a person is deputed either to receive the money and distribute it as before, or else to take in exchange so much linen as amounts to the value, and this to wrap the dead poor in, after the custom of the country. All which is done without our concerning our selves, lest it should occasion some evil-spirited people to suggest that what we did was rather through a motive of covetousness than any of charity or religion.

So many cases of this nature happen'd *Treachery* to me during my mission, that would suffice to make a volume apart; nevertheless, not to be too tiresome to my reader, I shall content my self with relating only the most remarkable. Upon a time a certain wizard more famous than ordinary was brought before me, whom, not to trust any more to the count, I committed to the custody of the keeper of the church (an office of great gain and much honour, and which is not confer'd by us but upon persons best qualified) to the end that he might imprison him the safer in his own house. This good man, notwithstanding my particular injunctions, not long after set his prisoner at liberty, and placed in his room and in chains a poor slave. At my coming a little while after to examine the offender, not finding him to be the same that I sent, I began to demand of the keeper *what was become of him?* He answer'd me, *That was he*. Then I asked the prisoner, *if he were the person?* To which he reply'd, *He was*. Hereupon I seemed to believe both, yet being certain that I was impos'd upon, I was resolv'd to know the truth: For this end I call'd one of the slaves belonging to the church to me, and commanded him to go immediately and cut off the pretended wizard's head. Hereat the imprisoned slave being affrighted, especially when he saw the ax brought, began to tremble, and cry out, *I am not he, I am not the wizard, but such a one is* (naming him) *whom the keeper has set free, and put me in his stead*. Then turning to the keeper, I said, *What say you to this?* He answer'd, *Father, the wizard is gone forth to seek a livelihood, and has left this person here as a pledge till he returns: but* (continu'd he) *I'll immediately go and look after him, and don't question but to find him*. Hereupon I went along with him, but to no purpose, for the subtle conjurer had very prudently given us both the slip. For this offence I could do no less than deprive the keeper of his place, and he was not a little thankful that I left him his life. Moreover, prisoners escape many times here through the slightness of their

Physicians;  
who, and  
their cunning.

A strange  
judgment.

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their prisons, for being most commonly built with reeds they can't be supposed to be very strong. To remedy this, we generally took care at the arrival of any European vessel to embark our prisoners on board, and to transport them to other countries.

Physicians,  
who, and  
their ex-  
ning.

The infernal practice of sorcery is even abhorred by the natives, and those that make use of it are for the most part the meanest sort of people, serving here either for physicians or surgeons, there being no others in the country. The remedies they have are generally the natural ones, and therefore they have recourse to witchcraft to credit their art, and to make people believe that the virtues of their medicines are communicated to them by the devil. If their physick fails, they excuse themselves, and say, *A certain ominous bird flew over their heads, and hindered the operation of it: or else they assert some other ridiculous lie.* These sorts of incantations are always practised in the night-time. The first thing they say to the sick person after he comes under their cure is, *If you be a mind to be cured, before not to send for any confessor, for his presence will only take away the virtue of the remedy, but likewise deprive you of your life.* When any one dies under their hands, they affirm that there were other occasions of his death than those of his distemper, which puts the parents upon divers cursed methods of finding out the supposed murderers, they being generally of opinion that nobody dies a natural death.

A strange  
judgment.

Dreadful to be remember'd, though not unworthy of memory, was a case that happen'd in our time, as follows: A certain child had languished for some time under a desperate disease, and which by being the only one its parents had, was their chiefest comfort and support: the relations often solicited them to send for some wizard or other to recover his health, but they would by no means hear of such a proposal, alledging that they never yet had had recourse to any such people upon any occasion whatever. To this the relations reply'd, and asked them, *What they thought the world would say, that they who had but one only child, should suffer it to die for want of being at the expence of a magician?* This they urged so home, and made use of so many other arguments of the like nature, that they at length prevailed upon the deluded parents to send for a wizard hard by: when he came into the house, the mother had her sick child in her arms, which the magician stretching forth his arm to touch, in order to begin his charm, at the same time both the child and the wizard expired: this occasioned so

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excessive an affliction in the father and the mother, that blaming themselves for this impious credulity, and looking upon this accident as no better than parricide in them, before they would bury the body of their unhappy infant, they came to confession at our convent.

MEROLLA

Not unlike this was another accident that happened in this country, while I was there. A certain sick person sent to a magician to come and cure him: the magician came accordingly, but as he was stretching forth his hand, as in the foregoing case, he fell down dead to the ground, miserably losing his own life, at the same time that he endeavoured by wretched means to prolong that of another man.

Another  
judgment.

But let us return to speak a little more of the wicked oaths practis'd among these people. They have another sort of oath which they call *orioncio*: the way of administering this is, by putting exceeding strong poison into the fruit called *nieesi*, sufficiently spoken of before, and afterwards giving that fruit to the supposed guilty person to eat: he has no sooner tasted of it, but his tongue and throat begin to swell to that excess, that if the wizard did not speedily apply an antidote, he must inevitably soon perish under the experiment, and tho' innocent he commonly remains tortur'd for many days.

A further  
account of  
oaths.

The oath called *olubenche* is given after the following manner: the person that takes it has his limbs bound tighter or looser, to force out the truth as they term it, according to the wizard's inclination to find him either guilty or innocent.

As I passed thro' the kingdom of *Angola*, one of the aforesaid sorts of the oath called *bolungo* was administered to a *Mafacca* (so they call the receiver among the *W'ites*) a relation to the king of *Congo*, and to him of *Loango*, one of the powerfullest along that coast, and whose son, as they told me, was to succeed in that kingdom. To this person the *Scingbili* (gods of the earth, being the name they have for their wizards) attributed the cause of its not raining in the month of *March*, at which time it always had accustomed to have rained. He therefore, to satisfy the rage of the people, was to undergo this dangerous test, which he accordingly did, and unexpectedly came off acquitted. The *Scingbili* or wizards boast that it is in their power to grant or prevent either wet weather or a drought.

We having put ashore in one of the ports of this kingdom, as we were on our voyage to *Congo*, and the people having understood who I was, and that I was of a contrary opinion to that of their *Scingbili*, they began immediately to mur-

A wizard  
deserved.

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mur

**MEROLLA** mut against me. Their wizards, to confirm their belief, and to oppose mine, foretold that there should be no rain all that summer. But it so fell out, and Providence I believe had so order'd it, that scarce was I got ashore to say mass, but the heavens began to pour forth their watry wrath against these infidels in such a manner, that these very wizards were afterwards forced to own to me that their knowledge in these matters was not infallible.

Strange  
superstition.

In our convent at *Songo* our fathers had built one apartment two stories high, on purpose to keep some of the church utensils by themselves. No rain having happened that season, the *Scingbili* attributed the cause thereof to our raising our building contrary to the custom of the country. Hereupon the too credulous people came one day in a great rage to pull down that apartment; when one of our fathers immediately going out, demanded of them *what they would have?* Whom they answered in great fury, *That they must either pull down that building, or they should always want rain.* This soon fir'd the pious father, and made him to go on with a great deal of zeal; first reproaching their unwarrantable folly, and after giving them to understand that God was the only disposer of all gifts, whether in heaven, earth or sea, sometimes giving, and sometimes withholding, according as he best saw fit and convenient; and that the ministers of the prince of darkness, such as their *Scingbili*, were only qualified to destroy men both here and hereafter, instead of doing them the least kindness. Make a devout procession, said he, to our Lady of *Pinda*, I assure you God will relieve your wants. So they did, and so it fell out, the earth being soak'd with the rain, the house remaining untouched, and the people satisfied. Since then they have used this in time of distress, and it has happened they have gone from the *banza* with fair weather, and returned well soak'd from *Pinda*.

A wizard  
disappointed.

Whilst my companion father *Joseph* was formerly travelling on his mission in *Sogno*, he came to an open country at a time when the clouds were just ready to disembody their burdens. He there overtook a traveller likewise, who was standing stock still, and murmuring strange words to himself. After which he mounted his bow, and shot an arrow up into the air with great indignation. The father perceiving this, and guessing it to be some of the devilish practices of this country, immediately came up to him, and after having sharply reproved him for his offence, acquainted him, *That he believed all his bellish art would not suffice to keep it from raining that day:* and as he guessed, so it soon happened; for

presently after there fell so great a shower, that the father was wet to the skin, which he was nevertheless pleased with, by reason that it had so plentifully disappointed the wicked forcerer. At this the wretch was much surprized, but would not nevertheless be convinced of his error, affirming, *That this had happened through the power of those that went before him, who were greater proficient in magic than himself.* These provoking words caused the black Christians that were along with the father to seize upon the wizard, and to give him that chastisement which his crime deserv'd.

In the country about *Coanza*, a river to be passed in the way to *Singa*, a certain *soua* or lord of the manor caused himself to be accounted a *Scingbili*, requiring his vassals to make their addresses to him when they wanted rain. One of our fathers coming thither, and detesting the impious abuse, did what lay in his power to get him seized; but being disappointed thro' the quality of the person, he was forced to have recourse to a milder remedy; and no doubt inspired by God, he told the inhabitants, *That if they did not rid out of their hearts that cursed opinion, they'd never have any rain.* As the father prophesied, so it happened; for ever since, for seventeen years together, they have not had one drop in those parts, whereby the earth is become so dry, especially considering the climate, that it has yaw'n'd wide in most places, and seems with so many mouths to beg pardon of the Almighty Dispenser of benefits for the blasphemy of their lord. 'Tis true, the best come-off they have for this offence is, that the said father, after their disobedience, cursed the air; and so caused it to withhold its favours from them. Notwithstanding the curse on his country, and the loss of his vassals, who went to live in other parts, the obstinate *soua*, unwilling to own his error, still continued to pretend to the same power.

To conclude speaking any more of oaths, I will give one terrible instance relating to them, which happened in the kingdom of *Matamba*, being the dominions of the queen of *Singa*, and related to me by father *Francis da Pavia* a missionary there. Upon an affair something more considerable than ordinary, a certain friar of our order thought fitting to give an oath on the holy evangelists to two of the greatest magicians, counsellors to the queen. At first they refused to take it, but at length consented, saying to themselves, *What harm can happen to us by so doing? We had better satisfy the father in so indifferent a matter, than disoblige him by a refusal.* Hereupon they presently agreed to take it, and swore,

but

A diabolical custom.

Inspired  
obedience.

Another  
judgment.

Great  
treachery.

but falsely, when a strange accident happened. The first of these burst, and fell down dead, while he had his hand on the mals-book; and the other languished away, and died in about six hours after. Which taught others to be more cautious how they jested with God.

*A diabolical custom.*

From the death of these two magicians of the higher rank, let us proceed to speak of other wizards, who most commonly die violent deaths, and that for the most part voluntarily. For the present I shall only speak of the head or chief of these wretches, from whom the rest take example. He is stiled in the country language *Ganga Cbitorne*, being reputed god of the earth, and to whom is consequently paid the first fruits of all it produces, due to him, as they say, as its author, and not either to the ordinary work of nature, or to the extraordinary one of Providence. This power he also boasts to be able to communicate to others, when and as often as he pleases. He further asserts, that his body is not capable of suffering a natural death; and therefore to confirm his adorers in that opinion, whenever he finds his end approaching either thro' age or a disease, he calls for such a one of his disciples as he designs to succeed him, and pretends to communicate to him his great power; and afterwards in publick (where this tragedy is always acted) he commands him to tie a halter about his neck, and to strangle him therewith, or else to take a club, and knock him down dead. This command being once pronounced, is soon executed, and the wizard thereby sent a martyr to the devil. The reason that this is done in publick, is to make known the successor ordained by the last breath of the predecessor, and to shew that he has the same power of producing rain, and the like. If this office were not thus continually fill'd, the inhabitants say, *That the earth would soon become barren, and mankind consequently perish.* In my time one of these magicians was cast into the sea, another into a river, a mother and her son put to death, and many other banish'd by our order, as has been said.

*Great country.*

In the first year of our arrival in these parts there happened a passage worthy to be remembered, which before I can begin with, I must go some years back with my story. Upon the late king of *Congo's* death, two very considerable persons pretended to that crown, either of whom did all that in him lay to procure the count of *Sogno*, a powerful elector, on his side. One of these, whose name was *Simantamba*, made him several presents of slaves for that purpose, but which had been all taken by force; and therefore the fathers that were

then at his court advis'd him by no means to accept of them. To this the count answered, *That he had already considered of the matter, and was inclinable to be of their opinion, that he ought not to accept of them.* Some time after the same *Simantamba*, to ingratiate himself the further into this prince, and to engage him in a stricter tie of friendship, requested his sister of him for a wife. To this the count so readily consented, that he not only sent him her forthwith, but likewise the crown it self, which it seems he had then in his possession, together with a velvet throne, several other things of great value, and divers arm'd troops. *Simantamba* having advice of the approach of his spouse, went out several days journey to meet her; and the better to avoid the snares that might be laid for him by his rival in the crown, thought it proper to set down and fortify himself in a very strong wood. The count's army arriving some time after with songs, musick, and dancing, entered the wood with great alacrity, which *Simantamba's* followers perceiving, and fearing some treachery by reason of so great a number of people sent by the count, advis'd their master to oppose their entrance: But he trusting too much to his security, rejected their advice, and consequently soon became a martyr to his credulity; for the count's army had no sooner got possession of the wood, but they set upon both him and his followers with pistols, and killing the greatest part, forced the rest to fly. Thus instead of a joyful *bymen*, this prince met with a barbarous death, and which together with that of his friends, suited with the description made by *Virgil* in the second book of his *Aeneids*.

*Luctus ubiq; pavor, & plurima mortis imago.*

Some time after the brother of this deceased prince got together a great number of people to revenge his brother's death; and his first exploit was the taking of a great part of the county of *Cbiouacbianza* belonging to *Sogno*. To recover which, the count, at our being there, raised a great army likewise, and marched directly towards the chief city of his antagonist. At his arrival he found all the inhabitants fled; whereupon the *Sogno's* soldiers fell immediately to rifling of the houses, and moreover began to kill all the living creatures they met in their way, to satisfy their hunger. Amongst the rest they found a cock of a larger size than ordinary, with a great ring of iron about one of his legs, which occasion'd one of the wisest among them to cry out, *Surely this cock must be bewitch'd, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with.* To which the rest answered, *Be*



*MEROLLA* it what it will, we are resolved to eat it.

For this end they immediately killed, and tore it to pieces after the manner of the *Negroes*, and afterwards put it into a pot to boil. When it was enough, they took it out into a platter, and two, according to the custom, having said grace, five of them sat down to it with great greediness. But before they had touched a bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled pieces of the cock, tho' sodden, and near dissolved, began to move about, and unite into the form they were in before, and being so united, the restor'd cock immediately raised himself up, and jumped out of the platter upon the ground, where he walk'd about as well as when he was first taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining wall, where he became new feathered all of a sudden, and then took his flight to a tree hard by, where fixing himself, he after three claps of his wings, made a most hideous noise, and then disappeared. Every one may easily imagine what a terrible fright the spectators were in at this sight, who leaping with a thousand *Ave Marias* in their mouths from the place where this had happened, were contented to observe most of the particulars at a distance. The cause of their preservation they attributed to the grace that was said before they sat down; otherwise they were of opinion that they should all have been either possessed or killed. I having related this story to father *Thomas da Sifola*, one of our order, who had been superior of a mission to *Congo* and *Angola* for above seven years, he told me that whilst he lived in *Congo* he heard two persons aver that the before-mentioned *Simantamba* had a very large cock, from whose manner and time of crowing he observed with great superstition whether his undertakings should be unlucky or prosperous. But notwithstanding the infallibility of his oracle, we find he was deceived when he made that last expedition wherein he lost his life. Whether this cock of his was the same mention'd before to have been restored to life after a most miraculous manner, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Portugueses  
beat the  
Sognefe.

The same father *Thomas* acquainted me how he and his companion had been abus'd in their mission at *Sogno*, and sent among the pagans into the kingdom of *Angoi*, which was after the following manner. A king of *Congo* being desirous to be crown'd, had recourse to the *Portugueses* of the kingdom of *Angola* for their assistance, with condition that in case he succeeded in his design, he would give them the country of *Sogno*, and two mines of gold to boot. 'Tis his profler being not unwelcome to the

*Portugueses*, they immediately assembled themselves to take possession of it, to the end that thereby they might be more secure of having their bargain performed after they had done their work. At the same time the king gather'd great numbers of his subjects together to join the *Portugueses*, adding moreover a certain company of *Giaghi* under the *calangola* (a chief among this barbarous people, that delight in feeding on man's flesh) all which immediately set forward towards *Sogno*. The count being soon acquainted with these proceedings, raised a prodigious army likewise, and therewith went out to meet his bold invaders. But it so happened, that by reason the *Sognefe* army were wholly unacquainted with the fire-arms and manner of the *Portuguese* fighting, they were soon discomfited and routed, leaving the field, and an innumerable number of prisoners, together with the dead body of their count, to the conquerors.

After this victory obtained, the afore-said *calangola* propos'd to the *Portuguese* captain to have all the prisoners killed, and given to his soldiers to eat, alleging that *the next day they should take as many more, and they would then not be able to keep both.* This propos'd the captain either thro' clemency or interest refus'd to consent to, telling the *Calangola*, that his men, if they pleas'd, might feed for the present on the dead bodies, and in the mean time he would consider of his request. Whilst this pass'd, the countess dowager, together with all the people, petition'd the said captain, *That he would proceed no further with his hostilities, and be should be fully satisfied in what he demanded.* To which the captain answer'd, *That he was resolv'd to go on as far as the farthest\* banza, to teach the Sognefe people the bounds of their obedience to Congo.* Hereat the people being extremely enraged, one of the principal among them being of the blood of the counts, stood up, and told them, *That if they would elect him for their count, he would soon rid them of their fears of the Portugueses.* To this the affrighted people immediately consented, and at the same time chose him for their sovereign. Being thus chosen, he began to unite and fortify the distracted minds of his subjects; and to the end they might quickly be in a condition to take the field, he gave them the following instructions. First he order'd them to shave their heads (which custom continues even to this day among these people, whether males or females.) Next he commanded them to bind palm-leaves about their temples, to the end that in the battle they might be thereby distinguished

\* Banza is a name given to the cities here.

from

from those Blacks that accompanied the Portuguese. He further advised them not to be afraid either of the noise or flashings of guns, since they were only as bugbears fit to fright children, and not men of courage. He moreover cautioned them against minding those European trifles which their enemies the Whites were accustomed to throw among them, when they had a mind to disorder and make them break their ranks. He likewise ordered them to shoot always at the men, and not the horses, these last being inconsiderable in war, and nothing like to the nature of tygers, lions and elephants. He commanded them moreover that if any among them turn'd his back, they should immediately strike off his head; and if more than one did the same, the rest should serve him the like: For (says he) *we are all resolved to die a glorious death, rather than live a miserable life.* Lastly, to the end that his followers might go on under him with the less concern, he commanded them to kill all their domestick animals; and the better to encourage them therein, was the first that set them an example, by killing his own in their fight. This he did likewise to prevent the Portuguese (in case they should have the better of him) from having any thing to triumph over, and feast with in his dominions; and rather chose to have his subjects feed on them, to hearten and strengthen them for battle, than to have his enemies fatten and regale on his spoils. Now because his orders had been so punctually observed in this particular, the whole race of these beasts, especially of cows, has almost been totally destroyed ever since; insomuch that I myself have known a young maid sold here for a calf, and a woman for a cow. To reinforce this his army, the last thing this count did was to call in his neighbours to his assistance, together with whom and his own subjects having composed a wondrous force, he forthwith march'd out into the field. His enemies through too great a negligence and contempt of his power, soon betrayed themselves into his hands; for marching on without the least order, they gave opportunity to an ambush that lay ready for them, to break, and put them easily to flight. The first that fled were the *Giagbi*, being the troops under their *calangola*, and the forces of the king of Congo followed soon after. The slaves that had been taken in the battle before, finding here an opportunity to escape, run like madmen in amongst their friends, and having their arms unloosed by them, presently turn'd all their fury upon the remain-

ing Portuguese, who still kept their ground; but at length being overpower'd by numbers, they were forced to give back, and were all kill'd in the pursuit, except six who were taken prisoners, and brought before the count; who demanded of them, *If they would chuse to die with their companions, or survive to be made slaves?* To which they answer'd, with an accusom'd Spanish resolution, *Never did Whites yet yield to be made slaves to Blacks, neither would they.* Which answer soon caused their destruction, for scarce were the words out of their mouths, but they were all killed upon the spot. All the artillery and baggage was taken by the *Sognefe* army; the former of which, together with some pieces of cannon bought of the *Hollanders*, served to furnish a fortress built with earth at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, which commands both the said river and the sea.

Before they left *Loanda*, the Portuguese In sur-army had desired of the commander of the *Armadilla* (so they call'd their fleet by reason of the smallness of it) *that as he sail'd along the coasts of Sogno, where-ever he saw great fires burning he should anchor.* Now after the obtained victory, the *Sognefe* soldiers spent all their nights in jollity and merriment about such fires, as had been described; which the ships immediately perceiving, dropt their anchors hard by, and were preparing to land their force; while discovering from the shore a Portuguese slave that hal'd them, they soon took him into a boat, and found he had been sent by the count to the governor of *Loanda* with a leg and an arm of a White; together with this insulting message, *Go carry the news of your defeat, together with this present, to the governor of Loanda your master.* Thus you may perceive the seamen, if they had landed, had been in the same case with the landmen, and instead of imprisoning the Blacks in the shackles they had carried along with them for that purpose, had been undoubtedly in the like condition themselves, and had been at least made slaves of, if they came off with their lives.

What the *Sognefes* say for themselves in justification of this quarrel, is as follows: They ask first, *What right the king of Congo had to give away their country of Sogno to the Portuguese, when it was none of his, but a sovereignty of it self?* And next they would know, *Why the Portuguese, who were not unacquainted with that particular, should be so unjust as to be ready to accept of it, and that in an hostile manner?* They alledg'd moreover, *That when the Hollanders some years since had got possession of the*

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese to put them into disorder, whistled scatter knives, bits of coral and of cloth, about which they ran out to pick up, and so were dispersed.

kingdom of Angola, a great number of Portuguese being ouled thence, fled to Sogno, where they were courteously entertained by the count, who gave them the island of Hortes to live in; and moreover furnished them with all manner of provisions gratis. Now they could not but much wonder that those people whom they had so hospitably relieved, should have the ingratitude to endeavour to take their country away from them. These jars arising upon this occasion, could not but be extremely prejudicial to the infant growth of Christianity in this country, inasmuch that one of our order who lived at Sogno died for mere grief thereof: And I my self met with several people in Chitombo, the place where the battle was fought, who would come no more to confession upon that account.

Barbarous  
usage.

Now to return to our story: The count having received in the aforesaid battle about thirteen wounds, in near the compass of a month, died thereof; and a new one being soon chosen in his stead, he nourished in his heart so great a hatred to the Portuguese, that he resolved for the future to have no more dealings neither with them nor the Capucins, whom he looked upon to belong to them. Whereupon sending for some Flemish merchants that were just then upon their departure out of his country for Flanders, he writ by them to the pope's nuncio there, to furnish his dominion with new priests. The pious prelate upon the receipt of this letter, sent him two Franciscans and one lay-brother, with strict command to them, that if there were any Capucins in the country, they should submit to them as their superiors. These three religious persons being arrived, were received with all the courtesy imaginable, and afterwards conducted to our convent. The count perceiving that he had now got other priests, made use of several false pretences to send ours away; and at last being not able to prove any crimes against them, he had recourse to the most barbarous and arbitrary usage that could be thought on, commanding that they should be dragged out of his dominions for the space of two miles together. This was forthwith executed with the greatest rigour, for the officers of this cruel master, not only tore them along in their own cords, with their faces grating downwards upon the sands, but likewise reviled them all the way with unmerited reproaches and calumnies. All which notwithstanding these pious fathers underwent with the greatest cheerfulness, well remembering what greater punishments and indignities their Saviour had suffered for them before. So great nevertheless were the injuries offered to these fathers, that in no long time after

one of them died; and the other, who was the aforesaid father Thomas, hardly escaped with his life. Being thus misused, and withal unprovided of all necessaries, they were at last left on the confines of the count's dominions, in a little uninhabited island of the river Zaire. Here they made shift to support themselves for two or three days; F. Thomas, who was the least hurt of the two, going out to hunt for their subsistence: but at length they were unexpectedly delivered from hence by some pagan fishermen, who took them on board them, and carried them to a city of theirs called Bombangoi in the kingdom of Angoi. Here arriving at night, they were very courteously entertained by an infidel of the place, who gave them a supper, and moreover assigned them a house, and three women to wait on them after the manner of that country. But our fathers not caring to trust themselves among these people, soon after they had supped, sending away their women, meditated an escape. For this purpose father Thomas, who was the best able to walk, took his lame companion upon his back, and marched out of the house; but he had not gone far, but he was forced, through weakness, to set down his burden under a great shady tree; which as soon as day appeared, for fear of discovery, they made shift to get up into. Their patron coming that morning to visit his guests, and finding them gone, much wondered; and well knowing they could not be got far, by reason of the condition he left them in, immediately went about to search after them. Coming at last near the place where they were, and not having yet found them, a pagan thought came into his head that they might have been carry'd away by some spirits, and which he express'd after this manner; *If the devil has carried them away, I suppose he did it that they might make me no recompence for my kindness.* Our fathers hearing this, could not forbear laughing, even amidst their miseries and misfortunes, and putting out their heads from the tree, cry'd out, *We are here, friend, never doubt our gratitude, for we only went out of the house to refresh our selves with the rays of the rising sun.* Hereat the old man being exceedingly rejoiced, immediately took them down, and putting them into two nets, sent them away to Capinda, a port of the kingdom of Angoi, about two days journey from Bombangoi. Here, if I am not mistaken, the father that had been most harash'd, died; and father Thomas embarking himself not long after, on board a vessel that lay there, departed from Loanda in the kingdom of Angola. One of the two Franciscans that remained yet in Sogno, the other having been

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been gone for *Angola* some time before, be-  
ing extremely affronted at the ill usage of  
these two *Capuchins*, signified to the count  
that he thought himself obliged in charity  
to go in quest of his banished brethren, and  
that either to support them if alive, or bury  
them if dead. This request the count high-  
ly approved of, and consequently gave him  
leave to go. Having hereby obtained his  
desire, he soon set out for *Capinda*, but  
never returned, thinking it rather advise-  
able to go on board the same vessel with fa-  
ther *Thomas* for *Loanda*.

The count  
confined.

His companion the lay-brother not find-  
ing him to return, obtained leave likewise  
to go on the same errand, as well as under  
pretence of hastening his return; but being  
once out of sight, he also was no more to  
be seen. Our convent thus being depriv-  
ed of all its inhabitants, only one lay-bro-  
ther remaining behind, whom the count  
kept locked up for fear of losing him; the  
people rose in great fury against their prince,  
and that for depriving them of the mission  
designed for their good. No prudence be-  
ing capable of opposing this mutiny, they  
at last went so far that they seized upon  
their count, and sent him bound to an  
island of his dominions in the *Zaire*; where,  
that he might not be absolutely idle, they  
left him liberty to command, and after-  
wards chose a new count. This prince be-  
ing but little satisfied with his confinement,  
did all that in him lay to get himself re-  
stored, intriguing incessantly with the neigh-  
bouring nations for that purpose. But  
which coming timely to his subjects ears,  
they once more seized upon him, and ty-  
ing a huge weight to his neck, threw him  
in a rage into the sea, with these words;  
*Over this river you made the poor innocent*  
*Capuchins to pass into banishment for no of-*  
*fence, and into the same go you barbarous and*  
*inhuman monster, for so doing.* Thus ended  
the life of a persecutor of poor harmless  
men, who offended him only in that they  
were either really, or else suspected to be  
*Portugueses*.

A Capu-  
chin well  
treated.

Whilst matters went thus, father *Joseph*  
*Muvia*, who lived then at *Loanda*, after  
some time came to *Sogno*, under pretence of  
carrying away the lay-brother beforemen-  
tioned, with some church-utensils belong-  
ing to the mission, though in reality his  
business was to found the minds of the *Sog-*  
*neze* people. After his arrival at the mouth  
of the river *Zaire*, called by the *Portugueses*  
*Ponta del Padron*, before he would set foot  
ashore, he sent a messenger to acquaint the  
count with his being there. As soon as the  
people heard of it, they hurried away in  
great numbers to see him, and presently ac-  
quainted him how they had dispatched the  
enemy of the *Capuchins* into that river, and

that for the future they would defend those *Makouta*  
holy men to the last drop of their blood. This  
promise they afterwards confirmed by an  
oath at the holy altar. They also at the  
same time earnestly entreated this father,  
that he would continue among them, and de-  
part no more for *Loanda*. To this request  
father *Joseph* answered, That his commission  
from his superior extended no farther than to  
bring away father *Leonard*, together with the  
church goods. In short, so very urgent were  
their intreaties, and so powerful their rea-  
sons, that he was at length prevailed upon  
to tarry with them; and that especially at  
the return of the messenger who brought  
him the same desires from the new count.  
All this gained so far upon him, that he  
not only consented to stay himself, but  
likewise, as a farther token of good-will,  
and pardoning their late offence, procured  
also the injured father *Thomas* to return  
once more among them; and even from  
thence-forward our order has lived in that  
country without the least molestation.

This earldom is very large, even if you *Many have*  
except *Chiovachianza* spoken of before. In  
it there were formerly about six missionaries,  
but there are now for the most part but  
one or two, when there is occasion for a  
much greater number. In the first mission  
my companion went on into these parts,  
above five hundred, as well men and wo-  
men, as children, were baptized by him  
in a day. I have also known here abun-  
dant of mothers come five or six days  
journey, with their infants in their arms,  
to have them christened, or else to confess  
themselves, paying the interpreter to boot.  
How often does it happen among *Europe-*  
*ans*, that many put off the sacrament of the  
blest supper from time to time with no  
small hazard to their souls? whereas in this  
country there is only a want of apostolick la-  
bourers to make the people strict observers  
of the commandments, and constant in the  
faith.

To preserve as much as possible this new-  
planted Christianity, it has been ordered  
that in every city, or place of any note,  
there should be one church at least, and at  
my being here there were in all about eigh-  
teen throughout the count's dominions.  
To every of these there is sent some person  
that has been bred up in our convent, who  
three times a week is to say over the *Rosary*  
to the people, and withal to teach every  
sunday. On all holidays, instead of mass  
the Litany is only sung, and the Christian  
doctrine expounded; and on the first sun-  
day of every month there is a procession to  
be of the *Rosary*. As often as any dedica-  
tion-day of a church happens, the missionary  
takes care to be present himself if he can  
possibly, when great numbers appear, ei-  
ther

**MEROLLA** ther to baptize their children, to marry, or to receive the sacrament.

**Great abuses.** Herein nevertheless there did not want abuses, introduced for the most part by foreigners, rather than the natives, of whom there are many, who through the grace of God live such good lives, that sometimes in their confessions there has scarce been matter for absolution. The first abuse was in matrimony, after the following manner: these people were accustomed to converse with their wives some time before they married them, to try if they could like them; and after the same manner the wives were to experience their husbands. The contracts were made thus: a father and mother seeing their son arrived to an age fit for marriage, send a present (which goes also for a portion) according to their ability, to the father and mother of the person that he fancies, requesting their daughter of them for a wife to their son. Together with this present there is likewise sent an earthen pot full of palm-wine, called by the natives *Cietto à Melassa*. Before the intended wife's parents receive the present, they and their company are to drink up the wine: First, his father is to drink, then the mother; and after them it is handed about among the standers by: if this last ceremony were omitted, it would be accounted a considerable affront. After all this is done, the father is to return an answer either one way or other: if he rejects the offer, he must make his excuses; but if he accept it, he only retains the portion. When the last happens, the husband with his friends and relations goes immediately, upon notice that the present has been accepted, to his wife's father's house; and having there received her of her parents, conducts her to his own. The way of marrying, *in facie ecclesie*, is not at all approved of by them, for they must first be satisfied whether their wife will have children, of which they are very solicitous; whether she will be diligent in her daily labour; and lastly, whether she will prove obedient before they will marry her. If they find her faulty in any of these points, they immediately send her back again to her parents. When the fault proceeds from the wife's side, the husband must have the present he made her restored; but when it happens on his part, he can recover nothing. Tho' the woman through any defect, either in person or behaviour, be returned, yet is she not nevertheless looked upon as the worse for it, but soon after generally undergoes another trial. Being obliged by us to marry, when once they are become so, they will live so christian-like and lovingly together, that the wife would sooner suffer herself to be cut to pieces, than consent to

defile her husband's bed. If it at any time happen otherwise, which I'm confident rarely does, the adulterer is obliged to give the value of a slave to the husband of the adulteress, and she is to go forthwith and beg her husband's pardon for the wrong she has done him; otherwise if he comes to know of her crime, he may easily obtain a divorce. Such as are found to cohabit together without being lawfully married, are fined so much of the country money as amounts to the value of nine of our crowns.

It must be observed, that the father of the bride, when he receives the present for her, though it be never so little, must not complain, for that would be no better than selling his daughter. Wherefore to prevent such a crime, all men are taxed by the publick in those matters how much they shall give, and which is always rated according to their qualities and conditions.

All that the bride's parents receive upon this account, they look upon as due to them for maintaining their daughter to the time of her marriage; so that you may perceive he is to be esteemed the richest person here who has most daughters.

A notable abuse is this other, though practised by the meaner sort of people, and that but seldom. When a man happens to draw near his end, who has taken a woman for his wife, but whom he had not yet married, to save returning the portion, he leaves the concubine to some kinsman. To prevent the which, we have ordered that he who receives a woman in that nature shall be bastinadoed. One of these *Negroes* that had taken his cousin to wife, was once brought before me. This person was of the better sort; but I thought the greater his quality was, the greater would be the scandal if I should let him go unpunished; and therefore having first used admonitions to him, and finding them fruitless, I proceeded to menaces; but all the effect they had was, that instead of quitting her, he made a new present to her father, and thereby insinuated that he had fulfilled the law. Hereupon I caused him to be again apprehended, together with his spouse: and having made a short sermon to them both, and the rest of the people, to shew the heinousness of this crime, upon their further obtnacy, I delivered them up to the people to be dealt with as they thought fit; who taking them into their custody, before they parted with them, severely scourged them both, and moreover deprived the man of a certain office he held, which brought him in great profit.

I said before, that women would have experience of their husbands before they married them, in like manner as the men were



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were to have of them; and in this particular I can aver, that they are commonly much more obstinate or fickle than men, for I have known many of these last that were willing to be married, and the women always hung back, and either fled away or made excuses.

Amongst the many cases of this nature that happened to me in my mission, I shall relate only one more. Being called to confess a sick woman that had a daughter who lived with a man upon trial; before I confessed her, I told her, *That I could not make her partaker of the benefit of absolution, unless she withdrew her daughter from the state of sin she lived in, and obliged her to marry.* To which the sick woman readily answered, *Father, I will never consent that my daughter shall have occasion from me to curse me after I am dead, for obliging her to marry where she does not fancy.* Then I replied, *What, do you then stand more in awe of a temporal, than an eternal curse?* And at the same time calling the daughter to me, I demanded of her, *If she would be willing that her mother should go to hell upon her account?* The wretch hearing this, began immediately to tremble and weep, and calling her feigned husband to her, swore before me, that she would be sure to marry him the first holiday that came; and accordingly she did, for soon after going a fishing with her husband, they happened to have good luck, and therewith they solemnized their nuptials. Hereupon I presently confessed the sick mother, and she not long after died in peace. Notwithstanding this, some obstinate mothers have rather chosen to die unconfessed, than to concern themselves with the marriage of their daughters.

The oeconomy observed between husband and wife is as follows: The man is obliged to procure a habitation, to clothe his wife according to her condition, to prune the trees, to grub up roots from the fields where there is occasion, and also to carry home the palm-wine to their house as often as it rises. The woman on her part is to find meat for her husband and children, and therefore only they have the care of marketing. As soon as rain comes, she goes into the fields, and works till noon, at which time she is to return home to get her husband's dinner. Being got ready, she sets it down before him, who sits only at table, and who after he has satisfied himself, gives the rest to her, and she forthwith divides it between herself and children. I should have told you also, that the wives here wait on their husbands at table.

Another abuse is, that when the women are with child, they clothe themselves from

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the loins to the knees, after the country fashion, with a sort of rind taken off a tree, which is like a coarse cloth, and so neatly interwove, that it rather seems the work of the loom, than the product of the earth. This tree is called *mirrone*, the wood whereof is very hard, the leaves like those of the orange-tree, and every bough sends down abundance of roots to the ground. It is generally planted near the houses, as if it were the tutelar god of the dwelling, the *Gentiles* adoring it as one of their idols: and in some places they leave calabashes full of wine of the palm-tree at the foot of them, for them to drink when they are thirsty; nor do they dare tread upon its leaves, any more than we would on the holy croses. But if they perceive any branch broke, they no longer worship it, but presently take off the bark, or rind, whereof the women with child make those garments, receiving them at the hands of the wizards, who tell them, they ease the burden of the great belly, and cause them to be easily delivered. It is not to be imagined how careful the women are of this tree, believing it delivers them from all the dangers that attend child-bearing. Nevertheless understanding there was one in the liberty of our mission, I went, well attended, and cut it down. The woman it belonged to asked, why it was cut down? I told her I wanted it to cut into planks; and she went into her house without speaking one word more.

The fourth abuse is, that whilst their children are young, these people bind them about with certain superstitious cords made by the wizards; who likewise teach them to utter a kind of spell while they are binding them. They also at the same time hang about them bones and teeth of divers animals, being preservatives, as they say, against the power of any disease. Likewise there are some mothers so foolish, that they will hang *Agnus Dei's*, medals and relics to the aforesaid cords. When these women bring their children to be christened, if we find any of these cords about them, we presently order them to be stop'd in their proceedings, and instead thereof to receive several scourges on their knees, till such time as they recant their error. I will relate only one of the several cases of this nature that happened to me. A woman came to me to have her son baptized, and who at the same time had the magick cord about his waste: I immediately ordered the mother to be whipped; but scarce had she received one stroke before she fell down on her knees, and in great consternation directed herself to me after this manner: *Father, pardon me, I beseech you, for the love of God, because that my child having had four*

7 X

*MEROLLA* of these cords on, I took off three while we were upon the road, and the fourth I assigned to take away as soon as I had opportunity, but forgot it. This caused great laughter in the standers-by, but in me it raised an effect of pity of the simplicity of the woman, inasmuch that giving her only a smart reproof, I sent her away unpunished.

The fifth is, that being to wean any one of their children, the father and mother together lay him on the ground; and whilst they do that, which modestly will not permit me to name, the father lifts him by the arm, and so holds him for some time hanging in the air, falsely believing that by thole means he will become more strong and robust. This ceremony they call the lifting of a child, and is in my opinion the most impudent and superstitious that could be imagined. These people moreover keep their young children always naked upon the ground, to the end they may thereby grow hardy and active; and scarce are they able to walk alone, but they tie a bell about them, to give notice where they are to be found when they have strayed.

A sixth abuse is, that the mothers are accustomed to present their infants to the wizards as soon as born, that they may foretel what good or evil fortune is likely to befall them: for this purpose the false prophet takes the child in his arms, and turning and winding it about, makes his pretended observations upon the muscles and other parts of its body, and afterwards tells the parents what he thinks fit. The same observations are made upon sick persons, to know what has been the occasion of their diseases: if they happen to guess wrong, and the patient comes to die, they never want for excuses to clear themselves.

Seventhly, it is a custom that either the parent or the wizard give certain rules to be observed, observed by the young people, and which they call *chegilla*: these are to abstain from eating either some sorts of poultry, the flesh of some kinds of wild beasts, such and such fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with several other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious observance these commands are obeyed. These young people would sooner chuse to fast several days together, than to taste the least bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it sometimes happen that the *chegilla* has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they shall presently die unless they go immediately to receive it from the wizards. A certain young *Negro* being upon a journey, lodged in a friend's house by the way: his friend before he went out

the next morning, had got a wild hen ready for his breakfast, they being much better than the tame ones. The *Negro* hereupon demanded, if it were a wild hen? his host answered, *No*: then he fell on heartily, and afterwards proceeded on his journey. About four years after these two met together again, and the aforesaid *Negro* being not yet married, his old friend asked him, *If he would eat a wild hen?* to which he answered, *That he had received the chegilla, and therefore could not*. Hereat the host began immediately to laugh, enquiring of him, *What made him refuse it now, when he had eaten one at his table about four years ago?* At the hearing of this the *Negro* immediately fell a trembling, and suffered himself to be so far possessed with the effects of imagination, that he died in less than twenty four hours after.

Eightly; The maids have a custom, that in what place soever they first have their courses come upon them they must continue, though without doors, till one of their kindred comes to carry them into the house; then they have two maids and a separate apartment assigned them, where they must keep locked up for two or three months together, and observe certain superstitious ceremonies, such as, *not to speak to any man, to wash so many times a day, to anoint themselves with taculla*, which is the dust of a red wood tempered with water, and the like. If they should not do this, they are of opinion, that they should never be fit for procreation, though experience shews them the contrary. This superstition is by them called the *castets* of water or fire.

On the feast of the purification of the virgin *Mary*, I had a mind to preach a sermon against these practices; and the better to move the people, I had before placed the image in *relievo* of this blessed saint covered on the altar with a dagger struck thro' her breast, upon which the blood followed: This done, I began to discourse against those women that observed the hellish delusions beforementioned, proving that they thereby not only offended their loving Saviour, but likewise did great injury to his immaculate mother. At the same instant I drew aside the curtain, and discovered the image, which the people perceiving to be wounded and bloody, began immediately to relent, and broke out into the extreme grief. Among the many present there was one father of a family that had a daughter then shut up upon the foregoing account; who returning home in a great passion, fell upon both wife and daughter, and banged them to that degree, that they were glad to come immediately to our church to be confessed.

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The ninth and last abuse is, that all the fields of this country being without fences, their owners, to preserve their corn, plant about them several rows of stakes, which being bound round with bundles of herbs by the wizards, they tell you will kill any such as shall offer either to rob or do them damage.

Law and  
ordinances.

To remedy as much as possible all these disorders, which for the most part are practised either by women or men of no consideration, we have thought proper to issue forth the following ordinances.

First, That all the *mani's* or governors either of provinces or cities, who are not lawfully married, shall be forthwith deprived of their governments, to the end that they may not by their ill examples with-hold the common people from their duty. To get this the better observed, we drew on our side all the principal courtiers, whom we persuaded to marry their wives without desiring to have any foregoing experience of them. This pious endeavour of ours, thro' the grace of God, succeeded so well, that all that embraced it were esteemed; and such as opposed it either despised, or punished.

Secondly, That all the women which were great with child should be confessed, and communicate oftner than they were wont to do, and especially such as were near their time; both whom we likewise enjoined to wear religious relics instead of the wizards mats.

Thirdly, That all mothers should make the cords they bound their infants with of palm-leaves that had been consecrated on palm-sunday, and moreover guard them well with other such relics as we are accustomed to make use of at the time of baptism.

Fourthly, That all fathers and mothers should at certain times offer up their children to God, and that in the church before some image of our Saviour.

Fifthly, That all mothers after the birth of their first-born should carry it to the church, and perform the ceremony which is called entring into the holy place; and if it be sick, we ordered its mother to recommend it to the Lord, together with some sort of vow.

Sixthly, That the parents should enjoin their children to observe some particular devotion, such as to repeat so many times a-day the *Rosary* or the *Crown* in honour of the blessed Virgin, to fast on Saturdays, to eat no flesh a Wednesdays, and such things used among Christians.

Seventhly, Those women that should be found shut up for the future on account of their conception were to be scourged, and which was forthwith executed by order

from the count: but if through necessity <sup>METOLA</sup> they were obliged to keep up, then they were enjoined only to repeat the *Rosary* on common days, and to hear mass on all feast-days.

Eighthly and lastly, Whipping, as life-wife imposed on all such as should rob, or otherwise do damage in any field, so that instead of the magical power their owners had planted to preserve their corn, and to render it fertile, they should make use of consecrated palm-branches, and here and there set the sign of the cross. And further, to the end that all the natives should be left standing at the time of reaping the corn, we sent always a good company of our scholars at that season with a standard, to run over the fields, and see that all was in order; and also to back their authority, we procured several of the count's sons and relations to accompany them, who might warrant the pulling down any spells or enchantments which they should meet with in their way.

Being thus got into the spacious fields <sup>Difer'pti-  
on. &c. of  
Sogno.</sup> of *Sogno*, let us take a view by the by of the situations, possessions, habitations and manner of living, and clothing of those *Ethiopians*. The earldom of *Sogno* is absolute, except only its being tributary to the kingdom of *Congo*. It is a *peninsula*, bordering on the east upon *Bamba*, a dutchy belonging to *Congo*, and divided from it by the river *Ambrije*: on the west and south it has the ocean, and on the north it is bounded by the river *Zaire*, which divides the Christians from the pagans of the kingdom of *Angoli*, and is seated in the torrid zone, being only six degrees distant from the equinoctial line. It has several islands in the *Zaire*, which are all inhabited by Christians. The election of the count is performed by nine electors, who for the most part chuse a new one before the old one deceased is buried. During the interim of the *jede vacante* (vacancy of the throne) a child governs, who is obey'd by all as if he were their real prince. As soon as the election is made, we missionaries are acquainted with it by order, to the end that if we approve of it we may publish it in the church, otherwise the election goes for nothing.

The count being dead, the countess <sup>Countess  
dowager.</sup> dowager (like the queen dowager of *Congo*) returns with her children to her first habitation, where she is to exercise no dominion, but becomes a private woman, only retaining a privilege to take place next to the countess-regent. Sometimes it happens that there are three or four of these countess-dowagers living at a time, and that because the women in this country are much longer-liv'd than the men, as also that

MEROLLA that it is lawful for no body to marry these countesses except the successor only.

Their duty is to observe continence strictly in their widow'd state; for if any of them should be proved guilty of unchastity, they must either undergo death by fire, or the sword. If either the son, or any other person of the blood has a mind to succeed his relation even in the life-time of the dying prince, there commonly arise great troubles to the state; for they generally by factions get possession of the throne, and exclude the electors from doing their duty. It is therefore that the death of all counts is always concealed as much as possible, inasmuch that sometimes the blessed sacrament has been forborn to be given them, for fear of discovering the occasion by the priests going to court.

Policy.

It once happened that I was called to court to comfort the indisposed count, but the messenger it seems had a particular order to conduct me by the most unfrequented road. I went, and being come into the count's presence, after having received me with all the civility imaginable, he demanded of the courtier what people he had met by the way: he answer'd, only three or four, and named them. After which, without any reply to him, he address'd himself to me, and discours'd of many things relating to my mission. I knew such discourse could not be the cause of his sending for me, and therefore after some time intreated his highness to discover to me the occasion of it: He answer'd, *The occasion of my sending for you, father, was only to see you, and to delight my self with your conversation.* But as I was afterwards informed by a person about him, his reason was to have some remedy from me for his indisposition; yet altho' I had been above an hour with him, he had not the courage to open his mind to me, fearing lest even I should discover his illness to be greater than it really was, and therefore the better to keep me in ignorance, he immediately caus'd himself to be lifted out of the bed. My companion soon after returning from his mission in the neighbouring parts, found several dead bodies in the road, which we discovering to the count, fearing it was by his order they had been murdered, he frankly own'd that they had been sacrific'd to the interest of the state. We told him our sense of such practices, and withal enjoined him a severe penance for the fact.

The count's sons.

The sons of the deceased count remain likewise no more than private gentlemen after his death; and if their father in his life-time has a mind to buy them any estates, he must publish throughout his whole dominions, that he has done it with

his own money, legally arising from his own rents, otherwise his children would run a risk to be deprived of the possessions, as, for want of such a proclamation, it has often happened they have been. The counts have another way to leave livelihoods to their children or friends, and that is by grubbing up woods belonging to his crown, and thereby reducing them to arable lands, which he is at liberty to grant as he thinks fit. This way we have likewise made use of to subvert any slave baptized into our church, and for whom we have begged some of this land for him to cultivate to his own profit.

The count's dominions are very large, *Dominions* and in which are many cities called *banza*, one of the principal of which is *Chiova*, but the greatest of all is the *banza* of *Sogno*, where the count resides. This *banza* is always governed by one of the count's near relations or friends, and who has only the name of governor, the rest having only the title of *mani*. There are likewise several territories and towns subject to these cities, which are termed by the natives *libattas*.

Every governor or *mani* on the feast- *Governors* day of St. James is obliged to appear with all his people at the *banza* of *Sogno*, to assist at the first mass said there. If any one be any ways hindered from coming, he must send a deputy in his room, which if he neglects to do, he will both lose his employment, and pay a fine besides.

On the same day every one is to pay al- *Manner of* legiance to the prince after the following *paying o-* manner. In the great market-place near *bedience.* our convent a throne is erected for the count, who in the presence of all the people comes to receive benediction from the missionary, who attends for that purpose in the church-porch: he afterwards exercises two feats of arms. In the first, after the custom of the country, having on his head a crown of flowing feathers, he makes use of a bow and arrows: In the other, being adorned with a hat with plumes of feathers on it, a chain and cross of gold about his neck, to which is fixed a long rope of coral which hangs down to his knees, together with a short scarlet cloak, all embroidered, on his shoulders, with two open places to put out his arms on each side, and several other fine things, he exercises with the fuzee. In both these he is at the same time imitated by the people, who herein use the same gestures and motions they would do in case they were either to attack or defend themselves against their enemy. As soon as the count has ended his exercise he goes to sit upon his throne, which is prepared for him under a great tree that stands on the south-side of the market.

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market-place before-mentioned. After him the captain-general having received the like benediction with his master, performs the same thing that he had done before him, and wherein he is also followed by all the people, with divers ways of attacking, retreating, and other stratagems of war, called by the nations *safibelari*. As soon as he has done, he places himself on a high seat covered with leather, built up for him on the east-side of our church: This he does, that he may both the better be seen, and observe the military exercises performed successively by the electors and the *mani*, each being as a captain at the head of his company, and who every one carry a specimen of that which they are obliged to offer every year to the count for the subsistence of himself and court. For example; if they are to give fish, they carry a couple of fish tied together on the head of a spear: if oil, then they shew the palm-fruit that produces it: if flesh, they carry a horn of some beast; and sometimes I have seen a man wrapped about in a cow's skin to demonstrate that duty. At the same time the *mani's* dispose of the *syndicship* to him that is most worthy, and remove such as have ill executed their offices from their employments. The great number of people met together from all parts to assist at this ceremony, occasions us also a great deal to do during the space of fifteen days: for some apply themselves to us to be married, others to confess themselves, and some to baptize their infants. I think of these last, for my share, I baptised about two hundred and seventy two in one day. All the aforesaid ceremonies being at an end, the people return home each to their own country, but not without craving a blessing from father missionary.

This ceremony is begun on St. James's day, by reason that apostle is looked upon as the patron and protector of all these parts, and that for having given a famous victory to the king of Congo against the idolaters on his day. The manner according to the common report was this.

*Account of a famous victory.*  
*Giovi*, the first christian king of Congo, being dead, *Don Alphonso* his son, no less heir to his virtuous actions than crown, succeeded him. *Panfanguitima* his brother thinking his title not good, because he had changed his religion for the christian faith, in a short time rebelled, and having no better warrant than his sword, moved against him with a numerous army of idolaters. *Don Alphonso* not a little surprized at this attempt, marched out to meet him with a small number, trusting to the merits of his cause, and the assistance of our

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Saviour: they soon came to a battel, and tho' the idolaters were very numerous, yet were they immediately routed, and *Panfanguitima* himself wounded. After the battel this prince fled to a certain retired place in the mountains, where being met with by some Blacks that were Christians, they seized upon and took him prisoner, and afterwards brought him bound before the king his brother: the king seeing him in that condition, embraced him with all the bowels of a loving brother, and being extremely concerned to find him so desperately wounded both in soul and body, made it his utmost endeavours to get him healed of both. But no christian charity was able to prevail upon the stubborn and obstinate pagan *Panfanguitima*, who giving himself up altogether to despair, would suffer neither remedy nor comfort, and so in a short time died. It did not so happen to his lieutenant-general, for he having heard the dreadful sentence of death pronounced against him in case he did not turn Christian, chose rather to be baptised than to die a martyr to his former opinion. Hereupon the king immediately caused his bonds to be loosed, and set him free, only enjoining him this penance, *That for a certain time he should be obliged to bring water for all such as were to be baptised.* Now upon report that St. James was visibly seen assisting at this battel, he has ever since been received for the patron of Congo and Angola, and some other neighbouring nations.

The office of the *mani* is to receive the king's revenue, and to employ husbandmen to manure the crown-lands when the rains have rendered them fit to till. At the time of reaping, these officers reserve a certain part of the corn for themselves, being their due, and a perquisite annexed to their employ. As for the administration of justice, whether civil or criminal, it all belongs to them, except in some particular cases, reserved to be determined either by the prince or his delegates. The parties in law having joined issue to come to a trial, the plaintiff first urges his reasons on his knees before the judge, who sits on a carpet with a little staff of authority in his hand, and under the canopy of a shady tree, such as are wont to grow in the great mens court-yards here. Sometimes the judge hears causes in a great straw-hut built for that purpose. When he has gravely given ear to all the proofs the plaintiff can bring, he proceeds in like manner to hear the defendant: after which he calls for the witnesses, and if they do not attend, the cause must be put off to another day: if the witnesses appear and give their testimony, the judge after having seriously

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*MEROLLA* weigh'd and considered the proofs and allegations of both parties, proceeds to pronounce sentence according to the dictates of nature and reason, and not through any knowledge of any kind of laws. He that has judgment pronounced in his favour, after having paid so much to the judge's box, extends himself all along with his face to the ground, being a posture whereby to demonstrate his gratitude. When all is over, and the plaintiff about to return home, his friends and relations begin to set up their throats, repeating all the way to his house the conqueror's cause, and the judgment pronounced in his favour. Being got home, he is obliged to treat those that had accompanied him, and sometimes scarce a night and a day are sufficient to bound their merriment: if the case be considerable, they commonly feast for three or four nights together with no small charge to him that invites. All this while the unfortunate person having had the cause gone against him, remains silent and quiet, returning to his habitation without the least murmur or ill-will.

There are other sorts of feasts which are wont to be kept by the *Blacks*, such as upon the birth-days of their patrons, their assumption to any dignity, or the like: it is then that every one endeavours to make his lord a present suitable to his capacity, and moreover assits at the common solemnity besides.

Having thus given a short sketch of some feasts in use among these new Christians, I will likewise take a little notice of one of the pagans of these parts, and that especially upon the birth-day of the *caffangi*, the most potent emperor of the *Giagbi*, with some other particulars relating to his dominions. What I am about to tell you was communicated to me by father *John Baptist de Saleano*, a friar of our order, who accidentally happened to be in this country on the day this feast was solemnized. The dominions of *caffangi* are very considerable, not so much for their bordering upon the kingdom of *Matamba*, as because of their continued enmity with the queen of *Singa*, a friend to the *Portugueses*. This queen has formerly been very serviceable to the *Whites*, but now they generally make use of the assistance of another prince of the *Giagbi*, called *galangola*, as has been observed before. But to speak of the feast made by the *caffangi*: His subjects being summoned together, appear in a vast body in some spacious plain. After they are thus met, they gather themselves into a ring, leaving a large void in the middle, where there are several trees: on the top of one of which they erect a sort of scaffold capable to contain the *caffangi*, with

the chiefest of his lords: afterwards, at a convenient distance, they chain down to the trunk of a tree one of the fiercest lions they can meet with. When all this is done, and the emperor with his court placed as aforesaid, the people begin to set up a huge noise, which joined with the untunable discord of a great number of odd musical instruments, composes a hellish harmony. After this a sudden sign is given for all to be hush and silent, and then the lion is immediately loosed, though with the loss of his tail, which is at the same time whipped off to make him the more furious. At his first loosing he commonly stares about, and seeing himself at liberty, tho' not altogether free, by reason of the multitudes that surround him, he immediately sets up a hideous roar, and afterwards, being greedy of revenge, rushes upon some part or other of the company, where tearing one, and rending another, he makes a fearful havock among them: all this while the people run round him unarmed, being resolved either to kill him with their bare hands, or to perish. At last the wild beast having been the death of a great number of his assailants, is nevertheless forced to yield to the pressing crouds that gather on all sides about him; when the lion is killed, they all greedily devour the dead bodies; after which their musick begins again, and so they return singing and dancing, and crying aloud, *Long live our caffangi, long live our caffangi*, to their emperor's palace, where being afterwards treated by him, they at length return with great joy to their own homes.

Now let us leave the *Giagbi*, and return *Missioners* to speak farther of *Sogno*. To maintain this country in its due obedience to the christian faith, no small number of priests is necessary. In former times there have been a father-superior, and six missionaries all at once. In my time there was only I and one companion: the means we made use of to make these people live well has been hinted at before; what remains is to inform you, that as soon as any missionary is arrived in any city, the *mani*, or governor thereof, at night, when all the inhabitants are retired to their houses, publishes a proclamation to acquaint the people, *That a missionary is come thither, and that they must all appear before him to have their spiritual necessities relieved, and continue so long with him as such a business will require.* If the *mani* himself appear negligent in this, or occasion any manner of disturbance, he will receive a deserved punishment, for we make it our business to get such a person removed from his employment, even within his year.

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*Wizards.* At my first going out on my mission, I found near a city called *Tubit*, a place where the wizards practised their forceries. No doubt Providence directed me to discover this hellish trade, for whilst I was walking along, I saw a large white bird flying before me, such as I had never seen before in these parts; my curiosity led me to have a nearer view of it, and in order thereto I followed it into a thick and shady grove somewhat dark, at the end whereof I observed a large heap of earth in form like a tomb, with a great number of arche and calabashes at the top, and at both ends. Being pretty well assured what this was, I presently sent for the *mani*, who came trembling to me, and protested he knew nothing of the matter; I commanded him to inform himself then, and to get me the wizard speedily seized: He said he would, but I not caring to trust his diligence, returned the next night to the same place, expecting to have found the wizard there; but he it seems having been acquainted with my proceedings, took care to disappoint me by running away, as they all do as soon as they hear we make any search after them. Then I order'd the *mani*, that *within ten days time he should grub up and level all that place*, which he nevertheless disobeyed me in; whereupon I caused him to be summoned before the count in our convent, where after a severe reprimand I commanded him to discipline (scourge) himself in the middle of our church during the whole time that I was celebrating of mass, adding withal several other punishments in case he did not level the said grove at his return home.

*Churches and houses.* The churches for the most part are built here with boards, and ours, as exceeding the rest, was capable of holding five hundred persons. In the *banza* of *Sogno* there were five other churches, in one of which the counts were always buried, and another was the chapel royal. The houses are generally thatched, and the four sides of them are fenced with palm-branches, or leaves interwoven not contemptibly with each other: The floors are of loam well beat and hardned, and the roofs and cielings made of thole rushes we are us'd to bottom chairs withal. The lord's house is of a quadrangular form likewise, and built with boards, but the front is always painted with a sort of colour that issues out of the planed wood: The like any of the gentry may have, if they can obtain leave from their lords. Within these houses are hung with a sort of offer mats variously coloured, but we *Capuchins* are wont to have ours done with rushes, as more warm in winter.

*The count's habit.* The count's habit differs according to

the several feasts, and sometimes on other *Misrolla* occasions: His ordinary wear is a vest of straw-cloth girt close about him, but of such workmanship as may be only worn by him, or by those that he thinks fit to honour with that privilege. This vest hangs down to the ground, as does likewise a long bays cloak he wears over it on his bare back. On the feast-days he changes this cloak for a short scarlet one fringed all round with the same cloth pink'd. On the most solemn days he puts on a shirt of the finest lincn, as likewise yellow or crimson silk stockings, and a cloak of flowered silk, which bears the name of the *spring*. When he comes to communicate with us at the altar, he has a cloak all white, and which drails along upon the pavement as he walks. When the count comes to church, which is at least three times a week, he has a velvet chair and cushion carry'd before him, being brought himself in a net on the shoulders of two men, each with a commander's staff in his hand, one all silver, and the other only of ebony tipped: The hat the count then wears is covered first with taffety, and next with a sort of very fine feathers: On his head he generally wears likewise a little silk stitched cap, which can be worn only by him and some few others. Before him marches one musician above the rest, who has several little round bells fixed to an iron two spans long, wherewith he gingles, and chants to it the glory and grandeur of his lord: Besides this there are several other sorts of musical instruments made use of at festivals, the principal whereof are those which in the country language have the name *embucbi*, which I mention first because they belong only to kings, princes, and others of the blood-royal. These are a sort of trumpets made of the finest ivory, being hollowed throughout in divers pieces, and are in all about as long as a man's arm; the lower mouth is sufficient to receive one hand, which by contracting and dilating of the fingers forms the sound; there being no other holes in the body as in our flutes or hautboys. A concert of these is generally six or four to one pipe. The *longa* (which is made of two iron bells joined by a piece of wire archwise) is sounded by striking it with a little stick: Both these are carried also before princes, and that especially when they publish their pleasure to the people, being used as the trumpet is with us. The instrument most in request used by the *Abundi*, being the people of the kingdom of *Angola*, *Matamba*, and others, is the *marimba*; it consists of sixteen *calabashes* orderly placed along the middle between two side-boards joined together, or a long frame, hanging about a man's neck with

*MEROLLA* with a thong. Over the mouths of the *calabashes* there are thin founding slips of red wood called *tanilla*, a little above a span long, which being beaten with two little sticks, returns a sound from the *calabashes* of several sizes not unlike an organ. To make a concert, four other instruments are played upon by as many musicians, and if they will have fix they add the *castuto*, which is a hollow piece of wood of a lofty tone about a yard long, converyed with a board cut like a ladder, or with cross slits at small distances; and running a stick along, it makes a sound within which passes for a tenor: The base to this concert is the *quilando*, made of a very large *calabash*, two spans and a half or three in length, very large at one end, and ending sharp off at the other, like a taper bottle, and is beaten to answer the *castuto*, having cuts all along like it. This harmony is grateful at a distance, but harsh and ungrateful near at hand, the beating of so many sticks causing a great confusion.

Another instrument of this concert is that which the natives call *nsambi*, and which is like a little gittar, but without a head, instead whereof there are five little bows of iron, which when the instrument is to be turned, are to be let more or less into the body of it. The strings of this instrument are made of the thread of palm-trees: It is played on with the thumbs of each hand, the instrument bearing directly upon the performer's breast. Tho' the musick of this instrument be very low, it is nevertheless not ungrateful.

Over and above the great drums us'd in the army, there are another sort of a lesser size, called *ncamba*; these are made either of the fruit of the tree called *aliconda*, or else of hollow'd wood with a skin over one end only: They are commonly made use of at unlawful feasts and merry-makings, and are beaten upon with the hand, which nevertheless makes a noise to be heard at a great distance. When the missionaries hear any of these at night, they immediately run to the place in order to disturb the wicked pastime. It fell often to my lot to interrupt these hellish practices, but the people always ran away as soon as ever I came up to them, so that I could never lay hold on any to make an example of them. The *Giagbi* not only make use of these drums at feasts, but likewise at the infernal sacrifices of man's flesh to the memory of their relations and ancestors, as also at the time when they invoke the devil for their oracle.

More of  
the count's  
habit.

But to return to the count's habit. From his neck to his knees there commonly hang several strings of purple coral, together with a large chain of the finest gold, hav-

ing a massy cross just before his breast to demonstrate his being a Christian: On his wrists he generally wears bracelets of high-prized corals, and on all solemn days chains of gold of the finest workmanship: His fingers are almost always covered with rings: He generally goes in slippers instead of shoes. There are commonly carry'd before him two umbrellas of peacocks feathers, and two others of straw, both being fixed to the tops of long poles: He has likewise two horses tails along with him, wherewith to drive away the flies, altho' seldom any come near him. Those of his followers who are employ'd in these offices, are commonly his greatest favourites or relations. While mass is saying, at the reading of the gospel he has a lighted torch presented to him, which having religiously received, he gives to one of his pages to hold till the consummation be over, and when the gospel is done he has the mass-book given him to kiss. On festival-days he is twice incens'd with the censor, and at the end of the mass he is to go to the altar to receive benediction from the priest, who laying his hands upon his head while he is kneeling, pronounces some pious and devout ejaculations. Whilst the priest that officiates goes out to put off his vestments, the count in like manner retires to his private orizons: Afterwards he enters into the vestry to pay his respects to the missionary, who receiving him courteously, accompanies him back as far as the door of the church. As soon as he is come out, he falls on his knees again, and the people all standing round about him give themselves several cuffs on the ear as a token of their fidelity, according to the custom of their country, and he makes them a sign with his fingers to signify his satisfaction. At his coming out of the church on the principal feast-days, he commonly practices some warlike exercise; and on those of less consideration either the captain-general performs that part for him, or else his courtiers entertain themselves with dancing to the aforesaid musical instruments. On all the most solemn feasts mass is sung by us and our interpreters to the glory and honour of our God, after which the count's guards which he brings along with him give a volley of musquet-shot, with drums beating, and other musick.

Martial  
exercise.

The captain-general and the governors, or *mani's*, have all their places severally assigned them in the church to prevent any disputes: The noblemen have carpets allowed them to kneel on, but no cushions, that honour being wholly reserved for the counts to sit on. The habits of the nobility and gentry are as follow: The gentry have a kind of straw garment on their shoulders,

Habit of  
nobility  
and gentry

Agriculture.

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shoulders, which reaches down to their waists, curiously wrought, with their arms coming out at two slits, and ends in two tassels which hang down on their right side. About their waists they have a cloth girt, which on one side hangs down to the ground: On their heads those alone who have that honour allowed them, wear a wrought silk cap neatly quilted. The noble women have a sort of straw petticoat called *modello*, which reaches to their middle: From the waste upwards to their breasts they have a piece of cloth which they bring twice about them, and that which goes about a second time they wrap about their head like a veil in the church. Both men and women generally appear with long pipes in their mouths smoking. The vulgar of both sexes have only a cloth about their loins, which reaches no farther than their knees. In the inland parts it suffices that they cover only what modesty requires should be hid. Within doors they generally go stark naked, being accustomed so to do in regard to the excessive heat that torments them for nine months together, not enjoying the least *freSCO*, only during the months of *June*, *July* and *August*.

Agriculture.

The manner of their cultivating the earth in this country is such, that they make use neither of the plough nor spade. When the clouds begin to afford the least moisture, they are accustomed to prepare for the rain by gathering up the scorched herbs and roots into heaps, and afterwards setting them on fire upon the land: Then as soon as the first shower is fallen, they proceed to turn up the ground with a slight hoe, called by them *Lazgú*, which is fixed to a handle about two spans long: With this they cut into the earth with one hand, and with the other scatter the seed which they have always ready in a bag by their sides. Now the business of manuring the ground belonging solely to the women in this country, they are almost always forced to carry their children upon their backs in swathing-rolls, thereby to prevent their being either infested with, or devoured by the great number of insects that come out of the earth upon this occasion; for at home they do not care to leave them, out of an extraordinary love and fondness they have for them. The same they are wont to do when they carry any burden, for then they have a sort of hammock which comes about one shoulder, wherein they secure their children from any danger either sleeping or waking, their feet coming round their mother's waist on either side.

These people sow in *March*, and if the heavens prove favourable in affording them rain, they may gather in their harvest in

VOL. I.

*June*. The seed they sow is of various sorts <sup>Maizolla</sup> of pulse, for the most part unknown to us; but those we are acquainted with, are *Indian* wheat, and a kind of little kidney-beans call'd *neafce*.

Amongst many others they esteem, are the *mandois*, which grow three or four together like vetches, but under ground, and are about the bigne's of an ordinary olive. From these milk is extracted, like to that drawn from almonds (in *Italian* *mandole*) and whence, for ought I know, they had their name. There are another sort of ground pulse call'd *incumbe*, which also grows under ground, is like a musquet bill, and very wholesome and well tasted. Amongst these I and others have often found nutmegs, perhaps fallen from the trees, the use of which is altogether unknown to these people. There are some wild ones found, which they call *neubanzampuni*.

They also have a sort of roots called *bataras*, which being roasted, taste much like chestnuts. Their *mandioca* is a root, which being bruised as small as rice, is not made into bread, but is either eaten raw, or else soften'd in broth. This plant casts no seed, and therefore the way to propagate it, is by breaking off a branch and burying it in the ground, where it will soon spread and flourish.

This sort of food is more used by the *Portuguese* than *Blacks*, either because they have a better way of planting these roots, or by reason that they will last several years. There is another sort used instead of bread, made with sodden roots, which is called *gnamn*, and is very different from the foregoing both in form and kind.

The *ouanda*, a sort of pulse not unlike rice, grows upon a shrub, and will last two or three years, and which every six months propagates it self in great abundance.

The pulse *ncanza* brought from *Brazil*, is exceeding white, and holds great similitude with the *Indian* beans, whence the *Portuguese* give it the name of *Brazil* beans.

*Cangula*, another sort of pulse, is greatly esteemed by the *Blacks*, but little valued by us *Europeans*. *Mampunni*, or *maiz*, is much like *Indian* wheat.

*Massa mamballa* shoots up in stalks about the height of our wheat; to which it is not unlike both in ears and whiteness; it yields a white flower, and is less offensive to some stomachs than others.

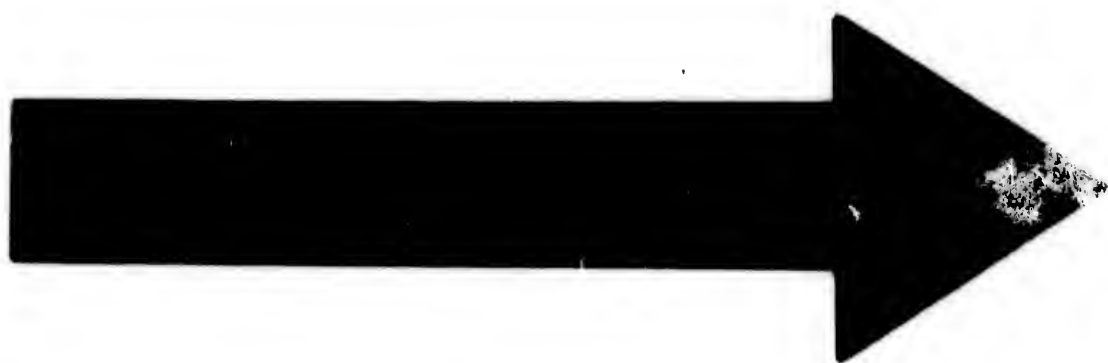
The seed of the herb *massango* greatly resembles that of our hemp.

The plant *afely* runs up as high as a halbert, its ears not unlike our millet: It gives the gripes or cholick to those that are not accustomed to eat of it.

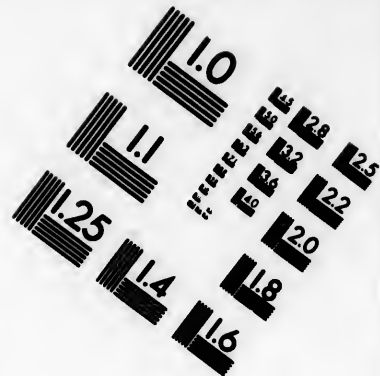
The *eluso* may be preserved many years:

77.

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A resolution test chart featuring several groups of horizontal and vertical lines of varying thicknesses. Each group is accompanied by a numerical value indicating the resolution level. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10, 11.2, 12.5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.5, 25, 28, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 56, 63, 71, 80, 90, 100, 112, 125, 140, 160, 180, 200, 225, 250, 280, 320, 360, 400, 450, 500, 560, 630, 710, 800, 900, 1000, 1120, 1250, 1400, 1600, 1800, 2000, 2250, 2500, 2800, 3200, 3600, 4000, 4500, 5000, 5600, 6300, 7100, 8000, 9000, 10000.

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**MEROLLA** its ear is triangular; its grain like unto that of millet; its colour red, and its substance no way prejudicial to health.

**Plants.** Of those plants that grow but little above-ground, the most in esteem is the *ananas*; its leaves are like those of aloes, and its fruit greatly resembles pine-apples, and differs from them only in that these are yellow, and when ripe all pulp: On the top of this fruit there grows a tuft of leaves, which being taken off and planted, produces a new plant. When this fruit is ripe, it exceeds the melon in lusciousness; but if you cut it green, it presently dries up and consumes.

**Fruit-trees.** Concerning fruit-trees, setting aside the *nicotia*, *banane* and *mamai*, which I have already described when I spoke of *Brazil*; here are not a few of other kinds, whereof the most valued is that which bears the name of the *count*. The fruit of this tree is not unlike the giant pear, and has but an ordinary out-side, tho' inwards it is as white as milk. Its seed is like to a bean, and its juice is so exceeding pleasant, that it is commonly given to sick people to recover their tastes. About the mountains of *Congo* I have seen several of these trees that grow wild. The *casbiu* fruit is much larger than an apple, and when ripe is plentifully beautified with yellow and crimson. From its core it throws out another fruit of a dusky colour, which being roasted in the fire, tastes like a chestnut; and is naturally hot, tho' the other be mild and refreshing.

The *guaiavas* are a fruit not unlike pears: They have short stalks, are yellow without, and carnation within; and they would be more in request were their seeds, which stick close to the pulp, not quite so hard.

The *chibere* are a sort of plums like to those the *Italians* call *cascavelle*, which being a little eager, are given to people in fevers.

The plant *colas* affords various kinds of fruit; which being inclosed, as it were, in a crimson purse (its husk) is much valued by the *Portugueses*, inasmuch that whenever they meet any lady in the street whom they design to honour, they presently offer her some of these fruit; they say that chewing it makes water drink pleasant.

**Palm-trees.** Palm-trees here are of different kinds: Those esteemed the most, are such as produce both oil and wine. These are to be seen thinly planted up and down in the fields. The oil they have is got from the fruit which grows in clusters, but so close that they seem to be all one piece. These clusters are so large, that a very strong man must not pretend to carry above one or two of them. In the language of the country they have the name

of *chabij*, and their seeds, or stones, whereof they have a great number, are call'd *embe*. From these which are like a date, being pounded small with hot water, they extract an oiliness, which they make use of as we do of our oil.

At certain times of the year the natives *Wine*. ascend these palm-trees, by help of a hoop, to tap the wine: The manner of doing which is thus; Wherever they perceive any flower blown, they presently whip it off with a knife, and thrust the stalk into a very large calabash called *capasso*, which they cover and fasten to the tree. When this is done they leave it, and in a short time have their bottle full of liquor as white as whey. This they let stand to purge it self for about a day after they have taken it down, which it will always do to that degree, that its fermentation seems rather to be raised by a good fire, than any natural heat. When this is over, they rack it off the lee, and there remains a perfect taste of wine, called by them *melasso*, which often makes the *Blacks* drunk. They are obliged to drink it soon after, for in three days time it will turn to vinegar, and in four coagulate and stink. The nature of this tree is principally hot, tho' it produces oil as well as wine, which is naturally cold, and every body knows will congeal like butter.

There is another sort of wine called *embetta*, of a colder nature, drawn much after the same manner from another sort of palm-tree; but this tree generally yields a greater quantity, and is planted on the side of a river, and no where else. The tree is called *matome*.

In those countries where these palm-trees *Artificial*. that produce wine do not grow, the people have artificial ways of procuring it. For this end they let *Indian* wheat soak in water for some time, in like manner as we do wheat to make starch of. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and press'd it, they put the liquor into a pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a great deal of pleasure. This liquor they call by the name of *guallo*.

There is another kind of palm called *tamgra*, which bears a fruit like olives; but these having little or no taste, generally fall to the share of the apes and monkeys. Another sort there are, whose fruit are long strings of little balls extremely hard; which nevertheless, after they are pounded and mixed with the powder of the *engalla*, or wild boars teeth, compose a wonderful cordial. These trees are called *matoba*.

That palm which is very like the *ma-Club*. some, if it be not the same, affords a sort of

Medicine  
in fevers.

Sort of  
cinnamon.

Medicinal  
vegetable.

of thread from its leaves, whereof the natives weave cloth. Its smallest branches being both smooth and pliant, serve to make travelling nets of, and which the better sort of *Blacks*, but especially we *Whites*, use for that purpose. Of the greater branches, both they and we commonly build our houses.

Medicine  
in fevers.

The fruit of the tree called *mabocbe* is not unlike our oranges; they are exceeding round, and have very tough rinds. Within they have several seeds like unto those in pomegranates, but placed more confusedly: the taste of them is so very pleasant and delightful, being somewhat inclined to the sharp, that they are commonly given to persons that lie sick of fevers to rectify and refresh their palates. Of these there are two sorts, the greater and the lesser; but by how much the latter must yield in bulk, by so much it for the most part gains in perfection.

Sort of  
cinnamon.

The *donno*-tree has its bark only to boast of, being in virtue and fragrantcy not much unlike to our cinnamon. Altho' this country has not the plant garlick it self, yet has it nevertheless a tree, whose wood not only smells like it, but has its taste also, and moreover is commonly made use of after the same manner.

The *alcande* is a tree immensurably great; within the cavity of whose trunk, it being generally hollow at the bottom, hogs are commonly kept from the sun. The fruit of it is very like to our pumpkins, with a stalk about the bigness of a man's finger, and in length near two or three foot. The use of the shells of these fruit is commonly either for vessels or bottles. The inner rind of this tree being well soaked and beaten, yields a sort of matter to spin, much more durable and finer than our hemp, and which is made use of here for that purpose. Cotton here is to be gathered in great abundance, and the shrubs it grows on are so prolifick, that they never almost leave sprouting.

Medicinal  
vegetable.

Having thus spoken of divers plants and fruit-trees of the least note, I will proceed to describe others of both kinds, that have physical virtues ascribed to them.

Amongst these the tree *angariaria* has the first place: either the wood or root of this tree is said to be good to drive away any pains in the side, occasioned by the stone, gravel, or the like; but however the most efficacious part of it is its fruit, which is not unlike to our acorn. Hence it comes to pass, that no disease of this kind was ever known to have continued long in these parts.

Another tree of medicinal virtue is the *cbjesco*, any part of which being reduced to powder, and mixed with water, is good

against fevers; and being applied either to the forehead or temples of the sick person, infallibly prevents his fainting.

The *cbicongo*, a tree likewise, has a purgative power attributed to it.

What is most surprizing, is the nature of the tree *mignamigna*, which produces poison in one part, and its antidote in another: if any person be poisoned either by the wood or fruit, then the leaves serve to cure him; and if he be poisoned by the leaves of them, then he must have recourse either to the fruit or wood: the fruit of this tree is like a little lemon.

Our old lay-brother *Leonard*, whom I have had often occasion to mention in this relation, and who had lived in this country many and many years, told me he had seen there, plants of *storax*, *gum-benjamin*, and *castia*; but that neither of them were held in any esteem by the *Blacks*.

As to pepper, what I have to say is only this; being one day grievously tormented with wind, I asked a noble *Negro*, *If he could not help me to a remedy?* he answered, *Yes*; and immediately fetched me some pepper. I took it according to his prescriptions, and received relief. I afterwards demanded of him, *Whence that came?* he told me, *It was brought from a wood just out of the count's dominions.* And doubtless there are many other excellent products in these parts, which for want of being sufficiently known, lose their esteem.

I should have told you before, that within the dominions of *Sogno*, there are many excellent lemons; and wherewith one particular island so abounds, that there are no other trees to be found in it except here and there an orange-tree. In the way to *Singa* you meet with vast woods of orange-trees, which go by the name of *Portugal*, but rather deserve that of *Cbina*, for their thin rinds, and luscious pulps.

As to birds, this country has two sorts like ours, which are sparrows and turtles: the first of which, in time of rain, change their colour to red, though they afterwards return to what they were of before, which is usual with other sorts of fowl. Here are also eagles, but to say the truth, not so large as I have seen elsewhere. I have moreover observed divers kinds of parrots here, which were very different from those of *Brazil*. The crows of this country are white upon their breasts, and on the top of their wings, but black every where else like ours of *Europe*.

Pelicans are often to be met with as you travel to *Singa*: they are all over black, except on their breasts, which nature has adorned with a kind of flesh-colour like to that of the neck of a turkey. Whether this be the true pelican, or not, which naturalists

**M**EROLLA turalists say feeds her young with her own blood, and at the expence of her life, I shall not undertake to determine.

Father *Francis da Pavia*, my companion into these parts, through his long experience has informed me, that whilst he was on a journey to *Singa*, he observed certain large white birds, with long beaks, necks, and feet, which whenever they heard the least sound of an instrument, began immediately to dance and leap about in the rivers where they always resided, and whereof they were great lovers: this, he said, he took great pleasure to contemplate, and continued often for some time upon the banks of the rivers to observe.

There are another sort of birds so exceeding white and fine, especially in their tails, that the white ladies buy them up at any rate to adorn themselves with. There are divers other kinds of birds, and fowl, which for brevity sake I omit speaking of.

Concerning these and other birds building their nests, I observed that sparrows, and such-like little birds, built them after the form of our swallows-nests. The materials they make use of, are for the most part the thread of palm-leaves, which they draw out thence with their beaks, and afterwards carry to the place where they design to build. The manner of their building is round a slender bough, whereby when the wind blows, their young are rocked about in their nests, like children in their cradles.

The greater sort of birds build, either on the top, in the trunk, or on the thorny boughs of the tree called *masuma*. The prickles of this tree are exceeding hard, and its fruit something resembles a green citron; and which when opened throws forth a wonderful fine wool (no silk finer, softer, nor cooler) whereof are commonly made pillows and bolsters for sick people.

Of wild hens I have spoken in another place, and here I again affirm, that they are in this country much better tasted, and more beautiful than the tame ones. The same I have to say of the partridges, which are much like to ours, but neither of which are any ways valued by the natives, and therefore they seldom or never look after them.

But among all the winged inhabitants of this climate, none pleased me so much as that little bird described by father *Cavazzi* in his *historical descriptions*, book 1. page 50. numb. 153. This bird, not much unlike a sparrow, at first sight seems wholly black, but upon a nearer view may be discovered to be of a kind of blue. As soon as day breaks, he sets up his notes and sings; but the excellency of his song is, that it harmoniously, and almost arti-

culately, pronounces the name of *Jesus Christ*; which repeated by many of them in concert, is a heavenly musick worthy our special observation, seeing those heathen nations excited to own the true God by irrational creatures. They are excited by the heavens forming a cross of stars under the zone, which many have described, and I beheld; they are excited by the mountains, which have the crosses carved on them, as has been said, without knowing by whom; they are excited by the earth, which draws the crucifix on its fruit called *nisco*, as we have observed. In fine, these little angels excite them with their voices, yet all these things are of little force to move the hardened hearts of those *Gentiles*.

It is a wonderful bird mentioned by our father *Coprani*, in his *cambr. illust.* whose song consists of these plain words, *va dritto*, that is, *go right*. Nor is there less to be admired in another bird in these parts, and particularly the kingdom of *Matamba*, which as travellers are on their way, harmoniously sings, *Vutebi, Vutebi*, which in the language of the *Blacks* signifies, *honey, honey*; and skipping from one place to another, rest upon the tree where the honey is, that the passengers may take it, and the bird feed on what remains. But it sometimes falls out, that following the cry of the bird, the passenger falls into the clutches of some lion that lies hid, and so meets his death instead of honey; therefore when the bird cries, if he sees not the honey, they are aware of the hidden lion, and fly in time.

Among the variety of numerous quadrupeds, the most wonderful are the elephants, being, as it were, living and moving mines of most curious white ivory, whereof so great a trade is made; but these being vulgarly known to all persons, I will give no other account but only of the manner of killing them.

When these beasts are gathered together in a herd, the hunter anointing himself all over with their dung, gets in slyly with his lance in his hand among them; there does he creep about from one to the other, under their bellies, till he sees an opportunity to strike any of them under their ear, by which wound they are easy to be brought to the ground. After the stroke given, the hunter takes immediate care to escape, before the beast can well turn about to revenge himself; and the other beasts being deceived by the smell of their dung, take no notice of his crying out, and flouncing, supposing it to be only one of their young. By these means the rest of the herd walking on, and forsaking their falling companion, leave him a prey to the successful hunter. If the wounded elephant

No beast of prey sufficed.

Wild dogs and wolves



phant happens to pursue his assaulter, he can easily baffle him, by taking to many roads, for it is a very difficult thing for this beast to turn his body so often as such a dodging would require. The Negroes are wont to distil a water by the sun from the bones of this animal's legs, which is held to be good against *asthmas, sciaticas*, or any cold humours. Some of the pagans of these parts, particularly the *Giagbi*, have a kind of devotion for the tail of this beast; for when any one of their captains or chief lords comes to die, they commonly preserve one of these tails in memory of him, and to which they pay a sort of adoration, out of an opinion they have of its great strength. For the sake of cutting off these tails only, they often undertake this hunting; but which amputation must be performed at one blow, and from a living elephant, or their superstition will allow it no virtue.

No beast of prey sufficed.

In this country of *Sogno* there are no lions, tigers, nor wolves to be met with; which nevertheless other parts of this side of *Africa* are not exempt from. When any of these beasts, especially tigers, happen to enter the count's dominions, he that first discovers them is obliged to go immediately to a governor, or *mani*, and acquaint him therewith: whereupon an alarm is presently beat to raise the country; and the people being so raised, forthwith apply all their endeavours, whether by shouts, drums, or instruments of war, to force the beast into the open field. After they have got him there, they single out one among them to assault him; which the person pitched upon performs, with a sharp long knife in one hand, and a slight manageable shield in the other. As often as the beast leaps at him, the combatant receives his attempts on his shield; till at last taking his opportunity, he whips off one or more of his legs with his knife, whereby the beast being disabled, easily becomes a victim to the conqueror's fury. The royal lions, so called for their generosity, carry themselves with majesty, and do not hurt unless provoked by some accident.

Wild dogs and wolves:

In *Sogno* there are a sort of wild dogs, who going out to hunt in great numbers, whenever they met with any lion, tiger, or elephant in their way, set upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground, though they lose never so many of their company by the attempt. These dogs, notwithstanding their wildness, do little or no damage to the inhabitants. They are red-haired, have small slender bodies, and their tails turn up upon their backs like a grey-hound's.

The wolves that sometimes infest these parts, are so very subtil, that they will

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scratch through the walls of the houses <sup>MEROLLA</sup> built here with palm-leaves, on purpose to come at the people, whom having found, they immediately devour or tear to pieces. A certain woman once happening to go a little further from her house than ordinary, left her child within asleep: whilst she was gone, a wolf broke in, and lay down close by the child that was asleep. The mother coming soon after, went in to feed her child, and spied the wolf; who seeing himself discovered, immediately fled.

At some huntings there have been taken in this country both wild men and women: which to confirm, father *Leonard* once told me, that before my coming thither there had been one of that kind presented to a friar of our order, which was again bestowed by him on the Portuguese governor of *Loanda*.

Monkies there are of divers kinds; such as the *t-boons*, which are the largest sort; another kind partly-coloured as big as a cat; and a third sort least of all, which nevertheless like the others have all tails longer than their bodies.

Here are likewise great numbers of wild goats, and many wild boars are to be found in the woods. The tame goats of this country are so exceeding fertile, that they will bring forth three or four young ones at once.

The sheep here do not produce wool, <sup>Sheep.</sup> but hair; neither are the rams furnished with horns as with us, nor are the ewes so fruitful as the goats before-named. Goats flesh is in much greater esteem in these parts than mutton, and therefore the natives chuse rather to geld their young goats than their lambs.

Serpents are not in the least wanting <sup>Serpents.</sup> here; those seen by me of greatest note, were the *copras*, a sort of serpents whose poison is in their foam, which though at a great distance they spit into the eyes, and cause such grievous pains, that unless there be some woman by at the same time, to assuage the pains with her milk, the party will become immediately blind. These climb about in the houses and trees night and day.

There are another sort of serpents, as I have been told, in this country, which as soon as they are molested by any traveller, will leap upon him, and twining themselves round about his body, fix a sharp sting they have in their tails into his breast, whereby he soon bursts and expires. The name of this serpent is *embambe*, and the way the natives have to cure themselves of his wound, and save their lives, is by cutting him in two with a knife, which they carry about them for that purpose, as soon as ever he has entered his sting.

8 A

But

MEROLLA  
More me-  
morable  
matters.

But from hence let us proceed to give an account of more memorable matters. In the second year of my mission I was forced to do my duty for some time alone, by reason that our superior being dead, my companion father *Joseph* was advanced to that dignity, and was gone to reside in the kingdom of *Angola*. At the same time the most reverend cardinal *Cibo* writ us a letter in the name of the sacred college, complaining, That the pernicious and abominable abuse of selling slaves, was yet continued among us, and requiring us to our power to remedy the said abuse; which notwithstanding we saw little hopes of accomplishing, by reason that the trade of this country lay wholly in slaves and ivory. Nevertheless, meeting together not long after, we joined our addresses to the king of *Congo*, and count of *Sogno*, and obtain'd the favour from them, that the hereticks at least should be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that especially the *Englishs*, who made it their chief business to buy slaves here, and to carry them to *Barbadoes*, an island of theirs in the *West-Indies*, where they were to be brought up in the protestant religion, so very contrary to ours. This letter was first read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feast-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earnestly recommending to them, to have a compassionate regard to so many miserable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily suffered to come under the power of hereticks, that would not only enslave them, but likewise pervert the good principles we had instilled into them. I moreover urged, That if there were a necessity for a trade of this kind, they should sooner have to do with the *Hollanders*, who were obliged to deliver so many slaves at *Cadiz* every year, whereby their countrymen might have still the happiness of continuing among catholicks, though in bonds.

I propos'd likewise for them to trade in this nature with the *Portugueses*, rather than the *Hollanders*. Which they would not hearken unto for several reasons.

First, Because they would by no means have that nation establish themselves in their country. Secondly, By reason that they would give them no opportunity to sell their arms and ammunition amongst them: and, Thirdly, because they always undervalued the slaves, and never offered so much as they were worth.

These, with some others, have been the reasons that the *Portugueses* have never yet been able to get any footing in *Sogno*.

Villany of  
some En-  
glish.

A year almost past before there was any ship appeared in this country; at last an *English* vessel came to anchor there. This I immediately advis'd the count of, requir-

ing at the same time, That if she were really *English*, she should not be suffered to land any person whatsoever. The count's answer was, that I should be obeyed: but which I observ'd to be spoke by him with such coldness, that I could easily discover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirm'd in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the seller. All this while the captain of the ship pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in fresh provisions; which being past, he scarce shew'd the least sign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happen'd to go down to the shore to speak with the *masseca*, or receiver of the *Whites*. Being but just enter'd his house, I saw two *Englishmen*, who I thought had been no nearer than their usual station; they seeing me, drew in, and I turned my back to go out again; but scarce had I reach'd the threshold, before I heard a brace of pistol bullets whiz by my ear. At this being astonish'd, I look'd about, but saw no body. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my escape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the master of the house of the villany, which I suppose was designed me by these *Englishmen*: but to my great disappointment, he return'd me neither a complement nor a repentment.

The day following the beforementioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront, than confer with me; demanding of me at first sight, What I had to do to oppose the *English* trading in that port? To which I replied, That pursuant to an agreement between me and the count, all hereticks were to be excluded from dealing in slaves throughout the dominions of *Sogno*, but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty. What do you mean by hereticks? (quoth he) is not our duke of *York* a Roman catholick, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I please? Granted (said I) but then I alledged further, That I was sure it was not the intention of that duke, that *Christians* should be bought and sold for slaves, nor that such as be (meaning the captain) should be allowed not only to trade, but likewise to rob and infect the shores wherever they came, in like manner as another *English* captain had done there the last year; who as soon as he had taken in all his lading, sell to waisting the country, and forced away several of the natives into slavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This (I told him) I would assuredly acquaint the dutchess of *York* my country-woman with, that the duke her husband's reputation might not suffer, and such offenders might be punish'd as they well deserve'd.

To

To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himself and his countryman the other captain, thinking to overcome reason with noise; and if some people had not come in to my assistance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards sent to let the count know, *That I should not open the church-doors, till those hereticks that were enemies both to our church and him were gone.* This message soon brought the count to our convent, where when he entered to speak with me, there came in with him only one man who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the sheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the hilt, and the other on the sheath. For the better understanding of this, you must know, that whenever the count comes to speak with us, no body has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter; and when any extraordinary case requires another's coming in, he must kneel all the while in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, *That considering the many enemies that surrounded him on all sides, he ought to provide himself of arms and ammunitions of war, and which he could best do from the European ships that came to trade in his dominions.* This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my answers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out some dreadful menaces against me; but which I timely perceiving, started up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words. *The reason (said I to him resolutely) of my coming into your dominions, was for the service of GOD, and the salvation of your souls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot dispense with the bazzarding even of my life, in withdrawing so many poor souls from out of the power of Lucifer (meaning the slaves to be bought by hereticks) which nevertheless you seem by your arguments to be willing to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count (continu'd I) on your own case in so palpable an act of disobedience; for as for my part, I shall always endeavour to persist in my duty.* Having spoke these words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me fast hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almost from black to yellow, would by no means suffer me so to do, crying out, *Hear my reasons first, father; hear my reasons before you go.* Then clapping himself down upon a bench, he fell into a long discourse, but in which I often interrupting him, he at last flew away in

a great passion, muttering and mumbling <sup>MEASOLLA</sup> to himself, *That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not so much as baptise a child.* By these and other such like speeches of his, I could easily perceive that he sided with the *Englifs*, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he caused proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his subjects throughout the whole *banza* to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheless did without laying any penalty on those that disobeyed him, and consequently his subjects being true servants of GOD, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithstanding their good dispositions, I thought my self obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a schedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority sent me from the bishop of *Angola*. Hence it followed that our slaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewise those that served in the convent, immediately forsook me, and that I suppose by instigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cause me the sooner to comply. Whilst I yet continued firm in my resolutions, a *Dutch* ship appeared in the harbour: soon after her arrival the count's secretary brought her captain, according to custom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheless the *Englifs* captain had neglected to ask; I gave it him, and by those means extinguished part of the fury instilled into the people's breasts by the magicians and wizards against me; for they had made it their business to make the people believe, *that I purposely opposed the aforesaid contracts with the Europeans, that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the Portugueses came against them, and which they likewise affirmed I by secret means encouraged.* The anchoring this ship in the harbour occasioned the speedy departure of the other; for in less than thirteen days after she hoisted sail and put to sea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the natives of *Sogno*, besides near a hundred more which the captain said had been fold him by the pagans.

Finding an opportunity to acquaint my <sup>W<sup>ts</sup> re.</sup> superior in the kingdom of *Angola* with these <sup>points.</sup> matters, I immediately set about it, and dispatched away two letters, but which were both intercepted by order from the count: this coming to my ears, I writ three more, one of which I confided to a faithful *Black*, promising him a considerable reward if he delivered it; the other two I sent publicly, which were intercepted, as before.

The count  
excommu-  
nicated.

*Memorandum* before. About the same time the count likewise writ a letter to the bishop of *Landa*, complaining, *that I would neither administer the sacraments, nor open the church; and besides, that I had condemned the wizards to death in an open congregation.* To this the said bishop, well knowing both the treachery and hypocrisy of the *Blacks*, gave no answer; but however soon after sent my superior, accompanied with father *Benedict à Belvedere*, to assist me. Here mark the providence of God! Whilst the count continued in his obstinacy, a certain disease that reigned in the neighbouring parts, called in the Portuguese, *bexigas*, but in ours the small pox, had reached his dominions, and whereof great numbers died daily. The people being sensible that this must be sent as a judgment among them, gathered forthwith together, and addressed themselves with great earnestness to the count, advising him to retract and atone for the great error he had been guilty of, or, besides the just judgments of God both upon him and them, they would infallibly rise against him for redress. To this the count answered, *That it had never been his desires, that they should suffer any ways upon his account; and that what he had forbid by his proclamation was only to frighten the missioner into obedience: but since they were of opinion that what had befallen them was occasioned by this injunction, he was willing, if he might thereby confirm their safety, to take it off.* Though he soon after was as good as his word, yet were the people not wholly satisfied, affirming, *That they would not die like dogs, but like true Christians, as they had been bred, and therefore willed him to present himself before me to ask forgiveness for his crime, to the end that the church-doors might be again set open to them.* This he soon after accomplished in the following manner, but whether through sincerity or hypocrisy I shall not pretend to determine. Having clothed all his courtiers in like manner as they are wont to be when they go to receive ambassadors, he alone appeared in sackcloth, unshod, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a large cable rope about his neck: in this manner coming to our convent, he prostrated himself humbly at the gate, beseeching me to pardon him his crime, and only excusing himself, *that what he did was done rashly and without consideration, but that he was now ready to make me all manner of satisfaction for his disobedience.* He remember'd me moreover of the presumption of *David*, and hoped, *that like him having repented, he should likewise receive mercy.* Having said thus much, he gave his crucifix to one of his attendants to hold, and afterwards kneeled and kissed my feet:

hereupon I immediately raised him from the ground, took off the crown of thorns from his head, and rope from his neck, and then repeated to him those words which I formerly uttered to another person on the like occasion, *If you have sinned like David, imitate him likewise in your repentance.* After this I waited upon him out as far as the street, and then left him.

He afterwards came a second time in the *And is forgiven.* afore said manner to have his excommunication taken off; but I told him, *That I would willingly have complied with his desires, but that in about three days time my superior would come into those parts, and that it was more proper for him to absolve so great a person as he.* I farther told him, *That as for his accomplices, I would undertake to give them absolution, which I soon after performed both to his and their satisfaction.* At last the expected father arrived, and I having acquainted him with what had been already done, he after a delay of a few days gave the penitent count absolution. Having received this great favour and assistance from the bishop, I thought my self obliged to return him my most humble thanks and acknowledgments, and withal to inform him of the cause, manner, and time of my shutting up the church, as likewise with the reasons I had to threaten the wizards with the punishment that I had writ to him about.

The Dutch all this while followed their trade close. A certain captain among them called *Cornelius Clas*, having acquired a reputation with the natives by his subtilties, went about sowing his heretical tares amidst the true corn of the gospel. Amongst other (damnable) doctrines, he maintain'd, *That baptism was alone necessary to salvation*, because it took away original sin, as the blood of our Saviour did actual sin. The better to comply with the *Blacks*, whom he knew to be desirous of greater liberty in those matters, he affirmed, *There was need of no other sacrament than that of baptism; and that if they had a mind to communicate, they should do it, but that confession was not necessary, being only to be understood figuratively.* And he farther (impudently) disowned the real presence of CHRIST in the consecrated host. To procure himself the greater credit, he often invoked the saints to his assistance, and especially *St. Anthony*, though his tribe generally deny the praying to saints to be of any use to us. He afterwards repeated several expressions here and there out of our sermons in *Lent*, and then proceeded to ridicule them after the following manner. O (cried he) *your father's an able preacher and a great scholar, he hits the nail on the head, and talks to the purpose; but* if

if he would improve you thoroughly, he ought to advance such and such doctrines (which by the way were most perniciously heretical.) Thus he run on for above an hour together exploding our opinions and recommending his own, till he had at last so far prevail'd upon those miserable Negroes, that their hearts were become as black as their countenances. Altho' this person's principles and designs came at length to be known, yet were the most ignorant nevertheless affected with his arguments and persuasions, but notwithstanding these mischiefs came not to our knowledge till after the departure of their author.

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my mission another English ship happen'd to come to an anchor in the river: As soon as I perceived it, I went to the count and said, *Behold, my lord, another English ship appears in the harbour!* and at the same time begg'd of him not to permit any of the men to land for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happen'd: He seem'd to comply readily with my desires, and promised that none should; nevertheless self-interest blinding him again, he received the accustomed presents, and suffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commission to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean time without any further delay we published a manifesto, that upon pain of excommunication none should presume to sell any slaves to the English; but as for bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five Negroes, and those he bought before the manifesto was published. He came a second time to my apartment accompanied by a Dutch captain, and with a great deal of submission said to me, *Father, what reason have I given you to deny me, so much to my disadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have suffered so many hardships, and undergone so great peril in my voyage hither?* To which I courteously answer'd, *That I would do any thing that lay in my power to serve any Christian, and him in particular, who appeared to be so very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my superior.* I told him further, *That tho' I was against his trading ashore, as being an Englishman, and consequently a heretic, I could not prevent his doing it by sea, and therefore if he could find any to traffick with him he might freely do it: That's what I would rather have* (replied the captain) *for thereby I may trade custom-free.* Now I perceive (continued he) *that these brutes*

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(meaning the Negroes) have always their hands open to receive presents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately shrug up their shoulders and excuse themselves, pretending the missionaries will not let them grant it. But why (added he) did they not explain themselves at first, that I might have saved my present, and sailed about my business elsewhere? It shall go hard but I'll make them know whom they have to deal with. Then turning to me he said, *Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them restore to me what I gave them and I'll be gone.* But first (quoth he) give me leave to present your reverence with a barrel of wheat-flower to make your hosts of, a small vessel of Aquavite, and something else that may lie within the verge of my capacity. I returned him a thousand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that tho' I had occasion for the wheat-flower I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a basket of fruit upon him dismissed him. The count having disposed of the present was given him, could by no means restore it, and besides durst not for fear of excommunication provide him the slaves he had promised. This so vexed the captain, that taking only along with him two slaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his house in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ship: His landlord soon missing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent; but the captain having caused three patereroes to be turned against the Negro's boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner. *Come hither slave* (quoth he) *and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deserve:* After which bestowing a great many curses on him, he set sail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his disobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience: Tho' a Black, he is an absolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, tho' he were in Italy, considering the number of his subjects, and large dominions.

Before the Englishman had weigh'd anchor to be gone, another Dutch ship came into the river, which my companion father Benediſt da Belvedere perceiving, immediately opposed the landing any of her men: His reason was, that they were heretics, in like manner as the English, and which he confirmed by the heretics the above-mentioned Dutch captain had not long before spread amongst us. I could not well dissent from this opinion of his, nevertheless for quietness sake I told him, *That since we had so luckily got rid of the English, we must of necessity admit of the Dutch,*

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*MENOLLA* or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the Portuguees for some reasons best known to themselves, they would have nobody else to utter their commodities to, which would prove no small detriment both to the church and the state. He understood me, I don't question, but notwithstanding took little or no notice of what I said, being transported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which had it not been so excessive, might have succeeded better than it did.

*A great escape.*

On *Easter-day* there was a great feast held throughout the count's dominions, when the electors and governors were obliged to come to court to wish their lord a happy *Easter*, according to custom: He that voluntarily absented himself was look'd upon as a rebel, and those that came were treated at the count's charge; the electors and governors dividing the provisions amongst their followers. My aforesaid companion hearing a confus'd sound of instruments, and many loud acclamations from the people gathered together in vast numbers, made what haste he could to them that he might prevent those festivals, which he look'd upon as not proper to be celebrated in a place where the count assisted, who then stood uncommunicated. For my part I could not well fathom his intentions, for he only came to me and demanded my blessing and leave to go out of the convent, which I could not refuse him. At his first coming the chief elector came up to him to salute him, which he coldly received and returned: After a few compliments they came to complaints. My companion began to blame them for having so courteously admitted of the *Hollanders*, as also for solemnizing of this feast, which they ought not to presume to have done as matters went. This so exasperated the elector, that he cry'd out with a great passion, *What hereticks! What Christians! What catholics! Are we not all to be saved by baptism alone?* Father *Benedict* being out of patience at these words, and truly moved for the honour of God's service, tho' a little too exorbitantly, without any reply stepped up to him, and gave him a sound box on the ear by way of admonition. This affront the elector's people so greatly resented, that they immediately gather'd about him to defend him, and those that were without the walls likewise made at the same time an attempt to get into the place. The count, captain-general, and great-captain being soon informed of what had happen'd, presently interposed to prevent the missionary's receiving any damage from the fury of the multitude, and afterwards conducted him safe to our convent. The chief intent of

his father's extraordinary zeal, was to make known to so great a company of people got together, what danger their souls were in by conversing with hereticks.

For my part, I judg'd a speedy reconciliation with the elector highly necessary, and therefore some few days after I sent for him to our convent; he came, and after having courteously received him, I desir'd him to recant sincerely what he had said, and ask father *Benedict's* pardon, and I would absolve him. To which he answered smiling, *That would be pleasant indeed; I am the sufferer, and yet I must be guilty; I am the aggressor, and yet I must beg pardon. Must I receive a blow, and notwithstanding be thought to have offended? Then I reply'd, That must not be taken for an injury, which was not so intended. The blow was not to offend, but defend you, being as it were a remembrance not to hearken to the errors of hereticks. Besides, you ought to consider that it was given out of paternal affection by your spiritual father, and whom it did not misbecome to give it. Moreover, you know among us the bishops do it in cases of confirmation, and the person that receives it takes it rather for an honour than affront. You ought to confess that you deserved correction for venting so dangerous an opinion in the presence of so many true catholics.* Being convinced by these reasons that he had been in the wrong, he consented to recant his error, which he did after mass at the church-door, confessing that what he had done was merely occasioned thro' passion, and not out of any disobedience to the doctrine of the church, for which he had a sincere veneration. Afterwards begging pardon of the aforesaid father, and kissing his feet, he was again received into our communion. After all this he made his humble acknowledgments to the count for having presumed to incline his people to a rebellion within his dominions.

To extirpate this heresy effectually out of the minds of the people, we took an occasion, after we had given absolution to the elector and his followers, to preach a sermon to them to this purpose: *That whereas paradise was allowed by all to be a place of the greatest purity and brightness, so ought to be the minds of those who are in election to be admitted inhabitants thereof. Lucifer the prince of light, for having suffered himself to be contaminated with pride, occasioned his being thrown headlong into hell, together with his adherents. Can it seem possible to you that so pure and peaceful a place should admit of the baseness and unclean? Some among you are like your own macecos, or monkeys amongst us, who keeping possession of any thing they have stolen, will sooner suffer themselves to be taken and killed than to let go their prey. So impure swine swallow in their*

their filth, and care not to be cleans'd. To remedy this our Saviour instituted the sacrament of repentance, to the end that when man had sinned, he might come and purify himself from his transgressions. These and many other spiritual memorandums were given by us, proving at the same time, That God being all goodness, could not possibly be the occasion of any evil. We then demanded of them, If they were not convinced that this was true by the light of their natural reason? They all answered with a common consent, That it was, and that they had been deceived by the heretical seducer, who had imposed doctrines upon them which were contrary to the word of God. We hope therefore that for the future these heresies will be totally extinguished, since we have taken so much pains to derry them both in the pulpit and elsewhere. The same night that the count had been made acquainted with his falling again under the sentence of excommunication, for having designed to furnish the *English* with slaves, contrary to the *manifesto* published by us, his countess was seized with a fainting fit, occasioned either by her being with child, or else thro' the disgust she had conceived at her husband's proceedings. Being thus ill, she immediately dispatched her son to me to desire me to come to her, who doubting whether I would comply or not, thought himself obliged to swear, that his mother was at death's door. Being moved by charity, I went accompanied by father *Stephen de Romano*, who had some small skill in physick. By his means, and thro' God's grace, she soon recovered, and was confessed. This lady was, to give her her due, a very religious woman, and a great frequenter of the blessed sacrament; and besides, one that upon many occasions, when the count her husband and we were at variance, would send us divers refreshments of oranges and lemons, and the like. The count having observed at a distance the civility and kindness we shewed to his wife, seemed to be mightily pleased with it. Thinking to take him in this good humour, I went up to him, and desired him to excuse what I had ordered him to be made acquainted with, having been there-to obliged by the duty of my function, and were for that end come into his country. I likewise told him, that if he would needs follow his own inclinations, he must be a pagan, and could not deserve the title of a Christian; and moreover informed him what a strict account I had to give not only to my superiors, but also to my own conscience, and therefore exhorted him to submit himself to the censures of the church. I desired him to remember likewise how I had exposed my life for his good, and

that I could not but have a particular kindness for him, being my spiritual pupil. This I spoke to prevent his flying out into passions and disdain, as he was wont to do upon occasions of reproof.

From mid-lent to *Whitsunday* the count had not been within the church-doors, except sometimes incognito; but generally stood at a distance, whence he might see the priest at the altar, and where he heard mass. On Ascension-eve he sent to beg of me for the love of God to absolve him. I would have willingly complied with his request, but was prevented by father *Benedict*, who alledged that it was by no means proper to take him again into our communion, till the *Hollanders* had weighed anchor, and were gone. On *Whitsunday* he sent a messenger to me again, giving me to understand, that his subjects not seeing him appear in the church as formerly might probably rise in a tumult; to prevent which he proposed to agree to all I had required of him, provided I would absolve him. My answer was, that he should appear next morning at the second mass dressed in mourning like a penitent, and should moreover bring along with him all the electors, together with the two captains, the general, and great-captain. As I had commanded, so it was performed. Those others that ought to have been present, and could not come, were excused upon sending proxies. Being all met, I address'd my self to the count, and endeavour'd to make him sensible what damage he might do to so many poor souls as he was master of, by encouraging them to have commerce with hereticks. I remember'd him also of the late affronts received from the *English*, and indulged by him. Upon hearing this and a great deal more, which I don't think necessary to repeat here, both the count and all the rest, took an oath upon the holy *missal*, that they would sooner lose their lives than suffer any *English* ship to enter any of their ports again, which is observ'd and performed even to this day. The penance I imposed upon the count was that he by his authority should oblige three hundred of those that lived in unlawful wedlock to marry. He gladly accepted the proposal, and afterward entered the church with great pomp and universal joy, and never in the least offended after.

The reconciled count not only performed what had been enjoined him, but brought over four hundred to the holy state of matrimony. Amongst the rest there was one *mani*, who not only married himself, but also caused two sons, and as many daughters of his to do the like at the same time. My companion father *Benedict*

*MEROLLA* *diſt* observing and wondering at the great care and diligence the count employ'd in reducing ſo many ſtray'd ſouls to matrimony, cried out, *As long as all is ſecure here, I'll go on in my miſſion, and try what I can do with others abroad, by urging theſe good examples to them.* As he hoped, ſo it came to paſs; for in leſs than ſix weeks he had cauſed above ſix hundred to marry. This was a very laborious work, and put him into a violent fit of ſickneſs two days journey from our houſe. As ſoon as I heard of his being ill, I ſent for him home; but he would by no means comply with me, affirming, *That a good ſoldier ought to die with his ſword in his hand: and further, That if he loſt that opportunity of recovering ſo many poor ſouls from perdition, he knew not when he might have the like again offer'd him.* His death not long after, together with my being ſick, put a ſtop to ſo great and ſo good a work but juſt begun.

*Chafity.*

It is neceſſary here to inform you, that in the dominions of *Sogno*, thoſe that are lawfully married live with all manner of love and amity together, and particularly the women, who are conſtant to their husbands, whether *Blacks* or *Whites*. The many years that the *Europeans* have traded here, there has not been found one baſtard among them, which are nevertheleſs ſo frequent to be met with in other countries. Theſe women have a particular averſion to hereticks, as may be perceived by what follows. A *Dutch* captain walking one day in this country, and obſerving a married woman taking a pipe of tobacco after the cuſtom of the country, ſent his ſlave to her to deſire her to let him have a whiff. The good woman hearing the meſſage, took her pipe out of her mouth, and kugg'd it in her arms, and without answering a word proceeded on in her way. The ſlave nevertheleſs proſecuted his maſter's requeſt, and follow'd her, repeating often what he had before requir'd, till at length perceiving her obſtinate and fixt in a refusal, the better to incline her to reſign the pipe to him, he gave her a box o'th' ear, threatening her with worſe, if ſhe perſiſted in a denial. The woman notwithstanding bore all patiently, and would not conſent to gratify him, whatever he could do to her. I ſhould have told you, for the better underſtanding of this, that 'tis a cuſtom in this country, that when any one obtains a pipe out of a woman's mouth, it is a probable earneſt of further favours. From hence may be learnt what a propenſity the women have to chaſtity in theſe parts, many of whom meet together on the firſt day of *Lent*, and oblige themſelves to a ſtrict continence till *Eaſter*; inſomuch that if any one among them ſhould

happen to deviate from the vow they had jointly engaged in, ſhe would immediately think her ſelf guilty of a great fault, and conſequently undergo voluntarily ſome ſevere penance. They are likewiſe moſt rigid obſervers of all faſts enjoined by the church, and which they will not tranſgreſs even where neceſſity requires they ſhould, and in which caſes we are obliged to command them to do it to ſave their lives.

At length my companion father *Benediſt* finding himſelf worſe and worſe, ſent a meſſenger to me to deſire me to afford him ſome ſuccour. I thereupon immediately diſpatched four ſlaves belonging to the church, to bring him in a net to the convent, that being the eaſieſt way I could propoſe to have him brought. The better to inſure the performance of my commands, I threatned the ſlaves with transportation, a thing they are more than ordinarily afraid of, in caſe of diſobedience or treachery. They brought him ſoon after, and being arrived, he immediately entered upon a general confeſſion of his ſins, even from his youth upwards to that day. The malady he was afflicted with was the gout, which getting not long afterwards into his ſtomach, at once ended both his life and his good actions, which were many. His funeral obſequies were performed ſuitable to his character, at which aſſiſted the count with a vaſt number of people, I my ſelf ſaying maſs, tho' I languiſhed at that time under a violent fever. Father *Benediſt* was a native of our kingdom of *Naples*, though he firſt received the habit of the order of *St. Francis* in the *Roman* province. He was a publick preacher in the city of *Rome*, as likewiſe a confeſſor to the nuns. The death of this good man may well be ſaid to be lamented by all, ſince the very birds and beaſts had their ſhare of concern at it: For it was to be obſerved, that whilſt the corps was upon the bier, it was attended by ſeveral parrots and wild hens, which hovered about waiting till it ſhould be interr'd. A dog likewiſe that had belonged to the deceaſed father, miſſing his maſter after he was buried, would neither eat nor drink, but lay howling after an extraordinary manner at the church-door. I gave him afterwards to the captain-general to be transported into ſome diſtant iſland: but this avail'd little, for in leſs than a month's time he returned, and placing himſelf at the door of the deceaſ'd father's cell, continued to howl as before, till at length having eat nor drank nothing for many days, and being thereby quite famiſhed, he groan'd out a diſmal farewel to his loving maſter, and ſo died.

It may not be here amiſs to infer a certain quarrel that happened among the *Negroes*

*Agree: quarrel how di: groes ciſel.*

*Chal: Inger:*

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groes in the fourth year of my mission, and whilst the aforesaid father was living; but wherein no body was killed thro' the timely orders sent to prevent it. The difference was this: The captain-general, son to the count's brother, being at variance with the count's other nephew, son to his sister, while they were mutually provoking each other with ill language, the latter happened to throw down the former, and falling a top of him, began to belabour him lustily with his fists, which nevertheless no body saw. The person aggrieved complained of this usage to the count, who having heard him patiently, at length said to him, *What justice would you have me to do between you two that are so nearly ally'd?* The captain-general having received the like affront once before from the count's brother, briskly reply'd, *What, would your excellency have me put up this affront too? No, it is not in my power, and I would have my enemies to know that I am not so much to be despised.* This said, he withdrew, and taking up arms together with his other three brothers, he beat an alarm to challenge the count's other two nephews to battle, who nevertheless were not able to appear against him without the assistance of their uncle's troops that were already gone all over to the captain-general's side; and this caused them not to appear at all.

Chal-  
lenger.

The better to understand the manner of challenging in this country, I must acquaint you that the *Negroes*, when they have any private quarrels among them, do not care to decide the matter singly; but each gets as many of his friends as he can together to do it for him. When they are come to the appointed place, and drawn up in sight of their adversaries, they begin to argue the case coolly; then proceed to abusing each other with invectives, till at length their blood being fired by injurious language, they fall to it helter skelter. Then their drums begin to beat confusedly, which are made of thin wood all of a piece, and in form like our great earthen jars. These being covered with a beast's skin, are sounded, not with little sticks, but with the hand, and which make a much greater noise than our drums do. They that have the use of guns, after the first onset throw them away, having them more to fright than offend the enemy. They set them against their breast, without taking any aim, by which means the balls generally fly over their enemies heads, without doing them any harm; for they perceiving the flash in the pan, are likewise accustomed to squat down, and after having so received the firing, rise up of a sudden, and run forwards. After they have thus thrown away their fire-arms, they be-

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take themselves to their bows and arrows. <sup>MEROLLA</sup> When they are at a distance they send their arrows up into the air, that by their falling they may do their enemies the greater mischief; but when they are nearer, they shoot them in a direct line. They are wont sometimes to poison their arrows, the wounds made by which they recover by pifs. When the arrows fall, the adverse party immediately gathers them up to make use of them again. The short arms they employ are great and small knives, axes, and the like, which they buy of the *Europeans*. When they come to engage, the persons that are conquered become slaves to the conquerors, if they are taken; and if not, they often kill themselves for anger. In *Congo*, when there are no priests there, Christians make slaves of Christians, which they often do upon very slight quarrels.

But to return from whence we have stay'd, let us go on with our story. After a little while two electors, whereof one was the *mani Enquella*, the count's cousin, came up to the captain-general, who together with his friends stood with their arms in their hands, and endeavoured to pacify him. They found him sitting majestically under an umbrella, as it were a canopy; when with a more than kingly gravity he broke forth into these words: *He that has a mind to speak with me, let him do it prostrate on the ground.* This the two electors would by no means condescend to do, since that would be to make him no less than count. Whereupon the haughty general leaped up in a passion, and disposed himself to a rebellion, marching with his followers two days journey off from the city. His three brothers posted away immediately to his government, which was a country given him by the count, in gratitude for having suppressed a dangerous rebel, who called himself duke of *Bamba of Sogno*. Hither he was soon after to follow, but was happily prevented by our interposing; for had he gone, the consequence might have been no small prejudice to the count. The arms and ammunition he carried along with him were several small field-pieces, three hundred muskets, thirty barrels of powder, a great number of bows, arrows, and the like, with great quantities of provisions. The manner of our interposing was this. On *All-Saints* day, after the first mass, the count came to me with concern in his countenance, and told me what a rebellion was raised against him. I answered, that as soon as I observed the first motions amongst the people, I leapt forth of my cell, and went to enquire what was the matter. I was acquainted that the *Barretti* (so the family of these rebels was called) were got together to divert themselves. To

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which

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*MEROLLA* which I reply'd, that their exercise did not at all seem to me to be tending that way; but I rather supposed it to be occasioned by some contentions among them. Having then the chalice in my hand to say the second mass, and being somewhat mistrustful that this might arise from the captain-general's influence, I caused it to be enquired into when he had been at church, and was informed that he was present at the first mass. Now if this had been true, I had soon prevented all future miscarriages; but being impos'd upon, I could not. I then offered the count to do what in me lay to quiet the disturbance, and promis'd to go find out the captain-general for that purpose. Hereupon my net was speedily got ready, and I set forth, but had not gone above three or four miles before I was stop'd by a guard of soldiers, who told me I should go no farther. This caus'd me to come out of the net to know the reason, thinking when they saw me they would let me pass; but I found it quite otherwise. I asked their commander if he knew me? He answered, *This post was assigned me to let no body pass whatsoever, and your reverence never yet baptized me, nor have I confess'd to you.* Then I went to go on, but this captain fell down on his knees, and hindered me. I believed positively that this was an act of humiliation and submission, it being the *Blacks* custom always to speak upon their knees to the priests and their lords: But see how I was mistaken; for as I offered to go forward, he clapped the butt-end of his musket to his shoulder, and was about to fire at me, which I perceiving, retired, and giving a small crucifix to one of his soldiers, bad him to carry it to the captain-general, as a token that I was coming to speak with him. In the mean time I took to another road, which altho' it was three miles about, yet by the grace of God I got to *Cbitombo* before midnight. In our way we pass'd thro' several villages, whose inhabitants were all fled to the sea-shore; therefore not finding any body to relieve my poor net-men, as they expected, they were forced to carry me patiently, without resting a minute, for fear of losing time. *Manichitombo* sent me word that he would have me come on no forwarder, lest I should lose my way in a huge wood, which I must necessarily pass thro', and which I might very well do in the night-time: and moreover that if I continued at *Cbitombo*, he would come and wait on me there. My answer was, that if he had a mind to shew himself an obedient spiritual son to me, he should continue where I was till I had known the count's farther pleasure in the matter; and I wishal request of him, that the letters

I should send for that purpose might not be intercepted by any of his faction; and to the end they might be able to distinguish which they were, I let him know that I would order them to be carried aloft upon a pole. Whilst I was in expectation of an answer from the count, *Manichitombo's* brother and secretary sent me my crucifix again, and withal gave me to understand that his brother would not have me by any means to give myself the trouble to come to him, for that he would comply with me in all I desired and came about; and therefore begged of me to pray for him and his friends. Having this answer from the captain-general, I thought it to no purpose to stay any longer in *Cbitombo*; and therefore immediately set out for *Sogno* again, and arrived there about midnight. Next morning I ordered my interpreter to go and acquaint the count what I had done; but tho' he seem'd to comply with my commands, yet did he not nevertheless obey them, fearing to fall under disgrace thereby: for it is common among the *Blacks* to suspect what the interpreters tell them, if there be not a priest by to confirm it, and sometimes such messengers have been taken and punished barely upon suspicion. When I came to understand this, I went to the count myself, and having informed him of all that happened, he seem'd in some measure to be pacified, however desired to be satisfied in two questions: The first was, why I had not communicated the captain for having so impudently set up his standard against his sovereign? And the second was, that he desired to know from me what punishment so great an offender deserved? As to the first I answered, That I could not have communicated him for two reasons: First, because he had not rebelled against the church; and secondly, in that he complied with my demands, which I presumed were for his excellency's benefit. As to the count's second question, I plainly perceived that it was both designing and polirick: for could he have procured me to declare the captain-general a rebel, he would have soon had him caught, and struck off his head. But I thank God, being aware of his intentions, I prudently avoided them, telling his excellency in a jesting way, that I would send the little boy (a youth that had been brought up in our convent, and whom the count dearly loved) to satisfy him in that question. This caus'd all the standers-by to laugh, and I myself was not a little pleased that I had avoided answering to so enflaming a demand. The third or fourth day after, the governor of *Cbiona*, the count's eldest son, appeared with a powerful army which he had



had raised to defend his father. This person at his first coming was indeed extremely courteous and humble; but he afterwards soon became proud and haughty. How much pains we took to reconcile these two disagreeing parties, need not be expressed. In a word, we happily composed the dissensions between them, and we thought the captain-general had agreed to appear only with his three brothers. But wherever the mistake was, he came at the time appointed attended by his whole army, which having drawn up before our church, in sight of that of the *mani* of *Cbioua*, he waited for the count's coming to give him a remission of his crime. I fixed my eyes upon the multitude, and could not imagine what the event of this interview would be. I told the count's second son, that was then in our convent, that in my opinion it was not at all proper for his father to appear in any passion at this juncture. He answered, that the way to meet one that came to ask pardon after this manner, was to come with bullet in mouth, and the musket ready to receive it. *Nos se fast, sir*, quoth I, *perhaps I may find a remedy*. Then I went and spoke to the captain-general's secretary, who of all his brothers was the wisest and most prudent. I told him my sentiments concerning the hostile appearance of so great a number of men, and his answer was, that they should be all sent home to their houses, which was the same day performed. Of all this I immediately informed the count, and he appointed the four brothers to appear before him next morning, without any attendants. They accordingly came, and three leathern chairs being set out before our church, one for the count, another for me, and a third for the captain-general, the count after his wonted humble manner took the left hand. After a little while the captain-general making three low bows to the count, humbly acknowledged his offence, and received pardon. When this was done, the count started up, and nodding his head with a fierce countenance, to shew he was not altogether pleased with what had passed, and turning towards me said, *Is there any thing more, father, that you desire of me? Are you satisfied? Are you contented?* Which having spoke, he in a kind of passion left us. Happy was it for these four that I had interposed; for otherwise they would not have recovered their former posts, as they did. Nor was it a matter of small labour to get the captain, the secretary, and the other lieutenants restored. Yet I observed with admiration that the count laid hold of this opportunity to put several *mani*'s from their governments, who

depended on the captain-general, and among the rest, those that had commands nearest his *banza*, putting into their places such as he most confided in, retrenching by degrees his exorbitant power: And thus the general was humbled, his master satisfied, and the people quieted.

Having given an account of this rebellion of a nephew against his uncle, I will conclude this first part with that of a son against his father a *Portuguese*, and the dreadful punishment God inflicted upon him for his disrespect to his parents: A passage no less dreadful than memorable, and which may serve for a warning to unruly persons to be more respectful to those nature and the law of God have placed over them. Some few days before the arrival of the fathers missionaries, *F. F. Andrew da Pavia*, and *F. Angelo Francisco of Milan*, at the mission of *Sogno*, as shall appear hereafter, a run-away soldier embarked at *Loanda* for this place aboard a *Dutch* ship, in order to pass into the kingdom of *Loango*, and thence into *Europe*. He, tho' he arrived at *Sogno*, succeeded not in his designs, as he projected; for being often rejected by the *Dutch*, he was left forsaken upon that point of the river call'd *el Padron*, the landing place of the aforesaid earldom. This place being on one side hemm'd in by the river, and on the other by the waves of the vast ocean, and the land being covered with a thick wood of *mango* trees, he durst not stir one step in that intricate labyrinth. He often desired the heathen fishers resorting thither from the kingdom of *Angoij*, and the *Soguese* Christians to carry him into their countries; but both of them excused themselves, alledging they could not do it without their master's leave. He having nothing but his sword, thought to prevail by force, which they perceiving, forsook the place, for fear of embroiling themselves with the *Portuguese*, and to shun him that took their fish away, and abused them. The wretch being in this condition, surrounded with misfortunes, saw the two aforementioned fathers coming from *Angola*, and conceived hopes they would relieve and conduct him to their house, hunger pressing him. Coming out to meet them, and perceiving they did not so much as look at him, but went away without speaking a word, he cried out, Fathers, I fly to your compassion, and desire to be received by you. We cannot, replied they, banish that charity from our hearts which is due to all men like our selves; but God forbid that at our first appearance among these new converted christian *Blacks*, we should introduce with us the example of a most enormous wicked action committed

Rebellion  
of a son  
against his  
father.

MEROLLA mitted by a white Christian as you are. Thus they left him forsaken in that place. The case was thus: This wretch had given a full loose to all his lewd inclinations, and being often reprimanded by his father, he never took the least notice. On the contrary, to remove all obstacles that hindered his proceeding in his wicked courses, he resolved to destroy him of whom he had received his being. Accordingly he inhumanly fired a pistol at his father, the bullet whereof hitting him on the forehead without any hurt, rebounded back upon the son, and wounded him sorely, who as he was, took sanctuary in a church; but fearing the punishment he deserved, endeavour'd to make his escape with the *Hollanders*, as has been said. The most remarkable thing in this cursed action was, that the ablest surgeons could never heal his wound, the flesh ever remaining raw, as a brand on his forehead for so barbarous an action, and an example to all others to dread committing the like inhumanity. As I was going by the water to the kingdom of *Angoij*, I saw him walking with his sword in his hand instead of a staff; and he called to the seamen, who were his countrymen, but durst not come near because the governor of *Angola* would have punished them severely, had they pre-

fumed to transport a run-away soldier.

To the former I will add one passage *ill liver more*, well known to all this earldom, *punished*, where the witnesses to it are still living; it was thus: A certain Christian being often admonished by one of our missionaries to leave his wicked course of life, he was so far from it, that running on in his lewd courses, he scoffed at him. This man being one day to pass a river with two companions, he was visibly taken up by an invisible hand into the air. One of his companions going to take hold of him by the feet, had such a cuff given him, that he fell down in the boat, and the offender was seen no more, the two companions being left to proclaim what had happened all the country about.

But since I have spoke of a son that was *Monstrous birth*, so ill a liver, I will conclude with other children born in this black *Ethiopia*, to the astonishment of those that beheld and gave an account of them. One of these came from his mother's womb with a beard and all his teeth; perhaps to shew he was born into the world grown old in vice. A white and a black child were also born at one birth; and a black woman brought forth a child quite white. Thus I conclude this first part with three wonderful births.

*The End of the First Part.*

A VOYAGE

The author's sickness and recovery.

## A Voyage to CONGO, &amp;c.

## PART II.

**E**THIOPIA, so called either from *Ethiops* the son of *Vulcan*, or from the Greek word *aitho*, *I burn*; according to *Pliny's* opinion, who expresses it thus, *Nam solis vicinitate ejus regionis incolæ torrentur*, *Ap. distion. 7 Linguæ*, and which either by means of its scorching sands, the nature of the climate, the odours of the food, and variety of the daily diet, produces nothing but blackness among its own native inhabitants, may with good reason be termed the dark and dismal tomb of *Europeans*, and the fatal grave of white people. The blackness of these sooty nations, some will have to be caus'd by the climate, or nearness to the sun; but others, with more reason, derive it from their original, family and descent: for *Sevil* being in about 38 degrees of north latitude, produces white people. Near the river of *Plate*, in the the same latitude southward, the men are of a chefnut, and rusty iron colour; and near the cape of *Good Hope*, which tho' more eastward, is in the same latitude, the natives are quite black as pitch. And therefore with *Cardan* we may say, the blackness does not proceed from the temper of the climate, but from the race. *Ut videantur stirpe potius quam aeris natura tales evadere*. *Card. lib. II. de variet. c. IV.* Which the poet confirms thus.

*Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa  
vocato,  
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colo-  
rem.* Ovid. lib. II. Met. v. 235.

*S. Isidorus* quoted by the most illustrious and most learned monsignieur *Paulo Aresi* in his essays, is of opinion, that the *Ethiopians* are descended from *Cubis* the son of *Ham*, curs'd by *Noah* for his unbecoming curiosity in looking upon his father's nakedness. *Certissimum est originem ingredi non a regione, ut hætenus existimatum est ob solis ardores, sed a stirpe & sanguine Cubis provenire.*

In the second year of my mission, I fell sick of a violent fever in *Ethiopia*, inso-

The au-  
thor's sick-  
ness and  
recovery.

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prepare for my last mission into another *Mazolla* world. The remedy we *Europeans* make use of here upon these occasions, is, to let almost all our blood out of our veins, and to replenish them with such as the food of the country produces, which being more connatural to the climate, agrees best with us. And if it pleases God to spare life, it is no less painful, or requires any shorter time to recover; for days and months pass away in accustoming the body to the unusual food, but it is the work of two or three years, with continual care and application, to re-establish health. If the probability of this be questioned, I appeal for confirmation of it to father *Cavazzi da Montecuculo* in his *historical descriptions* before-mentioned, where he speaks of it in many places, viz. in his first book, pag. 146. in his third, pag. 300, &c.

If the torments this fever occasioned my body were so grievous, much more must they needs be to my soul, since I had only the poor lay-brother *Leonard* to administer the sacraments to me: who nevertheless in temporals was as serviceable as I could expect or wish, but in spirituals could only sprinkle me now and then with holy-water, and call sometimes for me on the names of *Jesus* and *Mary*.

Whilst I was thus labouring under an uncertainty, whether I should live or die, an envoy was introduced to me from the king of *Cacongo*, who writ me word, that both he and his whole kingdom were disposed to receive our holy faith, and therefore desired I would make what haste I could to him to have those good intentions accomplish'd. At that time I was ignorant that the count of *Segno* had married his sister to this king, on condition that he should embrace the christian communion, but which not long after I was acquainted with by the said count himself. This good news I must own was no small relief to my malady, though it did not absolutely recover me. I therefore entreated his excellency, the count, that he would please to supply the want of ability in me, and give the envoy an answer which might demonstrate my gratitude, and great obligations to his master for his proposal.

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This

MAROLLA

This king sent afterwards to our count to offer him the island of *Zariacacongo*, which being nearest to his dominions, might be better governed by him, and continued in the christian religion when once planted there. With the messenger that brought this offer, I dispatch'd another to the king, to let him know that for the present I was extremely ill: and besides that there was no other missioner throughout the count's dominions besides my self, but that if God in his infinite mercy should please to spare my life, I would take such care that he should be serv'd in his request, either by me or some other. I desired his majesty moreover to order the governor of the island, that whenever any of my interpreters should come there, to set up a cross as an original sign of Christianity, he would permit them to do it without molestation. I likewise begged of his majesty to assign me some place in his dominions for a church to be built. All I had so desired, was punctually granted not long after by this good king, who testified a more than ordinary inclination to see me; but which my weakness, occasioned thro' the great loss of blood I had undergone, hinder'd me from obeying him in. One of our fathers being come to me, set forward immediately to forward so good a work, as the conversion of a whole kingdom; who coming to *Bomancovij*, a city on the other side the river *Zaire*, and metropolis of the kingdom of *Angoij*, heard that the king was dead, and a new one elected. This caused him immediately to return homewards, employing himself by the way in other missions among the islands belonging to *Sogno*: he thought it not amiss to touch at the island of *Zariacacongo*, to pry into the dispositions of that people; and finding a cross erected amongst them, he took thence an occasion to ask them, *If they desired to be Christians?* The governors answer'd, *That they could not receive any new law without leave from the present king; which if he would grant, they were most ready to embrace it.* There were not wanting some among them that said scoffingly, *When we are sick, forsooth, the wood of this cross will recover us!* This they spoke, I suppose, by the instigation of the wizards, who knew well enough that the christian religion should be no sooner establish'd there, but they would be persecuted; and therefore, no doubt, thought it advisable to oppose it. The father having done all he could to please them, and finding his endeavours ineffectual, left them till a more favourable opportunity offered it self. The count finding these islanders to oppose the commands of their late king, resolv'd to compel them by force to perform them,

and consequently set out against them with an army for that purpose; and we seeing it involved in troubles, thought fit to put off our going thither till another time.

This island is none of the smallest, and situate in the midst of the river *Zaire*. It abounds with all sorts of provisions, and great numbers of inhabitants. It is plain, raised eight fathom above the water, and is divided from the kingdom of *Congo* by a river, over which there is a bridge.

*Description of an island.*

About the end of the fifth year of my mission, arrived at our convent the two *Milanese* fathers formerly mention'd, viz. father *Andrew da Pavia* (who was appointed superior in my stead) and father *Angelo Francesco da Milano*; together with a lay-brother, one *Giulio d'Orta*. They brought along with them several refreshments from *Europe*, whereby having greatly comforted me, I began to recover my strength, inasmuch that I resolv'd speedily to set forth in my mission, but knew not well whither to go. If I went to *Cbiovacianza*, I was afraid I should not succeed there, by reason, as father *Leonard* told me, they had not seen the face of a priest for many years; and moreover, since they had had any among them, they had been subdu'd, as I told you before, by *Simu'amba*. And if I went to the new king of *Cacongo*, I distrust'd my security there, because he had never invited me. At length it was the advice of all, rather to repair and support what had been already built, than to think of laying a new foundation in another place, and the rather, because there was no extraordinary understanding between the count of *Sogno* and the new king of *Cacongo*, altho' the count had given him his vote as one of his electors. I was nevertheless not yet resolv'd to go for *Cbiovacianza*, having heard what happened there to one of our order, who coming thither from *Sogno*, and being for that reason ill look'd upon, did little or no good; and besides, happening to take a small quantity of *talk*, wherewith that country greatly abounds, he was taken and clap'd up into prison, besides other ill usage offered him; and was at length released, more out of covetousness, than either charity or justice. Notwithstanding this consideration, I was at last prevail'd upon to go: for this purpose I resolv'd to carry with me interpreters of the best quality I could get; and therefore procur'd, though with some difficulty, the count don *Stephano's* son, a person extremely beloved throughout these dominions, together with the secretary and his brother, both nephews to the present count, and who have been mentioned

*Arrival of more missioners.*

*A new missioner sent out.*

*The author lets out his wife.*

mentioned by me before. Having got all things in readiness for so long and dangerous a journey, taking up four or five days at least, the interpreters thought themselves obliged, according to the custom of the country, to go and ask their lord and master's benediction: which he gave them with a pleasing countenance; but nevertheless could not help saying, *What, will you leave your prince to hunt after bonghi?* (the money of that country) to which they readily answered, *That they were going in the service of God, and not in search after bonghi.* This did not pass so secretly but it came to my ears, and which I observ'd to have had that effect upon the before-mentioned persons, that I resolv'd to alter my resolutions, and instead of *Cbiowacbianza*, to embark for *Angoij*, and thence to go to *Cacongo*.

A new  
missioner  
sent out.

If it was not my good fortune to go to *Cbiowacbianza* my self, give me leave to tell you who did. We had a certain native of *Sogno*, whom we had bred up in our convent from a youth. This person being very virtuous, and of a more than ordinary capacity, our friars caus'd him to be made a priest for the benefit of Christianity, to the end that being naturally more proper to bear fatigue and labour than they, he might be sent out on a mission where they could not go. Him we forthwith dispatch'd to the above-mention'd country, where in a few days he baptis'd above five thousand children. Having remain'd there for some time, and work'd like a faithful labourer in his LORD's vineyard, at the request of our fathers, he obtain'd a canonship in the bishoprick of *Loanda* in the kingdom of *Angola*, where he now resides, with a great deal of honour due to his behaviour and character.

Thereabout  
lets out  
likewise.

I went to wait on the count to take leave of him, telling him, *That I had in some measure been hinder'd from making my mission by land, and therefore I was resolv'd to perform it speedily by sea.* His answer was little to the purpose, which nevertheless savour'd more of craft than any thing else. He told me, *That since my departure was so sudden, he could only furnish me with a brace of goats, and some pulse.*

I embark'd, and the first port I touch'd at was *Capina* in the kingdom of *Angoij*, where the *Portugueses* trade all the year, as do the *Dutch*. I was no sooner landed, but I set about my spiritual employment; yet whatever pains I took, and however I incultur'd the truth, I could gain over but one single person, whom I baptis'd. I confess'd several Christians that came thither about business, together with some *Flemish* catholics that lived there. I continued ashore all the day to say mass; at

which assisted not only the *Roman-catholic* <sup>MEROLLA</sup> licks, but the pagans, especially the women of these last, who were so well pleas'd with the picture of the Virgin *Mary*, that they clapp'd their hands after their manner of devotion, and cried out in their language, *Eguandi Ziambiabungh magotti, benchi, benchi!* that is, *This is the mother of God, O how beautiful she is!* Which said, they all fell on their knees and worshipp'd her. This act of tenderness so wrought upon me, that it quickly brought tears of joy into my eyes, to see so much devotion and acknowledgment in so ignorant a people.

*Angoij* is a kingdom rather in name <sup>King of Angoij.</sup> than in dominions, being but a very small territory. Here formerly a certain *mani* happening to marry a *Mulatta*, daughter to a very rich *Portuguese*, his father-in-law would needs make him king of *Angoij*; and for that purpose caus'd him to rebel against the king of *Cacongo* his lawful sovereign. The manner in short thus: the king of *Congo* having sent a governor, or viceroy, to govern the kingdom of *Loango*; that person being rather ambitious to reign absolutely, than rule under another, got himself to be proclaimed king of all that country; and moreover, took in so much more land belonging to his master, that his dominions are at present extremely large, and wholly independent of *Congo*. *Cacongo* lying in the middle between *Congo* and *Loango*, that *mani* declar'd himself neuter, and set himself up for king of *Angoij*, rebelling against his lawful sovereign the king of *Cacongo*.

The kingdom of *Loango* lies in five degrees and a half of south latitude. The christian religion was first planted there in the year 1663, by the labour and diligence of one father *Ungaro* a friar of our order. This pious father had run through divers countries and kingdoms, when at last coming to *Sogno*, and lodging in our convent, a *Portuguese* traveller happening to come that way, was very courteously received and relieved by him, insomuch that in a little while they had contracted a great friendship together. After some time the *Portuguese* went his way, and coming to *Loango*, related to that king the great integrity and honesty he had found in this *Capuchin* missionary. The king giving credit to what he told him, was easily induc'd to send two of his younger sons to *Sogno*, to be instructed by this person in the principles of the christian religion; which, after they had well been, and baptis'd, they were sent back to the king their father.

These princes confirming the character the *Portuguese* had given of *Bernardino Ungaro*,



*MANOLLA* gara, the king had a great desire to see so good a man, and keep him always with him; and therefore wrote forthwith to the governor of *Angola* to send him to him. This governor having obtain'd leave of the then superior, father *John Maria da Parva*, dispatched him accordingly to *Loango*, without any manner of delay: Where arriving soon after, and having instructed the king and queen for some few days, he proceeded to baptize them both, and then to marry them after the manner of our church. His next business was to baptize the king's eldest son, and after him successively the whole court, which consisted of above three hundred persons. In a word, within the space of a year that he lived there, he had baptiz'd upwards of twelve thousand people. At last this zealous missionary finding himself oppress'd with a grievous indisposition, and believing that he should not live long, sent for our lay-brother *Leonard*; who coming not long after to him, the pious father died the same morning he arriv'd, well provided, as we may imagine, of merits for another world. The good king hearing this, and being desirous to keep up what he had so happily begun, sent brother *Leonard* to the aforesaid superior to acquaint him with *Ungaro's* death, and to desire of him to send him speedily another missionary; but however, these his good intentions were afterwards disappointed by a rebellion rais'd against him by a kinsman, who being ambitious of his crown, and having been assisted by some apostate catholics, deprived the good king of his life. This king's extraordinary zeal for propagating of the christian religion, appears, in that he has been often heard to say, *that he would shed his dearest blood in the defence of it.*

The tyrant and usurper that dispossest him, lived not long after to enjoy his ill-gotten throne, but was snatch'd away from it by a sudden death. This wicked person being dead, another christian king arose, who tho' he did all he could, by the help of one *Capuchin*, to promote what had been begun by father *Ungaro*, yet was he not able to bring his intentions about, and that for want of more missionaries; wherefore this kingdom remains at present, as formerly, buried in idolatry. In my time were several attempts made to recover our interest there, though to no purpose; yet there is now a greater probability of succeeding in it than ever, the present king having prohibited the heretics to traffick within his dominions, by reason that they had sold his subjects fire-arms, which he imagined might in time prove prejudicial to him.

I never heard there was any christian

prince that reigned in the kingdom of *Angoij*, that country having been always inhabited by a sort of people extremely given to sorcery and magick, and who have likewise ever been profess'd enemies to the people of *Sogno* and *Cacongo*. Before I left those countries, those missionaries I had left behind me in *Sogno*, writ me word that the count had declared war against *Angoij*; and having conquered that king, had taken all his guns, arms, and ammunition from him, vowing withal never to suffer any person to enjoy any office or dignity in that kingdom, unless he were a christian. This put me in mind of the saying of the christian poet *Claudian*,

*Asperius nihil est humili cum surgis in altum.*  
In *Eutrop.* lib. I. v. 181.

And I believe the chiefest motive of the king of *Cacongo's* seeking the count's friendship, was to have the people of *Angoij* kept under, he being a kind of check upon them.

Whilst I continued at *Capinda*, I observ'd a sort of fishing which I never saw else-where. The fishermen threw into the sea a large net with weights, which having long canes fix'd to it at equal distances from each other, by their bobbing down shew when there is any fish taken: this net has large meshes only to detain the great fish. It is made of thread of a certain root, which being beaten, becomes like unto our hemp. *What our author tells for a wonder, is now very common, for all draw-nets have corks fix'd at an equal distance to do the same office that he ascribes to the canes.*

I saw all along these shores oyster-shells lie in great numbers, and being desirous to find those with oysters in them, although the *Negroes* would not direct us, we soon loaded our boat. We found them lying one upon another in great heaps, and resembling a rock: it requires no great strength to loose them, but only a little shaking.

I had here an opportunity to see the civet-cats, called by the natives *nzime*, and by the *Portugueses*, *gatte d'Angelia*. This country abounds with them, and they are sold in great numbers to the *Whites*. They are white and black, and of about the bigness and make of a large cat. The civet is taken from the male, when shut up in a cage, by catching him by the tail that he may not turn; and then skimming the sweat off from his limbs with a kind of spoon. There are other sorts of wild-cats, which are called by the natives *nzusut*.

The most civiliz'd habit here is a piece of cotton thrown over their shoulders, and another

No adultery.

another girl about their loins, which they purchase in exchange for slaves and ivory: others content themselves with a short apron, only to shew they are *Geniles*. They wear a little horn about their necks, hanging like a jewel; and which they anoint every full-moon with an oil that their wizards give them, and afterwards bind them about with divers spells. They wear their hair according to their quality: the queen that I saw, had hers shav'd close on the crown, and little tufts left all round on the sides. Others have it left in a circle like that of a monk, and others have theirs plaited down in points towards their foreheads and their necks, inasmuch that if there were the least stragling hairs, they would be cut away, and the rest shaved close to the head.

*Houses.*

The houses for the most part are of reeds, whereof some are built round, and others square: they are generally such miserable huts, that they are rather fit to receive insects, than with this country abounds, than to afford a tolerable habitation for men. The house of the *masucca*, receiver of the *Whites*, though it was built with the same materials, yet was it nevertheless very large and well-contriv'd, having several arch'd rooms, within each of which were two small bras-cannons, which, together with two great ones at the gate, made in all eighteen. These cannons they had got in exchange for *Negroes*, ivory, and the like, from the *Whites*. The king's palace seem'd to me not unlike the foregoing. What moved my wonder most was, the governor of *Bomangij's* house, which at a distance seem'd to be a well-fortified citadel encompassed with walls, and unlike the workmanship of the *Blacks*: but as you come nearer, you find its walls to be only composed of large stakes (palisadoes) stuck into the ground, five thick, and then raddled up to the top with others of the same bigness: within there were two large ways, which subdivided into several lesser paths. The rooms are all hung within with a delicate sort of mats, made of ozers of divers colours. It seem'd to me a ridiculous thing nevertheless, that their houses should be but of straw, stakes, and ozers, and yet defended with bras guns.

*No adultery.*

The people here for want of laws to prevent it, take as many wives as they please; and she commands the rest that best please her husband, but he has always a power to put her away as well as the rest. The ladies of the blood-royal have a liberty to choose for themselves what man they please, whether noble or a *plebeian*; but woe be to that man that happens to disappoint them in their expecta-

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tions, for they have likewise absolute power of life or death. Whilst I was in this city, one of these ladies sent a young woman to be sold to the *Portugueses*, strictly commanding her guardian to let her go at any price, but not to dispose of her to any but *Whites*: Her crime it seems was a bare suspicion of being too familiar with the said lady's husband. Those women that receive strangers into their houses are obliged by a barbarous custom to admit them to their embraces for a night or two, depriving their husbands of that right in the mean time. Where we *Capuchin* missionaries come, our interpreters immediately give notice, that no woman may come within our doors.

These people abound so in superstition, *Superstition.* that it would scarce be believed by any but those who saw it; and to go about to prevent it would be to little purpose, since the chief among them are such as encourage it. I declined seeing the king, altho' I had made him presents, and he had returned the favour, by reason I had been told that he wore enchanted bracelets on his arms, and had divers other magick charms about his body, resolving at my return both to visit and make him sensible if possible of the cursed state he was in without repentance. Whilst I was here I heard several proclamations made publicly by the wizards, *That all thieves and robbers should speedily make restitution, or they would have recourse to their arts to discover them.* I saw likewise at a distance an oath administered, which that it might be done with the greater efficacy, was proposed to be taken in the presence of their idol: this hobgobbling resembled in some measure a mountebank's *merri-andrew*, having a divers colour'd vest on, and a red cap on its head, and standing on a little table. As soon as the company that stood round in a ring saw me they immediately dispers'd and hid their idol. This they did not out of any fear of us, by reason that being pagans we had no jurisdiction over them, but because (said they) the presence of a priest deprives them of the power of acting. Before the gates of their houses almost all have one of these idols, whereof I have seen some five or six foot high; others are smaller, but both are generally clouterly carved: they place them likewise in the fields where they are never worshipped, but on account of finding out some theft, for which the thief when discovered must die. They that keep idols in their houses, every first day of the moon are obliged to anoint them with a sort of red wood powder'd, as was said above. At the appearance of every new moon, these people fall on their knees, or else cry out,

8 E

standing

*MEROLLA* standing and clapping their hands, *So may I renew my life as thou art renewed.* If it happen that the air is cloudy at that time, then they do nothing, alledging that that planet has lost its virtue. This sort of devotion is observed mostly by women. As I was travelling over hills and vallies to transport myself to Congo, I chanced to light upon a place where they were invoking of evil spirits; the place was a poor wretched despicable hut built on a small rising ground: on one side hung two coarse nasty aprons which stunk so that they were enough to strike any one down that came near them. In the middle of this hut was a wall raised about two foot with mud and dirt, behind which stood the wizard to pronounce his fallacious oracles on account of the prince of darkness. He had on his head a tuft of feathers variously woven, and in his hand two long knives without sheaths. Having a mind to enter this temple of the devil's, I perceived a very large fire before me, but nevertheless found to be insupportable a stench that all my senses were in a manner taken from me. I resolved notwithstanding to proceed, arming myself frequently with the sign of the cross, and recommending my protection to the Almighty: Whilst I was endeavouring to go forward, for you must imagine the stink was no small obstacle. I heard a great many of the poor deluded pagans come murmuring and muttering behind me, exclaiming against my rude attempt to enter their hellish tabernacle. This prevented my going any further, fearing I might otherwise provoke their blind rage to do me a mischief. But to return to my subject.

*Invitation from a king.*

When I had continued some time at *Capinda*, the *masucca* told me he had orders from the king of Congo, that whenever any *Capuchin* friars appeared in those parts, he should send them to him. I answered, that coming from *Sogno* I knew not if I should be well received or not. The *masucca* replied, *I will write to know his majesty's pleasure, and I advise your reverence to write likewise.* I asked him, *How many days journey the king was off from thence?* he answered me, *Three by water, and four by land. If it be so (added I) I will write.* Then I considered with myself, that if I did go I might lose the opportunity of the return of my boat from *Loango* to transport me further, according to my intentions, and therefore I resolved not to go. To this purpose I writ to his majesty, humbly supposing, *that he was indifferent whether I came to him or not; and therefore having set out from Sogno with no other design but to go to the kingdom of Caongo, I was preparing speedily to go thither.* Coming to an anchor

not long after in a port of that kingdom, I dispatched a letter to the king, acquainting him that I was the person that had received so many favours from his predecessors, having been sent for by him to *Sogno* to preach the gospel, and that then being greatly indisposed I could not possibly wait upon him according to his commands. This letter was contrived by me to be presented him by two persons, the one a *White*, namely, one *Ferdinando Gomez a Portuguese*, whom I did not care to trust wholly, by reason I knew him to be covetous, and therefore sent another with him who was a *Black*, and a relation to the said king. To him I consigned a present to his majesty, which was a crystal crown, and another of blue glass for the queen. This present was so well received by the king, that as a token of his being pleased he took it and put it on his head, which not a little surprized the standers-by, they having a law amongst them that prohibits their king wearing any thing that comes from the *Whites*, which law they call *cheqillas*; his majesty nevertheless dispensed with this law, telling the people that this crown had been sent him by his *Capuchin* father, and that therefore he highly prized it, and commanded his queen to do the like by hers: he then ordered my messengers to be treated with all the civility imaginable, and after eight days stay dismissed them with a letter to me, wherein he thanked me heartily for my kind intentions towards him, and proffered me, that if I would come and see him I should be very honourably received, advising me to bring some rich *Portuguese* merchant along with me to be my conductor, with some considerable merchandizes to please the people. This answer of his was to the purpose, and had three serviceable consequences, first to himself, secondly to me, and thirdly to the *Portuguese*.

As to the first, it was commonly reported among the missionaries, and remained fresh in the memories of the *Negrees*, that some years since a certain king of this kingdom having been baptized by a religious person, and afterwards causing a proclamation to be made, *That within such a time all wizards should depart his dominions, or suffer death for their neglect;* these wicked wretches incited his subjects to a rebellion against him, which at length increased to that degree, that they ran like madmen to the palace with weapons in their hands to assault their prince. The prudent king having timely notice of their motions, retired in great haste to a son's of his, who was at that time governor of an adjoining territory, thinking he could be no where so safe as under his protection, who was indebted to him for his being. The son feeling

*Great treachery.*

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ing his father hotly pursued by his mutinous subjects, I know not whether through fear of death, or out of policy, soon discovered, and delivered him up to their mercy. What could the afflicted father do upon this occasion, but have recourse to the holy crucifix which he always wore about him, and which had been given him at the font by the priest that baptized him, kissing it over and over, and crying out, *If I must die through the treachery of a son, ought I not to do the same on account of my Saviour, who was betrayed and died for me? yes, if I had a thousand lives I would lay them down all for his sake.* This said, hugging the crucifix close in his arms and kissing it, he yielded down his head to the fatal steel, which at one stroke deprived him both of head and life. His perfidious son did not remain long unpunished, for soon after, being first deprived of his government, he died miserably. The same happened to that wicked kinsman, and infamous conspirer against the king of Loango, who in like manner by a commendable death, resigned his breath on account of his endeavours to propagate the christian faith within his dominions.

The cause of my going to *Cacongo*, was principally the spiritual comfort of those poor souls, and the performance of my duty, but I had likewise a desire to see the body of the former of the two beforementioned kings, which was not much revered by the said people, but highly respected by me, and which was not difficult for me to find it, having been the custom there, as with us, to bury their kings by themselves. That strange accident having left so indelible an impression on the mind of the present king, he had good reason to desire a trade with the *Portugueses* in expectation of their assistance both spiritual and temporal, which he also expected from his good friend and ally the count of *Sogno*.

To confirm as much as in me lay the good intentions of this king, I had signified to him among other things, that to lay the surer foundation of the christian religion in his country, I must desire the favour of him, that either all, or at least the chief of the magicians and wizards of his kingdom would meet me to defend their opinions, and oppose mine; and if they declined coming on account of ignorance, I desired I might exercise my sacerdotal power on their charms, and disprove and annul all their devices, and thereby shew that the performances of Christ's ministers are always above those of the devil's.

The second consequence to me and all true catholicks was, that by the introducing of Christianity into that kingdom, the heretics that traded there would be dis-

countenanced and confuted, and not suffer for the future to make the port of *Capinda* their way to the kingdom of *Loango*.

The third good consequence was to the *Portugueses*, to whom we have been so much obliged not only in trade, but likewise in matters of religion.

*Ferdinand Gomez* pressed me extremely to give the king of *Cacongo* an answer, and therein to signify to him that if his majesty pleased he would wait upon him as a merchant, and had prepared great variety of merchandize for that purpose. My answer was, that if the king spent some days in considering on his answer, I had reason to study mine many more. His design it seems was to vend his commodities aboard, and then sail away without leaving any thing ashore. This the *Negroes* nevertheless discovered, and thereupon told him, that if he had a mind to trade for slaves in their country, he must first land all his merchandize. This honest man hoped to have had his rogues authorized by me, though he knew it to be my business to preach nothing but truth and sincerity. I thought it proper to go and speak with the king, who resided about eight miles off, to the end he might not think either himself or his subjects imposed upon by me, or my acquaintance. *Gomez* would needs accompany me, we found the journey extreme troublesome, especially I who had been sick. From the sea we had a very steep ascent to make, which obliged me to come out of my net, and to walk afoot, but at length through extreme weakness I fainted: whereupon I was lifted again into the net, and with much ado dragg'd up the hill. This fainting was occasioned by my indisposition, which never left me, and by the slender provisions we had in the ship which consisted of nothing but horse-beans, *Indian* wheat, and flower made of the root of an herb; and yet this man told me before our fathers of *Sogno*, that his bark was well provided, especially with sweetmeats, tho' indeed I found nothing but big words, and had like to have paid for it with my life.

When we came to the *masseu's* house, who was the king's relation, and lived about a mile from court, I called him aside, and told him what *Gomez* had designed: he seemed very angry, but was nevertheless soon appeased by my inter-mediation. I afterwards asked him seriously, *If I should go to the banza where the king resided, whether he thought his majesty would be baptized or not?* To which he, tho' a pagan, civilly answer'd, That it was certain he would, according to his promise, provided that trade were settled within his dominions.

*MISCELLANEOUS* dominions with the Whites pursuant to their contract; but if that were neglected, the performance of his promise would be accordingly procrastinated. *Away then (replied I) go tell your master, that by the help of God I will transport myself to Loanda in the kingdom of Angola, on purpose to settle that matter with the Portuguese governor; and afterwards, if not prevented, I will return hither myself, but if I cannot, my father superior shall come and baptize your king.* Then turning to Ferdinand Gomez, who stood by me all the while, I spoke to him thus in the presence of the *masucca*, *You see I have ended my business, go you and make an end of yours, and do not endeavour to put tricks upon these poor people.* Hereupon he contented himself with six slaves in exchange for his goods, and so prepared for his departure.

I nevertheless remained in the *masucca's* house, and towards night an ambassador, with five others, came to me from the king of Congo. Before their coming I had two messengers from the *masucca* of Angoiz, to signify their master's concern for my departure from Capinda without his knowledge. I acquainted them that the reason of my so doing was, because I had no house near the sea to reside in, his being above a day's journey off. I afterwards open'd the king of Congo's letter, wherein he intreated me, for God's sake, to come and comfort him, many years having pass'd since he had any Capuebin within his dominions; and his mother Donna Potentiana was desirous to see me, having several things to communicate to me for the benefit of Christianity. Together with the embassy the king sent a present of two slaves, one for me, and the other for the *masucca*, for services done him. Mine I refused, and yet I never saw him, but afterwards considering that if I did not accept of him the *masucca* would have both to sell to the hereticks, I gave him to Ferdinand Gomez, for having given me a flask of wine for the sacrament, and some other small things. Then I took leave of the *masucca* of Cacongo, thanking him for his civilities, and bidding him to a ruaint the king his master that I was gone to Loanda to accomplish what his majesty had commanded. I desired the captain of the ship or smack, that if he did not meet with me at Capinda, he should do his best to come to the port of Sogni, which he did faithfully, being a Venetian, and my country-man, notwithstanding both the wind and tide were against him. For the civilities I had received from the *masucca*, I presented him with several small things, in all to the value of about a slave: This I did that he might be the more

willing to furnish me with provisions for my voyage. I punctually observed his orders in satisfying the people that were to carry me over the river, which oblig'd him so much, that he procur'd me several companions besides the Congolans, which made us in all thirteen.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1688, without any farther delay we set forth towards Congo, and having gone about two days journey to by land, arrived at the banza of Angoiz, where by a correspondent *masucca*, a well-bred man, I was very courteously receiv'd and welcom'd, as I was by the governor, who received me with sincerity, and procur'd a boat to carry me further up the river. This voyage was extremely irksome to me through the excessive heat, the sun being then in Leo, which is the time of the rains; and I believe I could never have endured it, had I not been particularly assisted by Almighty God. A-nights I was obliged to lie ashore on the wet ground, continually tormented with a multitude of gnats called *meigos*, which rather deserved the name of horse-leeches, for they would never quit their holds till they dropt off and burst, and so rather chose to lose their lives than baulk their appetites. Or else I lay expos'd to the air in the canoo, which was a much greater plague. All this was nothing to what follows: The *masucca's* servant having received his money beforehand, would not allow me enough to subsist for four days, having agreed with the rest of the Blacks, who took their turns, to go by land and divert themselves, meeting the boat at the turn of the river, till we came to Boma. As for my interpreter, they gave him now and then a little, but I was fain to owe all my support to a little wine I had by me. The Congolans sent to me by the king, bid me to have patience, for it would not be long before I were in their master's dominions, and then I might have an opportunity to revenge myself on those wicked infidels.

The island of Boma is well situated, pretty large, extremely populous, and abounds with all manner of sustenance proper for the climate. It is tributary to the king of Congo, and has several small islands about it belonging to the count of Sogno. The inhabitants do not use circumcision like some pagans their neighbours, whose wizards circumcise them on the eighth day, not out of any regard to the *Mosaic* law, but for some wicked ends and purposes of their own. When our missionaries came to exercise their function in the islands of Sogno, these people carry their children to them to baptize. In this they do well, but as to other matters they observe little or no religion, and that I believe chiefly for want



of priests to instruct them. As soon as they perceived my arrival, the mothers run like mad women with their children in their arms to get them baptized: This the *mani* would not nevertheless permit me to perform, till he had known his lord and master's pleasure therein. As we rowed up the canal, the lord of the island sent to speak with me, being ready to receive me not far off, but first let me know that I must not pretend to touch him, for that he was a true gentile: His arms were all covered with great numbers of enchanted iron and brass hoops, and he superstitiously avoided my touching him, for fear they should lose their virtue. When I came to him, I found him sitting in a sort of leather chair under an *umbrella*; he had a sort of linen apron about his middle, and the rest of his body was wrapped about in a kind of scarlet cloke, which having lost both its colour and nap plainly shew'd its antiquity. I also sat my self down in a little leather chair, which I carried always about with me to hear confessions. After a little discourse I presented him with something after the custom of his country; for if something of this kind be not done to the prince, a mission will not be very likely to succeed. Afterwards this prince having assigned me a house near to his, I began to baptize the children.

The prince gave me to understand that he had a mind I should baptize a slave of his, which I told him I could not do till I had catechized her; and moreover, that after baptism there were several things to be done by her, among which one was, that she must be forthwith married according to our law, which we enjoined on all the converted pagans in other parts. I was answered by one of the standers-by, that this woman was not only a slave, but likewise mistress to their lord, and therefore I ought not to insist on the same from her as another. I told him her being a mistress was so much the worse, and bid him acquaint his lord, that I could by no means comply with his desires: The prince seemed very much displeased at my refusal to baptize his slave, but I nevertheless persisted in my resolutions.

I baptized many at that time, and thereby not only reaped a spiritual benefit, but likewise a temporal one; for almost every one brought me something or other as a present. Being scarce able to stand on my feet, I turned about to the *masucca's* servant and said to him, *See what difference there is between your religion and ours; for where yours allows you to be ungrateful, ours enjoins us to give even to those that have used us ill: Take therefore you all these presents,*

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and leave me only sufficient to support me to *Mezolla* night. According as I had bid him so he did, what was left for me being only a pot full of pullet-broth, and a few pease. Here the custom is to have the kitchen without doors for fear of firing the house, which is but of straw. My interpreter only remained with me, the rest of my companions being gone, some one way and some another. As soon as we had prepared my supper with an addition of two eggs, I fell to it heartily: My broth I suppd up, and tasted my pease, but I had not so done half an hour before I felt those pains that people are wont to do with the twisting of the guts: I thereupon lighted a candle, and threw my self upon the bed, which seemed much farther from me by reason of my torments than it really was. What I suffered is only possible for them to express that have experienced the torture. Providence, which seldom fails the wretched in extremity, at last directed me to a little basket I had by my bed-side, wherein I had preserved some antidotes, for I now began to think I was poisoned: Amongst the rest there was an elk's hoof, which I took and applied, but it did me no good, finding myself rather worse than before; for my teeth began to be set, and my sight to be lost; then I had recourse to a sort of little lemon which I would willingly have put into my mouth at once, but could not by reason of the too strait passage: At last I found I must break it, which I did; the first drop that came into my mouth gave me some ease; but when I had got the rest of the juice into my stomach I began immediately to grow drowzy, inasmuch that I quickly fell asleep with the lemon in my mouth, and hand upon my cheek. How long I continued in that condition I cannot tell. My companions coming, and perceiving me to lie in that posture, thought verily I had been dead, but at length through the only intercession of the Virgin I came to my self. Then turning about to the *Congolans*, I cried, *Go & forgive ye*, and was going to say more, but found my tongue unable to express any thing but broken tones. The occasion of my breaking forth into that expression, was on account of the poisoning of six of my order near *Bamba*, as they were travelling through *Congo*, being the common road from the kingdom of *Angola*. This way I resolved to avoid, for fear the like fate might have happen'd to me. As for my distemper, it began to work off by vomits, which continued upon me for eight days and nights together, in four of which I had little or no rest, and besides brought up whatever I eat. Being tolerably recovered, some short time

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*MISSOLLA* after I was impatient to be gone: For that purpose I sent to know if my people were in readiness, but had for answer, that the chest wherein the altar and its furniture were kept, was left on the shore and the canoe gone. It seems the lord of that country had sent the night before to the watermen, that if they offer'd to carry me off they should lose their heads. I hereupon sent civilly to that prince to suffer me to procure another boat: His answer was, that if I wanted a boat, he also wanted a cloke, my present which I formerly made him not having been sufficient. I happen'd to have two pieces of cotton-cloth by me, which it seems he had been informed of; they were woven in divers colours, and came from *Guinea*, being a present to me from father *Francisco da Montelione*: One of these I immediately sent to this prince to obtain his favour, which I heard he would not nevertheless afford me, unless I sent the other also: This I was unwilling to do, alledging I kept it for the service of God, to which he reply'd, that the boat was kept for God's service likewise, and therefore I should not have it. Finding my self thus indispensably obliged to let him have it, I sent it him, and three days after he returned me a boat and men.

Before I continue my voyage on the river, give me leave to acquaint you with some other passages of this nature which happened in this island, and were told me by father *Thomas da Sestola* our superior, which may serve to confirm what has been related before. A certain missionary coming to this island, the *mani* or lord seized upon some of the goods belonging to his mission; the friar hereupon acquainted the count of *Sogno* from whence he came therewith, who immediately sent orders to have the things restored again to the *Capucbin*, or he would proclaim war against the *mani*: This had to good effect, that the goods were forthwith restored, and the missionary highly treated and presented. Nevertheless to prevent any misunderstanding between these two princes, the before-mentioned black priest called *Don Francisco* was sent hither, who being of the same colour and country with these islanders, made a good beginning in his holy function. Whilst he was one day celebrating mass, the *mani*, who was much more devoted to riches than religion, instead of assisting at those divine mysteries, did nothing but gaze upon the priest's *chafuble* and silver patten; of one he had a fancy to make a coat and of the other a breast-plate. As soon as mass was ended, he very boldly asked for them: The prudent priest hereupon answer'd him, that he would very willingly let him have them, the *Capucbins* abounding in those

things, provided he would let him have them to officiate with during his stay there, but he stole away that very night. Whether it was the *mani* himself, or any other that designed me harm, I am not able to determine; but I am certain that if I had known the foregoing story, I had walk'd more warily, and given nobody an opportunity to make me undergo so great a danger as I did.

It may not be here amiss to take notice of two things more relating to the foregoing: First, as to the small sort of lemon which I made use of as an antidote, it is to be noted that the poison of these parts, which lies chiefly in certain herbs, is not to be expelled any other way than by the juice of this fruit, and this is a secret known to very few. As to the poison in wood or the like, nought can prevail against it, but the bark of the tree called *mignamigna*, as has been hinted at before in the description of the plants and trees of these countries.

Over and above the six *Capucbin* missionaries that were poisoned at the time of my being in *Congo*, I must add the like sad fate which had happened to father *Joseph Maria da Sestri* a *Genoise*, who in his way to *Sogno*, where I then resided, being accompanied with about thirty five persons sent with him by the count, he went aside to a *Conguese* city called *Incufo*: At the time of his departure he told me that six had been poisoned before him, and he should be the seventh. Staying at *Incufo* about a year, he took what care he could to get into his hands all the implements that had belonged to the deceased missionaries, and which he was commanded to do by the then father superior. Whilst he was doing this, he was earnestly requested by the vicar-general *Don Michael de Castro* a *Mulatto* to come to him, professing himself desirous to fulfil the *Easter-duty* of receiving the sacrament and confessing, being then an old man, and wanting one to assist him in administering the sacraments. The pious father went innocently to wait on him according to his request, carrying along with him what things he had recovered, purposing to send them to the superior: About four a clock he got safe to the vicar-general's house, but before night he was taken with fainting fits, and died not without a reasonable suspicion of being poisoned. He was no sooner dead, but the vicar-general caused all the people to depart the room where he lay, and then proceeding to rip up his bundles, took thence, as we are credibly inform'd, four silver chalices, two censurs, with their boats, and two pix's all of the same metal, with several other things, part of which he pretended

*Antidote against poison.*

*Journey to Congo continued.*

tended were given him by the dying missionary, and the rest he promised he would send to our superior at *Loanda*, but did not.

I report this from the people that were with father *Sestri* when he died, and who told me moreover, that he took a great quantity of treacle without any relief. This action of the vicar-general hindered his son from being admitted into sacred orders when he solicited for it. As soon as the old vicar was dead, the chapter of *Loanda* thundered out one excommunication against the son, then deacon, and the new bishop another, to the end that he might thereby be obliged to restore what his father had so unjustly got; all which served to little or no purpose. The old vicar had six thousand slaves at his command, besides subjects, with which he designed to have forced his son's promotion to the priesthood, to the end that he might crown him king of *Congo*, without considering whether he could get himself to be elected, and at that time he was decrepit. But I must return to give an account of the further progress of my journey.

*Journey  
to Congo  
continued.*

The first day after I was got over the river, I had a very steep mountain to go up; which being impossible to do in my net, I was fain to perform it on foot, being supported all the way by two men, by reason of my weakness. We came at length to a village, where I observed colwarts planted like ours in *Europe*, brought thither it may be by some missionaries. There are of them in the kingdom of *Angola*, but they produce no seed, and are multiplied by planting the sprouts, growing to a great height. This village was called *Bungu*, where I baptized fifteen children.

The morning of my departure hence, those that had the care of me being gone back again, as it is the custom in these countries to do, being assigned fresh conductors by the *mani* of the place, they would not stir a foot forwards till they were paid, tho' it be our privilege to travel always at the charge of the town where we came last. In answer to their demands I told them, That I was going to wait on their king upon this account, and therefore if he would have me to come, he must bear my charges. They replied, in great fury, *We will be paid*, clapping their hands, and stamping with their feet as if they had been mad. This action I confess made me smile, whereupon I told them, that if they would repeat the same three times over they should be paid. This made them to laugh too, when shrugging up their shoulders, and performing what I required, they stooped and took me up. It seems this ridiculous action of theirs was to have frightened me into a compliance; but how-

ever they were disappointed in the manner of procuring it, tho' they succeeded in what they expected.

In my second day's journey I was carried to the city of *Norobie*, where I baptized one hundred and twenty six persons. This place is the best situated of any hitherto seen in *Ethiopia*. Here the king's son met me, being come for that purpose, and I staid a day and a half to baptize the people.

Here, as I understood, had never yet been any priest, and that because this town was somewhat out of the road, the people having been us'd to carry their children about six days journey off, to a place where the missionaries commonly resided. The crowd that gathered here about me was very great, and the court of the house where I was but very little, so that I determined, for my greater ease, to perform my office in the market. This the *mani* observing, told me, that if I pleased I might go to the church, which was not far off. I was glad to hear there was one, and therefore immediately went to it. When I came near it, I perceived it was a pretty large one, and had a great wooden cross standing before it, which I was glad to see. Fixing my eyes upon the door of the church, I found it was quite different from what others had; whereupon calling to the *mani*, with a great deal of concern, I desired him to cause it to be opened. But he, instead of gratifying me in my request, immediately fled, together with all the rest of the company, which were very numerous. Being thus left to my resentments, I clapt my foot against the door, and broke it open, when I saw what I could never have believed, had it been barely related to me: Instead of an altar there was a great heap of sand, wherein was stuck a straight horn about five spans long, and on one side another of a lesser size. On one part of the wall hung two coarse shirts, such as I had before seen in the kingdom of *Angoji*. Being astonished at this sight, my hair stood an end, my tongue cleav'd to the roof of my mouth, and I began to cry out aloud, enhancing the offence as much as possible, *Are these the effects of the instructions ye have learnt from our missionaries? Is this the fruit of so much toil and anguish as has been undergone in your conversion?* with several more expressions of the like nature. I deferred administering the sacrament of baptism for some time, giving for reason, that it was by no means proper to baptize the children of those parents that had rejected the worship of the true God, for that of an abominable idol, such as their execrable *Cariabemba* was, for so they called their devil. I afterwards told them that I would not stir a foot from their town till the

MEROLLA

MEROLLA they had utterly thrown down and destroyed that temple of idolatry.

Retiring to recommend my self to God, and to pray for the illumination of his Spirit, I said to my self, *If I should now clap fire to this building, and burn it down, what damage may it not do to the inhabitants, whose houses are all adjoining, and moreover built with reeds?* I concluded therefore to execute my purpose more mildly at my return, after I had been secure of the king's favour; for should I now have done it, I might have incurred the same damage or danger as others have done. Amongst the rest, father *Bernard da Savona*, a few days before he came to *Sogno*, was left with his baggage, by his conductors, in a large forest, where, for fear of being torn to pieces by wild beasts, he was forced to leave his bundles, and wander alone in great haste; till at last coming near the sea, he was discovered by fishermen, who giving us at the convent notice of it, we sent speedily out for him, and had him conducted safe to us. He was travelling, on account of his mission, to *Emcassu* in Congo.

The like misfortune befel father *John Baptist da Malta*, as he travelled thro' *Bamba*; who perceiving himself forsaken by the persons that were to attend him, had recourse to the father of miracles, the glorious *St. Anthony of Padua*, for assistance. When he had watched in a tree almost a whole night for fear of becoming a prey to the wild beasts, he heard himself all of a sudden called by his name. The poor father thinking some of his companions had called him, beg'd for the love of God, to be conducted to some road. A little while after two gentlemen coming by that way with servants, and observing the father alone, and so much misused, took him upon their own backs, and carry'd him to the city of *Bamba*, not suffering any of their servants to take turns with them, for fear of being deprived of the entire benefit of so charitable an action. The poor father coming to the vicar of *Bamba's* house, and being kindly entertained by him, after some time enquired after his companions; and meeting with them not long after, he demanded of them how they could be so cruel as to leave him alone in such a forest? Alas, why they did not come to assist him when he called to them, and they heard him? Their answer was, That as for hearing him they took care not to do that from their first leaving him, flying from him as fast as they could, and had not been near him since till then. By their answer the *Nialtese* easily perceived that it was the saint to whom he had recourse, that had both called and delivered him. This was told me by the said father himself in our convent at *Loanda*, in the kingdom of *Angola*.

I was likewise afraid such an accident might have befallen me, as happened to one of our order, father *Philip da Salessia*, a missionary, into the kingdom of Congo. The story is this: After the death of the pious *Don Alvaro* king of Congo, a new king was chosen, who was no less zealous and devout than his predecessor. This prince putting out a proclamation to have all the wizards that should be found within his dominions burnt, those wicked wretches gathering together in the dukedom of *Sundi*, still persisted to exercise their damnable callings in their huts, notwithstanding the prohibition. To prevent this, the duke's forces marched thither in great haste, carrying along with them the aforesaid father. Being arrived at the place, they began to set fire to the huts: As soon as the wizards perceived the flames about their ears, they came out in great fury; whereat the duke's people immediately fled, leaving the poor father to shift for himself. The wizards perceiving him alone, soon seized, and murdered, and devoured him, both to satisfy their revenge and appetite. The truth of this was attested and told us by the persons that fled, who said, they had observed it by the light of the blaze of the houses. We were then at our convent in the city of *San Salvador*.

The young prince of Congo, who was about eighteen years old perceiving I shewed him little respect, especially after what I had discovered in the church, having drawn up his men in order, departed. I was told I had not done well to shew so little regard to their king's son, and was therefore desired to send for him back again. My answer was, That since his departure was voluntary, so should be his return for me; but withal, that if he would come back he should be well received. In short, he did come back, and at length both he and his were well satisfy'd, and tarry'd with me till next day at noon, when we went all away together.

Having travelled another day's journey and a half with the aforesaid prince, we met with the king's uncle, and a relation of his, who had drums, and trumpets, and a great train of followers. When we came within half a mile of the *banza* of *Lemba* where the king was, I was told I must not go any nearer till farther order, and therefore was forced to remain behind alone with my interpreter. At last the order came, attended with several persons, to bring me to court. When I came near the city, I was stopt again to wait for the secretary, who was to receive me there. He presently came and conducted me into the market-place, where the people, almost innumerable, and divided into two choirs, were singing

*A Capuchin devoured by wizards.*

*The father comes to Congo.*

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singing of the *Rosary* in the *Congolese* tongue. At the upper end sat the king with a long cloak upon his shoulders, a latin waistcoat striped with silver on his back, and his lower parts from the middle were clothed with a fine vest after the mode of the country. Being led up into his majesty's presence, he reached out an ivory crucifix a span and a half long, on an ebony cross of a proportionable length, for me to kiss. When I had done it, and he had delivered it to a favourite, he would needs kiss my crucifix; which he did, and afterwards falling on his knees, received benediction. In the mean time the people were marching in great order towards the church, whilst the king and I brought up the rear. When I came into the church, after a short prayer, I went up to the altar, and preached a sermon to them upon these words of the apostle to the *Corinthians*, *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis*. Declaring, that I came amongst them for no other end, than to revive in their hearts the love and fear of God, and of his Son CHRIST.

My sermon being ended, I waited on the king back to his palace, where he entertained me lovingly, and gave me a hearty welcome into his dominions. After we had spent some time together, I took my leave, but his majesty would needs see me out to the street. His nobles had orders to accompany me further, for they conducted me to a house belonging to the king's uncle, where I was to reside. I must needs say I was not a little surprized to observe how punctually those lords would come every morning wrapped up in their long cloaks, and walking two by two, to receive and conduct me to church, and after mass march back again with me in the same order as they came.

After the reciprocal visits between the king and me were pretty well over, I one day asked his majesty for what reason he had so earnestly and so often sent for me from *Sogno*. He answered, That he might have a priest and preacher of the holy Gospel within his dominions. *That I believe (reply'd I) but I presume your majesty had some other end.* Tho' he made me no answer to this, yet I could easily perceive he had some thought thereupon that pleased him, and that by his smiling. *Your majesty must give me leave to guess at it, (reply'd I) and therefore I fancy you sent for me to put the crown of Congo upon your head.* These words were scarce out of my mouth, but I heard a clapping of hands, and humming (which are tokens of great joy among these people) together with a confus'd noise of prating among the courtiers, and drums beating, trumpets sounding, and other

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noisy instruments playing; all which were only grateful to my ears, as they proceeded from pleasure conceived at what I had said.

The kings of *Congo* have a bull from pope *Urban VIII.* which gives them leave to be crowned by the *Capuchin* missionaries after the catholic manner, and which in former times their first king was by the said authority. And afterwards the missionary, father *Januario da Nola*, did the same office for *Don Garcia Alphonso*, who was crowned in the time of pope *Innocent X.* The like were others down to this present king. I told his majesty that his election having been by votes, and that in writing, by reason the electors lived so far off, I desired to see them. He readily complied with my request, and among the rest I found the count of *Sogno's* name, which I was glad to see, there having been some differences formerly between those two princes.

Having gone thus far, my next business was to procure the regal crown of *Congo*, *but which* *Amracu-* *lous vido-* which had been formerly sent hither by the afore said pope *Urban*, and remained at present in the custody of the *Portugueses*. It may not be amiss to tell how they came by it: The manner in short was this, *Don Garcia II.* and 17<sup>th</sup> christian king of this country, being desirous to establish the succession of his throne to his children, amongst other tyrannous actions, extirpated several of the chief families of his kingdom; and at last to shew that he was resolved to die as wickedly as he had lived, instead of invoking the assistance of heaven in his sickness, he had recourse only to wizards, necromancers, and such kind of ill people. These wretches bearing a more than ordinary hatred to the then prince *Don Alphonso*, as well knowing and fearing that if they suffered him to come to the crown, he would not only persecute, but banish them; possess'd the mind of his sick father, that to make his way the sooner to his dominions, he had designed to poison him.

*Garcia* thereupon blinded by their subtleties, immediately declared his son unworthy of his throne, and consequently got him murdered, recommending for his successor *Don Antonio I.* his second son. Not long after *Garcia* died, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving his son *Antonio* to succeed him: but no body can imagine the wickedness of his reign; besides the murder of his brother, wherein he was not a little concerned, he put to death all his relations. He caused his wife to be murdered, giving out, tho' falsely, that she was guilty of adultery; and afterwards married a near kinfwoman, whom he had

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formerly



*M*EBOLLA formerly been in love with, against all law and reason. Then he proceeded to extend his cruelty towards her relations, as unjustly as he had done towards his own. Thus began the reign of that monstrous tyrant *Don Antonio*, who having scarce wraped himself in his purple, dyed it in scarlet, and became abhorred and hated by the *Portugueses* and *Whites*, who having signify'd their dislike to his practices, and which coming to his ears, he vow'd he would speedily have them beat and whipt out of his dominions.

To effect this, confiding more in his multitudes, than their knowledge in military affairs, he rais'd a prodigious army of nine hundred thousand men; the truth whereof I know not whether it may be questioned by the reader; but besides my own, I have the authority of father *Cavazzi* for it, who in his second book, pag. 286. and eighth book, pag. 868. affirms the same thing. Moreover it may appear credible, if we consider the excessive largeness and populousness of these countries, as likewise that all this king's subjects are not only obliged, but accustom'd voluntarily to follow him to the wars at his least command.

Before this army march'd, the king was advis'd by father *Francis de San Salvador*, his chaplain and relation, not to hazard the lives of so many poor slaves, against so warlike a people as the *Portugueses*. This friar had received the habit of our order from father *Giacinto da Vetralla*; he was a learned man, and was admitted by order of the sacred college.

The king not caring to hearken to his chaplain's advice, the army march'd against the *Portugueses*. On the very first day of their march, the heavens let down such a deluge, as one would have thought sufficient to have drowned all *Aethiopia*, and mourn'd in thunder for the dreadful slaughter that was to ensue. The good friar perceiving the displeasure of heaven, renewed his former petition and advice to the king; *Cherree* (quoth he to the king) *these drops are as so many tongues, that exhort you not to fight against the Whites; and these claps of thunder are as so many groans, that good heaven sends forth for the woeful effects of your obstinacy.* The haughty king nevertheless persisted in his resolution and march'd forwards: when at length stepping aside a little way from his army, with a few followers to repose himself, beheld a dreadful tiger, as it were, for a second warning, leaped suddenly out of a forest, and ran full drive at him. Father *Francis*, who never went from the king's side, seeing this, drew out a scymitar he had at his girdle, and opposing the furious beast, at one stroke cleft him in two. The king

little moved at this action of his preserver, rather attributed his safety to magick, than to his kinsman's valour.

The *Portugueses* being resolv'd to find those mines of gold which the *Moci-Congolans* had so long promis'd, and still delay'd to discover to them, got together about four hundred brave *Europeans*, with near two thousand *Blacks* their slaves, and lodged themselves in the marquisat of *Pemba*, where they not long after were assaulted by above eighty thousand *Aethiopians*. The *Portugueses*, though they saw their enemies march as thick as locusts, and tho' they saw themselves were but a handful in comparison of them, and had but two pieces of cannon, yet were they not dishearten'd, even when they saw them encompass and surround them. The *Capuchin* plac'd himself in his vestments between the two armies, endeavouring to make peace, which was approv'd of by the *Portugueses*. But the obstinate king would not hearken to his mediation, but forthwith gave the signal of battle, and seeing a woman with a child in her arms, supposed to be the Virgin *Mary*, standing by the *Portuguese* general, he shew'd her to his men, assuring them of victory, because the *Portugueses* had the impediment of their women with them. Then began the shot to fly like hail from the *Portuguese* guns, especially from two pieces of cannon they had, which made such a dreadful slaughter among the *Blacks*, that one part of the army giving way, the other was not long before it followed. In short, the *Portugueses* got the victory; which the proud king perceiving, he thought to secure himself behind a huge rock; which being overthrown by a cannon ball, buried and killed both the king and his chaplain, the good friar. Those few that saved themselves by flight, left nevertheless behind them all the baggage, with the king's utensils of pure gold. Now because this memorable slaughter was chiefly occasion'd by gold, the natives have never since cared to dig it for fear of losing their country, and becoming slaves thereby.

The head of the dead king was immediately lopp'd off by the conquerors, who carry'd it to *Loanda*, together with the crown and scepter. There they buried it, the whole chapter assisting at the obsequies. This battle, commonly look'd upon to have been miraculous, I my self have seen painted upon the wall in the church of our lady of *Nazareth*, where the head is buried; and have also had it related to me, after the manner as I have told it, by a *Portuguese* captain that was present at it. He also told me, that after the battle, while they were in pursuit of the enemy, he happened to come into a house where he saw

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Market of  
man's  
life.

two breasts of meat roasting by the fire. Having driven out the people, according to the military custom, and being exceeding hungry, he fell to taking them off the spit, but had no sooner touched them than he perceived them to be man's-flesh. By this may be seen, that tho' generally speaking there be no *Antropophagi* (man-eaters) in Congo, yet the necessities of war drove the people to great shifts in this marquisat.

The *Portugueses* did not pretend to any right to the crown of Congo, having been sent by the pope, tho' they had taken it in war, but said, they were ready to resign it whenever they should be so requir'd. Now because by the death of *Don Antonio*, so many disorders arose, and every one thought it his right to command, rather than duty to obey; thence ensued innumerable slaughters, and great destruction. I propos'd to the king to go with his army and take possession of *San Salvador*, a city where formerly his ancestors resided, whence he might send an ambassador for the crown and scepter to the governor of *Loanda*, without a letter, and thro' the province of *Pemba*, for otherwise he might be hindered by the duke of *Bamba* his enemy: and if he happened to be stopped by those people, he should have orders not to tell them he was an ambassador, lest they should detain and put him to death, which instead of preventing mischief, would cause more. The king hearkening attentively to all I said, after I had ended my proposition, turned about to his relations and friends, and spoke after this manner: *The father* (says he to them) *knows all*; meaning, that I had discovered the designs of the *Æthiopians*; and adding moreover, that he approv'd of my proposal, but that it could not be well put in execution till the corn was off the ground; but as soon as harvest was in, he promised that he would march with his troops to *San Salvador*, to grub up the woods, and take possession thereof, together with the lands and habitations thereabouts. In times past that city had been a metropolis and capital of Congo, where the king resided with his court. There also lived a bishop and his chapter, a college of jesuits, and a monastery of our order, all maintained at the cost of the king of Portugal. In our convent always resided the father superior of our order in these parts. But since, through frequent wars, both this city, and the country about it, was become a den of thieves and robbers.

Market of  
man's-  
flesh.

Without this city is the *Pombo*, or great market, built by the *Giabi*, where man's flesh was accustomed to be sold like to that of sheep and oxen. The *Portugal* merchants, who resided here in great numbers on account of traffick, refused to buy

this flesh, and rather chose to have the slaves alive, whereby to fill their purses with gold, than to have their bellies stuffed with such barbarous food; and on this account they pretend they have a licence to buy slaves, which however they could never produce to this day. The *Giabi* abovementioned are the most barbarous people in nature, of whom, or of the conversion of the queen of *Singa*, I shall not treat, because that subject is handled at large by *F. Francis Moria Gioja of Naples*.

I told the king likewise I would go to *Sogno*, and expect the return of the smack from *Loango*, and therein transport my self to *Loanda*. I advis'd him not to let *August* pass before he dispatched his ambassador, assuring him he should no sooner arrive at *Loanda*, but have all the respect paid him which was due to his minister; and the present *Portuguese* governor being almost out of his time, would deliver the crown for a small present, which perhaps another would not; and that the F. superior and I would crown him, which being done with the *Portuguese* consent, none would dare to question it.

I then asked two favours of his majesty; first, That he would please to pardon a certain rebel that had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Congo, but was now a fugitive in the dominions of *Sogno*, and that ever since his army had been routed by that of his majesty; I requested him likewise not only to forgive him, but also to afford him the government of some city, passing my word that he should prove an obedient and loyal subject for the future. The king gave his word presently that he would do all I desired; but I not caring to trust altogether to that, caused him to give me his oath upon the crucifix to perform it, to the end the criminal might not afterwards be disappointed and punished. My other request was, That his majesty would restore to the count the country of *Gbirobianza*, to the end that having that prince for his friend, as well as the *Portuguese*, he might reign secure for many years. This likewise without any scruple he consented to.

How little reason I had to ask any favour on behalf of the aforesaid rebel, may appear by what follows. This mock-king *Don Garcia* (for so was his name) coming to visit a missionary of our order, one *F. Michael da Torino*, then in the city of *Cussa* in Congo, after he had been very courteously received by him, and whilst the father and he were walking together, a fire suddenly broke out in the church: The mock-king soon perceiving it, immediately ordered all his followers to do what they could to extinguish it, which yet gain-  
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MEROLLA ed so far upon them, that in a short time not only the church was burnt to the ground, but the sacristy or vestry. *Don Garcia* seem'd extremely concern'd, which nevertheless was all but feign'd, he having been the contriver of all, as I was afterwards told by father *Michael*, who by a stratagem got out of one of the followers, that *Don Garcia* made the wisp of straw himself, and giving it to one of the *Negroes*, order'd him to fire the church. This he did to make his zeal appear the more by his endeavours to quench the fire, not thinking the flames would have increased as they did. As a reward for this great diligence of his he was forthwith excommunicated by the said missionary, who soon after departed that country. *Don Garcia* not long afterwards coming to *Segno*, was absolved of his fault by my companion *F. Benedikt*, upon his repentance.

Whilst I continued in *Lemba*, which was about twenty days, the church was very much frequented: At day-break the third part of the *Rosary* was sung by those that were going journeys, especially by the women who went to work in the fields: Three hours after the same was performed by the better sort of people, adding moreover the saints litany; and sometimes as often as ever I could, I said mass: At night was sung the other part of the *Rosary*, together with the litany of our Lady. This present year they kept *Lent* fifteen days before ours, by reason they regulated it according to the course of the morn, but which they did not let me know for fear I should put it off fifteen days longer; they nevertheless observed the ordinary course of forty days. To prevent my coming to know the conclusion of it, the saturday before they came to me with an amusement, saying, *If your reverence bears a great shooting and shouting to morrow morning, you must know it is on account of some new acquisition added to our king's dominions.* I could not but believe them, tho' I knew what they spoke of happen'd the night I came into the city; for then the marquis of *Mattari* enter'd in triumph for having subdued two princes, whose dominion bordered on the kingdom of *Micocco*; and the same night the said marquis came to give me welcome, looking upon my arrival as a good omen. The next morning according to my information, whilst we were in the saints litany, I heard a great firing of muskets, beating of drums, sounding of trumpets, and other noises of various instruments. *Gon forgive you (cry'd I) for having thus impos'd upon me: If I had but known that your Lent was at an end, I could have blessed the palms last sunday, and all should now*

*have been done that was necessary for a preparation for Easter: Nevertheless I have that charity as to dispense my blessings to all such as have observed this holy time faithfully.*

The mentioning of *Micocco* puts me in mind of a memorable story told me by the superior father *Thomas de Sestola*, concerning a certain missionary who travelled into this country, and after having baptized about fifty thousand souls died there. His name I have forgot, but the particulars of his labours are known to all.

This person would needs go to wait on *A ceremonial* the king of *Micocco*, by whom having been *story.* courteously and kindly received, he began to treat with him about introducing the christian religion into his dominions. At the very first proposal the king shewed an inclination to believe that was the true faith which the missionary proposed, and consequently offered to be baptized: the priest told him that before he could admit him to the font, he must submit to be catechized: he seemed very willing to comply with what was required, and after having been well instructed, prepared himself to receive baptism; when all of a sudden a thought came into his head, suggested no doubt by the devil, which he delivered after this manner: *Father, before I am baptized I would beg two favours of you, which you must not deny me, and they are, first, to grant me half of your beard: and secondly, To afford me a success for from your loins, for which purpose I will cause all my women to be brought before you, to the end you may chuse her you like best: we are all mortal you know (proceeded he) and therefore if you should either die, or take a fancy to leave us, who shall support or maintain the new religion which you have planted among us? To what purpose should I submit to entertain a new law, if I have no prospect of its continuance; Grant therefore that I may have a son of your body, who possessing his father's rare qualities, may be a means to transmit this doctrine more securely to posterity. I must beg of you not to refuse me, for I cannot consent to be baptized if you do.* The modest father was much surprised, and smiling, answered, That the strangeness of his request was so extraordinary, that he could neither gratify him in one nor the other of his desires. The king's reason for his first request was, only that he might lay up the hair, and shew it upon occasion to have belonged to the introducer of the christian religion into his country; and who knows but his subjects out of blind zeal might have worshipped it? The second needs no explaining. 'Tis certain we have been always exceeding cautious how we let the *Negroes* have any thing from us, that they might probably pay adoration to. As concerning the beforementioned bull called

by the *Conghefes* of the blessed sacrament, and their lighting candles when they open it, the *Portuguese* nuncio was acquainted with it, and answered, that that venerable effigies being on it, the people might be permitted in their simplicity to worship it.

When I had been about eight days at *Lemba*, I was seized with a double tertian ague, and moreover broke out from the navel upwards in so many boils and scabs, that I had not the least rest either night or day. But my greatest trouble was, the want of an interpreter to administer the sacrament of penance, which I had not provided, because the letters sent me were well writ, and the language good. The secretary was old, and a boy I had with me too young to be trusted with confessions. Whilst I was thus sick, I was not only frequently visited by the king himself, but he would likewise send every six hours to know how I did: the queen also, and the infant *Donna Monica* sent often to enquire after my health, and withal presented me with several refreshments. Having a mind to be let blood, the king's uncle would needs do that office for me, not caring to trust any body else, which he performed with that niceness that I scarce felt the lance enter my vein: this, with the help of a certain purge I brought from *Venice*, did me a great deal of good. Being somewhat recovered of my indisposition, I forthwith resolved to be gone, and in order thereto made the king acquainted with my intentions: he seemed much displeased, but notwithstanding, perceiving my resolutions was fain to acquiesce. I told him I did not intend to go by the way of *Boma* for several reasons, but design'd to go by *Sogno*, to the end I might meet with the smack if I could possible: I begg'd of him he would send some of his people along with me to conduct me as far as *Chiova*, a country belonging to *Sogno*, or to *Zariambala*, an island of the same dominions. His answer was, that he would willingly comply with any reasonable request of mine, but much wonder'd at my so sudden departure, especially if I design'd to go without taking leave of his mother. I told his majesty, that the reason I had not hitherto done it was on account of my indisposition, of which I was but just then recovered, but then I design'd to wait on her, God willing, that very night. Pursuant to my promise I went not long after towards her majesty's court, and at my first entrance I met two servants with torches, in the second room two more with four servants, and two in the third with more attendants, it being night: They introduced me into the queen's presence, whom I found sitting

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wrapt up in a cloke, which was likewise thrown under her arm, having nothing but her smock under it, and her daughter sitting on a carpet by her. After having address'd my self briefly to her by way of taking leave, she started up in a passion, and setting her hands to her sides, said, *What will the world say, if after having obtained a minister of the gospel with so great difficulty, we should part with him so easily? No, no, it must not be: I will speak to the king my son, that be by no means shall suffer you to go.* Madam (replied I smiling) if your majesty has done me the honour to buy me, I desire to know in what pombo or market it was, and what you gave for me, that I may restore the price to you, with thanks, for be gone I must. The hearing of this caused no small laughter in the company, especially in the queen herself. I added further, *If I am not suffered to transport myself to Loanda, how can I pretend to bring about what I have promised, and you so earnestly desire?* This said, I was immediately dismiss'd. The name of this queen was *Donna Potentiana*, her nature agreeing therewith, having always endeavour'd to be powerful, and a great enemy to the queen-dowager *Donna Anna*, and to *Donna Agnes* another queen. These three women have often put this poor kingdom into a flame, each having desir'd to have her husband crowned, and for that purpose did all separately endeavour to get a *Capuchin* missionary amongst them, which has occasioned the death of so many priests, and made our superior not very ready to let any missionaries go to Congo.

Being just upon setting out on my journey, the king offered me a present of slaves, which I refused, telling his majesty that we had more than sufficient in our convent at *Sogno*: I nevertheless accepted one to wait on me during my journey, tho' I had thirteen at home whom I employ'd in the service of the church, and in that of those that came to visit us. His majesty seeing I had refused his offer of slaves, resolved to send some people to accompany me, which indeed I desir'd, among whom were two of his relations, to the end that I might be the better receiv'd where-ever I came. Over and above the two things formerly mention'd, I requested two favours more of the king, and they were, first, That I might have leave to level that obscene and sacrilegious place before-mentioned, if it were yet in being, where so many forceries and villanies had been practis'd: And, secondly, That I might take away the banners from the burial-places in the fields, being both superstitious and blameable. Having obtained these my demands, I took my leave of his majesty and departed.

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When we were got as far as the river which bounds the kingdom of Congo that way, my companions and followers being many, some armed with guns, and others with long pikes, after the manner of the country, by reason we had no boats on that side, we made signs to the inhabitants of the other to come and fetch us over in their canoes. When this was done, our people call'd three assemblies among themselves, I not being able to guess at the conclusions of either, tho' I partly thought that the reason must have been, either that they were afraid of being render'd suspected by coming arm'd, or else that they did not care to venture themselves in the dominions of *Sogno*, out of a distrust they had of the people. At last three canoes came over, but not near sufficient to transport all of us: Into one of these having put me with my interpreter, they promised they would soon follow, but were worse than their words; for leaving me to the mercy of the winds and tide, they went their ways, and having reached the other side of the river, the *mani* of the place propos'd to me to stay there all night to baptize some children, and next morning I should be going as early as I pleas'd onwards of my journey. This propos'd was not at all displeasing to me, especially since I had a more than ordinary desire to see whether the *Congbese* people would follow me or not; those two that were of the king's relations having promised me that they would conduct me as far as our convent in the *banza* of *Sogno*. As soon as morning came, the *mani* thunder'd in my ears, *That if I would needs be gone I must unloose my purse-strings before I entered the boat again: With all my heart* (quoth I) altho' I had already satisfy'd those watermen that brought me over. *Tell me* (said I) *how much you demand, and you shall have it.* Fifteen *libonchi* (reply'd he) which are about ten *Roman giulios*. When I was about to pay him what he demanded, he cry'd he must have thirty *libonchi*, having been mistaken before. *There are thirty for you* (answer'd I) which having laid down, up starts a fellow and cries, *'Tis a sign the mani has not been very conversant in water-ridge, since he takes thirty for what he should have threescore.* Be they ten times as much I will pay them (reply'd I) since once paying goes for all. This said, I laid down the full of what they demanded, and went into the boat. Towards night when I thought we were got near the land of *Sogno*, I discovered an island where the watermen immediately run ashore. I was not landed when a monstrous fellow, with a countenance like to a great ugly wizard, came up to me, and told me in a haughty tone, that he had orders from the secretary

of Congo to bring me ashore. *How can that be* (reply'd I) *when I left the secretary of Congo in Congo my self, how then should he come here?* I say (reply'd he) *the secretary of the kingdom of Congo requires your presence.* Now it seems the *mani* of this place laid claim to that title. I answer'd then this proud messenger, *Pray tell the secretary your master, that I desire to be excus'd from waiting on him, being not well, and besides going to Sogno for recovery of my health.* He came a second time, and more importunately than before commanded me to come ashore: Whereupon I desired him with that meekness that became me to acquaint his lord that I was a missionary, and, tho' unworthy, superior of the mission into *Sogno*, being just come from Congo, where I had three hundred arm'd men assign'd me by the king *Simantamba* for safe conduct, all whom I had nevertheless sometime since parted with, for the truth whereof I appeal to the watermen that brought me. The *mani* or secretary hearing this, call'd for the watermen to inform himself of the truth, who attesting what I said, he then sent for a *Sognefe* to see if he knew me, who confirming what he had heard before, he immediately dispatch'd away this *Muscelongo* or *Sognefe* to me, to beg of me for God's sake that I would come to him; or that if I so pleas'd, he would come in person to fetch me, excusing himself for having sent so saucy and ill-bred a messenger at first, who having exceeded his orders should be surely punished. *This language is something like* (quoth I) *and since he intreats me for God's sake, in God's name will I go to him.* Then after having recommended my self to the protection of the Almighty, I went ashore. The *mani* gave me to understand that he would come forthwith to pay me a visit, but I desir'd the person that brought me the message, to acquaint his master that betimes in the morning I would wait on him without giving him the trouble of incommoding himself by a night-visit to me. He treated me with a goat, fruit, and a pot of the country wine, together with a flask of brandy mixt like a julep, which I could not imagine how he could get, and for the thirty *libonchi*'s I had paid his subjects he restored me fixty. The same hour of my arrival I began to baptize near a house where the mistress was a bed. In the court of this house were planted several gourds with leaves like unto ours, but the fruit was green and pulpy, and of an excellent taste. This court being not well able to contain the great concourse of people that throng'd thither, they must necessarily exceedingly trample the woman's ground: She began to bawl out therefore as if she were mad, but the people

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ple taking little or no notice of her, crowded rather the cloſer. Whilſt I was adminiſtring the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, this woman cry'd out with greater vehemence than before, which cauſed me to hold out my ſtaff to her, wherewith I ſupported my ſelf, being ſcarce able to ſtand, to make her quiet, not knowing at that time that ſhe was the real miſtreſs of the houſe: When ſhe, either taking that ſign for a threat, a thing always abhorred by me, or elſe moved by ſome other wicked deſign, catch'd up a ſpade angrily, and fell to digging round her ground where the people were (an action always ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved by them) without any body ſo much as ſpeaking a word againſt it: After ſhe had ſo done, ſhe began to bawl out again as if ſhe had been bewitched. I perceiving her to perſiſt in her obſtinacy, made the ſame ſign to her as before to be quiet, whereupon ſhe immediately run as hard as ſhe could drive to call a witch to bewitch me: as ſhe ran along ſhe cry'd to her ſelf, *What ſhall a ſtranger thus abuſe a native? Muſt I be drove out of my own houſe by I know not who? No, no, if I cannot get him away by fair means, I will have his ſoul out of his body by foul.* She ſoon after appeared again, bringing along with her: a witch and a ſcholar of hers. As ſoon as the people were gone, theſe two laid themſelves down on the ground, leaning againſt a wall. I knew them well enough to be what they were by the faſhion of their clothes: On their heads they had a piece of cloth folded round like a turban, ſo that one eye was only to be ſeen; with this the old witch looked ſtedfaſtly upon me for ſome time, grumbling after a brutiſh manner to herſelf all the while: Then with her hand ſhe proceeded to ſcrape a ſmall hole in the ground; at the ſight of this I immediately order'd my interpreter to be gone, being more concerned for him than my ſelf; for as a prieſt that had always truſted in God, I doubted not but to render her charms ineffectual as to my ſelf. I commanded the devil that he ſhould not come near, but the little regarding what I did, went on with her ſorceries. I order'd the evil ſpirits a ſecond time to be gone, which ſhe perceiving, giving her ſcholar a luſty flap over the face, ſhe bid her be gone and leave her alone: At my third command ſhe departed alſo, but return'd next morning betimes, practiſing over her devilish arts as before. I reſolved not to ſtand long in one place, thereby to avoid the deſign ſhe had upon me to bewitch me to death, that having been the reaſon of her making a hole in the earth. It ſeems their cuſtom is, that when they have a mind to bewitch any one mortally, they put a certain herb or plant into the hole they

have ſo dug; which, as it perishes and decays, ſo the vigor and ſpirits of the perſon they have a deſign upon will fail and decay. I propoſed to my ſelf to ſpend my time in baptizing, till the watermen that belonged to my boat returned to me; but it ſo happened that I had done all that I had to do before any one of them came. I then went down to the river-ſide a little way diſtant, whither the witch followed me: When I had gone down thrice, endeavouring all along to avoid her, and finding I could not, I ſat me down by the water-ſide in expectation of the watermens coming: This the hag perceiving, ſhe likewiſe ſquat herſelf down over againſt me. The people being curious to know what would be the event of this conteſt, had hid themſelves in an adjoining field of millet, which grew about ten or twelve hands high, which I knew nothing of. Whilſt I was thus fitting, and obſerving that vile wretch ſo near me, it put me in mind of the ſaying of the wiſe man, *Mulier nequam plaga mortis: A wicked woman is a deadly wound.* Then I addreſs'd my ſelf to God, ſaying, *O Lord, thy cauſe is thine, thy honour lies at ſtake, and ſo much the rather by reaſon that the inhabitants of this iſland are but very little acquainted with thee! As for me, I am but a poor worm in reſpect of thy majeſty: Do thou work in me, for without thee I can do nothing.* This ſaid, I commanded her once more in the name of the bleſſed Trinity and the holy Virgin to be gone, and withal blowing gently towards her, ſhe all of a ſudden giving three leaps, and howling thrice, fled away in a trice. The ſwiftness of her motions were ſo extraordinary, that they were wonder'd at by all that ſaw them, and thought impoſſible to be performed by any human power. When the witch began to fly, the people came forth of their holes, and running after her with ſeveral reproachful exclamations, cry'd out, *The devil is fled and the prieſt not moved: The devil take all witches and witchcraft.* I being ſurprized at the hearing of ſo great a number of voices in my favour, gave immediate thanks to the ſupreme Diſpoſer of all things, and more eſpecially when I heard them cry further, *God proſper Chriſtianity! God proſper Chriſtianity!*

Soon after the watermen appeared, whom I thought to have hid themſelves likewiſe as the others had done, but it ſeems they had not: I gave them all the good words I could, that they might go off preſently, which they did not long after. The ſecond night after our leaving this place, we came to the iſland of *Zariamola* belonging to *Sogno*, where I thought my ſelf ſecure: As I went up the canal, before I landed, I met with a nephew of the count's, whom

I ac-

A witch defeated.

The father returns to Sogno.

*MFROLLA* I acquainted that I was just come from Congo with good news for the county of Sogno. This was not spoken to a deaf person, for it was immediately carried to the count's ears. Next morning the *mani* of the place pretended that he would provide me another boat to transport me farther, but after a good deal of time lost none appeared. It was my good fortune that the aforefaid relation of the count's happen'd to return again that way, who perceiving that I had been made a fool of and abused by the *mani*, fell into a great passion, and kicking against the ground, began to reprove him after this manner; *Is it thus that you behave your self in my uncle's business? I will take care that as soon as I get to Sogno you shall be sure to be deprived of your government.* The *mani* began to excuse himself, affirming that he had assigned me a sufficient number of watermen, and that if I were not gone it must have been their fault. Coming to an anchor afterwards about midnight in the port of Pinda, my boats-crew fled, not giving me an opportunity to return their kindness. I then landed, and went straightway to our convent. Next morning the count, with a greater attendance than ordinary, came to see and welcome me home. As soon as I saw him, I broke forth into these words, *Did not I tell your excellency, that if I could not well accomplish my mission by land, I would do it by water?* When he, without answering me a word, fell down immediately on the ground to kiss my feet, which he would needs do, tho' I hinder'd him all I could, and my brethren that were then present much wonder'd at it. Being much ashamed of what he had done, I presently lifted him up, and we afterwards stepp'd aside to discourse of the particulars of my expedition. I acquainted his excellency with what had pass'd between me and *Don John Simantamba*, concerning the restoring of *Cbiovacbianza*. He seem'd very well pleas'd with the news, and said, that was what he had most desired. I then advis'd him to re-establish *Don Garcia*, who at that time lived within his dominions. Which council of mine he readily agreed with, having been all along hitherto forced to maintain him in his own charge, and contrary to his inclinations, only through policy. As soon as our private discourse was at an end, father *Andrew da Pavia*, one of the two missionaries that I had left behind me, told me, that there was a *Dutch* ship ready to set sail for *Loanda*, and that if I thought fit I might take that opportunity to carry so much good news to our superior there, and the governor. To which I answer'd, that I did not much

care to go so quickly to sea again, desiring rather to repose my self till the return of the smack from *Loango*, according to my promise given the commander thereof. Hereupon father *Andrew* undertook himself what I refus'd, and in order thereto took leave of the count that very minute. Making this voyage in a *Dutch* ship, which are commonly pretty good sailors, he returned to us again in less than a month's time. Having brought the news to the governor, he said, he embraced him heartily, and told him, he could never have wish'd for any thing better, since the way would probably be now open'd to *Congo*, to the great benefit of the *Portugueses*.

In confirmation of this I must further add, that when I was going a second time to *Sogno* from *Loanda*, as I was taking leave of the governor, he earnestly recommended to me to procure leave from the count for the *Portugueses* to trade within his dominions. When the farmers of the king's revenue that stood by, answer'd, *A free trade with Sogno can signify little or nothing to us, that country being like a large tree, where nothing is to be met with but branches and leaves; when a voyage to Congo would furnish us with not only leaves but fruit.*

*Lobo* the late governor of *Loanda*, whilst he was in office, acquainted the royal chamber, that he desired to have the crown of *Congo* in his possession; but whatever diligence was made use of for that purpose, it could by no means be found. Then he commanded a new one to be made of silver gilt, to the end that when the *Congbesse* ambassador came for it, he might have it ready to give him. The king of *Portugal* coming to the knowledge of the crown's being lost, writ both to the bishop and governor, that they should make it their business to find out in whose hands it was lost, and punish him as if he had stolen it. Father *Andrew*, through the short warning he had of his journey, was not able to give any account when the *Congbesse* ambassador was to arrive; but afterwards, at the return of the smack from *Loango*, I going to *Loanda* in it, acquainted the governor that it would be in the month of *August*. *August* came, yet no ambassador appeared, which made us missionaries not a little concerned, having given out every where that he would certainly come then.

A little after meeting with some *Negroes* newly come from *Congo* to this city, they inform'd us that they had met the ambassador on the road with a great retinue. The *Sognessse* ambassador being likewise in this city at that time, to congratulate the bishop's access to the bishoprick, had information that he was stopp'd by the duke

*Disappointment in the affairs of Congo.*

*Another attempt for the conversion of Congo.*

of *Bamba's* orders, as he came thro' his dominions, that prince having been always an enemy to *Congo*, on account of his pretences to that crown, founded on his descent from *Donna Anna*, one of the before-mentioned rival-queens. The *Portuguese* were satisfy'd with his sending, and all things had taken effect, but for some troubles that ensued: For the new governor was about making war on the queen of *Singa*, who had destroyed a territory belonging to the *Portuguese* with fire and sword, and carry'd away the *sova*, or lord of it, and his wife into slavery.

Amongst other services done the king of *Portugal*, by *Levis Lobo* the former governor of *Loanda*, one was, that he laid the first foundation of a communication with *Congo*, and rendered that kingdom dependent upon *Portugal*, as likewise made a crown for the king thereof, at his own proper costs. The crowning of this king we did not doubt shortly to effect, notwithstanding what had happened, especially since father *Andrew da Pavia* was negotiating earnestly about it.

Whilst this was in agitation, the father superior, with the rest of us, did all that in us lay to promote the replanting of Christianity in *Cacongo*, calling in to our assistance the governor himself, and the *Royal Chamber*, who were so well affected to our proposals, that they told us, that whatever small benefit they could propose to themselves by traffick with this kingdom, yet would they assist us to their power in the introducing of Christianity there; and that the first ships they had at liberty should be employ'd in that mission. The new governor was extremely diligent in furthering this affair, and the bishop rather more than he. I told them that not only *Portuguese*, but likewise *Italian* priests would be necessary to alienate the minds of that people from jealousies and suspicions. To the same purpose I had formerly writ to the then vice-superior, father *Joseph Maria da Bufetto*, when I was sent for by the king of *Cacongo*, and he had sent my said letter to the sacred college. Our father superior likewise had dispatch'd my second letters to the same college, which I sent to him on the same account.

Matters being thus disposed, a certain head of a convent in this city, having been fully informed by *Ferdinand Gomez* of the king of *Cacongo's* inclinations to embrace the christian faith, resolved to take the talk of preaching it to him upon himself. For this end he gave out, that he had received orders from his superiors to transport himself to *Capinda*, well knowing that I could not go by reason of an infirmity I then laboured under. He also procured

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letters from our superior, to recommend him to our convent at *Sogno* where he was consequently very courteously received. Thence he sent a *Portuguese* priest, his companion, to *Cacongo*, enjoining him to speak with the king. Without this person he could never have had any hopes of the success of his mission, being not at all skill'd in the *Congbese* language, which this priest spoke very well. He nevertheless could not obtain the speech of the king, which caused him to write to him in his superior's name; but getting no answer, he began to despair: Whereupon returning back, they both came again with shame to *Loanda*.

Afterwards father *Andrew da Pavia* took upon him to write to the said king, signifying to him that he would come and baptize his majesty, whenever he should please to appoint him. It was reported about this time that all foreign missionaries were to depart by order of the king of *Portugal*, and that all our convents were to be surrendered to those (a bad report for us *Capuchins*, as you shall hear more hereafter) of the aforesaid order. Whereupon the aforesaid superior, tho' he did not well care that *Pavia* should go, yet that he might prepare the way for him, and build a convent there, he earnestly press'd him to it. At *Pavia's* arrival the king sent him word, that he could not consent to see him, having formerly given his promise to me whom he expected; and that with me he looked not only for an exercise of the sacred ministry, but likewise for trade and commerce, by means of a merchant I was to bring along with me to settle in his dominions for that purpose.

Among all the kingdoms which I have seen in this part of *Ethiopia*, none pleased me so much, either for commodiousness or profit, as this of *Cacongo*; which good qualities enclined not a few besides myself to be desirous of going thither. The commodiousness of it consists of its lying between three ports much frequented by strangers. The first and most famous of these is that of *Loango*, the second that of *Capinda*, and the third and last that of *Cacongo* it self, but which is not very secure. This kingdom for the most part is flat, with an air indifferently wholesome, and a soil not unfruitful, by reason of frequent showers, and the mould being generally black, whereas in other parts of *Ethiopia* is either sandy or chalky. The inhabitants of this country, considering they have been born pagans, are more courteous and humane than ordinary; and tho' they are infidels, they cherish and respect our priests. Whilst the plague was amongst them, they burnt their idols, saying, *If they will not help us in such a misfortune as this, when can we expect they should?* This passage I heard

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whilst

Another attempt for the conversion of *Cacongo*.

*MARCELLA* whilst I was in *Sogoo*; and 'it grieved me extremely that I had not opportunity to go, and further such good motions in them for their souls sakes. Thus much for *Congo* and its inhabitants.

I must now give some short account of the kingdom of *Angola*, tho' I have been only perfectly acquainted with the provinces of *Dante* and *Bengo*.

Loanda.

Before we proceed, let us stop a while in the city of *Loanda*, where I have been three times, once upon business, and the other two times I lay there a great while sick. To speak only of what I know, *Loanda* is the metropolis, not only of this, but of all other neighbouring kingdoms that belong to the *Portugueses*. Here resides the bishop of *Congo* and *Angola*, together with a chapter of about eight or nine canons. The governor of this city precedes all others in any of the *Portugueses* conquests in *Ethiopia*. Here are three convents of religious persons, viz. one of jesuits, another of bare-foot *Carmelites* and a third of friars of the third order of *S. Francis*. As to these two last, the *Carmelites* have a mission out of the city in the said kingdom, where at present lives a secular priest, thro' the great scarcity of regulars. Among the jesuits there was a famous missionary, adorned with many good qualities, and a virtuous life, who travelling about indefatigably into all parts of the kingdom, to throw down and grub up the idols and trees that the pagans worshipped, was thought to have been made away by some of those people. Here is likewise a house of our order, where our father superior resides, who is thence to support the missions by the charity of the good people there. Our church here is more than ordinarily frequented on account of its being dedicated to the glorious *St. Anthony of Lisbon*, so called by the *Portugueses*; as likewise that there are several martyrs bodies kept in it, which have been transported hither from *Rome*. It is a royal chapel, and has two congregations of the *Rosary*, allowed by the *Dominicans* who have no abode here. Here three times a week is sung a third part of the *Rosary*, and three times more throughout the year discipline is used. The brotherhood has built a chapel eight square, with a large cupola of an extraordinary height; which being a thing uncommon here, is extremely admired. Under it there is a vault for burial, which is customary in the other churches. This vault was first built for the body of father *Francis Licodia*, a bare-foot friar of the province of *Syracuse*, who died sometime before my arrival here. A great concourse of people assisted at his burial, his death having been proclaimed throughout the city by boys. The peo-

ple's devotion was so remarkable at his funeral, that though a prodigious whale was cast ashore at that time, yet did it not in the least raise their curiosity. The jesuits with whom we entertain an affectionate correspondence, put him under ground, and father *Ribera* of the same convent preached his funeral sermon. This father was zealous in breeding up children in the fear of God; for he had got a great company of white boys, whom he habited like *Capuchins*, teaching them the principles of the christian religion adays, which they repeated and sung over anights. Of those in my time I found to the number of sixty, tho' father *Francis* was dead. While I was here, this good person's body was discovered on account of burying our superior, father *John da Romano*, in his vault. His corps was entire in the coffin; on the lid of which his picture was painted to the life. When it was opened, some body out of zeal took out two of his teeth, and the point of his hood. How extremely devout these citizens are towards our blessed patron *S. Francis*, is fitter for another pen to express than mine.

All I can say is, that without carrying *Great charity*, our wallet at our back, which is not here the custom, we rather abound with necessities than want them, in such manner, that he that has a mind to bestow his charity upon us, must send it betimes or he will have it back again. These good citizens not only support our convent in this city, but likewise several other missions into divers kingdoms, otherwise we could not be able to subsist. True it is, we endeavour to make some return of what is rare in those places.

To give farther instances of the goodness of this people, I will add a word of the governor. When we came hither, we found *don John di Sylva* in possession of the government of this kingdom, who shewed so entire affection towards us, that whatever memorials and petitions we presented to him, he forthwith granted and signed, scarce reading them. It happened that a certain priest of his own nation coming to ask a favour of him on account of a friend, the governor would by no means grant it. Whereupon the priest broke out into these words. *You scarce read the petitions of the Capuchins who are strangers, but bestow favours on them; and to us your countrymen you deny all we ask.* To which *Sylva* replied, *I do neither open nor read the Capuchins petitions, because I am well assured they will ask nothing but what is fit for me to grant; and besides, what they require of me on other peoples accounts, I know well to be done merely out of charity, and without any expectation of a return from those they oblige.*

The

Inhabitants of Loanda.

Warren.

The same favour we found with the late bishop, and the present. And to conclude with this matter, I will here tell you a story of the forefaid father Francis: two fellows going to be hanged, father Francis moved by mere charity, told the governor, that in case he would pardon one of them, he would suffer death in his stead. The governor answered, that if he would be as good as his word, one of them should presently be unloosed and sent away; and if he could find another would do the like good office for the other, they should both be freed though they were great offenders. But though this proffer was made on father Francis's side, none would appear on the other; so that one must unavoidably die for want of a friar to release them. When they came to the place of execution, the governor sent to take the halter off from father Francis's neck, when he was disposed to die, and knew nothing of any mercy designed him; and if father Leonard de Nardo his companion would have done the same, they had both escaped, but for want of it one was hanged.

Let us now come to the customs and manners both of the *Portugueses* and strangers that live in this city. They are of three sorts: First, Those that come merely on account of God's service, and for no worldly interest, though these are but few. The second sort are such as come to command or trade there who are many. The third kind are likewise no small number, though nothing comparable to the foregoing, and they are those condemned persons that are sent hither by courts of justice, amongst which the spiritual courts send several descended from the *Jewish* race, which are named by the citizens *new Christians*; these are kept from coming to the sacred function for several reasons, amongst which one is for a crime frequently practised by them, which I shall forbear to name for fear of offending chaste ears. Notwithstanding this, these people are the greatest frequenters of churches, and give the most liberally to our convents and the poor.

The women being bred among *Blacks*, suffer themselves to be so much perverted, that they scarce retain any thing white about them except their skins; but be this spoken with a reservation of the good of that sex, whereof there are some few. The worse sort take upon them to lord it over their husbands, insomuch that if they will not live according to their fancies, they do all they can to drive them out of their houses, or else humble them so far, as never to go out nor take their pleasure in their net, and under their umbrella, according to custom. But still the worst is, that while they are under this confinement, they

may choke for want of water, this city having none fresh but what comes from an island about two days journey distant. This makes good the saying of the wife man, *Melius est habitare in deserto, quam cum muliere rixosa*; 'Tis better to live in a desert than with a frowning wife. Likewise in eating, the wife and the *Black* generally starve the husband; upon which occasion I hear him, methinks, to cry out with the poet,

*O conjux male grata seni, male grata marito,  
Sola tuis, conjux, dedita deliciis.*

Some of these women keep their husband's clothes from them, out of a pretence that they do not belong to them alone, but to their family in general. The law here is, that what comes by the mother descends to the daughters, and that because the sons have wherewithal to maintain them by marriage. When the maids are marriageable, if their mothers carry them to church, they are said to do so to sell them, and therefore for the most part they keep them close. When they are married, they also generally keep themselves up for one reason or other, either on account of being big with child, heat, wet-weather, or the like. When they come to be old, they don't care for being seen for fear of discovering their wrinkles. The better sort go to take the air in their nets, with a carpet thrown over them, and attended at least by twelve persons: two of these carry the net, and two more bear umbrellas on each side, and eight *moccama's* (*Negro* waiting-maids) four of which hold each a corner of the carpet, and four walk before to spread the carpet to kneel on when their mistress goes into the church. Whenever there is any stage-play, or tilting, the women, all without exception, go to it even though they were sick. On *Holy-Thurs* day they always walk on foot, and without attendance, which they never do at any other time. To obviate such disorders, father Paul da Varese, and our superior, obtained of the bishop that maids should be laid in three different churches, viz. in the cathedral, the parish by the sea-side, and thirdly in our church, two hours before day; at which great numbers assisted, which was continued in my time. At last a certain person happening to be killed coming out of a suspicious house, some ill people took thence an occasion to get this pious and good custom suppressed.

Of the *Mulattoes*, born of a *White* and a *Mulatto* *Black*, whereof there are great number here, I can never say enough. They hate the *Negroes* mortally, nay even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themselves with the *Whites*; which

*Inhabitants of  
Loanda.*

*Women.*

*MEROLLA*



*MAROLLA* which is not allowed them, they being not permitted to sit in their preference.

The *Mulatto* women wear no smocks nor petticoats, and have only a piece of cloth girt under their arms; but this is nevertheless to be meant of such as have no known fathers. The male *Mulattoes* wear stockings and breeches, and become commonly either priests or soldiers, above which condition they never rise. It was no small trouble to me to observe, that wherever these *Mulattoes* were born, they were presently designed for priests. There are great numbers of them, who not knowing how they came into the world, or whether they are descended from *Jews*, cannot be expected to be able to instruct others. To remedy this disorder therefore, the new bishop brought orders from *Rome*, that none should be dispensed with as to their irregularity. Of this these *Mulattoes* believing us *Capuchins* to have been authors, by reason that we had frequently preached against these abuses, they bore us a mortal ill-will, nevertheless it has never hitherto been in their power to do us any harm.

Those among these people that are soldiers, and travel about the kingdom, exact as much service and respect from the *Negroes* as the *Whites*, causing themselves to be carried about in nets; and if it so happen that the *soua*, or *mani* (governor) be not immediately ready to provide them with people for their service, or do not treat them as they require, they will presently draw their swords, and take whatever they can find in this governor's house, though they are going, not about their king's, but their own business. If perchance they have occasion to eat on the road, they take whatever eatables they can meet with, without thanking the *Negroes* they have them from; and if he should happen to murmur but in the least at their injustice, instead of making him satisfaction, they will pay him with bastinadoes and blows.

Others that turn *pombros* (buyers of slaves) and go up and down in the country for that purpose, commit a great many unjustifiable actions, amongst which this one seems to me most unpardonable: They will lie with the *Negro*-women, and get them with child; and some years afterwards returning that way, will take those very children they have so got from their mothers, under pretence of better educating them in the city of *Loanda*; but instead thereof, at a certain age, do sell or barter them away for such commodities as slaves are wont to be exchanged for, and thereby grow rich by trading in their own flesh and blood. A barbarous custom in truth, and not to be suffered amongst Chri-

tians, especially where Christianity is in its infancy, as it is in these parts. This is the reason likewise why the pagans do not come in faster to be converted, because they observe how many ill actions the *Mulattoes* are guilty of, and yet go unpunished.

To prevent in some measure this bad custom, the governor in my time forbade the *Mulattoes* to trade any more this way, and ordered, that if they had a mind to travel any whither, they should pay for the carriage, both of themselves and their baggage, affirming, that if they went on the king's business, they would infallibly be paid again; but if on their own, they ought to rest satisfied with the expence. By these means this mischief was for a while discontinued.

But this abuse would not have been so much if it had lain only among the *Mulattoes*; the *Whites* also had their share in it, and traded like the others in their own flesh. This comes to pass when their black mistress brings them forth a child, and being of that hue it is naturally a slave, which coming afterwards accidentally to offend, is forthwith sold according to custom: but the worst is, this is done upon the smallest offence, and without any regard to nature or relation.

A father had two daughters, the one a widow, the other a marriageable *Mulatta*; having a mind to marry the latter, he took away the other's goods, and all she had to give with this *Mulatta*: the widow in my hearing said, I will not displease my father, let him do what he pleases, I will never oppose him; but when he dies I will sell his daughter, because she is born of my slave, and thus without trouble or contest will recover what is taken from me, giving her father to understand as much in a civil way. In short, unless the father declare one of these to be his lawful son or daughter, they are ever looked upon slaves.

As to the *Negroes* which inhabit this city *Black*, and kingdom, except some few that are free as being natives, they are all slaves to the *Whites*: some are sent to the *arimi* (farms) about one or two days journey off from the city, as to *Bengo* and *Dante*, which are well watered with rivers, when the other provinces are almost parched up for want of rain, and consequently not fit for tillage. The way of manuring the ground here is this: they cast up the earth with spades into a ridge, leaving thereby a furrow on either side, into which when the rivers are well filled by rain from the mountains, they cut their banks and let in the water: after it has remained there some time, and the earth is pretty well moistened, they let it out again into their canals, and close up their banks. When this is done, after a little

little while the earth becomes proper for their seed, which when sown after three months time is fit to be reap'd. Others of these slaves are sent to fishing, whereby their master maintains his family, and sells what he has more than sufficient for that purpose. It is not to be imagined what a great quantity of fish they have in these seas, and how cheap they are to be bought. A great providence truly! for otherwise it would be almost impossible to subsist here, especially in this city. I must confess in all my travels I never met with the like, tho' I have read in *Peter Cobero's* voyages, written in *Spanish*, that he had been in a country bordering upon a river wherein there were such great abundance of fish, that the inhabitants dry'd and made bread of them, bones and all. Upon these fish the *Blacks* generally live together, whereof the *Whites* eat sometimes, especially a-nights, affirming they are much easier to be digested than flesh. Altho' these fish have not that pleasant taste which ours in *Italy* have, yet are they nevertheless well enough liked by the inhabitants for want of knowing better.

These slaves are likewise employ'd in building, which is commonly very slow. Whenever any of their masters have a child born, a house is begun, and goes on no faster than that child grows. I speak this of those *Whites* that are able to build a house for every child they have. The plaster here is made of sea-shells, whereof there are great quantities on these shores. They have furnaces of much the same make with ours, wherein they burn the said shells, which make as white and good lime as ours.

Many of these slaves do the office of barbers, wherein they are more expert than the *Whites*, and that not only in the use of the scissars and razor, but likewise in that of the lancet to open a vein. In short, some follow one trade, and some another; and when they have no business to do for their masters, they are hired out at so much a week or month, the profit whereof goes to their masters; so that he that has most slaves here is always accounted the richest man.

*Money.*

The current coins here are the *maccuta's*, being certain pieces of strawcloth of about the largeness of a sheet of paste-board each, and which are equivalent to our brass money in *Europe*. Those that correspond to our silver are the *intaga's*, being pieces of thick cotton-cloth, and of about the bigness of two large handkerchiefs, and worth about 18 *d.* of our money. They have another sort of money call'd *solingas* of cotton likewise, but of a finer sort, and like that which seamen use to tie about their

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wastes: These are worth 3 *s.* 6 *d.* each. MERELLA  
Those coins that are of greater value, and answer to our gold, are the *birami*, made of fine linen, whereof each parcel goes for 7 *s.* and 6 *d.* or 8 *s.* No brass, silver or gold coins are made use of either by foreign merchants or others in these countries.

From the great variety of slaves of different nations in these countries mult needs proceed the like variety and difference in humours and customs; and altho' they are all christian, yet I observed that the law of God was not so religiously observed amongst them as it ought to be; for that they seem'd to me to perform the duties of their religion more out of fear of their masters that had instructed them, than out of any value they had for divine worship. The *she-slaves* are commonly guilty of a fault, which is partly occasion'd by the white women, not caring to be deprived of their *moccasins*, will not suffer them to marry, and therefore they steal from their mistresses to maintain men to satisfy their brutal appetites. If they happen to become with child, no shame is imputed either to them or their mistresses. For our parts we do all we can to prevent it, and some ladies say upon this occasion, that they cannot be always a looking after their *she-Blacks*; and if any of them chanc'd to be now and then with child, they conceived it no great matter of harm: Nevertheless we often have them chastised both in publick and private for these and the like faults, and afterwards force them to marry the person that had debauch'd them. But O what pains do we take to bring them to it, and how many ridiculous arguments and reasons do they bring to excuse themselves from this duty and restraint!

There are those among these slaves that after they are thus married, will exchange their wives with each other for a certain time, alledging, in case of reproach, that they are not able to eat always of the same dish. Those of the women likewise that live out in the country in their master's farms, will hire each of them a man, upon condition that he shall not leave them till they have a child by him, tho' they are to maintain him all the while he is with them. It is mighty ridiculous to observe that the women here, contrary to the custom of other nations, buy and sell, and do all other things which the men ought to do, whilst their husbands stay at home and spin or weave cotton, or busy themselves in such other effeminate actions. These women also are so jealous of their husbands, that if they see them but speak to any other women they are presently in a flame, and make the place ring where they so discover them. The bishop order'd that all masters of

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*Blacks*

*MEROLLA* Blacks should oblige them to perform the *Easter-duty* under pain of forfeiting a certain quantity of wax for every one, obliging them to bring the certificate of their receiving and confessing to their masters, and then all together to the curate. These because they are often involved in the immediate occasion of sin, make use of a crafty deceit to extort absolution from their father confessor: Which is, that the first day of *Lent* the men part from the women, leading a chaste life for the present, and then appearing before the priest, tell him they have left off their lewd courses, and promise never to return to them. A week or fortnight after *Easter* they go about till they are provided with one to satisfy their lust all the year, without having any more to do with those they forsook before confession.

*Burials.* Let us come now to the death and burial of these people, who being of so many different nations, and the remains of the pagans, differ likewise in their rites and ceremonies. As to the manner of their deaths, that may be guess'd at by their lives, according to the proverb, *Qualis vita, finis ita*. And for what relates to their burials, I have been an eye-witness, that in the kingdoms of *Cacongo* and *Angoij* they do not bury any of their relations, till all the rest of the kindred be gather'd together, tho' that be sometimes many days in accomplishing: Being once met, they begin the ceremony with several superstitious actions, as killing of hens, with the blood of which they besprinkle the house of the deceased both within and without, and afterwards throw the carcases of the said fowl upon the top of the house, affirming that thereby they prevent the soul of the dead person from coming to give the *zumbi* to any of the future inhabitants. The word *zumbi* in the language of the country, signifies an apparition of the deceased person, they being of opinion, that to whomsoever it shall appear, that person will presently die. This persuasion has been so deeply rooted in the minds of these poor ignorant people, that the imagination alone oftentimes brings them to their ends. We have seen several accidents of this kind, inasmuch that a person that was before very well in health, shall of a sudden die miserably through the impression of these vain delusions. Those that survive affirm, that the dead person had summon'd him that died, especially where there had been any difference betwixt them whilst both were living.

The ceremony of the hens being ended, they proceed to lamenting over the dead person; and if it so happens that any amongst them be not able to weep naturally, they have recourse to art by holding *jil-*

*quafiro*, or *Indian* pepper to their noses, which causes the tears to flow plentifully, which without wiping they suffer to trickle down their cheeks as fast as they please. When they have howl'd and wept for some time, they all of a sudden pass from sorrow to mirth, feasting heartily at the expence of the person that is nearest akin to the deceased, who all that while lies unburied in the house. When they have fully satisfy'd their ungodly guts, they soon forget their deceased friend, and never think of him more: Then the drum beats, and they go from the table to dancing, and so the ball begins: when one company is weary another begins, and not only the kindred, but likewise any others are admitted to dance. After they have done dancing, they retire into appointed places, where being lock'd up together in the dark, they practise all manner of abominable pleasures, alledging, that at such a time it is lawful for them to intermix with each other at liberty. This sound of the drum seems to be the devil's summons to assist at these execrable ceremonies, and which these people run to with a more than ordinary inclination. It is almost impossible for the mothers to hinder their daughters, and less possible for masters to prevent their slaves, who will break down walls, or force iron-bars to come at them. As soon as this is done, they apply themselves to superstitious and idolatrous practices, and so from one to the other for some time. When any master of a family dies, his principal wife exposes herself to all that have a mind to enjoy her; on this condition nevertheless, that none offer to speak the least word in her chamber.

That these abominations are practis'd among pagans is not to be wonder'd at; but would to God that these *tambi* (funeral ceremonies) were not used among some depraved Christians, not only in the kingdom of *Angola*, but even in *Loanda* it self. At the time of my residing here I was told, that not far out of this city such enormities were committed. Our superior accompanied with one only companion and some trusty persons, immediately ran to prevent them; but being by night (the properest time for these hellish practices) he met with the guards, who well knowing that it was not our custom to go out of the city at that time, unless upon account of doing God some service, presently offer'd themselves to accompany them, which being refused by our superior, they persisted in their resolutions, alledging that otherwise some hurt might happen to him, and therefore they went along with him. Being arrived at the place where these ceremonies were performing, the soldiers, to the end they might the better take the offenders, ranged

Some buried alive with the dead.

ranged themselves about the walls, which consisting only of mud and stakes they easily broke down, hooping and hollowing like mad while they were doing it. The wicked wretches that were not few in number, perceiving their walls broke down, and their house surrounded, immediately betook themselves to flight, leaving only the wife of the deceased behind them, who being obliged by her infernal priest not to stir nor speak, was easily taken, and by the governor afterwards, who very well knew what she and her company had been doing, order'd to be publickly whipt thro' the city.

In *Massangano*, a garison of this kingdom, so many stones were hurl'd at a companion of mine for endeavouring to oppose these people in their wicked ceremonies, that he very narrowly escap'd having his brains beat out by them.

When any great Lord, or considerable person dies, the pagans are accustomed to spread the way where the corps passes with leaves and branches. He must likewise be carried in a streight line to his grave; and therefore if any house or wall happened to hinder his passage, it is immediately pull'd down. To shew themselves kind to the dead, they are commonly very cruel to the living, shutting up both together in a tomb with meat and drink, to the end (say they) that the dead lord may want for nothing in his grave: in this they imitate the tyrant *Mezentius* king of the *Tyrhenians*, who in *Virgil* is said to join dead and living people together, till the stanch has brought them to one condition.

The *Giagbi* offer up human sacrifices to the dead, as they do likewise oftentimes to the living, when they can suppose the person they intend to honour to have occasion for assistance either in war, or any other urgency.

One of our fathers having understood that within a certain sepulchre of a great person among these pagans, there were two people immur'd alive, went thither in great haste to free them from their infernal and noisome dungeon, but found to his great grief that they had some time before perished. But the wickedness of these people sometimes goes further; for at the death of any of their friends they have been accustomed to kill one of their slaves, to the end that he may go and serve them in the other world: To this sin they will moreover add a lie; for when we accuse them and get them corrected for so doing, they will excuse themselves and pretend innocence, affirming they know nothing of the matter, even tho' we had never so plain proof of it. An instance of this follows: One of our order having been adviced that

a poor *Negro* was just going to be sacrificed as a victim to his dead master, this father immediately ran to the wife of the deceased person to prevent it, who perceiving her villany was discovered, tho' she at first deny'd it, yet afterwards confess'd it, and gave orders to have those inhuman proceedings stop'd. In my time also there were several of these wicked actions done, but the persons concerned in them always found so many shifts and subtle evasions to conceal their offences, that we could never proceed methodically against them in order to bring them to punishment. Now if these things are practis'd among Christians, how can we expect they should be omitted among those *Negroes* that have scarce heard of the name of Christianity?

The burial-places among the pagans are for the most part in the fields, with something or other placed over them, according to the quality of the person that is buried: Some have a long and streight horn of I know not what beast fixed over them; others have a large heap of earth raised upon them; some have an earthen platter or pipkin, or any other vessel made of earth set over them; others make arbours over their graves, with a thousand superstitious interlacings and interweavings that are performed by their wizards: They do not make use of a coffin, chest, or any other wooden thing to put the corps in, but wrap it up in good cotton linen sewed close together, and adorned without side with several superstitious fooleries, being at an expence suitable to the quality of the person deceased. As for the poorer sort they make use only of a sort of straw mats, after the mode of the country, to wrap their dead bodies in.

Within the dominions of *Sogno* every city and province has a certain peculiar place with a cross in the middle, where those that have not satisfi'd the *Easter*-command, or that die before they are confess'd, are buried by themselves without the missionaries concerning themselves therein. But as for those who have received all the sacraments before their deaths, and have been found to have religiously observed the last *Lent*, they are allowed christian burial, without its being any manner of charge to them. Also during their sickness, and after they are confess'd, we frequently furnish them with refreshments out of charity, such as confections of tamarins, a fruit of the country, and the like, both cooling and cordial juleps. Besides this we have several slaves belonging to our church which are skilled in phlebotomy, surgery, physick, and what not, who all do what lies in their power to recover these people when sick, or out of order: This we take care is done for them *gratis*, to the end they may have

Some buried alive with the dead.

**NEROLLA** no occasion to run to the wizards for help. For those that are poor and old, fatherless, lame, blind or the like, there is an hospital built near to our convent, where both their spiritual and temporal wants are supply'd by us as often as there is found occasion, or that it consists with our abilities. This is a charity which has not a little promoted the increase of Christianity in these parts.

*A barbarous sacrifice.*

Let us conclude speaking any farther of the *tambi*, or funeral rites among the pagans, with a passage that happened some years since in *Benin*, a kingdom lying on the back coasts of *Africa*, and towards *Guinea*, being very near the equinoctial line. Father *Francis da Romano* superior in the kingdom of *Oueroi*, and father *Philip da Fignar*, being both here on a mission, they endeavoured to disturb a certain abominable sacrifice accustomed to be performed every year to the devil, for the benefit, as they alledged, of their dead ancestors. This sacrifice consisted of above three hundred men, but at present there were only five to die, yet those all of the better sort. These missionaries under the conduct of a certain *Negro* their friend, came to the third inclosure capable of holding many hundreds of people: Here perceiving a great multitude gather'd together dancing and singing to divers instruments of their musick, they clapped themselves down in a private place, the better to observe what they were going to do. This place happened to be that where they kept the knives designed to perform so inhuman an action. Not being able to conceal themselves long, they were quickly discovered by these wicked wretches, who coming towards them leaping with great indignation, they soon drove the poor fathers out of the place they had so taken possession of. Father *Francis* hereupon was so little dismayed, that crowding boldly through the thickest of the *Negroes*, he was not afraid to reproach their king of unheard of cruelty: Some courtiers hearing this, immediately flew upon him, and beating, and using him very unmercifully, tore him out of the crowd; when closing up their ranks again, they performed their inhuman sacrifice. Afterwards they gave the fathers to understand, that it was their king's pleasure that they should forthwith depart his kingdom. Which command they being not very ready to comply with, the next morning they set upon them again, with intention to have killed them; which they nevertheless did not do, by reason they were informed by two of the courtiers there present, that the king would have them brought alive before him. Going therefore courageously to the palace, they were notwithstanding

admitted to no other audience but stripes and reproaches in great plenty; and afterwards told, in reviling terms, that it was the king's express order that they should forthwith be gone out of his dominions. Notwithstanding which, great numbers of these insolent *Negroes* flew upon them like so many hornets, and hurry'd them away to a noisom prison. Here they remained no less than three months, being buffeted, scoffed and scorned at all the while. At last, not contented with this ill usage, they sold them for slaves to the *Hollanders*; who taking more pity upon them than these infidels had done, set them ashore not long afterwards, safe and sound, in the *Prince's* island. Hence they writ to the sacred college to inform them of what had happened to them; but were answered, that the church had already martyrs enough, and but two missionaries in that kingdom, and therefore they should not for the future expose themselves so much in its service, but proceed warily among those new converts.

Another persecution was undergone with cheerful countenances, and undisturbed souls, by two other friars in the island of *St. Thomas*, in their journey to the kingdom of *Oueroi*, contiguous with that of *Benin*, in both of which there were new missions established, and the father superior, at that time father *Francis da Monteleone*, lived in the aforesaid island. The vice-superior, father *Angelo Maria d'Alacio* the province of *Corfica*, together with father *Bonaventura ds Firenze*, having but just set footing in the kingdom of *Oueroi*, they were very courteously received by that king. This prince was better bred than ordinary, having been brought up amongst the *Portugueses*, whose language he was an absolute master of, and could besides write and read a qualification, unusual among these *Ethiopian* princes. Almost at the first sight of the king, the vice-superior broke out into these words; *If your majesty does desire to have me to continue within your dominions, you must lay your injunctions on your subjects, that they embrace the holy state of matrimony, according to our rites and ceremonies; and moreover, that whereas now the young men and women go naked till they are marriageable, I desire your majesty to command that they may all go covered.* To which the king answered, that as to what related to his subjects, he would take care they should comply with his request; but as for himself, he could never consent to do it, unless he were marry'd to a *White*, as some of his predecessors had been. But what *White* would care to marry with a *Black*, even tho' he were a crowned head, especially among the

*Conversion of the kingdom of Oueroi.*

*Malice against the missionaries.*



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the *Portugueses*, who naturally despise them? Nevertheless the pious father trusting in God's providence to promote his own glory, gave no repulse to the obstinate monarch, but seemed to approve of all he said. To bring this good work to effect, he immediately departed, taking his way towards the island of *St. Thomas*, situate under the equinoctial line, and reckoned one of the nine countries conquered by the *Portugueses* in *Africa*. There he made it his business to enquire after a *White* woman that would marry a *Black* that was a crown'd head. Whereupon he was informed that there was one in that island, tho' of mean condition, whose poverty and meanness were nevertheless ennobled by a virtuous education, and a comely personage. Notwithstanding he was told that this woman was proper for the purpose, yet had he not the courage to speak to her uncle about her, under whose care and protection she was; but contriving how to bring about his design, with a lively faith in God, one day while he was saying mass, he turn'd himself about to the aforesaid person, conjuring him, in the presence of all the people, in the name, and for the service of the most high God, not to deny him one request, which was, that he would let his niece marry the king of *Ouuri*, which would greatly contribute to, if not totally effect the conversion of that kingdom. At the hearing of this, the good man being wrought upon by the pious missionary's reasons, could not prevent weeping, and bowing down his head, as a token of his consent.

The young lady not long afterwards, having first taken leave of her relations, set out with some few *Portugueses*, and the missionary, for the aforesaid kingdom.

Being just entered the confines, she was joyfully and universally saluted by the people for their queen, having triumphal arches raised to her, and several other demonstrations of joy paid her by the inhabitants.

Being arrived at the king's palace, she was received by that monarch like another *Rachel* by *Jacob*, *Esther* by *Abasuerus*, or *Artemisia* by *Mausolus*; and afterwards marry'd by him after the christian manner, thereby giving a good example to his subjects, who soon forsook their former licentious principles, and submitted to be restrained by the rules of the gospel, that is, were all married according to the rites and ceremonies of the church.

After four years mission into these parts, the aforesaid two fathers transported themselves into the island of *St. Thomas*, partly to proceed further in the duties of their office, and partly to oblige the king who

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commanded it. This good intention of theirs, it seems, the devil envied, for he raised up a certain ecclesiastical person there against them, who extremely envy'd our two missionaries. This person had been accustomed, before their arrival, to go every six months to the kingdom of *Ouuri* to baptize that people, which brought him in the profit of a slave a month, and another from the king, in consideration of his charge and trouble; but now finding himself deprived of this gain for four years, he, together with others not well affected to religion, rais'd the cruellest persecution against these poor fathers that could possibly have been thought on. He accused them to the governor of the island for enemies to the crown of *Portugal*, and that they travelled about those countries with false passes; and moreover, that to his knowledge, and in his hearing they had debauch'd the minds of the king and queen of *Ouuri*, and besides held correspondence with the enemies of the *Portuguese* dominions. All this the governor heard patiently, yet did not immediately resolve to have these innocent fathers seiz'd; whereupon one of those that had accompany'd the queen to *Ouuri*, said to him, *Take care, my lord, of what you do, lest apprehending these apostolical missionaries, you create a difference between the crown of Portugal and the see of Rome.* We are much obliged to these holy men for raising our country-women to a crown. The governor would not meddle with these holy men, but ordered them to be sent to *Loanda*, where there were likewise great complaints made against them by the aforesaid priest and his adherents.

Hence they were sent to the tribunal at *Lisbon*, where being declared innocent, in that they had sufficient authority from the crown for what they had acted, their accusers were cited to appear to make good, if they could, their allegations; which not being able to do, the chief calumniator, the ecclesiastic, fled to *Brazil*, and the others to other places for protection.

Father *Bonaventura da Firenze*, on account of his great indispositions, returned to *Italy*; but father *Angelo Maria* directed his course anew towards the island of *St. Thomas*, where having performed the part of a good missionary, and a good Christian, teaching by his exemplary life what his tongue omitted, he returned after some time to *Lisbon*, and died there. Until our coming into this part of *Ethiopia*, these kingdoms had not seen the face of any other missionary; and every time any ship came to anchor in their harbours, the natives would ask the seamen if they had any *Capuchin* on board? And if they were answered that they had

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MEROLLA

*MR. WOLLA* not, then would they fly into a passion, and cry out, *Must we then always lead our lives thus like beasts, and never have any priests come to teach us better?*

Whilst I was at *Loanda*, they writ to our superior, father *John da Romano*, to send them some spiritual labourer. He sent their letter to the sacred college, who writ back, that for the present father *Monteleone* should go to the island of *St. Thomas* and build a convent there, to the end that whenever any missionaries came thither, they might the easier transport themselves into these kingdoms. If there were missionaries sufficient sent, especially from the sacred college, and the apostolick see, I dare be positive they would find the conversion of this part of *Ethiopia* easy enough, the people thereof confessing already, that they believe the successor of *St. Peter* to be a most holy person, and one that cannot err; and consequently those that are sent by him are like him, and therefore they have no suspicion of the *Italians*, which would not be in respect of other nations, in regard to their political state. This happiness, peculiar to our nation, gives us authority to go in our habits into their innermost recesses, which priests of other countries would not be permitted to do. Nevertheless the devil, the author of all ill, does oftentimes work so by his ministers, that he gives us some disturbance, which notwithstanding signifies little or nothing, great numbers having been in few years converted here. If I should say myself, that I have done that good office for thousands and thousands, I'm sure I should not lie; for I can be positive that of men, women, and children, I have baptized no less than thirteen thousand, and caused very many to marry. The short time I did this in will be the less wondered at, if the great numbers of people here be considered; and that, as I have said before in another place, one of our order alone baptized upwards of fifty thousand. Also father *Jerom da Montesarchio* of our province of *Naples* (whose painful travels and good qualities have already been made known to the world by another hand) told me himself, before his death, that within the space of twenty years continuance in these parts, he baptized above one hundred thousand persons, and amongst the rest, the king, or rather duke of *Congo*, tributary to the king of *Micocco*, together with his nephew, and several other persons of quality.

That these sort of people have been given to idolatry, and the eating of man's flesh, I cannot deny; but then I must affirm, that they readily embrace Christianity, and reap the fruit of it, as may appear by what

happened to me. Our interpreter had a certain black slave, a very strong fellow, but blind and obstinate to the good advice was given him by his master to abjure paganism, and embrace the christian faith. His answer in defence of his principles was, That the elephant never eats salt (so they call baptism in their language) and yet he became fat and large, and lived a long while. It seems the holy baptism in their dialect is called *minemungu*, which is as much as to say, to season the blessed salt. If any one should ask, if such a one were a Christian or a pagan? if a Christian, they would answer, He is a Christian, for he has tasted of the salt that has been blessed by the priest. You must observe, that if any of these had been baptized with water alone, he would not have been very well satisfied. Now this slave spoken of before, happening to be grievous sick, I went to visit him, and using a great many spiritual arguments to him, found it not difficult to convert him. He yielded to my proposals, and was baptized, to the great satisfaction of his master, as well as himself, and afterwards married to a christian woman there present. The third day after, he died, changing his slavery in this life for a glorious liberty in the other.

To say that the *Negroes*, and especially *Giagbi*, are always obstinate and perverse, and man-eaters, is not to be made an objection against them, because our Saviour says, *Those that are well do not stand in need of a physician*; and the worse the distemper, the more need of cure. This will appear by the only instance of the conversion of the queen of *Singa*: this queen, with the greatest part of her people, was converted by the great pains of father *Anthony Laudati da Gaeta* of our order; the manner whereof was told me by a *Portuguese* captain that was present when it was done. He said, the queen and the aforesaid father *Anthony* were standing together discoursing, when all of a sudden the friar thus bespoke the queen; *Madam, when I behold so many large and fruitful valleys, enriched and adorned with so many crystal streams, and defended from the injuries of weather by such high and pleasant hills, all under your majesty's command, I cannot forbear being so bold, as to ask you who was the author of all these? Who fecundated the ground, and afterwards ripens the fruit?* To which the queen, without the least hesitation, readily answered, *My ancestors*. Then (replied the *Capuchin*) does your majesty enjoy the whole power of your ancestors? *Yes* (answered she) and much more, for over and above what they had, I am absolute mistress of the kingdom of *Matamba*. The pious friar hearing this stooped to reach a slender straw that lay upon the ground, and

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and having taken it up, cried to the queen, *Madam, pray do me the favour to cause this to hang without bolding in the air.* The queen turned away her face, and looked scornfully at a request so insignificant and inconsiderable. The friar re-inforced his petition, earnestly entreating her majesty to comply with his desires; whereupon proffering to put it into her hand, she let it fall. Father Anthony stooped again to take it up, but the queen being the more nimble of the two, got hold of it before him; *The reason* (quoth the friar) *why the straw fell was, because your majesty did not command it not to fall; but now be pleased to order it to hang of itself, without help, in the air.* She did so, but it would not obey. Whereupon the zealous friar broke out into the following expressions, *Be it known to your majesty, O queen, that your ancestors have no otherwise been authors of these fair fields and springs, than you are of the support of this straw; but that the great Creator of heaven and earth, CHRIST JESUS, the only Son God, and the second Person of the Trinity, whose image you have here upon this crucifix, made these and all things else, that is, was the first cause of all.* Then the queen humbled herself, and bowing her royal head, submitted to own the truth, embracing the holy faith, wherein she not long after died; and which she had before received in her younger days, but apostatized from it.

Cunning  
of the  
Blacks.

The *Ethiopians* are not so dull and stupid as is commonly imagined, but rather more subtle and cunning than ordinary, as may appear by what happened to a certain *French* sea-captain at *Mina*, on the coast of *Africa*, which he told me himself, and was confirmed to me by a *Portuguese* of the island of *St. Thomas*, who was an eye-witness to it. This captain sailing along the coasts where the mines are, and thinking to exchange his merchandize for gold, was unfortunately made a prize by a *Hollander*, who seizing his ship, and putting the seamen into irons, carried their captain, under a strong guard, ashore before the governor, who for a welcome, ordered him to a close prison, loaded with irons, and to be looked after by about thirty strong *Blacks*, where he expected nothing but death. The chief of these *Negroes* perceiving the prisoner to bear so manfully what was so wrongfully offered him, by an earnest and steadfast look on him, discovered both his pity and concern for so great injustice done him. At last being encouraged by the gravity and modesty of his countenance, which promised a great deal of prudence and discretion, he approached him, and said to him, *Since you have done no body any harm, and your enemies have behaved themselves immoderately rigorous towards you, not only in im-*

prisoning, but likewise in depriving you of your goods and life, I offer myself, led thereunto by a principle of abhorrence of such actions, to free you.

The captain taking heart at this proffer of the *Negroes*, answered him, *If thou hast courage sufficient to deliver me from death, and conduct me in safety to my ship, I will in recompense reward thee with whatever thou canst ask.* But how (continued he) is it possible for me to have so good fortune, when there are so many appointed to look after me? Leave that to me (replied the *Ethiopian*) for I do not doubt but I shall be able, by the help of six of my companions whom I have already engaged, to carry you off safe to your ship. The way I have proposed to do it is, by making the rest of my companions dead drunk with good wine, which will give us that are your friends a liberty to act as we please. He was not long afterwards as good as his word, and the success of his endeavours answered his expectation. The captain looked upon his deliverer to be rather an angel sent from heaven to his assistance, than a black *Ethiopian*. As soon as they were got out of the prison, they made all the haste they could, directing their steps all that night through thick woods and unfrequented paths, till at length they got safe to the port. The *Negro* went aboard the ship, where he acquainted the *Dutch* guard, that the governor had set at liberty both the captain and his crew, and therefore advised them to free their prisoners from their fetters, and set them at liberty. The *Hollanders* immediately obeyed this order, giving credit to what word the *Negro* had brought them, he having been always looked upon for an honest fellow; and receiving a small reward, departed.

The captain seeing himself master of his ship, returned his unfeigned thanks to heaven for his preservation, and then setting open all his chests, offered his preserver what recompence he would have: all which the *Negro* refused, alledging that what service he had done him, was wholly on account of his being a man of honour, and in commiseration of his condition, and not out of any interest or advantage which he proposed to himself thereby: and further, that if he pleased to accept of his and his companions service, they would follow him wheresoever he went. If that be your intentions (replied the obliged *Frenchman*) let us set sail and be gone, and I shall always endeavour to proportion my gratitude and acknowledgments to your merits. This said, the seamen did not weigh their anchors, but cut their cables, and hoisting sail at the same time, to avoid falling afresh into the *Hollanders* hands, stood their course directly for *France*. The great civilities shewed both to this *Negro* and his companions throughout

**MEROLLA** throughout the whole voyage, are not to be expressed: the seamen would often compliment them, and especially their chief, calling him their *deliverer*. When they came to land, the captain's relations and friends strove which should oblige these *Blacks* most. When they had been about three months ashore, the *Negroes* advised the captain to freight his ship anew with some rich merchandize and curiosities, and to sail towards a place called *Chinea*, where they could conduct him to a port not subject to the *Hollanders*, and known to them, where he might gain what profit he pleased without any danger. Who now could have mistrusted the preservers of their lives? The captain therefore considering of the proposal, and knowing it to be as they had told him, the place they named being below the mines, freighted his ship accordingly, and set sail again towards the eastern coasts of *Africa*. Coming to an anchor in the island of *St. Thomas* to take in fresh provisions, where the wind and current are always fair for *Chinea* or *Mina*, he made what haste he could to put again to sea: at his first coming out he had a very gentle gale, but stood ready against the trade or settled wind came up, which the *Portugueses* call *Viracao*, which there rises and falls every six hours with the tide. Then spreading their sails, the mariners, except the pilot, steersman, and another person, together with the subtle *Negroes*, who watched for some ill purpose, fell asleep. One of these *Negroes* set himself to cutting of wood, to the end that with the noise of the ax he might drown what the others intended to do. The others knocked out the brains of four of the seamen, together with the pilot, and their designs were to have murdered all; but as Providence would have it, the captain hearing of what had happened by means of a little boy, snatching up a cutlase and two brace of pistols, and finding the door bolted without, he was forced to get out at a port-hole: when he came upon deck, and saw some of his men lying dead, and others defending themselves, he called out to wake the rest of the seamen, and then falling on soon dispatched four of the *Negroes*, amongst whom was their chief, whose head was instantly cut off, and his body sent to feed the sharks. The three that remained, having first confessed, that their plot was to have murdered all the ship's crew, and afterwards to have run away to their own country with the vessel, boasting what a trick they had put upon the Christians of *Europe*, paid the merit of their folly, for they were immediately hanged up at the yard-arm. This happening in sight of the island of *St. Thomas*, the people from the

shore fired upon the ship to know the occasion of it; but the captain hanging out a white flag, sent his boat ashore to acquaint them how he had been used by the *Negroes*, which extremely surprised both the islanders and some others that heard it; but they more especially wondered how those subtle *Blacks* could harbour so ill a design so long. The captain further told me, that after this he would needs go to *Sogno* to see the river *Zaire*, and try if he could thereby get into the kingdom of the *Abyssines* belonging to *Prester-John*. He was informed that that river by reason of the great number of islands in it, and the several canals and rivers that run into it, was not at all safe for great ships to sail in: he nevertheless was resolved to venture to satisfy himself in what he had proposed. Being obliged to pass by the kingdom of *Angoij*, which lay on the other side of the river, the inhabitants thereof perceiving a ship coming along with such people on board as they had never seen or heard of before, sent out a canoe to them to tell them they must come and anchor in *Capinda*, a port of the said kingdom. And likewise having further understood, that they were going to make discoveries up the river, they let them know, that if they would comply with their request, and come to harbour in their port, they should thence be conducted in their discovery, and buy as many slaves and as much ivory as they pleased. But above all things they advised them not to touch upon *Sogno*, affirming that people were enemies to the *Whites*, and not many years before had made a great slaughter among them. The captain, to satisfy these people, left a boat laden with goods with two mariners in it, and sailed away. The *Negroes* carried them up into the country, and divided the merchandize among themselves. Fifteen days past, and no news was heard of the said two seamen, nor even of any trade or traffick settled by their means, and yet the *Negroes* gave good words, and went daily aboard the ship to preserve a good correspondence, drinking and carousing at the captain's expence. At length the *mani* or governor of *Capinda* coming on board himself, accompanied with five or six followers, the *French* captain on a sudden caused them to be seized and clapt under hatches in irons, threatening that unless the two mariners with their merchandize were speedily restored, he would not only carry them away for slaves, but likewise as many others of that kingdom as he could meet. We *Capuchins* persuaded the count of *Sogno* to do the captain justice, who upon the apprehending the *mani* and his companions, recovered the seamen and part of the goods. To satisfy for the rest, the *Angoij* were ordered to pay twelve slaves,

Sufferings  
of misfor-  
tunes.

The au-  
thor's re-  
turn to  
Europe.

slaves, which not coming, the captain set sail with the seven he had got, putting the eighth ashore to conduct the twelve slaves assigned to *Sogno*, where he traded for three hundred slaves, whom he carried to sell in the island *Hispaniola*. The captain himself told me he was extremely pleased that he had got a *Negro* governor to present to his king clothed after the fashion of that country.

By this relation the reader may perceive that the *Negroes* are both a malicious and subtle people, and I likewise must allow that they spend the most part of their time in circumventing and deceiving; yet I cannot allow, that because they are a stubborn soil, they must be left uncultivated: being of so perverse a nature as they generally are, they require the greater application of instruction. But this still is to be said for them, that when you come once to eradicate their vicious principles, they seldom or never return to their state of damnation again.

Sufferings  
of mis-  
sion-  
ners.

Grievous no doubt are the sufferings of the missionaries in these parts, whether you consider the length of their travels, their frequent want of necessaries, the various climates of the countries they pass through, the suffocating and insupportable heats, especially to us *Europeans*, who fry within our woollen clothes, the travelling over rocks and frightful precipices, the often sleeping upon the bare ground, the being persecuted by wizards and such sort of wretches, and sometimes by bad Christians; and lastly, the losing so much blood as we are fain to do to preserve our healths, and a thousand other inconveniences in life, which cannot be here enumerated: all which are nevertheless pleasing to those who undergo them on account of its being for God's service that they suffer, who being a *remunerator animarum*, both can and will reward them.

The au-  
thor's re-  
turn to  
Europe.

As to my return from *Africa*, it was truly through mere necessity, and at which I was not a little concerned when I considered, that I must leave so much work undone behind me, and whereof those poor kingdoms have so much need to conduct them in their way to heaven. My departure was principally occasioned by my illness; but had I recovered my health in *Brasil* whither I was going, as I proposed to myself, my intentions were to have returned once more to *Ethiopia*; but my recovery proved so very slow, and I found myself to exceeding weak, that I laid all those thoughts aside. Arriving not long after at *Baia* the principal city of *Brasil*, I was for a short time entertained very courteously in a *French* convent of our order, whose friars used their utmost diligence to

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procure me a good captain to transport me sick as I was to *Lisbon*. They first spoke to a countryman of theirs, and who offered to carry and provide me a convenient cabin because I was sick, but I must go as a passenger, and not as chaplain, and that because he would not submit to the laws of *Portugal*, which make it a crime for any ship to sail without one. I told him, as I had formerly done the other captain at the beginning of my voyage to *Africa*, that if he would needs exclude me from the duties of my function, I must necessarily refuse his offer, being willing to earn my diet and passage, and so we parted. I was afterwards requested by the governor of *Maf-fangano*, who came with us from the kingdom of *Angola*, and from whom I had received several civilities in our voyage, to go along with him to *Portugal*; I thankfully accepted his offer, and in three months time in company of a fleet of twenty eight ships laden with tobacco and sugars, by the assistance of a favourable wind and good weather, we reached the height of *Lisbon*.

It being almost night before we got near the port, but three of our ships could get in, viz. that I was in, the *Frenchman*, and another, the rest being obliged to keep out at sea all that night, and the greatest part of the next day, by reason the tide was against them. At day-break the physician came on board us three, to see what state of health we were in; but before he approached, the *Frenchman* thinking it had been a custom-house selucca, went to hide a certain quantity of tobacco he had in his powder-room, but through a fatal miscarriage letting a spark from the candle fall on one of the barrels, the powder took fire and blew up the poop of the ship, whereby the water flowing into the rest of the shattered vessel, it sunk in a trice: None of the people that were in her escaped, but only such as could swim, and they made shift to get to shore, or else were taken up by boats. If this ship had not sunk as she did after she was blown up, what damage might she not have done us that were very near her? Having observed the great escape I and my fellow-voyagers had, I fell on my knees, and returned my unfeigned thanks to the most High for our preservation, and especially in that I happened not to go in that unfortunate ship. This accident was reported about among the vulgar to have been a judgment on the said ship for not having a chaplain on board her.

At length we landed, which we had no sooner done, but I and father *Francis da Pavia*, a chaplain in another ship, and my companion all the way from *Ethiopia*, fell down on our knees again to return

8 M

heaven



*MRSOLLA* heaven thanks for our safe arrival in *Portugal*: we then went immediately to wait on the king, who being gone that day out of the city to visit the *infanta* his daughter, we were fain to defer that intention. At his return his majesty being informed of our designs, and having scarce alighted, sent presently for us; but the messengers not finding us in the city, came to our convent, where they met us and gave us to understand, that we might go to court whensoever we pleased, the king being very desirous to see us. We lost no time, but immediately repaired to court, and were admitted to audience.

The king's countenance was extremely pleasing, and his reception of us very friendly, standing out of respect to us with his hat all the while in his hand: he kissed our habits, and then began to speak of our order and mission, and especially of us *Italian* missionaries, for whom he said he had a very particular respect, having been often informed how much good we had done, and did daily in *Ethiopia* for God's service; and that although it was true, that he had forbid any foreign priest to exercise their function within his conquests in those parts, yet he did by no means design to exclude his *Italian Capuchins* thereby. These words he spoke not only once, but repeated as often as any opportunity offered in discourse.

I must not forget the civilities shewed me here by signior *Nicola Bonacursi*, a gentleman of *Florence*, who took me from our convent at *Lisbon* to transport me to *Leghorn*, proffering me withal a necessary subsistence for the whole voyage. Herein nevertheless the captain of the ship opposed him, telling me that I should eat at his table; but signior *Nicola* notwithstanding would not be refused the sending a servant along with me to wait on me, which I must own the fellow did with a great deal of obsequiousness and diligence. Signior *Nicola* would also have hired a *felucca* to carry me to *Naples*; which I refusing, he recommended me to the marquis *Pucci* at *Leghorn*, to the end that he might see me provided with necessaries for my further voyage to *Genoa*, whither I was bound. We not long after set sail, and arrived at *Leghorn* in a short time, whence in a few days I went on board again a ship called *The Holy Rose*, and with a prosperous gale soon got to *Genoa*. As we were going to enter the port about midnight, the wind all of a sudden chopt about full in our teeth, forcing us back to sea again. About break of day, while we were making to the mouth of the bay to get in, a *French* man of war was just coming out, who perceiving us sailed, made up to us, keeping to

windward: her captain as he came nearer hauled us to fend our boat on board, but ours taking little or no notice of him sailed on: whereupon the *French* man came up to the windward of us again, giving us to understand, that being we were a man of war like himself, he was obliged by an express order from his king either to force us aboard, or to sink us. At the hearing of this all our ship's company were extremely concerned, and that especially because the day before at the discovery of *Genoa* we had discharged all our cannon except thirteen, which we reserved to salute the holy cross in the said city. Our muskets likewise were all laid up in the gun-room, and our seamen had put on their best clothes to go ashore: nevertheless laying aside all fear or delay, two of our officers got ready what arms they had, and ranged both passengers and seamen, except only those that were quartered at the afore said great guns on the decks, in expectation of the enemy's being as good as his word, since we had absolutely refused to comply with his commands. What a buzz and rumour was to be heard every where then amongst the armed soldiers and seamen! For my part I almost thought I was in hell, and which put me in mind of that verse of *Virgil's* in his sixth *Æneid*.

—*Stridor ferri, traëaque catena.*

At length, to prevent what inconveniences might have ensued so rash an engagement, the *French* captain sent his brother on board us to see who we were, who coming near us, and perceiving what preparations we had made for a fight, and moreover hearing from us that we were *Genoese*, cried out, *To what purpose are all these warlike preparations, since there is peace between us and Genoa?* We answered him, that at sea we ought always to be on our guard against accidents we might meet with, and for ought we knew his ship might be no *French* man of war, because it was a common thing to put out false colours. He then demanded what number of men we had on board, having perceived a great many on the deck: we told him we were four hundred, and in truth we were so many. At last he acquainted us, that he had orders from his master to demand all *French* men he could meet with except merchants on board any vessel whatever, and desired to know if we had any such among us; search was made, and all that were found delivered immediately, except a drummer who hid himself so that much time was spent before he could be found, but at last he went with the rest. This done, the *French* man departed peaceably, and left us to pursue

sue our entrance into the port, which we immediately did, and being safely got in, cast anchor before the city.

It might have proved a more than ordinary damage to us had we engaged this *French* vessel, by reason that over and above a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds which we had on board, we had likewise above a million and a half of money belonging to merchants, as also a great deal of uncoined and unwrought silver. Our ship carried besides all the money that had been collected that year in *Spain* by the commissary of the croisade, as likewise several other sums given in charity towards the canonizing of two saints at *Rome*.

As I observed some things in my way through the city of *Lisbon* when I went to *Congo*, so I cannot help taking notice here of another particular which I heard there as I came back: it was about a law made by the king of *Portugal* concerning excess in apparel. It seems the *French* merchants had before been accustomed every year to introduce new fashions in clothes after their own fancies, and dressing babies in them, to expose them to the view of the people, who presently bought up those garments, and so had a new fashion every year, whereby the sellers were enriched, and the buyers impoverished; so that most of the coin of *Portugal* fell into the hands of the

*French*, to prevent the exportation whereof <sup>MAROLLA</sup> the king raised the value of it. But this he was nevertheless disappointed in, for the *French* merchants observing what had been done, raised the value of their goods proportionably, and the people were so far insatuated, that they were resolved to have them whatever they cost them. The king seeing this, published another proclamation to prohibit his subjects the wearing of any silk, gold or silver, and withal commanded them to confine themselves to bays, or such stuffs as were the manufacture of the country, prohibiting also foreign hats and stockings. And the more to encline his subjects to the observing of this law, he himself first set them an example. As for what silk, gold, or silver the church required, he ordered certain commissioners to procure what was necessary for that purpose from *Venice*, and elsewhere, but which was to be sealed to prevent any greater quantities being imported. By these means superfluous expences have been wholly banished this kingdom and its conquests, and if other nations would take example by them, luxury would not be so rampant, nor vice so triumphant. More might be said upon this subject, but I fear I have sufficiently tired my reader already, and therefore shall here conclude the relation of my voyage into southern *Africa*.

## An Appendix to the Voyage to CONGO, &c.

*A Letter from the King of Congo to the Author, upon his arrival at the Port of Angolj. Written in Portuguese, and translated into English.*

### The Superscription.

To the very Reverend Father, Father *Jerom da Sorente*, a *Capuchin* and Apostolic Missioner, whom God preserve.

Most reverend father,

I Received your reverence's kind letter, with a great deal of joy and satisfaction for the favour your reverence has done me. Having understood your safe arrival at *Capinda*, I was very glad of it, and do beseech God always to preserve you in the like state of health for the future, to the end that we the unworthy servants of God may reap the benefit of it. For my part I shall ever be ready to obey all your reverence's commands as your spiritual son, as will likewise your spiritual daughter *Donna Potentiuna* my mother. We both earnestly desire to our power to shew our readiness to serve you.

Most reverend father, I have comprehended all your reverence writ to me, extremely well; but, O my father, I know not how I shall be able to be sufficiently thankful to God for his mercy, in promising me the sight of your loving countenance! Come then speedily and personally to the assistance and relief of those poor souls that desire to receive benediction from your sacred hands. It is most true what I tell you, for our souls are all on a fire to see your reverence as they ought; and therefore, most holy father, hasten your reverence's journey, pursuant to your promise by your messenger, that we may receive you with joy and

*Misolla and festivals.* I conjure you, prostrate at your holy feet, as an apostolick missionary and son of the blessed St. Francis, to bearken to my words. I beseech you let me bear from your reverence from Loanda, for I have several important matters to communicate to you, which will extremely contribute towards the increase of Christianity. For this purpose I sent my favourite Garzia Michael to wait upon and conduct your reverence to my palace. He will bring a slave along with him, whom I beg your reverence to accept, tho' but an inconsiderable present. I shall trouble your reverence with no more; God preserve you, and I humbly recommend my self to your holy sacrifices.

Lemba,                      Your reverence's spiritual son  
Feb. 22.  
1688.                      the prince of Congo,

Don John Emanuel Gritho,

*Who treads on the lion in the kingdom of his mother.*

*Manner of feeding of the Blacks.* I believe I shall not greatly displease my reader, if I add here the customs of these Ethiopians in their eating and drinking at feasts, which they commonly celebrate with great numbers, and at night. A great company being got together, they sit round in a ring upon the green grass; which having done, a large thick round wooden platter is placed in the midst of them, this platter is called by them *malonga*: the eldest of them, whom in their language they call *maculantiu*, or *cocolocangi*, is to divide and dispense to every one his portion, which he performs with that exactness, that if there happen to be a bit better than ordinary, that is likewise divided proportionably among the company. By these means there are no complaints or murmurs to be heard amongst them, but every one is contented with what is allotted him. When they drink, they make use of neither cups nor glasses, to the end that every man may have what is judged sufficient for him and no more. The judge of this is the *maculantiu*, who holds the *moringo*, or flask, to the person's mouth that drinks; and when he thinks he has drank sufficient, he pulls it away. This is practised all along even to the end of the feast. That which seems strangest to me is, that if any person whatsoever, man or woman, great or small, though not known to them, happens to pass by where the guests are eating, he or she thrusts into the ring, and has an equal share with the rest, without the trouble of making any complement, or speaking a word. If this stranger happen to come after the portions

are allotted, then is the carver to take something from every man's mess to make up a share for him. If it so chance that many uninvited guests come, they all have the aforesaid liberty, and may eat and drink as freely as if they had been invited. When the travellers perceive the platter empty, they rise up and go their ways without taking their leave, or returning thanks to the company. And tho' these strangers have never so great plenty of provisions along with them of their own, as it very often happens they have, yet do they forsake their own for that of these people. Another thing I much wondered at is, that they never ask these intruders any questions, as whence they come, whither they go, or the like, but all matters pass with so great silence, that one would think that they therein imitated the antient law among the *Loeri* a people of *Acbaia*, reported by *Plutarch*, which imported that if any one demanded of another what was done, what was said, or the like, the person that asked those questions was to pay a fine. *Loerensium lex quæ siquis peregre recursus rogabat: Nunquid novi, eum multa afficiebat. Plut. decuriofit. laudanda.*

It has happened to me, that being about to entertain some persons that had been serviceable to me, at dinner-time I observed the number of my guests greatly increased; whereupon asking who those new-comers were? They answered, they did not know: Which caused me to reply, *Then do ye allow of those to eat with ye, who have had no share in your labour?* To which all the answer I could get from them was, that it was the custom so to do. This charity of theirs seemed to me so commendable, that I ordered their commons to be doubled, being not a little pleased to find so great love and amity even amongst pagans. If the like good custom were practised among us, we should not have so many poor indigent wretches die in the streets, and other places, merely for want, as there almost daily do in all countries.

If this custom of theirs be so well worthy of commendation, another they have <sup>Hard</sup> no less deserves blame, that relates to <sup>usage of</sup> their behaviour towards their wives, who <sup>the wo-</sup> being enjoined to work in the fields till noon, whilst their husbands enjoy themselves at home, are obliged at their return to get all things ready for dinner; and if they happen to want any thing, they must either buy it out of their own money, or barter cloaths for it according to the custom; I say out of their own money, or otherwise at their expence, by reason that the wives here are obliged to find their husbands with meat, and they are to provide

*A monstrous serpent.*

vide wine and clothes for them. Dinner being got ready, it is first set before the husband as master of the family, who sits alone to table, while the wife and children wait diligently about him to serve him in what he wants. When he has eat as much as he can, the remainder comes to the wife and children, who may sit down if they please; yet they generally stand, looking upon it to be their duty so to do. But if after all the husband has a mind to eat the whole dinner, he may do it, and no body can call him to account. I having asked several of these people, Why they did not admit their wives to sit with them at table? They answered me, That women had a portion given them to that purpose, and that they were born to serve and obey the men: Which perhaps they would not have said, if they had known what the poet *Claudian* affirmed. That women were born to keep up the race of mankind, and not to be slaves to men.

*Nascitur ad fructum mulier prolemq; futuram.*  
*Claud. in Eutrop. l. l. v. 330.*

*A monstrous serpent.*

These are good things for travellers, to eat free-cost at other peoples tables; but sometimes it happens that many are eaten and devoured themselves by a sort of serpent as big as a beam, which they meet in the road in their way to *Singa*, which by looking on them only kills and consumes them. A person that was assaulted by one of these prodigious serpents, happened by a lusty stroke of a scymitar, to cut him in two. The monster having been thus cruelly used, and yet not killed, being you may imagine not a little enraged, lay upon the catch among the thick bushes, to revenge it self on its enemies; and soon after two travellers happening to come by, it immediately crawled out, wounded as it was, and seized upon them, devouring them almost whole. The neighbours thereabouts hearing what had happened to those two men, resolved to sally out in a numerous body upon this maim'd monster; which they not long afterwards did, but could never meet with it. At last a *Portuguese* captain taking a considerable number of men along with him, armed with muskets, set forth in search of the serpent; but not discovering it, presently he let all the company march on before, and staid himself behind a little. The serpent perceiving

him alone, confiding in his remaining force, crept out of his hole to leap upon him; the affrighted *Portuguese* cried out at the sight of it, and most of the people that were gone before, returning in great haste, sent so many bullets into the monster's body, that they soon dispatched it, after it had been the death of so many unfortunate passengers.

From the death of this monster, I proceed to speak of the sufferings of two of our missionaries, caused to be dragged by the count of *Sogno*, and then expelled his dominions. These two fathers were, father *Andrew da Buti*, and father *Peter da Sejsola*. The then count's name was *don Pedro de Castro*, who sending for them into his presence, and they obeying his commands, he thus spoke to them; *How comes it to pass, fathers, that amongst the pagans there is rain enough and to spare, and we Christians have not had the least drop? What can the cause of this be, and whence does it proceed?* The people affirmed that the want of rain proceeded from some relicks father *Andrew* had by him, and that they could expect none as long as he kept them. The count upon this immediately commanded him to throw them away, and that if during all the next day there were not some rain fell, both he and his companion must look to themselves, and expect to be very ill used. At that time the sky was extremely clear, and so continued till about midnight; when all of a sudden the heavens began to be overcast, and the clouds poured down so plentiful a shower, as was sufficient alone to prepare a new earth for seed. Notwithstanding this which had happened through the sole prayers of the two missionaries, the count not caring to have them any longer within his dominions, ordered them to undergo the oath of *Cbilumbo*, to prove that they were innocent; but they thinking such a trial the most diabolical that could possibly be imagined, absolutely refused to submit to it; whereupon they were immediately seized, and most inhumanly misused, dragged about, and all they had taken from them. He that was handled worst was father *Buti*, who died not long after of his hurt in the kingdom of *Binquella* the place of his mission. This relation is to be found confirmed by father *Cornelius van Wouter*: a *Dutch Franciscan* friar, who affirms it as an eye-witness.

*MEROLLA*

*The explanation of some few Conghele words inserted in this work,  
and made English for the ease of the reader.*

MIRALLA

**A.**  
**A** *Ccala*, A man.  
*Affua*, a dead corps.  
*Agwaria*, a fort of wood and fruit that serves to relieve a pain in the sides.  
*Alacardo*, a smaller fort of crocodile.  
*Alacrici*, birds each as large as two hens.  
*Alivande*, a fort of exceeding large hollow tree.  
*Almefaga*, a tree which distils a liquor like unto frankincense.

**B.**  
*Badus* a kind of unicorn.  
*Baia*, the city of *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour* in *Brasil*.  
*Bicoma*, a fort of nutmeg-tree.  
*Birame*, cotton-cloth that goes current for money.  
*Belunga*, a fort of oath, or way of trial among the wizards.  
*Boma*, a very large kind of serpent.  
*Bongbi*, or *Libongbi*, a fort of money.  
*Bordoni*, plants somewhat like vines.

**C.**  
*Caboccos*, children born of a *White* and a *Brasilian*.  
*Cacbio*, a bunch of fruit as large as a man can carry.  
*Cacazumba*, a wizard.  
*Candana*, a boat.  
*Cepossa*, a wild cow.  
*Cappiva*, a tree which yields oil.  
*Carabenda*, the devil.  
*Cafin*, a fruit like an apple.  
*Cazacaza*, kidney-beans.  
*Chegilla*, precepts to be observed, imposed on children by parents.  
*Chiberas*, a fort of tree with leaves of a drying nature.  
*Chiganga*, a fort of physical purging wood.  
*Chilumbo*, another oath or manner of trial among the wizards.  
*Chinju*, a pot or pipkin.  
*Chiferio*, wood of a cooling nature.  
*Coco*, the palm-fruit.  
*Coculucangi*, the oldest of the company that carves at meals.  
*Colas*, a red fruit which is to be eaten before one drinks.  
*Copras*, a fort of venomous serpents.  
*Coricas*, hen-parrots.

**D.**  
*Dongo*, all sorts of flesh or fish.  
*Donno*, a fort of fruit that smells like cinnamon.

**E.**  
*Evanga*, a priest.  
*Eguenda*, the mother.  
*Emba*, a fort of palm-tree that yields oil.  
*Embumbi*, a serpent which kills with its tail.  
*Embetta*, a fort of palm-wine exceeding refreshing.  
*Embucbi*, a kind of musical instruments.  
*Engulamasi*, a firen or mermaid.  
*Engulo*, a wild-boar.  
*Engushu*, a parrot.  
*Eusaga*, cloth girt about the waste.

**F.**  
*Futa*, millet-flower.  
*Fumui*, tobacco.

**G.**  
*Ganga*, a fort of superstitious oath or trial.  
*Giagibi*, a people who practise sorcery more than ordinary.

*Guam*, a great root that is eaten.  
*Guaivai*, a fruit like a pear.  
*Guria*, eating.

**I.**  
*Impallancbe*, beasts with long wreath'd horns.  
*Impanguatto*, wild-cows.  
*Iucabi*, a goat.  
*Iuzangb*, a spade.

**M.**  
*Mabocbe*, plants like unto orange-trees.  
*Macacbebi*, monkeys or apes.  
*Macunas*, fort of straw-cloth which goes current for money.  
*Maculundi*, the oldest in the company that carves to the rest.  
*Mafuca*, a governor.  
*Malunga*, a wooden platter.  
*Mamoo*, a fruit like a melon.  
*Mauiba*, a fort of palm.  
*Maudiocha*, a root whereof flower is made for bread.

*Mungat*, a tree whose boughs hang down to the ground, and take root again therein.  
*Mani*, a lord or governor.  
*Mau-munuch*, baptism.  
*Maja*, water.  
*Massamambala*, the great millet.  
*Massamambata*, Indian wheat.  
*Mastari*, stones.  
*Melassi*, palm-wine.  
*Migua-Migua*, a tree good against poison.  
*Misungai*, glass-coral.  
*Miodello*, a garment.  
*Molecbebi*, a general name among the *Negroes*.  
*Mondelli*, white.  
*Moringa*, a flask.  
*Muana*, a son or daughter.  
*Muccamas*, *Negro* waiting-maids that wait on the *Portuguese* women.  
*Mualiste*, one born of a *White* man and *Negro* woman.

**N.**  
*Necssa*, a fort of tree.  
*Neoco*, a kind of large beast.  
*Neubanzampuni*, wild nut-megs.  
*Ngamba*, a fort of little drum.  
*Nicessi*, a fruit with a crucifix marked in the middle of it.  
*Njumbi*, a kind of wind-musick.

**O.**  
*Olabucbe*, an oath among the wizards.

**P.**  
*Pompero*, a buyer of slaves.  
*Pompo*, a market-place.

**Q.**  
*Quilumbo*, a market.

**S.**  
*Sagorir*, little apes or monkeys.  
*Somacca*, a small ship or smack.  
*Sona*, lord of any place.  
*Sursu*, the hen.

**T.**  
*Tamba*, funeral ceremonies for dead relations.  
*Toto*, the earth.  
*Tubaricos*, inhabitants of *Brasil*.  
*Tuberone*, a fish not unlike the shark.  
*Tubia*, the fire.

**Z.**  
*Zabiambuco*, God.  
*Zacre*, a large spacious river.  
*Zerba*, an animal like unto a wild male.  
*Zimbo*, money of shells.



THE  
JOURNAL  
OF

Sir THOMAS ROE,

Embassador from his Majesty King  
*JAMES* the First of *England*.

TO

*ICHAN GUIRE*, the Mighty  
Emperor of *India*.

Commonly call'd the *GREAT MOGUL*.

Containing an Account of his Voyage to that Coun-  
try, and his Observations there.

*Taken from his own Original Manuscript.*

# THE P R E F A C E.

Roe. **S**IR Thomas Roe has before appeared, in part, in Purchas his collection of travels, and since translated into French, and published in the first volume of Thevenot. Now he comes abroad again with considerable additions, not foisted in, but taken from his own original manuscript, which it is likely Purchas had not, but some imperfect copy of it. It is true, the additions here are not great in bulk, as any will judge that shall compare this with the other edition, but they are valuable for the subject; and because this being a journal they are here more continued, and several matters that in the other were brought in abruptly, are here more methodical. His sailing table is inserted to satisfy their curiosity who have not seen the like, to shew the method of setting down those observations at sea, that these volumes might not want any thing of information. His account at the latter end, of all the provinces subject to the Mogul, and of the extent of his dominions, is not to be rejected; for, tho' time and experience have produced more ample and exact relations, yet his are just as to the main, such as he received upon the spot, and pleasing to those that read of this mighty monarchy. Some extracts of letters are added out of a vast multitude, still preserved in two volumes; and in these extracts all that is remarkable, or of use at this time, the rest being only business of trade, as directed to the several factories in those parts, and to the East-India company in England. But that nothing might be omitted to satisfy the most curious, there is one list made out of many of his, containing all things that are fit for presents in India, and consequently they are good saleable commodities. In fine, here is all that is valuable of Sir Thomas Roe, and nothing that may cloy the reader.

March.  
Noo.

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Noo.

Vol. I.

# The Table of Course.

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The 6th of March 1744. at seven in the morning, the *Lizard* bearing N. W. by N. 5 leagues off, I began this course.

| March. | Day. | Hour.           | Course.                      | Var. | E. Leag.         | Lat. N. | Longit.  | Winds.      | Curr. | Sound. | Capes.    |
|--------|------|-----------------|------------------------------|------|------------------|---------|----------|-------------|-------|--------|-----------|
| Noo.   | 6    | 5               | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.       |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 50° 10' | 00° 1'   | S. E.       |       |        | Lizard.   |
|        |      | 8               | S. W.                        |      | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | E. S. E.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 10              | S. W. by S.                  |      | 17               |         |          | E.          |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 7    | 6               | S. W.                        |      | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | E. N. E.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 8               | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.       |      | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | N.          |       |        |           |
|        |      | 10              | S. W.                        |      | 18               | 46      | 15       | N. N. W.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 8    | 6               | S. W. by S.                  |      | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | N. W.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 8               | S. W.                        |      | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | E. N. E.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 12              | S. W. by S.                  |      | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | E. S. E.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 2               | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.       |      | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. S. E.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 9    | 2               | oooo                         |      | 000              |         |          | oooo        |       |        |           |
|        |      | 6               | S. W. by S.                  |      | 5                |         |          | S. E.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 2               | S. W.                        |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. E. by S. |       |        |           |
|        |      | 10              | oooo                         |      | 000              |         |          | oooo        |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | S. W. by S.                  |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | N. W. by W. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 10   | 2               | S. E. by S.                  |      | 1                | 44      | 50       | S. W.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. E. by S.                  |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | W. by S.                     |      | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S.          |       |        |           |
|        |      | 12              | N. W.                        |      | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by W. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 11   | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. S. E.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 8               | S. W. by S.                  |      | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. E.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | S. E.                        |      | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by S. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 12   | 12              | W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.          |      | 13               |         |          | S. by W.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 12              | W. N. W.                     |      | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          |             |       |        |           |
|        |      | 1               | S. E.                        |      | 1                |         |          | S. S. W.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 13   | 11              | W. by N.                     |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          |             |       |        |           |
|        |      | 6               | W. N. W.                     |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by S. |       |        |           |
|        |      | 1               | S. E. by S.                  |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by W. |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | S. E.                        |      | 5                |         |          | S. W.       |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 14   | 13              | S. E. by E.                  |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | A Trye.     |       |        |           |
|        |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. E. by S.                  |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | A Trye.     |       |        |           |
|        |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. E.                        |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by S. |       |        | Fimister. |
|        |      | 9               | S. S. E.                     |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | S. W. by W. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 15   | 7               | S. by E.                     |      | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | W. by S.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 6               | S. by E.                     |      | 7                |         |          | W. by S.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 8               | S. S. E.                     |      | 10               |         |          | W. S. W.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | S. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. |      | 5                |         |          | S. W. by W. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 16   | 6               | N. W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. |      | 5                |         |          | S. W.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 8               | N. W.                        |      | 7                |         |          | S. W.       |       |        |           |
|        |      | 14              | N. W. by W.                  |      | 10               |         |          | S. W. by S. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 17   | 2               | N. by E.                     |      | 1                |         |          |             |       |        |           |
|        |      | 6               | W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    |      | 4                |         |          | S. S. W.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 18   | 18              | N. W. by N.                  |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | A Trye.     |       |        |           |
|        |      | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | N. W.                        |      | 1                |         |          | A Trye.     |       |        |           |
|        |      | 1               | N. by E.                     |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |          | W. S. W.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 14              | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.    |      | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | W.          |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 19   | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. by E.                     |      | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 43      | 8 350 50 |             |       |        |           |
|        |      | 2               | S. by E.                     |      | 3                |         |          |             |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 20   | 22              | S.                           |      | 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | W.          |       |        |           |
|        |      | 4               | S. by E.                     |      | 8                |         |          | W.          |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 21   | 20              | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.          |      | 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |          | W. N. W.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 22   | 24              | S.                           |      | 47               | 35      | 58       | N. N. W.    |       |        |           |
|        |      | 13              | S.                           |      | 36               |         |          | N.          |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 23   | 1               | oooo                         |      | 000              |         |          | By the Lee. |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 24   | 24              | S.                           |      | 28               | 32° 45' |          | N. by W.    |       |        |           |
| Noo.   | 25   | 24              | S.                           |      | 47               | 30      | 22       | N. N. W.    |       |        |           |

| March.        | Day. | Hour.                  | Course.                                                        | Var.    | E. | Leag.                         | Lat. | N. | Longit. | Winds.                       | Curr.                  | Sound.             | Capes.               |
|---------------|------|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----|-------------------------------|------|----|---------|------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Morn-<br>ing. | 26   | 24                     | The Main.                                                      |         |    | 36                            | 27   | 50 | 354 50  |                              |                        | 11 fat.<br>16 fat. |                      |
| Noo.          | 27   |                        | S. W. by S.                                                    |         |    | 26                            |      |    | 353 50  |                              |                        |                    | Bojador.             |
| Noo.          | 28   | 6                      | S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.<br>oooo                                 |         |    | 30 $\frac{1}{2}$<br>ooo       | 24   | 49 |         | N. N. W.<br>oooo             | S. S. W.<br>8 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 29   | 10                     | oooo<br>S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.<br>S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. | E. 3 d. |    | ooo<br>11<br>10               |      |    |         | oooo<br>E. N. E.<br>E. by S. | S. S. W.<br>6 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 30   | 12                     | oooo<br>S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.<br>S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. |         |    | ooo<br>11 $\frac{1}{2}$<br>20 |      |    |         | oooo<br>N. E.<br>E. by N.    | S. S. W.<br>5 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 31   | 24                     | S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                   | E. 4 d. |    | 34                            | 21   | 34 | 349 40  | N. E. by E.                  | S. W. by S.<br>4 Leag. |                    | Blanco<br>28 E.      |
| April.        |      | 8                      | S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                         |         |    | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$              |      |    |         | N. N. E.                     | S. W. by S.            |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 1    | 13                     | S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                   |         |    | 26                            |      |    |         |                              |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          |      | 3                      | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                      | E. 4 d. |    | 6                             | 19   | 48 |         | N. E.                        | 4 Leag.                |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 2    | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$<br>22 | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.<br>S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.<br>oooo       | E. 340  |    | 3<br>60<br>oooo               | 16   | 35 | 347 30  | By the Lee.                  | 4 Leag.                |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 3    | 2                      | S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                            |         |    | 4                             |      |    |         | N. E.                        | S. S. W.<br>3 Leag.    |                    | Verde<br>50 leag. E. |
| Noo.          | 4    | 16                     | S. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      | E. 340  |    | 34                            | 14   | 7  |         |                              |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 5    | 6                      | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 13                            |      |    |         | N. E.                        | S. S. W.<br>3 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 6    | 24                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 40                            |      |    |         | N. E.                        | S.<br>3 Leag.          |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 7    | 24                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 25                            |      |    |         | N. E.                        | S.<br>2 Leag.          |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 8    | 18                     | S. E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.<br>S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.      |         |    | 30<br>20<br>5 $\frac{1}{2}$   |      |    |         | N. by E.                     | 2 Leag.                |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 9    | 6                      | S. E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.<br>S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.      | E. 350  |    | 24<br>8                       | 8    | 10 | 350 20  | N.                           | S. by E.<br>2 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 10   | 17                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.<br>S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.               |         |    | 24 $\frac{1}{2}$<br>2         | 6    | 18 |         | N. by W.                     | S. by E.<br>2 Leag.    |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 11   | 5                      | S. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 5                             |      |    |         | N. N. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 12   | 6                      | S. E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.<br>S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.      |         |    | 6<br>18                       |      |    |         | W. N. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 13   | 18                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 24                            |      |    |         | N. W.                        |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 14   | 4                      | S. E. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                   |         |    | 4                             |      |    |         | W. S. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 15   | 1                      | S. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                      |         |    | 2                             |      |    |         | W. S. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 16   | 1                      | E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$               |      |    |         | W. S. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 17   | 18                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      | E. 240  |    | 18<br>oooo                    | 1    | 50 |         | W. S. W.<br>oooo             |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 18   | 4                      | S. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 3                             |      |    |         | W. S. W.                     |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 19   | 7                      | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 5                             |      |    |         | ooo                          |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 20   | 13                     | oooo                                                           |         |    | ooo                           |      |    |         | W. by S.<br>W. S. W.         |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 21   | 7                      | S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.                                            | E.      |    | 6                             |      |    |         | S. W. by W.                  |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 22   | 1                      | S. by W.                                                       | 4 10    |    | 1                             |      |    |         | oooo                         |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 23   | 6                      | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 6                             | 0    | 16 |         |                              |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 24   | 10                     | S. by E.                                                       |         |    | 10                            |      |    |         |                              |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 25   | 5                      | oooo                                                           | E.      |    |                               |      |    | 353 30  | oooo                         |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 26   | 19                     | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.                                      | 4 10    |    | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$              | 00   | 20 |         | S. W.<br>S. S. W.            |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 27   | 8                      | oooo                                                           |         |    | ooo                           |      |    |         | oooo                         |                        |                    |                      |
| Noo.          | 28   | 16                     | S. by E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.                                      |         |    | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$              |      |    |         | S. W.<br>Variable.           |                        |                    |                      |

April.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

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Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

May.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

Noo.

# The Table of Course.

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| April. | Day. | Hour.            | Course.                      | Var.  | E. Leag.         | Lat. So. | Longis. | Winds.             | Curr. | Sound. | Capes. |
|--------|------|------------------|------------------------------|-------|------------------|----------|---------|--------------------|-------|--------|--------|
|        |      | 12               | S. E.                        |       | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | Variable.          |       |        |        |
|        |      | 8                | W. by S.                     | E.    | 4                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 17               | 0000                         | 4 00  | 0000             | 1 20     |         | 0000               |       |        |        |
|        |      | 6                | 0000                         |       | 000              |          |         | 0000               |       |        |        |
|        |      | 14               | S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    |       | 8                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 18               | S. W.                        |       | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | Variable.          |       |        |        |
|        |      | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          |       | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 12               | S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | Variable.          |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 19               | S. S. W.                     |       | 3                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. by W.                     |       | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | Var.               |       |        |        |
|        |      | 2                | S. S. W.                     | E.    | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | S. E. by E.        |       |        |        |
|        |      | 5                | S. W. by W.                  |       | 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ |          |         | the general winds. |       |        |        |
|        |      | 15               | S. S. W.                     | 4 50  | 1                | 3 45     |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 20               | S. S. W.                     |       | 7                |          |         | S. E. by E.        |       |        |        |
|        |      | 13               | S. W. by S.                  | E.    | 19               |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 5                | S. W.                        | 5 50  | 7                |          |         | By the Lee.        |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 21               | 0000                         |       | 0000             | 5 10     | 352     |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 8                | S. W. by S.                  |       | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 22               | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 5 57  | 26               | 6 50     |         | S. E. by E.        |       |        |        |
|        |      | 3                | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | S. E. by E.        |       |        |        |
|        |      | 13               | S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 23               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          | 6 10  | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 8 40     | 350 30  | E.                 |       |        |        |
|        |      | 8                | S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 12               |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 24               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          | 6 35  | 22               | 10 28    |         | E.                 |       |        |        |
|        |      | 5                | S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 8                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 17               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          |       | 30               |          |         | E. by N.           |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 25               | S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    | 7 15  | 4                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 18               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          |       | 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 26               | S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    | 8 40  | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 14 28    | 349 4'  | E. N. E.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 5                | S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    | 10 8  | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 14 54    |         | E. N. E.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 11               | S. by W.                     |       | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. S. W.                     |       | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | E.                 |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 27               | S. W. by S.                  | 10 30 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 16 12    |         | E. by S.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. by W.                     |       | 38               | 18       |         | E. by S.           |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 28               | S. W. by S.                  |       | 4                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ | S. S. W.                     |       | 18               |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
|        |      | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. by W.                     | 13 30 | 17               | 19 54    | 348 15  | E.                 |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 29               | S. S. W.                     | 14 40 | 20               |          |         | E. by S.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 14               | S. by W.                     | 15    | 14               | 21 30    |         | E.                 |       |        |        |
|        | Noo. | 30               |                              |       |                  |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
| <hr/>  |      |                  |                              |       |                  |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
| May.   |      |                  |                              |       |                  |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 1    | 24               | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 14    | 35               | 23       |         | E. by S.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 20               | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       |                  |          |         | E. S. E.           |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 2    | 4                | 0000                         | 14 30 | 0000             | 24       |         | 0000               |       |        |        |
|        |      | 4                | 0000                         |       |                  |          |         | 0000               |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 3    | 20               | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.          | 15 10 | 28               | 25 35    | 346 30  | E. by N.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 3                | S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    |       | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  |          |         | N.                 |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 4    | 31               | S. E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. |       | 39               | 27 20    |         | N. W.              |       |        |        |
|        |      | 6                | S. E. by S.                  |       | 26               | 28 43    |         | N. W.              |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 5    | 18               | E. S. E.                     | 15 20 | 14               |          | 349 10  | S. by W.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 13               | E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.          |       | 18               |          |         | S.                 |       |        |        |
|        |      | 7                | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.    |       | 8                |          |         |                    |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 6    | 4                | W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    |       | 3                |          |         | S. E. by S.        |       |        |        |
|        |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  | S. W.                        | 15    | 10               |          |         | S. E. by E.        |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 7    | 12               | S. W. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. | 14 56 | 14               | 29 40    |         | S. S. E.           |       |        |        |
|        |      | 4                | S. W.                        |       | 6                |          |         | S. by E.           |       |        |        |
| Noo.   | 8    | 20               | S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.    |       | 25               | 31 7     |         | N. E.              |       |        |        |

nd.  
fat.

Capes.

Bojador.

Blanco  
28 E.

Verde  
50 leag. E.





# The Table of Course.

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| June. | Day. | Hour              | Course.                                                        | Var. E Leag. | Lat. S.              | Longit.     | Winds.                                   | Curr.      | Sound.   | Capes.      |
|-------|------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------------------------|------------|----------|-------------|
| Noo.  | 1    | 6<br>18           | N. E. by E.<br>S. S. E.                                        | 1 20         | 6<br>16              | 33 43       | S. S. E.                                 |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 2    | 8<br>16           | S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.<br>N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.      | 1 15         | 8<br>16              |             | S. E. by E.<br>E. S. E.                  |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 3    | 4<br>4            | N. N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.<br>S.<br>S. E. by S.                    |              | 3<br>3               | 33 34       | E. S. E.<br>E. N. E.                     |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 4    | 24                | E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.                                            |              | 31                   | 33 35 26 20 | N.<br>N.W. }                             |            | 35<br>60 |             |
|       | 5    |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          | Saldanba.   |
|       | 6    |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 7    |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 8    |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 9    |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 10   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 11   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 12   |                   |                                                                | Var. W.      |                      | 33 45 28 10 |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 13   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 14   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 15   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 16   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 17   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 18   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 19   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 20   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
|       | 21   |                   |                                                                |              |                      |             |                                          |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 22   | 12<br>12          | S. E. by S.<br>E. by S.                                        |              | 26<br>22             | 36 29 4     | N. N. W.<br>N. W.                        | S.W. by S. |          | de Agulhas. |
| Noo.  | 23   | 6<br>18           | E.<br>N. E. by E.                                              |              | 26<br>10             |             | N. W.                                    | S.W. by W. |          |             |
| Noo.  | 24   | 10<br>14          | E. N. E.<br>E.                                                 |              | 15<br>24             | 35 20       | W. N. W.<br>S. by E.                     | S.W. by W. |          |             |
| Noo.  | 25   | 12<br>12          | E. by N.<br>N. E. by E.                                        |              | 16<br>16             | 34 36 34 40 | S. E. by S.<br>S. E.                     | S.W. by W. | 65       | Formosa.    |
| Noo.  | 26   | 4<br>4<br>4<br>12 | N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.<br>S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.<br>oooo<br>E. |              | 4<br>2<br>oooo<br>14 | 34 25       | E. S. E.<br>E. by S.<br>oooo<br>W. by N. | S.W. by W. |          |             |
| Noo.  | 27   | 24<br>14          | E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.<br>E.                                      | 8            | 28<br>28             | 34 73       | W. by N.<br>S. by W.                     |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 28   | 10                | E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.                                            |              | 21                   |             | S. by W.                                 |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 29   | 24                | E. N. E.                                                       | 9            | 44                   | 33 46 41 30 | S. by W.                                 |            |          | Arracife.   |
| Noo.  | 30   | 24                | E. N. E.                                                       |              | 33                   | 38 8        | S. W.                                    | N.         |          |             |
| July. |      | 12                | N. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                   |              | 22                   |             | S. W.                                    | N.         |          |             |
| Noo.  | 1    | 12                | N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                         | 11 30        | 23                   | 31° 30'     |                                          |            |          |             |
| Noo.  | 2    | 24                | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                   | 13 40        | 28                   | 30 10       | S. W.                                    | N.         |          |             |
| Noo.  | 3    | 24                | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                   | 14 21        | 25                   | 28 50       | N.W. by N.                               | N.         |          |             |
| Noo.  | 4    | 24                | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                      |              | 35                   | 27 10       | N.W. by W.                               | N.         |          |             |
| Noo.  | 5    | 24                | N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.                                      | 16           | 24                   | 26 48 30    | N.W. by W.<br>S. S. W.                   | N.         |          |             |
| Noo.  | 6    | 24                | N. by E.                                                       | 16 5         | 28                   | 24 49       | S. S. W.<br>S. E. by E.                  |            |          |             |

| July. | Day. | Hour. | Course.                      | Var.  | Leag. | Lat. | S. | Longit. | Winds.      | Curr.    | Sound. | Capes.     |
|-------|------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-------|------|----|---------|-------------|----------|--------|------------|
| Noo.  | 7    | 24    | N. E. by N.                  | 15 25 | 25    | 25   | 39 | 49 10   | S. E.       |          |        | S. August. |
| Noo.  | 8    | 24    | N. E.                        | 16 45 | 28    | 22   | 30 |         | S. E. by S. |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 9    | 24    | N. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. | 16 57 | 15    | 22   | 15 |         | S. by E.    |          |        |            |
|       | 12   |       | E.                           |       | 9     |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 10   | 12    | oooo                         |       | 000   |      |    |         | W. S. W.    |          |        |            |
|       | 12   |       | N.                           |       | 8     |      |    |         | Variable.   |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 11   | 12    | oooo                         |       | 000   | 21   | 45 | 50 20   | oooo        |          |        |            |
|       | 16   |       | N. W.                        |       | 10    |      |    |         | N. E.       |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 12   | 8     | N. by W.                     | 16 5  | 6     | 21   | 10 |         | E. N. E.    |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 13   | 24    | N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.          | 15 34 | 34    | 19   | 24 | 49 30   | S. S. E.    |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 14   | 24    | N. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.    |       | 20    | 18   |    |         | S. S. E.    |          |        |            |
|       | 2    |       | oooo                         |       | 000   |      |    |         | oooo        |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 15   | 22    | N. by W.                     | 14 34 | 11    | 17   | 30 |         | E.          |          |        |            |
|       | 2    |       | N.                           |       | 1     |      |    |         | E.          |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 16   | 22    | oooo                         |       | 000   |      |    |         | oooo        | S. S. W. |        |            |
|       | 20   |       | oooo                         |       | 000   |      |    |         | oooo        |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 17   | 4     | N.                           |       | 2     | 18   |    |         | E. S. E.    | S. S. W. |        |            |
|       | 6    |       | oooo                         |       | 000   |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 18   | 18    | N. E. by N.                  |       | 8     | 17   | 30 |         | S. S. W.    | S. S. W. |        |            |
|       | 6    |       | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.    |       | 3     |      |    |         | S.          | S. S. W. |        |            |
| Noo.  | 19   | 18    | N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.       | 14 40 | 22    | 17   | 10 |         | S.          |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 20   | 24    | N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.       |       | 49    | 15   | 7  |         | S. W. by S. |          |        |            |
| Noo.  | 21   | 24    | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    |       | 48    | 12   | 57 | 51 10   | S.          |          |        |            |
|       | 22   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 23   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 24   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 25   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 26   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 27   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 28   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 29   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 30   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |
|       | 31   |       |                              |       |       |      |    |         |             |          |        |            |

| August. | Day. | Hour. | Course.                      | Var.  | Leag. | Lat.    | S. | Longit. | Winds.      | Curr.    | Sound.   | Capes.     |
|---------|------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-------|---------|----|---------|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
|         | 1    |       |                              |       |       |         |    |         |             |          |          |            |
|         | 2    |       |                              |       |       |         |    |         |             |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 3    | 24    | N. E. by N.                  |       | 22    | 11      | 16 | 51 55   | S. W.       | E.       |          |            |
|         | 18   |       | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. |       |       |         |    |         | S. W.       | W. N. W. |          |            |
| Noo.    | 4    | 6     | oooo                         | 15 10 | 18    | 10      | 50 |         | oooo        |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 5    | 24    | N. W.                        |       | 44    | 10      | 49 |         | S. S. W.    | E. S. E. |          |            |
| Noo.    | 6    | 24    | N. by W.                     |       | 12    | 10      | 10 | 50 50   | S. W. by S. | W. S. W. |          |            |
| Noo.    | 7    | 24    | N. N. E.                     | 14    | 23    | 9       | 4  |         | S. W.       | W. S. W. |          |            |
|         |      |       |                              |       |       |         |    |         | S. E.       |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 8    | 24    | N. N. E.                     | 14 18 | 25    | 7       | 57 |         | S. S. W.    |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 9    | 24    | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.    | 14 30 | 42    | 5       | 42 | 52 40   | S.          |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 10   | 24    | N. N. E.                     |       | 58    | 3       | 4  |         | S.          | N. by E. |          |            |
| Noo.    | 11   | 24    | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.    |       | 41    | 1       | 20 | 53 40   | S.          |          |          |            |
|         |      |       |                              |       |       | Lat. N. |    |         |             |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 12   | 24    | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. | 15 24 | 36    | 00      | 30 |         | S. S. W.    |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 13   | 24    | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. |       | 43    | 2       | 28 | 55 35   | S. W. by S. |          |          |            |
|         | 19   |       | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. |       | 36    |         |    |         |             |          |          |            |
| Noo.    | 14   | 5     | N. E. by E.                  | 16 5  | 7     | 4       | 10 | 57      | W. S. W.    |          | 18 fath. | de Buffos. |

# The Table of Course.

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| nd.            | Capes.     | August. | Day. | Hour.           | Course.                      | Var. | Ev. | Leag.            | Lat. S. | Longit. | Winds.      | Curr.    | Sound.    | Capes.              |
|----------------|------------|---------|------|-----------------|------------------------------|------|-----|------------------|---------|---------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|
|                | S. August. | Noo.    | 15   | 24              | N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.       |      |     | 55               | 6       | 17      | S. W. by S. |          |           |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 16   | 24              | N. E. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. |      |     | 59               |         |         | S. W. by S. |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 6               | N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.          |      |     | 16               |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 2               | E.                           |      |     | 2                |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 8               | N. E.                        |      |     | 18               |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 17   | 8               | N. W.                        | 17   |     | 19               | 11      | 55      | 61          | W. S. V. | N. E.     | Guardafu.           |
|                |            |         | 18   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | E.                           |      |     | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | E. by S.                     |      |     | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 19   | 2               | E. S. E.                     | 17   | 15  | 3                | 12      | 20      | 61          | 50       | S. W.     | 40 fath. Abdalacor. |
|                |            | Noo.    | 20   | 6               | E. N. E.                     | 17   | 50  | 13               | 12      | 50      | 63          | 15       | S. S. W.  | 40 fath. Socotora.  |
|                |            |         | 21   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 22   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 23   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 24   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 25   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 26   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 27   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 28   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 29   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 30   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            |         | 31   |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
| <b>Septem.</b> |            |         |      |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 1    | 12              | N. E. by E.                  | 19   |     | 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 13      | 45      | 64          | 25       | W. S. W.  | E.                  |
|                |            | Noo.    | 2    | 24              | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.    |      |     | 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ |         |         |             |          | W. S. W.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 3    | 24              | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.    |      |     | 42               | 15      | 55      | 68          | 28       | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 4    | 24              | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.    | 18   | 30  | 27               | 16      | 45      | 69          | 40       | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 5    | 24              | N. E. by E.                  |      |     | 21               | 17      | 27      |             |          | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 6    | 24              | N. E. by E.                  | 17   | 10  | 22               | 18      | 8       | 71          | 30       | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 7    | 24              | N. E. by E.                  |      |     | 19               | 18      | 38      |             |          | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 8    | 16              | N. E. by E.                  | 17   |     | 12               | 19      |         | 72          | 55       | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            |         | 8    | 8               | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          | oooo      |                     |
|                |            |         | 11   | 8               | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          | oooo      |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 9    | 5               | N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.       |      |     | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  |         |         |             |          | Variable. |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 8               | E.                           |      |     | 3                |         |         |             |          | N. E.     |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 10   | 16              | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          | 000       |                     |
|                |            |         |      | ?               | N. E. by E.                  |      |     | 6                | 19      | 35      |             |          | W. by S.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 11   | 24              | E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.    | 16   | 30  | 30               | 20      | 21      | 75          |          | W. N. W.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 12   | 24              | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.          |      |     | 32               | 20      | 30      | 76          | 50       | W.        |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 13   | 24              | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.          | 16   | 20  | 34               | 20      | 26      | 77          | 4        | N.        |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 10              | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.          |      |     | 16               |         |         |             |          | W. N. W.  |                     |
|                |            |         |      | 4               | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          |           |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 14   | 4               | N. E. by N.                  |      |     | 3                |         |         |             |          |           | 36                  |
|                |            |         |      | 6               | E.                           |      |     | 2                |         |         |             |          | A Trye.   | 27                  |
|                |            |         |      |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           | 20                  |
|                |            | Noo.    | 15   | 18              | E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.          | 16   | 17  | 18               | 20      | 25      |             |          | W. N. W.  | 17                  |
|                |            |         |      | 6               | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          | N. E.     | 17                  |
|                |            |         |      | 18              | oooo                         |      |     | 000              | 20      | 24      |             |          |           | 83                  |
|                |            | Noo.    | 16   | 6               | W. S. W.                     |      |     | 3                |         |         |             |          | W. S. W.  |                     |
|                |            | Noo.    | 17   |                 | oooo                         |      |     | 000              |         |         |             |          | W. S. W.  | 20                  |
|                |            |         |      |                 |                              |      |     |                  |         |         |             |          |           | Daman.              |

18 fath. de Buffos.

# Sir THOMAS ROE'S JOURNAL,

*Giving an Account of his Voyage to India,  
and his Observations in that Country,  
and particularly at the Court of the  
Great Mogul, where he resided as Am-  
bassador from James the First King of  
England.*

**Roe.** **M**Arch the 6<sup>th</sup> we lost sight of the *Lizard*, and began our course for the cape of *Good Hope*. The 26<sup>th</sup> we saw the coast of *Barbary*; the 27<sup>th</sup> had cape *Bojador* E. by S. whence the current sets swift S. S. W. April the 14<sup>th</sup> we cut the line, May the 2<sup>d</sup> the tropick of *Capricorn*, and on the 5<sup>th</sup> of June came to an anchor in the bay of *Saldanha*, next the cape of *Good Hope*. The land is fruitful, but divided by high inaccessible rocky mountains covered with snow, the river *Dulce* falling into the bay on the east-side. The people are the most barbarous in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of sheep about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads, which are curled like the *Blacks*, with the dung of beasts and dirt; and having no cloaths but skins wrapped about their shoulders, the flesh-side next the body in summer, and the hair in winter. Their houses are but a mat rounded at the top like an oven, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep it out. They have left off their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion. The air and water are very wholesome. Here are abundance of cows, antelopes, baboons, pheasants, partridges, larks, wild-geese, ducks, and many other fowls. On the isle of *Penguin* is a sort of fowl of that name that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging down like sleeves faced with white. They do not fly, but only walk in parcels, keeping regularly their own quarters; they are a sort of mixture of beast, bird and fish, but

most bird. The commodities here are cattle, nanging-roots, and I believe there is a rock yielding quick-silver. The table-mountain is eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty three foot high. The bay is full of whales and seals: the latitude is 33 deg. 45 min. The 21<sup>st</sup> we came up with the cape of *Good Hope*; July the 8<sup>th</sup> with the isle of *Madagascar*, and the 22<sup>d</sup> with that of *Molalia*: this is one of the islands of *Comera*, the other three are *Angaresia*, *Juanny* and *Mayotta*, lying almost east and west of one another, in the same meridian with cape *S. Augustin*. *Angaresia* bears N. by W. from *Molalia*, it is the highest land I ever saw, inhabited by *Noors* trading with the main, and the other three eastern islands, with their cattle and fruits for callico's, and other clothes to cover them. It is govern'd by ten petty kings, and has plenty enough of kine, goats, cows, oranges and lemons. The people are counted false and treacherous. *Juanny* lies east from *Molalia* and *Mayotta*, the coast between them both. All these three islands are full of refreshments, but chiefly *Molalia*, and next to it *Juanny*. Here lived an old woman who was sustenance of all these islands. Under her there were three deputies in *Molalia*, children of the old woman. The *Julian* in whose quarter we anchored is so absolute, that the people dare not sell a coco-nut without his leave. Four boats were sent to this town to desire his liberty, which was granted; and capt. *Newport* going ashore with forty men, found the governor sitting on a mat, under

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under the side of a junk that was building, attended by about fifty men. He had on a mantle of blue and red callicoe wrapped about him to his knees, his legs and feet bare, on his head a close cap of chequer-work. Being presented with a gun and a sword, he returned four cows, and proclaimed liberty for the people to trade. He gave the *English* coco-nuts, and himself chew'd betel temper'd with lime of burnt oyster-shells, and the kernel of a nut call'd *Areca*, like an acorn: It has a biting taste, voids rheum, cools the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their physick. Those that are not used to it are giddy with it, and the spittle is red, which in time colours the teeth, and is counted a beauty. They all use this at all times. From the governor's they were conducted to a carpenter's house, who was a chief man in the town; the house was built with lime and stone, plaister'd with white-lime, low and little, cover'd with rafters, and over them coco-leaves, the out-sides wattl'd with canes. They are kept cleanly, and their poor household-stuff neat, their gardens inclosed with canes, containing tobacco and plantan trees. For dinner a board was set upon tressels, cover'd with a fine new mat, and stone benches about it, on which they sat. First water was brought to every man in a coco shell, and pour'd into a wooden platter, and instead of a towel they use the rinds of cocos. Then they set before them boil'd rice, with roast-ed plantans on it, quarters of hens, and pieces of goat broil'd. After grace said they fell to their meat, with bread made of coco's beaten mix'd with honey, and fry'd. Their drink was palmifo wine and coco milk. Those that went to see the sultan, whose name was *Amor Adell*, found all things much resembling what has been said before of the governor; but that in his behaviour he was more light, and made haste to be drunk with some wine the *English* carried. The people are strict *Mabometans*, very jealous to let their women and molchs be seen. For some of the *English* coming near a village, they shut them up, and threatened to kill them, if they came nearer. Many of them speak and write *Arabick*, and some few of them *Portuguese*, as trading to *Moriambique* in junks of forry tun burden, and built, calk'd and rig'd all out of the coco tree. Here we bought oxen, cows fat but small, *Arabian* sheep, hens, cocos, oranges, lemons, and limes in abundance, for callicoes, hollands, sword-blades, pieces of eight, glassies, knives, and other trifles.

*August* the 2<sup>d</sup> we weigh'd, and stood our course for *Socotora*, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> repast the equinoctial to the northward. The

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18<sup>th</sup> we made cape *Guardafu* eight leagues to the westward, which is one of them that makes the entrance into the *Red Sea*; and came to an anchor in twelve fathom water in a small bay, where we continu'd the 18<sup>th</sup>, and saw some people in turbants. Ashore was a tomb of white stone, with a pillar at each end of it. The latitude 11 deg. 55 min.

The 24<sup>th</sup> we came to an anchor in the bay call'd *Delicia* in *Socotora*, having been before separated in a storm, and warn'd by the sultan not to anchor at *Tamara*, which was too much exposed to the violence of the winds. *Socotora* is an island at the mouth of the *Red Sea*, being the *Dioscuria* or *Dioscorida* of the ancients, lying in 12 deg. 55 min. of north latitude, govern'd then by a sultan call'd *Amar-Ben-Seid*, son to the king of *Fortaque* in *Arabia Felix*. The kingdom of *Fortaque* lies from 15 to 18 deg. along the coast of *Arabia*. The king was at peace with the *Turk*, on condition to assist him with five thousand men, if he requir'd it, and they to be paid by the *Turk*, to whom he made no other acknowledgment. Near the sea about *Dofor*, was another petty king, whom he durst not meddle with, because he was under the grand seignior's protection. The sultan of *Socotora* came down to the shore with about three hundred men, having set up a tent near the bay. He was a horseback, as were two of his chief servants, and another on a camel; the people running before and behind him shouting; and two guards, one of his subjects, and the other of twelve hired *guzarats*, some with *Turkish* bows, some with pistols, some with musquets, but all with good swords. He had also a few kettle drums, and one trumpet. He received the general in a courteous manner, and was so absolute, that no man could sell any thing but himself. His people sat about him very respectfully, his clothes were of *Surat* stuffs after the *Arabian* manner, with a cassock of red and white wrought velvet, and another, whereof the ground was gold. He had a very good turban, but was barefooted. Every night they all stand or kneel towards the sun, the *xerife* throwing water on their heads. As for religion, they are *Mabometans*. The king's town of *Tamara* is built of lime and stone whitened over, with battlements and pinnacles, the houses being flat at the top. At a distance it looks well, but when in, it is poor. Mr. *Boughton*, who had leave to see the king's house, found it such as would serve an ordinary gentleman in *England*. The lower rooms serv'd for warehous'es and ...drobe, some changes of robes hanging about the walls, and with them about twenty five books of their law, religion, history, and saints lives. No man was permitted to go up

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Roe. stairs to see his wives, which were three, nor the other women; but the ordinary fort might be seen in the town, with their ears full of silver rings. In the mosque the priest was at service. Mr. Boughton had for his dinner three hens with rice, and for drink water and *cabu*, black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured. (*This was certainly coffee, which Sir Thomas Roe was not acquainted with.*) On a hill a mile from *Tamara* is a square castle, but leave could not be obtained to see it. The people are of four sorts; *Arabs* come in by conquest, who dare not speak in the sultan's presence without leave, and kissing his hand. The second sort are slaves, who when they come to him kiss his foot, do all his work, and make his aloes. The third I suppose are the old inhabitants of the country, call'd *Bedwins*, tho' not the oldest of all, whom I suppose to be those commonly call'd *Jacobite* Christians; because Mr. Boughton going into a church of theirs, which the *Arabs* had forced them to abandon, found images in it, and a crucifix, which he took away; and the *Mahometans* would not say much of them, fearing lest other Christians should relieve or support them. They have had wars with the *Arabs*, and live retir'd from them in the mountains. The fourth sort are a savage people, poor, lean, naked, with long hair, eating nothing but roots, riding on buffaloes, conversing with none of the others, and afraid of all, without houses, and almost as brutal as beasts, which by conjecture are the ancientest natives of the place. The island is very mountainous and barren, having some beeves, goats, and sheep, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing else of sustenance. All its commodity is aloes, which is the juice of a leaf like our houseleek. The people make a poor sort of cloth for the slaves. The king had some dragon's blood, and indigo of *Labe*, as also civet cats and civet. The dead are here all buried in tombs, and the monuments of their saints are held in great veneration. The chief of these is *Saidy Hachim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being kill'd a hundred years before, they said still appeared to them, and warn'd them of dangers at hand; and they imputed the high winds to his walking, having him in wonderful veneration.

The thirty first we weigh'd, and stood our course for *Surat*, where I landed on the twenty sixth of September, and was received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town well attended. Much controversy was about searching my servants, but at length they pass'd free to the city, where we went into a house provided for us, and there continued till the

thirtieth of October, suffering much from the governor, who by force searched many chests, and took out what he thought fit. The thirtieth aforesaid I departed *Surat*, and travelled but four coffes to *Cumaria*, the first of November 11 miles to a village, the second to *Biarat* 21 miles, where there is a castle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of *Guzarat*, subject to the *Mogul*, and belonging to *Abraham Chan*: The third enter'd the kingdom of *Pardaff-sha*, a pagan lord of the hills, subject to no body, and at fifteen miles end lay in the fields by a city of note call'd *Mugber*. The fourth nine miles rocky way, lay in the fields by a village call'd *Narampora*. The fifth fifteen miles in the fields. The sixth twenty miles to *Nunderbar* a city of the kingdom of *Brampore* subject to the *Mogul*. Here we had first bread after coming from *Surat*, because the *Banians* who inhabit all the country make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, especially of cattle, the *Banians* killing none, or selling any to be kill'd. One day I met ten thousand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and most days after lesser parcels. The seventh eighteen miles to *Ningul*. The eighth fifteen to *Sinebelly*. The ninth fifteen to *Tolmere*. The tenth eighteen to *Chapre*, where having pitch'd the tents without the town, the king's officers attend me all night with thirty horse and twenty shot, for fear of the robbers on the mountains, because I refused to remove into the town. The eleventh eighteen miles, *Brampore* the thirteenth eighteen miles, and the fourteenth fifteen miles to *Brampore*, which I guess to be two hundred twenty three miles east from *Surat*. The country miserable and barren, the towns and villages built with mud. At *Batbarpore*, a village two miles short of *Brampore*, I saw some of the ordnance, which is most too short, and too open in the bore. The *cutwall*, an officer of the king's so called, met me well attended with sixteen colours carried before him, and conducted me to the *se-raglio*, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his leave at the gate, which made a handsome front of stone, but when in I had four chambers allotted me like ovens, and no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the side of a wall, so that I lay in my tent; the *cutwall* making his excuse, that this was the best lodging in the town, as I found it was; all the place being only mud cottages except the prince's house, the chan's, and some few others. I was conducted by the *cutwall* to visit the prince, in whose outward court I found about a hundred gentlemen a horseback, waiting to salute him at his coming out. He sat high in a gallery that went

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Sir Tho. departs for Surat.

Rama prince defended from Po.

went round with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. An officer told me, as I approached I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place right under him railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: So I went within, where were all the great men of the town with their hands before them like slaves. The place was covered over head with a rich canopy, and under foot all with carpets: It was like a great stage, and the prince sat at the upper end of it. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my presents he offered to go into another room, where I should be allowed to sit; but by the way he made himself drunk out of a case of bottles I gave him, and so the visit ended.

The twenty seventh of November I was carried sick from *Brampore* three cosses to *Raypore*. The twenty eighth fifteen cosses to *Burgome*, and the thirtieth seven cosses. December the first ten cosses to *Bicangome*, the second seven cosses, the third five cosses, the fourth eleven cosses to *Echarpur*, standing on a good river that falls into the sea near *Barocbe*. The fifth pass'd the river called *Narbadab*, the sixth travelled eight cosses, and lay in a wood not far from the king's famous castle of *Mandoo*, which stands on a steep hill, of a vast extent including fifteen cosses within the wall. The seventh ten cosses, the eighth eight, the ninth ten, the tenth twelve, the eleventh sixteen, the twelfth fourteen, the thirteenth six, the fourteenth lay still to rest, the fifteenth six cosses, the sixteenth six, the seventeenth twelve, the eighteenth five to *Cytow*. This is an antient ruin'd city on a hill, but shews the footsteps of wonderful magnificence. There are still standing above an hundred churches all of carved stone, many fair towers and lanthorns, many pillars, and innumerable houses, but not one inhabitant. There is but one steep ascent cut out of the rock, and four gates in the ascent before you come to the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is enclosed on the top for about eight cosses, and at the south-west end is a goodly old castle. It is in the country of *Rama*, a prince newly subdued by the *Mogul*, or rather brought to own subjection. It was brought under by *Echar-Sba* father to *Ichan Guire*. The *Indian* prince *Rama* is lineally descended from *Porus*, that warlike *Indian* monarch overcome by *Alexander* the great.

The nineteenth I proceeded on my journey twelve cosses, the twentieth ten, the twenty first ten, the twenty second nine, the twenty third ten to *Adsmere*. The

first six days journey from *Brampore* to *Roe*. wards *Adsmere* were west, or north-west to compals the hills, but after that due north, so that they bear from one another almost north by west, and south by east, the whole distance two hundred and nine cosses, which I judge to be about four hundred and eighteen miles *English*; the cosses here being longer than near the sea.

January the tenth I went to court at four in the afternoon to the *Durbar*, where the *Mogul* daily sits to entertain strangers, receive petitions and presents, give out orders, and to see and be seen. And here it will be proper to give some account of his court. None but eunuchs come within that king's private lodgings, and his women, who guard him with warlike weapons. These punish one another for any offence committed. The *Mogul* every morning shews himself to the common people at a window that looks into the plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to see elephants and wild beasts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to sleep among his women. Afternoon he comes to the *Durbar* aforementioned. After supper at eight of the clock he comes down to the *Guzelcan*, a fair court in the midst whereof is a throne of free stone, on which he sits, or sometimes below in a chair, where none are admitted but of the first quality, and few of them without leave. Here he discourses of indifferent things very affably. No business of state is done any where but at one of these two last places, where it is publicly canvassed, and to registred; which register might be seen for two shillings, and the common people know as much as the council; so that every day the king's resolutions are the publick news, and exposed to the censure of every scoundrel. This method is never altered unless sickness or drink obstruct it; and this must be known, for if he be unseen one day without a reason assigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuse will serve, but the doors must be opened, and some admitted to see him to satisfy others. On tuesday he sits in judgment at the *Jauruco*, and hears the meanest persons complaints, examines both parties, and often sees execution done by his elephants.

Before my audience, I had obtained leave to use the customs of my country. At the *Durbar* I was conducted right before him; entering the outward rail, two noble slaves met to conduct me nearer. At the first rail I made a low reverence, at the next another, and when under the king a third. The place is a great court, to which all sorts of people resort. The king sits in a little gallery over head; ambassadors, great

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**Rox.** great men, and strangers of quality within the inmost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, and good carpets under foot. The next degree, like our gentry, are within the first rail, the commonalty without in a bas court, yet so that all may see the king. In fine, it is rising by degrees like a theatre. His reception was very favourable, but needs not particularizing.

*A house of pleasure of the Mogul's.* **March** the 1<sup>st</sup> I rid out to see a house of pleasure of the king, given him by *Asaph Chan*, and two miles from *Admere*. It is seated betwixt two mighty rocks, so defended from the sun, that it scarce any way sees it. The foundation is cut out of the rock, as are some rooms, the rest is free stone. There is a handsome little garden, with fine fountains, and two great fishponds, one thirty steps above another. The way to it admits of but one, or at most two men a-breast, and that very steep and stony. It is a place of melancholy, delight, and safety, all the company about it being wild peacocks, turtles, fowl, and monkeys that inhabit the rocks hanging every way over it.

*Norose the feast of the new year.*

The 1<sup>st</sup> of **March** in the evening began the festival of the *Norose*. This is a custom of solemnizing the new year, but the ceremony begins the first new moon after it. It is kept in imitation of the *Persians* feast, and signifies in that language nine days, because antiently it lasted no longer; but now it is doubled. The manner of it is thus. A throne is erected four foot from the ground in the *Durbar* court; from the back whereof to the place where the king comes out, a square of fifty six paces in length, and forty three in breadth, was rail'd in, and covered with fair *semians*, or canopies of cloth of gold, silk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the same manner. At the upper end were set out the pictures of the king of *England*, the queen, the lady *Elizabeth*, the countesses of *Somerfet* and *Salisbury*, and of a citizen's wife of *London*. Below them another of *Sir Tho. Smith*, governor of the *East-India* company. The ground is laid with good *Persian* carpets very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the king, except some few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. Within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of them of silver, and some other curiosities of value. The prince sultan *Corome* had on the left side a pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with silver, as were some of those also near the king's throne. The form of this throne was square, the matter wood inlaid with mother of pearl, born up with four pillars,

and covered with cloth of gold. About the edge over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and such fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it the king sat on cushions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompass'd the court, and lined them with velvet, damask, or taffety for the most part, but some few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and sat to shew all their wealth. For antiently the kings us'd to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleased; but now it is changed, the king sitting to receive what new-year's gifts are brought him. He comes abroad at the usual hour of the *Durbar*, and retires in the same order. Here great presents are offered him by all sorts, tho' not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this feast, the king in return for presents received, advances some, and adds to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The next day, being the 12<sup>th</sup> of **March**, *Audience* I went to visit the king, and delivered of *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas* him a present, where I saw abundance of wealth, but being of all sorts put together without order, it did not look so regular. The same day the son of *Rama*, the new tributary before-mentioned, did his homage, touching the ground three times with his head. The thirteenth at night I had audience at the *Guzalcan*, and pressed to have the peace and commerce with *England* settled after a solemn manner, and all the articles settled, which the *Mogul* ordered should be done. The fifteenth I went again in the evening to the *Norose*, and according to the *Mogul's* order chose my place of standing, which was on the right-hand of him on the rising of the throne, the prince and young *Rama* standing on the other side; so I had a full view of what was to be seen, presents, elephants, horses and whores. The twenty third the *Mogul* condemned one of his own nation upon suspicion of felony; but being one of the handsomest men in *India*, and the evidence not very clear against him, he would not suffer him to be executed, but sent him to me in irons for a slave to dispose of at my will. This is looked upon as a great favour, for which I returned thanks: adding, that in *England* we had no slaves, nor thought it lawful to make the image of God equal to a beast, but that I would use him as a servant; and if he behaved himself well, give him his liberty. This the *Mogul* was well pleased with. The twenty sixth I went to the *Guzalcan*, and delivered the articles I had drawn up, which were referred to *Asaph Chan*, who a while after sent

*Articles of peace offered the Mogul.*

sent to me to remove from the standing I had taken before the king, because I stood alone, and that was not the custom. I refused at first, but he insisting I should rank my self among the nobility, I removed to the other side, to the place where only the prince and young Rama were; which more disgusted *Ajaph Chan*, who persuaded the prince to complain of me, which he did; but the *Mogul* having heard their complaint, and my answer, that I removed by *Ajaph Chan's* order, answered, I had done well, and they were in the wrong to offer to displace me in his sight. So I kept my place in quiet.

Articles of  
peace of-  
fer'd the  
Mogul.

The substance of the articles delivered to the great *Mogul* was, 1. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his Indian majesty. 2. That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India. 3. That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times upon the arrival of any English ships. 4. That the merchants and their servants shall not be search'd, or ill used. 5. That no presents sent to the *Mogul* shall be open'd. 6. That the English goods shall not be stop'd above twenty four hours at the custom-house, only to be there sealed and sent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within six days after. 7. That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the king's service. 8. That the merchants shall not be hindered selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port. 9. That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the *Mogul's* dominions, they may send down to the ports without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them, and this without any hindrance or molestation. 10. That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought. 11. That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying. 12. That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port. 13. That the merchants servants, whether English or Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty. 14. That the *Mogul* will punish any governor, or officer, for breach of any of these articles. 15. That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the *Mogul's* ports, except their enemies; and that the English ashore shall behave themselves ci-

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villy as merchants. 16. That they shall yearly furnish the *Mogul* with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire at reasonable prizes. 17. The English to pay the duty of three and a half per cent. for goods reasonably rated, and two per cent for pieces of eight, and no other duty elsewhere. 18. That the English shall be ready to assist the *Mogul* against all his enemies. Lastly, That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or if they refuse, the English be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them. These were the articles presented, but they were delay'd and oppos'd, and what was the conclusion we shall see hereafter.

The 31<sup>st</sup> of March the *Mogul* din'd at *Ajaph Chan's* house, all the way from the palace to it, which was an English mile, being laid under foot with silks and velvets sewed together, but roll'd up as the king pass'd. They reported the feast and present cost six leeks of *roupies*, which is 60000 l. sterling. (Note here, that Thevenot says a leek is 100000, and a *roupie* worth a crown French and five Sols, after which rate the six leeks must amount at least to 150000 l. sterling.)

From this time Sir Tho. Roe continues his journal as before; but there being nothing in it remarkable for many days, all the business being soliciting for money due to the merchants, and such other affairs in which there is nothing worth observing, that part is thought fit to be wholly left out here, as it was also done by Purchas in his account of this embassy.

June the 18<sup>th</sup>, the king commanded one of his brother's sons, who had been persuaded to become a Christian, with a design to make him odious to the people, to lay his hand on the head of a lion that was brought before the king which he refused out of fear; upon which the king bid his youngest son go touch the lion, who did so without receiving any hurt: whereat the king took occasion to send his nephew away to prison, where he is never like to see day-light. The 19<sup>th</sup>, the king removed with the prince and all the court to *Havar Gemal*. The 23<sup>d</sup>, the king return'd to his own house, and sat in publick according to custom. The 24<sup>th</sup>, prince Couron, whose favour I was labouring to gain, and with whom I had many contests, had a son born; and he preparing to lead the army to *Decan*, the eyes of all men were fix'd on him; some flattering, others envying him, and others to make their advantage, but none loving him. He received twenty leeks of *roupies* towards his charge, which amounts to 200000 l. sterling. (Note, that according to Thevenot, who says a *roupie* is worth a crown, this should

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ROE. *be* 500000 l.) and began to bestow his money bountifully. Yet notwithstanding this shew of his father's affection and greatness, a *chan* told the king that the expedition would prove dangerous in respect of prince *Pervis*, whose honour was so deeply concern'd that he would not go unreveng'd. The king answer'd, Let them fight, I am so satisfied, and he that proves himself the better commander shall pursue the war. The twenty fifth I had audience of the king, being sent for by *Asaph Chan*, and was receiv'd with the usual courtesy by his majesty. This *Asaph Chan* was the prince's favourite, and therefore I was unwilling to disoblige him, tho' he had given several provocations. And at this time *Mocreb Chan*, another great man, made me offers of his service, being of a contrary faction to the other; but I thought best to make friends of them both. *Mocreb* told me, among other things, that the *English* carried too much cloth and bad swords, and scarce any thing else, and therefore advis'd to forbear two or three years, and rather bring such rarities as *China* and *Japan* afforded, which would be more acceptable; and from *England* the best cloth of gold and the richest silks wrought with gold and silver, but above all a good quantity of *Arras* hangings. The thirtieth I visit'd *Abdala Hassan*, having need of his friendship; and what is rare in that country, he received no presents. He has the command of all soldiers entertain'd at court, and is treasurer to all the armies. He entertained me with much civility, and we sat to see his soldiers shoot with bows and guns. Most of them with a single bullet hit the mark, being about a hand's breadth in a butt.

Painting  
valued in  
India.

July pass'd most away in soliciting the prince to sign and seal the articles I had presented to the king, of which an abstract was given before. On the thirteenth at night I went to the *Durbar* to visit the king, who sent *Asaph Chan* to tell me he was inform'd I had an excellent painter at my house, which I told him was only a young man that drew upon paper, and that very indifferently; however, I promised to bring him to his majesty, who at this time us'd so many expressions of kindness to me that all men were amazed at it, and profer'd me any thing I would ask for in his kingdom. I went from him to *Asaph Chan*'s house, where I continu'd till the king came out again, when I was conducted back to him, carrying with me Mr. *Hughes* the suppos'd painter, with whom the king had some discourse. After this I presented the king with a curious picture I had of a friend of mine, which pleas'd him highly, and he shew'd it to all the company. The king's chief painter be-

ing sent for, pretended he could make as good; which I denying, a wager of a horse was laid about it between me and *Asaph Chan*, in the *Mogul*'s presence and to please him; but *Asaph Chan* afterwards fell off. This done, the *Mogul* fell to drinking of *Alicant* wine I had presented him, giving tastes of it to several about him, and then sent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup, sent it to me, saying, It began to sour so fast it would be spoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turn'd to sleep; the candles were put out, and I grop'd my way out in the dark. This day a gentlewoman of *Normals*, the king's favourite queen, was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch. Another *capon* that loved her killed him. The poor woman was set up to the arm-pits in the earth close ram'd about her, with her feet tied to a stake, so to continue three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and arms bare exposed to the violent heat of the sun. If she died not in that time she was to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemn'd to the elephants. This damsel was found worth in pearls, jewels, and ready money, 160000 *roupies*.

A strange  
execution.

The twenty second I received letters from *Brampor*, in answer to others I had sent long before to *Mabobet Chan*, who had granted all I desired of him, sending his order to *Barocbe* in ample form to receive the *English* there, and give them a house for a factory near the governor, strictly commanding all men not to molest them, either by sea or land, not to take any custom of them, or any way trouble them under such pretence. In short, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commodity at their pleasure, without any molestation, giving a strict charge for the execution of this order. Besides, I received a letter from him full of civility, and all kind offers, far exceeding all I had found in *India*. This was a noble and generous man, well beloved by all men, and the king's only favourite, but cared not for the prince, so that this was a good retreat in case the merchants should be drove away from *Surat* by the prince. As for customs, the king takes none, but the governors exact them for their own private gain, which this worthy man scorn'd to do, saying, he would not abuse the liberty of the king's ports.

Good paint-  
ers in In-  
dia.

Nothing remarkable happen'd till August the sixth: I was sent for to the *Durbar*, where I had much talk with the king, who asked me many questions to satisfy his curiosity, and bid me come to the *Guzelcan* at night, and I should see my picture so exactly copied, that I should not know the one from the other. I came at night

Execution  
of justice

Mogul's  
revenue.

night and he shew'd me six pictures, five of them painted by his own painter, all pasted upon a board, and so like that by candlelight I could scarce know one from another. Neither did I at first sight know my own, at which the *Mogul* was much pleas'd; but looking closer upon them I shew'd it, and the difference between it and the others. The *Mogul* was overjoy'd, and I surpriz'd at their art, not thinking they could have performed so well; and the king after many civilities promised me his own picture.

Execution  
of justice.

The 9<sup>th</sup> a hundred thieves were brought chain'd before the *Mogul* with their accusation: Without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he order'd them to be carried away, the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogs tore the chief of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellows having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody and stinking to the view of all men, and annoyance of the neighbourhood. The 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup>, I spent in giving the king and prince advice that a *Dutch* ship lay before *Surat*, and would not declare upon what design it came, till a fleet arriv'd; which was expected with the first fit season. This I improv'd to fill their heads with jealousies of the designs of the *Dutch*, and the dangers that might ensue from them, which was well taken; and being demanded, I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of *India*. The last of these days I went to visit *Gemalidin-Ustin*, viceroy of *Patan*, and seventy years of age. He received me with extraordinary courtesy, offering me a leek of roupies, or all his interest at court; informing me of all the customs of the country, and shewing me a book he had compos'd of all memorable things that had happen'd under three kings, whom he had serv'd; and offering me a copy, if I could get it translated. It also treated of the king's revenue, and the manner of raising it. He shew'd me that the government of every province did pay a yearly rent; and for instance, he for his government of *Patan* gave the king eleven leeks of roupies, the roupie is two shillings two pence (Thevenot says a *roupie* is a crown.) All other profits were the governor's, and he had regal authority to take what he pleas'd; which in his vicereignty of *Patan* was valued at five thousand horse: the pay of each at two hundred roupies a year, where-

Mogul's  
revenue.

of he kept a thousand and five hundred, *Roe* and was allowed the surplus as dead pay. Besides this the king gave him a pension of a thousand roupies a day, and some smaller governments; yet he assured me there were several that had double his allowance, and above twenty equal to him. He praised the good profit *Jesus*, and his laws, and had much pleasant and profitable discourse. Some days had pass'd after this visit, and I thought his kindness had been at an end; when he borrow'd the king's pleasure-house and garden called *Havvar Gemal*, a mile out of the town, to treat me in, and invited me over night. At midnight he went himself, and carried his tents and all his furniture, and fitted up a place by the pond-side very handsomely. I went in the morning; he met me with much civility, and carried me into his room prepared for me, where he had some company and a hundred servants attending two of his sons, he having thirty. He shew'd me the king's closets and retiring rooms, which were painted *a l'antique*, and in some panes the pictures of the king of *France*, and other christian princes. He told me he was a poor man slave to the king; that he was willing to give me some content, and had therefore brought me to a slight banquet to eat bread and salt together to seal a friendship which he desired me to accept; That others might treat me better, but were not so sincere, but would deceive me, and my interpreters would never deliver the truth, but what those men pleas'd; and therefore I should never do my business to any purpose, till I had an *Englishman* that could speak the *Persian* tongue, and declare my mind freely, which the king would grant, if I could find one, because he had conceived a good opinion of me; and the last night the jewels of *Sheck Ferid* being brought before him, he remember'd me of himself; and finding among them his own picture well done, he had delivered it to *Asaph Chan* to send it to me to wear for his sake, with many expressions of his favour, which would make all the great men respect me. By this time dinner came in, and we sat down on carpets; a cloth being laid, and variety of dishes set before us, as was a little on one side for the gentlemen that accompanied him, to whom he went to eat, they looking on it as a sort of defiling to mix with us. Hereupon I told him he had promis'd we should eat bread and salt together, and that I had little appetite without his company. He rose presently and sat by me, and we fell heartily to our meal; there being dishes of several sorts, as raisins, almonds, pistachoes, and fruit. After dinner he play'd at chess, and I walk'd; and

The king's  
pleasure-  
house.

The vic-  
roy of Pa-  
tan's treat

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ROE. after some time offer'd to take my leave. But he said he had desired me to come to eat, and what we had before was but a collation, and therefore I must not depart till we had suppd, which I readily consented to. About an hour after the embassador of one of the *Decan* kings came to visit him, whom he presented to me, using him with civility, but much below the respect he shew'd to me. He asked me whether his majesty, my master, would not take in scorn the offer of service from so poor a man, and would vouchsafe to accept of a present from a stranger; for he would send a gentleman with me to kiss his majesty's hands, and to see our country. I returned a civil answer, and he went presently, and asked one if he would undertake the voyage. The gentleman seem'd willing, and he presented him to me, saying he would provide some trifles, such as the country afforded for his majesty, and send him in my company. This to me seem'd by the manner to be meant in earnest. At last supper came; two cloths being spread, as in the morning, and before me and my chaplain were set several dishes of fallads, and meat roasted, fry'd, boil'd, and variety of rice. He desired to be excused himself, because it was their custom to eat among themselves, and his countrymen would take it ill if he did not eat with them. So he and his guests, and I and my company made much of our selves. The meat was not amiss, but the attendants and order much better; his servants being very diligent and respectful. He gave me for a present, as is the manner when any one is invited, five cakes of sugar-candy dress'd with musk, and one loaf of the finest sugar as white as snow about fifty pounds weight, desiring me to accept of a hundred such loaves against I went away; which, said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poor, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my government, and comes gratis. I offered to accept when I was going, but he press'd to take it now for fear he should be then unprovided. Thus calling himself my father, and I my self his son, we took leave of one another.

The Mogul presents his picture to Sir Tho. Roe.

The 17<sup>th</sup> I went to visit the king, who as soon as I came in, call'd to his women, and reach'd out his own picture set in gold, hanging at a gold wire chain, with one pendant of soul pearl, which he deliver'd to *Ajaph Chan*, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, but what I was willing to make; it being the custom, whenever he bestows any thing, for the receiver to kneel down, and put his head to the ground, which has been required of the embassadors of *Persia*. *Ajaph Chan*

came to me, and I offer'd to take it in my hand; but he made signs to take off my hat, and then he put it about my neck, leading me right before the king. I understood not his meaning, but feared he would require the custom of the country mention'd above, which they call *Size-Da*; and was resolved rather to return my present than submit to it. He made signs to me to give the king thanks, which I did after my own manner; whereupon some officers call'd to me to make the *Size-Da*, but the king in the *Persian* tongue said, No, no. So I returned to my place: but that you may judge of the king's liberality, this gift was not worth in all 30*l.* yet was it five times as good as any he gives in that sort, and look'd upon as a special favour. For all the great men that wear the king's image, which none may do but those to whom it is given, receive only a medal of gold, as big as a sixpence, with a little chain of four inches to fasten it on their heads, and this at their own charge; some set it with stones, or adorn it with pendants of pearls.

The 19<sup>th</sup> *Gemaldin-Ustin*, who I said before invited me to *Havar Gemal*, being newly made governor of *Syndu*, came to dine with me, with two of his sons, two other gentlemen, and about a hundred servants. He eat some of the banquet provided in my house by a *Moorish* cook, but would not touch such meat as I had dress'd after my own fashion, tho' his appetite was very good; but he refrain'd out of a sort of superstition. Yet he desired that four or five dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would chuse, being all bak'd meats, which he had never seen before; and said he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done. He offer'd me the town of *Syndu*, and all other courtesies in his power; made haste to fill his belly, and I gave him a small present according to custom.

The 20<sup>th</sup>, and the night before it, fell a storm of rain, which they call the elephant, and is usual at the end of the rainy season; but this was extraordinary, for there ran such streams into the pond, that tho' it is inclos'd with stone, very strong in appearance, yet the water was so fierce that it broke thro' in one place, which caus'd a sudden fear and consternation, lest it should drown all that part of the town where I dwelt: inasmuch that the prince and all his women look'd their house; my next neighbour carried away his wife and goods on his elephants and camels to fly to the hills side. All men had their horses ready at their doors to save their lives, so that we were much frighted, and sat up till midnight, because we had no help but to fly

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Sir Tho. Roe treats the viceroy of Syndu.

Mandana's lone castle

The Mogul's birth-day solemnity.

A night's inundation.

our selves, and lose all our goods; for it was reported it would run three foot higher than the top of my house, and carry all away, being poor mud buildings: Fourteen years before having shew'd the dismal experience, the bottom of the pond being level with our dwelling, and the water extraordinary great and deep, so that the top was much higher than my house, which stood in the bottom, in the course of the water; every ordinary rain making such a current at my door, that it runs not swifter through the arches of *London* bridge, and is for some hours impassable for man or horse. The king in the night caus'd a sluice to be open'd to discharge the water another way, yet the very rain had wash'd away a great part of the walls of my house, and so weaken'd it all, breaking in at several places, that I fear'd the fall more than the flood. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, smokes, floods, storms, heat, dust, flies, and no temperate weather or safe season. The 27<sup>th</sup> I received advice from *Surat* that the *Dutch* had obtain'd leave to land their goods there in a warehouse, and trade till the prince's pleasure was known, upon condition they should depart upon the first warning.

Mandoe a  
lone castle.

The 29<sup>th</sup> the king went to *Havar Gomal*, and so a hunting. It was resolv'd to remove to *Mandoe*, a castle near *Bram-pore*, where there is no town; that the king having sent away his son sultan *Pervis* to *Bengala*, might be near at hand to countenance his son sultan *Coron*, who he designed should command in *Decan* contrary to the inclination of all the great men. The 30<sup>th</sup> the king returning from hunting sent me a wild boar so large, that he desired that the tusks might be sent him back for their extraordinary size, sending word he had kill'd it with his own hand, and bidding me eat it merrily.

The Mo-  
gul's  
birth-day  
solemnity.

The second of *September* was the king's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the king is weigh'd against some jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and silk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every sort a little, which is all given to the *Bramas* or *Bramans*. The king commanded *Asaph Chan* to send for me to this solemnity; who appointed me to come to the place where the king sits at *Durbar*, and I should be sent for in: but the messenger mistaking, I went not till *Durbar* time, and so mis'd the sight; but being there before the king came out, as soon as he spy'd me, he sent to know the reason why I came not in, since he had order'd it. I answer'd according to the mistake, yet he was very angry, and chid *Asaph Chan* publicly. He was so rich in jewels, that I own in my life I

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never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, and many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies pass'd by most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bow'd down before the king, making their reverence very handsomly; this was the finest show of beasts I ever saw. The keepers of every chief elephant gave a present. Then having made me some favourable compliments he rose up and went in. At night about ten of the clock he sent for me. I was then abed. The message was, that he heard I had a picture which I had not shew'd him, desiring me to come to him and bring it; and if I would not give it him, he would order copies of it to be taken for his women. I got up, and carried it with me. When I came in, I found him sitting cross-leg'd on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost cover'd with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. When I drew near, he asked for the picture. I shew'd him two; he seem'd astonished at one of them, and ask'd whose it was. I told him a friend of mine that was dead. He asked if I would give it him. I answered I valued it above all things, but if his majesty would pardon me, and accept of the other, which was an excellent piece, I would willingly bestow it on his majesty. He thank'd me, and said he desired none but that picture, and if I would give it him, he should prize it above the richest jewel in his house. I replied, I was not so fond of any thing, but I would part with it to please his majesty, with other expressions of respect. He bow'd to me, and said it was enough, I had given it him; that he own'd he had never seen so much art, so much beauty, and conjur'd me to tell him truly, whether ever such a woman liv'd. I assur'd him there did, but she was now dead. He said he would shew it his women, and take five copies, and if I knew my own I should have it again. Other compliments pass'd, but he would restore it, his painters being

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excellent

ROE. excellent at copying in water colours. The other picture being in oil, he did not like. Then he sent me word it was his birthday, and all men made merry, and ask'd whether I would drink with them. I answered, I would do whatsoever his majesty commanded, and wished him many happy days, and that the ceremony might be renewed an hundred years. He asked me whether I would drink wine of the grape, or made, whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, but hoped it would not be too much, nor too strong. Then he called for a gold cup full of mixed wine, half of the grape and half artificial, and drank; causing it to be filled again, and then sent it by one of the nobles to me with this message, that I should drink it off twice, thrice, four, or five times for his sake, and accept of the cup and appurtenances as a present. I drank a little, but it was stronger than any I ever tasted; insomuch that it made me sneeze, which made him laugh; and he called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which were brought me on a gold plate, bidding me eat and drink what I would and no more. I made reverence for my present after my own manner, tho' *Asaph Chan* would have had me kneel, and knock my head against the ground; but his majesty accepted of what I did. The cup was of gold, set all about with small rubies and *Turky* stones, the cover with large rubies, emeralds, and *Turky* stones in curious works, and a dish suitable to set the cup on. The value I knew not, because the stones are many of them small; and the greater, which are many, not all clean, but they are in number about two thousand, and the gold about twenty ounces. Thus he made merry, and sent me word, he esteemed me more than ever he had done, and asked whether I was merry at eating the wild boar sent me a few days before; how I dress'd it, what I drank, assuring me I should want for nothing in his country: the effects of all which his publick favours I presently found in the behaviour of all his nobility. Then he threw about to those that stood below two chargers of new roupies, and among us two chargers of hollow almonds of gold and silver mixed; but I would not scramble, as his great men did, for I saw his son take up none. Then he gave sashes of gold, and girdles to all the musicians and waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the same, his majesty and all his lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand several humours. But his son, *Asaph Chan*, two old men, the late king of *Candabar*, and my self forbore. When he could hold up his head no longer, he lay down to sleep, and we all departed.

The Mogul makes merry on his birthday.

A noble present to Sir Tho. Roe.

Mogul and all his lords drank.

Seven months were now spent in soliciting the signing and sealing of the articles of peace and commerce set down above, and nothing obtained but promises from week to week, and from day to day; and therefore on the third of September, the *English* fleet being hourly expected at *Surat*, I went to the prince, and delivered him a memorial containing the articles I desired him to give an order to be observed for the unloading of the ships. The articles were,

First, That the presents coming for the king and prince should not be opened at the port, but sent up to court sealed by the custom-house officers.

An order desired of the prince but not obtained.

Secondly, That curiosities sent for other presents, and for the merchants to sell, should also be sent up to court sealed, for the prince to take the first choice.

Thirdly, That the gross merchandize be landed, reasonably rated for the custom, and not detained in the custom-house; but that the merchants paying the custom, have full liberty to sell or dispose of it; and that the ships be supply'd with provisions without paying custom.

On the fourth, *Asaph Chan* sent me back my first articles, after so long attendance and so many false promises, some of them altered, others struck out, and an answer, that there was no articling at all, but it was enough to have an order from the prince, who was lord of *Surat*, to trade there: but for *Bengala* or *Syndu*, it should never be granted. Notwithstanding all this vexation, I durst not change my method of proceeding, or wholly quit the prince and *Asaph Chan*: Therefore I drew up other articles, leaving out what was displeasing in the former, and desiring *Asaph Chan* to put them in form and procure the seal, or else to give me leave to apply my self to the king, to receive his denial, and depart the country. The substance of the new articles was as follows. That all the subjects of the *Mogul* should receive the *English* in friendly manner; to suffer them to land their goods peaceably; to furnish them with provisions for their money, without paying any customs for them; to have liberty, after paying custom for their goods, to sell them to any person, and none to oblige them to sell any under rate; to have liberty to pass with such goods to any parts, without any thing being exacted further of them more than at the port; to have the presents for the *Mogul* and prince sealed without opening, and sent to the ambassador; to have the goods of any that die secured from confiscation, and delivered to the other *English* factors; and in short, that no injury in any sort be offered to any of them.

The eighth of this month *Asaph Chan* sent me word in plain terms, he would procure

Abdala Chan's coming to court at a criminal.



procure nothing for me <sup>but I</sup> might be satisfied with an order <sup>by</sup> the prince: which made me resolve to apply my self directly to the prince, and to apply no more to *Asaph Chan*. Accordingly I was with the prince the tenth, and the eleventh he sent me an order, but so altered from what I had given in, that I sent it back. But at night I received a new order from the secretary, containing all my articles; though some words were somewhat ambiguous, which the secretary interpreted favourably, and at my request writ to the governor of *Surat*, explaining them to him, as he had done to me. He gave me many assurances of the prince's favour; and being a man not subject to bribery, I gave the more credit to him. So I accepted of the order, which when translated, I found very effectual. The sixteenth I visited the prince, resolving to seem wholly to depend on him, till I had heard what entertainment our ships met with. I found him sad for fear of prince *Perris*'s coming to court, he being but eight cosses from it; but the power of *Normaball* the favourite queen diverted it, and he was ordered directly away to *Bengala*. The *Mogul* was retired, but whither no man could certainly tell.

Several days pass'd in soliciting the king and great ones, and paying court to them, without any thing remarkable; till on the ninth of *October* I received letters from *Surat* with an account that four *English* ships were arrived there. *Abdala Chan* the great governor of *Amadabat* being sent for to court in disgrace, for many insolencies and contempts of the king's authority: It was at first thought that he would stand on his guard, and refuse to appear; but the prince *Sultan Corone*, whose ambition laid hold of every advantage, desiring to oblige so great a man, as being one of the chief commanders in *India*, prevailed with him, on his word, to submit. So he came sixty miles on foot in pilgrim's clothes with forty servants, counterfeiting great humility, and performed the rest of the journey in his palankine, till he came near the court; but had two thousand horse one day's journey behind him. On the tenth of *October* he was brought to the *Jarruco* (the place where the king sits in publick to see sports, and hear complaints) with chains at his heels, and barefoot, led between two noblemen. He pulled his turban over his eyes, that he might see no man, before he had the happiness to behold the king's face. After reverence made, and some few questions, the king forgave him, caused his irons to be knocked off, and him to be clothed with a new vest of cloth of gold, with a turban and girdle suitable.

The prince, who intended to advance his honour in the wars of *Decan*, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great commander *Chan-Channa* did not prosper in, as being supposed to receive a pension from the *Decannins*; caused his father to recal *Chan-Channa*, who refusing to come, desired the king not to send *Sultan Corone* to that war, but one of his youngest sons about fifteen years of age. This *Sultan Corone* took to heart, but holding his purpose of carrying on that war, promised *Abdala Chan* the command of the army under him, removing of *Chan-Channa*. The king fearing troubles, and being sensible of this son's ambition and factious contrivances, of the discontent of his two elder sons, and the power of *Chan-Channa*, was desirous to accommodate matters by accepting of peace, and confirming *Chan-Channa* in his post. To this purpose he secretly writ a favourable letter, and desigued to send *Chan-Channa* a vest according to the ceremony of reconciliation; but before he dispatched it, he made it known to a kinswoman of his living in the *Seraglio*. She, whether it was out of falsehood to her friend, or that she was corrupted by *Sultan Corone*, or out of pride of heart, seeing the top of her family, who had so well deserved, stand on such ticklish terms, said plainly, she did not believe *Chan-Channa* would wear any thing sent by the king, knowing his majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poison, which he putting into his bosom instead of his mouth, had made a trial of; therefore she was confident he would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his majesty. The king offered to wear it himself before her an hour, and that she should write to testify it. She reply'd, he would trust neither of them with his life; but if he might live quietly in his command, would do his majesty good service. Upon this the king alter'd his purpose, and resolved to send *Sultan Corone*; and to countenance his reception, would himself follow after with another army. *Chan-Channa* perceiving the storm, practised with the *Decannins*, who where at his devotion, to offer terms of peace for some time, as finding no other way to dispel this cloud that hung over both, till the king and prince were departed and settled further off. To this purpose two ambassadors arrived at court this same tenth of *October* from the princes of *Decan*. They brought horses with rich furniture for presents. At first the king refused to hear them, or receive their gifts; but turned them over to his son, saying, it was in his breast to chuse peace or war. The prince puff'd up with this favour, resolved to proceed on his journey; tho' the conditions

ROE  
Sultan  
Corone's  
ambition.

The Mogul designs  
to pardon  
Chan-Channa.

Abdala  
Chan's  
coming to  
court as a  
criminal.

An order  
desired of  
the prince  
but not ob-  
tained.

Roze. conditions, I was told, were very honourable, and such as the king would have accepted of; answering, he would treat of no peace, till he was in the field with his army, and *Cban-Cbanna* should not so defraud him of the honour of finishing the war. This young prince's ambition is notorious, and become the common talk of the people; yet his father designs not the crown for him, for sultan *Corforone* the eldest brother is beloved and honoured of all men, even to a degree of adoration, and that deservedly for his excellent qualities. The king knows it, and loves him, but thinks his liberty would be a lessening of his own glory, yet sees not that this sly youth darkens him more by his ambitious practices than the other would by virtuous actions. Thus he nourishes division and emulation among the brethren, and puts such power into the hands of the younger, believing he can reassume it at pleasure, that the wisest men foresee great distractions and troubles like to follow in this kingdom upon the king's death, and that it is in danger to be torn in pieces by a civil war. The history of this country for variety of matter, and the many subtle practices in the time of *Ezbar-Sba*, father to this king, and these later troubles, were well worth writing; but because they come from such remote parts, many will despise them; and by reason these people are esteemed barbarous, few will believe them, and therefore I forbear making them publick, tho' I could deliver as many rare and notable acts of state, subtle evasions, policies, answers and adages, as I believe, for one age, would not easily be equalled: Yet I cannot omit one thing that happened lately, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falsehood in a brother, and impudent boldness in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the supreme majesty allows them a liberty beyond either the law of their own condition, or the bounds of policy and reason.

The prince sultan *Corone*, *Normaball* the beloved queen aunt to this prince's wife, *Asaph Cban* his father-in-law, brother to the queen, and *Etiman Doulet* father to them both, being they that now govern all, and dare attempt any thing, resolved it was not possible for them to stand if prince sultan *Corforone* lived, he being beloved by the nobility, and like to punish their ambition in time, if delivered: therefore they practised how to get him into their power in order to take him off by poison. *Normaball* attempts the king with crocodile tears, telling him that sultan *Corforone* was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts laid aside. The king heard, and seemed to assent, but would not understand more

than the deliver'd in plain terms. This failing, they took the opportunity of the king's being drunk, when prince *Etiman Doulet*, and *Asaph Cban* moved, that for the safety of sultan *Corforone*, and his honour, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, that their company might be a comfort to one another, and he better taken care of than in the hands of a *Reboto* idolater, to whom the king had committed him: therefore they humbly desired his majesty that he might be delivered into the hands of his dear brother, which the king granted, and so fell asleep. They thought themselves so great, that using the king's authority no man durst refuse them, and if he were once in their possession they would dispute the restoring of him. So the same night *Asaph Cban*, sent by the prince in the king's name, came with a guard to demand and receive sultan *Corforone* at the hands of *Annarab*, a *Rajah Rajhoo*, that is, a prince, to whose custody the king had committed him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer, That he was sultan *Corone*'s humble servant, but that he had received his brother from the hands of the king, and would deliver him to no other: that he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himself to his majesty, and be wholly at his disposal. This answer broke the design. In the morning *Annarab* came to the king, and acquainted him with the prince's demand, his refusal, and answer, adding, That his majesty had given him charge of his son, and made him commander of four thousand horse, with all which he would die at the gate, rather than deliver up the prince into the hands of his enemies. If his majesty required, he was ready to obey his will, but he would clear his own innocence. The king replied, You have done honestly and faithfully; you have answer'd discreetly, continue your resolution, and take no notice of any orders; I will not seem to know this, nor do you stir further in it; preserve your fidelity, and let us see how far they will carry it. The prince and the faction the next day finding the king took no notice of any thing, and therefore hoping he had forgot what pass'd in his wine, made no mention of the grant, or of the refusal; but the business fell on both sides, yet not without jealousy. This I infer, that the company may not scatter their goods, or engage too far into the kingdom, because the time will soon come when all will be in a combustion; and if sultan *Corforone* prevail in asserting his right, this kingdom will be a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learnings, valour and warlike discipline, and abhorring covetousness, and

The Mogul's eldest son a virtuous prince.

Mistaken policy of the Mogul.

Fidelity of an idolater.

Abdala Chan's fate.

Wicked practice of sultan Corone against his brother.

Prince sultan Corforone, left delivered up to his brother.

the base custom of taking presents used by his ancestors and the nobility. If the other be superior, we shall be losers, for he is zealous in his superstition, an enemy to all Christians, proud, false, and barbarously tyrannical.

The 13<sup>th</sup> of this month of October the king returning from hunting, sent me a wild pig. I received advice that the four *English* ships before-mentioned were safe in the port of *Soali*. There came six out of *England*, but they lost company of one in bad weather, and another was sent to *Bantam*. By the way they had fought a *Portuguese* galeon bound for *Goa*, which burnt it self. Upon this news, on the 14<sup>th</sup> I sent for a *Portuguese* jesuit residing at the court, and gave him an account of it, offering a peace upon equal terms, which he promised to acquaint the viceroy of *Goa* with. Then I visited the prince, and proposing to him that we might have a port and place to fortify, and we would defend his ships against the *Portuguese*, he rejected it with scorn. In the evening I waited on the king with the same account of our ships arrival, and he presently asked me what presents came for him, which I could not give him an account of. He ordered I should have such things as I required sent up to court seal'd, without searching or paying any custom. The 16<sup>th</sup>, being with the prince's secretary about the dispatch of our affairs, he moved me by his highness's order to procure him two gunners out of our fleet to serve him in the *Decan* wars for good pay, which I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent artists would serve there. This day *Abdala Chan* came to visit the prince, so greatly attended, that I have not seen the like: his drums and musick a horse-back, being about twenty, made noise enough, then followed fifty persons carrying white flags before him, and two hundred soldiers well mounted in coats of cloth of gold, velvet and rich silks who entered the gate with him in order. Next his person were forty targetiers in such like liveries. He made humble reverence and presented a black *Arabian* horse with his furniture studded with flowers of gold, enameled and set with small stones. The prince according to custom, returned a turban, a vest, and a girdle.

The prince holding a resolution of finishing the *Decan* wars in person, would not give any answer to those ambassadors, but detained them till he came near the frontiers. Being to depart, neither he nor his party thought themselves secure, if sultan *Corforone* remained in the hands of *Annarab*, because in his absence the king might be reconciled, and he getting his

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liberty, all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and their ambition and ill practices hardly be pardoned. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of this month therefore they again attack the king's constancy, desiring him to deliver up his son into the hands of *Asaph Chan*, as his guardian under sultan *Corone*, pretending it will fright *Chan-Channa* and the *Decans*, when they hear this prince is so favoured, who comes to make war upon them, that the king has delivered up his eldest son to him, and in him as it were the whole kingdom, the hope of succession, and the present power. The king, who had yielded himself up into the hands of a woman, could not defend his son from her practices. He either sees not the ambition, or trusts it too far in confidence of his own power, and consents; so that this day he was delivered up, the soldiers of *Annarab* discharged, and a supply of *Asaph Chan's* placed about him, with an addition of two hundred of the prince's horse. His sister and many women in the seraglio mourn, refuse their meat, exclaim against the king's dotage and cruelty, and declare that if he dies an hundred of his kindred will burn for him in memory of the king's inhumanity towards his worthiest son. The king gives fair words, protests no harm is designed the prince, promises his delivery, and sends *Normaball* to appease these enraged ladies, who curse, threaten and refuse to see her. The common people murmur, and say the king has not delivered his son, but his own life into the hands of an ambitious prince, and a treacherous faction. That sultan *Corforone* cannot perish without scandal to the father, or revenge from him, and therefore he must go first, and after him his son, and so through their blood this youth must mount the throne. New hopes are spread of his re-deliverance, and soon allayed; every man tells news according to his fears or desires; but the poor prince remains in the paws of the tiger, refuses meat, and requires his father to take his life, and not suffer it to fall a victim to his enemies. The whole court is full of whispers, the nobility are sad, the multitude like itself, full of rumour and noise, without head or order, and rages, but applies not to any proper means. The consequences of these troubles are much to be feared.

The 19<sup>th</sup> the *Persian* ambassador *Mabomet Raza Beg* made his entry into the town about noon, with a great train, partly sent out by the king to meet him with a hundred elephants, and musick, though no man of greater quality than the ordinary receiver of strangers. The ambassador's own retinue were about fifty horse, well equipped, and in coats of cloth of gold; their

Persian  
ambassador  
his entry  
and audience.

8 T

Roe. their bows, quivers, and targets richly garnished, forty shot, and about two hundred common foot, and attendance on the baggage. He was carried to rest in a room within the king's outward court till evening, when he came to the *Durbar*, before the king. I sent my secretary to observe the fashion of this ceremony. When he approached, he made at the first rail three *teselins*, and one *fixeda*, which is prostrating himself and knocking his head against the ground; he did so again within, and so presented *Sba Abas*'s letter, which the king took with a little motion of his body, only asking, How does my brother? without mentioning the title of majesty. After some few words he was placed in the seventh rank against the rail by the door, below so many of the king's servants on both sides, which in my opinion was a very mean place for his master's ambassador; but he well deserved it, for doing that reverence which his predecessors refused, to the dishonour of his prince, and the regret of many of his nation. It is said he had order from the *Sophy* to give content, and 'tis therefore suppos'd his message is for some supply of money against the *Turk*, which has been liberally granted, tho' at the same time it is pretended he comes only to mediate a peace for the *Decans*, whom *Sba Abas* pretends to protect, being jealous of the increase of this empire. The king according to custom gave him a handsome turban, a vest of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which again he made three *teselins*, and one *fixeda*, or inclination down to the ground. He brought for presents three times nine *Arabian* and *Persian* horses, this being a ceremonious number among them; nine mules very fair and large, seven camels laden with velvet, two suits of *European* hangings, which I suppose were not *Arras*, but *Venetian* velvet wrought with gold; two chests of *Persian* hangings, one rich cabinet, forty muskets, five clocks, one camel laden with *Persian* cloth of gold, eight carpets of silk, two rubies ballaces, twenty one camel-loads of wine of the grape, fourteen camels of distill'd sweet waters, seven of rose-water, seven daggers set with precious stones, five swords set after the same manner, seven *Venetian* looking-glasses, and these so fair and rich, that I was out of countenance when I heard it. These presents were not delivered now, but only a note of them. His own equipage was rich, having nine led horses trapped in gold and silver. About his turban was wound a string of pearls, rubies and *Turky* stones, and three pipes of gold answering to three feathers. I caused his reception to be diligently observed, and found he was not favoured above me in any point, but

much less in many particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of town, which by reason of my sickness was not demanded; nor did the king receive *Sba Abas*'s letter with such respect as he did my master's, whom he called the king of *England* his brother, and the *Persian* barely brother, without any addition; which was an observation of the Jesuit, who understood the language.

The 20<sup>th</sup> of *October* I received the prince's letter to send for *Surat*, with orders to the governor of that place to sit with the judge of the custom-house, and take care that no wrong was done the *English*. But as to the matter of sending up the presents to me sealed and unsearched, 'twas so unintelligible that it was subject to various constructions, which I judged to be done designally, that they might be sent to him to be his own carver. This made me send it back to his secretary, and it being returned more intricate than at first, I went to the prince on the twenty first, and desired him to have that part better explained. He asked me how he should have his presents, or other such curiosities as came up? and moved me to go with him where they were. I answered, I could not do it till I had delivered my message and tokens to the king, but would then attend his highness with his presents, and all rarities that came to my hands should be sent after him. He pressed me to give my word for the performance, and so I obtain'd an order to my mind. His highness looking on a white feather in my hat, asked if I would give it him. I reply'd, I would not offer that I had worn, but if he pleased to command it, that or any thing in my power was at his service; and I took his acceptance as a great honour. He asked whether I had any more; I said, three or four of other colours; and he again, whether I would give them all, because he was to shew his horses and servants to the king within two days, and wanted some; they being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring them all on the morrow, that his highness might take what he pleased.

*Abdala Chan* in a gallant equipage both as to his person and retinue, though the apparel was strange and antick, but soldier-like in those parts, presented the prince a white horse, the saddle and furniture of gold enamell'd; the beast of delicate shape, mettlesome, and bold. The prince returned a plain sword with a leather belt. Many others were brought before him with silver hilts, and chapes set with small stones, and targets covered with velvet wrought with gold, and some painted and bossed with gold and silver, which he gave to his servants against the review. Many saddles

Persian  
ambassa-  
dor's audience and  
presents.

*Abdala Chan presents the prince.*

*Sultan Corone's faithful dealing.*

*The prince's wealth.*

and furnitures of his own all of gold set with stones for led hories were shewn, his boots embroidered, and all other accoutrements of state. The value is wonderful, and the wealth daily seen inestimable.

It is reported, that this last night six of the prince's servants went to murder sultan *Cororone*, but were not admitted by the porter; and that the queen mother is gone to the king with an account of all the practice.

Persian  
embassa-  
dor's audi-  
ence and  
presents.

In the evening I went to the *Dunbar* to visit the king, where I met the *Persian* ambassador with the first shew of his presents. He appeared more like a jester or juggler, than a person of gravity, running up and down, and acting all he said like a mimick. He delivered the presents with his own hands, which the king received with smiles, a cheerful countenance, and expressions of satisfaction. His tongue was a great advantage to him in delivering his business; which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousness, that it pleased as much as his gift: ever calling the *Mogul* king and commander of the world, forgetting his own master had a share in it; and upon every slight occasion he made his *teslins*. When all was delivered for that day, he prostrated himself on the ground, and knock'd it with his head as if he would have enter'd it. The gifts were a quiver for bow and arrows delicately embroider'd; all sorts of *European* fruits artificial in dishes; folding purses, and knacks of leather wrought with needle-work in colour'd silks; shoes embroider'd and stitch'd; great glasses in frames inlay'd; one square piece of velvet embroider'd high with gold in panes, between which were *Italian* pictures wrought in the stuff, which he said were the king and queen of *Venice*; of these six pieces were given, but only one shew'd. There were besides many other curiosities of small value; after which came three times nine horses, which had either lost their flesh or beauty, for I thought them all except two or three, unfit to be sent to, or received by princes; the mules were handsome. After this he returned with many antick tricks to his place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone, and above all subjects. This is but the first act of his presenting, the play will not be finish'd in ten days.

Sultan  
Corone's  
faultless  
avaline.

The 22<sup>d</sup> the letter the prince had promis'd me for the sending up of the presents unsent, being again detained, I went to his secretary, who said they could not be sent up without visiting, lest the merchants under that pretence should steal customs. I was offended and going away, but the secretary prevailed with me to go with him to the prince, who accepted of

some feathers I brought him; and knowing my resolution, order'd I should be dispatched to content. At night I went to the *Dunbar* to observe the *Persian* ambassador, and found him standing in his rank, but often removed and set lower, as great men came in. The king once spoke to him, and he danced to that music, but gave no present, and the *Mogul* order'd he should be feasted by the nobles. The 24<sup>th</sup> the king removed to *Ilavar Gernal*, and sent for the *Persian* ambassador, who at night eat and drank before the king with the nobility in the same manner as I had done on the birth-day. The difference was, that the *Mogul* gave him twenty thousand roupies for his expence, for which he made many *teslins* and *freedaes*, not rising from the ground for a considerable time, which extremely pleased the king, and was base, but profitable flattery. The 25<sup>th</sup> the king return'd to court, having been far gone over night in wine. Some either accidentally or maliciously spoke of the last merry night, and that many of the nobility drank wine, which none must do without leave. The king forgetting his order, ask'd who gave it; and the answer was made, the *Buxy*, for no man dares say it was the king, when he seems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The custom is, that when the king drinks, which is alone, sometimes he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not, it is look'd upon as a crime; and so every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer, has his name writ down, and he makes his *teslin*, tho' perhaps the king's eyes are clouded. The king not remembering his own command, call'd the *Buxy*, and ask'd whether he gave the order; who falsely denied it, for he had it from the king, and by name call'd all that drank with the ambassador. The king then call'd for the list, and persons nam'd in it, and find some one, some two, and some three thousand roupies; and some that were nearer his person he caus'd to be whipt before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument, having at the ends of four cords, irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to spurn them, and after that the porters to break their staves on them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised they were carried out; one of them dy'd on the spot. Some would have excused it by laying it on the ambassador; but the king reply'd, he only order'd a cup or two to be given him. Tho' drunkenness be a common vice and an exercise of the king's, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter the *Gazalean*, where the

Roe.

The Pers-  
ian embas-  
sador's  
Jauning.

Drinking  
of wine  
cruelly pu-  
nished.

Abdala  
Chan pre-  
sents the  
prince.

The  
prince's  
wealth.



ROE. the king fits, but the porters smell his breath, and if he have but tasted wine, is not suffer'd to come in; and if the reason of his absence be known it will be a difficult matter to escape the whip: for if the king once takes offence, the father will not speak for the son. Thus the king made all the company pay the *Persian* ambassador's present.

The 28<sup>th</sup>, the king's day of removal being at hand, I sent to *Asaph Chan* for a warrant for carriages. The merchants having fought all the town to remove their goods to *Agra*, could find none. I being enroll'd by his majesty, received order for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches at the king's price. Of these I allowed the factors as many as they needed for their use. I cannot here omit a passage either of wonderful baseness in this great monarch, or else a trial put upon me. The king had condemn'd divers thieves, among which were some boys. There was no way to save their lives, but to sell them for slaves. His majesty commanded *Asaph Chan* to offer two of them to me for money; which he appointed the *cutwall*, that is the marshal, to do. My interpreter made answer, without my knowledge, that Christians kept no slaves; that those the king had given me I had set free, and it was in vain to propose it to me. Yet afterwards of himself he told me of it. I suspected it might be a trial of me, to see whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children; or else, I thought, tho' it were in earnest, it were no great loss to do a good deed, and try the baseness or scope of this offer. I commanded my interpreter to go to *Asaph Chan*, and tell him he had acquainted me with the motion, and his answer; that I had repris'd him for pretending to deliver my thoughts in any case: and therefore my own reply was, that if there were any money to be paid to redeem the lives of two children to those whom they had robb'd, or to redeem them from the law, I was ready to give it both out of respect to the king's commands, and for charity; but I would not buy them as slaves, only pay their ransom, and free them: and therefore if he would know the king's pleasure, that I might give them their liberty without offence, I was very willing to do it. *Asaph Chan* reply'd, I might dispose of them as I pleased; that it was an extraordinary goodness, and with many commendations accepted of the money; desiring me to send it to the *cutwall*, and to use my own discretion with the boys; never offering to inform the king, which was one end of my liberality. But I resolving not to be impos'd upon, lest this should be only a

trick of the officers to get money, sent to let the *cutwall* know what had pass'd between me and *Asaph Chan*, and that if at night he would acquaint the king that I had offered to redeem the prisoners out of charity, and his majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to pay the money, but would not buy them as slaves; and desired his majesty to pardon them upon my redemption. Thus I put them to the test of their own offer. The sum demanded did not exceed ten pounds. The *cutwall* answer'd, he would know the king's pleasure. Some would persuade me this is one of the *Mogul's* signal favours, to pitch upon such great men, to whom he will offer the opportunity of doing good, as the redeeming of prisoners; and that the money is to make satisfaction to the party that was robb'd; and that these so appointed by the king to ransom others, make the *fizeda*, as for some benefit received. I went to the *Durbar* to see if his majesty would himself speak to me; the *cutwall* made many motions, but I understood nothing. This day I sent my secretary to the *Persian* ambassador, to let him know I would visit him, if he would give his word to repay the visit, with other compliments. Who answered with all respect, that it was the custom of the country for ambassadors not to visit one another without the king's leave, which he would move for, and then receive me with all friendship, and repay my visit; with many more expressions of civility.

November the first, sultan *Corone* took his leave and went to his tents. The king at noon sat out in the *Durbar*, whither the prince brought his elephants, being about six hundred richly trap'd and furnish'd, and his followers by computation one thousand horse; many of them in cloth of gold, with herons feathers in their turbans all very gallant. The prince himself in a coat of cloth of silver emboider'd with great pearl, and glittering with diamonds like the firmament. The king embrac'd, kiss'd, and shew'd him much affection. At his departure he gave him a sword, the scabbard all of gold set with stones, valued at 100000 roupies; a dagger at 40000; an elephant and two horses, all their furniture of gold set with stones; and for a close, one of the new coaches made in imitation of that sent by the king my master; and commanded the *English* coachman to drive him to his tents. The prince went into the coach, and sat in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest nobles afoot walking by him to his tents about four miles distant. All the way he threw quarters of roupies, being followed by a multitude of people. He reached his hand to

Redemption of condemn'd criminals.

The Mogul's sitting in the jarruco.

The Mogul's wives.

Fifty elephants to carry the women.

Ceremony at the Mogul's sitting out.

Dress of the Mogul, and his attendants.

The Mogul's sitting in the jarruco.

The Mogul's wives.

Fifty elephants to carry the women.

Ceremony at the Mogul's setting out.

Dress of the Mogul, and his attendants.

to the coachman, and put into his hat about 100 roupies.

The second the king removed about three miles to his tents with his women and all the court. I went beforehand to attend him; and coming to the palace, found him at the *jarruco* window, and went upon the scaffold under him. Not having seen this place before, I was glad of the opportunity. Two eunuchs stood on two tressels with long poles and feather fans at the end of them, fanning him. He bestowed many favours, and received presents. What he bestowed he let down by a silk string roll'd on a turning instrument; what was given him, a venerable fat deformed old matron, wrinkled and hung round with gimbels like an image, pulled up at a hole with such another clue. At one side in a window were his two principal wives, whose curiosity made them break little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and then they laying their faces close, first the one, and then the other, I could sometimes discern their full proportion. They were indifferently white, with black hair smooth'd up; but if there had been no other light, their diamonds and pearls had sufficed to shew them. When I looked up, they retired; and were so merry, that I suppose they laughed at me. On a sudden the king rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorn'd, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of health to the king, as would have out-roar'd cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touch'd the fish, and so rubb'd it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword and hung on his buckler set all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the *Persian* ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons feathers, not many but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds drill'd.

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About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his elbows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves which were *English*, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine *femain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroider'd with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus arm'd and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new *English* servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapp'd and harness'd in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of *England*, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a *Persian* gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horsetail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, base trumpets, and loud musick, many canopies, umbrells, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture some garnish'd with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamel'd. The *Persian* ambassador presented him a horse. Next behind came three palankines, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with stones, and cover'd with crimson velvet embroider'd with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankines were cover'd and lin'd only with cloth of gold. Next followed the *English* coach newly cover'd and richly adorned, which he had given to queen *Normaball*, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger sons. Then followed about twenty elephants royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glitter'd like the sun. Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of silver, gilt fatten and taffety. His noblemen he suffered to walk afoot, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carried half a mile behind him. When he came before the door where his eldest son is prisoner, he stay'd the coach, and called for him. He came and made reverence, with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a sign of disfavour. The king commanded him to mount one of the spare elephants, and so rode next to him, with extraordinary applause and joy

8 U

of

Roe. of all men, who are now filled with new hopes. The king gave him one thousand roupies to cast to the people. His jailor *Afaph Cban*, and all those monsters were yet afoot. I took horse to avoid the crowd and other inconveniences, and cross'd out of the *Ishtar* before him, waiting till he came near his tents. He pass'd all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his back, and on the four corners of each four banners of yellow taffery, and right before a piece of cannon carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball, the gunner behind it. They were in all about three hundred. Other elephants of state went before and behind, being about six hundred, all which are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold, and had two or three gilded banners. Several footmen ran along the way with skins of water to lay the dust before the king. No horse or man was suffered to come within two furlongs of the coach, except those that walked by afoot. So that I hastened to his tents to attend his alighting. They were walled in about half an *English* mile in compass in form of a fort, with several angles and bulwarks, and high curtains of a coarse stuff made like arras, red on the outside, and within figures in panes, with a handsome gatehouse, every post that bore these up headed with brass. The throng was great, I had a mind to go in; no man was permitted, the greatest in the land sitting at the door: However I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the *Persian* ambassador, and all the noblemen. Here first the *Persian* ambassador saluted me with a silent compliment. In the midst of this court was a throne of mother of pearl born on two pillars raised on earth, cover'd over with a high tent, the pole headed with a nob of gold; under that canopies of cloth of gold, and under foot carpets. When the king drew near the door, some noblemen came in, and the *Persian* ambassador. We stood on both sides making a line. The king entering cast his eye on me; I made him reverence, and he laid his hand on his breast and bowed, and turning to the other side nodded to the *Persian*. I followed at his heels till he went up, and every man cry'd, joy and good fortune; and so we took our places. He called for water, washed his hands, and departed. His women went in some other way to their apartment, and his son I saw not. Within this inclosure were about thirty divisions with tents. All the noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent forms, some all white, some green, some mixed, all enclosed as orderly as any house, in the most magnificent manner I ever saw. The vale shewed like a beautiful city, for the baggage made no confusion. I was ill

The Mogul's camp  
a glorious sight.

provided with carriage, and ashamed of my equipage, for five years allowance would not have provided me an indifferent suit answerable to others, and to add to the grandeur every man has two, so that one goes before to the next ground, and is set up a day before the king rises from the place where he is. So I returned to my poor house.

November the fifth I rode about five miles to the prince's tents. I made his highness my compliments of leave, wishing him prosperity and success; but he ordered me to return and take my leave two days after, having presented him some business about debts due to the *English*, which he promised to examine and dispatch. He sat with the same greatness and magnificence I mentioned of his father, his throne being plated over with silver, inlay'd with flowers of gold, and the canopy over it square, born up on four pillars covered with silver; his arms, sword, buckler, bows, arrows, and lance on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when we came abroad. I observed him curiously now he was absolute, and took notice of his behaviour and actions. He received two letters, and read them standing before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, or any man keep so constant a gravity, never smiling, nor by his looks shewing any respect or distinction of persons, but an extreme pride and contempt of all. Yet I perceived some inward trouble now and then assail him, and a kind of interruption and distraction in his thoughts; answering suitors disorderly, or in confusion, or not hearing them. If I can judge of it, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom he has the liberty of conversing. *Normaball* the day before went to visit him in the *English* coach, and took leave of him. She gave him a cloke all embroidered with pearl, diamonds, and rubies, and carry'd away, if I mistake not, all his attention for business. The ninth the prince being to remove, sent one of his guard in haste for me. I was not provided to go but he press'd me, urging his master stay'd for me; that he ordered him not to return without me; that all the court did talk of the prince's favour to me; that it was reported he had desired the king to let me accompany him to the army; and that he had promised to use me so well, that I should confess his favour to our nation. This news made me take horse after dinner; but I found him newly risen and marching, but met a *Dutchman* his jeweller, who confirmed all the soldier had said, and added so much more that I believed none of it. I sent word I was come, and he returned answer, that I should pass before

His behaviour.

The prince's present to Sir Thomas Roe.

before to the tents, and sit till he came; and he would speak with me. It was night before he came; he only looked on me, sat a little, and went in among his women. As he pass'd he turned about, and sent a servant to desire me to stay a while, and he would come into the *Gazekan*, and take his leave of me. Within half an hour he set out, but I could not get any man to put him in mind of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot it, or put a trick of state upon me; so that I stay'd an hour. Being much troubled I went to the door, and told the waiters that the prince had sent for me; that I came only to receive his orders; that I had stay'd long, and must return to my house, it being late; and if his highness had any business I desired him to send it after me, for I scorned such usage; and so went away to take horse. Before I could mount, messengers came running for me, and I went in. He excused himself, and blamed his officers, using me with much shew of civility; calling me to see his cards, and asking me several questions. The eunuchs and officers told me the prince would make me a great present, and if I feared to ride home late, I should have ten horse to guard me. The present came, and was a cloke of cloth of gold which he had worn once or twice, and which they put upon my back: I made reverence for it very unwillingly; and it is here reputed the highest favour to give a garment that has been worn by the prince, or just lain on his shoulders; yet this would have become an actor that had represented his ancestor *Tamerlan*. Then he bowed, and I had my discharge; yet first I urged some business, and having my answer, took my leave. Going out I was followed by his porters and waiters in such shameful manner, that I half paid for my cloke before I got clear of them.

November the tenth almost all the town being removed, I was left behind, having got neither camels nor carts, notwithstanding my warrant; and the *Persian* ambassador was under the same circumstances, who complained and was soon redress'd: Whereupon I sent to court, and on the eleventh received two warrants for carts or camels at the king's price; but it was not easy to get either, the great men having soldiers every way to take all up; and indeed it was wonderful how the whole town and two *lekars*, or camps, that is the king's and prince's could remove at once. The sixteenth the king gave orders to fire all the *lekars*, or huts at *Admire*, to oblige the people to follow him; which was daily executed. The *Persian* ambassador and I were left in bad plight, in danger of thieves, who came daily from the camp to rob;

and almost without bread to eat. This made me think of buying beasts and carriages, which would prove as cheap as hiring; but first I sent again to court to make one trial more. Having nothing material to speak of during my solitude at *Admire*, I will here say something of the condition of *Sultan Corfane*, of whose late delivery into the hands of his enemies, before-mentioned, every man's heart and mouth was full. The king notwithstanding he had so far condescended to satisfy his proud son at his departure, yet it seems designed not to wink at any wrong offered the elder; and therefore partly to secure him in the hands of *Asaph Chan*, and partly to satisfy the people who murmured, and feared some treachery might be practised against him, took occasion to declare his mind in publick. *Asaph Chan* had visited his new prisoner, and in his behaviour did not acknowledge him as his prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and without respect. Some are of opinion he picked a quarrel, and knowing that the prince's brave nature would not bear an affront, tempted him to draw his sword, or use some violence, which the guard should presently revenge, or else it should be represented to the king as an attempt to kill his keeper, and make his escape. But the prince was more patient, and only got a friend to acquaint the king with his jailor's manners. The king called *Asaph Chan* at the *Durbar*, and asked when he saw his charge. He answered, two days before. His majesty reply'd, What did you with him? He said, only visit him. The king prest'd to know how he behaved himself towards the prince. *Asaph Chan* perceiving the king knew what had happened, said he went to see him, and to offer his service, but the prince refused to admit him into his chamber; which, he having charge of him, thought necessary for himself to do, and uncivil for the other to refuse, and therefore he prest in. The king presently reply'd, When you were in, what said you, what did you, what duty shew'd you towards my son? *Asaph* was blank, and confessed he did him no reverence. Whereupon the king told him, he would make his proud heart know him to be his eldest son and beloved heir, his prince and lord; and if once he heard the least want of respect or duty towards him, he would command his son to set his foot upon his neck and trample on him: That he loved *Sultan Corfane* well, but would make the world know, he did not intrust his son among them for his ruin.

The twentieth of this month I received a new warrant for carriages, which procured me eight camels, but such poor ones as would

Roe.

Sultan Corfane's escape.

Sultan Corfane's escape.

His behaviour.

The prince's present to Sir Tho. Roe.

Sir Tho. Roe says how the king would

Roe would not suffice me, and therefore I was forced to take order to buy the rest. The 22<sup>d</sup> I removed into my tents. The 25<sup>th</sup> I removed six coffes, but staid the following days for the caravan that was going from *Agra* to *Surat* to send my papers with safety. December the first I removed four coffes to *Ramfor*, where the king had left the bodies of a hundred naked men, executed in the fields for robbing. The 2<sup>d</sup> seven coffes, the 3<sup>d</sup> rested because of the rain, the 4<sup>th</sup> five coffes; in the way this day I overtook a camel laden with three hundred mens heads, sent from *Candabar* by the governor as a present to the king, these men being in rebellion. The 5<sup>th</sup> five coffes, the 6<sup>th</sup> four, where I overtook the king at a wall'd town call'd *Todah*, in the best country I saw since my landing; being a fair champaign, at every cosse a village; the soil fruitful in corn, cotton, and cattle. The 17<sup>th</sup> the king only removed from one side to the other of the town, which was one of the best built I ever saw in *India*, for some houses were two stories high, and most of them such as a pedlar might not scorn to keep shop in, all cover'd with tile. It had been the seat of a *raja* *rajsote* before the conquest of *Ezbar Sba*, and stood at the foot of a great rock very strong, had many excellent works of hew'd stone about it, many ponds arch'd, vaulted, and descents to them large and deep: By it was a delicate grove, two miles long and a quarter broad, planted on purpose with mangoes, tamarinds, and other fruit-trees divided into walks, and full of little temples, and altars of pagodes, and *Indie* idolatry, many fountains, wells and summer-houses of carved stone curiously arch'd; so that a banish'd *Englishman* might have been content to live there. But it is a general observation, that all goes to ruin and destruction; for since the propriety of all is come to the king, no man takes care of any thing in particular, so that devastation and the spoils of war appear in every place without any reparation. The 8<sup>th</sup> I was at the king's *Guzelcan*, and found him so near drunk that he made it up in half an hour, so I could move no business to him.

The 9<sup>th</sup> I took a view of the *leskar*, or king's camp, which is one of the greatest wonders I e'er beheld, and chiefly for that I saw it set up and finished in less than four hours, except some of the great men, who have double suits of tents, it being no less than twenty *English* miles in compass, the length some ways three coffes including the skirts: In the middle, where the streets are order'd, and tents join'd, there are all sorts of shops, and so regularly dispos'd, that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of

quality, and every trade being appointed how far from the king's tents they shall pitch, what ground they shall take up, and on what side, without ever altering. All which as it lies together is almost equal to any town in *Europe* for greatness; but no man must approach the royal *atafkanba*, or quarter, by a musket-shot every way; which is now so strictly observed, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the *Durbar* in the evening is omitted, and spent in hunting, or hawking on pools by boat, in which the king takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. He sits on the sides of these pools, which are often a mile or two over. At the *jaruco* in the morning he is seen, but business, or speech prohibited, all being concluded at night in the *Guzelcan*, and there very often the opportunity is miss'd, his majesty being overcome by the fumes of *Bacchus*. There was now a whisper at court about a new affinity of sultan *Corporone* and *Afapb Chan*, and great hope of the former's liberty. I will find an opportunity to discourse of it, because the particulars are worth observing, and the wisdom and goodness of the king appears above the malice of others; and *Normaball* fulfils that observation, that a woman has always a great hand at court and in faction: She shews they are not incapable of managing business. This will discover a noble prince, an excellent wife, a faithful counsellor, a crafty step mother, an ambitious son, a cunning favourite, all reconciled by a patient king, whose heart was not understood by any of all those. But this will require a peculiar place. The *English* at *Surat* complained of ill usage at this time, but their drunkenness and other exorbitances proceeding from it were so great in that place, that it was rather wonderful they were suffered to live.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of this month of December I visited the king, who having been at his sports, and having all his game before him, desir'd me to take my choice of the fowl and fish, and then distributed the remainder to the nobility. I found him sitting on his throne, and a beggar at his feet, a poor silly old man all ragged and patch'd, with a young rogue attending him. The country abounds in this sort of profess'd poor holy men, and they are held in great veneration; and in works of mortification, and voluntary sufferings, they outdo all that ever has been pretended either by hereticks or idolaters. This miserable wretch clothed in rags, crown'd with feathers, cover'd with albes, his majesty talk'd with about an hour so familiarly, and with such seeming kindness, that it must needs argue

Todah  
town de-  
scribed.

The Mo-  
gul's camp  
described.

Bad  
with  
wood  
mountain

A nat-  
elephant



appointed they shall take up, ever alter-her is al-urope for oach the a musket- so strictly ed but by ar in the n hunting, in which nt, and his with him. ols, which At the jar-, but busi-being con-, and there mis'd, his e fumes of per at court orjane and he former's unity to dif- ticulars are wisdom and above the aball fulfils has always action: She of managing noble prince, ounsellor, a ous son, a ed by a pati- understood will require s at Surat s time, but exorbitances eat in that nderful they

December 1 The Mo- been at his gul's cha- before him, rity. the fowl and remainder to tting on his feet, a poor arch'd, with The coun- ofes'd poor in great ve- nortification, y outdo all ither by he- rable wretch ith feathers, talk'd with and with such needs argue

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an humility not found easily among kings. The beggar sat, which the king's son dares not do; he gave the king a present, a cake mix'd with ashes, burnt on the coals, and made by himself of coarse grain, which the king willingly accepted, broke a bit and eat it, which a nice person could scarce have done; then he took the clout and wrapt it up and put into the poor man's bosom, and sent for 200 roupies, and with his own hand pour'd them into the poor man's lap, and gather'd up for him what fell beside. When his collation, or banquet and drink came, whatsoever he took to eat he broke and gave the beggar half; and rising after many strange humiliations and charities, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, tho' no cleanly body durst have touch'd him, embracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, and calling him father, left him and all of us, and me in admiration to see such virtue in a heathen prince, which I mention with emulation and sorrow, that we having the true vine should bring forth the bastard stock of grapes; wishing either our christian princes had this devotion, or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the gospel.

Bad travelling in woods and mountains

The 23<sup>d</sup> being about three coffes short of a city call'd *Rantepoor*, where it was supposed the king would rest, and consult what way to take, he on a sudden turn'd towards *Mandao*, but without declaring his resolution. I am of opinion he took this way for fear of the plague at *Agra*, rather than out of any design of being near the army; for we march'd every other day about four coffes, only with such a train of baggage as was almost impossible to be kept in order. The 26<sup>th</sup> we pass'd through woods and over mountains thick of bushes, where many camels perished, many people tir'd with the difficulties of an impassable way, went away to *Agra*, and all complain'd. I lost my tents and carts, but by midnight we met again. The king resteth two days, for the *lekhar* could not in less time recover their order: many of the carts and camels lying in the woody mountains without meat or water: He himself got through on a small elephant that will climb up rocks, and pass such straits, that no horse or beast I have seen can follow him. The 29<sup>th</sup> we lay by the river of *Chambet*.

A notable elephant.

January the first I complained to *Ajapb Chan* of the injuries offer'd to the *English* at *Surat*, tho' at the same time I was perplexed with several relations which gave as bad an account of their disorders and outrages. *Ajapb* advised me not to make my complaint to the king, which would incense the prince, but to ask leave of the former to go visit the latter with a letter from him, recommending the dispatch of

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my business and good usage of our nation. That carrying his highness a present with this letter, I should please both parties, and succeed in my business. This was the same I had before propos'd to my self, and therefore pleas'd me the better; the king being now certainly design'd for *Mandao*, which is but eight days journey from *Brampore*, where the prince was, and I had as good ride over to him as lie idle in the fields. This day at noon I visit'd the *Persian* ambassador, being the first time we had leisure to do it, and he received me with much respect and courtesy. After our first compliments, I propos'd to him the settling of trade in his master's dominions, which he undertook to forward as much as in him lay. He made me a banquet of ill fruit, but being a good fellow it appear'd well. In his courtesy he offer'd all my entertainment in *India*. He rail'd at the court, at the king's officers and council, and used a strange liberty. He offer'd to be my interpreter, desiring I would pitch my tents by his, and he would propose whatever I would to the king. Much more pass'd between us, but at parting he press'd me to accept of a horse with a good furniture, which was brought to the door, but I refus'd him: and therefore he sent for nine pieces of *Persian* silks, and nine bottles of wine, that I might not depart without some testimony of his love, which I also refus'd with all expressions of affection. He looking earnestly upon my sword, I offer'd it, and he by my example would not receive. At night I visit'd the king, who spent his time sadly with an old man, after reading long letters, and few spoke to him. At his rising he gave this gentleman that sat by him, and was a cripple for age, 5000 roupies, and with many embraces took his leave. Here I met the *Persian* ambassador again, who after some compliments, repenting that he had refus'd my sword, which he had a liking to, begged it, declaring that liberty among friends was good manners in his country. We continued removing every other day about four or five coffes, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> came to the goodly river *Shind*. The 18<sup>th</sup> the king pass'd between two mountains, having cut the way through the woods, but with so much trouble and incumbrance to the baggage, that it was left behind, without any provision for man or beast. I found my tents at midnight, having taken up my lodging till then under a tree. This country is full of thieves, and not perfectly under obedience, but as it is kept by force. It belongs to a *raja*, who desired not to see the king. The exactor complain'd, and some few of the people that fled being taken and chained by

ROE.

Sir Tho. Roe's gift to the Persian ambassador.

A country not well subdued.

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the

ROE. the necks, were presented to the king, the rest kept the mountains. At night the king fired the town by which he lay, and appointed a new governor of the quarter to re-edify and re-people it, and to reduce it to more civility. He left him some horse to perform this. The 20<sup>th</sup> those that had fled into the woods, in revenge for the burning of their town, set upon a company of stragglers left behind, killing many and robbing the rest. The 22<sup>d</sup> having no news of the presents I expected from *Surat*, I went to visit the king at night, to observe how he received me: I found him sitting after a new manner, so that I was to seek what place to chuse. Being loth to mix with his great men, as was offered, and doubting to go into the room where the king was, which was cut down the bank of a river, and none near him but *Etimon Doulet* his father-in-law, *Asaph Chan*, and three or four others; I went to the brink and stood alone. The king observed me and let me stay a while, and then smiling, call'd me in, and with his hand directed me to stand by him; a favour so unusual that it pleased and honour'd me, and I soon found the effects of it in the behaviour of other men. He provoked me to talk, and I called for an interpreter, he refused it, pressing me to make use of what *Persian* words I had. Our discourse had not much sense or coherence, but he was pleased with it, and shewed his approbation in a very courteous manner.

The 24<sup>th</sup> news came to court, that the *Decans* would not be frightened out of their liberty at the hearing of the *Mogul's* approach, as *Asaph Chan* and *Normaball* had pretended, to persuade this expedition; but that they had sent their baggage far into the country, and lay on the borders with fifty thousand horse, resolving to give battle. That sultan *Corone* was as yet advanced no farther than *Mando*, being afraid both of the enemy and *Chan Channa*. Hereupon these counsellors alter'd their advice, declaring to the *Mogul*, that they imagin'd the *Decan* would have yielded upon the dread of his approach, before he had pass'd the last hills; but finding the contrary, they persuaded him to convert it into a hunting journey, and to turn his face towards *Agra*, for that the *Decan* was not an enemy worth his exposing his person. He replied, this consideration came too late, for his honour was engaged, having advanced so far; and therefore he would follow their first council, and his own resolution. He daily sent away fresh troops to his son, both from his own army, and from several governments; they were reported to be thirty thousand horse, but the muleers were not so high. Water was sometimes scarce in the camp, and provisions grew daily dear,

the country being not well reduced. The king not feeling it took no care, and his *Chans* are followed by their provisions, so that they did not inform him: the whole burden lay upon strangers, soldiers and the poor, who were worst able to bear it. Every other day the king removed three, four or five cosse, yet the 29<sup>th</sup> we were sixty short of *Mandoa*.

February the 3<sup>d</sup>, leaving the road of the *leskar* for my ease, and the benefit of the shade, and resting under a tree, sultan *Corone* on a sudden came upon me, seeking the same conveniency. This was the king's eldest son before mentioned to have been confined by the practices of his brother sultan *Corone*, and his faction, and taken out of their hands by the king at his setting out from *Ajmere*, as was there observed. He was now mounted on an elephant with no great guard or attendants. His people desired me to give him room, which I did, but staid to see him, who called for me; and having asked some civil and familiar questions with much courtesy and affability, he departed. His person is comely, his countenance chearful, his beard grown to his girdle. This only I observed, that his questions shewed ignorance of all that was done at court, in so much that he had never heard of any *English*, or their ambassador. The 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> we did not rest, and the 6<sup>th</sup> at night came to a little tower newly repaired, where the king pitch'd in a pleasant place upon the river *Sefra*, one cosse short of *Ugen* the chief city of *Mulwa*. This place, call'd *Callead*, was formerly a seat of the heathen kings of *Mandoa*, one of whom was there drowned in his drink, who being once before fallen into the river and taken up by the hair of the head by a slave that div'd, and come to himself, it was told him to procure a reward. He call'd for his deliverer, and ask'd how he durst put his hands on his sovereign's head, he caused them to be cut off. Not long after sitting alone with his wife and drunk, he had the same fortune to slip into the water, but so that she might easily have sav'd him, which she did not; and being asked why? replied, she knew not whether he might not cut off her hands for her reward. The 10<sup>th</sup> we removed one cosse beyond *Ugen*. The eleventh the king rode to *Ugen* to speak with a *derwis*, or religious man living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old. I thought this miracle not worth my examining. This day I received advice by a foot post that the prince had stop't the presents as they were coming to me, but not broken them open, hoping to compel the *English* to consent to it, which by my orders they would not do.

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The king of Decan with fifty thousand horse defends his country.

Barbarity of an Indian prince.

Sultan Corone's presents refused.

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Courtesy  
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The prince at the same time sent to the king to acquaint him with his stopping some goods, without mentioning they were presents, and to desire his leave to buy what he thought fit. This faithless proceeding of the prince, contrary to his word, and orders under his hand, obliged me to have recourse to the king for redress, being now blameless in the eyes of all the world for taking this course. I was afraid to go to *Asaph Chan* to introduce me, lest if he knew of the wrong done he should prevent me; and yet I durst not well provoke him by using any other means. The prophet, *Dervis*, or religious man the king went to visit, offer'd me an opportunity of doing my business; and my new interpreter, a *Greek* I had sent for from *Admirer*, was ready. I rode and met his majesty on his elephant, and alighted, making signs to speak. The king turned his monster to me, and prevented me; saying, my son has taken your goods and my presents, be not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seal or lock. At night I will send him a command to free them. He graciously added, That he knew I came full of complaint, and to ease me he began first. Upon the way I could do no more; but at night without further seeking to *Asaph Chan*, I went to the *Guzel-an*, resolving to prosecute the complaint of forcing back our goods, and all other grievances. As soon as I came in, the king called my interpreter, and declared by his own that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a hair should be diminished. I replied, the injury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the prince's officers, that I desired redress, being no longer able to endure it. It was answered, that what was past I must remit to his son; but by *Asaph Chan's* mediation I could procure nothing but good words, for he smoothed on both sides. So I was forced to seem content, and to seek an opportunity in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good king fell to dispute of the laws of *Moses*, *Cbrist*, and *Mabomet*, and in his drink was so kind, that he turn'd to me, and said, if I am a king you shall be welcome, *Christians*, *Moors*, and *Jews*; he meddled not with their faith, they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong; they lived under his protection, and none should oppress them. This he often repeated, but being very drunk fell to weeping and into divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.

I was much concerned to see the factors had detained the present four months at *Surat*, and by this delay given occasion for them to fall into the prince's hands. It was a second wrong to us that we could receive no redress of the first. Therefore

considering that the complaint I had already made against the prince had sufficiently incensed him, I thought since we must lose him quite, the best way was to use all my interest with the king. I waited for an opportunity of doing it effectually; and immediately sent back the messenger that came to me from Mr. *Terry*, with orders to stay wherever he met him and expect the king's commands. During this time the king had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had open'd them, which I resolved not to put up; and having obtained audience, made my complaint. He received me with much mean flattery, more unworthy him than even the action he had done. I suppose he did it to appease me, seeing by my countenance I was highly provoked. He told me he had found several things that pleased him extremely, and among them two embroidered sweet-bags, two glass cabinets, and the maffiff dogs. That if I would not give him any of these things, he would restore them, for he would have me pleased. I answered there was little but what was designed for him, but that this was not a civil way of dealing with the king my master, and I knew not how to give him to understand that his presents had been seized, and not delivered by me as he had appointed. That some of the presents were for the prince, and some for queen *Normahall*; the rest to remain in my hands, to make use of as occasion offer'd, to move his majesty to protect us against the wrongs offer'd us by strangers. That there were some few for my friends, and for my own use; the rest belonged to the merchants, and were not at my disposal. He desir'd me not to take it ill that he had caused them to be brought to him; that those things had pleased him so well, he had not the patience to stay till I presented them, and he thought he had done me no wrong, believing it was my intention he should be first served in the distribution of the presents. As for the king of *England* he would satisfy him, and make my excuse. That the prince, queen *Normahall* and he were all one; and for the presents to be kept to use as occasion offered, that was a needless ceremony; for he would give me audience at any time, and I should be well received, tho' I came empty-handed, he being sensible it was not my fault that I came so. Then he began to talk of his son, and told me he would restore part of what he had taken, and satisfy the merchants for what belonged to them. In conclusion, he desired me not to take what he had done in ill part, for he had no design to wrong me. I made no answer to all this: Whereupon he press'd me to speak my mind; asking me several times whether I was

ROE.

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ROE. I was satisfied. I replied, I was very well pleased to see his majesty was so. Then he began to reckon up all the things he had taken, beginning with the maffis, the sweet-bags, and the case for combs and razors; and smiling said, You would not have me restore those things, for I have a mind to them. Thus he proceeded, asking about the rest, and caused a chest of pictures to be brought, which were taken out; and there being among them one of a *Venus* leading a satyr by the nose, he shewed it to all about him, bidding them expound the signification of it, observing the satyr's horns, the blackness of his skin, and other particulars. Every man spoke as he thought, but the king liked none of their expositions, yet relieved his own thoughts, and asked me what it meant, who told him it was only the painter's fancy, who often represented the fables writ by poets, which was all I could say of it. Then he put the same question to Mr. Terry my chaplain, who could give him no better satisfaction. Whereupon he said, Why do you bring me what you do not understand? I reply'd, the minister did not concern himself with such things, and only came with them to look to them on the road. This I relate for the information of the gentlemen of the *East-India* company, and of all that shall hereafter come in my place, and advise them for the future not to send into those parts things that may be liable to an ill construction, for those people are very jealous. For tho' the king would not declare his opinion, yet by what he said I had ground to believe he thought that picture was made in derision of the people of *Asia*, whom he supposed to be represented by the satyr, as being of their complexion, and that *Venus* leading him by the nose denoted the great power the women in that country have over the men. He was satisfy'd I had never seen the picture, and therefore press'd no further for me to tell my opinion of it, but believed me to be really ignorant, as I pretended. Yet this suspicion remained in his mind, and without expressing any distaste, he told me he accepted of the picture as a present from me. As for the saddle and other trifles, he said he would have them sent to his son for whom they were fit, promising to write to him so effectually that I should not stand in need of any solicitor near him. After some more discourse about other trifles, he said I must need help him to one of our large horses, to a brace of *Irish* greyhounds, dog and bitch, and other sorts of dogs of all sorts for game; which if I would procure him, he promised on the word of a prince he would gracely me, and grant me more privileges than I should think of asking. I answered, I would order them to be put

The Mogul's consent on a picture.

aboard the next ships, but could not answer they would outlive so tedious a voyage, but in case they died, to convince him I had obeyed his commands, the skins and bones should be brought him. Upon this promise he bowed to me several times, laid his hand on his breast, and shewed me so much kindness, favour, and familiarity, that all there present protested he had never done the like to any man. This was the reward I had; but he said further he would make amends for the wrong he had done me, and send me home to my country laden with favours worthy a person of my rank. Nevertheless perceiving I had only fair words for the merchandize, I again asked his majesty for the pieces of velvet and silks, as commodities belonging to the merchants, making him believe the merchants had put them into those chests, only to prevent their falling into the hands of the prince's officers. He sent for Mr. Biddols to agree with and satisfy him. Then I presented a memorial containing the privileges and franchises I desired, saying, if he would not grant them, I should have the dissatisfaction of being useless in my employment to my prince, and consequently return home in disgrace. I press'd the payment of a debt. He answered, I should have satisfaction in all things, and return home to my prince with honour; that he would send him a noble present by me, and with it a letter certifying the good service I had done. Then he press'd me to tell him what present I thought would be most acceptable. I said, It would not look well in me to ask a present; that it was not the custom of our country; that it was against my master's honour to do any such thing; but that I was sure his majesty would receive any thing he sent with much satisfaction, as coming from a prince for whom he had a great esteem. He was so earnest with me, and made such protestations of sincerity, that I was forced to tell him that the great *Persian* carpets were proper to send, because my master did not expect presents of great value. Whereupon he told me he would choose a good quantity of all sorts and sizes, and add what he thought most proper to convince the king of the esteem he had for him. There was a quantity of all sorts of game laid before him. He gave me half a buck, and told me at the same time he had killed it with his own hand, and designed the other half for his women. That half was accordingly cut in pieces of about four pounds weight each, and immediately the king's third son and two women came out of the *Seraglio*, and took up those pieces of flesh in their hands, and carry'd them into the *Seraglio*, as if they had been beggars that had received them for charity. He then

The Mogul's expression.

Mandir, city, fort, water there.

The Mogul's kind expressions.

then repeated his expressions of desire to satisfy me; and added, I have often admired, that your master having sent you with the character of ambassador, your presents have been inferior to those a merchant you have seen here has brought, which have gained him the affection of all men. I own you as an ambassador, your behaviour speaks you a man of quality, and yet I cannot understand why you are kept here with so little of grandeur. I am satisfy'd it is not yours nor your prince's fault, and I will make you sensible I value you more than those that sent you. I will send you home with honour, and give you a present for your master without regarding those I have receiv'd; and in return I desire but one thing of you, which I do not care to commit to the merchants. It is to get me a quiver made in your country to carry my arrows, a case for my bow, a pattern whereof shall be given you, a pillow after my manner to sleep on, a pair of buskins, which you shall cause to be embroidered in *England* the richest that may be, and a coat of mail for my own wearing. I promised to send for them, and *Asaph Chan* was commanded to give patterns. The night being spent in this discourse, the prince rose up and dismissed me.

Mandao, city, and vicinity of Agra.

*March* the third I came to *Mandao*: the king was expected to make his entry there, but the day was not yet fixed; for he expected the astrologers should assign an auspicious hour for performing that ceremony, so we staid without, waiting that happy moment. The sixth I went into *Mandao*. My servants, whom I had sent to take up my quarters, had taken possession of a large inclosure shut in with good walls, where there was a temple and tomb. Some persons belonging to the court had also taken up their quarters there; but that did not hinder me from keeping possession, as being the best quarter in the town. It might have been made convenient in all respects with a very little charge. The air was wholesome, and the prospect pleasant; for the house was on the top of a rising ground. This inconvenience there was, that it was two miles from the king's palace. The eleventh I set out to go meet the king, but was told, that a lion having killed some horses of his train, he was gone out to hunt him. I spent some time in seeking water; for tho' the city was on a hill, there were no wells nor cisterns; such is the forecast of those people. All that multitude of people there was in danger of perishing with thirst. The great men at court had taken possession of those few wells there were in the country about, so that I could get no water. All the poor people were forced to leave the town; and

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an order was set forth for all beasts and camels to be sent out. All that had not favour, were forced to seek other habitations three or four leagues from thence. This produced much confusion at court, and made provisions dear. For my own part I was sufficiently troubled to think what I should do, for my house was very good; and tho' I was far from the markets and water, yet I thought I could live there more commodiously than in the open country, where I must have gone to encamp. I mounted on horse back to seek for water myself, and found a well that was guarded for a *Chan*, to whom the king had given it. I acquainted him how much I stood in need of his favour, and he granted me four loads of water a day. I valued this favour as it deserved, and returned to my quarters well pleased; and having the following days sold some goods and eased myself of part of my carriages, I delivered myself from the publick calamity. I cannot but declare, that in my travels following the *Mogul's* court, I endured all the inconveniences men are subject to under an ill government, and in an intemperate climate.

The twelfth of *March* I presented the king for a new-years gift a couple of fine knives and six glasses, from the company; and he took in good part the excuse I made for the smallness of the present. He commanded one of his officers to call Mr. *Biddulph* immediately, and to pay him what he demanded. All our creditors had orders at the same time to pay what they owed the company. Then the king ordered me to come up the steps of his throne, and draw near him: I obeyed, and found the *Persian* ambassador on the one side of him, and the old king of *Candabar* on the other. As soon as I had taken my place near that prince, he asked me for a knife, which I sent him the next day. Then the king called the *Persian* ambassador, and gave him some stones and a young elephant. He knelt, and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him. This was the same throne that served the year before, and was then mention'd, having the same ornaments about it. Over the throne were the pictures of the king my master, the queen, the lady *Elizabeth*, sir *Tho. Smith*, and some others. Under it were two very fine *Persian* carpets. The throne itself, as has been said, was of gold set with rubies, emeralds, and *Turky* stones. On one side upon a little stage or scaffold was a company of women-musicians. The 30<sup>th</sup> of this month I sent *Asaph Chan* a complement with a present of a pair of gloves and a curious night-cap. He sent back the gloves, as of no use in that coun-

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try;



**ROE.** try; but the cap he received, and sent to beg some *Spanish* wine of me, which I sent him the next day. The twenty first I discovered the *Mogul* was jealous that the *English* intended to steal away out of his country, and that they had some design of surprizing *Surat*; which the prince had instilled into him, that he might have an opportunity of fortifying that place for his own use: but I satisfied his majesty as to both points. The complaints made at that court of the misdemeanors of officers are so odious there, that they gained me the ill-will of all the men of note; who made this their own concern, as being the common cause. For they farm all the governments in the kingdom, where they exercise all manner of tyrannical exactions upon those under their jurisdiction, and will not suffer the knowledge of the wrongs they do to reach the king's ear. They grind the people under their government to get money out of them, and are afraid the king should know it; and this made me be looked upon, and hated in the *Mogul's* court as an informer.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of April the *Persian* ambassador sent to excuse himself to me, for going away without paying his respects to me. His messenger told me he was not sick as he pretended; but that finding no success in his negotiations with the king, he had taken his leave, and at parting gave him thirty fine horses. The king, in return, presented him three thousand crowns, and the ambassador testified his dissatisfaction at that gift. The king to justify himself, caused two lists to be drawn; one of them of the ambassador's presents, with the price set on every one, but lower much than what they were really worth. In the other were set down even the meanest things the king had given him, not omitting the melons, pine-apples, and *Spanish* wine sent him, with their prices; but much above the real value. These two lists being laid before the ambassador, they offered him the rest of the money to make up the balance. This ill usage made the *Persian* feign himself sick of a fever to avoid visiting *Ajaph Chan* and *Etiman Doulet*. Therefore he said he could not cross the town to see me without discovering the counterfeit; but to make amends had sent to let me know the truth, and would serve my nation in his country to the utmost of his power. I presented him some *Spanish* wine, and a few knives.

May the 12<sup>th</sup> a lion and a wolf by night broke into my quarters, and fell upon some sheep there were in the court. I sent to ask leave to kill them; for in that country none but the king may hunt a lion. Leave being granted, I went out into the

court, the lion quitted his prey, and fell upon a little *Irish* mastiff. One of my servants killed the wolf, and I sent it the king.

June the 14<sup>th</sup> there was brought to the king a trunk, which the jesuits had sent from *Cambaya*, in which there were medicines and a letter. It was betrayed into the king's hands by him that was intrusted with the carriage of it. The king opened the trunk, caused a jesuit that was then at court to be brought to read the letter, and looked into all the boxes; but finding nothing for his turn, restored all to the jesuit. This I mention here as a caution to those who deal in that country to take care what they write or send; for it is that prince's humour to look into the meanest things, and the most inconsiderable trifles are in danger when in his hands.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of July I received advice from *Dutch* *Surat* that two *Dutch* ships were run aground on the coast of *Damam*. They were loaded with spice and *China* silks, and bound for the *Red Sea*; but meeting with bad weather, they had lost the season for getting into that sea. They tried to recover *Socotora*, or some port on the coasts of *Arabia*; but failing, resolved to run as far as *Surat*, hoping to ride it out in that road, as they had done other years; but now they found all years are not alike; for when they were come to an anchor, they were obliged by storms to cut down their masts by the board. After which, their cables failing, they were cast upon a bank of sand. The lesser vessel of fifty tun was beaten all to pieces; the other saved all the men, and most of the goods.

August the 21<sup>st</sup>, *Marre Rustan* king of *Candabar* came to visit me. I treated him with wine and fruit. He staid with me about half an hour, and concluded his visit, begging a cask of wine. This day prince sultan *Corfere* went out of his prison, and came to take the air in a house near mine. The other prince sultan *Corane* had taken a wife at *Bramjore* against the king's will, who had declared his dislike of it; and at the same time there was a discovery of some practice of his against his brother's life. He was ordered to come to court to clear himself. Queen *Normahall* and *Ajaph Chan*, by the advice of *Etiman Doulet*, propoied an alliance with sultan *Corfere*. This news produced an universal joy among the people, who now began to hope that good prince would be restored to his full liberty.

The first of September being the king's birth-day, and of the solemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine garden, where besides others there was a great square pond with trees set about it, and in

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the midst of it a pavilion or tent, under which were the scales the king was to be weighed in. The scales were of beaten gold, set with small stones, rubies, and turkoises; they hung by chains of gold, and for more surety there were silk ropes. The beam was covered with plates of gold. The great lords of the nation sat about the throne on rich carpets, expecting the king's coming out. At length he appeared covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. He had several strings of them about his neck, arms, wrists and turban, and two or three rings on every finger. His sword, buckler, and throne were also covered with precious stones. Among the rest I saw rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls of a prodigious magnitude. He got into one of the scales, sitting on his legs like a tailor. Into the other scale, to weigh against him, were put several parcels, which they changed six times. The country people told me they were full of silver, and that the king that day weighed 9000 roupies. Then they put into the same scale gold and precious stones; but being packed up, I saw them not. After that he was weighed against cloth of gold, silks, calicoes, spices, and all other sorts of precious commodities, if we may believe the natives, for all those things were packed up. Lastly, he was weighed against honey, butter, and corn, and I was informed all that was to be distributed among the *Banians*; but I think that distribution was not made, and all those things were carefully carried back. They told me all the money was kept for the poor, the king using to cause some to be brought at night, and to distribute that money among them very charitably. Whilst the king was in one of the scales, he looked upon me and smiled, but said never a word, perhaps because he did not see my interpreter, who could not get in with me. After being weighed, he ascended the throne. Before him there were basins full of almonds, nuts, and all sorts of fruit artificially made in silver. He threw about a great part of them, the greatest noblemen about him scrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do so; and the king observing it, took up one of those basins which was almost full, and poured it out into my cloke. His courtiers had the impudence to thrust in their hands so greedily, that had I not prevented them, they had not left me one. Before I came in, they had told me those fruits were of massive gold; but I found by experience they were only silver, and so light, that a thousand of them do not weigh the value of twenty pounds. I saved the value of ten or twelve crowns, and those would have filled a large dish. I keep them to shew the va-

nity of those people. I do not believe *Roe.*  
the king that day threw away much above the value of an hundred pounds. After this solemnity, the king spent all the night a drinking with his nobles: I was invited, but desired to be excused, because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot they will burn a man's very bowels. I was then ill of a flux, and durst not venture such a debauch.

September the ninth the king went to *The mas-*  
take the air upon the banks of the river *ters of*  
*Darbadat*, and I took horse to meet him. *houses pre-*  
It is the custom there that the masters of *sented the*  
all the houses by whose door the king passes *king as he*  
must make him some present; which gift *passed by*  
is called *maubareeb*, signifying good news, *them.*  
or good success. These presents the king takes as a good omen of the success of what he has in hand. I had nothing to give him, and it was a shame to appear before him empty handed; besides, it had been ill manners in me not to be at home upon that day: I resolved therefore to present him an Atlas neatly bound, and make him this compliment, that my house affording nothing worthy the acceptance of so great a prince, I presented him with all the world, he being master of so considerable and so wealthy a part of it. He received my present very courteously, often putting his hand to his breast, and protesting that any thing from me was always very acceptable to him. After other courteous expressions, he told me he received some wild boars sent him from *Goa* extraordinary fat, and if I would eat any he would send me some. I made my profound obeisance, and answered, I should receive any thing that came from his majesty with the utmost satisfaction and respect. He mounted his elephant, and having made a little halt before my lodging, liked it very well; for it was one of the best in the camp, and I had built it out of the ruins of a temple and an antient tomb. He took leave of me several times, and would needs have me return to my lodging because the way was very bad. I took my leave, and obeyed him.

The sixteenth I went to pay the king of *The king*  
*Candabar* his visit, who sent me word at *of Canda-*  
his door, that he could not receive me *bar refused*  
without the king's leave, or acquainting *for Tho.*  
*Etimon Doulet*, or *Asaph Chan*, which he *Roe's vi-*  
would do at the *Darbar*. I sent him word *sit.*  
he might spare his labour, for I would take care not to come a second time to a person so ill bred. His servants would have staid me to carry in my answer; but I went away, and at night was at court, where the king asked me several questions about my book of maps.

The 25<sup>th</sup> tho' I was very weak, I went again to court to see whether there was any

ROE. any thing to be expected from the king in relation to our debts. One of our debtors had lately given me to understand, he could not pay without selling his house. I presented the merchant's petition to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, and would hear the names of the debtors, what security they had given, and what sums they owed. *Asaph Chan* read it: Then the king called *Aradet Chan* the lord steward of his household, and the *cutwall*, and gave them some directions which I understood not. As the names were read he inquired into their quality, and what commodities had been sold them. It appeared that some of them were dead, and others were not the king's subjects. As for what concerned *Sulph*, *Asaph Chan* undertook to speak to the prince about it, and conclude that affair when he came. Then my interpreter was called in, and the king turning to me, told me our merchants had trusted that money according to their own fancies, and to whom they pleased: That they had not presented him an inventory of their goods, and therefore if their debtors were not solvent it was their own fault, and they could not expect he should pay the debts of private persons. I thought he meant that of *Ergon* an officer of his, who was lately dead, and all his goods seized for the king. His majesty added, that this being the first time he would ease me of my trouble, and see me paid; but that if for the future the merchants sold their goods to his officers without acquainting him, it should be at their own peril; but if when the *English* ships came they would deliver him an inventory of all their goods, he would take what was for his own turn, and distribute the rest among others; and if any of those proved insolvent, he would pay it out of his own pocket. This is the custom of the merchants of *Persia*, who carry all they have to the king; and he having taken what he likes for himself, distributes the rest among his nobility. His notaries enter what every man receives, and another officer settles the price. The merchant has a copy of this entry given him, and he has nothing to do but to go to their houses for his money. If they happen to be backward, there is a proper officer that makes them pay by force. Then my interpreter was informed what order the king had given, which was, that *Aradet Chan* should make the creditors appear before him, and oblige them to pay. Our merchants were not pleased with this answer, but I thought it very just, and more favourable than could be expected by private persons from so great a prince.

The 26th the king sent two *Omrabs*, who are great commanders, with some forces,

to apprehend a *Raja* of the *Rajpoots*, who had rebelled, and was in the mountains twenty cosles from the camp. That rebel stood his ground, and in a battle killed one of the *Omrabs*, and twelve captains. This news being brought to the king he thought it proper to send his son to reduce the *Raja*.

October the second, prince sultan *Corone* made his entry into the town, attended by the chief nobility in great splendor. The king, contrary to our expectation, received him as if he had been his only son: All the great men and the king's mother went five cosles out of town to meet him. I excused my self on account of my weakness.

The fifth I received advice that our admiral was not yet arrived at *Surat*, and that the ships of the company in their way thither had rescued a ship of the queen mother's coming from the *Red-Sea*, which was chased by two *English* pirates. If this ship had been taken, it would have been of very ill consequence to us. The sixth I went to visit the prince upon his arrival, having need of him for our business. I designed to offer him the service of our nation, and present him with a gold chain made in *China*. When I sent to desire audience, word was brought me I might come in the morning at break of day, or stay till he went out to see the king, which I must have done at the door. I took this as an affront, having never been refused audience by his father; and therefore shewed my resentment, saying, I was none of his slave, but free, and the ambassador of a king, and would take care not to visit, or make court to him any more; and since he refused me justice, I would for the future seek it elsewhere: Accordingly at night I went to the king, who received me with much civility. I bowed to the prince, and he would not take notice he saw me. I gave the king an account of what he had required of me, and told him, I had brought an inventory of goods in pursuance to his commands. He asked several questions, and seemed well pleased at what was in the inventory, promising me all favours and privileges I could desire. He asked whether our ships had brought any pearls, or precious stones; to which I answered, they were dearer in *England* than in his dominions: which answer seemed to satisfy him. I durst not say there were pearls, fearing that would set the prince upon persecuting our people; besides, I thought those pearls would be the more valued being the less expected, and hoped to make a friend with them: and therefore when *Asaph Chan* press'd me to tell him whether we had any jewels, I declared to him, I would have

A rebel defeats the loyal party.

Sultan Corone comes to court.

He refuses Sir Tho. Roe audience.

him

Scots, who A rebel  
mountains defeats  
That rebel the loyal  
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Debts like  
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him second the answer I had given, that they were dearer in England than in India, and I had something to say to him in private: He took me at half a word, and said no more. The king seeming to me to be then in a good disposition towards us, I thought it a proper season to mention our debts; and having then the petition ready drawn about me, took it out, and held it up to present it. The king having his thoughts perhaps otherwise employed at that time, did not observe it; but his courtiers presently imagined what it might be, and believing he would be very angry that his orders were not obey'd, one of them sily drew near, and pulled down my hand, desiring not to present that petition to the king. I told him, *Aradetb* had refused to do me justice. He hearing what I said was very uneasy, and applying himself to *Asaph Chan*, desired him not to let me make my complaint. I urged, our ships being now come, we could suffer no longer delays and loss of time. They consulted what was to be done, and calling for the *cutwall*, told him he must execute the king's orders. That same night our debtors tents were beset, others were pursued, so that I believe this time we shall have justice done us. I had many thanks returned me for civility us'd by the *English* towards the passengers that were aboard the queen mother's ship, and for protecting that vessel against the pirates of our nation. They represented the thing well to the king, and the great men told me they had reason to love the *English*, that they would do us all service in their power; but that they wondered our king could not command his subjects, and that any should presume to take ships out of the kingdom without his leave. *Asaph Chan* and I withdrew to translate the inventory into *Persian* for the king: I somewhat increased the article of the money, that he might have the better opinion of our trade. I concluded, desiring his majesty to allow us the liberty of selling the rest. That done, *Asaph Chan* put me in mind I had something to say to him in private. I told him it was true, I had some rarities come, but I had feared so ill the last year by having my secret divulged, that now I durst trust none but him; and therefore on his word of secrecy and advice, I declared I had a pearl of a great value, and some other rarities, and knew not whether I should tell the king, lest the prince should become our utter enemy. I gave him an account of what happened going to visit him in the morning, that I was still sensible we stood in need of his favour, and had therefore kept that pearl to make him our friend, to which I desired his advice. He embraced me, and said I

had done wisely, but must keep the secret, or it would breed me trouble: that the prince was a tyrant, and misused all strangers. All this I saw tended to get the pearl out of my hands, advising me to send for it and trust no man, telling me instances of the ill-usage of the *Portugueses* upon the like occasions: that if I would sell him the pearl, he would deposit the money I should value it at in the hands of a third person; and in return for the confidence I reposed in him, he would solicit our business, which could never be done without him. I said I would serve him, but feared he would reveal the secret: he swore he would keep it, and to make the oath the more solemn, we squeezed one another's thumbs, as is the custom of the country. I promised on my part to rely wholly on him, and do all things according to his direction. He said he would get me orders that our goods should not be touch'd, but left wholly at my disposal; that he would reconcile the prince and me, and I should be better used than I had been; have a particular judge assign'd that should take care of our business, and all the satisfaction we could wish. He said it would be proper to make his sister queen *Normaball* a present, and she would prevail with the king to give me money. To this I reply'd, I had rather his majesty should bestow his favours on our nation in general. Then he carried me to the king, to whom I presented the inventory translated: I had a favourable reception. He asked me whether there was any tapestry? I said some was sent me, if it were not seized by the way by the prince's order. He said he would take a good quantity of our cloths, and other commodities, directing me to have them brought, and *Asaph Chan* to draw up the order for their free passage. I was well pleased with this day's success; for though experience had taught me, that there was no faith among those barbarians, yet I had no cause to mistrust *Asaph Chan*, when it was his interest to be faithful to me, till he had got the pearl, which he might otherwise have missed of; nor could I suspect him afterwards, because he could not betray my secret without discovering his own falsehood to the prince.

The 12<sup>th</sup> *Asaph Chan* according to promise went with me to the prince, who received me in his chamber, where I presented him a small gold chain made in *China*, on a falver of that country. *Asaph Chan* persuaded him to deal more kindly with us than he had done, representing the profit our trade would yield him, and the loss it would be if we went away. The prince immediately directed his secretary to

Roe.

Asaph  
Chan  
gained by  
Sir Tho.  
Roe.

Sir Tho.  
Roe gains  
the prince.

ROE, draw the order to our mind, and write a letter to the governor to see it executed;

adding I should have any other letter I desired. This made me sensible of the poor spirits of those people. *Asaph Chan* was become so much our friend in hopes to

*Sordid spirits.*

buy some trifles, that he would have betrayed his own son to serve us, and was my humble servant. He would needs send one of his servants aboard our ships to this purpose, which I could not refuse him; besides, it is no loss to us, for he is a good pay-master, bought by wholesale what we must have sold by retail, and laid us the charge of carriage. He obtained an order from the prince to this effect, and wrote a kind letter to the governor in our behalf. I now also obtained an order from the prince for *Bengala*, which before he would not hear me speak of. Afterwards I found he prosecuted our debtors, as if they had been his own; and as he passed before the *cutchwall's* house, called him out to bid him be speedy in our business, which was an unparalleled favour. The next day *Asaph Chan* sent one of his servants in the queen's name to acquaint me she had obtained another order from the prince, that all our goods for the future should be under her protection; that this was done, and she was about sending one to see what else we wanted, and take care that no wrong was offered us. *Asaph Chan* sent word he had done this for fear of the prince's passionate temper, and his delays in those affairs; but now we might be secure, since his sister had undertaken our protection, for the prince would meddle in it no more; and that he engaged on his honour that all things directed for me should be delivered to me. That she had sent a positive order directing the person that carried it to be assisting to our factors, that they might have no cause to complain of the officers of *Surat*. She further desired me to write to the captain of the ship and to the factors, to be kind to her messenger, and let him buy some of those toys that had been laid aside. This I could not refuse, but gave her a list of them, upon condition she would shew me a copy of the order, which was sealed. This shews how easy it is to sell such commodities here. Last year they did not regard us, now the list or inventory is translated; yet without mentioning the pearls I had given the king, every one runs to buy. Most of the great men at court desired me to give them letters to send their servants to deal with our factors; so that if I had been furnished with three times the quantity of goods, they had been sold aboard the ships, and we had saved the duties, carriage, and the seizures made before. I write to our factors to sell to

*The favourite queen's maid.*

*Great jale of English commodities.*

*Normaball's* and her brother's servants what goods they desired, even of those set apart, that I might be supported by their interest at court.

The 24<sup>th</sup> the king went twenty four coffes from *Mandao*. He went from place to place on the mountains; and no body knowing what he intended, we were at a loss what way to take. The 26<sup>th</sup> I got an order for ten camels at the king's rates. The 29<sup>th</sup> I set out, being forced to quit my quarters which were so inconvenient. The 31<sup>st</sup> I came to the king's tents, who was gone a hunting for ten days, none going with him, but such as he had named. His camp was dispersed and scattered about the country, the water was bad, and provisions dear, much sickness, and other inconveniences; but nothing diverts him from taking his pleasure, when he sets on it. I was informed he had not yet resolved whether he should go to *Agra* or *Guzurat*; the latter was most talk'd of, but the former seemed more probable, because his council thought that a more commodious and pleasant place than the other. To me either was indifferent, because I had no prospect but the compassing my business. Therefore seeing he might stay there a month, I concluded it was the best way to have my presents brought thither, and endeavour to conclude my business: hoping after that I might obtain some rest, which I needed; being very ill, and wanting conveniences, whilst I followed the court, to recover my health.

November the second, *Steele* and *Jackman* came to me with their pearls, and some other inconsiderable things they had brought ashore privately by my order. These men came with projects of water-works to me, made to advance the sale of lead, which I did not approve of for good reasons; but was satisfied they should make a trial to please them; and bid them bring their workmen to *Anadabat*, where with the assistance of *Mocreb Chan*, the only man there that loves new inventions, I would offer their service to the king, and see what conditions he would propose; tho' I was of opinion it was labour and money lost. The company should not so easily give ear to these projectors, who generally mind their own profit more than theirs that employ them. The other project to oblige the caravans and merchants of *Labar* and *Agra*, who travel generally into *Persia* through *Candabar*, to change their method, and send their goods down the river *Indus*, to be put aboard our ships, and so conveyed into the gulph of *Persia*, is a mere chimera never to be reduced to practice: For tho' it is easy to run down the river, the *Portugueses* have a residence at the mouth of it; and

*He meant to enter in following the Mogul camp.*

*English projects to advance trade in India.*

*Kind of Alchimie Sir T. Roe.*



and then it is a matter of much difficulty to return up the river, besides that they must ensure their commodities. There are many other reasons against this design too long to insert, and needless, because there is no probability the thing should ever be put execution. The third project of uniting the trade of the *Red Sea* with this, is what I have always recommended, and has already begun to be practis'd. The danger of pirates in these seas is great, and therefore I did not question but many merchants would put their goods aboard our ships, which would make our friendship necessary to these people; and I advis'd to employ one of our ships this year in that trade, which might return in *September*. This I earnestly recommended to the captains and factors; and if executed, the company would find the advantage. Were it my own concern, most of the ships being light by reason of the small stowage the goods here take up, I would send them to the *Red Sea*, tho' they were empty, for there are many good hits in that sea; and tho' they did nothing but bring back the goods you have at *Mocca*, and other ports in that sea, it would pay the charge of the voyage. *Steele*, *Keridge*, and others are very fond of their notions, inasmuch that they do not pay me the respect they ought, and are every day at daggers-drawn with my person. I have told *Steele*, his wife cannot live in this country, for he would draw many inconveniences on us, and therefore he must send her back into *England*.

The 6th I went to *Asaph Chan*, and shew'd him the pearls according to promise. He told me they were not fit for that country, which was afterwards confirm'd to me by others; yet he was so pleas'd I had kept my word with him, that I believe I may say as *Pharaoh* did, *The land is before you, settle where you please*. We spoke not of the price of the great pearl. He promised to keep the secret, assuring me that for my sake, and because I had confided in him, he would give more for it than it was worth, and pay ready money; for he had a great deal, and would lend me some if I had occasion. I had all imaginable good words from him, and some good actions. He further told me there was little difference in that country between giving and selling, which I found by experience to be true. After this familiar discourse in his bed-chamber, he rose up to go to dinner, and invited me and my retinue. I dined at a table apart, because they make a scruple of eating with us.

I mention'd before that the king had sent me three criminals condemn'd to death, offering them to me to buy them as slaves, which is there look'd upon as a favour, and

what answer I returned. The king order'd the prisoners to be sent to me, and expected I should send him the money; but I hearing no more of him, hop'd it was forgot, and took no care to pay it. One night the king's officers brought the prisoners to my steward's house; and took his word for sixty roupies, which I paid, and set them at liberty. This money is pretended to satisfy those that have been wrong'd; but the king takes it himself, and makes his advantage of his great men's charity, who look upon it as a favour that he gives them this occasion to exercise it.

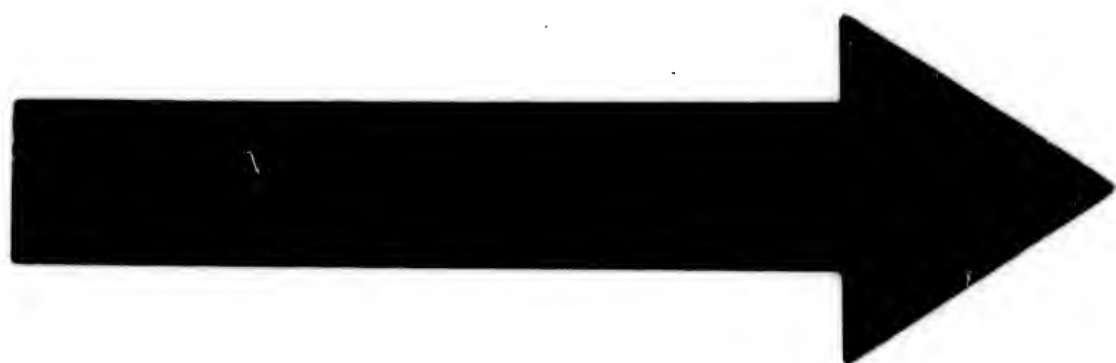
The 10th I visit'd *Asaph Chan* on account of a complaint I received that we were not allowed to lay our ships ashore, the prince having been inform'd we intended to build a fort at *Soali*, and that our ships were to that purpose loaded with bricks and lime. This jealousy sprung from our mens bringing their ships ashore to careen them. The report was so hot that I was forced to go to court to clear my self, and had much ado to undeceive the king; this conceit being more strongly fixed in them, because I had not long before ask'd a port of the king for that purpose. Yet this did not prevent his sending down a body of horse to demolish a brick fort that was at the mouth of that river. They disarm'd our men, but the arms were put into the custom-house, and only the sailors had theirs taken away. I told *Asaph Chan* I could not live in servitude; that there was no honour in a prince who granted a 'avourable order one day, and recall'd it the next; and that I should be blamed if I staid any longer after such usage. He said he would that night acquaint the king before the prince, and return me his answer. The 30th he told me wonders of the *Mogul's* kindness for the king my master, my nation, and for me in particular; adding, he had run the hazard of losing the prince's favour to serve us, but that he should soon be in a condition to do it effectually; for he was about being governor of *Surat*, which the prince must quit, having the government of *Amadabat* and *Cambaya* conferr'd on him: and to demonstrate he was real, desired me to be with the king at night, with the king my master's letter translated into *Persian*, advising me to complain and desire leave to be gone, and I should see how he would second me. In the evening I attended the king, found a great court, presented my letter; and *Etimont Doulet* at the request of *Asaph Chan* read the *Persian* translation. The king said he would take upon him to conclude a peace between us and the *Portugueses*, answer his majesty's letter, and perform all he desired in it. However I ask'd leave

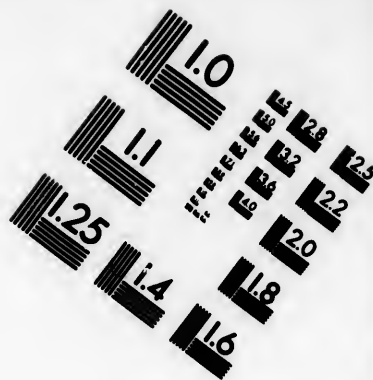
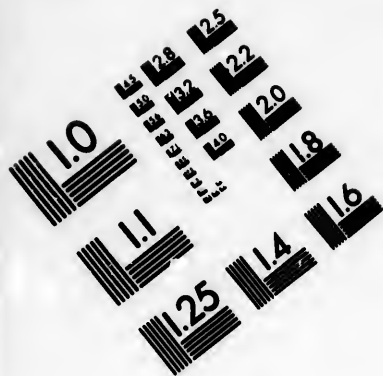
to

Kindness  
of Asaph  
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Sir Tho.  
Roe.

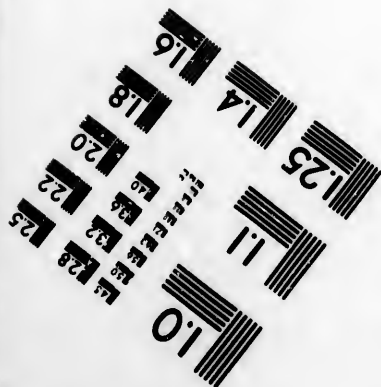
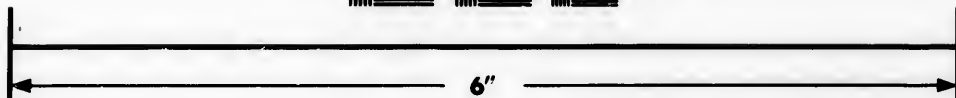
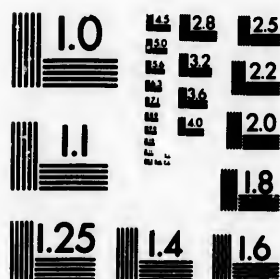
English  
projects to  
advance  
trade in  
India.

Jealousy  
of the  
Mogul.





# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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ROE. to return to *England*. The king and prince had some contest about this matter, the latter saying he got nothing by our stay at *Surat*, and was willing we should be gone. Here *Asaph Chan* stood up boldly, and said the kingdom gain'd considerably by our trade, and was in some measure secured by it; that the prince's officers us'd us ill, and it was impossible for us to stay without redress; and therefore it were better for his majesty to dismiss us, than keep us to suffer new wrongs. The prince in a passion said he had never wronged us, but that on the contrary, at his suit he had lately granted us an order. It is true, replied *Asaph Chan*, you granted them the order as they desired it, but ten days after you sent another to recal it: Adding, that his honour suffer'd by this breach of faith; that he had no interest in it, and only spoke with respect to the king's justice and reputation. For our usage *Asaph Chan* refer'd it to me who had often complained that our goods were taken from us forcibly these two years last past; that we could never get payment, and his officers still us'd the same violence every fleet that came; that if the prince was weary of us, it were better for him to turn us out, and he might be sure we would do our selves right upon the sea. Does the prince, or the king, said he, maintain this ambassador? He is a stranger that follows the court at his own expence; if his goods are forcibly taken from him, and he can procure no payment, how can he subsist? This was spoke with much heat, and the king two or three times repeated, violence, violence, severely checking the prince. This open

breach with the prince succeeded as *Asaph Chan* had forecasted; for we were paid all that was due to us at *Surat*, and the custom-house officers had orders to treat us better for the future. I am satisfied had I not fallen out with the prince, I should never have made good of it. I told the prince's messenger before the *English* merchants, that if he offered any violence to me, or my merchants it would cost him some blood; that I would ship my self aboard his own vessels, taking them out of his ports, and would carry them into *England*.

January the 30th the *Dutch* came to court with a present of several rarities brought out of *China*. They were not permitted to come near the third ascent. The prince asked me who they were. I told him they were *Dutch*, and lived at *Surat*. He asked, whether they were our friends. I answer'd, they were a nation that depended on the king of *England*, and were not well received in all parts; that I knew not what brought them thither. Since they are your friends, said he, call them. I was forced to send for them to deliver their presents. They were placed near our merchants, without holding any discourse with them.

Here ends all that is to be found of Sir Thomas Roe's journal, the rest being lost; tho' Purchas in his extracts says, there was nothing more material in it, but only what was peculiarly related to trade, and the business of the company. It will not be amiss to add what little matter could be found worth the reader's knowledge in two volumes of Sir Thomas his letters, which have been perused to take out all that might be of use.

An extract of a letter of Sir Thomas Roe's to the company, dated at Adsmere, January the 25th 1615. Containing only what is remarkable, and not mentioned in the journal.

AT my first audience the *Mogul* presented me in speech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the king my master; and after many compliments I delivered his majesty's letter, with a copy of it in *Persian*: then I shewed my commission, and delivered your presents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a scarf embroidered, and a rich sword of my own. He sitting in his state could not well see the coach, but sent many to view it, and caused the musician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night having staid the coach-man and musician, he came down into a court, got into every corner of it, causing it to be drawn about. Then he sent to me, tho' it was ten a clock at night, for a servant to put on his scarf and sword after the *English*

fashion, which he was so proud of, that he walk'd up and down drawing and flourishing it, and has never since been seen without it. But after the *English* were come away, he asked the jesuit, whether the king of *England* were a great king, that sent presents of so small value, and that he looked for some jewels; yet rarities please as well: and if you were yearly furnished from *Frankfort*, where there are all sorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go further than five hundred laid out in *England*, and be more acceptable here. This country is spoiled by the many presents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink, as the king and prince are of red wine.

Five company's presents to the *Mogul*.

Presents  
fit for  
India.

No laws  
in India.

Governor:

Religion.

Extent of  
the *Mogul's* empire.

Building.



*Presents  
fit for  
India.*

wine, whereof the governor of *Surat* sent up some bottles, and the king has ever since solicited for more: I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in *Cheapside*; large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they must be good, and for variety some story with many faces. For the queen, fine needle-work toys, bone-laces, cutwork, and some handsome wrought waste-coats, sweet-bags, and cabinets will be most convenient. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet, it is dear to you, and no better esteemed here than stammel. I must add that any fair *China* bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of *Japan*, are here rich presents.

Lately the king of *Vijapour* sent his ambassador with thirty six elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest of brass, and four rich furnish'd horses, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of roupies. Yet withal he sent *China* ware, and one figure of crystal, which the king valued more than all that mass of wealth.

*Rox.  
A rich  
present.*

This place is either made, or of it self unfit for an ambassador; for tho' they understand the character, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges due to it, and the rather because they have been too humbly sought to before.

*Privileges  
of embas-  
sadors not  
understood.*

*Extract of a Letter to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury. Dated at Admiree,  
January 29. 1615.*

*No laws  
in India.*

**L**AWS these people have none written; the king's judgment binds, who sits and gives sentence once a week, with much patience, both in civil and criminal causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

*Governors*

His governors of provinces rule by his *firmats*, which are his letters, or commissions authorizing them, and take life and goods at pleasure.

*Religion.*

There are many religions, and in them many sects. *Moors* or *Mahometans* following *Hali*, and such is the king. *Banians* or *Pythagoreans*, believing the transmigration of souls, and therefore will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of lodging the soul. They often buy many days reprieve from killing any flesh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolaters there are of several sorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and casting themselves into the flames with great joy.

*Extent of  
the Mo-  
gul's em-  
pire.*

The extent of this dominion is on the west to *Syndu*, on the north-west to *Candabar*, on the north almost to the mountain *Taurus*, on the east to the borders of *Ganges*, and south-east all *Bengala*, the land forming the gulph down to *Decan*. It is much greater than the *Persian* monarchy, almost, if not quite equal to the *Turkish*. *Agra* the ordinary residence of the king is near a thousand miles from any of the borders, and farther from some. The right issue of *Porus* is here a king in the midst of the *Mogul's* dominions, never subdued till last year; and to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquer'd, won to own a superior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by *Alexander* is yet standing at *Delli*, the antient seat of the ancestors of *Rama* the successor of *Porus*.

*Buildings.*

The buildings are all base of mud, one story high, except in *Surat*, where there

are some of stone. I know not by what policy the king seeks the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, and now lie desolate and in rubbish. His own houses are of stone, handsome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance; but as far as I have yet seen, live in tents, or houses worse than our cottages. Yet where the king likes, as at *Agra*, because it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair and of carved stone.

In revenue he doubtless exceeds either *Turk*, or *Persian*, or any eastern prince, the sums I dare not name; but the reason. All the land is his, no man has a foot. He maintains all that are not mechanicks by revenues bestowed on them reckoned by horses, and the allowance of many is greater than the estates of *German* princes. All men rise to greater and greater lordships as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent presents rich and rare. The *Mogul* is heir to all that die, as well those that gain'd it by their industry, as merchants, &c. as those that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleases. To the sons of those that die worth two or three millions, he gives some small lordship to begin the world anew.

The king sits out in three several places at three times of the day, except something extraordinary hinder him. An hour at noon to see his elephants fight; from four till five to entertain all comers, to be seen and worshipp'd; from nine till midnight amidst his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

*The Mo-  
gul's  
thrice  
a day.*

All the policy of his state is to keep the greatest men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no council, but every officer gives the king his opinion apart.

*Policy.*

**Roe.** He (meaning Jehan Guire) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and custom; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation.

There is an account in this letter of Sir Tho. Roe's audience, but that is to be seen before in the journal.

*An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.  
Dated at Admire the 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1616.*

Mahometanism introduced in India.

**B**Efore the inundation of *Temer* the great, that is *Tamerlan*, the ninth ancestor of this king, these countries were governed by divers heathen petty princes, worshipping all sorts of creatures after their several manners. *Tamerlan's* off-spring brought in the knowledge of *Mabomet*, but imposed it on none by the law of conquest, leaving consciences at liberty. So that the natives from the circumcision brought in by the *Mabometans*, called them *Moguls* or chief of the circumcised. Among the *Moguls* there are many strict *Mabometans*, many the follow *Hali* his son in law, and other later prophets, who have their *Xerifes*, *Mulbaes*, and priests, their mosques, religious votaries, washings, praying, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitents, no sect in the world can shew such strange examples, nor boast of such voluntary poverty, punishments, sufferings, and chastisements as these, who are all esteemed holy men, but of a mixt religion; not upright with their prophet. Sir Thomas Roe should have excepted the idolaters in India, who far outdo the Mahometans in this particular. The *Gentiles* are of more sorts, some valiant good soldiers, drinking wine, eating hogs-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a beast. Some who will not touch the flesh that is not holy by imputation; others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the same cup with those that do, superstitious in washings, and most zealous in their profession; but all of them ascribe a sort of divinity to their river *Ganges*, at which once a year forty or fifty thousand meet, and cast in gold and silver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a *pagod* near this city, and all living cows, and some other beasts and creatures. These have their *pagods*, and holy men, prophets, witches, soothsayers, and all other impostures of the devil. The *Mabometan Mulbaes* know somewhat in philosophy and the mathematics, are great astrologers, and can talk of *Aristotle*, *Euclid*, *Averroes*, and other authors. The learned tongue is the *Arabic*. In this confusion they continued till the time of *Ezhar Sha*, father to this king, without any knowledge of Christianity. This is another mistake in Sir Thomas Roe,

Idolaters there.

Christianity.

for they had always heard of Christianity, and there were many Christians both in Persia and some parts of India. *Ezhar Sha* being a prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions, and excelling in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three jesuits from Goa, the chief of whom was *Jerom Xaverius*, a *Navarais*. After their arrival he heard them discourse with much satisfaction, and dispute of religion, and caused *F. Xaverius* to write a book in defence of his religion against both *Moors* and *Gentiles*, which when finished he read in every night, and had some part discussed. Finally he granted them his letters patents to build, preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in *Rome*, bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. In this grant he gave liberty to all sorts of men to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, professing it should be no cause of disavour. *Ezhar Sha* himself continued a *Mabometan*, yet he began to make a breach into the law; for considering that *Mabomet* was but a man, and a king, as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward awe withheld him, and so he dy'd in the formal profession of his sect. *Jehan Guire Sha*, his son, the present king, being the issue of this new fancy, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist. Sometimes he will profess himself a *Mabometan*, but always observes the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the *Gentiles*. He is pleased with all religions, but loves none that changes; and falling into his father's conceit, has dar'd to proceed further in it, and to profess himself for the main of the religion to be a greater prophet than *Mabomet*, and has formed himself a new one, being a mixture of all sorts, which many have received with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at sun rising to a window open to a great plain before his house, where multitudes attend him. When the *Moors* about him talk

Villanous distimulation of the Mogul.

talk of *Mahomet*, he will sooth them; but is glad when any one will lash out against him. Of *CHRIST* he never utters any disrespectful words, nor do any of all these sects; which is a wonderful secret working of God's truth, and worth observing.

As for the new-planted christian church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, spending two hours every night for a year in hearing disputes; often dropping words of his conversion, but to a wicked purpose.

To give more hopes he delivered many youths into the hands of *F. Francisco Corra* still resident here, to teach them to read and write *Portuguese*, and to instruct them in human learning, and in the law of *CHRIST*. To that purpose the father kept a school some years, to which the king sent two princes his brothers sons, who being brought up in the knowledge of God, and his Son our blessed Saviour, were solemnly baptized in the church of *Agra*, with great pomp; being first carry'd up and down all the city on elephants in triumph; and this by the king's express order, who would often examine them to see what progress they had made, and seemed well pleased with them. This made many bend towards the same way, being ignorant of his majesty's intention; others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policy to render those children odious to the *Moors* for their conversion, the strength of his estate consisting in them: but all men mistook his design, which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were settled, as we thought, in the christian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, &c. the king set the two boys to demand *Portuguese* wives of the jesuit; who thinking it only an idle motion of their own, chid them, and suspected no more: But that being the end of their conversion to get a woman for the king, and no care being taken in it, the two princes came to the jesuits, and delivered up their crosses, and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Christians, because the king of *Portugal* sent them no presents nor wives, as they expected. The fathers seeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boy discovered; especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of pupils: and examining the matter, they contest'd the king commanded them. The jesuits refused to receive the crosses, answering they had been given by his majesty's order, and they would not take notice of any such surrender from the boys, but bid them desire the king to send one of those who art, according to order, to deliver all his majesty's commands, whose words are

by privilege a sufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the king would not discover himself to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this message, which enraged the king; but being desirous to break up the school, and withdraw the youth without noise, he bid them call the jesuits to the women's door, where by a lady he gave the order, and without ever taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen were recalled, and are now absolute *Moors*, without any taste of their first faith: and here have ended the conversions of these infidels.

I will add one or two more pleasant relations, and so conclude. Not long since the jesuits house and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The king, who never lets slip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the jesuit, and questions him about it. He answers ambiguously; whereupon his majesty asked, whether he did not desire to convert him? And being answered in the affirmative, reply'd, You speak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet: If you will cast the crucifix and picture of *CHRIST* into a fire before me, if it burn not I will become a Christian. The jesuit refused the trial, as unjust, answering, That God was not ty'd to the call of man, that it was a sin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to cast himself into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the king would not allow of. Here arose a great dispute, begun by the prince, a most stiff *Mahometan*, and hater of all Christians, urging, that it was reasonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the jesuit should be obliged to turn *Moor*. He urged examples of miracles said to be wrought for less purpose than the conversion of so mighty a king, and spoke scornfully of *CHRIST* *JESUS*. The king took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with those of their absurd saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The prince reply'd, that to give sight to one born blind was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both sides, a third man interposed to end the controversy, saying, that both the father and the son were in the right as to their opinions; for to raise a dead body to life must be owned to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind was the same work, because a blind eye was dead, sight being the life of it; therefore he that

Rox.

The Mogul like Herod would see a miracle.

gave

Villanous  
dissimulation  
of the  
Mogul.

Roe gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it from death. Thus this discourse ended.

*A strange story of an ape.* The other story is this. A juggler of *Bengala*, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the king a great ape, which as he said could divine and prophesy; and to this beast some of the *Indian* sects attribute a sort of divinity. The king took a ring off his finger, and caused it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen present; then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child, and took it out. His majesty being somewhat more curious, caused the names of twelve law-givers, as *Christ*, *Moses*, *Mabomet*, *Haly*, and others to be writ on twelve papers in the *Persian* tongue; and shuffling them in a bag, bid the beast divine which was the true law, who putting in his paw, took out that inscribed with the name of *Christ*. This amazed the king, who suspecting the ape's

master could read *Persian*, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presented them the second time. The ape found the right, and kissed it. At his a great officer grew angry, telling the king it was some imposture, and desiring he might have leave to make the scrolls anew, offering to undergo any punishment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in a bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey search'd, but refused all; the king commanding it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made signs the true law-giver's name was not among them. The king asked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of *CHRIST JESUS*. The king was concerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in publick before thousands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact.

*The fittest parts in the Mogul's dominions.*

*Part of a Letter to the East-India Company, dated at Admire, Nov. 24. 1616.*

*My honoured friends,*

I Received your letter, &c. (the first part omitted, as nothing material.)

*Temper of the Mogul and his court.*

Concerning the aiding the *Mogul*, or waisting his subjects into the *Red-Sea*, it is now less useles, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a courtesy, they regard it, as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The king has peace with the *Portugueses*, and will never make a constant war, except first we displant them; then his greatness will step in for a share of the benefit; which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they scorn our assistance, and speak as loud as our cannon; if war oppresses them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You must remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwise than defending your selves, and leaving them to their fortune: You can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will sooner fear than love you. Your residence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the *Portugueses*, therefore avoid all other charge as unnecessary. At my first arrival I understood a fort was very necessary, but experience teaches me we are refused it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. First, where the river is commodious the country is barren, and has no trade; the passages to better parts so full of thieves, that the king's authority avails not, and the strength of the hills secures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives would have chosen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a bared

*Reasons against having a fort in the Mogul's country.*

haven; and it is argument enough of some secret inconveniency, that they make not use of it: but if it were safe without the walls, yet it is not an easy work to divert the course of trade, and draw the resort of merchants from their accustomed mart, especially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, The charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a garison will eat out the profit: An hundred men will not keep it, for once the *Portugueses* see you take that course, they will use all their endeavours to supplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my consent you shall never engage your selves but at sea, where you are like to gain as often as to lose. The *Portugueses*, notwithstanding their many rich residences, are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the *Indies* since they defended them. Observe this well. It has been also the error of the *Dutch*, who seek plantations here by the sword; they turn a wonderful stock, they prole in all places, they possess some of the best, yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversy it is an error to effect garisons and land wars in *India*. If you made it only against the natives, I should agree to it; but to make it for them they do not deserve it, and you should be very wary how you ingage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a fair retreat as an onset.

*Strength of the support of trade in India.*

onset. One disaster would either discredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger, and doubtful event: besides an action so subject to chance as a war, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remoteness of the place for supplies, succours and counsel, subjects it to irrecoverable loss; for where there is most uncertainty, remedies should be so much the nearer upon all occasions. At sea you may take and leave, your designs are not publish'd. The road of *Soali*, and the port of *Surat* are the fittest for you in all the *Mogul's* territories. I have weigh'd it well, and deliver to you that which shall never be disproved. You need no more.

The fittest ports in the *Mogul's* dominions.

It is not a number of ports, residences and factories that will profit you; they will increase charge, but not recompense it. The convenience of one with respect to your sails, and to the commodity of investments, and the well employing of your servants, is all you need. A port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The road at *Soali*, during the season, is as safe as a pond. *Surat*, *Bambaya*, *Baroche*, and *Amadabat*, are better traded than all *India*, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the *Portugueses* at sea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the first, you must bring to pass that your lading be ready by the end of *September* at the port, which may be effected by a stock beforehand, or by taking up money for three months; and so you may discharge and lade at once, and depart in excellent season for *England*, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived: and if the preparation be of longer date, we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of frigats, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a pinnacle of sixty tuns with ten guns, that draws but 7 or 8 foot water, to pass up the river between *Soali* and *Surat*, and so your goods will be safe and in your own command, to the custom-house-key, and it will a little awe the town; she may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you sell pass best in that quarter, the goods you seek being indigo and cloth; no one place is so fit for both, and the less inconveniences are to be chosen. *Syndu* is possessed by the *Portugueses*; or, if free, were no fitter than *Surat*, nor safer; as it is, will be more subject to peril.

Strength the support of trade in India.

For the settling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the king, and your force will always bind him to constancy. It will not need so much help at court as you suppose, a little countenance, and the discretion of your factors will with

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easy charge return you most profit, but you must alter you stock. Let not your servants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quicksilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you must succour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain, want of presents has disgraced me, and yet by piece-meals I have got as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day, or at least an honourable composition.

The presents sent are too few to follow examples, they will scarce serve the first day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the *Mogul*, and the prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal present and some letter from the king, our solicitor from you, which need not be dear if well chosen. Your agent must be furnished with a *China* shop to serve small turns; for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment; it cannot be avoided, and I have been scorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the first sent by me, contentment outwardly appeared; but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were taken and argued by the king and his great ones. First it was censured to name presents in a king's letter, to be sent by a principal man his ambassador; and such poor ones delivered, meaner and fewer than when they came with less ostentation. That if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been less despicable; for such is their pride, that tho' the coach for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was scorned, and it was never us'd till two others of rich stuff were made by it, and that cover'd with cloth of gold, harness and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with silver, or hatch'd: so that it was nine months repairing, and when I saw it I knew it not. 2. Exception was taken that his majesty did write his name before the *Mogul*, but it matters not for that dull pride. 3. That his majesty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit should arise to this prince by the *English* and their trade, which he so much scorns to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us if he durst. The forgetting to send me letters diminishes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremonies, and sultan *Corone* expected one as an honour to him.

The suffering of volunteers to pass in your fleets is an extreme incommodity. How to dispose of one here honestly, I know not. Assure your selves they are either some unruly youths that want ground to

9 B

few

Roe.

Presents to be made to be sent at court.

The *Mogul's* exceptions against the embassy.

Volunteers not to be sent into India.



Roe. fow their humours, and are exposed to be famed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of some taken by my self in good nature. Here is subject to practise all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned: Or else they are sent at your charge to learn to discover the straits and fittest place of interception of *Indian* goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you a mischief who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extreme glad to rob you of it; you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but your selves, or at least as many as necessity does not oblige you to use.

Practise  
against the  
Dutch.

The *Dutch* are arrived at *Surat* from the *Red Sea* with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the same ground we stand on, fear of their ships, against which I suppose you will not warrant the subject of this king. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

Concerning *Persia*, the factors do not understand what they have undertaken. *Jasques* is no port or place for sale of goods, and those they have sent not saleable. In order to secure your safety and the *Portugueses*, there are but two ways, peace or compulsion. The first I have undertaken by means of a jesuit, but despair of success. The next is force, which is always used to disadvantage when you are only upon the defensive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them, and that as you now ride at *Seali* road to protect one ship, you would send that guard the next year to ride before *Goa*, to brave or burn them, or at least to stop them that they may not put to sea in *December*; so you will make them lose their seasons, and one or two returns stoppt would undo them. On my word they are weak in *India*, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by supplies from *Lisbon*, where you must endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your strength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cause, and force them to that which their pride will never suffer them to see they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffick into the *Red Sea*, it is more important than all other projects: my council is, that one of your smallest ships with the fittest *English* goods, and such others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the *Guzarats*, and trade for themselves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in *September* with them to supply this place. The profit exceeds all the trade

How to  
deal with  
the *Portu-  
gueses* in  
*India*.

Trade in  
the *Red  
Sea*.

of *India*, and will drive this alone. The danger is rather a jealousy than substantial. When the *Turks* betray'd Sir *Henry Middleton*, our factories and courtes in those parts were unknown to them; and doubtless we being strangers in that sea, were mistrusted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the *Guzarats*, for their sake whom they cannot spare, we shall be admitted. The king would write to the admiral to entertain our comfort-ship, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the best securities of our friendship. The *Dutch* have practised it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own wariness might secure us. They must ride six months for winds, time enough to send all the goods ashore by parcels, and never trust above one or two factors, and a small quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the *Grand Signior's* command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of such importance. Port *Pequeño* in *Bengala* you are misinform'd in, there *Pequeño* is no mart, or resort of merchants; it is *Bengala* traded to by the *Portugueses* from *Pegu* with rubies, topazes and sapphires, and returns cloth which is fine, but you may be furnished nearer hand.

I will settle your trade here secure with the king, and reduce it to *one*. I may *ador* be heard; when I have *done* I must *be* plead against my self, that *an* *ambassador* lives not in fit honour here. I could sooner die than be subject to the slavery the *Persian* is content with. A meaner agent would among those proud *Moors* better effect your business. My quality often for ceremonies either begets you enemies, or suffers unworthily. The king has often demanded an ambassador from *Spain*, but could never obtain one, for two reasons; first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his reception should not answer his quality. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. Half my charge shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves.

Port *Pe-  
queño* in  
*Bengala*.  
No embas-  
sador  
should be  
sent to  
*India*.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

The best way to do your business in this court is to find some *Mogul* that you may entertain for a thousand *roupies* a year, as your solicitor at court. He must be authorized by the king, and then he will serve you better than ten ambassadors. Under him you must allow five hundred *roupies* for another at your port to follow the governor, and customers, and to advertise his

No pri-  
trading  
the *East  
Indies*  
be allow-

his chief at court. These two will effect all, for your other smaller residences are not subject to much inconveniency.

*No private trading to the East-Indies to be allow'd.* Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you absolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures; for your business will be the better done. All your loss is not in the goods brought home; I see here the incon-

veniences you think not of. I know this is harsh to all men, and seems hard; men profess they come not for bare wages: but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from, but then you must make good choice of your servants, and use fewer.

*The several Kingdoms and Provinces subject to the great Mogul, SHA-SELIM JEHAN-GUIRE: with the principal Cities and Rivers, their Situation, Borders and Extent in length and breadth, as near as I could gather by common Computation. The Names I took out of the King's Register, and begin at the North-West.*

1. **Candabar.** The chief city and kingdom both of the same name, it lies N. W. from the heart of the Mogul's territories, and was formerly a province of Persia, on which it borders.

2. **Tatta.** A kingdom and chief city so called, is divided by the river Indus, which falls into the sea at Syndu. It lies south of Candabar, and west somewhat southerly from Agra.

3. **Buckor.** The chief city call'd Buckorjuckar, lies upon the river of Syndu or Indus to the northward, somewhat easterly of Tatta; and on the west borders on the Baloches, a kind of rude warlike people.

4. **Multan.** The chief city called by the same name, lying also upon Indus, south-east from Candabar, northerly from Backar.

5. **Hajacan.** The kingdom of the Baloches, north of Tatta and Backar, and on the west borders on the kingdom of Lar, subject to the king of Persia; Indus winds it self along the east-side of it, and it has no city of note.

6. **Cabul.** The city has the same name. It is a great kingdom, the most northerly of this empire, and runs up to the confines of the great Tartary.

7. **Kybmier, or Cachimir.** The chief city of it is called *Srinakra*, the river *Bhat* passes through it, and falls into *Ganges*, tho' others say it runs into the sea in the north part of the bay *Bengala*: the kingdom of *Cabul* is bordered by it on the east, southerly it is all mountains.

8. **Bankish.** The chief city of it is called *Beishar*, it lies east of *Cachimir*.

9. **Atack, or Attock.** The chief city of the same name, it lies on one side of the river *Nilob*, which runs on the north-west into the river *Indus*.

20. The kingdom of the *Kakares*. Lies at the foot of the mountains. Its principal cities are *Dankely* and *Purchola*, and borders on the north-east-side of the kingdom of *Cachimir*.

11. **Penjab.** Which signifies five waters, because it is seated within five rivers. The chief city is called *Labor*. It is a great kingdom, and very fruitful. The city is the mart of India for traffick, it borders on the east-side of *Multan*.

12. **Jenba, or Jamba.** The chief city of the same name, it lies east of *Benjab*, and is very mountainous.

13. **Peitan, or Pitan.** The chief city so called lies north-east of *Jenba*, and north of *Patna*, and is full of mountains.

14. **Naugracut.** The chief city of the same name, it lies north between *Benjab* and *Jamba*, and is very mountainous.

15. **Siba.** The chief city of the same name, north of *Jamba*, and the bay of *Bengala*, and very mountainous.

16. **Jesval.** The chief city is called *Rajapore*, it reaches down to the kingdom of *Bengala*, and lies north of it, and east of *Patna* full of mountains.

17. **Delli.** The chief city of the same name: It lies on both sides of the river *Gemmi*, which falls into *Ganges*, and runs through *Agra*. It is an ancient city, and the seat of the Mogul's ancestors, but ruined. Some affirm it to have been the seat of *Porus* conquered by *Alexander* the great, and that there still stands a pillar with a Greek inscription.

18. **Mewat.** The chief city called *Narwal*, it lies on the east of *Ganges*, and *Gemna*, to the north-east of their meeting.

19. **Sambal.** The chief city bears the same name: It lies betwixt the rivers *Ganges* and *Gemna*, north of their meeting.

20. **Bakar.** The chief city is called *Bihmer*, *Ganges* borders on the east, and the province of *Delli* on the west.

21. **Agra.** A principal and great kingdom, the chief of the same name, the heart of the Mogul's dominions, in about 28 degrees and half of north latitude: It lies molt on the south-west side of the river *Gemna*, the city upon the river where one of the emperor's treasuries is kept. From *Agra*

**Roz.** *Agra to Labor* there are three hundred and twenty cosses, which is no less than seven hundred miles, all a plain, and the highway planted on both sides with trees, like a delicate wall. It is one of the great works and wonders of the world.

22. *Jenupar.* The city of the same name upon the river *Kaul*, which I suppose to be one of the five rivers inclosing *Labor*; and the country lies between it and *Agra*, north-west from the one, and south-east from the other.

23. *Bando.* The chief city is so called: It borders on *Agra* on the east, and *Jesselmere* on the west.

24. *Patna.* The chief city has the same name: It is inclosed by four great rivers, *Ganges*, *Jemna*, *Serfeli* and *Kanda*, and lies north-east from *Agra*, and north of the bay of *Bengala*, where all these rivers pay tribute.

25. *Gor.* The chief city is also so called: It lies in the northern part of the *Mogul's* dominions, and towards the heads of the rivers *Ganges* and *Kanda*.

26. *Bengala.* A mighty kingdom enclosing the east and north side of the bay of that name; whence winding towards the south, it borders on *Coromandel*, or rather *Golconda*. The chief cities are *Rogmebal* and *Dekaka*: There are many havens, as port *Grande*, port *Pequenba*, resorted to by *Portugueses*; *Piliptan*, *Siligam*, &c. It contains divers provinces, as that of *Prurup*, *Patan*, &c.

27. *Udeza.* The chief city called *Jakanat*. It is the utmost extent eastward of the *Mogul's* dominions, north of the bay, and borders on the kingdom of *Mauz*, a savage people lying between *Udeza* and *Pegu*.

28. *Kandwana.* The chief city is called *Karakatanka*. This and *Gor* are the north-east bounds of this monarchy, on the west of it is *Pitan*.

29. *Gualcor.* The chief city bears the same name, where the *Mogul* has one of his great treasuries, with an exceeding strong castle, where prisoners are kept. It lies south of *Agra*.

30. *Candis.* The chief city here is *Bramapore*. It is a great kingdom, and the city one of the ancient seats of the kings of

*Decan*, taken from them: It lies east of *Guzarat*, south of *Chitor*, west of *Golconda*, and north of *Decan*. It is watered by the river *Tabeti*, which runs westward into the bay of *Cambaya*.

31. *Makva.* The chief cities here are *Ugen*, *Nar* and *Seringe*: It lies north-east of *Chandis*, and south-east of the country of *Rama*, and west of the province of *Prurup* of the kingdom of *Bengala*.

32. *Berar.* The chief city is called *Sbakpur*: It is inclosed by the provinces of *Malva*, *Candis*, *Golconda* and *Prurup*.

33. *Guzarat.* A noble kingdom, inclosing the bay of *Cambaya*, the chief city is *Amadavat*. Within it is contained the city and government of *Cambaya*, the beauty of *India*. The territory and city of *Surat*, and that of *Barocbe*. It is watered by many goodly rivers, as that of *Cambaya*, once falsely supposed to be *Indus*; the river of *Narbadab* falling into the sea at *Barocbe*, that of *Surat*, and divers others. It trades into the *Red-Sea*, and many other places.

34. *Soret.* The chief city called *Gunagur*: It lies to the north-west of *Guzarat*.

35. *Narvar.* The chief city of *Gbebud*, lies east of *Gualcor*, and south of *Sambal*.

36. *Chitor.* The ancient great kingdom: The city of the same name, walled, and about ten *English* miles in compass, on a mighty hill. There are still above one hundred churches standing, the king's palace, and many fine pillars of carv'd stone. There is but one ascent to it cut out of the rock, on which are four magnificent gates. The ruins of above one hundred thousand houses all of stone are still to be seen, but it is not inhabited. It was doubtless one of the seats of *Porus*, and taken from his successor *Rama* by *Ezbar-Sba*, father to *Jehan Guire* the *Mogul*. *Rama* flying into the strength of his kingdom, among the mountains, seated himself at *Odepore*, and was brought to acknowledge the *Mogul* for his sovereign lord by sultan *Corone* third son to the present emperor, in the year 1614. This kingdom lies north-west from *Candis*, and north-east from *Guzarat*, in the way between *Agra* and *Surat*. *Rama* himself keeps the hills to the west nearer *Amadavat*.

#### *The Length of the Mogul's Dominions, North-West and South-East.*

FROM *Candabar* to *Labor* 350 cosses, being about 800 miles.

From *Labor* to *Agra* 320 cosses, about 750 miles.

From *Agra* to *Hagipore Patna* 300 cosses, 680 miles.

From *Hagipore Patna* to *Kirafnad* 300 cosses, about 670 miles.

The whole length 1270 cosses, about 2872 miles.

The breadth in all north-east and south-west from *Harduar* to *Duarfa* 630 cosses, about 1500 miles.

The length north and south about 1400 miles.

*A Note of such things as Sir Thomas Roe would have had sent him to bestow as Presents, inserted for the Reader's Satisfaction, to shew what Curiosities were acceptable in India to give or sell.*

**K**NIVES large and fair, wrought with amber, coral; gold or silver, or inlaid with glass.

The figures of the lion, the buck, the greyhound, the bull, the horse, the talbot, provided they be well formed, and good shapes, such toys will please well for ordinary turns.

Pieces of velvet and sattins, if they be good and rich, and fresh colours; blue is not esteemed.

Fowling-pieces, if they be fair, else none. Branches of polish'd coral, of the largest. Some of the fairest amber and coral beads. Crystal boxes.

Rich embroidered sweet-bags.

Embroidered fowling cases.

Embroidered pillows.

Saddles rich, with caparisons and furniture.

Swords, if they be very good, and with fine hilts, inlaid with gold or silver, or well cut in iron.

Choice pictures, especially histories, or other that have many figures, as church-work, night-work, or land-skip, but good, for they understand them as well as we.

Hats.

*Alicant*-wine, *Malvasy*, or any that will make *Hipocras*, and will keep.

Cloth of gold or silver, sattins or flower'd silks of gold, or silver, or silk, *French* shags; fine *English* *Norwich* stuffs, half silk, these of light, fresh and choice colours.

Fine light armour.

Agats well cut, especially black and white, are highly esteemed.

Emeralds of the old rock, or any other stones, finely set and enamell'd.

Enamell'd work.

Cloth of *Arras*, so it be good, great imagery, and fresh.

Good cross-bows.

Fine *English* long bows and quivers of fair

arrows, the cases should be made of *Rox.* velvet.

Looking-glasses of two foot over, in frames of colour'd wood, or covered with cloth of gold; small ones are trash.

Figures of brass or stone curiously cut.

*China* ware, or large counterpoints embroidered with birds in silver, and colour'd silks.

Fine cabinets, embroidered purses, needle-work, *French* estuges, or twizer cases, fine table-books, perfum'd gloves, girdles and belts, rich perfum'd skins, bone-lace, cut work, any sort of embroidery. Water and land-spaniels, *English* and *Irish* greyhounds, *English* hounds, especially blood-hounds, and good mastiffs.

Scarlet, tho' in some esteem, is not according to its value.

Plumes of feathers, so they be large and of good colours; especially some herons feathers, pure white and whole.

Comb-cases covered with velvet, laced or embroidered with handsome glasses and all necessary furniture.

Some paper cuts, especially of kings, queens, and other great persons.

Some burning-glasses.

Gold chains of curious workmanship.

Watches.

Cases of bottles of strong-waters.

Drinking *Venice*-glasses.

Prospective glasses.

Fine basons and ewers.

In general, any thing curious for workmanship, rare, and not seen in *India*, or rich in value, is very acceptable; and these people know the best of all kinds, and are served by the *Portugueses*, *Venetians* and *Armenians*, with all the rarities of *Europe*. All these things will sell for ready money at the *noyse*, or feast of the king's birth-day, at good prices.

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