

1609. all Kinds of Refreshments were there to be had, a rival, and the State of his Company, as others had done before. *Keeling.*  
 Fish, Turtles, Manatees, in great Abundance; Fowls, infinite; and Goats, newly by them brought thither, in some reasonable Number: Hogs also, and the Place very healthful. That the Island is between thirty and forty Leagues in Circuit; and the Variation there twenty-one Degrees North-Westing. That they came from *Bantam* in May, were a Month getting to *Mauritius*, staid there four Months and half, and had left it six Weeks before; in which Time, for seventeen Days, they had contrary Winds.

*Cape das Agullas.* THE twenty-second, they were in the Latitude of thirty-five Degrees twenty-eight Minutes, and within seven Leagues to the South-East of *Cape das Agullas*, which rose like two Isles. But coming more thwart, it appeared like three Islands, two Bays to the North, making three perspicuous Points, low, and seeming round. They sounded about seven in the Evening, and had seventy-seven Fathom Water, oozy Ground, being South off the Shore, five Leagues at most; and, as the Author guessed, newly got ten to the Westward of the Flats thereabout. He observed the Sun's setting, and found small Variation, having twenty-eight Degrees and half (South of the West) *Azimuth*; their Latitude being about thirty-five Degrees twenty-six Minutes.

*Directions for Sailing.* A MAN bound home upon this Coast, finding no Weather for Observation, either of the Latitude or Variation, may venture to sail boldly in sixty Fathom Water, and shelly Ground. When he findeth the Bottom oozy, he will then be very near *Cape das Agullas*; and when he loseth Ground at one hundred and twenty Fathom Line, he may conclude, that he hath past the said Cape, provided he be within the Latitude of thirty-six Degrees.

THE twenty-third, they steered all Night, West by North, and West North-West, with a fresh Easterly Gale; and in the Morning, sailed in Sight of the Land, which was high, about eight or ten Leagues distant. About Noon, they were near the *Cape of Good Hope*, having ran betwixt *Cape das Agullas* and it, in seventeen Hours. They got within three Leagues of the Sugar *Cape of Good Hope.* Loaf, and stood off and on all Night.

THE twenty-eighth, they received by the *Dutch* Boat, six Sheep, (the fattest the Author ever saw) from the Island: The Tail of one of them, was twenty-eight Inches broad, and weighed thirty-five Pound. The General had also of the *Dutch*, a Main-top-sail, (which his Ship was in extreme Want of) giving them a Note on the Company, to receive twelve Pound twelve Shillings for the same. They were very ready in other Respects, to supply his Wants. He took fat Sheep, left on *Penguin* Island, and set lean in their Room: He left a Note also there of his Ar-

1610. *Keeling.*

THE tenth of January, 1609-10, in the Morning, his Ship was under Sail homeward. Note, that all the Time he staid there, the Wind had been Westerly, and Southerly. And the two former Times, that he was there, at the same Season, it blew Easterly very stormy. The twentieth, they passed the Southern Tropic, about Noon. The *Dutch* came and supped with him, and he shot three parting Pieces.

THE thirtieth, before Day, they saw *St. Helena*, having steered sixty-six Leagues West in that Latitude. They anchored on the North-West Side, a Mile from Shore, North-West from the Chapel, in twenty-two Fathom, sandy Ground. The Island may lie two hundred and seventy, or two hundred and eighty Leagues to the Westward of the Coast of *Africa*. They were obliged to steer close in under the High-land, to get c Ground; the Bank being steep too, and no anchoring without.

THE ninth of February, they directed their Course homeward; having received aboard here for Refreshing, nineteen Goats, nine Hogs, and thirteen Pigs.

THE sixteenth, they saw the Isle of *Ascension*, seven or eight Leagues West South-West from *Isle*. *Ascension*

them. The twenty-eighth, in the Morning, the Wind being Westerly, and the Weather pretty fair, they steered with the *Dutchman*, who had made a Waft upon his Mizzen-mast Head for them. He told them, that he had but eight or nine Men standing, the rest being sick, and forty-six dead. It is remarkable, that they who had offered to spare the *Hector* ten or twenty Hands, or more, upon Occasion, should drop off in such Numbers, and yet the *English* should all be in good Health, and not lose a single Man. However, they had none to spare, and besides were leaky. Which the *Dutch* being sensible of, and therefore not expecting she should keep them Company, of their own Accord, desired the *English* to acquaint such of their Countrymen as they should meet, with their Distress, that they might give them the best Assistance they could: Wherefore, towards Night, the General, at the Company's earnest Request, for many Reasons besides those mentioned, held on his Course, and left them, not a little grieved, that it was not in his Power to help them. Latitude forty-five Degrees six Minutes.

THE first of May, 1610, they had very fair Weather, Wind South-West; Latitude forty-nine Degrees and thirteen Minutes. Next Day, betimes in the Morning, the Wind came at South, and blew an hard Storm, which put them into their Fore-course. Toward Night, they spoke with a *Lubecker*, who told them, that *Scilly* bore East by North from them, thirty-eight *Dutch*

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Agullas*, *das Agullas*, and *D'Agullas*.

1607  
Middleton  
Arrive in  
the Downs.

Miles, (which make fifty Leagues) They gave a Notice of the distressed Ship. The ninth, in the Morning, they had *Beachy* to the North North-East, three Leagues distant; and about Sun-set, anchored in the *Downs*.

Two small Islands — —	23° 37' S.
———— Variation East,	15 30
Or, — —	15 26
Isle near <i>Priaman</i> — —	4 2
<i>Salt</i> Island in <i>Sunda</i> Straights	6 6
<i>Noffaferes</i> Isle — — —	5 30
<i>Mauritius</i> Isle, North-West	} 20 00
Harbour, somewhat less than	
———— South-East Harbour	20 15

1607.  
Middleton.

## TABLE of LATITUDES.

<i>Sierra Leona</i> Road — —	8° 36' N.
———— Variation East	1 50

## C H A P. VI.

*The Voyage of Captain David Middleton to Bantam, and the Molukkos, in 1607.*

Introduction.

**M**R. DAVID MIDDLETON was Captain of the *Consent*, one of the three Ships belonging to Captain *Keeling's* Fleet: But setting out first, and not meeting with the other two at the Place of Rendezvous, went on, and performed the Voyage alone. The *Consent*, as we learn from the Title, was a Ship of one hundred and fifteen Tons; and broke Ground from *Tibury Hope*, the twelfth of *March*, 1606-7.

## S E C T. I.

*Bay of Saldania. Penguin Island. Cape of Good Hope. Madagascar. Bay of St. Augustin. Island Ingana. Arrives at Bantam. The Molukkos. Straights of Bengaya. Plenty of Provisions. Present from the King; who goes on board; invites them to land; and comes to Bouton. Kindly received by the King: Dines with him. Visited by the Princes of the Blood. King and his Son dines aboard. Lades with Cloves. Returns to Bantam; and thence homewards.*

Bay of Saldania.

**T**HE sixteenth of *July*, 1607, they anchored in the Road of *Saldania*, all their Men in good Health; only *Peter Lambert*, the Day before, was killed by a Fall off the Top-mast Head.

Penguin Island.

THE twenty-first, the Captain and Master, went to *Penguin* Island, three Leagues distant from the Road; where they saw such abundance of Seals, and Penguins, that it was surprising: For you may drive five hundred Penguins in a Flock, and thousands of Seals together, upon the Shore.

THE Island is not above three Miles long, and two broad: But, in the Author's Opinion, there is not an Island in the World more frequented with Fowl, and Seals, than this: Having, besides Penguins, wild Geese, Ducks, Pelicans, and

divers other Fowl. Having bought some Cattle, and refreshed, about four in the Morning, with very little Wind, they left the Road of *Saldania*, their Men being in very good Health. They were loth to depart without the Company of their Admiral, and Vice-Admiral. But not being certain of their Arrival there, directed their Course for *St. Laurence*.

THE thirtieth, calm, till three in the Afternoon, and then they had a fresh Gale at South and by West; and two Watches and a half South-East: And at ten at Night, the *Cape of Good Hope* bore North: All that Night, it blew very hard, and the Sea was much grown. From twelve at Night, to twelve next Day, they ran twenty-nine Leagues. All this Day, they had a very pleasant Gale, sometimes with Rain; and came four Leagues from the Cape.

THE first of *August*, they had very fair Weather, sometimes a Gale, and sometimes calm: They steered two Watches South-East by East, and three Watches at East by South; the Wind variable at South, and South by East, dark Weather. The Ship ran about twenty-one Leagues, and was then in thirty-five Degrees twenty-two Minutes Latitude.

THE twenty-seventh of *August*, the Wind being at North-West, they steered East by South; and at two o'Clock, saw the Land of *St. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*, about six Leagues off; then bearing North by West, at Noon they observed the Latitude to be twenty-four Degrees forty Minutes; and the Variation at Night, sixteen Degrees twenty-three Minutes.

THE thirtieth, at five, Afternoon, they anchored in the Bay of *St. Augustin*, in six Fathom and half, large Gravel. They were forced to go to Leeward, being to Roomwards of the Road, before they could get in, by Reason of a great Breach that lies off the Bay; and then came in close

**1607.** close upon a Tack, having had seven, six and a <sup>a</sup> *Middleton* half, and five Fathoms all the Way. They came very fair by the Breach, and rid in the Road, with the Breach and two Islands in the Wind of them. The thirty-first, the Captain, with Mr *Davis*, went in their Long-boat to view the Islands; and the Author as they went, founded close by the Breach, and had six Fathoms. One of the Islands is very small, like a Bank of Sand; the other, about a Mile in Length, and half in Breadth. There is nothing upon either, but a little Wood in the latter.

*Small Islands*

THE first of *September*, they removed three Leagues from their first Place, within two Miles of the Mouth of the River, and rid in five Fathom and half, very firm Ground. It being very foul where they rid before, they broke one of their Cables in weighing.

*Leave the Bay*

THE seventh, having provided Wood and Water, in the Morning, about five, they departed with a pleasant Gale at East by North. Coming out, they steered West, and West by North, till they were clear of the Breaches. They brought to Sea with them, four Goats, three Sheep, and a young Heifer. They found there great Plenty both of Sheep, and Beeves, for a small Value. This Day, about three Miles from the Island, before the Bay of *St. Augustin*, they observed the Latitude twenty-three Degrees forty-eight Minutes. After they were clear of the Breach, which lies to the Northward of the Island, they steered away South South-West, and South by West; sometimes they had very fair Weather, and a pleasant Gale at South-East by East.

THE eleventh, having a fresh Gale at South-East, and South by East, they stood into Shore till Midnight; and then saw a great Breach, right a-head, close by them; but hearing the Rut before they saw it, they tacked, and stood off again presently. At Noon, they found the Latitude twenty-five Degrees twenty-two Minutes.

*Stand in-  
gaze.*

THE twelfth of *November*, in the Morning, they saw an Island, and bearing with the North Side, found it to be *Ingana*. It is about five Leagues in Length, lying East by South, and West by North: The Eastern End is the highest Land; and the Western, full of Trees: Its Latitude is five Degrees and half; the Variation four Degrees thirteen Minutes. Having the Wind at West North-West, they proceeded, without stopping, East and by South, and East South-East; a

pleasant Gale, but very much Rain. The thirteenth, in the Morning, they had Sight of *Sumatra*, about four Leagues distant.

**1608.**  
*Misole-  
A view of  
Batavia.*

**SATURDAY**, the fourteenth, they anchored in *Bantam* Road, about four, Afternoon; where they found the Merchants in very good Health, and all Things in good Order. Next Day, the Captain went ashore, and spoke with Mr. *Townson* <sup>a</sup>, concerning the Ship's Business; and agreed to have the Iron and Lead, which they brought, carried ashore. After this, having reftted their Ship, and taken in their Goods, and Merchants, for the *Molukkas*, they set Sail the sixth of *December*, with little Wind; and coming out of the Road, anchored that Night in Sight of the Highland of *Bantam*. Next Morning, they proceeded with a fair Wind, passing many Islands, and sunken Ground. Some Nights they sailed, and other some lay a hull. Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, were no Novelties with them in those Parts.

THE Beginning of *January*, they arrived at the *Molukkas*: The rest of this Month, and all the next, was spent in mutual Entertainments with the *Spaniards*, and *Molukko* Princes. The Reason was, the *Spaniards* durst not permit them to trade, till the *Canip-Master* had given Leave; and he would not grant it, unless the *English*, in those Broils betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, would do, or seem to do them some Piece of Service, at least, by accompanying their Ships for greater Shew. Which the Captain absolutely refused to do, as being against his Commission. Mean while, they carried on a private Trade with the People by Night; and in the Day, made merry with the *Spaniards*. In the Beginning of *March*, they were allowed an open Trade: But within a few Days, this Licence was countermanded again, and they were ordered to depart. Accordingly, *March* the fourteenth, they weighed Anchor, and set Sail, trading a little by the Way <sup>b</sup>.

THE twenty-third of *March*, 1608, having entered the Streights of *Bangaya*, where the Captain proposed to take in Water, there came an *Indian* in a Prow, hastily from the Island, to the Ship, who being asked the Question, undertook to bring them to a very Water: Whereupon, they stood over for the East Shore, and anchored about one, Afternoon, in sixty Fathom Water; where there runs a very cruel Current. Here, while they were fitting out the Boat with Cask, the *Indian* sold some fresh Fish for *China* Dishes,

<sup>a</sup> Left chief Factor there by *Scot* See p. 305 <sup>d</sup> who, at the End thereof, informs his Reader, that this Part of the Journal being long, he had omitted it, (or rather contracted it into those few Lines) as elsewhere he says he had done in those Things, which he thought might be tedious. The Misfortune is, he hath often thought those Matters tedious, which, in Fact, were most useful, if not entertaining.

<sup>b</sup> All this Paragraph is printed in *Italics* in *Purchas*,

1608. very cheap. At Night, their Men brought Water; <sup>a</sup> he should see great Store of Pearl, and any Thing 1608. Middleton, but had a wearisome Task of it, being five Miles distant from the Place where they rode. <sup>b</sup> he had to sell; adding, that because the Place <sup>Midleton.</sup> was unknown to him, he would send a Pilot to bring him thither.

<sup>Plenty of</sup> <sup>Provisions.</sup> THE twenty-fourth, in the Morning, they went again for more Water: By Day-break, the Islanders of both Sexes, came with above one hundred Praws, and brought Plenty of very good Fish, both dry and fresh; also Poultry, and Hogs, great and small, which they sold for coarse white Cloth, and China Dishes, all very cheap. They brought also Plantans, Cassathoe Roots, and divers other Fruits. The Ship was crouded with them all Day; so that the Men sometimes were not able to stir for them.

<sup>Present from</sup> <sup>the King</sup> IN the Afternoon, the King sent the Captain some Plantans, and *Irea Pate*, to drink; a kind of Water called by that Name. The Captain returned the King Thanks, and to requite his Kindness, sent him a rich Pintado. Then the Messenger, and all the rest, departed. About ten at Night, in weighing Anchor, they broke the Flocks of both their Starboard Anchors. Then sailing away, with very little Wind, at length they manned their Long-boat, and towed the Ship all Night. For otherwise, they had been driven in this Calm to Leeward, more than they should have made up again in three Days, without a fresh Gale of Wind, the Current runs so strong there.

<sup>Who goes on</sup> <sup>board.</sup> THE nineteenth of April, the King of *Buttone* <sup>a</sup> sent one of his Brothers again, to know, whether the Captain was willing he should come aboard. Being very desirous to see both him, and the Ship; because he had heard much of *Englishmen*, but never saw any. The Captain sent him Word, that he should think himself much honoured by his Presence. Soon after the King came off in his Caricol, rowed at least by an hundred Oars: It carried six Brass Guns; and had on board about four hundred Men with Arms. He was attended by five Caricols more, which had at least a thousand Men in them. The Captain having sent *Francis Kelly* the Surgeon, as a Pledge, which he demanded for his Security, he came aboard; where the Captain courteously received, and treated him with a Banquet of Sweet-meats. After which, he demanded what the King had to sell: He replied, that he had Pearl, Tortoise-Shells, and Cloth, made in the Country, (as they supposed) of Cotton striped: But as he came [into that Part of the Island] only upon a Party of Pleasure, and did not think to have met with any Ship, he had brought none with him; yet that if the Captain pleased to go to the Town of *Buttone*, (which was about a Day and Night's sailing thence)

<sup>b</sup> THE Captain, and Factor, upon considering <sup>invites them</sup> the Matter, thought best to accept of the kind <sup>to land.</sup> Offer, especially, as it was nothing out of the Way to *Bantam*; and presented him a Musket, a Sword, and a Pintado, with Thanks, for vouchsafing to come aboard. The King made Answer, that he had not any Thing then about him, worth bestowing on the Captain, but that he would requite his Kindness before his Departure. And in the mean Time, entreated him to accept of two Pieces of their Cloth, which he received with many Thanks. About three in the Afternoon, the King took his Leave of the Captain, promising presently to send him a Pilot, who accordingly came aboard; and at Night, sent a Caricol to see if they wanted any Thing, and bear them

<sup>c</sup> Company to *Buttone*, with a Goat for the Captain. Then they stood away with a small Gale; but at Night it was calm, and the Tide against them: So they came to Anchor in twenty-two Fathom Water, because they could not drive to Leeward; and in the Morning weighed again.

THE twenty-first, about ten o' Clock, the Purser (who had been sent ashore the Day before) returned aboard with Hens, and Cocoas, and told them, that the *Indians* had carried him to a King, who was very glad of his Coming, because he was the first *Englishman* he had ever seen. The Purser found him drinking, and carousing with his Nobles; and the Room hanged about with Heads of Men, whom he had slain in War. After some little Stay, he took his Leave, and came to the Caricol again, aboard which he lay all that Night. This Night, the Ship anchored in twenty Fathom Water, the Place not half a Mile broad.

<sup>d</sup> THE twenty-second, in the Morning, there <sup>Come to But-</sup> being very little Wind, she was towed by her <sup>tone.</sup> Long-boat through the Streights; and as the Tide was with her, she made such Way, that about eleven, they came to Anchor in twenty-five Fathoms Water, about a Mile and half from *Buttone*, where they waited the King's coming: But he came not that Night. Here they sent their Boat ashore, and bought fresh Fish for their Company.

THE twenty-third, about one in the Afternoon, <sup>f</sup> the King came up under their Stern, attended by about forty Caricols, and rowed round the Ship, very gallantly set forth with her Colours and Pendants. After this, they rowed towards

<sup>a</sup> By *Buttone*, must be understood the Island above mentioned: But it not having been named before, as this Passage supposes it was, something probably has been omitted by the Abridger, that ought to have been left in. *Buttone*, or *Bouton*, is an Island near the South East End of the Island *Celebes*, or *Seleber*.

1608. the Town; and the Captain complimented him <sup>a</sup> with a Volley of Muskets, and all his Ordnance: <sup>Middleton.</sup> Then causing his Long-boat to be manned, he went accompanied with Mr. Siddall, (their Factor) and his Followers, to Buttone. The King likewise welcomed the Captain with his great and small Shot, affirming, that his Heart was now at rest, since he had seen the *English*; promising to do the Captain all the Kindness that lay in his Power. The Captain having returned his humble Thanks, for that Time took his Leave; and in the Morning weighed, and anchored in about twenty-seven Fathoms of Water, half a Mile from Shore.

Kindly received by,

THE twenty-fourth, in the Morning, there came aboard, a *Javan Nakhada* <sup>a</sup>, who had a Junk in the Road, laden with Cloves, from *Ambyna*: Mr. Siddall talked with him; and he offered the Captain his whole Cargo.

And dined with the King.

THE King invited the Captain to take Part of his Dinner, entreating him to bear with the homely Fashion of his Country. For their Meat was served up in great wooden Platters, close covered with Cloths. The King, the Captain, and Mr. Siddall, dined together. There was Plenty of Victuals, and their Drink was *Jera Pote* <sup>b</sup>, which is very sweet and pleasant; and the King was very merry. After Dinner, he had some Talk about the Cloves they were to have had; and promised to come aboard himself next Day, or send some one of his Attendants, to see a Muster of all his Cloth. Then the Captain expressing great Thanks, took his Leave.

Visited by Princes of the Blood.

THE twenty-fifth, the King's Uncle came aboard, to see their Ship, and was kindly entertained. After him, came the King's Brother, and stayed to dinner with the Captain; and then took his Leave. The King himself came not as they expected, but sent his Son and the Pilot, who had a View of the Cloth, which they liked very well.

King and his Son dined aboard.

THE twenty-sixth, the King and his Son came aboard, and dined with the Captain, and had plentiful Cheer: The King was very merry, and

desirous to see a little Dancing; whereupon some of the Sailors danced before him, and he was well pleased, both with their Performance, and the Music. At Night, the King's Uncle sent the Captain four fat Hogs.

1608.

Middleton.

THE twenty-seventh, the King of an adjacent Island came in his Caricol, with his Wife, and viewed their Ship. But they could not entreat him to come aboard.

THEIR Ship being fully laden with Cloves, <sup>c</sup> and bought in this Place of the *Javans*, the Captain purchased some Slaves of the King, one of whom, while they were busy this Night, stole out of the Captain's Cabbin Door, and leaping into the Sea, swam ashore. Next Morning, the Captain sent *Augustine Spalding*, their *Jurabassa*, to acquaint the King therewith; who presently sent him another. May the second, having given the Town of Buttone three Pieces of Ordnance for a Farewell, they set Sail for their wished for Port of *Bantam*.

Return to Bantam,

THE third, they had Sight of the Streights of *Celebes*; and, the twenty-second, anchored in the Road of *Bantam*. They found not one *European* Ship in the Road; but there were four Junks, which came from *China*, with Taffatas, Damasks, and divers other Merchandizes.

THE fifteenth of July, 1608, the Captain, and Merchants, having dispatched their Business, <sup>d</sup> took their Leaves, and set Sail homewards, to their native Country *England*, after their long and tedious Voyage. And to avoid the Reader's like long and tedious Voyage, (says the Author or Collector) the rest of this Voyage homewards, is omitted; and instead thereof we have inserted a Table of the Journal of this Ship from the *Lizard* to *Bantam*, as it was set forth by *John Davis* <sup>e</sup>.

And thence homewards,

## LATITUDES.

Isle before St. Augustin Bay	—	23° 48' S.
Ingana Isle	— — —	5 30
———— Variation	— —	4 13

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, the Word is *Nokeyday* <sup>b</sup> Before called *Irea Pote*. <sup>c</sup> But we meet with no such Table in *Purchas*, nor is any Reason assigned, why it was omitted, after having been said to be inserted: Whence many may imagine their Books to be imperfect. The *Davis*, mentioned here and before in this Relation, we suppose to be the same, who went with *Sir Edward Michelburne*, and published some nautical Directions, as hath been already observed, p. 306 <sup>b</sup>.

*The Voyage of Captain Alexander Sharpey, in 1608,*

*Being the fourth set out by the East India Company.*

*Written by Captain Robert Coverte.*

*Introduction.*

IN this Voyage there were employed two large Ships: The *Ascension*, Admiral, commanded by *Alexander Sharpey*, General; and the *Union*, Vice-Admiral, Captain *Richard Rowles*, Lieutenant-General. As these Vessels separated near the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the *Ascension* was cast away in the Bay of *Kambaya*, so they may be said to have made two different Voyages; of which we meet with distinct Relations.

THERE are extant two Accounts of the Voyage of the *Ascension*: One written by Captain *Robert Coverte*, which we design to give the Reader, in this Place; the other by *Thomas Jones*, which follows it. There was a third written by *Henry Moris*, at *Bantam*, from the Mouth of *William Nichols*, one of the Sailors: But the Voyage Part having been the same in Substance with *Jones's*, *Purchas* omitted it; and only inserted his Travels by Land, from *Surat* across the Country to *Masulipatan*, in the Bay of *Bengal*, which claims a Place among the Travels: Although his Remarks on the Road, as well as his Voyage from thence to *Bantam*, are comprized in a very few Words.

CAPTAIN *Coverte's* Relation is not inserted in *Purchas's* Collection, who omitted it, because, as he tells us, it was in Print<sup>a</sup>. But this is a very insufficient Reason, since he has inserted many others, which were in Print before; and few Tracts had a better Title than the Captain's, taking the whole together. However *de Bry* knew the Value of it, and gave a Latin Translation, with Cuts, in his Collection<sup>b</sup>, divided into Chapters; the Original being printed in one continued Narrative. It is true, *Purchas* has made an Extract from it in his *Pilgrimage*<sup>c</sup>; but it is a very imperfect one, and that only of his Travels by Land.

THIS Voyage (printed at London, 1612, in Quarto, black Letter) contains sixty-eight Pages,

besides the Dedication and Title<sup>d</sup>, which take up four more. It is dedicated to *Robert, Earl of Salisbury*, Lord High Treasurer of England. But there is nothing in the Dedication worth taking Notice of, farther than that he tells his Patron, that after the Wreck of the *Ascension*, in *Kambaya*, and getting ashore with seventy-four more, he was the only Man among them, who would venture so desperate an Undertaking, as to travel home by Land; and that every thing he relates is true: *Protesting*, that he speaks of nothing but what he had seen, or suffered. His Preface, of about twenty Lines, is only for Form's Sake; wherein he recommends his Relation, on account of its Sincerity.

WE shall, in this Place, abstract only the Author's Voyage to *Kambaya*; and instead of his Journey home through *India*, *Persia*, and *Turky*, (which will be inserted among the Travels) shall give *Jones's* Account of his own Return from *Kambaya* to England, by Sea.

THIS Voyage lays Claim to two Discoveries, that of the *Great Mogul's* Country, as appears from the Author's Title; (although Captain *Hawkins* had gotten the Start of him) the other, the Discovery of the *Red-Sea*, by the *Ascension*, as is mentioned in the Title to *Jones's* Relation, in *Purchas*.

## S E C T. I.

*They come to the Canaries. Take in Provisions. Mayo. Bay of Saldanna. Inhabitants beastly. Lose the Union and Pinnace. Komoro Islands. The King's Courtesy. The General lands. King's State. The Inhabitants kind and honest. Their Dreß. Provisions plenty.*

THE fourteenth of March, 1607, weighing Anchor at *Woolwich*, they came into the Downs, over-against *Deal*, three Miles from

<sup>a</sup> *Purchas's Pilgr.* vol. 1. p. 235.

p. 259.

<sup>b</sup> *Indiæ Orient.* Part XI. p. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Lib V. c. 7. sect. 5.

<sup>d</sup> The Title runs thus, *A true and almost incredible Report of an Englishman, that being cast away in the good Ship called the Ascension, in Cambaya, (the farthest Part of the East Indies) travelled by Land through many unknown Kingdoms, and great Cities. With a particular Description of all those Kingdoms, Cities, and People: As also a Relation of their Commodities, and Manner of Traffique; and at what Seasons of the Year they are most in Use: Faithfully related. With a Discovery of a great Emperor, called the Great Mogul, a Prince not till now known to our English Nation.* By Captain Robert Coverte. London, Printed by William Hall, for Thomas Archer, and Richard Redmer, 1612.

1608. *Sandwich*, where they stayed till the twenty-fifth, a in three Hours falling, they hovered to and fro 1608. till the twenty-first; and then a brisk Wind *Sharpey.* springing up, the twenty-seventh, about two or three in the Afternoon, they anchored at *Mayo*, about three hundred Leagues from the *Canaries*. They determined to take in fresh Water at a Place called *Bonavista*; but having anchored, found it to be two or three Miles up in the Land, and not clear, so that they took the less. But there were other good Commodities. At their Arrival, they were told by two Negros, that they might have as many Goats as they would, *gratis*; and accordingly they had about two hundred, for both Ships. They told them also, that there were but twelve Men in the Island, and that there was great Plenty of Salt growing out of the Ground; so that (if they pleased) they might lade both their Ships. The Author says it was excellent white Salt, and as clear as ever he saw any in *England*.

*Spanish Caution.* NEXT Morning (as the Manner there is) they shot off another Piece of Ordnance, and then the Governor of the Town sent a Boat to know what they wanted; which having acquainted him with, the Answer was, that unless they came into the Road, it was not in his Power to relieve them. Yet the Factors having been examined on Oath, as to the Truth of the Matter, had a Warrant granted them for a Boat to go aboard the Ships at Pleasure, and supply their Wants. What they most wondered at, was the Behaviour of those on board two Ships in the Road (known by their Flags to be *English* who had not the Kindness to apprise them of the Customs of those *subtil curriish People*, as the Author calls the *Spaniards*. On this Occasion he farther remarks, that if a Ship lie out of the Road, no Person, though of the same Nation it belongs to, shall go on board it, without Leave of the Governor and Council.

*Take in Provisions.* DURING the five Days the General continued there, some of *them* went on board every Day, and eat and drank with the *English* after an insatiable Manner. The Governor had also a Present of two Cheeses, a Gammon of Bacon, and five or six Barrels of pickled Oysters, which he accepted of very thankfully; and, in Return, sent them two or three Goats and Sheep, with Plenty of Onions. There they took-in fresh Water, Canary, Marmalade of Quinces, at twelve Pence the Pound; little Barrels of Suckets, at three Shillings the Barrel; Oranges, Lemons, Pomecitrons, and excellent white Bread, made with Anniseeds, by them called Nuns Bread.

*Come to Mayo.* THE eighteenth of *April*, about seven in the Morning, they set Sail, with a fair Gale, which

*c* EIGHT Leagues from *Mayo* is the Island *St. Deago*. The fourth of *May*, at six in the Morning, they left *Mayo*; and about the same Hour on the twentieth, passed the Line, about three hundred forty-eight Leagues distant, as the Master, *Philip de Grove*, set down in his Journal.

THE fourth <sup>b</sup> of *July*, they came to *Souldania*, Bay of *Sal-danna.* with all their Men in Health, except two, who were touched a little with the Scurvy, but soon recovered on Shore. The same Day they had Sight of the Cape of *Good Hope*, fifteen or sixteen Leagues from thence.

AT *Souldania* they refreshed themselves excellently well, and took-in about four hundred Head of Cattle, as Oxen, Steers, Sheep, Lambs, and Fowls; with Plenty of various Fish, and fresh Water. At an Island, called *Penguin*, five or six Leagues from Land, is Abundance of Fowls of that Name, and infinite Numbers of Seals: With these latter they filled their Boat twice, and made Train-Oil for Lamps. They took hence also twenty fat Sheep, (left there by the *Hollanders*, for a Pinnace, which they met two hundred Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*) and left six Bullocks in their Steads.

AT first coming hither they began to set up their Pinnace, launching her the fifth of *September*, and in seven or eight Days after, she was rigged, and ready to sail.

*f* THE Inhabitants at *Souldania* are a very beast- *Inhabitants beastly.* ly People, especially in their Feeding: For the Author had seen them eat the Guts and Garbage, Dung and all: Nay, the Seals which the *English* had cast into the River, after lying there for

<sup>a</sup> Or *Sant Yago*.

In the Original, *Pinnis*.

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<sup>b</sup> Afterwards it is said to have been on the fourteenth. *Jones* says on the thirteenth.

Nº 16.

X x

fourteen

1608. fourteen Days, they have taken up and eaten; <sup>a</sup> ever he told the Bearer, that if the General 1608.  
 Sharpey. although they were putrified, and swarmed with Sharpey.  
 Maggots, as well as stunk most intolerably.

THEY saw here divers Sorts of wild Beasts, some of which were so very fierce, that when they found their Dens, they durst neither enter, nor come very near them for Fear.

THE Natives brought down to the Shore, Estridges Eggs, and some empty Shells, with a small Hole in one End <sup>a</sup>; also Feathers of the same Bird, and Porcupines Quills, in Exchange <sup>b</sup> for their Commodities. They chiefly desire Iron, esteeming old Pieces of it more than either Gold or Silver. <sup>The General's lands.</sup>

*L. is the U-  
nion and  
Pinnace.*

THE twentieth of September early, they set Sail, and that Night being very dark and windy, lost the *Union*, and their Pinnace, called the *Good Hope*; about five in the Evening the *Union* put out her Ensign; to what Intent they could not imagine, but all that Night lay at hull.

NEXT Day they proceeded, and having met <sup>c</sup> with various Changes of Winds, and often Calms,

*October* the twenty-seventh, came into twenty-six Degrees, the Height of *St. Laurence*. Holding on their Course, with the same Sort of Weather, on the twenty-second of *November*, in the Morning, they descried two or three small Islands; and, in the Afternoon, another, called *Komora* <sup>b</sup>, a very high Land. The twenty-fourth, having sent their Boat ashore, they met with five or six Men of that Country, who sold them Plantains. <sup>d</sup>

*Komora  
Islands.*

NEXT Day they sent the Boat again; but a little before she got to the Shore, espying a Canoe, with two Men in it, fishing, they went between them and the Shore: However not caring to take them by Force, they shewed them a Knife or two, which allured them into the Boat. They then brought them aboard the Ship, and used them very kindly, giving one a Turban to put on his Head; and to the other, a little Glas, of a quarter of a Pint, full of *Aquavitæ*, after which they sent them ashore. The twenty-fifth, by Help of their Pinnace (the Wind hitherto failing) which towed the Ship between the two Islands, adjoining to the Shore, they came to an Anchor in the Evening, in between seventeen and twenty Fathom Water.

*The King's  
Courtly.*

THE twenty-sixth, they sent their Boat ashore with a Present to the King, by Mr. *Jordan*, their Factor; who went himself alone with it, leaving only a Wedge or two in the Boat. It consisted of a Pair of Knives, and a Sash or Turban, with a Looking-glass and Comb; the whole in Value about fifteen Shillings: Which the King received somewhat scornfully, and, scarce looking on it, gave it to one of his Noblemen. How-

THE twenty-eighth, the King had determined to go aboard the *Ascension*; but his Interpreter told the General, that his Council and common People would not suffer him. Towards Night Captain *Couverte* went ashore where the Sailors were cutting Wood, and returned with the Boat.

THE twenty-ninth the Author went ashore <sup>The King's</sup> again, with the Master, Mr. *Tindall*, Mr. *Jordan*, <sup>State.</sup> and all the Trumpeters: They were very kindly received at the Water-side, by the Interpreter, who brought them to the King. He was then near his Palace, and, at their Approach, very courteously bowed himself. He had for his Guard when he walked abroad, six or eight Men, with Knives of a Foot long, as broad as Hatchets, and very sharp, who went next his Person, several also went before, and many behind him, for his Defence.

THESE People seem to be civil, kind and <sup>Pe ple kind  
and beryt.</sup> honest to Strangers: For a Sailor having left his Sword behind him, one of the Inhabitants found it, and brought it to the King; who perceiving it belonged to some of the Strangers, told him, that if it appeared he came by it otherwise than as he declared, he should be put to Death. Next Day, at their going ashore, the King's Interpreter brought the Sword, and told them what his Majesty said upon the Occasion.

THEY seem likewise to have a very good Form of Government amongst them; for at their meeting in the Morning, they shake Hands, and speak one to another, which the *English* took for friendly Salutations. They are very modest and strait; with big Limbs, and of a very comely Gesture,

<sup>a</sup> For Conveniency of hanging them up.

<sup>b</sup> In the Original, *Gomora*.



1608. both Men and Women. They are *Mohammedans* <sup>a</sup> in Religion, and go almost naked; only they wear Turbans on their Heads, and cover their Privities with a Piece of Linen.

<sup>Sharpey.</sup> <sup>from English</sup> THE Women wear a Piece of Linen before, and covereth their Breast, and reacheth to the Middle: From the Middle to a little below the Knee, another Piece goes round them; and about their Waist Sedges are tied, like a Rowl, which hang down, and become them very well.

THEY go all barefoot, except the King, who wears a Sort of Sandals. For his Apparel, he had on a white wrought net-work Cap, a scarlet Vest, with Sleeves, but loose about him, and open before. He had also a Piece of Linen round his Middle, and another which hung down from his Shoulders to his Feet.

<sup>Provision plenty.</sup> WHEN the *English* were at the Town, they brought them Cocoa Nuts to sell, of several Sizes, some as big as a Man's Head. Each had within a Quantity of Water, in Proportion to its Largeness; and as much Meat as would suffice for a Man's Dinner. They brought also Goats, Hens, Chickens, Lemons, Rice, Milk, Fish, and such like: Which the *English* bought for Commodities, as two Hens for a penny Knife; Lemons and Cocoa Nuts, for Nails, broken Pikes, and such-like old Iron. But fresh Water is scarce, and what they have is gotten out of the Sands, in this Manner: They make a Hole, and as fast as the Water springs, they lade it out into their Cocoa Shells, and so drink it. They brought some of it to the *English*: But none of them would drink thereof, it looked so thick and muddy.

## S E C T. II.

*Narrow Escape. Island Pemba. They land. Some Moors come aboard. Profess great Friendship. Seem Foes to the Portuguese. King's Brother goes on board. Signs of Treachery. An Ambuscade. They set on the English.*

<sup>A narrow Escape.</sup> THE twenty-ninth of November, they left *Komoro*. The tenth of December, about two or three in the Morning, they espied on a sudden a low Land, about a League off, with high Trees by the Shore: But for which they should have taken the Land for the Shadow of the Moon (which then shone) and so might have been cast away before they perceived the Danger.

<sup>Island Pemba.</sup> THIS they took to be *Zanzibar* <sup>a</sup>, till by one of the Natives they were informed it was *Pemba*. On Sight thereof, they presently tacked about; and at Day-break stood-in again with the Shore, along which they veered for a Harbour to anchor

in. Mean Time they sent a Gang, with the Pinnace and Master *Elmore*, to seek for a convenient Watering-place. The Pinnace being gotten to Shore, two or three of the Inhabitants demanded in *Portuguese*, who they were? And being told *Englishmen*; they asked again what they had to do there, since the Island belonged to the King of *Portugal*? Answer was made, that they knew not so much, nor came with any Design but to get Water. As it drew towards Night, the Boat returned. Next Day the Boat went ashore to the same Place; but finding no People, returned. Presently after, the Ship came to Anchor, about five or six in the Afternoon, near two or three broken Islands (close by *Pemba*) in the Height of five Degrees, twenty Minutes.

THE twelfth, the Pinnace went on Shore to the same Place with Mr. *Jordan*, where he talked with some who spoke *Portuguese*, but seemed not to be the same with the former; for they said the King was a *Mallabar*. Mr. *Jordan* told them, that although the Ship was *English*, yet he was a *Portuguese* Merchant, and the Goods were *Portuguese*. Then they said he should want for nothing, and hereupon sent a *Moor* with them to look for a convenient Watering-place; who, after some little Search, brought them to a small Hole at the Bottom of a Hill, between it and a Ditch. Having filled their *Borrachios*, they carried the *Moor* on board; and next Day, going to water, set him on Shore. The Report of his kind Usage brought down another, who could speak a little *Portuguese*, and said he was one of the King's Gentlemen. He also went aboard, and was well treated. At his landing, next Day, he promised to bring them Hens, Cocoa-Nuts, and Oranges; which he performed. Captain *Coverte*, with the Master, Mr. *Revet*, and some others, went ashore, where they dined. After Dinner came two Cavaliers, and a *Moor-Slave*, to the Watering-place, where the Men were filling the Cask, and asked, Whether any of the chief Persons of the Ship were there? *Edward Churchman* made Answer, That the Master and one of the Merchants was on Shore, whom (if they pleased) he would bring to speak with them. At their Meeting, they saluted each other after the *Portuguese* Fashion. After some Discourse, the *Moors* demanded who they were? And being told *Englishmen*, they replied, that they were very welcome, and that all which the Island could afford was at their Command. The *English* returned hearty Thanks, but soon found, that those sugared Words were only to cloak their treacherous Designs.

THEY demanding, in their Turn, who the

<sup>a</sup> Or *Zanzibar*. In the Original, *Zinzibar*.

1608. others were? It was answered, that one of them <sup>a</sup> was the King's Brother, who instantly shewed them a Silver Ring, whereon was engraven the Number of Villages and Houses in the Island; and said he was Governor of all those Places. Then the *English* asked them, If there were any *Portuguese* in the Island? They said, No: For that they had banished them, because they would have Relief there *per Force*, and would make Slaves of the People: Which not being able to endure, they had continual War with them from the Time of their first coming thither.

Seem Foes to  
the Portu-  
guese.

The King's  
Brother

MEAN time the Pinnace came to them, which had been at another Place of the Island for Cattle, according to Appointment; but was put off, till they could find an Opportunity to execute their intended Treachery. Those in the Pinnace told the rest, that they had heard, at the Place where they had been, that fifteen Sail of *Hollanders* had lately taken *Mozambik*, and put all the *Portuguese* to the Sword. At this News (which came from *Zanjibar*) the Cavaliers seemed to rejoice; which was another subtil Train to bring them into the Snare. When Night drew on, they entreated the *Moors* to go aboard, which then they declined; but promised they would next Day. Accordingly, *December* seventeenth, the King's Brother (as he called himself) came with two others, having had *Thomas Cave*, *Gabriel Brooke*, and *Laurence Pigot*, their Surgeon, for Pledges. They were entertained very handsomely. d Next Morning, the General gave the Chief of of them two Goats, with a Cartridge of Gunpowder; and some other small Trifles to the other two. Mess. *Revet*, *Jordan*, *Glascock*, and the Author, went ashore with them for the Pledges; and at their landing, with three or four more, ventured unadvisedly up to the Houses: Where they found their Pledges guarded by fifty or sixty Men, armed with Bows and Arrows, Swords and Bucklers, Darts and Cutlasses; yet they were delivered to them. After which, they immediately departed, accompanied with the King's Brother. Most of the *Moors* followed them, and six or eight of them came to the Pinnace-side; and having viewed her, returned to the rest.

Came on board.

THE *English* instantly entered the Boat; and, at their Invitation, the King's Brother readily went aboard with them; where he was entertained with as much Courtesy as before. Towards Night, the Master offered him a Knife, with some other odd Trifles, which he scornfully refused, and presently went ashore in their Boat. This gave them some Mistrust, and therefore they resolved to be better armed the next Time they went ashore.

THE nineteenth, the long Boat went ashore very early in the Morning for Water; and having filled the Cask, they espied the Ship, with her

Sails out, being let down to dry: But the *Moors* 1608. imagining they were going away, the Companion to the King's Brother came to the Boat-swain, and asked the Question. The Boatswain, as well as he could, both by Signs and otherwise, let him know, it was only to dry the Sails. <sup>Shipy.</sup> While they stood talking, they perceived the Pinnace coming, being then very well armed, and left off making any farther Enquiry. Had not the Pinnace appeared at that Juncture, the Author believes they then intended to have cut off their Men, and taken their Boat: For two of these Rogues, at least, lay concealed about the Watering-place, ready to have made the Onset, if the Watch-word had been given. The Pinnace being come to Shore, and the Men standing on their Guard upon the Sands, not far from her, the Master sent *Nicholas White* to tell those of the Island, that their Merchants were landed. <sup>Signs of Treachery.</sup> *White* An Ambascade, passing by one of their Houses, perceived it to be full of People; and amongst the rest, six *Portuguese* in long branched Damask Coats, lined with blue Taffata, and under the same white Callico Breeches. Presently after, the Companion to the King's Brother came and told Mr. *Revet*, that the Merchants [of the Island] were weary, and therefore entreated the *English* to go up to them, to see the Cattle. Now these Cattle was only one Bullock, which *White* saw, and no more: But Mr. *Revet* desired to be excused, and pressed him to send down the Bullock, saying, there were Goods enough in the Boat to pay for it. With this Answer, he went away. The King's Brother being then on the Sands, commanded a Negro to gather Cocoa-Nuts to send to the General, and made Choice of *Edward Churchurchman* to fetch the same; whom they never saw, nor heard of after. When they found, that none of the *Eng- Set upon the* <sup>English,</sup> *lish* would land, but stood upon their Guard, they gave the Watch-word, and sounding a Horn, presently set upon their Men at their Watering-place, and slew *John Harrington*, the Boatswain's Man, and grievously wounded *Robert Buckler*, Mr. *Ellanor*'s Man, in eight or ten Places. Nay, had killed him too, but that a Musket or two was discharged from the Boat, which (as it seemed) hurt some of them: For then they retired, and cried out. *Buckler* (though weak and faint) at length got up to the rest. Likewise two or three more of the Men, by creeping and lying close in the Ditch, till they spied the Boat, got also safe aboard.

THE twentieth, in the Morning, going on <sup>And stay run.</sup> Shore, with the Pinnace and long Boat, very well armed, to fetch in their Davy, (which is a Piece of Wood or Timber wherewith they hawl up the Anchor) a little beyond it, found *Harrington*'s Body stark naked, which they buried at an Island hard by *Pemba*.

608. *Sharpey.* THE Natives of this Island seemed, to the Author, to be friendly and good natured: For they made Signs to him and others, at their first coming, to beware of their Throats: Which when they took no Notice of.

## S E C T. III.

*Shoals of Melinda. They take three Pangaia's. The Moors in Fear. Rise against the English; are almost all slain. Island del Almirante. Ship Boy executed. Island Sokotra. Come to Aden. Master of the Good Hope murdered. The Murderers executed. Enter the Red Sea, and arrive at Moka. Return to Sokotra. Coast of Kambaya. Ascension cast away there. The Men saved. Latitudes.*

*Shoals of Melinda.*

*Take three Pangaia's.*

THE same Day, (being the twentieth) they set Sail, and about twelve, at Night, the Ship was on Ground, on the Shoals of *Melinda*<sup>a</sup>, or *Pemba*, which they were not apprised of, but got off again. Next Morning, they pursued and took three small Boats, slightly wrought together, called *Pangaia's*<sup>b</sup>, before another, sent from Land to give Notice, could reach them. There were above forty Persons aboard the three: Six or eight of the Chief were judged to be *Portuguese*, the rest being known to be *Moors*. Those six or eight were pale and white, much differing from the Colour of the *Moors*: Yet being asked, said, they were *Moors*, and shewed their Backs all written with Characters. When the *English* insisted, that they were *Portuguese*; their Answer was, that the *Portuguese* were not circumcised.

*The Moors in Fear.*

As they could not still be persuaded to the contrary, some of the Mariners spoke to them about the late Treachery and Murder of their Men. This seeming to put them in Fear, they talked together in their own Language; which made the *English* suspect, they intended to make some desperate Attempt. For this Reason the Author kept himself still upon the Poop, and looked carefully to the Swords; which, lying naked in the Master's Cabbin, they also had their Eyes upon. They likewise took Notice, where Captain *Couverte* and Mr. *Glascock* had set their Swords, still expecting when the Place should be clear. This *Couverte* perceiving, kept good Watch; and being alone on the Poop, they beckoned to him three or four Times to come to them upon the spare Deck; which he refused, lest they should have taken that Opportunity to seize those Weapons:

For then they would have done far more mischief than afterwards they did.

THE Master [*Philip de Grove*] soon after coming upon the spare Deck, asked for their Pilot, whom he took down into his Cabbin, and shewed his Plat, which the Pilot very earnestly viewed. But at his parting from the rest to go with the Master, he spoke in the *Moors* Language, warning them (as the *English* thought) to be upon their Guard, and make the Assault as soon as he gave the Watch-word.

It having been talked, that the Pilot had a Knife about him, he was searched for it; but he nimbly conveyed it from the one Side to the other, and therewith suddenly stabbed the Master in the Belly, and then cried out, which (possibly) was the Signal. For they immediately began the Onset on the spare Deck, where the General, Mess. *Glascock*, *Tindal*, and one or two more, who happened to be there with them, had the good Fortune to kill four or five of the white Rogues, and made such Havock among the rest, that at length they had slain almost forty of them, and brought the rest in Subjection.

A LITTLE before this happened, the Master proposed to the General to buy of them some Garvances, or Pease, (their Country Food) if they had any to sell; and that afterwards they should be set at Liberty, and what was taken from them restored. To this the General having consented, the Master called the Pilot, to see if he had any Skill in the Plat, and so to let him depart with the rest. But as they treacherously attacked the *English*, the Author thinks they could not do less than kill them in their own Defence. However, five or six of them recovered a *Pangaia* by their exceeding Swiftness, and escaped to Shore, they swimming to Windward faster than the Pinnace could row.

IN this Skirmish only three of the *English* were hurt; namely, *Glascock*, *Tindal*, and the Master. The first had two Wounds, whereof one was deep in the Back: *Tindal* having had nothing in his Hand to defend himself, they aimed at his Breast; but turning about, he received the Stab in his Arm: However they were all perfectly cured.

THE nineteenth of *January* [1609] they espied many Islands, which the *Portuguese* called *Almaisant*<sup>d</sup>, being nine in Number, and all unpeopled, as they affirm. Next Morning, they sent their Pinnace to one of them, to seek fresh Water; but although they found none, they

<sup>a</sup> *Meludee* in the Original; but *Melinda* according to *Jones*.

<sup>b</sup> *Pangaia's* in the Original.

<sup>c</sup> As this was their Intention, methinks, they ought to have signified so much to the *Moors* in Time. Which would, no Doubt, have prevented their Rising, and the Bloodshed that ensued. For Persons kept in Suspense always fear the Worst; and all Attempts to preserve Life and Liberty are fair.

<sup>d</sup> Rather *Almirante*; called by *Jones*,

1609. met with abundance of Land Turtles, and brought a Ship Boys. six aboard. Then they sailed to another Island, where they rode in twelve or thirteen Fathom Water, and a reasonable good Harbour. Here they refreshed themselves with Water, Cocoa-Nuts, Fish, Palmitoes, and Doves, which were in great Plenty.

THE first of February, they set sail with a fair Wind till the nineteenth<sup>a</sup>, when they passed the Line; and the fifteenth, in the Morning betimes, came within Ken of Land, which was the Coast of *Melinda*<sup>b</sup>. Upon the Continent next Day, they came to Anchor, about nine in the Morning, in twelve Fathom Water, and about two Leagues from Shore, they presently sent the Pinnace to seek some Refreshing, but they could by no Means land. Nor would the People of the Country (being fearful) come within Speech of them. Wherefore, in the Afternoon, the Ship departed.

Ship Boys  
used.

ABOUT this Time, *William Aston*, one of the Ship-Boys, confessed a foul and detestable Sin<sup>c</sup> committed amongst them, who, being tried by a Jury, was condemned and executed for the same, on Friday the third of March in the Morning.

Island Sokotra.

THE twenty-first betimes, they espied an Island in the Height of twelve Degrees seventeen Minutes, with four Rocks or Hillocks about three Leagues off it. They had bore up a whole Day and Night to get to this Island. But finding it barren and unpeopled, by sending their Skiff on Shore, they passed by it, and the same Day had Sight of three Islands more about Sun-set, standing in the Height of twelve Degrees twenty-nine Minutes. Two were within a League asunder, and the third they found to be *Sokotra*, which standeth in twelve Degrees twenty-four Minutes. Here they arrived the twenty-ninth of March, 1609, and anchored in a fine Bay the thirtieth about ten in the Morning.

THE Islanders having, on Sight of them, made a Fire, they sent their Skiff on Shore, but the People fled in great Fear; having (possibly) been formerly injured by some who had passed that Way. The Men finding no Likelihood of Relief there, returned aboard, and about five,

in the Afternoon, the Ship departed to find out the chief Harbour.

1609.  
Ship Boys.

NEXT Day, standing off to Sea, they met with a *Guzerat Ship*, laden with Cotton, Calicos, and Pentathoes<sup>d</sup>, bound for *Aden*. Hither they kept her Company; in regard they told them, it was a Place of great Trading, but they found it otherwise: For it was only a Garrison, with many Soldiers in it. At the Entrance into the Town, there stood a Castle cut out of the main Land, and encompassed with the Sea, wherein are thirty-two Pieces of Ordnance, besides fifty in the Town.

ARRIVING there the tenth of April, those of the *Guzerat Ship*, who landed, told the Governor, that an *English Ship* was come to trade there. He presently sent his Admiral to them, and the General unadvisedly went on Shore; where he and his Attendants were received, (four great Horses waiting) and were carried before the Governor in as much Pomp as the Town could afford. But the Governor finding him to be a plain and simple Man<sup>e</sup>, put him in a House with a Chauff, or Keeper, and many *Janizaries*, or Soldiers, to guard him; and so kept him Prisoner for six Weeks, the Author being confined along with him.

AFTER this, the Governor caused him to send aboard for Iron, Tin, and Cloth, to the Value of two thousand five hundred Dollars, promising to buy the same. But when he had the Goods on Shore, he seized them for Custom of the Ship only. When he saw, that he had got as much as he could, he sent the General aboard the twenty-seventh of May; and kept two of the Merchants for two thousand Dollars, which he said was for Anchorage: But the whole Company declaring against the Payment, he sent the Merchants up into the Country, some eight Days Journey, to a Place called *Sanaa*<sup>f</sup>, where the *Bashá* then lay.

THE twenty-eighth, they were joined by the Pinnace<sup>g</sup>, whose Master [*John Luffken*] being dead; upon Enquiry, the Company told them, that he was knocked on the Head with a Mallet by *Thomas Clarke*, with the Consent of *Francis Driver* his Mate<sup>h</sup>, *Andrew Evans*, and *Edward*

Master of  
the Good  
Hope killed.

<sup>a</sup> There seems to be some Mistake here, unless we suppose, that after passing the Line, they sailed back to *Melinda*.

<sup>b</sup> *Melindey* in the Original. <sup>c</sup> What this Crime was, appears by the last Paragraph but one in the Book. Where he charges all their Misfortunes, that attended them, on the Follies and Oversight of the lewd and indiscreet Master. <sup>d</sup> For *Philip de Grove*, our Master, (says he) being a *Flemming*, and an arch Villain, who was not only accused, but it was (by the Boy, with whom he committed the Fact) confessed to myself, that he was a detestable Buggerer: So that, had not God's Mercy been the greater, it was a Wonder, that in regard thereof, and of others being Offenders in the like, that our Ship had not sunk in the Ocean. For any Thing that appears, the Boy was put to death to save the Master.

<sup>e</sup> A Man who made no Figure. <sup>f</sup> In the Original, written *Siamy*; but in another Place, *Seena*, which comes near the true Name *Sanaa* <sup>g</sup> *Jones*, and others of those Times, call it *Zenan*.

<sup>h</sup> Called the *Good Hope*, which separat at the Bay of *Saldanna*. <sup>i</sup> *Jones* says, *Clarke* was Master's Mate; and *Driver* the Gunner.

1609. *Hilles*. These being asked upon what Occasion a grant, because the Women of the Country were much afraid: But told him, if the *English* would go to a Road some five Leagues off, they should have any thing his Country afforded. Accordingly they went, and there bought Goats, Water, Aloes Sokotrina, Dragon's Blood, &c.

*The Murderers executed.* THE thirty-first, a Jury being called, the Murderers were convicted, of whom *Francis Driver* and *Thomas Clarke* were hanged in the Pinnace; the other two came by their Deserts afterwards: For *Edward Hilles* was eaten by Canibals, and the other died, and rotted where he lay.

THE third of June, they weighed and sailed into the Red Sea, through the Streights of *Mokha*<sup>b</sup>, which are about one League over, and about three in length, having eighteen Fathom Water close to the Island. Within the Streights, there lieth a great Shoal, some two Leagues off Shore, which Ships must sail wide of. From thence there are about six Leagues to *Mokha*, where is a good Road and fair Ground for Vessels to ride in fourteen Fathom Water. The Port is never without Shipping, it being a Town of great Trade, and frequented by Karawans from *Sanaa*<sup>c</sup>, *Mekka*, *Grand Kairo*, and *Alexandria*.

Port of  
Mokha.

THERE is great Vent here for Tin, Iron, Lead, Cloth, Sword-blades, and all *English* Commodities. It hath a great *Bazâr*<sup>d</sup>, or Market, every Day in the Week. There is great Plenty of Fruit, as, Apricocks, Quinces, Dates, Grapes, Peaches, Lemons, and Plantains: Which the Author much wondered at, in regard the Inhabitants told him, they had no Rain for seven Years before, and yet there was Store of very good Corn at Eighteen-pence a Bushel. There is such abundance of Cattle, Sheep, and Goats, that an Ox may be had for three Dollars; a Goat for half a Dollar. Of Dolphins, More-fish, Basse, Mulletts, and other good Fish, one may buy as much for Three pence, as will suffice ten Men at a Meal.

THE Town is governed by the *Turk*, and if an *Arabian* offend he is severely punished, there being Gallies for the Purpose; otherwise they would not be able to keep them in Awe and Subjection.

Return to  
Sokotra.

THE eighteenth of July, they departed and passed the Streights, where they lost two Anchors; and from thence sailing to *Sokotra*<sup>e</sup>, about the fifth of August, cast Anchor over-against the Town of *Saib*, where the King resides. There one of the Merchants went on Shore, and gave him a Present, desiring Leave to buy Water, Goats, and other Provision, which he would not

THE eighteenth, they set sail from *Sawb*<sup>f</sup>, Coast of *Kambaya*, with an Anchor and half, for *Kambaya*, and on the twenty-eighth came to *Mon*. Where one of the Natives told them, that for twenty Dollars, they might have a Pilot to bring them to the Bar of *Surat*; but our wifful Master (says the Author) refused it, and said he would have none.

THE twenty-ninth, they set forward, thinking to hit the Channel, leading to the Bar, but they came out of ten Fathom first into seven; afterwards into six and an half: Then they tack- ed about to the Westward, and came into fifteen Fathom; the next Tack brought them into five. Then some of the Company asked, Whether the Master would go? He answered, Let her go over the Height, and presently the Ship struck; Captain *Coverie* immediately went up and told him of it. Upon which, turning about, he asked, Who durst say she struck? He had scarce spoken, when she stuck again, and with such Force, that her Rudder broke off, which was lost. Then they came to an Anchor, and rode there two Days; after which, their Skiff split in Pieces, so that they had no more but their long Boat to help themselves withal. However, they made such Shift, that they got the Pieces of their Skiff into the Ship; and the Carpenter went so roundly to work, that he had her bound up together with Woldings. So that in their Distress she brought sixteen Men on Shore.

THE second of September, about six in the Evening, the Ship struck, and began to founder. She had presently twenty-four Inches of Water in the Well. Then they plied the Pump from seven to eleven: After which, the Water en- creased so fast, that, being no longer able to continue on board, they took to their Boats.

ABOUT ten thousand Pounds of the Mer- chants lying between the Main-mast and Steeridge, the General bid the Company take what they would. The Author thinks they took amongst them three thousand Pounds; some having one hundred Pounds, some fifty, others forty Pounds; some more, and some less. Thus they left the Ship, without taking either Meat or Drink with them. Between twelve and one, in the Morn- ing, they put off for the Shore, which was at least twenty Leagues to the Eastward. They sail- ed all that Night, and next Day, without any

<sup>a</sup> *Hilles* was *Jones*'s Servant, and left behind at *Madagaskar*, where it might have been supposed he was eaten.  
<sup>b</sup> In the Text it was written *Mokho*; and in the Margin, *Moba*. But they are not the Streights of *Mokha*, but of *Mekka*.  
<sup>c</sup> In the Original, *Sena*.  
<sup>d</sup> In the Original, *Buflure*.  
<sup>e</sup> In the Original, *Socotora*, and elsewhere, *Socotora*; but more properly *Soketra*, or *Sokatra*.  
<sup>f</sup> Before called *Saib*.

1608. Sufenance at all, till five or fix in the Evening, <sup>a</sup> Inhabitants. As soon as they knew who they <sup>1608.</sup> were, they directed them to the City of *Gandevy*, where a great Man was Governor: Who, at their coming thither, seemed to be very sorry for their Misfortunes, and gave them a very kind Welcome. And here, (says the Author) ended our Travels by Sea for that Time.

<sup>The Men</sup> <sup>Sharpey.</sup> when they made a little Island upon the Bar. But just then a Squall of Wind taking them, broke the *Mid-ship Thought* of their Long-boat, wherein were fifty-five Persons. Yet they recovered their Mast; and (the Gust ceasing) went over the Bar, and got into the River of *Gandevy*.

WHEN the Country People saw so many Men in two Boats, they beat their Drums, and ran to their Arms; taking them for *Portuguese*, come to attack some of their Towns. This, the *English* perceiving, and having by Chance a *Guzerat* aboard, they sent him ashore to undeceive the

## LATITUDES.

Isles near <i>Pemba</i>	—	—	—	5° 20'	S.
<i>Sokoetra</i> Island	—	—	—	12 24	N.
Island near it	—	—	—	12 17	
Three Isles near the same	—	—	—	12 29	

## C H A P. VIII.

*A brief Account of the same Voyage of the Ascension.*

*Written by Thomas Jones.*

<sup>Introduction.</sup>

THIS Account is inserted in *Purchas* <sup>a</sup>, and takes up three Pages. It is there intitled, *A brief Narration of the fourth Voyage to the East Indies, with the two good Ships, the Ascension being Admiral, and the Union Vice-Admiral, under the Command of Alexander Sharpey, General, and Richard Rowles, Lieutenant-General; with the Discovery of the Red-Sea in the Ascension.* The Author seems to have been Boatswain, or Carpenter. His Narrative differs in some Particulars from that of Captain *Coverte*; but, for the general, they agree.

## S E C T. I.

*They pass the Line. Meet with a great Carak. Bay of Saldanna. Furious Storm. Islands Komoro, Pemba. Moors set upon the English. Ship runs aground. Take three Pangaias. Moors rise, and are slain. Islands del Almirante. A Ship of Diu. Come to Aden. The Pinnace joins them. They overtake the Captain. Tricked at Aden.*

<sup>They pass the Line.</sup>

IN an unfortunate Hour, the fourteenth of *March*, 1607, with the *Ascension* and the *Union*, they weighed Anchor at *Woolwich*. The sixth of *May*, 1608, having refreshed at *Mayo*, they departed; and passing the Line with great Expedition, fell in with the general (or Trade) Wind, which bloweth continually, between the South-East, and South-East by East: So that the farther one sails to the Southward, the more he

shall find the Wind to Eastward; as happens between the Line, and the Tropic of *Capricorn*. The eleventh of *June*, in the Latitude of twenty-six Degrees, they overtook a Carak, called, *Nave Palma*, <sup>a great</sup> bound for *India*: But she was cast away after-ward, upon the Coast of *Soffala*, within twelve Leagues of *Mozambik* <sup>b</sup>. The Captain of her came home a Passenger in the same Carak, that the Author returned in from *India*, being Admiral of a Fleet of four Sail. Having passed some Compliments in a friendly Manner, they proceeded on their Voyage.

<sup>d</sup> THE thirteenth of *July*, they came to Anchor in the Bay of *Saldanna*: Here they staid building a Pinnacle, to the twenty-fifth of *September*; at which Time the Westerly *Monsons* being spent, the Wind blows more to the South and South-East. The same Day they departed; and the twenty-sixth, encountered a mighty Storm, at South South-East: Which blew so furiously, that they split their Fore-course that Night, and lost the Company of the *Union*, and Pinnacle newly built, as before-mentioned, called, *The Good Hope*; the first of which, they never heard of afterwards. Thus, with contrary Winds, (having before neglected their Season of Time) they beat up and down the Sea, till the eighteenth of *November*, before they could reach the Island of *St. Laurence*; and there plied two Days, to get about Cape *de St. Roman*, but could not.

THIS changing their Minds, they bore for the Island of *Komora*, (betwixt *St. Laurence* and the

<sup>a</sup> *Pilgrims*, Vol. 1. p. 228,

<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, *Mozambique*.

1608. Continent) in eleven Degrees South. The twenty-sixth Day of *October*, they came to an Anchor on the West Side of the Island, in thirty-six Fathom Water. Here, they were used by the King and People, with all the Kindness that might be: But could get no fresh Water, yet had excellent Refreshing of Limes, some Hens, and Cocoa-Nuts.

Island  
Pemba.

THE last Day of the said Month, they weighed Anchor, and departed from *Komora*; and directed their Course for the Island of *Zanzibar*<sup>a</sup>, in order to get Water: But through Fault of their Master, [*Philip de Grove*] they over-shot it, and fell with *Pemba*, having almost ran ashore in the Night, before they perceived it. The Wind being East North-East, they cast about, and stood off till Day, being *December* the seventh; when they found a Place at the South-West End of the Island, having a Ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of them. Here they rode in seven or eight Fathom Water; the Latitude being six Degrees South. The eighth, the Author went ashore, to seek for Water, of which they could not fill above six Tuns a Day. Mean Time, the Inhabitants came, and conversed with great Familiarity; but all was treacherous.

The Moors  
set upon the  
English.

THE eighteenth, having gotten in all their Water, except four or five Tuns, the Author went ashore, to fill those Casks; where, against his Coming, they had laid an Ambush of two hundred Men, which broke out upon him and the rest: Yet they all escaped their Hands, except his Servant *John Harrington*, whom they took, and cruelly murdered, his Master not being able to rescue him: They also wounded a Servant of *John Elmors*, being one of the Master's Mates, in eleven Places; but the Youth recovered. A little before this happened, one of the chief of them came, and desired the Author to send one of the Men with him, to fetch a Present for the General. *Jones* let *Edward Churchman* go: But the young Man returned no more; and, as the Author was afterwards told by a *Portuguese*, died at *Mombasa*. While they continued at *Pemba*, the *Portuguese* were about to man a *Flemish* Hulk, (which had wintered at *Mombasa*) in order to come and take the Ship: But when they knew what Force it was of, they laid aside their Design. The People of this Island are very cowardly, and dare do nothing of themselves, without the Instigation of the *Portuguese*.

Ship runs  
aground.

THEY left *Pemba* the next Day, determining to beat-up between it and the Coast of *Melinda*, in Hopes to find the Current the stronger: But that Night, (to their great Astonishment) they ran a-ground upon the Coast *Melinda*. However at that very Instant, the Wind happened to fall; so that with backing their Sails a-stern, the Ship

<sup>a</sup> In Purchas, *Zanzibar*.  
is, the Admiral.

<sup>b</sup> *Sokotora*, in Purchas.

went off again, without receiving any Hurt. They then stood to the Eastward till Day, when they saw certain Shoals, that lay off the Eastern End of *Pemba*, which they could not weather. Then they tacked about, and stood to the Northward. At length, they had Sight of three Barks of *Moors*, which in their Language they call *Pan-gaias*; and giving them chase with their Ship and Boats, in the End fetched them up. They struck Sail without any Resistance, and were brought aboard.

1608.

Surge.

See the  
Page 11.

THEY were about fifty in Number, and formed a Design to seize the Ship; for the chief of them being in the Cabin with *Philip Grove*, the chief Merchant *William Revet*, and the Author, he with a long Knife, which he had concealed about him, stabbed the Master so desperately, that it was thought he would have died. But contrary to the Expectation of the *Moors*, I (says *Jones*) ended his Days in the Place. At the same Instant, the rest put their Tragedy in Practice, stabbing the Preacher, and one of the Merchants: But in a small Time they vanquished them, so that not above five or six at most escaped, to carry the News. This, the Author says, was a just Revenge for their former Wrongs. When they made the Attempt, there were not above fifteen or sixteen *English* at the most aboard, all the rest being employed in the Boats. The Author was credibly informed afterwards, by the *Portuguese*, that great Lamentation was made for those *Moors*, because they were some of the chief Men of all the Coast of *Melinda*, and of the Blood Royal.

And are  
Jan.

AFTER the Spoil of these Barks, they determined to stay no longer on the North Side of *Pemba*. So they put out of the West End of the Island again, determining to beat-up for *Sokotra*<sup>b</sup>: But as the Winds hung between the East, and East South-East, and they found small Help of the Current, they could not execute their Design. Then they determined to stand off to the Southward, two or three hundred Leagues, thinking to find the Winds at East South-East. But herein likewise, their Hopes were frustrated. For in the Offing, they found the Wind to hang at East North-East, and North-East by East; so that they lay beating in the Sea, from the twentieth of *December*, to the twenty-sixth of *January*; and then it was their good Hap to meet with certain Islands, which they named the *Desolate Islands*<sup>c</sup>, because they were not inhabited. There are (at least) twelve or thirteen of them; which ought by all Means to be sought by Ships in this Passage, on Account of the good Refreshing: For there is great Plenty of Water, *Palmeto* Trees, *Cocoa-Nuts*, fresh Fish, and *Turtle Doves*; which are so tame, that one Man may take with his

<sup>c</sup> Called by *Coerte*, *Amifant*, for *Almirante*, that

1609.

Shap y

Join a Ship  
of Diu.

Hands, twenty Dozen in a Day: So that these Islands seemed to them an earthly Paradise.

HAVING refreshed there, they departed; but still were crossed with contrary Winds, till the thirtieth of *March*, (when the *Westerly Monsoons* begin) at which Time, they got up to the Island of *Sokotora*. Here, having espied a Sail, which was bound for *Aden*, they gave her chase; and in the End fetching her up, they determined to go both in Company together. This Ship was of *Diu*. But they told the *English*, she belonged to *Surat*, giving them an Account of Captain *Hawkins's* Arrival there.

Come to  
Aden.

THE eighth of *April*, they came to Anchor in the Road of *Aden*, before the City. This City of *Aden* is under the great *Turk*, and is the Key of all *Arabia Felix*. The same Day, the Captain of the *Castle* came aboard with twelve Soldiers to guard the General ashore; where he was received with all imaginable Honour; and being mounted on a fair *Arabian Horse*, was carried in Triumph to the Governor's, where he was kindly entertained: After which, the Governor understanding, that he had Letters from the King of *England*, to the *Bashâ* of *Zenan*, (whose Place of Residence was fifteen Days Journey up the Country) sent them to him.

The Pinnace  
joins them.

THE tenth of *May*, their Pinnace *The Good Hope*, which they had lost at the Cape of *Good Hope*, came to them, after having endured great Misery. The Crew had most shamefully murdered their Master, *John Luffken*, because, (they said) he would not put into *St. Laurence* to relieve them, (being then at the Eastern End of the Island) but their chief Motive was to get at his Provision. Next Day, they put in with the Shore, and came to Anchor, where they got both Water, and other Provision. Here they left the Author's Servant, *Edward Hilles*, who, (as they said) went to cut Wood, and could no more be heard of. So soon as the Murder was made known, the Criminals, who were *Thomas Clarke* the Master's Mate, and *Francis Driver* the Gunner, were both executed aboard the Pinnace. At their Departure from *Aden*, the Governor detained two of the Merchants, *John Jordan*, and *Philip Glasscock*, with some Cloth; and sent them up all together to the *Bashâ*, who used them very kindly. The *Bashâ* having demanded, whether they had brought the great *Turk's* Letter with them? And they answering in the Negative, he told them, he could not give them Leave to settle a Factory: But that for the Cloth which they had there, he would take it for a Present, because their Ship, he said, was the first of the *English* Nation, that ever arrived in those Parts; and in Return for the same, would give them Leave to

Tried at  
Aden.

trade, and depart at their Pleasure, Custom free. Thus, with much Trouble, (because the *Westerly Monsoon* began to come in, and then the Current runneth out of the *Red-Sea*) in the End, they passed the Streights, being not above one Mile and half broad at most.

1609.

Shap y.

## S E C T. II.

Come to Mokha in the Red-Sea. Island Sokotra. Coast of Diu. The Ascension cast away. The Men saved. Land at Gandevée. Come to Surat. The Author gets to Goa. Leaves India in a Carak. Cape of Good Hope. Comes to Lisbon. Arrives in England.

THEY staid at *Aden* till the fifteenth, and then their General, and the Master, determined to go for the City of *Mokha*\*, about forty Leagues higher up in the *Red-Sea*.

THE eleventh of *June*, casting Anchor in the Road, the General went ashore, where he was most lovingly received. *Mokha* is the chief Staple of the *Indian Trade*: For all the Goods that are brought to *Kairo*, and *Alexandria*, come from thence. They staid in this Road, trimming their Pinnace, till the twenty-sixth of *July*; and then the General and Master determined to prosecute their Voyage for *Kambaya*: Sore against the Minds of the Company, being the chief Officers of the Ship; and that Night, through the Headstrongness of the Master, they lost two Anchors.

AUGUST the seventh, they came to *Sokotra*, Island *Sokotra*, where they had so much Wind at South, and South South-East, that the Ship was hardly able to keep the Shore, and the Pinnace blown off; not having above two or three Days Victuals in her at most. Whilst they lay at this Island, to get in a Boat's Lading of Water, and two or three Boats of Stones for Ballast, there came such violent Gusts from the South-West, that they broke two more of their best Anchors, (having then but two left) so vehemently do those Winds blow there at that Time of the Year.

THEY departed *August* the twentieth; and the second of *September*, fell with the Coast of *Diu*, some eight Leagues to the Eastward of that City. They steered forward along the Shore, about seven Leagues more; and then came to an Anchor a Head-land. The third, they sent their Skiff ashore, where they bought Sheep, and other Things, of the Natives; who understanding, that they were bound for *Surat*, one of them came aboard, desiring his Passage thither of the General. He informed him, at the same Time, that the Way was very dangerous; and offered for seven Pieces of Eight, to fetch a Pilot, who should conduct the Ship safely to the Port. But

\* In *Purchas*, *Moka*: But properly *Mokha*, the *kh* being a Guttural.



609. the General, being ruled in most Things by the Master, paid no Regard to what the Moor, or Bannian, said to him. The fourth, they weighed Anchor about three in the Afternoon, in the last Quarter of Ebb. So that Night they run on the Shoals, and struck their Rudder off; and the next Day lost their Ship also: Whereas, had they taken the first Quarter Flood, they would certainly have had Water enough to carry them over all the Shoals. That Night, forsaking the Ship, they betook them to their two Boats; and it was no small Wonder, that so many Men should get safe ashore in such small Vehicles, they being then at least eighteen Leagues from Land.

Ascension  
cast away.

The Men  
saved.

Land at  
Gandevce.

Come to  
Surat.

THUS was this large Ship lost, to the great Detriment of the Company of Merchants, and utter Undoing of the poor Mariners; all the Goods and Treasure that was aboard, being cast away with her. They remained on the Sea in their Boats, till the sixth, about four in the Afternoon; and then they discovered Land, which they made towards the best they could, endeavouring to get to the River of *Surat*. But contrary to their Minds, they fell with the River of *Gandevce*, some five Leagues to the Southward, and that very luckily. For had they succeeded to their Wishes, they had fallen into a greater Misfortune, perhaps, than the former; that is, into the Hands of their Enemies the *Portuguese*; who having had Intelligence, that their Ship was coming, lay at the Bar of *Surat*, with five Frigates, to take their Boats at their going ashore.

AT *Gandevce*, they heard, that their Pinnace came into the same River before them, and was carried away by the *Portuguese*: But that all the Men had forsaken her, and were gone to *Surat* by Land. They were kindly entertained by the Governor of this Town, who was a *Bannian*. The People of this Sect, are *Pythagoreans*, and honour the Cow: They also observe the antient Custom of burning their Dead. It was a great Fashion formerly, for the Women, when their Husbands died, to burn themselves with their Bodies: But of late, they have learned more Wit, and do not so commonly practise it. However, those who do it not, have their Hair cut; and ever after are reckoned dishonest, for refusing to accompany their Husbands into the other World.

THE seventh, they left *Gandevce*, to travel for *Surat*, about forty Miles distant; and the ninth came thither, where they were met by *William Finch*\*, who kept the Factory: But Captain *Hawkins* was gone to *Agra*, about thirty Days Journey distant, where the King resides. The

General, and [Part of] the rest<sup>b</sup>, having staid till the End of *September*, at *Surat*, then set out likewise for *Agra*, in order to return home by Land, through *Persia*. But the Author, not liking that Course, staid behind. Whilst he debated with himself, what Method to take, he came acquainted with a *Portuguese Padre*, of the Order of *St. Paul*, just come from *Kambaya*, who promised to get him conveyed to *England*, or at least to *Portugal*; which he punctually performed. <sup>b</sup> *Jones, Richard Mellis, John Elmor*<sup>c</sup>, and *Robert Fox*, departed from *Surat*, the seventh of *October*, along with the *Padre*, and came to the strong Town and Fortrefs of *Daman*; where once again, they saw the Pinnace, called *The Good Hope*. From *Daman*, they went to *Chaul*, and from thence to *Goa*, where they arrived the eighteenth of *November*.

1610.

Sharpey.

THE ninth of *January*, [1610] they embarked on board a Carak, called, *Our Lady of Pity*, being the Admiral of a Fleet of four Sail: And, the twenty-eighth, they passed the Line, upon the Coast of *India*; and the twenty-first of *March*, fell with the Land, in thirty-three Degrees and half, about five Leagues to the East of *Cape das Agullas*. Here they lay with contrary Winds, till the second of *April*, and then were encountered with a mighty Storm at West South-West: Which blew so furiously, that they were forced to bear up six Hours before the Sea; after which, it ceased. The fourth of *April*, they fell with Land again, in thirty-four Degrees forty Minutes; and then lay driving backwards and forwards, with contrary Winds, in Sight of Shore: So that they were twice within three or four Leagues of the Cape of *Good Hope*; yet could not get about it, till the nineteenth Day of *April*, and then they doubled it, to their no small Comfort: For they were in great Despair before, fearing they should be forced to winter at *Mozambik*; which is a common Thing among the *Portuguese*.

Cape of  
Good Hope.

THE twenty-seventh, they passed the Tropic of *Capricorn*; and the ninth of *May*, they came to Anchor at the Island of *St. Helena*; which standeth in fifteen Degrees South. Here they staid till the fifteenth, watering; and then departing, passed the Line on the second of *June*. The twenty-sixth Day, they were under the Tropic of *Cancer*, with the Wind at North-East, which the *Portuguese* call the *General Wind*; and the sixteenth of *July*, passed by the *Westerly Islands*, [or *Azores*] in the Opinion of the Pilot; being in the Latitude of forty Degrees odd Minutes, not having seen any Land since they left

\* This *Finch* travelled over more Parts of *India*, than any Traveller we know of since; so that Geography is greatly obliged to him, as well for his Account of the Roads, as Remarks on the Country. <sup>b</sup> *Nichols* says, the Company left the General, who was not able to provide for them; and the rest staid with him, being very sick. <sup>c</sup> *Mellis* died aboard the Carak, in their Passage; *Elmor*, or *Elmor*, was Master of the *Good Hope* Pinnace.

1608  
Rowles  
Com. & L.  
but

*St Helena*. In short, the third of *August*, they a made the Land of *Portugal*, being not above two Leagues off the Rock [of *Lisbon*] and the same Day came to Anchor in the Road of *Cascales* <sup>a</sup>. That Day the Author went ashore in a Boat, and so escaped the Hands of the *Portuguese*. He staid in *Lisbon* secretly till the thirteenth, and then embarked in a Ship bound for *London*, one *Steed*, Master; which immediately setting Sail from the Bay of *Weyers*, they escaped. For the *Portuguese* having had Notice of their Departure,

sent out a Boat well manned, with Design to have taken the Ship, and so carried them ashore: They got safe home the seventeenth of *September*, 1610, it being two Years and six Months since their Departure out of *England*.

1608.  
Rowles.  
Arrives in  
England.

## LATITUDES.

<i>Komoro Island</i>	—	—	—	11° 00' S.
<i>Pemba Island</i>	—	—	—	6 00
<i>St. Helena Road</i>	—	—	—	15 00

## C H A P. IX.

*The Voyage of Captain Richard Rowles, to Priaman, in the Union.*

*Being a Continuation of the fourth Voyage.*

Introduction or.

THIS Voyage is inserted in the Collection <sup>b</sup> of *Purchas* <sup>c</sup>, under the following Title: *The unhappy Voyage of the Vice-Admiral, the Union, outward bound, till she arrived at Priaman; reported by a Letter which Master Samuel Bradshaw sent from Priaman, by Humphry Bidulph, the eleventh Day of March, 1609. Written by the said Henry Moris, at Bantam, September the fourteenth, 1610.* The Account given by *Moris* relates to the Voyage of the *Union*, no farther than *Priaman*, in *Sumatra*; and it appears from this Title, that he was no farther the Author of it, than as he transcribed, or extracted it, from the Letter of Mr. *Bradshaw*, one of the Merchants or Factors <sup>e</sup>. The Adjective, said, prefixed to his Name, has Reference to the Report of *Nicols* (mentioned in the former Chapter) which precedes this Voyage in *Purchas*, and was written by *Moris*. What concerns the Return of the *Union*, from *Priaman*, and her being cast away on the Coast of *France*, contained in the second Section, is taken from certain Letters written on that Occasion.

## S E C T. I.

*The Voyage of the Union, after her Separation from the Ascension, to Achin and Priaman.*

*Written by Henry Moris.*

*Cause of her Separation. Mishap at Zenzibar. Put into Madagaskar. Captain and six others seized. Seven more die. Coast of Arabia. Came to Achin. Drive a great Trade at Priaman. Return homewards.*

THE *Union*, after being separated from the *Ascension*, by stormy Weather, in doubling <sup>Cause of Se-</sup> the *Cape of Good Hope*, sprang her Main-mast; and, in the midst of the Storm, they were forced to fith it again. It was owing to this Accident, that they lost the Company of the Admiral; and being at length out of Hope of meeting with either the Ship or Pinnace thereabouts, considering that the Tempest continued, they shaped their Course for the Bay of *St. Augustins*, in *Madagaskar*, in hopes of finding them there. But in this they were disappointed. Wherefore after twenty Days Stay, in which Time they refreshed themselves well, they set Sail for *Zenzibar*, in Expectation of meeting their General at that Place. As soon as they arrived, they went on Shore, and were kindly entertained. But at their next Landing, several Men broke out of Ambush upon them, and killed the Purser, *Richard Kenu*, and one Mariner, and took *Richard Wickham*, one of the Merchants, Prisoner; by great Chance however the rest got off the Boat, and came aboard.

Mishap at  
Zenzibar.

THEY put to Sea about *February*, 1608-9, with the Winds at North-East and Northerly, which was directly against them, as they designed to go for *Sokotora*. Now having spent much Time at Sea, without making any Way (and most of the Men being very much troubled with the Scurvy) the Captain bare up the Helm for the North Part of *St. Laurence*. His Intention was, to put into the Bay of *Antongil*; but they fell with the West Side of the Island, where they entered an exceeding great Bay, called by the Natives *Kanquomorra* <sup>d</sup>, the adjacent Country being very fruitful and pleasant. Here they proposed to recover their almost lost Men, and spend the unprofita-

Put into  
Madagaskar.

<sup>a</sup> *Cassini*.

<sup>b</sup> *Pilgr.* vol. 1. p. 232.

<sup>c</sup> Yet in the Preamble to the Voyage, *Moris* says he had the Account from the Report of others, without any Mention of *Bradshaw*'s Letter.

<sup>d</sup> Or *Boamora*. *Purchas*. ble

1609. *Rowles* ble *Monfon*. They soon grew acquainted with the Inhabitants, who at first appeared very friendly, and made them very kind Professions. Whereupon the Merchants often went ashore, and visited the King, who was no less complaisant. At length Captain *Rowles*, accompanied with Mr. *Richard Reve*, chief Merchant, *Jeffery Carlell*, and three others, thought fit to go to the Palace.

The Captain  
and others  
seized.

*SAMUEL BRADSHAW* had been often employed about Business to the King. But at this Time the Captain having some other Occasion for him, he stayed aboard, which proved happy for him; for the Instant they landed, they were betrayed by the Inhabitants. However, by good Fortune, the Boats escaped: But they had scarce got aboard, when they saw a Multitude of Prows and large Boats coming out of the River, rowing towards the Ship, as eagerly as if they intended immediately to board her. And indeed they made a very bold Attack, coming up in the very Face of the Ordnance, so that the *English* verily believed they would have taken them. The Fight continued at least two Hours very desperately. But the Cannon being diligently plied by the Gunner and his Mates, at length half a Dozen of their Boats were sunk, which obliged the rest to retire with more haste than they advanced.

Seven more  
died.

THEY stayed in the Bay fourteen Days after this, in hopes to recover their Men again: But instead of that they lost seven more, through a sudden Disease, which daunted them more than the Malice of those Infidels. The Misfortune happened to those who had wrought so hard at the Ordnance in the Fight; for within two Days they were all thrown over-board. These Misfortunes coming together, they resolved to make haste away, and Water a little somewhere else: But before they could dispatch, the Enemy made another Attempt, with a still greater Number of Boats; many of them very large, and crowded with Men to a surprizing Degree. However, they liked their first Entertainment so ill, that not caring to come too near them a second Time, they returned ashore, and contented themselves to look upon the Ship. The *English* perceiving their Malice, and fearing some Mischief in the Night, stood-in for the Shore (where the *Moors* fate) and gave them a whole Broadside for a Farewel. The Bullets entering among the thickest of them, made such Lanes, that they soon forsook their Places, and got out of Sight as fast as they could.

Coast of A.  
Arabia.

THIS done, they put to Sea, and directed their Course for *Sokotra*: But for want of hulling-in betimes, the Winds took them short, so that they could not fetch it, but fell more to the East, upon the Coast of *Arabia*. This was about the fourth of *June*, and the Winter *Monson* be-

ing come, they durst not attempt to go for *Kumbaya*; neither could they find any good Place on that Coast to harbour in, during the Winter. Wherefore after hovering in Sight of the Coast four Days, not without Danger of running ashore, they thought it Folly to lose Time any longer, but resolved on some Course for making their Voyage. Hereupon *Griffin Maurice*, the Master, consulting with the principal and most experienced Men in the Ship, they presently concluded to go for *Abin*, in hopes there to meet with some *Guzerats*, to barter their *English* Commodities with. Wherefore directing their Course for that Place, they arrived there the twenty-seventh of *July*; and seven Days after had Admittance to the King, to whom they gave a Present. Which they were forced to do somewhat largely, because the *Hollanders* sought to obstruct their Trade, aspiring to engross the whole Commerce of *India* to themselves.

1610.  
*Rowles*

Cure in A-  
chin.

AFTER Mr. *Bradshaw* had been at Court, and dealt a little with the Merchants of *Abin*, he fell to trade with the *Guzerats*, giving them *English* Cloth and Lead, in Exchange for *Bastars*, black and white; which is the Cloth they sell in those Parts. After they had been there some small Time, they sailed to *Priaman*, where they had a quick Trade, to their Heart's Content; which made some Amends for the Crosses they met with before. They stayed and took in Pepper, and at length laden their Ship; which might have been done long before, if there had not been a Mutiny among the Company; for the Sailors would do as they pleased themselves. But Mr. *Bradshaw* used them with such fair Words, that (at length) they got what they came for. Here the Master died. All Business being ended, Mr. *Bradshaw* sent one *Humphrey Biddulph* and *Silvester Smith* to *Bantam*, in a *Chinese* Junk, with some Remainder of Goods, which they could not sell at *Priaman* nor *Tekoo*: And presently after Mr. *Bradshaw* set Sail for *England*, in the *Union*, some Time in *February*, 1609-10.

Rick Trade  
at Priaman.

## SECT. II.

### The Return of the Union from Priaman.

The *Union* arrives near *Morlaix* in *Brittany*. But few left alive. Risted by the People of the Coast. Distress of those on board. She is brought on the Rocks by the French. The Master dies. Account of her Voyage homewards. Number of Men remaining.

CONCERNING the Return of the *Union* from *Priaman*, we meet with little more than what is contained in two Letters, which follow *Moris's* Account in *Purchas*, and relate

Union near  
Morlaix.

1611. to the miserable Condition wherein she arrived a and Want of Money; neither could be Masters  
Rowles. on the Coast of France. of their own Goods.

THE first was written by Bernard Couper, to his Brother Thomas Hide, a Merchant in London; dated from Morlaix, the first of March, 1611<sup>a</sup>. wherein he informs him, that by a Letter that Day received from Odwen, writ by one William Bagget, an Irishman, who dwelt there, the Union was upon that Coast, about two Leagues from the said Town; that the Inhabitants having sent out two Boats to her, found she was richly laden with Pepper and other Goods, from India, with only four Men alive (of whom one was an Indian) and three dead; that the four were so weak they were scarce able to speak; that the two Boats had brought the Ship into the Road of Odwen; and that they of the Town having unladen most Part of the Goods, had directed his Letter to some English Merchants in Morlaix, to repair thither, with all Expedition, to take Possession of them, as belonging to the East India Company: That this Letter was confirmed by another, written in French, by the Bailiff of Kimper, and directed to one in Morlaix, which Mr. Couper had seen: That therefore he thought proper to send three Copies of this Irishman's Letter by several Barks, for more Certainty in apprizing the Merchants; because it was to be feared the rude People would make a Wreck of her, if some speedy Measures were not taken about her; that therefore he thought it necessary to apply to the Court of France; for that he was apprehensive it would prove a very troublesome Affair: That in the mean Time he proposed with George Robbins to ride down, to see in what State Things were, and do the best he could in the Merchants Behalf: That the Ship was reported to be of three or four hundred Tons, and with three Decks: That he feared they should find her shrewdly riddled: That they took that Journey at the importunate Letters of the Irishman, and Bailiff of Kimper, but chiefly in Consideration of the Company; presuming they would consider their Charge, because they had both engaged Friends, and procured Money in the Place, to satisfy such as should be employed in saving the Ship and Goods, if Need were: That notwithstanding, he could wish, they would send some Body with Expedition, by Way of Rouen, with other Provision of Money: For that Morlaix was no Place of Exchange, where Money might be had at all Times: That he had rather give fifty Pound than take the Journey at that Time; because he had much Goods upon his Hands, as he had partly written in his last: That the Names of the surviving Persons were Edmund White, the Master; Thomas Duckmanton, Master's Mate; Samuel Smith, and the Indian: That they were in great Distress,

But few Men alive.

Riddled by the Brittons.

Distress of ship aboard.

THE second Letter, written by William Watson, the Captain or Master of some Ship, was dated in February, 1610<sup>b</sup>, from Andierne, where the Union then was, and runs in the following Terms. "The eighth of February, I came over the Polo-head of Bourdeaux, and the eleventh, lost my Foremast, Boltspit, and Rudder. The same Night I put into Olderyearne. "The thirteenth, the Frenchmen brought the Union upon the Rocks. The fourteenth, I went aboard her with my Boat; the Frenchmen had been aboard four Days: I brought ashore Samuel Smith, Thomas Dutton, and Mr. Edmund White. The fifteenth, I got William Bagget, my Merchant, to write a Letter to Morles. The eighteenth, the Letter was sent, and I paid two Crowns for the Carriage. The twentieth, the Indian died, and the same Day I buried him. The twenty-first the Master died, and I buried him. The twenty-second, came Messieurs Roberts and Couper. The twenty-sixth, they both went to Morles. Again, the fourth of March, William Coarey, the Host of Messieurs Couper and Roberts. The fifth, I went aboard with my Boats, and William Coarey at low Water: I went into the Hold at low Water, and brought a Sample of the worst Pepper. The sixth, I came from Old Yearne. The eighth, I went to Morles. The seventeenth, Mr. Hide came to Morles. And the twenty-first, I came from Morles. The twenty-second, at Night, I came into the Isle of Wight. The twenty-fourth, I came to Hampton. The twenty-eighth, I came to London."

1611. Rowles.

Ship brought on the Rocks.

The Master duns.

Voyage home-wards.

AFTER this Letter, we have the following farther Account, gathered perhaps by Purchas himself. They saved, after the Spoil of the Brittons, almost two hundred Tons of Pepper, some Benjamin, and some Chinese Silks, which they bought at Tekou, in Sumatra, out of a Ship of China. They touched outward-bound at Saldania, where they stayed long in setting up a Shallop, or Pinnace: They lost Mr. Rowles in St. Laurence; and more Men at Zanzibar. They laded Pepper at Acbin, Priaman, Passeman, and Tekou; where they bought Silk out of a Chinese Vessel. In their Return, they met with Sir Henry Middleton, to whom they delivered certain Chests of Silver; at which Time they had thirty-six Men on board in tolerable good Health. They missed the Isle of St. Helena. Most of their Men died on this Side of Cape Verde. Ten English and four Guzerats were taken out of her by a Bark of Bristol, and a Scot. Their landing in the Road of Andierne, and other Matters, are before set down. After the Pepper [and other]

Number of Men left.

<sup>a</sup> Or 1610-11.

<sup>b</sup> This should be March or April, 1611.

1609. Goods were taken out and dried, the Ship was examined by Mr. *Simonsen*, a skilful Shipwright (sent thither on purpose to save her if possible) and found to be unserviceable. The Ordnance, Anchors, and other Furniture, were saved. There remained alive, out of seventy-five who went out of England, only nine, viz *Thomas Duck-manton*, the Master's Mate, *Robert Wilson*, of *Deptford*, *Bullock*, the Surgeon; *Jacob Petersen*, and five *Englismen* more. Three or four *Guzerats* also survived the Voyage.<sup>a</sup>

C H A P. X.

*The Voyage of Captain David Middleton to Java and Banda, in<sup>b</sup> 1609;*

*Being the fifth Voyage set forth by the Company.*

*Extracted from a Letter written by himself to the Merchants.*

S E C T. I.

*Arrives at Bantam. Goes for the Molukkos. Town of Botun. King comes aboard. His ill Luck. Island Bangaia. A jolly Dutchman. Banda Islands. Dutch Proceedings there. Control the Trade. Awe the Natives. Order the English to depart. Captain Middleton refuses. Writes to the Governor. Dutch Preparations. The Captain lands himself. Shews his Commission.*

*Arrives at Bantam.*

THEY set Sail from the Downs the twenty-fourth of April, 1609. in the Expedition, of London, and got Sight of *Forteventura*, and *Lanfarot*, the thirteenth of May. They arrived at *Saldania* the tenth of August; and having watered without Delay, departed the eighteenth for *Bantam*, where they arrived the seventh of December; having very narrowly missed Captain *Keeling*, by passing him in the Night.

THE Author made all the Dispatch that might be (both by Day and Night) to get the Iron ashore: He would not stay even to set up his Pin-nace; but was obliged to give a great many Gifts more than would have been necessary, if the State of the Country<sup>c</sup> had been as in former Times. He left Mr. *Hensworth* in the House [or Factory] and because he knew none of those who were in it, and besides was in a strange Place, he left with him (at his Request) *Edward Needles* and three more of his Company.

b AFTER this he took such Commodities as he thought most vendible in those Places where he was to go: But what Likelihood there was of making a Voyage, he supposed Captain *Keeling* had long before that acquainted the Company; yet for all this he resolved to try their Courtesy. *Hensworth* was very loath to stay behind him, but he had no body else to leave in the House; being obliged to take Mr. *Augustin Spalding* with him, on account of his understanding the Language. *Hensworth* was charged to tell the Governor plainly (in case he sent for him) that the Captain had left express Order, not to yield to any of his former Demands; yet that he might take what he would, for he must deliver him nothing.

THE eighteenth of December, in the Evening, he set Sail for the *Malukkos* (as supposed) and the Winds favouring them, the twenty-seventh passed the Streights of *Desolam*, and then lay becalmed ten Days: Which was no small Trouble to him, on account of the great Heat under the Line; and being doubtful of the Westerly Monsoon, which (if it should have failed him) would have overthrown his Voyage.

THE eighth of January they came before the Town of *Botun*, and sending to enquire News, found the King was gone to the Wars, and very few People in the Place: So he would not anchor, but went through the Streights the same Day.

c Next Day they saw a great Company of Cara-

<sup>a</sup> These added to the fourteen taken out of her, make the whole of those who returned twenty-six or twenty-seven.

<sup>b</sup> This Voyage is taken from *Purchas*, vol. 1. p. 238 wherever a Tract is mentioned in the Title Page to be abbreviated, it is always to be presumed to be done by *Purchas* himself, unless some Body else be named. This Gentleman was Brother to Sir *Henry Middleton*, whose Voyage follows next.

<sup>c</sup> By the Alterations in the State their Debts were become almost desperate; nor would this Governor suffer them (as before they were used) to imprison Debtors and distrain. He also exacted unreasonable Sums for Rent; whereas the Ground had been given the Company, and the House built at their Charge. *Purchas*.

1610.  
David  
Middleton.

colles, which proved to be the King of *Batun's* a Army. Drawing near them the King detached a small Prow, to see what they were; and the Captain sent him Word who he was; enquiring if there was any Water near at hand: The People shewed him where there was great Plenty. Then he stood with the Place, and the King and all his Caricollies sailed after. Being come to an Anchor hard by him, the King sent one aboard, in his own Nanie, to bid the Captain welcome, and desired him to send Mr. *Spalding*, with the Messenger, to come and speak with him. The King's Desire was, that the Ship should ride there all Night; and in the Morning he promised to visit him.

King comes aboard.

ACCORDINGLY he came aboard; and Captain *Middleton* not only made him and his Nobles a Banquet, but gave him a Gift worthy such a Person. Then a Gale springing up, and the Ship being ready to sail, the King wept, and said the Captain might think him but a Dissembler, seeing he had no Merchandize for him; that four Months before, his Dwelling had been burned to the Ground, where he had provided a House full of Nuts, Mace, Cloves, and Sander-Wood; and a great Warehouse filled with the Cloth of his Country, which goes off very well in most of the Islands thereabout; yet that all the Loss grieved him not half so much as to hear that the Captains had caused the Ship to be fitted out on Purpose to come and buy such Commodities as he should have provided for him.

His ill Luck.

HE farther said, that the Captain had kept his Promise; and swore by the Head of *Mohammed*, that he would have done so to, but for that Fire, wherein moreover several of his Wives and Women were burned: That now he was abroad with his Forces at War, of which he could not tell the Issue; and that as the Case stood with him, he could not spare any of his People to make Provision for him. He added, that if the Captain had not come the Night before, he should have been in the Field against another King, his Enemy, whose Town he shewed him, requesting him to shoot at it as he went by. *Middleton* replied, that he was a Stranger, and knew not that King; so that he had no Reason to procure himself Enemies: But that in case he should come and offer him (the King of *Batun*) or any of his Subjects Wrong, while he was there, he would do his best to send them away. The King being pleased with his Answer, took his Leave, and the Ship set Sail immediately.

Island Bangaia.

THE twenty-fourth of *January* [1610.] he arrived at the Island of *Bangaia*, where the King and most of the People were fled, for Fear of some Enemy; but who that Enemy was, the Captain could not, with any Certainty, learn. A *Hollander* who was there, told him that this

Adversary was the King of *Makasar* (as he thought;) and that the Reason the former fled was, because the latter would force him (who was a *Gentile*) to turn *Moor*: But the Captain was rather of Opinion, that he fled for Fear of the *Dutch*, who would have built a Fort there; but when they saw the People were gone, they gave over the Design. This one *Hollander* bore such Sway, that never a Man left upon the Island durst displease him. He had as many Women as he pleased; and kept two Houses full of the choice Maidens of the Country: He had also many Slaves of both Sexes. He was withal a pleasant Companion, and would dance and sing all Day long, going almost naked, as their Manner is; whereby he won the Hearts of the Natives: Among whom he would carouse and be drunk for two Days together. He had lived long in the Country, and set up for himself, nor would be commanded by any *Hollander*. He lived over-against *Amboyna*, and if the Governor of that Place at any Time wanted to speak with him, he was obliged to send two of his Merchants in Pledge, till his Return. He received the King of *Tarnata's* Duties in all the Islands thereabouts, and sent him what he thought fit.

1610.  
David  
Middleton.

A jolly Dutchman.

HERE the *English* met with good Refreshing, and were in better Health, than when they set Sail from *England*, not having had one Man sick to that Time. There they sheathed the Long-boat, which they towed for Fear of the Worms, that would have spoiled her, and after, set Sail the ninth of *January*. Being at Sea, they found the Winds fair for them. Yet could not get to Windward all Night; the Stream carrying them directly South, and ran so swift, that they lost fifteen Leagues in two Days. This obliged the Captain to alter his Design for the *Molukkes*, and bear up the Helm for *Banda*.

THE fifth of *February*, they got Sight of the Islands of *Banda*, and made all the Sail they could to reach them before Night. Drawing near, the Captain sent his Skiff to get Intelligence of some of the Natives who sent him Word, that the *Hollanders* would not suffer any Ship to enter the Road, that they would take all he brought (if such Things as they stood in need of) and make Payment at their own Pleasure: That if any Junk came with Commodities saleable in the Country, they were not permitted to speak to the People; but were carried to the back Side of the Castle, within Musket-shot of the Ordnance, so that not a Man of them could set his Foot ashore, but a Bullet was sent after him; and that they had fifteen great Junks which were detained in that Manner.

WHAT Hope is there (says the Captain to the Dutch *Privateersmen*) to make a Voyage there, seeing they dealt so ill with all who came into the Road, and

1610. and banished Captain *Keeling*, not permitting him to stay to gather in his Debts, but gave him Bills to receive his Money at *Bantam*. Yet for all this he stood into the Road with Flag and Ensign, and at each Yard-arm a Pendant, making a very good Figure. The Governor of the Castle thinking it had been a *Dutch Ship*, sent out a Pinnace of thirty Tons towards the Expedition, but coming near, stood into the Road before her; so that after they had hailed the Captain, he could have no further Speech with them.

Control the Trade.

As soon as he was thwart of *Lantor*, he saluted the Town with Ordnance, and anchored within Shot of their Ships. Presently there came a *Dutch Boat* aboard, from the Governor, requiring *Middleton* to enter the Road, and then to land, and shew him his Commission. The Captain answered, that he was but new come, and would neither shew his Commission, nor impart his Business to the Governor, or any Man. They further asked, whether he was a Merchant, or a Man of War? He replied, that he would pay for what he took. Then they threatened him; but he told them he would ride there, let them do their worst, and hoped he should defend himself: Whereupon they returned to the Castle in a great Rage.

Awake the Natives.

THE *Dutch* were no sooner gone, but a Croud of the People of *Lantor* came aboard, and bid him welcome. From them he understood the whole Affairs of the Country, which would have been willing to deal with him, if he could have procured Leave of the *Hollanders*, for they were then Friends; but *Puloway* and *Polatronu* were at War with them. The Captain knowing, that there was good Fishing in troubled Water, took the Opportunity to talk privately with a Native of *Puloway*, who happened to be among them. This Person he engaged, for a little Money, to acquaint those of the Island, that he would give them either Silver or Commodities for all their Spice: That the *Hollanders* and he were likely to be Enemies; and that they need not fear, but that he would get their Spice aboard one Way or other.

Order the English to depart.

MEAN time there came the same Boat from the Castle, and another from the Vice-Admiral, with peremptory Orders from the Governor to Captain *Middleton* to come in. After staying them to Dinner, he told them, that he would ride there, and run the Danger of the Road: That he knew both Nations were Friends in *Europe*; and that for them to be Enemies there among Strangers would be scandalous. Whereupon they told him plainly, that he must not ride there; and that if he persisted, they would fetch him in per Force. His Answer was, that he would ride there, till he found the Inconve-

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nience of the Road, (for they said it was foul Ground) and then would come into the best Part of the Harbour: Adding, that neither of their Princes gave any Authority to their Subjects, to hinder the other to ride, or go, at their own Perils. The *Dutch* replied, that the Country was theirs: Then may I (said *Middleton*) the more boldly ride here, for we are Friends. So they departed in Displeasure.

THE same Evening, he was about to land Ordnance upon the Side of an Hill, where he rid; and began to fit the Ship to fight with any who should molest him: He also sent out some to search the Bottom; which, indeed, proved to be nothing but Rocks, so that there was no Possibility of riding there with Safety. Wherefore the Captain gave over his Design of landing Ordnance; and, next Morning, sent his Skiff with Mr. *Spalding*, and the principal Persons of the Ship, with a Letter to the Governor; ordering them to say nothing more than he had written, and make no Stay, but bring an Answer presently; for they rode very badly. The Copy of the Letter is as followeth.

May it please your WORSHIP,

WITH Patience to consider, that whereas you have divers Enemies, (and few Friends in this Place) I being a Christian, if your Worship stand in Need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as ready to perform it to my Power. For whereas there is Amity between our Princes at home, I should be unwilling, that we their Subjects should be at Enmity here. Farther, forasmuch as you command me to come under the Command of the Castle, I hope I have the Privilege, that both Princes allow their Subjects to come and go at their own Pleasures, and stand to the Danger of the Road at their own Perils. And whereas you demanded to see my Commission, I am a Gentleman, and willing to shew it upon equal Terms: For if you would meet me securely, as I would do you, appoint your Meeting on the Water, in our Boats equally manned; or in any other convenient Place, where I may be as near my Force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported, that a Contract is to be made with the Inhabitants of *Lantor*, and your Worship; my Desire is, that you would use me as an Indian for my Money: Then should I think myself much beholden to your Worship, and am more willing to deal with you, than with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be at Enmity with the Islands of *Puloway* and *Pulorin*, my Desire is to be resolved, whether I may have their Spice without your Hinderance. Thus desiring your Answer to these Particulars, and the same to be returned by these Bearers, I bid you farewell.

Z z

From

1610.

David Middleton.  
The Captain refuses.

1610. From aboard my Ship, this seventh of February,  
David 1609-10.  
Middleton

*Yours, in Friendship,*

DAVID MIDDLETON.

Then the Company rising up, drank a Cup of 1610.  
Wine, and went to walk and view the Castle: David  
The Offices whereof were very neat, and well Middleton.  
furnished with Armour and Munition.

## S E C T. II.

*Dutch Pro-  
posals*

THE *English*, coming to the Castle, were brought to the Governor, who was sitting in Council, and delivered the Letter, which was read openly. But they would send him no Answer, only by Word of Mouth. They had, in the Road, three great Ships of one thousand Tons, and three Pinnaces of thirty Tons each. One of the Ships, called the *Great Sun*, being unfit for Service, they had determined, that she should clap the *Expedition* aboard, and there be set a Fire: For this Purpose they had sworn several Persons to make her fast with Chains; and had put into her thirty Barrels of Powder to blow her up. She was to be manned out of the Castle, attended with all the Ships and Boats to receive the Men when she should take Fire. The *Great Horn* was to go and ride within Musket-shot of the *English*, and batter them while the Frigots plied round about, to keep them doing on all Sides.

*The Captain  
lands himself.*

THOSE who landed, perceiving the Speed they made to warp out the *Great Sun*, came away as fast as they could to acquaint Captain Middleton with what was going forwards. Whereupon he thought fit to go and speak with the Governor himself, before he came to a Rupture. So taking his Commission, he went to the Castle, and was met at landing by the Governor, and all the principal Men, both of the Castle and Ships; and conducted through a Guard of small Shot of three hundred Soldiers, who saluted him with three Volleys, and the Castle with seven Pieces of Ordnance. At length he came to the Governor's Chamber, where there were Chairs set for them two; the rest sat on Forms. After many Compliments of welcome to the Castle, Captain Middleton told them: That understanding they would not be persuaded but he was a Pirate, and had no Commission, he was come himself, and had brought his Commission with him, to manifest the contrary. Then he called to his Man for it, and shewed it, reading the first Line to them, and lapped it up again.

*Shewes his  
Commission.*

THEY said, that they would see it all: The Captain answered, that they should not while he lived; that they all saw he was nominated in the Commission, and that the great Seal was fixed to it. After this, he would have returned aboard, but was desired to stay a while: He complied, and there passed Words between them, some sharp, and some sweet: But at length they began to be more mild, and called for a Cup of Wine.

*The Dutch seem satisfied: But refuse him Lading. He puts them to Defiance. Sails for Puloway. Stops by the Way. Sends a Merchant on Shore. Agrees for Spices. Put to great Difficulties. Dutch Treachery. They are kept in Awe: Yet distress the English. Terrify the Islanders. A great Storm. In Fear of Cannibals. Meet the Bark. The Captain in Danger of drowning: Occasioned by a Surprise.*

CAPTAIN MIDDLETON taking his Time, resolved to see what Money would do, (which often, says he, maketh wife Men blind;) accordingly he offered one thousand Pound to be sure of having Lading; and to give his Chain from about his Neck to one to procure it, promising to pay for Spice more then they did. Having set this Matter on Foot, he told the Governor, now they were satisfied, that he was no Man of War, he would bring in his Ship. He replied, with the rest, that they were ready to oblige him all in their Power. It drawing late, he took his Leave, and at his going into the Boat, the Governor caused all the Ordnance in the Castle to be shot off. As he passed by the Ships and Frigats, they shot off Guns till he got aboard. Next Day, being the eighth of February, he brought his Ship into the Road, and rid between their Ships and the Castle, firing off all his Ordnance; and was answered plentifully from the Castle and Ships.

As soon as they came to Anchor, the Governor, with all the Chiefs of the Castle and Ships, came aboard, and accepted of a Dinner, such as they could provide. Afterwards he talked about his Lading, but could neither by Argument, nor the Offer of Gifts, obtain Leave to buy a single Pound of Spice; the Governor telling him plainly, that to grant such a Liberty, was as much as his Life was worth. The Captain finding no Good was to be done, determined to take in Water, and try his Fortune: But they would not suffer his Boat to go ashore for Water, without a Man of theirs, to see that they had no Conference with the Natives. After he had gotten in Water, he sent Mr. Spalding to acquaint the Governor, that he would be gone; who much wondered, whither the Captain intended to go, the Winds being Westerly. Having warped till he could get Sea-room to set sail, the Governor sent three Pinnaces to go out with him; one of which sent her Boat aboard to command.



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Middleton.

mand him, in the Governor's Name, not to go near any of those Islands. Captain Middleton sent him Word, he would not be at his Command; for he was going to *Puloway* as fast as he could; biding him send his Ships to force him away, for that he would quickly drive the Frigats farther off. The Boat returned aboard one of the Frigats; and the Captain caused the Men to prepare themselves to fight with the *Dutch* Ships that were already fitted, with their Sails brought to the Yard for the Purpose. He then called all his Company to know their Minds, and told them, that if they would stand by him, he intended to make his Voyage at those Islands in spite of the *Hollanders*. Promising to give amongst them what Things belonged to him in the Ship; and a Maintenance, during Life, to every Man who should happen to be maimed.

Sails for  
Puloway.

HEREUPON they unanimously declared they were willing to stand the Test: But the Pinnaces seeing them bring up their small Shot, thought it would not be safe for themselves to guard him any longer, and therefore bore up for the Harbour. While they were a warping out, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle had been twice aboard the Pinnaces; but what they did there, was unknown to the *English*. The Winds being Westerly, and a great Stream setting to the East North-East, they drove a great Pace: So the Captain sent Mr. *Spalding* in the Boat with Money, besides the Purser's Mate, and five more, to assure the People of *Puloway*, that they had parted Enemies with the *Hollanders*; and that they were sent him to know, whether they would sell him their Spice; that he would pay them Money for it, and that as soon as some Place was found for the Ship to ride in, he would come himself either in the Ship, or a Pinnace that he had aboard ready to set up.

Stops by the  
Way.

WHILE his Boat was absent, there came two Praws from *Lantor*, to know why he went away? The Captain told them, that the Stream had set the Ship off: That he would fain have gone to *Puloway*, if the Current had not hindered him, and had sent a Factor there to buy Spice. They said, they were glad that he had not left them altogether. Then he desired them to tell the Inhabitants of *Lantor*, that he would give them Money or Commodities for all the Spice which they had, if they would sell it him, rather than the *Hollanders*, who came to take their Country from them. One of them said, that he would go to the Island and see the Captain's People, and then would speak to those of *Lantor*.

Sends a Merchant on  
Shore.

AT Mr. *Spalding's* going ashore, the Country flocked about and welcomed him, but would make no Bargain about the Price, till Captain *Middleton* came himself; however they offered to deliver Spice upon Account in the mean time.

Upon this, he ordered *Spalding* to hire him a Pilot (if he could) to harbour his Ship near at Hand. Accordingly he spoke to the Inhabitants for one, and they hired him a couple, to whom they gave twenty Ryals, and the Captain as much. The Pilots coming aboard the same Night, he bare up the Helm for *Seran*, and came to a Place called *Gelagula*, a tolerable good Road, thirty Leagues from *Banda*. As soon as possibly they could, they took a House, and brought their Pinnace ashore to set-up, which they could never find Time to do before, because the Season of the Year slipped so fast away, and the *Monsoon* was at an End. After labouring all that Night to get her dispatched, he named her the *Hopewell*. The twenty-seventh of *March*, they sailed for *Puloway*, and arrived there the thirty-first in the Night; but could not lade any Spice till he had agreed with the Natives.

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THEY asked many Duties and great Gifts; but in fine, he agreed to pay as Captain *Keeling* had done, and gave the Chiefs what they looked for. For every one must have somewhat, which the rest must not know of; and a Man must always be giving, for they never cease begging: Nor is it prudent to deny them any reasonable Matter, especially as the Case stood with him. After the Price was fixed, they laded the *Hopewell* with Mace, and sent her away: But being too small for the Purpose, containing only nine Tons, the Captain was forced to hire a great Prow, which was laded with Nuts, and sent to the Ship; where she was built higher, to make her twenty-five Tons, and twelve of the ablest Sailors put on board. She made but one Voyage, and then they heard no News of her for three Months. The *Hopewell* in two Voyages bringing no Account of her, they took it for granted she had sunk in the Storm, which arose in her Return with the *Hopewell*, aboard whereof the Captain was himself. He was much grieved to see the Season wear away, without being able to get his Lading over to the Ship; nor durst he bring the Ship over to the Island, for there was no Riding for her. Thus all Hope being at an End for six Months, he made Inquiry for other Vessels; and hearing of an old Junk that belonged to *Lantor*, and lay near the *Hollanders* Ships, he went and bought her, and got such Help as he could to trim her.

Put to great  
Difficulties.

THE Want of his twelve Men put him to great Difficulties and Delays, for most of the rest were disabled with sore Legs; and as soon as one was any thing well, he was obliged to go aboard the *Hopewell*, while another poor lame Man took his Room: Some were three Times well, and down again. Thus he was driven to his Wit's End, not knowing which Way to turn; the Island being every Hour in Danger of

1610. being taken by the *Hollanders*, who also sought to make him away; offering large Sums of Money to Rogues to effect it, either by Poison or otherwise. But he had some Friends upon the Island, who gave him private Notice hereof; and warned him to beware of such Men-slaves, for that they came to do him a Mischief. Hereupon he was obliged to get all the Islands to draw to an Head, and fit out their Caricollles to keep the Dutch Pinnaces from coming aboard. After which they kept their Distance, and the Islanders landing secretly upon *Nera*, cut off several of the *Hollanders*; insomuch, that they durst not stir out of the Castle, except there were a good many of them together well armed.

THESE Islanders built a Fort upon the Side of an Hill, from whence they shot into the Castle, which galled the *Hollanders* much; and effectually hindered the Pinnaces from coming out to cut them off, as oftentimes they had attempted<sup>a</sup>, to the great Danger of the *English*: For in nine Voyages, which the Captain made with the Pinnace, he never could spare above seven Men to go in her, and there were but five at *Puloway*; the rest being either lame or sick, and in a Country where all Eatables were extremely dear, and to be had only at certain Times. Add to this the continual rainy Weather, which had like to have destroyed them all.

CAPTAIN MIDDLETON was obliged to get away the Junk untrimmed, which he had bought at *Lantor*; for the Dutch seeing Men at Work upon her, sent one of their Ships to batter her to Pieces, when she should be in Order: So that the Night she weighed, he got the Help of two Towns to launch her, and was to carry her a great Way upon Rowlers. They did this in the Dark, and getting her out of Sight by Day, brought her to *Puloway*; where, being nothing but the bare Hull, they were fain to buy Sails, and every thing else for her. The Captain sent also to the Ship, by the *Hopewell*, to fetch some Rigging, and Mr. *John Davis* to carry her over, sitting her (as well as he could) with the silly Carpenters of the Country.

THREE Weeks being past, without hearing of the Pinnace, he began to fear some Misfortune had befallen her: What was worse, he knew he might wait long enough before they aboard [the Ship] could hire any [Vessel] to send to him, the *Hollanders* having seized all that they had taken carrying Victuals to the *Bandanese*. Therefore, as it was pretty fair Weather, and the Skiff was then at *Puloway*, Captain *Middleton* determined to go over himself, and make some

Shift, rather than let the Time run on without doing any Thing: For he could not hire Men to carry over the Junk, if he would have laded her with Silver. He hired three *Blacks*, not having a Man of his own that could stand on his Legs, and with them put to Sea.

BEING out of Sight of Land, there arose such a Storm, that he was forced to spoon afore the Sea to save their Lives; yet they got Sight of *Seran*, but coming near the Shore, the Sea broke so violently, that they lost all Hope of getting safe to Land. Night approaching, they strove all they could to keep her upon the Sea till Morning; but the Storm increasing, they found themselves compelled to hazard all in order to put into the Breach, over a Ledge of Rocks. In this, however, they succeeded; yet no Man durst forsake the Boat, for fear of being beaten to Pieces against the Rocks. Next Day, they got her ashore, and emptied her, being brimful of Water, and every Thing, that they had in her, washed over-board. As it was extremely foul Weather, with much Rain, they could not tell what to do.

IN this Perplexity the *Blacks* came and told them, that they must put to Sea forthwith, if they meant to save their Lives. The Captain asking one of them the Reason; he said, it was the *Canibals* Country; who, if they got Sight of them, would kill and eat them. That they never ransomed any Men they took; and that if they were *Christians*, they roasted them alive, for Wrongs the *Portuguese* had done them: That, therefore, if the Sailors would not put to Sea again, they would go hide themselves; for that the *Canibals* would be down at the Water-side, as soon as it was Day-light, to see if they could discover any Fishermen or Passengers, that, by stealth, passed by in the Night<sup>b</sup>. They hearing this, (and the Moon beginning to shine, the Wind to duller, and a Tide of Flood being also with them) presently put off again. They soon got a-head a good Pace, and by Day were clear of their Watches.

As thus they went on, keeping close along Shore, they espied the Hull of a Bark; and rowing near it, found it to be the *Diligence*<sup>c</sup>, with a couple of *Englishmen* in her: They told him, that having come to an Anchor there in the late Storm, the Cable broke, and she drove ashore; and that Mr. *Herniman* was gone to the Town, to get Men to haul her up: Hereupon, the Captain landed himself, to get the Governor to bring some Help to save her. The Sand being crouded with People, who came on Purpose to

<sup>a</sup> Something must be omitted here in *Parbas*. <sup>b</sup> The People both of the *East* and *West Indies* are full of such idle Notions; and often invent them to serve some particular Ends. <sup>c</sup> This Vessel is not named before, though it is mentioned here as if it was.

1610. have pillaged her, he ordered them to make a Shot now and then, which kept them from coming near. When the Captain came to the Town, *David Middleton.* Mr. *Herniman* was gone by Land to the Ship, which was twelve Miles off. Having offered the Governor Money for Assistance, he said, he would gather the Country in two or three Days: Captain *Middleton* told him, that if it blew, she would be lost within an Hour. One belonging to *Puloway*, who knew the Bark, and was earnest with the Governor to save her, being there, plainly told him, that the Chief wanted to have her bulged, that he might get the Plank to build him a Prow.

*In Danger of drowning.* THE Captain perceiving there was no Help to be expected, but what came from the Ship, he hired Guides to follow Mr. *Herniman*, and took one of his own Men for Company. Half Way, they came to a great Water, which they were to cross. As his Man could not swim, the Captain sent his Cloaths back, all but a scarlet Mandilian <sup>a</sup>, which the Blacks were to carry over. They told him, the River was full of Aliigators; and that if he saw any, he must fight with them, or they would kill him: And for that Purpose, the Black carried a great Knife in his Mouth. *Middleton* being weary, not having slept for two Nights, took the Water before the *Indians*, knowing they would be over before him. The River being broad, and the Current made by the great Rain (that had fallen) very swift, the *Indians* would have had him turn back; but as he was more than half Way, he was very unwilling. He who carried the Mandilian, having a great Cane, struck the Captain on the Side; who, suspecting it had been an Aliigator, dived under Water: Where the Current got such hold on him, that before he could rise again, he was carried into the Sea, and thrown by the Waves against the Beach. He was washed backwards and forwards several Times; till the *Indian* came, and giving him Hold of the End of the Cane, pulled him out, within a little of being drowned, having his Back and Shoulder much bruised. After he had rested himself for some Time, he got aboard, to the Surprise of his Company; and that Night, sent all that were able to crawl, to save the Bark; which they did with much Fatigue. As for the People of the Country, not a Man was suffered to lend a Hand; expecting the *English* would forsake her, and that she would be all their own.

## S E C T. III.

*Shifts made by the Captain to lade Spice. The Islanders grow jealous of the English. Are pacified. He leaves Puloway. Comes to Bantam.*

<sup>a</sup> A sort of Caslock, or loose Coat, which Soldiers formerly used to wear.

Dutch Design against the English, and Banda: 1610. *Miscarries by Accident. Another Disappointment. Fleets of Dutch daily arrive. They lose several Ships. The Captain leaves Bantam, and returns home.* *David Middleton.*

NEXT Day, the *Hopewell* arrived with her <sup>Ships to lade</sup> Lading of Spice. She had been driven to <sup>Spice.</sup> the Eastward of *Banda* thirty Leagues, in a most furious Storm; which continued long, and caused them to have a tedious Passage to get to Windward. The Captain went from *Puloway* in the Boat, and laded presently; and Mr. *Davis* was lading as fast as he could, with a poor lame Crew, the sound being all employed about the *Diligence*. They presently unladed her [the *Hopewell*]; and that Night, Captain *Middleton* set Sail in her, to see if he could get to *Puloway*, before Mr. *Davis* came away: For, as they told him the Junk was very leaky, he was willing, that the *Hopewell* should bear her Company, for she had not a Nail in her; and because the simple Smiths of the Country cannot make Nails, they having had none of their own, ordered him they employed, to make Iron Pins, which they disposed of in the most needful Places. The Captain in the *Hopewell*, striving to reach *Puloway*, was turned aside by the Stream, in a mighty Storm; for the stronger the Wind, the stronger the Current. Being put to Leeward, they were long before they could fetch the Ship, and were forced to seek the *Seran* Shore, otherwise they had been quite blown away. The Captain having, in the several Trips he made, still fallen to Leeward of the Ship, caused Mr. *Davis* to search the Coast for some Harbour, that for the future the Vessels that were provided, might come from *Puloway* directly to the Ship: Because, when deep laden, they could not so easily ply to Windwards with their Oars.

DURING the Captain's long Stay from *Puloway*, and the Islands of *Banda*, the Natives had <sup>The Islanders jealous</sup> Intelligence, that the Ship had weighed Anchor; and were persuaded, that he was gone for Fear of the *Hollanders*, who were determined to come and surprise him. For this Reason, the Country People would not deal with the *English* any more, nor sell them Victuals, but began to abuse and rail at them: Saying, he was gone in the Ship, and had left them behind in the Island, after the Example of the *Hollanders*; and would like these return with a Fleet, and take their Country from them. Hereupon, they determined to seize upon the House, and keep the Men Prisoners, upon an high Rock. With this View, they sent for the *Shah* Bandar <sup>b</sup>, that by joint Consent, they might take Possession of all the Goods. When the *Shah*

<sup>b</sup> In *Parchas*, *Sabandar*.  
Bandar

1610. *Bandar* came, Mr. *Spalding* went to acquaint him with the hard Usage of the Islanders, who began to take Things out of the House by Force. The *Shah Bandar* said, they would take Care, that the English should not do as the *Hollanders* had done, and were determined to lay them fast: For that the Ship was gone, and their Meaning was not good. In short, all that Mr. *Spalding* could say, would not persuade them, but that he and the rest, were left there by Design. Next Day, calling a Council in the Church, they resolved to send the Men Prisoners to the Rock: But Word coming, while they were sitting, that Captain *Middleton* was in Sight in the *Hopewell*, they broke up their Consultation. At his landing, Mr. *Spalding* told him of their hard Usage of them, and the Fear they were in. As the Chiefs of all the Islands sat before their Door, waiting for his Coming, he asked them the Reason, why they dealt so ill with his People, in his Absence? They told him plainly, that if he had not come as he did, they would have taken the Goods, and confined the Men. He then let them know the Reason for removing the Ship; adding, that it was no Wonder the *Hollanders* had built a Castle to defend themselves, when they dealt so hardly by him, who was in Friendship with them; and had not only left Men amongst them, with Commodities which the Country stood in Need of, but had also made the *Dutch*, who were their Enemies, his own Enemies; and endeavoured by all the Means he could contrive, to do all the Islands good, as they all very well know.

They are persuaded.

To this they answered, that he should not blame them to be jealous of *Christians*, since both the *Portuguese* and *Hollanders*, for many Years, had done as he has done: But that in the End, they found their Design was to take their Country from them. However, they said, now, he was come himself, they hoped, he would not think the worse of them for what had passed. Hereupon, they became good Friends again, and the Trade for Spice went on briskly. Captain *Middleton*, after lading his Ship, having some Stock left, thought he could not do better, than lay it out in the same Commodities. Accordingly, he laded thirty Tons more in the Junk; and bought another of forty Tons (on the Stocks) with Spice to lade her; leaving Mr. *Spalding* to come in her; and Mr. *Chapman*, a very honest experienced Man, for Master; besides ten Persons more.

Leave Puloway.

AFTER this, Captain *Middleton* went and took his Leave of all the Country, in a most loving Manner; and bestowed several Gifts for a Farewel: Entreating them to help Mr. *Spalding*, if he should stand in Need of their Assistance; for that in his Absence, he must rely upon them. This they promised to do; adding many Expressions of Kindness. He was forced to carry over the *Hope-*

*well* himself; and set Sail the seventh of September, from *Puloway*, with the Junk, *Middleton*, in his Company; having staid longer in the Country, than any Englishman ever did before. He arrived at the Ship the tenth, and found she was not fully laden; for seven Tons of the Nuts were spoiled, that came last from *Puloway*. Having supplied this Deficiency out of the *Hopewell*, and the Junk, he turned off the former, (which had done very good Service, and brought an hundred Tons of Goods aboard). For, being but half Inch Plank, she was so Worm-eaten, that they pumped continually in her, and never could find Time to sheath her.

AFTER the Ship was wholly laden, they set Sail from *Keeling Bay* the same Day, without Top-sails, which had been blown from the Yard, (where they had been ever since the Ship came into the Country, for Fear of the *Dutch*, or other Treachery) in her Passage from the Place where she rode before, seven Leagues to the Eastward; Mr. *Davis*, having removed her by the Captain's Directions. As, on this Account, the Junk went better than the Ship, Captain *Middleton* sent for the Master aboard, and making Mr. *Musgrave* his Mate, sent a Letter to *Bantam* by him, desiring him to make all the Speed he could thither; he proposing to overtake them, when his Top-sails, which they worked at Night and Day, were up. Accordingly, being soon finished, on the sixteenth, the Ship overtook the Junk; which not being able to keep her Company, (unless he took in her Top-sails, or the Junk crowded more Sail, which would be dangerous,) the Captain bid them not strive to keep up with him, for Fear of springing a Leak, but follow him to *Bantam*; where he hastened to trim the Ship, which required a good deal of Time.

THEN holding on his Course, on the ninth of October, he arrived in *Bantam Road*. Here he found that Mr. *Hensworth*, and *Edward Neetles*, both died, soon after he left them: So that all the Goods remained; not a Yard of Cloth having been disposed of to the *Chinese*. Most of the Company being still troubled with sore Legs, and many sickly, he left the unsound aboard under the Surgeon's Care; and manned the Junks with those who were in perfect Health. There came in a small Ship, which after having been at *China*, *Japan*, *Tarnata*, *Makian*, *Koromandel*, *Patane*, and *Jor*, went to *Ambeyna*, and *Banda*, to seek for Lading. But not getting any, was forced to repair to this Port, to lade Pepper. This Ship, when at *Banda*, sailing near *Puloway*, let fly all her Ordnance; one of whose Shot passed through an *Indian's* House, and two Suckles of Mace in the *English* House, hit the Purser's Mate upon the Shin, and entering a Chest of fine *Pintados*, spoiled many of them. It did not break the Mate's Leg; but the

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Lose their Top-sails.

Come to Bantam.

1610. the poor Man lay six Months at least, not able to stand.

David Middleton.  
Dutch Dr-  
figs at Ban-  
da.

CAPTAIN Middleton contrived Matters so well at *Banda*, to secure his own Lading first, that although the *Dutch* had two great Ships half laden before his Arrival, they could not get one single Pound of Spice afterwards. At the same Time, they were stark mad to see the *English* pass by them daily with that Commodity. Wherefore, they determined, with their Ships, to take the Island, and seize the Spice, which they knew the Captain had bought, at such a Time as they might easily have done it<sup>a</sup>. For the *Bandanese*, being flushed with the Slaughter of some of the straggling *Hollanders*, resolved to assault their Castles, and fire their Ships at Anchor, purposing to burn the *Old Sun* close to the Castle Gates. To this Effect, they took all the able Men along with them, leaving not passing forty behind, besides Women and Children. The two great Ships, and these Pinnaces, came out under Sail, with three Boats apiece at their Sterns; and the Frigats, with two Prows<sup>b</sup> each, to land Men. They chose such a Time, that they might have come ashore, and taken every Man one in his Arms, and carried them quite away; for there were no Weapons left in the Islands, except what the *English* had. However, their Design miscarried. For it proving<sup>c</sup> calm when they were out of the Harbour, they could not get in again; and it being at the Time of Spring Tide, the Ebb set the Ships to the Southward of the Island; and the Pinnaces were obliged to follow the Ships, for Fear the Caricollies should have snapped them. After labouring with all their Power for two Days, to come back, they were forced to proceed for *Bantam*, to lade Pepper.

Miscarries  
by Chance.

Another Dis-  
appointment.

BEING long becalmed by the Way, they descried a Ship right to Leewards, which, they thought, could be none but Captain Middleton: Wherefore it was agreed in Council, to take him and all his Spice: But what they designed to have done with the Ship and Company, he could not learn. It proved to be the *Provincia* of *Holland*, a great Ship that was bound to *Banda*; and had been at the *Molukkos*, but could not get one Pound of Spice; and being informed by the other two, that they came from *Banda*, with half their Lading, they turned back with them to *Bantam*, to lade Pepper: And thus Middleton escaped.

Fruit of  
Dutch daily  
arrivals.

THERE came eight [*Dutch*] Ships to *Bantam*, for Pepper; and because they were to stay a Year

for their Lading, they took in Planks, and Materials for making Flankers, and strengthening their Castles at *Banda*, and *Tarnata*, whither they went after Captain Middleton's Arrival. His lame Company, being very weak, fell sick, his Gunner, and one of his Quarter-Masters, died; and three more, presently after them. Messieurs *Davis*, and [*Thomas*] *Clayborne*, being sick, (the latter dangerously) and himself not well with Grief, to see the Condition they were reduced to, he hastened to be gone from that contagious Country; hoping, that his People would mend, if they were out at Sea. Wherefore the Ship being fitted, the Western Monsoon come, and no Prospect of the Arrival of the Junks before May, he resolved to return. But if one of the Junks had come, he would have remained in the Country, and fitted her to go for *Saldania*, (a Place where the *Dutch* had made considerable Voyages.) As they did not, he thought it most for the Company's Service, to leave the *Indies*, in order to bring home the Ship, in case *Davis* and *Clayborne* should die by the Way. Three Days before he quitted *Bantam*, four Sail of a new *Dutch* Fleet of nine Ships, entered the Road. They brought a great Number of Women, to inhabit the Places they had conquered: They were so very weak, that the other Ship's Company were forced to fetch them in one by one.

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THAT same Day, a Ship from *Tarnata*, (sent with Letters to *Amboyna*, and *Bantam*) brought News, that the *Hollanders* had lost their Admiral, who went to *Manilla*, his Head being shot off; and his Ship, with two more, taken; another, (that would not yield) set himself a fire: These four were great Ships of one thousand Tons apiece. Four Days before this, News came from *Manilla*, that *Paulus van Carles*<sup>e</sup>, a General of the *Hollanders*, who had been in the *Indies* four Years, had been taken by the *Spanish* Gallies at *Tarnata*; where he remained a Prisoner in the Master of the Camp's House, and all his Company were chained in the Gallies. The *Hollanders* offered a very great Ransom for these Prisoners; but the *Spaniards* would release them on no Terms, but their delivering up the Forts, and abandoning the Islands. As the *Hollanders* would by no Means withdraw their Forces, the General remained a Prisoner a Year and a quarter: At which Time, two *Dutch* Ships, having taken the new Governor of the *Molukkos* in his Passage from *Manilla*, he was released in Exchange. This General was

<sup>a</sup> Hence, after all, it appears, that the Success of this Voyage was owing not to the Address, or Courage of the Captain, but to mere Accident. Had the *Dutch* Ships been favoured by the Wind and Tide, all the Captain's Negotiations with the Natives, as well as his unwearied Diligence to load his Ship, had been frustrated, and the Company suffered great Loss. Perhaps, the subtil *Hollanders* let him go on till he had freighted his Ship, that they might come by Spice the cheaper. Hence, the Prudence of running such Risques may be questioned.

<sup>b</sup> Rather *Paul van Cardan*.

<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Prow*.

1610.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

Leave Bantam.

taken a second Time, after a long Fight, by the Spanish Galleys, and sent Prisoner to Manila. CAPTAIN Middleton, having left Richard Woodies in Charge of the House, and Orders for Mr. Spalding, (when he arrived) to undertake a Voyage to Sukkadania, in Borneo, for Diamonds, he departed from Bantam the sixteenth of November, and had a very good Passage to the Road of Saldania; where he cast Anchor the one and twentieth of January, and took in Water. He found that his Brother Sir Henry Middleton, had arrived there, the twenty-fourth of July, and departed the tenth of August: There also he found the Copy of a Letter, which Sir Henry had written to the Company, and sent home by a Hollander the Day after he came into the Road. Up-

on this Occasion, he observes to the Company, 1610. that if they had not received that Letter, it was plain to see, that they were never to expect any by the Hands of the Dutch: He adds, that he had aboard one hundred thirty-nine Tons, six Cathayes \*, one Quarter and two Pounds of Nutmegs; and six hundred and twenty-two Suckets of Mace, which made thirty-six Tons, fifteen Cathayes, one Quarter, and one and twenty Pound; and that he had left in the Junk with Mr. Herniman, four and twenty Tons, seven Cathayes, two Quarter, and eight Pound: Which cost (including Charges) 2507 1/4 Ryals, five hundred whereof, he had disbursed of his own, for Spice, which lay most on the Orlope.

Sir Henry  
Middleton.

## C H A P. XI.

*The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Red-Sea, and Surat, in 1610.*

*Being the sixth set forth by the East India Company.*

*Written by Sir Henry himself.*

## S E C T. I.

*Fleet arrives at Cape Verde. Saldanna Road. St. Augustin's Bay. Error in Reckoning, occasioned by Currents. Quiriba Islands. Effect of Currents. Change thereof. Comes to Sokotra. Sir Henry lands at Tamarin. Visits the King. Comes to Aden. Character of the Bashâ. Leaves a Ship there. Sails for the Red-Sea. Bâb al Mondub. Comes to Mokha. The Ship runs aground. The English kindly received. Sir Henry invited ashore, and lands.*

**T**HERE were three Ships employed in this Voyage: The *Trade's-Increase*, of one thousand Tons, the Admiral, Sir Henry Middleton, General; the *Pepper-Corn*, of two hundred and fifty, Vice-Admiral, Nicholas Downton, Captain; and the *Darling*, of ninety Tons. The Bark *Samuel*, of one hundred and eighty Tons Burthen, followed as a Visqualler <sup>b</sup>.

Arrives at  
Cape Verde

THE first of May, 1610, the Fleet anchored in the Road of Cape Verde, under an Island; where they found a Frenchman of *Disp*, fitting up a small Pinnace. Next Day, the Carpenters of all the Ships, went about repairing the Main-mast of the *Trade's-Increase*. Pulling off the Fishes

d they found it in a very bad Condition; and above the upper Deck, about three Foot, wrung more than half asunder: Had they met with any foul Weather, it must have gone by the Board. Sir Henry sent one of his Carpenters on Shore, to search for Trees; who returned that Night, with Word, that he had seen some which would serve their Turn.

THE third, they began to unlade the *Samuel*, and sent Carpenters to cut down Trees; having obtained Leave of the *Alcayde*, who came aboard, and dined with the General. Sir Henry gave him a Piece of Roan Cloth, (bought of the Frenchman) and other Trifles.

THE fifteenth, having made an End of Watering, and stowed all their Boats in the Night, they prepared to depart next Morning. The Author says, *Cape Verde* was the best Place he knew for outward-bound Ships: The Road being excellent good, fit for Dispatch of any Business, and well stocked with Fish; besides, it lay in their Course. Having called Captain Downton, and the Masters, to know what Course was best to hold till they passed the Line, it was concluded to steer South South-West for sixty Leagues, after that, South South-East, till they came near the Line, and then

\* Or *Kassi's*. <sup>b</sup> These Circumstances are taken from the Title of this Voyage in *Purchas*, Vol. 1. p. 247. where it takes up twenty-seven Pages. It is one of the most curious of all the early Voyages of the English to the East Indies, particularly on Account of the Author's Transactions in the Red-Sea.

1610. to stretch over Easterly. Here they dismissed the *Samuel*.

*Sir Henry Middleton*  
Saldanna Road.

THE four and twentieth of July, they entered the Road of *Saldanna*, and saluted the *Dutch* Admiral with five Pieces of Ordnance, which he returned. There were two other *Dutch* Ships in the Bay, which came to make Train-Oil of Seals, and had filled three hundred Pipes \*. This Day he landed, and found the Names of Captain *Keeling*, and others, in their Return in *January*, 1609; also his Brother *David Middleton's*, bound out in *August*, 1609; besides a Letter buried under Ground, according to Agreement between them in *England*: But it was so consumed with the Damp, that no Part of it was legible. The twenty-sixth, they set up a Tent for the Sick, and had them all a-land to air the Ships. From this Day till their Departure nothing material happened.

St Augustin's Bay.

THE sixth of September, Latitude twenty-three Degrees, thirty Minutes, the Wind all Southerly, a good Gale, they saw Land; and before Night came to an Anchor in *St. Augustin's Bay*, where they found the *Union* in Distress for Provisions. The seventh, the General went ashore in his Pinnace, to look for fresh Victuals, but could get none; so returned with Wood and Water.

THE tenth, coasting the Shore with a good Gale at South-East, they reckoned the Ship should have sailed at least twenty-six Leagues, yet went but twenty-two, North, by reason the Current sets to the Southward. Next Day, they steered from Noon till Night, North North-East along the Land, which was North, half a Point Easterly, and till Midnight, North North-West; afterwards, till Day, North by West, and so till Noon, North: All her true Way was North North-West, half a Point North, twenty-seven Leagues. They had a great Current against them: For *Sir Henry* computed they should have proceeded thirty-five Leagues; and observed, that the Latitude was one and twenty Degrees, five Minutes; Wind East South-East. The twelfth, they steered between North North-East, and North by East; her true Way North West-erly one third of a Point; Latitude nineteen Degrees, forty-eight Minutes: She ran twenty-seven Leagues. The Current, these last four and twenty Hours, set to the Northward; the Wind variable.

Error from Currents

THE thirteenth, they steered with little Wind and Calms, for the most Part North by East; her true Way North one third Part West; the Wind as the Day before: She sailed fifteen Leagues more than was expected, occasioned by the Currents setting to the Northward. Latitude by Ob-

servation nineteen Degrees, ten Minutes. The twentieth, at Noon, Latitude eleven Degrees, ten Minutes, the Wind veering Easterly, with Calms; Variation twelve Degrees, forty Minutes. This Afternoon they saw the Isles of *Queriba*, which are low and dangerous, being environed with Rocks and Shoals.

1610. *Sir Henry Middleton*

THE first of October, they steered North-East by North, one fourth North, twenty-seven Leagues; the Wind for the most Part South-East. The second, their Course the same, fifty-seven Leagues. The Current had carried them these eight and forty Hours to the Northward, more than they could allow by twenty-eight Leagues. This they found by their Latitude, which was three Degrees, thirty Minutes South; Variation twelve Degrees, twenty-four Minutes; Wind South and South-East. The third, they steered North-East by East: The Ship's true Way was North-East, one fourth North, forty-one Leagues; which were twelve Leagues more by the Current than he should have allowed. The Latitude was two Degrees South; the Winds between South and South-East.

THE fourth, their Course North-East by East. Their true Way North-East half a Point Northerly, forty-five Leagues, whereof fourteen Leagues carried with the Current: Latitude fourteen Minutes South; Variation thirteen Degrees; the Wind variable, between South-East and South. They passed the Line this Afternoon. The fifth, they steered twelve Hours, North-East by East, and twelve Hours East North-East: Ship's true Way, North-East, a little Northerly, forty-seven Leagues; being carried to the North by the Current at least twenty Leagues: Latitude North, one Degree, thirty Minutes; the Wind South South-East, and sometimes almost calm. The sixth, they steered East by North, and East North-East: Her true Way, North-East by East, a little Easterly, thirty-eight Leagues; helped by the Current to the Northward, eighteen Leagues: Latitude two Degrees, thirty Minutes; the Wind South South-East; Variation fourteen Degrees, two Minutes.

THE seventh, they steered East by North: Her true Way, North-East half a Point Northerly, eight and twenty Leagues; Latitude three Degrees, five Minutes; Wind all Southerly; Variation, fifteen Degrees; carried by the Current ten Leagues. The eighth, their Course East North-East; the Ship's true Way North-East by East, half a Point Northerly, forty Leagues; Latitude four Degrees, twenty-seven Minutes; the Wind South-West; Variation sixteen Degrees, four Minutes. The ninth, they steered

\* Mr. [Laurence] Femel, in a Letter which I have, written from thence, mentions two French Ships in like Employment, which he suspected to lie in wait for distressed Ships from the Indies. Purchas. <sup>b</sup> In the Maps, *Querimba*.

1610. North-East by East, her true Way North-East, one fourth of a Point Northerly, twenty-seven Leagues; Latitude five Degrees, three and twenty Minutes; Wind South-West; Variation sixteen Degrees, four Minutes.

Change of the Current.

THE tenth, calm; Latitude five Degrees, one and twenty Minutes: Here they lost the Current that set to the Northward, and were carried to the Southward two Miles, Variation seventeen Degrees, ten Minutes. The eleventh, calm; Latitude five Degrees, twenty Minutes; lost one Mile. The twelfth, calm; Latitude five Degrees, lost by being carried to the Southward, twenty Miles. The thirteenth, they steered two Watches North-East, and four North North-East: The Ship's true Way, as the Author reckoned, North North-East, by reason the Current countervailed the Variation; she ran seventeen Leagues; Latitude five Degrees, fifty-five Minutes; the Wind West by North; Variation nineteen Degrees, ten Minutes.

THE fourteenth, they steered North; her Way, allowing the Variation, which was nineteen Degrees, forty Minutes, should be one Point three quarters to the Westward: But the Variation daily increasing, shewed they were carried to the Eastward by the Current, more than the Variation amounted to. She sailed this Day forty Leagues; the Wind West South-West; Latitude seven Degrees, fifteen Minutes; her true Way North-East, carried to the East ten Leagues. The fifteenth, they steered North; their Latitude eight Degrees, fifty-five Minutes; Ship's true Way North-East, forty-five Leagues. Her Way should have been North by West, Westerly by the Variation: But the Current had carried her to the Eastward of her Course seventeen Leagues; the Variation nineteen Degrees, five Minutes; the Wind West South-West.

THE sixteenth, they steered North; her Way by the Current, North by East, thirty-six Leagues; carried contrary to the Variation, five Leagues to the Eastward, as the Author imagined; the Wind South South-West; Variation nineteen Degrees, eight Minutes. The seventeenth, they held their Course North, and ran nineteen Leagues. In the Morning early they saw the *Ducas Hermanas* <sup>a</sup> six Leagues off, North by West; the Wind at South-West; Variation eighteen Degrees, fifty-five Minutes. The eighteenth, at Night, they arrived at *Sokotra* <sup>b</sup>, and anchored in a sandy Bay; Latitude twelve Degrees, twenty-five Minutes. In the Evening they went on Land with their *Sayne*, and got great Store of Fish; Wind East.

Comes to Sokotra.

<sup>a</sup> That is, the two Sisters. In *Purchas*, *Irmanas*. Some for *Hermanas*, put *Hermanos*, or *Brothers*. *Purchas*, *Zacotora*.

<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, *Moha*, the *hh* being a strong Aspiration or guttural *b*. *saque*, in *Purchas*.

<sup>c</sup> In the same Author, *Chussem*, perhaps by Mistake. See before, p. 318. Note <sup>e</sup>.

THE twenty-first, they plied for the Road or *Tamerin*, the chief Place of the Island; but the Wind being at East, and East by South, it was the twenty-fifth before they could get thither.

The Latitude of *Tamerin* is twelve Degrees, thirty Minutes; the Variation nineteen Degrees, eighteen Minutes. The Town stands at the Foot of high ragged Hills: The Road is open between the East by North, and West North-West; they anchored in ten Fathoms Water, good Ground. The twenty-fifth, the General sent Mr. *Femel*, well accompanied, ashore, with a Vest of Cloth, a Piece of Plate, and a Sword-Blade to the King, who promised all kind Offices.

THE twenty-sixth, Sir *Henry* landing, with the chief Merchants, and a Guard of armed Men, was conducted to the King's House, who met him at his Chamber-door. Being entered and seated by him in a Chair, there passed many Compliments; after which the General enquired concerning the Trade of the *Red-Sea*. The King commended it highly, saying, the People of *Aden* and *Mokha* <sup>c</sup> were good People, and would be glad to trade with him. He added, that the *Ascension* had disposed of her Goods there at high Rates; and came so light into this Place, that she took in a great deal of Ballast. This Account pleased Sir *Henry*, who then desired Leave to set up his Pinnace. The King refusing that Liberty in this Road, granted it at the Place where they first anchored. He was apprehensive that if they stayed to set her up in *Tamerin*, the Merchants of other Nations would be afraid to come thither. He gave free Leave also to take in Water, but said he must pay very dear for Wood, if he had any: Adding, that those of all other Countries who came thither, payed for their Water; but of him he would demand nothing. He had sent all his Aloes to his Father, the King of *Fartak* <sup>d</sup>, in *Arabia Felix*, whose chief City and Place of Residence was called *Kussem* <sup>e</sup>. He confirmed the Loss of the *Ascension* and her Pinnace. Sir *Henry* demanding if they had left any Writing behind them? he said he had, but that his Servant had lost it. He dissuaded the General from seeking Trade in the Country of *Fartak*; for that he believed his Father would not permit it: But advised him to go for the *Red-Sea*. They all dined with the King, and then returned aboard.

THE seventh of November, they steered West by South, and West South-West, along the Coast. About ten o'Clock they saw a High-land, which they imagined to be *Aden*: It rose like *Abba del Aden*.

<sup>d</sup> In *Fartak*. *Kuria*.



1610.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton

*Kuria*, and might be seen a great Way off. In a of her, a Night. This Coast is high, with many Head-lands. the Evening, about six, they anchored in twenty Fathom Water, and sandy Ground, before the Town; which stands in a Valley at the Foot of a Mountain, and makes a fair Shew. It is encompassed with a Stone Wall, and defended by Forts and Bulwarks in many Places; but how provided he knew not. This Night a small Boat came out to view them. Standing-in (the Wind at East South-East) they were carried to the Eastward by the Current, at least twenty Leagues, to their Surprise; for they thought it would have set to the West. The eighth, a small Boat from the Town came aboard, with three *Arabs*, who said they were sent by the Lieutenant Governor, to know what Nation they were of, and their Business thither: Adding, that if they were *Englishmen* they were heartily welcome; and that the Year before, Captain *Sharpey* had been there, and from thence went to *Mokha*, where he made Sale of all his Goods.

Character of  
the Bashá.

THE General asked one of them the Name and Character of the *Bashá*: He answered, his Name was *Jaffer Bashá*, and that his Predecessor was very bad, this little better; but that all the *Turks* in general were stark naught. Asking, if *Mokha* was a good Place for Trade? They answered, that there was one Man in the Town who could buy all his Merchandize. Sir Henry sent his Pinnace ashore, and *John Williams*, one of his Factors, who spake the *Arabic* Language: d They were kindly entertained.

There is a  
Ship there.

THE ninth, having sent the Pinnace to get a Pilot for *Mokha*; the Town would not let them have any, without leaving three of the chief Merchants in Pledge. However seeing the Ships under Sail, they intreated Sir Henry to leave one for that Port, promising to buy all the Goods. Hereupon he thought fit to leave the *Pepper-Corn* there, and sail with the other two for *Mokha*. Wherefore they did what they could to get into the Road again, but could not; being carried to Leeward with the Current. Having anchored to the Southward of the Town, the General sent Mr. *Fowler* and *John Williams* ashore, to tell them he would leave one of the Ships there to trade, provided they would let him have a Pilot: They seemed very glad, and promised to send one next Day.

Sails for the  
Red Sea.

THE twelfth, Sir Henry seeing no Hope of any Pilot, though often promised one, about Noon set Sail along with the *Darling*, for *Mokha*; the Wind East South-East. They coasted the Shore, sometimes West South-West, and West by North, in twenty-eight and thirty Fathom, following a small Sail till they lost Sight

1610.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton

THE thirteenth, they held on their Course along the Shore all that Night, steering between the West by North, and most by South, her true Way West. Next Day betimes they saw the Head-land going into the *Red-Sea*, rising like an Island thirty Leagues from *Aden*. About eleven, they were thwart of the Entrance, being but three Miles broad. On the North Side is a ragged Land like an Island; and on the other Side a flat low Island, called *Babelmandel*. South of the Island there seemeth to be a broad Channel, or Entrance. After they had passed this Streight of *Babelmandel*, Sir Henry sent his Pinnace for a Pilot, to a Village on the North Shore, in a sandy Bay, which returned with a Couple of *Arabs*, who took upon them to be very skilful. The Depth in the Streights was between eight and eleven Fathom Water. Coasting the Land North by West, and North North-West (in between eighteen and twenty Fathoms) about four o'Clock they descried the Town of *Mokha*; and about five luffed in: But the Wind being high, they split their Main-top-sail, and hoisting their Mizzen, it split likewise: What was worse, the Pilots brought the *Trade's Encrease* a-ground upon a Bank of Sand. As the Wind blew hard, and the Sea ran somewhat high, they were all in Fear she could not be gotten off.

Small Mon-  
dub.

Comes to  
Mokha.

THIS Night there came a Boat aboard from the Town, with a *Turk*, a handsome Man, sent by the Governor to know what they were, and their Business. Sir Henry told him, they were *English* Merchants, who came to seek Trade. He answered, if they were *Englishmen* they were heartily welcome, and should not fail of what they sought; for that *Alexander Sharpey* had sold all his Goods there, and they might do the like. As for the grounding of the Ship, he made nothing of it; saying, that it was common for great Ships of *India* to run a-ground, and yet that he never heard of any that sustained Harm thereby. He made haste back to inform the *Aga* who they were, promising to return next Morning, with Boats, to lighten the Ship. This Man was called *Lord of the Sea*; his Office being to search Ships, to prevent Frauds in the Customs; and to see Lighters sent aboard to unlade them. His Salary arises from certain Duties, which are all his Maintenance.

Ship runs  
a-ground.

THE fourteenth early, he returned with three or four *Turks* more, whereof two spoke *Italian*. They brought the General a small Present from the *Aga*, with Compliments of Welcome, and Offers of any thing the Country afforded; saying, he should have as good and free Trade as

\* In *Arabic*, *Amir al Bab*. His Office is different from that of *Sháh Bandar*.

1610. they had in *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, or any Part of <sup>a</sup> the *Turks* Dominions. There came with them four or five Lighters, in which the *English* put any thing that came first to Hand, to lighten the Ship: Mr. *Femel* went ashore in one of them, before Sir *Henry* was aware thereof, carrying all he had in the Ship with him. They sent all their Money, Elephants Teeth, and Shot aboard the *Darling*, and laying out their Anchors to pass, in the Evening tried to heave her off, but could not make her stir.

The English  
kindly received.

THE fifteenth, they did what they could to lighten the Ships, sending some Goods ashore, and some aboard the *Darling*. Sir *Henry* had a Letter from Mr. *Femel*, giving an Account of his kind Entertainment by the *Aga*; and that he had agreed to pay five Pound the hundred Custom, for all they should sell; and that what they could not sell should be returned aboard, Custom-free. He likewise received from the *Aga* himself, a Letter under his Hand and Seal, offering himself <sup>c</sup> and whatever the Country afforded at his Service. About five o'Clock they began to heave at their Capstanes, and, at length, got the Ship afloat again.

Sir Henry  
mounted ashore

THE nineteenth, two Boats came from Mr. *Femel* for Lion, which the General sent; but wrote word, that he would send no more Goods till those already landed were sold. *Femel*, in Answer, informed him, that if he intended to trade, he must come ashore, according to the Custom of the Place, otherwise they would not be persuaded but that they were Men of War <sup>b</sup>. The *Aga* likewise sent the Interpreter to tell him, that if he was a Friend to the *Great Turk*, and a Merchant who expected to trade, he entreated him to land; alledging, that Captain *Sbarpey*, and all the *Indian* Captains, did the like.

And lands.

THE twentieth, Sir *Henry* landing, was received at the Water-side by several Persons of Distinction; and, with Musick, brought to the *Aga's* House, where all the principal Men of the Town were assembled. He was received with all the Marks of Friendship imaginable. He was seated close to the *Aga* (all the rest standing) who loaded him with Compliments and Welcomes. Sir *Henry* delivered the King's Letter with a Present to the *Bashá*, which he desired might be sent up with all Speed. He likewise gave the *Aga* a Present, which he received very kindly; assuring him, that he should not have the least Molestation in his Trade; and that if any of the Inhabitants offered him or his People Wrong, he would see them severely punished. After this, he caused him to stand up, and one of his chief

Men put on him a Vest of Crimson Silk and Silver; saying, he needed not fear any Evil, for that was the Grand Signior's Protection. Having taken Leave, he mounted a gallant Horse, with rich Furniture, led by a Man of Figure; and so, in his new Coat, with the Music of the Town, was conveyed to the *English* House; where he dined, and presently went aboard. The *Aga* was very importunate with him to stay on Shore, which he yielded to, in order to see his <sup>b</sup> Pinnace built; the Days following being also forced by foul Weather <sup>c</sup>.

1610.

Sir Henry  
Middleton.

## SECT. II.

*The Aga's Subtilty* The English treacherously assaulted and seized. Many slain and wounded. The *Darling* boarded. All the *Turks* slain. Sir *Henry* sent for. The *Aga's* Artifices. Sir *Henry's* Constancy. More Wiles of the *Aga* to insnare the Ships. Noble Spirit of a Sailor, who ventures ashore. An *Aga* sent from the *Bashá* of *Zenan*, or *Sanaa*, to bring them up.

THERE passed not a Day but the *Aga* <sup>The Aga's</sup> sent Sir *Henry* some small Present or other, <sup>Subtilty</sup> with Compliments; and to know if he wanted any thing. The twenty-eighth, he sent twice to desire him to be chearful; and acquaint him, that so soon as their Time of Fasting <sup>d</sup> was over (which was almost expired) he would have the <sup>d</sup> General ride abroad with him to his Gardens, and other Places of Pleasure. The same Afternoon Mr. *Pemberton* having gone ashore for Cocoa Nuts, Sir *Henry* made him stay to Supper: After which, being ready to go aboard, the *Turks* would not permit him; saying, it was too late, but that in the Morning he might go as early as he pleased. The General sent to intreat Leave for him, but they would not grant it. All this Time they suspected no Harm, but imputed <sup>e</sup> it to over-much Curiosity in the Officer; who, they supposed, had done it without Order, of which, next Day, he designed to have complained to the *Aga*.

AT Sun-set, Sir *Henry* caused Stools (as was his <sup>The English</sup> Custom) to be placed at the Door, where he sat <sup>seized</sup> with Messieurs *Femel* and *Pemberton*, to take the fresh Air. About eight, there came a Janizary from the *Aga*, to deliver some Message to him; but not understanding him, the General sent his <sup>f</sup> Man to look for one of his Company, who spoke the *Turkish*. Presently his Interpreter came, by whom he learnt the Purport of the Message; which was, that the *Aga* had sent his Service to him, desiring him to be merry, for that he had

\* The Author uses the Word *Stambola*, after the *Italians*; but *Stambol*, or *Istambol*, is the right.  
 † booters or Rovers.  
 ‡ This looks as if he had not returned on board at all.  
 § Or Lent, which is their Mouth of *Ramadbán*, or *Ramazán*.

1610. received good News from the *Bashâ*. As he a  
 Sir Henry Middleton. was about to go on, Sir Henry's Man returned in  
 a great Fright, and told them they were all be-  
 trayed; for that the *Turks* and his People were  
 together by the Ears at the Back of the House.  
 The *Turk* who sat by, being desirous to know  
 what the Matter was, they told him; whereupon  
 he rose up, and asked the Servant to shew him  
 where they were. Several of the *English* ran af-  
 ter them, to see what was the Matter; and Sir  
 Henry himself ran after the rest, calling them b  
 as loud as he could, to return back and make  
 good their House.

Carried to  
 the Aga.

BUT while he was speaking, he was knocked  
 down by one who came behind him; and re-  
 mained as dead, till the extrem Pain, in tying  
 his Hands behind him, brought him to his Senses.  
 As soon as they saw him stir, they lifted him up,  
 and two led him between them to the *Aga's*;  
 where he found several of his Company in the  
 same Condition. By the Way the Soldiers pil-  
 laged him of his Money, and three gold Rings: c  
 One of them was his Seal, the other had seven  
 Diamonds of Value; and the third was a Gim-  
 mal Ring. When those who had escaped with  
 Life in this Massacre, were brought together,  
 they were put in Irons. Sir Henry with seven  
 more were yoked by the Necks in one Chain:  
 Some were fettered by the Hands, others by the  
 Feet. Two Soldiers were left to guard them,  
 who, taking Compassion of their Circumstances, d  
 made their Bolts easy: For most of them had  
 their Hands so strait bound behind them, that the  
 Blood was ready to burst out at their Finger's  
 Ends, which gave them inexpressible Pain.

Many slain  
 and wounded.

AFTER Inquiry into the Affair, he was  
 informed, that *Francis Slanny*, *John Lanflat*, and  
 six more were slain; and that fourteen of those  
 present were grievously wounded: That their  
 House had been surrounded with armed Soldiers,  
 who, at the Instant he was struck down, fell e  
 upon the *English*, who were quite unarmed and  
 defenceless.

The Darling  
 boarded.

THE *Turks* having thus secured their Persons,  
 their next Design was to take their Ships and  
 Goods. In order to this, about ten o'Clock,  
 they armed three great Boats with an hundred  
 and fifty Soldiers in them to take the *Darling*,  
 which rode somewhat near the Shore. That they  
 might pass for *Christians*, the better to succeed,  
 they took off their Turbans<sup>a</sup>; and boarding her f  
 all together, entered most of their Men. It  
 was so sudden, that three of the *Darling's* Crew  
 were slain before they could get down; the rest

betook them to their close Fight. By a lucky  
 Mistake no more Mischief was done them For  
 the Captain of the *Turks*, who was called *Amir*  
*al Bahr*<sup>b</sup>, or *Lord of the Sea*, called to his Sol-  
 diers to cut the Tables in the House. The Soldiers  
 misunderstanding him, many of them leaped into  
 the Boats, and cutting the Ropes, drove away.

1610.  
 Sir Henry  
 Middleton.

BY this Time, the *Darling's* Men had gotten All the  
 them to their Weapons, the *Turks* standing very  
 thick in the Waist, hallowing and clashing their  
 Swords upon the Deck. One of the Company  
 threw a large Barrel of Powder amongst them,  
 and after it a Firebrand, which took so good  
 Effect, that several were burned. The rest, for  
 more Safety, (as they thought) retired to the  
 half Deck, and the Poop, where they were en-  
 tertained with Musket-Shot, and another Train  
 of Powder. Which so terrified them, that some  
 leaped into the Sea, others hung by the Ship-side  
 imploring Mercy, which was not there to be  
 found; for the Sailors killed all they could find,  
 and the rest were drowned. Only one Man was  
 saved, who hid himself till the Fury was past,  
 and then was received to Mercy.

THE Boats returning brought News, that the Ship  
 was taken, for which there was great Re-  
 joicing, and the Governor sent off the Boats  
 again to bring her up to the Town. But when  
 they came to the Place where she used to ride,  
 they found her standing-off under Sail. Upon  
 this, returning, they told the *Aga*, the Ship had  
 escaped, and that they believed the *Amir al Bahr*,  
 and his Soldiers were all taken Prisoners. This  
 was very disagreeable News to him: However,  
 sometime before Day, he sent their Interpreter to  
 tell them, that the small Ship was taken, which  
 Sir Henry verily believed to be true, and after  
 Sun-rise sending for him, he went along with  
 his seven Yoke Fellows.

As soon as they came before him, he, with  
 a frowning (and not his usual dissembling) Coun-  
 tenance, asked Sir Henry, How he durst be so  
 bold as to come into this their Port of *Mokha*,  
 so near their Holy City of *Mekka*<sup>c</sup>. He answer-  
 ed, That the Cause of his coming thither was  
 not unknown to him, having long before ac-  
 quainted him therewith, and that he did not land,  
 but at his earnest Intreaty, and after many Pro-  
 mises of kind Usage. The *Aga* insisted, That  
 it was not lawful for any *Christian* to come so  
 near their Holy City of *Medina*<sup>d</sup>, this being the  
 Port or Door thereof; and that the *Bashâ* had  
 express Orders from the *Great Turk*, to make  
 Slaves of all *Christians* who should enter those

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Tukes*; elsewhere, *Tuques*.

<sup>b</sup> In the same Author, *Emur Bahare*. In another Place, he  
 is called *Lord of the Seas*; and, if so, it must be read *al Bahâr*.

<sup>c</sup> *Meca*, in *Purchas*. <sup>d</sup> This must be a  
 Mistake, for hearing the *Aga* say, *Medinat al Mokaddas*; or, *The Holy City*, meaning *Mekka*, Sir Henry ima-  
 gined he spoke of *Tatbreh*, called *al Medinuh*, by Way of Excellence.

1610 Seas, even although they had his own Pass. Sir a  
*Sir Henry* Henry replied, That the Fault was his, for not  
*Middleton.* telling him so at first, but deluding them with  
 fair Promises. The *Aga* then gave him a Letter  
 of Captain *Downton* to read, which came from  
*Aden*, dated long before. The Purport thereof  
 was, that two of his Merchants and the Purser  
 were detained ashore; and that they would not  
 be released without landing of Merchandize, or  
 paying fifteen hundred Venetians for Anchorage.  
 Withal, desiring Sir *Henry* to advise him what he  
 had best to do.

*The Aga's*  
*Dislike.*

AFTER he had read the Letter, the *Aga* de-  
 manded to know the Contents of it: Which,  
 being told to him, he said, that since the Wri-  
 ting of it, the Ship had left *Aden*, and was com-  
 ing to *Makha*; but in the Way struck on a Rock,  
 and was lost, with all the Goods and Men. The  
*Aga* then desired him to write a Letter aboard,  
 to know how many *Turks* were in the small  
 Ship. Sir *Henry* told him, then it would be need-  
 less, since she was in his own Possession. He re-  
 plied, that she was once in their Hands, but had  
 been rescued by the great Ship. This made some  
 amends for the other bad News. The *Aga* then  
 pressed him to write to them aboard the great  
 Ship, to yield her into his Hands; saying, he  
 would let them have the small Ship to carry them  
 home. Sir *Henry* said, it would be ridiculous to  
 write any such Thing; for that they, who were  
 aboard, and had their Liberty, were no such d  
 Fools, as, upon his Letter, to give up the Ship, and  
 come on Shore to be Slaves. His Answer was,  
 that he knew if the General wrote to that Effect,  
 they durst not disobey him. Sir *Henry* then told  
 him plainly, that he would write no such Letter.

*Sir Henry's*  
*Constancy.*

SEEING he could not obtain his Ends in this  
 Point, he inquired, What Quantity of Money was  
 in the Ships? Sir *Henry* said, There was but little;  
 and that not to lay out in Merchandize, but to  
 buy Victuals. He asked, What Store of Victuals e  
 and Water was aboard? The General told him,  
 Enough for two Years; which he would not be-  
 lieve. He urged him once more to write for  
 them to come ashore, and yield the Ship, threat-  
 ning otherwise to cut off his Head. Sir *Henry*  
 bid him do so; saying, that therein he should do  
 him a great Pleasure, for that he was weary of  
 his Life, but write to that Effect, he never would.  
 Upon this, being taken out of his Chain and  
 Collar, in order to be separated from the rest, a f  
 great Pair of Fetters was clapped upon his Legs,  
 and Manacles upon his Wrists. He was lodged

all that Day in a dirty Dog-kennel, under a Pair  
 of Stairs. At Night, at the Intreaty of *Shermall*,  
 Consul of the *Bannians*, he was taken out, and  
 placed in a better Room, with one of his Sailors,  
 who spake *Turkish*. However, his Bed was no  
 better than the hard Ground, and his Pillow a  
 Stone. His Companions were Grief of Heart,  
 and a Multitude of Rats; which, if he chanced  
 to fall asleep, soon awakened him with runding over  
 him.

ABOUT Mid-night, came the *Aga's* Lieute- More Wiles of  
 nant<sup>c</sup>, and their Trugman<sup>d</sup>, intreating him in the *Aga*  
 very soothing Terms to write aboard, to know  
 how many *Turks* were Prisoners, and what were  
 their Names; but by no Means to mention any  
 Thing relating either to the Loss of his Men,  
 or his own hard Usage: On the contrary he ad-  
 vised him to say, that they were detained in the  
*Aga's* House, till farther Order came from the  
*Bashâ*; and that they wanted for nothing. Ac-  
 cordingly Sir *Henry* wrote, and to the same Ef-  
 fect they desired him; but at the same Time ad-  
 vised them to look well to their Ships, and not  
 to suffer any of their Men to venture on Shore,  
 for fear of Treachery. This Letter they after-  
 wards shewed to two or three of the other Pri-  
 soners, to see whether Sir *Henry* had written ac-  
 cording to their Instructions.

HOWEVER it was not sent at that Time, be-  
 cause they could not get any body to carry it:  
 Yet, at length, they met with a Man, who un-  
 dertook to deliver it on board, provided the Ge-  
 neral would write to them, to use him well. This  
 Man was born in *Tunis* in *Barbary*, and spake  
 good *Italian*. Sir *Henry* wrote the Letter as they  
 desired, which was perused like the former, and  
 next Day sent aboard. The Purport of the An-  
 swer was, that all the *Turks* were slain or drown-  
 ed, excepting one, whose Name was *Ruswân*, a  
 common Soldier; and that they were glad to  
 hear the General was alive; for *Ruswân* told  
 them, he thought all the *English* were slain.

SIR HENRY and the rest continued in this To misfire  
 Misery till the fifteenth of *December*, not hearing the Ships.  
 any Thing from the Ships, nor the Ships from  
 them. The *Aga* came often to him, sometimes  
 by Threats, at other Times by fair Means, urg-  
 ing him to write for those on board to come a-  
 shore, and yield up the Ships: Sir *Henry* still an-  
 swered him, as he did at first. He was particu-  
 larly inquisitive about the State of their Provi-  
 sions; having been in Hopes, that for Want of  
 Water and Victuals, they should at last be sur-

1610.  
*Sir Henry*  
*Middleton.*

More Wiles of  
 the *Aga*

<sup>a</sup> Besides these three, there were, by like Treachery, twenty Men more betrayed at *Aden* leaving had  
 Leave given them to go on Shore, and Shackles made the while, &c. *Purchas*. <sup>b</sup> And, methinks, with  
 good Reason, if the Money was to buy Victuals; which seemed to imply, that they were in Want of Provi-  
 sion <sup>c</sup> Or *Subasba*. <sup>d</sup> Or *Interpreter*: At present we say *Druggerman*; both Corruptions of the

*Arabî, Tarimân*

1610. rendered to him, knowing that they could not a  
 Sir Henry have a Wind to carry them out of the Streights  
 Midleton till May. He said, He wondered how so great a  
 Charge could be borne with so small a Stock.  
 Sir Henry answered, That his Nation had Facto-  
 ries in several Parts of India, which had Stock  
 enough to load them in case they had brought no  
 Commodities at all with them, and that the  
 Stock they had was sufficient to lade his Ships  
 with Pepper, which in India was very cheap

Noble Spirit  
 of a Sailor,

THOSE on Ship board fared but ill themselves, b  
 though at Liberty, riding in an open and wide  
 Road, the Wind blowing continually hard at  
 South South-East, inclosed round with Shoals,  
 and their Water beginning to fail; for that they  
 had staved fifty Tuns to lighten the Ship at their  
 coming on Ground. Besides, hearing nothing  
 from Land, made them at their Wit's Ends, as  
 not knowing well what Course to take. At  
 length an honest Fellow, called John Chambers,  
 offered to go ashore to see what was become of c  
 the rest; chusing rather to hazard both Life and  
 Liberty, than see Men live in such Perplexity.  
 On the fifteenth of December before-mentioned,  
 being set with a Flag of Truce upon a small  
 Island, a little to Windward of the Town, hav-  
 ing one of their Indians with him for his Inter-  
 preter, they were brought before the Aga, who  
 asked him, How he durst be so bold to come  
 ashore without Leave? He answered, That he  
 was a Messenger, and came with a Flag of Truce, d  
 which was permitted among Enemies. The Aga  
 asked, What Message he had to deliver? He re-  
 plied, A Letter to the General, and said he  
 should be glad, if he would give him Leave to  
 see how his Countrymen did. They examined  
 him and the Indian very strictly, as to the Quan-  
 tity of Victuals and Water in the Ships; and  
 their Answers agreed exactly with Sir Henry's,  
 that there was enough of all Sorts of Victuals for  
 two Years.

Who ventures  
 ashore.

AFTER this, they brought him to the Gene-  
 ral's dark Cell; and coming out of the Light, it  
 was a great while before he could see. He de-  
 livered the Letter with watry Eyes to find his  
 Commander in such a dismal Place, fettered both  
 Hands and Feet. After acquainting him in what  
 Manner he came ashore, and was examined by  
 the Aga, Sir Henry told him, he thought they  
 would not permit him to return aboard; for that,  
 not many Days before, they had detained one of f  
 the Pepper Corn's Men, who came from Aden  
 with a Letter to him. He answered, that he came  
 with a Resolution to share his Sufferings, in case  
 they should be so villainously minded as to stay  
 him, being but a Messenger.

THE sixteenth, Sir Henry delivered Chambers 1610.  
 an Answer to the Letter sent him; and contrary Sir Henry  
 to his Expectations the Turks let him and the M. diction  
 Indian return to the Boat, with Leave to come  
 again next Day, if they had Occasion. Next  
 Day Chambers returned alone, for the Indian was  
 so frightened, that he durst not venture a second  
 Time. The General's Man sent several Things  
 by him to his Master, but the Aga was his Re-  
 ceiver, and kept them for his own Use. Honest  
 Chambers having done all in his Power, returns  
 aboard and leaves them to their wonted Misery;  
 looking every Hour for the Sentence from the  
 Bashá, of Slavery, Death, or perpetual Impri-  
 sonment.

BUT when they least expected it, they met Aga from the  
 with some Relief. For upon the eighteenth of 17th.  
 December, there came from Zenan<sup>a</sup> an Aga, Cap-  
 tain or Chief of the Chaush's<sup>b</sup>, with Orders to  
 bring up all the English. As soon as he alighted,  
 he was desirous to see the General and the rest.  
 On this Occasion, here were three Chairs brought  
 into his Room, wherein Regib Aga<sup>c</sup>, Ismael  
 [Aga] (the Messenger from the Bashá) and Jas-  
 ser Aga seated themselves. Regib Aga<sup>d</sup> began by  
 asking him, How he durst be so bold as to come  
 into that Country so near their Holy City, with-  
 out a Pass from the Grand Signior? Sir Henry  
 answered, That the King his Master was in  
 League and Amity with the Grand Signior; and  
 that in the Articles of Peace between them, free  
 Trade was allowed the English throughout his  
 Dominions, of which Mokha being Part, they  
 needed no Pass. He answered, this was the Door  
 of their Holy City, and that, therefore, it was  
 not lawful for any Christian to come thither: He  
 likewise demanded, Whether he did not know,  
 that the Grand Signior's Sword was long? The  
 General replied, That they were not taken by  
 the Sword, but by Treachery, and that if he  
 and his People were aboard, he cared not for the  
 Length of his or all their Swords. The Aga said,  
 it was proudly spoken of him. He also urged him  
 (as he had done often before) to write a Letter,  
 commanding all the Men to come ashore and  
 yield themselves to the Bashá, and received like  
 Answer.

ISMAEL AGA broke off this idle Discourse, Comes to bring  
 by telling Sir Henry, that he was come from the them up.  
 Bashá, with express Order to conduct him and  
 all his People to Zenan; advising him to send a-  
 board for warm Cloaths, for that they should find  
 it very cold in the Mountain Country. The Ge-  
 neral intreated, that, if possible, his poor Men  
 might be suffered to go aboard; and that he and  
 a few more might be sent up. Ismael said, it was

<sup>a</sup> Or Saman.

<sup>b</sup> In Purchas, Chaush's.  
 are not well distinguished here.

<sup>c</sup> In the same Author, Regib Aga.

<sup>d</sup> These Persons

1610  
Sir Henry  
Middleton

not in his Power to grant it, for that it was the *Bashâ's* Order, they should all attend him. However, *Rajib Aga* said, he should have his Desire in Part, and that only five more should go with him, the rest remaining where they were till farther Orders. The twentieth, Captain *Downton*, in the *Pepper-Corn*, came into the Road from *Aden*, to whom *Sir Henry* wrote what he thought was fittest to be done.

### SECT. III.

*Sir Henry and the rest set out from Mokha. Mr. Pemberton escapes. Kind Mohammedans. Parade at entering Towns. Arrive at Zenan, or Sinnaa. Led before the Bashâ. Received with Frowns. Refuses to release the English. A Boy dies through Fear. Sir Henry befriended by the Kiahya, a Merchant of Kairo and others. Hopes of Release. English Prisoners arrive from Aden. The Kiahya feed. The Bashâ mollified. Extols his own good Nature and Clemency. Is made Wazir, or Visir.*

Set out from  
Mokha.

THE twenty-second of *December*, the Irons were knocked off the Legs of all the *English*, excepting the Carpenters and Smiths, and some sick Men, who were not able to travel. The Carpenters and Smiths were kept there to build up the Pinnacle, the General and thirty-four more were appointed to go up for *Zenan*, the chief City of the Kingdom, where the *Bashâ* resides. About four o'Clock, they set out of *Mokha*; all the Company being mounted upon Asses, except *Sir Henry*, and *Mr. Femel*, who had Horses. About ten, at Night, being ten or twelve Miles from *Mokha*, *Mr. Pemberton* slipped away from them: The Company missed him presently, but said nothing, but their Prayers for his Escape. About one, in the Morning, when they came to their Inn, at a Town called *Moussi*, they counted them, yet did not miss him: But next Day, about four in the Afternoon, when they set out, they told them again, and found one missing. The *Aga* hereupon inquired of *Sir Henry*, What Number of them set out of *Mokha*? He answered, He could not well tell, but thought there were thirty-four. The *Aga* said, they were thirty-five, and that now they were one short: The other replied, it was more than he knew. *Mr. Pemberton* was moved to this desperate Attempt, by seeing so many of them carried up together manacled, with a Captain and a Guard of Sol-

Mr. Pem-  
berton  
escapes.

diers to conduct them. Whence, he concluded, nothing else could ensue, but either Death or Captivity; which indeed was the Opinion of them all.

*SIR HENRY*, however, found several Friends among them. There was one *Hâmed Aga*, who sent him divers Presents, and advised him not to be dejected, for that his Cause was good. This worthy Person sent him and his People Provision of Bread for their Journey, and withal his Letters to [*Abdallah Chelabi*] the *Kiahya*. The Consul of the *Bannians* visited *Sir Henry* every Day, and never came empty handed: *Too-kehar* also was their great Friend all the Time they were Prisoners, and never failed daily to send each Man (being fifty-one in Number) two Cakes of white Bread, and a Quantity of Dates, or Plantans. He set out from *Mokha* for *Zenan* two Days before them, promising, at his Departure, to do them all the Service he could with the *Bashâ*, which Promise (says *Sir Henry*) I think he well performed: For at *Zenan*, I was told by divers, he laboured in our Business, both with the *Bashâ* and his *Kiahya*, who is a very discreet Man, and governs the Kingdom.

ON *Christmas-day*, they arrived at the City of *Tayez*, (four Days Journey from *Mokha*) where they were marshalled into the City two and two in a Rank, as they do at *Constantinople*, with Captives taken in the Wars. Their *Aga* rode in Triumph as a great Conqueror, being met a Mile out of the Town by the chief Men of the City on Horse-back; and the Road for that Space was lined with Multitudes of People, who stood gazing and wondering at them. In this Manner they made their Entry into all Cities and Towns through which they passed. A Youth of *Mr. Pemberton's* falling sick in this Town, was left with the Governor thereof, and from this Time forward *Sir Henry* kept no Journal, but he remembers they found it very cold all the Way from thence to *Zenan*, their Lodging being the bare Ground. He bought most of the Men, who were but thinly clothed, furred Gowns, otherwise he believes they would have perished with Cold. As for himself, he was but ill provided, because he would not be persuaded, when he was at *Mokha*, that it could be so cold upwards, as they said it was; and he found it by sore Experience. Every Morning the Ground was covered with hoar Frost; and at *Zenan*, which lies within sixteen Degrees fifteen Minutes of the Line, they

1610.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

Kind Mo-  
ammedans.

Gained at on  
the Road.

\* In *Purchas*, *Hamel*

b In *Purchas*, *Kaba*; and afterwards *Cabay*, and *Cayba*.

c This shews, that there are People of Humanity and Justice among the *Mohammedans*; and that all *Turks* are not alike cruel and rapacious. In short, those Vices are to be found almost sly among the governing Part, and Soldier; who, indeed, are much the same all the World over, in Proportion to their Power.

d In *Purchas* here *Ties*; but elsewhere, *Tais*. e *Sir Henry* observed the Latitude with an Instrument which he made at *Zenan*, (or *Sanna*) he judged that Place to be about an hundred and eighty Miles from *Mokha* to the North North-West. But this must be some Mistake, for it stands North-Eastward from thence.

1611. had Ice a Finger thick in one Night: Which Sir <sup>a</sup> Henry could scarce have credited, if he had not seen it.

Sir Henry Middleton.

Arrive at Sinaa.

THEY were fifteen Days on the Road between *Mokka* and *Zenan*. The fifth of *January*, [1610-11] two Hours before Day, they came within two Miles of the City, where they lay upon the Ground till after Sun-rise; being so benumbed with Cold, that when they got up, they were scarce able to stand. About a Mile on this Side they were met by the *Subasha*, or Sheriff, <sup>b</sup> with, at least, two hundred Shot, Drums, and Trumpets. They caused the Soldiers to lead the Way, and the *English* to follow one by one, at a pretty Distance from each other, to make the better Shew. Their Gowns being taken from them, they were forced to march a-foot in their thin and ragged Suits. The Ship Trumpeters were placed next, and ordered by the *Aga* to sound: But the General, who came after with Mr. *Femel* on Horseback, forbade them. Their *Aga* brought <sup>c</sup> the Rear, riding in Triumph, with a spare Horse richly furnished, led before him.

Led before the Bashâ.

IN this Order, they marched through the Heart of the City to the Castle, all the Way being so crowded with People, they could scarcely pass. At the first Gate, there was a large Guard of Soldiers; the second Gate had before it, two great Pieces of Ordnance, ready mounted: Having passed it, they came into a spacious Court, twice the Length of the Royal Exchange in *London*. <sup>d</sup> The Soldiers at the Gate shot off their Pieces; and then placed themselves on each Side the Way, among many others, who were there when they came. The General as soon as he entered into the Court, alighted, and was placed on one Side with his Men; where they had not been long, before he and Mr. *Femel* were brought before the *Bashâ*. It was their *Drwan*, <sup>e</sup> or Council Day. At the farther End of the Area, they went up a Pair of Stairs, of twelve Steps. At the Top, two great Men came and took Sir *Henry* by the Wrists, and holding him very hard, led him to the *Bashâ*; who sat alone at the upper End of a long spacious Gallery, many great Men standing on each Side of him: Others, stood on either Side, from the lower Part of the Gallery, to the upper End, which made a good Shew: The Floor was covered over with *Turkey* Carpets.

Received with Frowns.

SIR *Henry* being come within two Yards of him, was stopped. Immediately the *Bashâ*, with a frowning and angry Countenance, demanded what Country he was of, and what brought him into those Parts? The General answered, that he

was an *English* Merchant, and being Friend to the Grand Signor, came to seek Trade there. The *Bashâ* said, it was not lawful for any *Christian* to put his Foot in that Country; and that he had warned Captain *Sharpey*, <sup>f</sup> to caution those of his Nation to come no more thither. Sir *Henry* replied, that Captain *Sharpey* was cast away upon the Coast of *India*, and arrived not in *England* to tell them; that had they know so much, they should never have run themselves into the Trouble they were in. He added, that *Rejib Aga* was the Man who had abused him, by telling him his Nation were welcome into the Country; and that they should have as free Trade, as they had in any Part of *Turky*, that he had made him many other fair Promises, as to their Security; yet, that, contrary to his Word, he had assaulted them with armed Soldiers, murdered several of his Men, and taken himself, and the rest Prisoners.

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Sir Henry Middleton.

THE *Bashâ* answered, that *Rejib Aga* was but his Slave, and had no Power to make any such Promises, without his Leave; that what had befallen him and his People, was by his Order, pursuant to one of the like Nature, from the Grand Signor to himself, commanding him to chastise all *Christians*, who should come into those Parts. Sir *Henry* told him, they had received great Damage; and that if it pleased him to let them return to their Ships, it would be sufficient Warning to his Nation, against venturing thither for the future. The *Bashâ* replied, he could not let him depart; but that he should stay there and write to the Ambassador at *Stambol*, <sup>g</sup> and that he would write himself likewise to the Grand Signor, to know his Pleasure concerning them; and whether he would permit them to trade there or not. Hereupon he dismissed Sir *Henry* for that Time; bidding him go to the Lodging appointed for him, and take with him four or five more, such as he thought fit. He, and those he made choice of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the Prison's House; and the rest carried to the common Jail, where they were clapped in weighty Irons.

Refuses to release him.

WHEN they were first brought before the *Bashâ*, one of the Lads, thinking Sir *Henry* was so led, to have his Head struck off, and that it would be his own Turn not long after, fell into a Swoon with very Fear; and thereupon sickening, shortly after died.

THE sixth of *January*, the *Bashâ's* *Kiahya*, or Sir *Henry* Lieutenant of the Kingdom, sent for Sir *Henry*, to breakfast with him; which being over, the General gave him a very particular Account, how

befriended

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Drwano*.

<sup>b</sup> *Stambol*, *Stambola*, or *Stamboli*, is a Corruption of the Greek Words, *ἡ ἐκκλησία* [So is *Stambola*, and *Stamboli*, of *Stambol*, or *Stampol*] which the Greeks used to speak of their going thither, that is, to the City, so calling it by way of Eminence; as *Athens* is, at this Day, contracted into *Satiner*, from *ἡ ἐκκλησία*. *Postel. Comp. Cos. & Fr. Port. Crut. Purchas*.

<sup>c</sup> His Name is written *Sharpeigh*

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treacherously and vilely he had been used by *Rejib Aga*. The *Kiabha* bid him be of good Cheer, and not think of Things past, which could not be remedied. Saying, he doubted not but all would be well in a little Time, and that his best Endeavours to serve him should not be wanting. *Shermall*, the *Bannian* \* of *Mokha*, had made this Man his Friend. Sir Henry then departed with his Keepers to Prison, where he was in better Spirits than before.

By the Ki-  
ahya,

THE seventh, the *Kiabha* sent for him to his Garden, where he feasted him and Mr. *Femel*, telling him, that shortly, he and his People should be set at Liberty, and sent to *Mokha*, where he should have Redress of all his Wrongs. He promised likewise to be his Friend; and before many great Personages, (both *Turks* and *Arabs*) declared what Kindness he did him, was purely for God's Sake. But Sir Henry well knew, it was in Hopes of some great Reward. *Hamed Aga's* Letter did them great Service. The same Day, there came to Town a *Moor* of *Kairo*, who was an old Acquaintance of the *Bashá's*, and had lent him large Sums of Money, at his coming from *Constantinople*, when he was but poor. This Man was next Neighbour to the *English* at *Mokha*, when they were betrayed; and had a Ship in the Road, bound for *India*, which he greatly feared their Ships would have taken, in Revenge of the Wrongs offered them: But they let her quietly depart, contrary to his Expectation; so that he became their staunch Friend. He wrote a Letter in their Behalf to the *Bashá*, wherein he blamed him much for using them so hardly; saying, he went the Way by such Measures, to destroy the Country, and its Trade. At his Visit to the *Bashá*, he not only repeated what he had written, but said a great deal more on the Occasion; advising him to return the *English* all their Goods, and send them away contented.

And a Mer-  
chant of  
Kahira.

NONE in the Country durst speak so boldly to the *Bashá*, as he, and it is certain, his Letter prevailed much with him: For when he sent for them up, his Design was to have put those who came to death, and made Slaves of all the rest. Sir Henry had this Account from *Shermall* and *Hamed Waddi*, who were both present at reading the Letter; and likewise heard the Discourse between the *Bashá* and him. This *Hamed Waddi* was a very rich *Arabian* Merchant, who dwelt at *Zenan*, and was called the *Bashá's* Merchant: He stood the General's Friend very much, in persuading that Commander to deal kindly by the *English*, and suffer them to depart.

Hopes of Re-  
lease.

THE eighth, Sir Henry sent a Petition to the *Bashá*, importing, that, whereas at his coming from *Mokha*, he had ordered the Commanders of his

Ships to forbear Hostilities for twenty-five Days, and afterwards to use their own Discretions, if in that Time they heard not from him, and whereas the Time was almost expired, he therefore requested, that the *Bashá* would either vouchsafe speedily to determine his Cause, or afford him some comfortable News to write them, that might prevent them from doing Harm, which they might easily incline to commit, as being without a Chief.

THE eleventh, Sir Henry was sent for by the *Kiabha*, who told him, that now all Things were ended; and that his Stay there was only till the rest of his Company came up from *Aden*, presently after which, they should all be sent back to *Mokha*.

THE seventeenth, Mr. *Fowler*, and eighteen more of their Company, arrived [from *Aden*]. They were presently brought before the *Bashá*, and asked such Questions, as were put to Sir Henry. Afterwards, Mr. *Fowler*, *John Williams*, and *Robert Mico*, were sent to keep him Company; and the rest, to those in the common Prison; where they were also put in Irons, with an Allowance from the *Bashá*, of brown Bread and Water: But they would all have died of Hunger and Cold, had not Sir Henry relieved them better.

THE twenty-fifth, he was sent for to the *Kiabha's* Garden, where they spent some Hours in Discourse. He told Sir Henry, that he should presently go with him to the Garden of the *Bashá*, who would there talk with him, advising him to sooth that great Man with fair Words, and not cross him in any Thing. Sir Henry asked him, if he thought the *Bashá* would restore him all his Goods, and the Pinnace again. He said, he could not tell: But cautioned him by no Means to speak thereof to the *Bashá*; but at his Return to *Mokha*, to write to him, saying, he would solicit in his Behalf, and that he did not doubt but to obtain it for him. Sir Henry told him, he thought it fitter to demand it at that Time, than afterwards; for that he was desirous to know what he had to trust unto. The *Kiabha* then bid him use his own Discretion.

THE chief Thing after all, that made this Man their Friend, was a Sum of Money, which Sir Henry had promised him. He would not be seen to meddle therein himself, but appointed *Shermall* Consul of the *Bannians*, to treat with him about it: He demanded much, and Sir Henry was willing to part with nothing. They spent three or four Days debating this Business. In the End, he was constrained to give them Content; promising, after his Release, to pay fifteen hundred Venetianos. Which being done, the *Kiabha* took Horse, and rode to the *Bashá's* Garden, and bid the Truchman bring Sir Henry, and Mr. *F.*

1611.  
Sir Henry  
Maddleton

\* In *Purchas*, *Bennian*.



1611. *mel*, thither. They staid at least an Hour at the a Garden Door, before they were admitted to the *Bashâ's* Presence. They found him in a Summer-House, seated in a Chair, with his *Kiahya* standing at his Right-hand, and half a Dozen others at the Back of the Chair. Sir *Henry* was led by two Men, who held him by the Cloak, till he came within two Paces of the *Bashâ*, and there they stopped him; Mr. *Femel* walking behind him without his Leaders. He asked Sir *Henry* how he did, and bid him be of good Cheer, for that, shortly, he and all his People, should have their Liberty, and be sent to *Mokha*, there to remain with twenty-nine more, (the rest being sent aboard) till all the Ships of *India* were come into the Port, and the Winds settled Westerly; after which, they should be allowed to return aboard also, and proceed on their Voyage to *India*.

Sir *Henry* besought him not to detain so many of them. His Answer was, I have spoken, and thirty shall stay. Then the General desired to know, if their Goods and Pinnace should be restored? He replied, no. For that they were all put to the Grand Signor's Account. Sir *Henry* told him, divers Materials belonging to the Ships, were at *Mokha*, and desired they might be surrendered. He said, they should. Then Mr. *Femel*, (at the General's Instance) moved again, that their Goods might be delivered them; and was answered in the Negative. Then Sir *Henry* begged, that he might be thoroughly satisfied, whether all his People should be suffered to return to the Ships, as soon as the Time, which he had limited for their Stay, was expired. Hereupon the *Bashâ* gave his Promise, that they should; and that even in case he had a *Turk* for his Slave, he would not detain him. For which Kindness Sir *Henry* gave him Thanks.

THEN he began to make an Apology for what was past; praising his own mild Temper, in having dealt so mercifully by them. He took Pains to make them sensible of their good Fortune, in falling into his Hands, saying, that had it been in the Time of any of his Predecessors, they had all been put to death, for their Presumption in coming so near their holy City. He let them know farther, that what had happened to them, was by express Order from the Grand Signor, urged thereto by the *Bashâs* of *Kairo* and *Swâken* <sup>a</sup>, as well as the *Sharif* <sup>b</sup> of *Mekka*; who complained, that the *Afension*, and her Pinnace, when they were at *Mokha*, had bought up all the choice Commodities of *India*, whereby his Customs were much diminished; and that the Trade of these Seas would be quite destroyed, if such Ships were permitted to repair thither; that thereupon, the Grand Signor dispatched his Letters, command-

ing him, in case any more *Englishmen*, or other *Christians*, came into those Parts, to confiscate their Ships and Goods, and to kill, or make Slaves, of all the Men they could get into their Power. The *Bashâ* added, that however he designed to deal more favourably by them, in suffering them, without farther Harm, to return to their Ships, hoping it would be a Warning both to them, and all others of their Nation, not to come near those Coasts any more.

THE first of *February*, the *Kiahya* sent for Sir *Henry*, and Mr. *Femel*, advising them to wait on the *Bashâ*, with the Compliment of, *God give him Joy of his late received Dignity*. For the Grand Signor had made him a *Vizir* <sup>c</sup>, and sent him Letters of great Favour, with a Sword, and rich Robes, which are the Marks of Investiture in that Dignity. These Presents were received two Days before with great Solemnity; the Party who brought them, being met by the *Bashâ*, and all the chief of the City, with the Soldiers, Horse, and Foot, six Miles without the Town. There a Tent was set up, where the *Bashâ* putting off the Robes he had on before, vested himself in those which were sent him by his Master, and so in great Pomp returned, riding through the City to his own House. Sir *Henry*, and others of his Company, had a Place appointed them, where they saw him make his Entry; from whence they were conducted by their Truchman, to the *Vizir's* Palace. They did not wait long, before they were admitted to his Presence. Sir *Henry* told him, his Coming was only to congratulate him on his new received Honour, and pray God to give him Joy thereof. The *Vizir* thanked, and bid him be merry, for that what he had promised, he would punctually perform, nay, and be better than his Word. He was very pleasant, and took their Visit on this Occasion so kindly, that, as a great Favour, Mr. *Femel* and he, were permitted to kiss Hand.

#### S E C T. IV.

The English set at Liberty. Sir *Henry* takes Leave of the *Bashâ*. Gets his Dispatch. *Zenan*, or *Sanâa*, described. They set out for *Mokha*. Adventures by the Way. A Youth forced to turn Mohammedan, and detained. Arrive at *Mokha*. Alight at the *Aga's*. *Mokha* described. Sir *Henry* invited to a Feast by the *Aga*. Some English sent aboard. *Allab Road*. *Rahayta Port*. Ships from *India*. The Commanders visit Sir *Henry*. *Rejib Aga's* Envy.

MEAN while, many of the *English* falling sick and weak through Grief, Cold, and weighty Fetters, as well as bad Air, Diet, and

<sup>a</sup> *nachen*. in *Purchas*.

<sup>b</sup> In the same Place, *Sheiff*.

<sup>c</sup> Rather, *Wazir*.

1611. Lodging, Sir Henry never ceased soliciting the *Kiahya*, till he had procured their Discharge out of that loathsome Prison. So that on the eleventh, they were all set free; and had a House in the Town, with Liberty to walk abroad, and take the Air. To add to the Favour, that Officer next Day, sent him six Beefs, to bestow among his Men. So that in few Days, they all recovered their former Health and Strength. The *Kiahya* informed him also, that *Rejib Aga* had written earnestly to the *Bashá*, that the English might all be sent to *Aden*, and there taken into their Ships: By which Means, his Town of *Mokha*, and such Vessels of *India*, as should pass the *Báb*<sup>a</sup>, might be secure against any Attempts of Sir Henry, in Revenge: But the *Kiahya* prevented this Advice from taking Place.

THE seventeenth, early, the *Kiahya* sent for Sir Henry, Mr. *Femel*, and others, and told him, that next Morning, he and his People should depart for *Mokha*. After they had breakfasted, he brought them to take Leave of the *Bashá*, who began again to extol his own Clemency, and the Power of the Grand Signor, saying, he had a long Sword; and strictly charged Sir Henry not to come any more into those Seas. He added, that neither *Christian*, nor *Lutheran*<sup>b</sup>, should be admitted there, not even if they had the Grand Signor's Pass; for that so he had commanded him. Then Sir Henry requested, that in case any of his Nation should come thither, before he could give Advice to *England*, they might not be betrayed, as he had been, but plainly forbidden to trade, that they might know what they had to trust to; and so be permitted quietly to depart: Which Request, the *Bashá* would by no Means grant. Then the General entreated him to write to *Rejib Aga*, to acquaint that Governor with the Concessions he had made in his Favour; saying, that otherwise, he who was his mortal Enemy, would do him and his People farther Wrong. He answered with great Pride, *Is not my Word alone sufficient to turn a whole City upside down? If Rejib Aga wrong you, I will pull his Skin over his Ears, and give you his Head: Is he not my Slave?*

THIS said, he ordered the *Kiahya* to write Sir Henry's Dispatch; who, in the last Place, de-

manded an Answer to the King's Letter; but he would give him none. Being come from the *Bashá's*, he told the *Kiahya*, he had never a Sword, and desired Leave to buy one, that he might not run down as he came up, like a Prisoner: He acquainted the *Bashá* therewith, who sent him one of his own cast Swords. The *Kiahya* also this Morning, gave Sir Henry an hundred Pieces of Gold, of forty *Madines*<sup>c</sup> each, besides fifty which he had received from him not many Days before; and from the *Bashá* nothing but his rusty Sword: For the *Kiahya* was of a liberal Disposition, and the *Bashá* exceeding covetous. If any Man was known to be rich, he had need to carry himself warily: For the least Occasion would cost him his Head, that the *Bashá* might enjoy his Effects; as it lately befel a rich *Aga*, whom he caused to be murdered privately, and then seized upon all he had.

THE eighteenth, Sir Henry paid all the Prison Dues, and went to the *Kiahya's* Garden, where he breakfasted, and received his Dispatch, with a Letter to the Governor of *Aden*, for restoring the *Pepper-Corn's* Boat. He requested his Letter to the Governor of *Tayes*, for delivering Mr. *Pemberton's* Lad, who was left there sick; and, as they had been informed, was compelled to turn *Mohammedan*<sup>d</sup>. He wrote his Letter and sealed it; but to what Effect, was unknown to Sir Henry, who immediately after took his Leave, and left the City.

*ZENAN*<sup>e</sup> is somewhat bigger than *Bristol*. *Zenan*, or The Houses are of Lime and Stone. They have none by Well Water; and Wood, (being far fetched) is very dear. It is walled, and has a Fort and Castle on the East Side, where the *Bashá* resides. The Keeper of the Prison's House, wherein Sir Henry was confined, was contiguous to the Wall; at the Foot of which, there was a spacious Yard, wherein a great Number of People, for the most Part Women and Children, were detained Prisoners, or Pledges, to keep their Parents, Husbands, and Relations, from Rebellion. The Boys, while little, go loose in the Yard; but as soon as grown big, they are clapped in Irons, and carried to a strong Tower for the Purpose, where they continue during the *Bashá's* Pleasure. The Women and Children, who remain in the

<sup>a</sup> Or the *Bábe*, that is, the Streights of *Báb Almondab*, or *Babel Mandel*, as corruptly called by Europeans.

<sup>b</sup> This was an odd Expression; nor is it easy to tell, what the *Bashá* meant by it: Unless we suppose, that he thus distinguished Protestants from Papists. Which seems, at first Sight, to be a Construction no Way favourable to the former; since *Lutheran*, here, stands in Opposition to *Christian*: But if it be considered, that *Christian* was only another Name with them for *Idolater*; on Account of the Worship of Images, and Adoration of the Host, practised by the Portuguese, and other Europeans, till then, known in those Parts, it will appear a Distinction much in their Favour; and shews, that they had convinced the *Turks*, they did not commit those Idolatries, which tend to render the Name of *Christian* so odious to all *Mohammedans*.

<sup>c</sup> Or, *Maydens*. <sup>d</sup> In *Purchas*, to turn *Turk*; a very common Mode of speaking; but a great Impropriety; as bad, as if one should say, of a Person who had changed his Religion in France, that he turned *Frenchman*.

<sup>e</sup> *Sama*. See p. 345. Note<sup>c</sup>.

1611.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

1611. Yard, live in little Cottages. The Children go, a  
*Sir Henry Middleton.* for the most part, naked, unless the Weather be  
 very cold; and then they have Sheep-skin Coats  
 to keep them warm: They are as wild and rude  
 as if they were brought up in the Mountains.

*They set out  
 for Mokha.*

SIR HENRY, Mr. *Femel*, and Mr. *Fowler*,  
 were mounted on Horses; the rest upon Asses,  
 or Camels. They had two *Chaufs* to conduct  
 them, one on Horseback, the other on Foot.  
 The Road lay through the following Places, 1.  
*Siam*, a little Town with a Castle on the Side  
 of a Hill, sixteen Miles from *Zenan*. 2. To *Su-  
 rage*, a Village eighteen Miles farther. 3. To  
*Damar*, a small City, twenty Miles. 4. To *Er-  
 min*, a small Village, fifteen Miles. 5. To *Nak-  
 bil Sammar* <sup>a</sup> a Sensor <sup>b</sup>, or Inn (on a Hill of  
 that Name) fourteen Miles. 6. To *Mohader*, a  
 Village, thirteen Miles. 7. To *Rabattamaine*, a  
 Sensor, sixteen Miles. 8. To *Merfadin*, a Cot-  
 fee-house <sup>c</sup>, sixteen Miles. 9. To *Fayez* City,  
 half as big as *Zenan*. 10. To *Eufra*, a Town  
 sixteen Miles, 11. To *Affambine*, a Sensor, ele-  
 ven Miles. 12. To *Akkamol*, a Sensor, thir-  
 teen Miles. 13. To *Mousa* Town, seventeen Miles.  
 14. To *Mokha* <sup>d</sup>.

*Adventures  
 by the Way.*

THEY rested at *Damare* [or *Dhamar*] two  
 Days, by Order of *Abdallah Chelabi* <sup>e</sup>, the *Ba-  
 shá's* *Kiabya*, who was Governor of this Province.  
 The craggy Mountain Country over which they  
 passed, was, for the most part, under the *Arabs*,  
 who cannot brook the proud and insolent Carri-  
 age of the *Turks*. None of these latter dare tra-  
 vel this Road through *Nakhil Samar*, without a  
 Passport of the Governor of the Province from  
 whence they came. At *Mohader* their *Chaufs*  
 having taken up Asses over Night, pursuant to  
 the *Bashá's* Warrant; next Morning the *Arabs*  
 way-laid them, and took the Asses from them,  
 neither of their Guardians daring to give them an  
 ill Word.

*A Tour  
 designed.*

THEY staid two Days at *Tayez*, during which  
 Time Sir Henry did all in his Power to recover Mr.  
*Pemberton's* Youth, whom the Governor *Hamed  
 Aga* had obliged by Threats to change his Re-  
 ligion. *Walter Talbot*, who spoke *Turkish*, being  
 permitted to see him in a Chamber, where he  
 was with other Lads, he wept, and said he  
 was no *Mohammedan* <sup>f</sup> in his Heart. He added,  
 that he was deluded by them, telling him, that  
 Sir Henry and all the rest were put to death at *Ze-  
 nan*; and that if he would turn he should save his

Life: That he refusing to comply, afterwards some  
 of the *Aga's* Servants carried him to a hot Bath,  
 and when they had him naked, circumcised him  
 by Force. When Sir Henry saw that his own Ap-  
 plication was of no Avail, he delivered the *Kia-  
 bya's* Letter to the *Aga*, who, when he had read  
 it, told him the Purport; which was, that in  
 case he had not changed his Religion, the *Aga*  
 should yield him up. Whereupon he said that that  
 Letter was Warrant sufficient for detaining him.  
 Sir Henry suspected the Letter was to that Effect  
 when it was given to him <sup>g</sup>, which made him  
 not deliver it till he had tried what he could do  
 himself in the Matter.

SIR HENRY and his People were used very  
 kindly at their going up, by the Governor of *Eufra*,  
 who was a *Turk*; and hearing that he was  
 upon his Return that Way, he sent a Person to  
 a Place, where two Roads met, six Miles from  
 the Town, in order to bring them thither, and  
 there entertained him as generously as he had  
 done before.

THEY made fourteen Stages or Journeys of *Arrise* <sup>as</sup>  
 it, and were sixteen Days on the Road, which <sup>Mukha</sup>  
 was very populous. They arrived at *Mokha*  
 the fifth of *March*, about eight in the Morn-  
 ing. Only they rested two or three Hours by the  
 Way at a Church, or Coffee-house, called *Da-  
 buli*, built by a Merchant of *Dabul* <sup>h</sup>, they had  
 gotten thither before Day. A Mile without  
 the Town they were met by the Carpenters,  
 Smiths, and the rest detained there, whose Irons  
 had been taken off the Day before, with Liberty  
 to walk abroad. Asking what was become of  
 Mr. *Pemberton*, they told him he lighted upon a  
 Canoe, and got aboard; which he was glad to  
 hear, for he never expected to see him more.  
 From the Town's End, all the Way to the *Aga's*  
 House, the People stood very thick; and as the  
*English* passed, welcomed them back. For it was  
 no way pleasing to the *Arabs*, to see how treach-  
 erously the *Turks* had used them.

THEY rode till they came to the *Aga's* House, <sup>Alights at</sup>  
 where they alighted, Sir Henry, Messrs. *Femel* <sup>the Aga's</sup>  
 and *Fowler*, being brought before him, the first  
 delivered his Letters from *Zenan*. *Rasib* received  
 him with his usual Dissimulation, and Shew of  
 Kindness, bidding them welcome. He said he was  
 glad of their safe Return, and that he was sorry  
 and ashamed of what was past; desiring Sir Hen-  
 ry to pardon him, and assuring him, that thence-

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Naguel Samare*, *Nakhil Samar*, and *Nackel Samar*.

<sup>a</sup> *Coughs* [rather *Kabwab*] House.

<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Abdela Chillarby*. *Chelabi*, in *Turkish*, signifies Gentleman.

<sup>d</sup> A more full Description of the Road is reserved for the Travels.  
<sup>e</sup> In *Purchas*, *Turk*. <sup>f</sup> If so, methinks he was a little short, that he did not insist on having a positive Order for delivering up the Youth, since the *Bashá* assured him before, that he would not stop any belonging to him, even though he was a *Mohammedan*, and a Slave.

<sup>g</sup> A City on the Coast of *India*, to the South of *Bombay*. The Reason for calling the Coffee-house *Dabuli*, is the same that has been mentioned with Relation to *Sabay*, p. 72. Note <sup>h</sup>.

1611  
Sir Henry  
Middleton

forward he would be his Friend; and that the a  
Trouble which had befallen them was not of his  
proving, who did nothing (he said) but what  
his Master commanded him. Sir Henry soothed  
him, but believed nothing he spoke. He read the  
Command of the *Bashá*, and said all Things  
should be performed accordingly. Whereupon  
he called for Breakfast, and caused them to sit  
down with him, bidding Sir Henry eat and be  
merry, for that now he had eaten Bread and  
Salt with him, he need not fear any Harm. Af-  
ter Breakfast he went to look for a House for  
them, and pitched on a handsome large one,  
near the Sea-side. But considering it stood too  
nigh the Water, and favoured their Escape, two  
Days after they were removed to a great great  
strong House, standing alone in a spacious Church-  
yard in the Middle of the Town; a Captain  
and his Company being set to guard them. He  
watched himself in the Day, and his Soldiers  
surrounded the Place by Night.

Mokha  
described

*MOKHA* is one third less than *Tayez*, un-  
walled, very populous, and seated close by the  
Sea-side, in a salt, sandy, barren Soil. The Go-  
vernor's House was close by the Water-side; and  
near it, the Key, or Bridge, which shooteth  
pretty far into the Sea. At this Key all Boats  
belonging to Shipping, are obliged to land, to  
prevent running of Goods. And close to it is a  
Platform, whereon are planted about a Dozen  
Brass Cannon. At the Western End of the d  
Town there is a Fort, wherein is the like Num-  
ber of Ordnance. The Fort was ruined when  
the *English* first went thither, but after it was  
pulled down and new built.

Sir Henry  
invited to a  
Feast.

THIS Afternoon the *Darling* came into the  
Road, and brought them News that the rest were  
well. The sixth, *Nakhâda Malek Ambar* b, Cap-  
tain of a great Ship of *Dabul* (which came into  
the Road two Days before Sir Henry's Arrival at  
*Mokha*) landed with a great many Merchants, e  
who were all carried about the Town in Pomp,  
and afterwards feasted by the *Aga*. Sir Henry  
likewise was invited to this Feast, and entertain-  
ed in a very friendly Manner. The *Aga*, in  
Presence of the whole Company, called for the  
*Koran* c, kissed it, and voluntarily swore, that  
he had no Malice, or ill Will to the General,  
but wished him all Success; protesting, he  
would do any thing in his Power to serve him;  
and was much grieved for what was past. Sir f  
Henry returned him Thanks, seeming greatly sa-

tisfied, and obliged to him. Next Day the *Aga* 1611.  
made a great Feast at his Pleasure-house, for the  
*Dabul* Merchants, to which Sir Henry and Mr. Sir Henry  
*Femel* were likewise invited. The *Dabullians* Middleton,  
were all mounted on gallant Horses, with rich  
Furniture, and they upon a Couple of tired lean  
Jades, which they brought from *Zinan*.

THE eighth, he sent for all the *English* to come Some English  
before him; and having separated Sir Henry with sent aboard.  
all the Merchants, Carpenters, Smiths and others,  
(to the Number of thirty) who were to stay on  
Land; the rest, being thirty-six, were sent a-  
board the *Darling*.

THE ninth, Sir Henry had made his Escape,  
if he had not been more careful of others, whom  
he ought to have left behind, than for himself.  
This Day, the *Darling*, having taken in the Men  
and some Necessaries, departed towards the other  
Ships on the Coast of *Habash*; where they found  
out an excellent Station, called *Affab* d Road, se-  
cure against all Winds that blow in those Seas,  
and affording Wood and Water enough, but a  
little brackish, for only the Trouble of fetching.  
The People of the Country are as black as the  
Negros of *Guinea*: They are all *Mohammedans*  
along the Coast; but within Land, *Christians*,  
subject to *Prester John* e. They go naked, with  
only a Cloth about their Waists, which reaches  
to their Knees. They were at first very fearful  
of the *English*: But after being acquainted, and  
Peace was ratified by mutual Oaths, they daily  
repaired with Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which  
they sold at reasonable Rates, first for Money;  
but afterwards they desired coarse Calico rather,  
(which Sir Henry had from *Mekha*) and gave  
the *English* better Bargains, in Exchange, than  
they had before. Their Dealing was faithful and  
kind, notwithstanding the *Turks* endeavoured to  
dispose them otherwise, by means of small Barks  
which pass to and fro.

THE King of this Country resides at a Town Rahayta  
on the Coast, called *Rahayta*, about forty Miles Port.  
to the Southward, near the *Bâb*. He sent some  
of his chief Men to the Commanders of the  
Ships, with Presents, and Promise of any thing  
his Country afforded: They returned the Pre-  
sents, and entertained the Messengers very cour-  
teously. Their vulgar Speech is not understood  
by the *Arabs*; but the better Sort speak and  
write the *Arabic*.

APRIL the first, 1611, the *Darling* depart- Ships from  
ed for *Affab*, with Leave every ten Days to re- India.

a By Church-yard is not to be understood a Burying-place, but Court or Inclosure, set apart for the Masjid.  
b In *Purchas*, *Nobuda Melech Ambar*; afterwards *Ambar*, the *Turks* not pronouncing the guttural, ~~for~~ *Nabâda*,  
instead of *Nakhâda*. c *Alcoran*. Ibid d It signifies either a Place abounding with, or destitute of,  
Herbs and Pasture, according to the Letter made use of in the *Arabic* for the s; but as the Place was so full of  
Cattle, we take it in the better Sense. e The Name then for the Emperor of *Habash*, *Habash* or *Abissinia*.  
turn,

1611. turn, to see how Sir Henry did; who, from this a  
 Sir Henry  
 Middleton. unlooked for Kindness, conceived Hopes of making his Escape. The second, there came into the Road, another Ship of *Dabul*, full of People. The *Nakhâda* rode about the Town in a painted Coat, as the Manner is. These Robes were lent them for the Purpose, and afterward returned to the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to whom belongs a Duty for Loss of them. The third, there came a *Jelba*, from *Aden*, which brought the *Pepper-Corn's* Boat.

THE fourth, there arrived another Ship of *Dabul*, which laded at *Achin* with Pepper. These three great Ships belonged to the Governor of *Dabul*, who was a *Persian*, and a great Merchant. He had many Slaves, whereof *Malek Amber* was one. This Person was in great Credit with him; and had the Disposal of the Goods brought in these three Vessels. He was a Negro, born in *Habasheh*<sup>a</sup>, and might have cost his Master fifteen or twenty Ryals of Eight; yet then never stirred abroad without Troops of Followers, like some great Lord.

Re: b Aga's  
 Envy.

THE sixth, Sir Henry sent to the *Kiahya*, *Abdallah Chelabi*, a fine Musket, and a small Barrel of Powder, which he had promised. The seventh, there arrived from *India* a small Ship, laden with Cotton; and the eleventh, from the same Parts, two small *Malabar* Barks, belonging to one of the Isles of *Maldivia*. The chief of them went often to visit Sir Henry, till he was forbidden by the *Aga*. The twelfth, there entered two Barks more, from *India*; for then the Wind was Westerly: In which Point it continued for five Days, and afterward veered about again to the South-South-East. The fourteenth, there came in a small Bark, laden with Cotton for the *Bannians*, and next Day another from *Bassanor*. The *Nakhâda* paid a Visit to Sir Henry, which the *Aga* repined at. The seventeenth, there arrived a large Karawan of Merchants from *Damascus*<sup>b</sup>, *Suez*, and *Mekka*, to trade with those of *India*. The nineteenth, a Ship and a Bark cast Anchor, from *Kananor*. The Captain of the great Ship, followed by Crouds of his People, came to see Sir Henry; which the *Aga* stomaching, he sent for him in the midst of his Visit, and forbad such Correspondence. The twentieth, there arrived a Ship of *Kalikût*, and the *Darling*; and the twenty-third, a small Bark belonging to the King of *Sokotra*<sup>c</sup>, from *Goa*.

THE second of May, 1611, Sir Henry dispatched Letters for England, with an Account of all that had

happened in those Parts. One Copy he sent to the English Consul at *Alippo*, and another to the French Consul at *Kair*. Which Letters he delivered to a *Guzerat*. The tenth, there arrived a small Bark from the Coast of *Suabell*, or *Magadax*, with Elephants Teeth and Amber. There used to come four Barks annually, but their Country being engaged in War, and the *Portuguese* having burned their Shipping, no more would venture out this Year. The Men buy their Negroes and Amber at *Kankamarra*, in *St. Laurence*, where Captain *Rowles*<sup>d</sup> was taken and betrayed, after whom Sir Henry enquired.

1611.  
 Sir Henry  
 Middleton.

SECT. V.

*The Darling arrives. Sir Henry resolves to escape. Gives Directions about it. Seizes the Opportunity. Carried off in a Cask. Some of his Men retaken. Others escape in a Boat. The Fugitives fettered. Confusion at Mokha. The Aga's Dissimulation. Truce for fifteen Days. The Increase arrives. Orders for releasing the English. Sham Indemnity given by Sir Henry.*

THIS Day, about Noon, came in the *Darling*, and firing a Gun, according to her Custom, for a Boat to come aboard, the Shot grazed upon the Water, towards the Town. The *Aga* was displeased hereat, but gave Sir Henry Leave to send to the Ship. He sent a Letter by one of his Servants, ordering him to come no more ashore; and withal to tell Mr. *Pemberton* not to send his Boat to Land, till he heard farther from him.

AT Day-break, on the eleventh, the *Aga*, with all his chief Men of the Town, rode out in great State to his Pleasure Garden. Sir Henry, glad of this fair Opportunity, resolved to put his long-determined Design of escaping, in Practice. For *Hamed Aga*, and others, had told him, that the *Bashâ* would not perform his Word, unless he was forced to it. Sir Henry's Letter was written to Mr. *Pemberton*, signifying that he designed the same Day to make his Escape aboard, conveyed in an empty Cask, and therefore desired him to send the Boat, with all Speed, well manned, besides a Bottle of *Aqua Vita*, and another of Wine, to make his Keepers drunk: Which was accordingly done. Before he acquainted Mr. *Femel* with his Intention, he made him swear to be secret, and use no Arguments to dissuade him from what he had resolved upon. After this, he shewed what he had written to Mr. *Pemberton*; and then directed him to walk out, with others,

Sir Henry  
 resolves to  
 escape.

<sup>a</sup> *Ir. Purchas*, *Habesse*, that is *Habash*, *Habasheh*, or *Abassia*, and *Abissinia*, as it is called by different Authors.  
<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, *Damasco*.  
<sup>c</sup> *Zacotora*, in *Purchas*.  
<sup>d</sup> Captain of the *Union*. See before, p. 350. c. This we take to be the Sense of the Words in *Purchas*, *But for Fe-*

1611. to a certain Place, by the Water-side, where he a  
*Sir Henry* promised (in case he got safe to the Boat himself)  
*Middleton.* to come and take them in.

*Graves Direc-*  
*tions about it.* *SIR HENRY* had appointed the Carpenters,  
 and others, to repair to the Southward of the  
 Town, where lay a Boat hard by the Shore,  
 with Mast and Sail ready to take them in; charg-  
 ing them, at the same Time, not to embark  
 themselves till they saw the Ship's Boat put off  
 from the Bridge.

*Seizes the*  
*Opportunity* EVERY thing fell out luckily to favour Sir b  
*Henry's* Attempt; the *Subasfa* (who was their  
 Guardian, and left in Town only to watch him)  
 fell to drinking hard at a Racky House. The  
 General, doubting that the *Turks* would not  
 perform their Promise, had long meditated an  
 Escape: But could not hit upon any Device for  
 effecting it, but what was apparently attended  
 with Danger, till he thought upon this Method  
 of being secretly conveyed into the Boat: For the  
 Eyes of his Keeper and the Soldiers were only c  
 upon him. He never went out of Doors with-  
 out two or three attending him; whereas all the  
 rest of his Company might walk abroad any  
 where in the Day-time, without Suspicion, or  
 any great Inspection.

*Carried off*  
*in a Cask.*

ALL things being ready, and the Keepers  
 drunk, about twelve at Noon the *Subasfa* return-  
 ed from drinking; and retiring to his Quarters,  
 at one End of the House, parted from the *English*  
 only by a Wall, the better to guard them, Sir d  
*Henry* began to put his Project in Execution. He  
 ordered the Carpenters to take others with them,  
 and to go by two and two in the best Manner  
 they could, to avoid Suspicion. He directed Mr.  
*Femel*, and those he had appointed to take-in to  
 Leeward of the Town, to go two or three in a  
 Company along the Sea-side, to the Place, and  
 there wait his Coming. After he had given these  
 Directions, he was inclosed in his Tub, and safe-  
 ly conveyed into the Boat: Which being done, e  
 he forced out the Head of the Cask, and came  
 aboard; causing the Men to bear-up with the  
 Leeward Point, where he took in eleven Persons \*.

*Some of his*  
*Men*

Mr. *Femel*, and others, being too dilatory in set-  
 ting out, were taken before they could reach the  
 Boat: For by this Time the Town was raised,  
 partly by the indiscreet Running of some of the  
*English*, and partly by seeing the Boat bear up  
 to Leeward, contrary to Custom. He might  
 however have escaped with his Company, had he f  
 come by Land to the Point, and not taken Wa-  
 ter so soon as others behind him, who were sick  
 and weak.

*SIR HENRY* came to an Anchor, and in wait-  
 ing for them brought the Boat a-ground, which  
 put them all in much Danger. He likewise caus-  
 ed Men to leap over-board, to rescue *Femel*: But  
 before they could get a Pike's Length from the  
 Boat, he and those with him were apprehended.  
 Mr. *Femel* being closely pursued by one Person,  
 discharged a Pistol in his Face, and mortally  
 wounded him. Sir *Henry*, finding the whole Town  
 in Pursuit of him, and considering that he had  
 a very narrow and shoal Channel to pass, be-  
 tween a small sandy Island and the Main, saw it  
 would be Folly to stay any longer; therefore or-  
 dering the Men to put forward, they luckily hit  
 upon the right Channel, which quickly brought  
 them into deep Water, and out of Danger of  
 their Enemies.

THEY in the *Darling* kept good Watch on Others escape  
 the Tops; and so soon as they saw the Boat un- in a Boat.  
 der Sail, let slip, and bore up to Leeward, to  
 relieve them in case of Need. By the Time they  
 got aboard, the Boat wherein the Carpenters  
 were, coming in Sight, Sir *Henry* sent the Ship's  
 Boat to bring them aboard \*. *Walter Talbot*,  
 who was appointed to come with them, stayed so  
 long behind, that the Boat was put off before he  
 came up; and he thinking to swim aboard, was  
 drowned. About two Hours after, two poor A-  
 rabs appeared in a Canoe, but were so fearful  
 they durst not come nigh the Ship; till at length,  
 being won by fair Words, one of them entered,  
 and delivered the General a Letter from Mr. *Femel*:  
 intimating, that they were in great Danger  
 of being slain or spoiled by those who apprehend-  
 ed them; but that some of the Soldiers, bearing  
 them good Will, saved them, and brought them  
 to the *Aga's*, where they waited his coming home.

ON Sight of them he looked as pale as Ashes,  
 and said they should all lose their Heads; ask- The Fugitives  
 ing how they durst attempt an Escape? They fettered.  
 answered they came out of *England* under the  
 General's Command, and did nothing but by his  
 Orders, which they durst not disobey. He again  
 threatened them with Loss of their Heads, and  
 caused them all to be chained by the Necks: But  
 they were quickly released at the Entreaty of  
*Nakhâda Malek Amber*, *Nakhâda Mohammed*, of  
*Kananor*, and others, and permitted to remain in  
 their former House; but under a stronger Guard  
 than before. This their Kindness proceeded not  
 out of Love, but for Fear of their Ships in the Road,  
 which were then under Sir *Henry's* Command;  
 who returned an Answer, and sent the *Aga* Word,  
 that if he did not forthwith send him all his

1611.  
*Sir Henry*  
*Middleton.*  
*Retains.*

\* Their Names were, *John Fowler*, *Benjamin Green*, *Rowland Webb*, *Robert Mico*, *Robert Conway*, *William Bownes*, *John Wright*, *Arthur Atkinson*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Wood*, and *Henry Fortune*.  
 b In this Boat escaped *George Callinson*, *Robert Pius*, *Nathaniel Symonds*, and *John Taylor*.

1611. People, and the Ship Furniture, which he detained a her, since she was the *Bashâ's* by Agreement with him? Saying, he might as well demand the Goods as the Pinnace, both which were put to the Account of the Grand Signor. They made Answer, That he could not well proceed on his Voyage without the Pinnace; but that for the Goods, they assured him, he would never demand them. Mean time, the *Darling's* Cables, Anchors, Pitch, Tar, and other Materials were brought from Shore; and few Days passed, but Sir Henry had one Present or other of Refreshment from the *Aga*, the *Dabulian*, and others; who, although they would scarce take Notice of him whilst on Land, now were glad to flatter him. This Morning early, a Boat going from Shore aboard the innermost Ship, the General caused two Guns to be shot at her, which brought her aboard him. On threatening to hang them, and burn their Ships, if they did so any more, they durst not attempt the like afterwards.

Confusion at  
Mukha.

AFTER his Escape, there was no small Disturbance in the Town. The *Aga* not knowing what Answer to make to the *Bashâ*, feared it would cost him his Head. The *Subashâ*, who had been Sir Henry's Keeper, was at his Wife's End, and knew not whether he had best stay or fly for his Life. The *Amir al Bahr*<sup>a</sup> (or Lord of the Sea) was in little better taking, being accused of consenting to his Escape: One of their Porters took Sanctuary in a Church, and would not come out till he had gotten his Pardon. Most of the *Nakhâdas* and Merchants, in great Fear of losing their Ships and Goods, sent Presents of Victuals to Mr. *Femal* and the rest, whom before they scorned to speak to. At Night, Sir Henry sent the Boat well manned to carry the News to their Ships, with Orders likewise to come over with all Speed. He plied to Windward in the *Darling*, when the Tide served, and rode a little without the great Ship; so that he had her and all the rest under the Command of his Ordnance.

The *Aga's*  
Diffimulation.

THE twelfth, *Nakhâda Mohammed* of *Kananor* came aboard with Letters, telling Sir Henry, that the *Aga* was sorry he went away in that Manner, for that he was determined, within a few Days, to have set him at Liberty, and all his People: That he would deliver the Furniture belonging to the Ships, which were ashore, but could not send his People without an Order from the *Bashâ*: That he intreated fifteen Days Respite; and if, in that Time, all his Men were not sent aboard, they desired no Favour. The General told him, that he likewise expected to have his Pinnace restored, for that he would not leave the Road without her. The *Nakhâda* said, he would acquaint the *Aga* with his Demand, and doubted not but she would be delivered up. Sir Henry yielded to his Request, upon his Promise, that he should have both Men and Pinnace within the Time limited. He durst not demand Restitution or Satisfaction for his Goods, till such Time as he had recovered all his Men from Shore.

Truce for fifteen Days.

MOHAMMED having acquainted the *Aga* with the Conditions, upon which he had obtained fifteen Days Truce, he was very angry, that Sir Henry had insisted on having the Pinnace; and sending for Mr. *Femal* and *John Williams*, asked, What the General meant by demanding

THE thirteenth, the *Increase* and *Pepper-Corn*, towards Night, came to Anchor in Sight of the Road, not able to get in, because the Leeward Tide was against them. But next Morning entering the same, Sir Henry went aboard the *Increase*, where he was received with great Joy. The eighteenth, there arrived a Ship of *Diu*, belonging to *Shermal* the *Shâh Bandar*<sup>b</sup>, laden with Indian Commodities, which Sir Henry caused to ride hard by him: But next Day, at the Intreaty of *Shermal*, he licensed all the People (excepting some few to look to the Ship) to go ashore. The twentieth, he heard nothing from the Shore: But the twenty-first, Mr. *Femal* writ him Word, that they had all been chained by the Necks.

The Trade's  
Increase arrived.

THE twenty-fifth, *Nakhâda Mohammed* came aboard, and informed Sir Henry, that the *Bashâ* had given Order for the Release of his Men and Pinnace, promising to bring them next Day. The *Increase* shot off three Pieces at his Departure. This Day all the English at Land were chained by the Necks, and the next Day released. The Cause of which Usage they could not learn.

Order for releasing the English.

THE twenty-sixth, *Mohammed* returned, saying, the Pinnace was launched: But the *Aga* would neither deliver her nor the Men, till Sir Henry had given him a Writing signed by himself, and four or five more of the principal Persons in the Ships; importing, that he would maintain perfect Peace with the *Turks* (the *Aga's* Subjects) and *Indians*: That he would not meddle [with any Ships] either in this Sea, or elsewhere, in Revenge of what had passed; nor demand Restitution or Satisfaction for Goods taken from him: Which Engagement was to be confirmed by Oath. Sir Henry told him, that he was surprized to find he came every Day with

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Sir Henry  
Middleton.

new Demands: That as he had the Day before<sup>a</sup> promised absolutely to bring him the Pinnace and all his Man, he took it for granted it would have been done; but that since he had not kept his Word, he intended, for better Security, to detain him, and those who were with him, as Hostages, till he had performed his Engagement; desiring him to acquaint the *Aga* therewith. *Mohammed* alledged, that he having undertaking this Affair of his own Accord, should reap much Discredit, and be laughed at for his Forwardness, if he should write to that Purpose; and therefore declared plainly, that he would not write such a Letter, let what would betide him: But promised, if *Sir Henry* would give him such a Writing as he demanded, and send him ashore, that he would bring him all his People aboard before Night.

A sham Indemnity.

THE General, finding he could obtain nothing by Compulsion, thought it best to yield to him in Appearance, and give him some Writing, though of a different Nature from what he desired. Thereupon *Sir Henry* caused a Memorandum to be drawn up in *English*, containing a brief Relation of the treacherous Usage he had met with in this Country, and nothing else; which was signed by him and five more, as Witnesses of the Truth thereof: Withal, he sent Advice to *Mr. Femel*, how he should interpret it. *Sir Henry* delivered him the Writing he desired, but refused to swear; saying, his Word should be truer than a *Turk's* Oath at all Times. Ashore he went, leaving some of the better Sort of his Company for Pledges; and bid the General hang them, in case he did not bring him all his Company aboard that Night.

any thing which came from so unconscionable a Dog, 1611.  
and his Enemy; by whose Order he had received so much Wrong. *Mohammed* finding he would not take it, left it with his Man, and so departed; carrying with him the *Turk* taken in the *Darling*, (who had remained aboard the *Increase* till then) and promised to return in the Morning with the Pinnace.

Sir Henry  
Middleton.

ACCORDINGLY, the twenty-seventh, he brought the Pinnace, and asked, If all he had promised was performed? The General replied, No: For that he still wanted a Boy, whom they detained at *Tayes*, and had forced to change his Religion; declaring, that he should be delivered to him before he would release the Ships. *Mohammed* replied, that he would tell the *Aga*, and return with his Answer. This Morning early *Sir Henry* called a Council, wherein he put the Question, Whether he should release the Ships according to Promise, or detain them till Restitution was made him. It was concluded, that he should release all the Ships which were of *India*, and their Friends; and indemnify themselves upon the Ship that was to come from *Suez*. He likewise demanded what Course was best to take for Recovery of the Youth at *Tayes*. Some thought it would be fruitless to demand him; proposing, instead thereof, to lie in wait for some Persons of Worth, in Exchange for whom they might procure his Liberty. The General was of a contrary Opinion, and thought it fit to demand him at that Juncture, when they should have many to solicit for him, rather than depend upon the Uncertainty of taking Prisoners. Wherefore it was resolved to insist upon having the Boy surrendered; but not to mention a Word about restoring their Goods.

THE twenty-eighth, a Writing was sent the General from the *Aga*, whereby he, *Nakhada Mohammed* and *Shermall Sháh Bandar* bound themselves under a Forfeiture of Ships and Goods, that the Boy should be delivered in twelve Days, provided he would release the Ships. Hereupon he gave them Leave to unlade the Ship of *Diu*, and visit the other Ships at their Pleasure. This Night *Mr. Femel* died of a Calentura, or rather of Poison given him by the *Turks*, according to the Opinion of the Surgeons.

THE first of *June*, three Boats Lading of Cotton was discharged out of the Ship. This Evening a strong Flurry of Wind from Shore broke their Land-Cable. The Wind was so hot, they could hardly endure it<sup>b</sup>: *Sir Henry* was forced to fly to his Cabin, unable for the Heat to stay a-

## SECT. VI.

The English sent on board. The Pinnace restored. The Boy promised. Message from the *Bashá*. *Sir Henry's* Threats and Demands. The *Aga's* pert Answer. *Sir Henry's* Reply. A Compromise set on Foot; and concluded. Money paid. The Ships leave *Mokha*. Sail for *Kameran* to intercept the *Suez* Ship. She slips by in the Night.

The English sent on board.

AT his landing, he handled the Matter so, that a little before Night he returned with *Mr. Femel*, and nine others<sup>a</sup>. *Femel*, *Williams*, and *Cunningham* were clothed with paltry Vests. Another was sent to *Sir Henry*, which they said came from the *Bashá*. The *Nakhada* would have put it on his Back, desiring he would wear it as a Favour from that Commander: But the General refused it, telling him, that he scorned to wear

<sup>a</sup> Their Names were, *John Williams*, *Christopher Cunningham*, *Walter Woodward*, *John Clark*, *Henry Bauldin*, *Edmund Glower*, *Tobias Birch*, *Alexander James*, and *Mercilins Longfeld*.  
<sup>b</sup> These hot Winds are frequent in those Parts, and do great Mischief on Land, as may be judged from their Effects on Sea. They are said to be impregnated with Flecks of Fire.

lost.



1611. *loft.* He wrote a Letter to the *Bashâ* in *Italian*, a  
*Sir Henry Middleton.* demanding Restitution of his Goods, and Satisfaction for Damages. He was answered afterwards as to his Demand; but the Letter was not understood, for Want of an Interpreter. He again embargoed the Ship of *Diu*, and would not suffer them to unlade any more Goods out of her, till the *Bashâ* had satisfied him to the Value of seventy thousand Ryals of Eight. He considered, that this was the surest Way to obtain somewhat towards their Loss; and not solely to rely upon taking the Ship of *Suez*, which the *Turks* might easily prevent, by giving Advice by Land.

*Message from the Bashâ.*

THE second, *Ali Haskins*, *Sir Henry's* Interpreter at *Zenan*, came aboard with Compliments from the *Bashâ*: Adding, that his Excellency was sorry the General went away after such a Manner; for that he intended to have dismissed him in a Way much to his Satisfaction, and had prepared a rich Vest and a Horse to be sent him. *Ali* brought Commendations likewise from the *Kiahya*, who, he said, intreated the General, that he would not take any violent Course there, but seek for Justice at *Stambol*: For that in case he did any thing that was displeasing to the *Bashâ*, it would cost him (the *Kiahya*) his Head, who had been the chief Instrument in persuading him to send the *English* back to *Mokha*. He said farther, that he had brought the *English* Youth with him from *Tayes*, by Order from the *Bashâ*, who, the next Day, should be sent aboard; conditionally, that *Sir Henry* would permit the Ship of *Diu* and the rest to unload their Goods. He answered, that he would by no Means release the Ships, till he had Restitution of his Goods, or Satisfaction to the Value above-mentioned.

*Sir Henry's Threats and Demands.*

THE third, the *Aga* desired a Truce for twelve Days, in order to acquaint the *Bashâ* with the General's Demands. Next Day, *Ali Haskins*, *Tokorfs* a *Bannian*, and others, came aboard, intreating him to draw out the Particulars of his Losses, that they might consider thereof ashore. He satisfied their Desire, and set down his Loss and Hinderances, amounting in the whole to seventy thousand Ryals of Eight. He likewise sent to tell the *Aga*, that whereas, after having been invited by him on Land, with Promise of kind Entertainment, and free Trade, he, like a treacherous Dog, (without any Cause or Offence given) had cruelly slain several of his People, villainously imprisoned him and others, and robbed and spoiled all he could seize upon, to the Value of seventy thousand Pessios, besides putting him to great Charges and Loss of Time: If therefore he did not presently make him Restitution or Satisfaction for the same, he would batter the Town about his Ears, take all the Goods out of the

*Diu* Ship; and burn all the Vessels then in the Road, resolving not to depart from thence, till he was sufficiently revenged. He added, that he could do all this without Breach of Promise, since the Time of Truce was expired, and they had not performed Covenants with him.

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THE sixth, the *Aga* sent *Sir Henry* a peremptory Answer, demanding who gave him Leave to come into those Seas? Saying, that since he came without Leave, he was justly dealt with. That as touching the Goods, and all other Matters complained of, he had done nothing but by Order from the *Bashâ*; and that the *Bashâ* himself told him so much: That if he was not pleased with what was past, the best Way was to refer it to the Hearing of their Betters at *Stambol*. That if he shot at the Town, he would shoot again at his Ships; and that for the Vessels and Goods in the Road, they were none of his; but that if he hurt either the Town or Ships, it would not be pleasing to the Soltân, who would be sure to be recompensed for any Damage he should do them.

*Sir Henry's Reply.*

TO this *Sir Henry* answered, that to come into that Sea, he needed no other Leave but God's and his King's; but that, as to his landing there, the *Aga* had not only given him Leave, but much intreated him: That with regard to his Goods, he knew of nothing he owed the *Bashâ*, neither was he his Factor, or had ever received any thing of his, or the least Courtesy from him. That he was no way his Debtor, nor had ever done him or his any Wrong, which might give him a Pretence to seize his Goods by Way of Reparation: That therefore he was resolved he would be paid for them, and righted there where he had been wronged, and not at *Stambol*: That, however, he was convinced, neither the *Bashâ* nor the *Aga* durst shew their Faces at *Stambol* to answer for such shameful Injustice as they falsely pretended the Soltân had commanded them to commit; and that, therefore, if they found themselves aggrieved, they might go to the Court of *England* to seek Redress.

THE eighth, the General sent Mr. *Pemberton* to *Assab* to buy fresh Victuals, a great many of the Men being sick on board the Ships. He was afraid to receive his Provision from *Mokha*, having been cautioned by Friends to beware of Poison.

THE nineteenth, *Shermal Shâb Bandar*, *Ally* *Compassion* *Tokorfs*, and many others of the chief *Bannians*, *propose*, came aboard to agree with *Sir Henry*; and brought with them Mr. *Pemberton's* Youth decently cloathed after the *Christian* Fashion, which the *Shâb Bandar* bestowed upon him. After some kind Salutations on both Sides, the *Shâb Bandar* began to tell *Sir Henry*, that he had always loved and favoured his People. and was ready to do

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Sir Henry  
Middleton.

himself what Kindness he was able; and that for the Injuries done him by the *Turks*, he was as much grieved as if they had been done to his own People: That for this his Love and Compassion on his Miseries, he was like to pay very dear, unless he would now shew some Compassion to him, for that the *Bashá* had enjoined him to give the General Satisfaction, and had sent Order, that in case he did not, his Throat should be cut, and his Goods confiscated: This he protested was not feigned, but the very Truth. Sir Henry answered, that they were the *Turks*, who had robbed and done him so many Injuries; and that from them would he look for Satisfaction, and none else. The *Sháh Bandar* desired him to wave those Matters, and let him know his Demands. The General told him, he could not be at a Loss for that, since he had sent them ashore, written in *Arabic*. He answered, that if that Writing was the Measure of his Demands, it would be lost Labour to talk any farther about them.

And agreed  
to.

THEY spent most Part of the Day in fixing the Prices of the Commodities that were lost; and at length, with much ado, came to Agreement, that all the Lead and Iron should be restored, and eighteen thousand Ryals of Eight paid in Money, within fifteen Days, in full Satisfaction of all Losses and Demands sustained. Hereupon a Peace was concluded between the *English* and them for two Years, from the Port of *Mokha* to *Kananor*, on the Coast of *India*; conditionally, that the *Bashá* gave Sir Henry a Writing under his own Hand and Seal for Confirmation of the same. At this Time a most grievous Sickness prevailed in the Ships, few or none escaping: It began with a great Pain in the Head and Stomach, depriving them of Sleep: The best Remedy for it was vomiting and bleeding; but some, who had a Fever along with it, were long before they recovered; the rest quickly recovered, and few died thereof.

The Money  
paid.

THE second of July, Sir Henry received the last Payment from the *Sháh Bandar*, and cleared all Reckonings with him; as well for Money borrowed whilst he was Prisoner, as for Money disbursed afterwards by him. He demanded the one thousand Venetianos promised the *Bashá's* *Kiabya*. But Sir Henry would by no Means pay it, although he urged him much with his Promise; and said he should be forced otherwise to pay it himself, for that he had passed his Word for the same. The General told him, the *Kiabya* had not performed his Promise made him, to set him and his People at Liberty: How the *Kiabya*

and he will agree (says Sir Henry) I know not, but I doubt he will be forced to pay it. Towards Night, the *Sháh Bandar* and the rest having taken their Leave, the General caused three Pieces of Ordnance to be discharged for his Farewell.

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Middleton.

THE third, *Takorfi* and *Ali* came again, and bought some Vermillion, for which the General gave them Credit. They promised to come to the other Side of the Sea within fourteen Days, and pay the Money; also to bring some Provision of Grain, which Sir Henry had given them an Order to buy at *Mokha*, besides a Writing from the *Bashá*, to ratify the Peace. In the Afternoon, the Ships warped out of the Road, and that Night set sail toward *Affab*, but could not get thither till the fifth in the Morning. The sixth, Sir Henry landing, caused all the Wells to be emptied and cleaned; for he had been often told at *Mokha*, that the *Turks* practised with the People of *Affab* to poison the Wells. They were employed till the thirteenth in watering and buying Provision; nothing happening in the mean time worth Notice.

The Ships  
leave Mokha.

THIS Day the King of the Country, hearing of Sir Henry's Escape from *Mokha*, and Arrival in his Country, sent three of his chief Servants, attended by thirty Soldiers, with a Letter and Present of Refreshments to him. The Purport of his Letter was, to congratulate the General on the Escape from his Enemies, and welcome him into his Dominions; offering to supply him with whatever his Country afforded. Sir Henry having feasted and rewarded the Messengers, sent the King a Present, consisting of a Vest of broad Cloth, and a fair Looking-Glass.

THE seventeenth, there came a *Telba* from *Mokha*, wherein was *Takorfi* the *Sháh Bandar's* Man, and another *Bannian*: Who brought the Provisions Sir Henry had bespoken, and the Money due to him; but no Writing from the *Bashá*: His Excuse was, that the *Bashá* was so busy in the Wars, that he had not Time to write; whence it was manifest, that he intended to keep no Measures with our Nation.

THE twenty-fourth, the Fleet set sail out of *Affab* Road, to put in Practice what Sir Henry had long before determined: Which was to ply to Windward as high as [the Island of] *Kamuran*; and there wait for a great Ship, that cometh every Year, about this Time, from *Suez*, richly laden, to *Mokha*. By this Means he proposed to be sufficiently revenged on the *Turks* for all his Losses and Disgraces. He was the more desirous to meet with her, because he understood,

\* This was very hard, after all, upon the poor *Sháh Bandar*. In all Likelihood, is owing to Want of Care in Copying. However that be, there is no judging which Spelling is the right. *Douglson*, whose Relation follows, calls him *Taccaree*.

that.

1611. that the *Traitor Jaffar* <sup>a</sup> *Bashâ*, and his Disciple <sup>c</sup> *Rejib Aga*, had considerable Ventures in her. <sup>b</sup> From hence, to the last of this Month, they plied to Windward; and the Wind being contrary, they sailed by Day, and commonly lay at Anchor all Night. In this Cruize, they ran many Dangers for Want of a Pilot; and often narrowly escaped running aground, which would have risked the Loss of all: Yet, for all their Fatigue and Hazards, the Ship escaped them in the Night; as they found on their Return.

Sir Henry  
Maddleton.

the Westward of Cape *Guardafui*, bearing South half West. About ten at Night, it fell calm, with a great Sea, out of the South-East. At Midnight, a Gale sprung up at South South-East and South, finding still, as they sailed, this great Sea, which was a manifest Sign, they had brought themselves open of Cape *Guardafui*. For so long as the Land was in the Wind of them, they felt none of this Sea.

1611.  
Sir Henry  
Maddleton.

## S E C T. VII.

*They leave the Streights. Mount Fœlix. Delisha. Fleet takes in Water. They buy Aloes. Come to Surât Road. Portuguese Admiral's Letter. Sir Henry's Answer. News from Surât. Message from the Governor. Letters from Surât. They stop the Indian Ships. Are attacked by the Portuguese. The Vice-Roy's Son and Fleet. No Hopes of Trade. Portuguese second Attack.*

Leave the  
Streights.

THE ninth of August, in the Morning, they set Sail; and, about eight in the Evening, anchored three Leagues short of the *Bâb al Mandel*. <sup>b</sup> The tenth, the *Darling* and *Release*, went out by the Western Channel, which they found to be three Leagues over, from the Coast of *Hababeh*, to the Island of *Bâb al Mandel*. One third of the Way from the Island, they had no Ground at forty Fathoms, the Channel being clear without Dangers, and not full of Shoals and Rocks, which rendered it unnavigable; as all the *Turks* and *Indians* reported, in order to make them believe there was no other Passage, but through the Eastern Channel; which might be so fortified, that no Shipping could pass without being in Danger of their Ordnance: For the Distance between the *Arabian Shore*, and the Isle, is not above a Mile and half, and on the Land Side, there lie Shoals reaching a good way off.

THE *Increase*, and *Pepper-Corn*, sailed through the Narrow Channel. About four, Afternoon, they all met without the Streights, in nineteen Fathoms, being about four Miles from the *Arabian Shore*. All this Night they sailed along the Land. From the twelfth, till the twenty-seventh, they had much Wind, often contrary, and sometimes Calms, with a Current, setting South-West about four Miles an Hour: So that during this Time, what they got, when they had a favourable Gale, they lost, and more, when it fell calm, being carried back by the Current.

About Fa-  
lin.

THE twenty-seventh, they had a Gale of Wind to carry them off. At six, this Evening, they had Sight of Mount *Fœlix*, a Head-land, to

THE thirteenth, they plied into the Road of *Delisha* <sup>a</sup>; and about Noon, came to Anchor. They found riding there a great Ship of *Diu*, and two small Vessels, one of *Naggina*, the other the King's, both Ships of *India*, bound for the *Red-Sea*, and taken short by the *Monson*. The Captain of the *Diu* Ship came aboard him, with several others; by whom he was informed, that the *English* at *Surat* were very well used, and daily expected Shipping from *England*; that Captain *Hawkins* was at the King's Court, where he was made a great Lord, and had a large yearly Maintenance allowed him; likewise, that the King had given Captain *Sharpey* Money to build a Ship, which then was almost ready at *Surât* to be launched. This, and many other Things, he told the General, which he thought was too good News to be true.

THE *Monson* being far spent, Sir Henry desired <sup>c</sup> the *Nakhâda* of *Diu* to help him with his Boats, and People, to ballast and water: Which he, with the others, most readily granted; proffering him all the Water in their Ships: So willing they were to have him gone. Sir Henry accepted of his Offer, and had all the Water out of his Ship; and employed his People also to fetch some from Shore.

THE General often spoke to the King to sell him his Aloes: But for a long Time could bring him to no reasonable Terms. At length, with much ado, he bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it than Captain *Keeling* did for his. The *Indians* were also treating for it, which made him raise his Price. The General left Letters with the King, which he promised to deliver to the first *English* who should arrive there.

THE third of September, the General having finished his Business, the Ships plied out of the Road; having, with much ado, gotten a simple Fellow out of the *Diu* Ship, who took upon him to be a good Coaster, to pilot him to *India*.

THE twenty-sixth, between nine and ten o' Clock, with a fair Gale, they entered the Road of *Surât*: They anchored by three *Indian* Ships in seven Fathom. A Mile from them rode seven Sail of *Portuguese* Frigates, or Men of War; and

Fleet takes  
in Water.

Buy Aloes.

Come to Su-  
rat Road.

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Jeffor*. <sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, *Bab-Mandell*. <sup>c</sup> *Habesh*, in *Purchas*. In the *Arabian* Authors, this Country is named both *Habash*, and *Habashbeh*. <sup>d</sup> The true Name of the Place, we take to be *Delli* *shâh*; probably founded by some King of *Delli*, or Officer of his, in his Voyage to *Mekka*.

1611. thirteen more were within the River of *Surât*. <sup>a</sup> at *Surât*, (formerly a Joiner in the *Factor*) who 1611.  
 Sir Henry Long before Sir Henry's Arrival, the *Portuguese* informed him, that the *English* had no Factory *Surât*.  
 Middleton. had Intelligence, that they were in the *Red-Sea*, there; and that he was sent thither from *Agra* by  
 and bound for this Place; so that their Frigats Captain *Hawkins*, to recover some Debts; like-  
 were purposely sent to hinder them from trading wise, that he had Letters from the Captain, but  
 at *Surât*, or any where else upon that Coast. The durst not send them aboard, lest they should be  
 Commander in Chief of this Fleet, was, Don intercepted by the *Portuguese*. He made no Men-  
*Francisco de Soto Major*, intitled, *Captain Major* tion what was become of the Factors and Goods.  
*of the North*. He reaped great Benefit by grant- Sir Henry wrote to him, to send him those Let-  
 ing *Cartas's*, or *Passports*, to all Ships and Fri- ters, and farther Particulars concerning their Bu-  
 gats, which traded in those Parts: Such as were siness.

*Portuguese* THE twenty-ninth, there came a small Frigate <sup>b</sup> The third of *October*, *Khojah Nassan*\*, Gover- *Message from*  
*Admiral's* from the Admiral of the Armada, (as they term- nor of *Surat*, and the Governor's Brother of *Surat*.  
*Letter.* ed it) wherein was one *Portuguese*, and his Boy; *Kambaya*, sent a Mogul to the General, with a  
 who brought an Answer from the Captain Ma- Present of Refreshments, offering to do him all the  
 jor, to the General's Letter, sent the Day before: Kindness they could: Adding, that, for their Part,  
 The Purport of which, after some Compliments, they desired to trade with the *English*, but could see  
 was, that he was glad the General belonged to a no Possibility of doing it, so long as the *Portu-  
 King* who was a Friend; and that he, and his, guese Armada rode so nigh their Fleet; that this  
 would be ready to serve him to the best of his Nation hindered them from acting there as they  
 Power, provided he brought a Letter, or Order, were inclined; and therefore they advised him to  
 either from the King of *Spain*, or the Vice-Roy, go for *Gago*, which was a better Place; that it  
 for trading in these Parts; that otherwise, he was was nearer *Kambaya*, where there were more Mer-  
 obliged to guard the Port he had in Charge, chants, better Goods, and greater Quantities of  
 where the King his Master kept a Factory. them, than at *Surât*; and that the Armada could  
 not hinder their landing there.

Sir Henry's THE Messenger, having delivered his Errand, <sup>c</sup> THE Messenger, having delivered his Errand, *Message from*  
 Answer. was desirous to know, whether Sir Henry would stay here, or go thither? He replied, that, as yet,  
 he had received no Answer from the Shore, ex-  
 cepting a Letter of small Import; and that, till he  
 knew what was become of his Countrymen, and  
 Goods, formerly left in the Country, he could not  
 resolve him: But that, if he would help him to  
 Pilots, to conduct the Ships thither, and contrive  
 that one of the *English* from *Surât* might come  
 on board, he would presently give them an An-  
 swer. He dismissed the Messenger, and his In-  
 terpreter, with a small Reward.

THE fifth, the Interpreter, (who was a *Bra- <sup>d</sup> Letters from*  
 miny\*, or Priest of the *Bannians*) came in a Boat *Surât*.  
 with a Letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, and Cap-  
 tain *Hawkins's* Letter from *Agra*, dated in *April*  
 before, relating the Manner of his being taken  
 into, and put out of, Favour, by the Great Mo-  
 gul; that Monarch's Fickleness in granting them  
 Trade, and afterwards denying it them, in Fa-  
 vour of the *Portuguese*. The same Messenger  
 brought two Letters also, of a later Date, writ-  
 ten from *Labor*, by *William Finch*, one to the  
 Commanders of any *English* Shipping arriving at  
*Surât*; the other, to the Company in *England*:  
 Which gave an Account of his Proceedings, and  
 returning home over Land; the Inconstancy of  
 the King, and People of the Country; with the  
 Practices of the *Portuguese*, and many other Cir-  
 cumstances; advising such Commanders not to

SEEMING it not possible, without a Pilot, to  
 cross the Bar, (where the General went to dis-  
 cover in the *Darling*) he returned in the Evening,  
 and anchored in the Road. Going aboard the  
*Increase*, he found Letters from *Nicholas Bangham*

\* In Purchas's *Holia Nassan*. *Hojah*, is the Turkish Pronunciation, they not using the Guttural.  
 others, called *Bramins*, *Bramen*, *Bramans*, &c.

<sup>b</sup> By  
 land

1611. land any Goods, nor hope for Trade in those Parts: For that the People were all sickle and constant, like the King; and durst not offend the Portuguese.

*They stop Indian Ships.* SIR Henry having perused these Letters, despaired of any Trade in that Place; yet he resolved to try to the uttermost, what might be done before he left it. He understood by *Bangham's* Letters, that Captain *Sharpey*, *John Jordayne*, and others, were coming from *Kambaya* to *Surât*, in order to go along with him; and therefore determined to get them at least aboard. The Indian Ships which rode by him, had given over their Voyage to the Southward, because the proper Monsoon was past. The *Braminey* desired Leave to carry their Ships into the River: Which the General would in no wise grant; desiring him to tell the Governor, and the rest of the Owners, that their Ships should not depart, till he had all the Englishmen at *Kambaya* and *Surât*, on board. Had he suffered them to sail away, he should have disabled himself from either sending to, or hearing from, the English ashore; the Portuguese intercepting both Letters and Men, as much as they could.

*Attacked by the Portuguese.* THE twenty-second, the Portuguese had laid an Ambush to cut off some of the English sent on Shore; and, when they saw their Time, issued out, running in Crouds, without any Order, towards them. They were about three hundred in all, who discharged their Shot: The Fire was returned both by the English on Shore, and those in the Frigate, which riding close to the Land, they retired on board without Loss; and the Enemy, after receiving some Hurt, retreated behind the Hills out of Danger, and so to their Ships. At the same Time they attacked the English on Land; five of their greatest Frigats, which rode a little Way off to the Northward, came running, and shot at them; but were out of Reach. The English went in their Frigate and Boats aboard their Ships to Dinner; and the Portuguese Frigats rowed to Anchor, where they were before. The General having advised with Captain *Downton*, Mr. *Jordayne*, and others, what Course was best to take; it was thought fit, not to abide any longer there, but to return to the Road of *Surât*, where the *Trade's-Increase* staid, and there to think of proper Measures.

*Vice-Roy's Son, and Fleet.* THE eighth of November, *Nicholas Bangham* came from *Surât*, and brought with him some Refreshments. The Report of the Coming of *Mokrib Khân*, continued. The Vice-Roy's Son came into the River, with an hundred Sail of Frigats, the greater Part of them being Merchants bound for *Kambaya*. At Night, the Ge-

neral caused the Ships, which rode within, to come off and anchor by him; lest the Enemy, whose Strength he knew not, should make some Attempt against them.

THE ninth, the Ships riding without the Sand, *Khojah Nassan* came down to the Sea Side. The General went to him with his Frigate and Boats; and he promised, within two or three Days at the farthest, to bring Goods to trade with him, and order the Country People to bring in fresh Provisions, which they wanted.

THE eighteenth, the General received a Letter from *Bangham*, intimating, that there was little or no Trade to be expected: This, added to *Khojah Nassan's* Breach of Word, made him conclude all their former Promises to be nothing, but Inventions to delude and weary him, not daring to allow him the Liberty of Trade, for Fear of offending the Portuguese; and at the same Time loth to disoblige him by an absolute Denial.

THESE Things considered, Sir Henry determined to be gone; and therefore had often written to *Bangham* to come away; but *Khojah Nassan* would not permit him. He finding he could not get Leave to come, stole secretly out of Town. Soon after, *Nassan* missing him, and judging, that as soon as he got to the Ships, Sir Henry despairing of Trade, would immediately leave the Coast, sent *Jaddaw*, the Broker, after him, with a Letter from himself, and another from *Mokrib Khân*; whereby both promised speedily to come to see the General, who could scarcely depend on them, yet resolved to wait a few Days more, to see the Event.

THE Portuguese, who lay within the River, not daring to attack the English by Sea, thought to entrap them by Land. With this View, a great Number of them concealed themselves behind a Row of Sand-Hills, not far from the Landing-place: But the English, without Hurt, recovered the Boat. Mean Time, they in the Ships let fly apace at them, both with great and small Shot. The Portuguese, not thinking to find them so well prepared, presently betook them to their Heels, and fled behind the Hills again; leaving one of their Companions on the Strand, mortally wounded in the Head, who was brought aboard.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Mokrib Khân, Governor of Kambaya, comes down. Goes and lies on Shipboard. Takes every Thing he likes. Returns without Dealing. Comes again and trades. Is disgraced at Court. The new Governour comes down. Nassan's unfair*

\* In *Purchas*, *Mokrib Can*. The true Reading, perhaps, should be *Mogrib Khân*, denoting his coming from the Western Parts, probably of *Africa*.

*Dealing:*

1611.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

*Dealing. He is seized by Sir Henry. Portuguese Brags. The Traffic finished. Captain Hawkins and Sharpey come on board. Mokrib Khán's Inconstancy.*

Mokrib  
Khán comes  
down.

THE twenty-fourth, being Sunday, Jaddaw the Broker, came aboard, and brought Sir Henry Word, that Mokrib Khán was on the Road. Quickly after Dinner, going to the Shore Side with his Frigat, he found Khojah Nassan there; who also sent to let him know, that Mokrib Khán would be there presently. The General returned aboard; and having picked out a good Present, went directly to land again, well accompanied; where he found Mokrib Khán, Khojah Nassan, with great Troops of Men, waiting his Coming. At their Meeting, they embraced each other: The English Ships, at the same Time, discharging some Ordnance to bid him welcome; which he seemed to take kindly. The General having delivered his Present, they sat down upon Carpets, spread on the Ground, where they talked together. It being near Sun-set, Sir Henry intreated him to take his Lodging aboard his Ship, for that Night: Which he readily complied with, carrying with him his own Son, Khojah Nassan's Son, and several others of his chief Followers: But Nassan would not go. Sir Henry was well pleased to see him put so much Confidence in them, and began to conceive better Hopes than before; all this Part of the Country having been under his Command. The General made the best Entertainment for him that he could, upon such short Warning; which he, and those with him, fell-to very heartily. After they had done eating, the General delivered the King's Letter, directed to him; and told him the Contents thereof. He seemed very much pleased, that his Majesty should vouchsafe to write to him; and promised to do the English all the Service he could, not only as to their present Trade, but also to allow them any Place or Harbour, the General should name; where, if they pleased, they might build a Fort. In short, he was as ready to grant any Thing as the General was to ask; who, finding it grew late, left him to take his Rest.

Taken every  
Thing he  
uses.

THE twenty-fifth, in the Morning, Mokrib Khán busied himself in buying of Knives, Glasse, or any other Toys he found among the Company. The General went and shewed him the Ship aloft and below: Any Thing he liked belonging thereto, he took away gratis: Besides, Sir Henry bought from the Men, many Toys, which he fancied, and gave to him, endeavouring to please him in every Thing. After returning to the Cabbin, he would needs see all the General's

Chests, and Trunks, opened, and searched; Sir Henry giving him whatsoever he saw there of his, that he took a liking to. By this Time, Victuals being ready, he went to Dinner: After which, he was desirous to see the other Ships; where he behaved in the same Manner.

1611.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

THE thirtieth, and thirty-first, he sent Messieurs Fowler, Jordayne, and other Merchants, to see the Goods; who returned, and brought Mustrels [or Samples] with the Prices. The English set down what they would give for each Sort, desiring them to do the like by theirs; but they put the General off with Delays, from Day to Day, without concluding any thing: They would neither offer for the English Commodities, nor abate in the Prices of theirs. And whereas he had sold Mokrib Khán all the Sword-blades the cheaper, because he should take them one with the other, they had chosen out the best, and returned the worst back, which made the larger half, without setting any Time when they should be paid for: This done, they removed their Goods, to be gone for Surát: And thereupon, caused Proclamation to be made, under great Penalties, that no Victuals, or any other Thing, should be brought the General's, whose Courtely they thus abused.

Returns  
without  
Dealing.

THE eighth of December, 1611, in the Morning, Mokrib Khán came down again, with all his Crew, and about forty Packs of Goods. The General, landing with a good Guard of Shot and Halberds, went to him in his Tent: Where, after friendly Salutations and Compliments, they fell to treat of Business; and agreed upon the Price for all the Lead, Quicksilver, and Vermilion, as well as for their Goods to be taken in Exchange. These Goods did not all belong to those two great Men; the Sháh Bandar, and divers other Merchants, having had Shares: Yet, for the most Part, the Business was managed solely by Khojah Nassan, no Man daring either to buy or sell, without his Leave and Intervention; by which Means he raised the Prices of their Goods, and lowered those of the English Commodities, greatly to their Prejudice and Loss.

THE ninth, in the Morning, the English began to land their Lead, and receive some of the Goods, as well as to settle the Price for the rest; When a Letter came to Mokrib Khán from his King, which dashed all his Mirth, and their Proceedings for that Time. He was exceeding pleasant before he perused it; but afterwards became extremely sad: He sat a good while musing, and then suddenly rising up, went his way, without once looking towards, or speaking to, Sir Henry, who was seated hard by him. Before he took Horse, he better bethought himself; and sending for the

Is disgraced  
at Court.

\* It is likely, Sir Henry mistook the usual Proclamation, ordering great Mens Attendants to make ready to depart by such a Time, for such a Prohibition.

1611. General embraced him: Saying, he was his a  
 Brother, and desired him to excuse this his sudden  
 Departure; for that earnest Business called him  
 away: Adding, that he would leave *Khajah Nassan*  
 to receive and deliver those Goods already bar-  
 gained for, and to bargain for more. Shortly  
 after, the *English* heard, that he was turned out  
 of his Government of *Kambaya*; *Khajah Nassan*  
 having lost that of *Surât* a little before: Which  
 ill News they concluded, came in the King's  
 Letter, and was the Cause of his Discontent. b  
*Mokrib Khân*, who was lately Governor of that  
 Maritime Province, had after that nothing left  
 him in the Country, but the Place of Customer  
 at *Surât*.

New Govern-  
 nor comes  
 down.

THE tenth, the new Governor of *Surât*, and  
*Hassan Ali* <sup>a</sup>, came aboard the *Pepper-Corn*, to  
 see the Ships. After they had been there awhile,  
 they went to the *Trade's-Increase*. The Factors  
 being ashore to see the Lead weighed, which was  
 near all landed, and the rest in the Boat, ready c  
 to be sent ashore, they intreated *Khajah Nassan*  
 to set about it, as requiring much Time. They  
 would have weighed with *English* Weights;  
 but he insisted on using those of *Surât*, having  
 brought the Weigher of that Place for the Pur-  
 pose. Seeing no other Remedy, they at length  
 yielded, and began to weigh with the Country  
 Beam. After some few Drafts, the *English* de-  
 sired they might examine the Beam before they  
 proceeded any farther, to know whether the  
 Weigher told them the true Quantities: For he  
 being acquainted with it, and they not, might  
 name every Time what Quantity he pleased.  
 They likewise weighed by their own Beam what  
 had been weighed by the *Surât* Beam, and found  
 in five Pigs a Difference of ten or eleven Maunds;  
 each Maund being thirty-three Pound *English*.

Nassan's un-  
 fair Deal-  
 ing.

*KHOJAH NASSAN* finding he could have  
 the Lead by what Weight he listed, began to  
 cavil, saying he would have half Money, half e  
 Goods for his Commodities, otherwise they should  
 not have them. On this Occasion he railed and  
 raved like a Madman, calling for the Carrmen to  
 drive away his Merchandize; and declaring he  
 would have none of their Lead or other Goods,  
 but would instantly be gone. *Sir Henry* being  
 aboard the *Increase*, with the Governor and *Shâh*  
*Bandar*, the Factors sent one aboard to give him  
 Notice of *Khajah Nassan's* Proceedings, and as-  
 sure him, that unless some speedy Course was f  
 taken to prevent it, he would go from his Bar-  
 gain, and return all their Goods upon their  
 Hands.

*SIR HENRY* knew by the little Experience  
 he had of the Man, that he was likely enough  
 to do so. He knew also that they have a Custom

in this Country (and, by Report, in most Parts  
 of *India*) that any Bargain between Merchants  
 might be revoked, so it was done within the  
 Compass of twenty-four Hours: Nay, although  
 Earnest be given, and the Goods carried away;  
 yet they may be returned, and the Earnest had  
 back again. Therefore to prevent any such Tricks  
 being put upon him, he had sent *John Fowler*  
 and others, to *Khajah Nassan*, to know whether  
 he would stand to his Bargain, intimating, that  
 he desired to be upon a Certainty before he land-  
 ed any Lead, because of the Trouble that would  
 attend it. *Nassan*, in Presence of many Witnes-  
 ses, promised them to take it all, and be as good  
 as his Word; requiring them to land it as soon  
 as possible.

HEREUPON *Sir Henry* consulting with those  
 about him, it was thought the surest Way to keep  
 those who were aboard for Pledges, till *Nassan*  
 had performed his Agreement; and if they could  
 get hold of him, to let the others go. Wherefore  
*Sir Henry* going to the Governor and *Shâh Ban-*  
*dar*, told them how *Khajah Nassan* had dealt  
 with him, intending to delude him as formerly;  
 and that therefore he was under a Necessity to  
 detain them till the other did him Justice. The  
 Governor advised *Sir Henry* to go ashore, and  
 fetch the Man himself; which he accordingly  
 did: After which he gave the Governor a hand-  
 some Present, and let him depart, keeping *Khajah*  
*Nassan*, and the *Shâh Bandar*, for Pledges aboard  
 the *Pepper-Corn*.

He is set  
 by Sir Hen-  
 ry.

THE nineteenth, *Khajah Hassan Ali*, the *Shâh*  
*Bandar*, coming from *Surât* <sup>b</sup>, shewed *Sir Henry*  
 a Couple of Letters, which were sent from the  
 Vice-Roy of *Goa*; one of them directed to him-  
 self, and the other to the Captain Major of *Dis*.  
 The Purport of the Letter to the Captain Major  
 was, that he had received his Letter, which  
 gave an Account of the special Service he had  
 done, in obliging the *English* Captain and his  
 People to swim to his Boats for their Lives, and  
 that otherwise he should have slain or taken them  
 Prisoners; for which he highly commended him,  
 as having done the Part of a valiant-Captain and  
 worthy Soldier: That this Piece of good Service  
 done to his King and Country, would greatly  
 redound to his Honour: That he gave him as  
 many Thanks for the same as if he had taken  
 the *English* Captain Prisoner; and, to gratify  
 him in some Measure, bestowed on him those  
 Frigats, which he had lately taken from the  
*Malabars*. He acquainted him withal, that he  
 had sent his Son, who was young, into the Ar-  
 my; intreating him, to assist him with his Ad-  
 vice, that he might obtain a great Name. Thus  
 was the Vice-Roy and *Sir Henry* abused by the

Portuguese  
 Bregt.

1612.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

false Reports of a lying Braggard. The Letter <sup>a</sup> to the *Sháh Bandar* was to thank him for not permitting the *English* Nation to trade at *Surát*; desiring him to continue in the same Mind, in which Case he should do the King of *Portugal* great Service, and not lose his Reward. This Day several Carts came from *Surát*, laden with Provisions for the Ships, brought by *Bangham*.

The Traffic  
flushed

THE twenty-fourth, the Business was finished; Accounts on both Sides cleared, and the Pledges released. They promised to deal with Sir Henry for the rest of the Commodities, and staid till the twenty-sixth; but did nothing worth noting. The twenty-seventh, a *few* came aboard, and brought a Letter from *Massulipatan*, dated the eighth of *September*, from one *Peter Floris*, a *Dantiscan* <sup>b</sup>, employed by the Company; giving an Account of his setting out in *February*, his speedy and safe Passage, and Arrival there the Beginning of *September*.

THE second of *January*, 1611-12, the General wrote to Captain *Hawkins*; and sent Captain *Sharpey* <sup>c</sup>, *Hugh Fraine*, and *Hugh Greet*, to persuade him to take some better Course than he seemed to have resolved on, when he wrote his last Letter, received on the twenty-eighth of *December*: Also to buy some *Indicos*, and other Commodities, if to be had reasonably.

Captain  
Hawkins,  
and Sharpey,  
came  
aboard.

THE twenty-sixth, the Captains *Hawkins* and *Sharpey* came to the Water-side; having left their Carriages five Miles behind. The General landed with two hundred armed Men, in order to guard them and their Goods from the *Portuguese*, who he feared would endeavour to intercept them. He met them about three Miles off, and brought all safely aboard the Ships, without seeing any Enemy.

THE twenty-seventh, the General sent *John Williams*, and one of the Factors to *Surát*, upon Business. This Day *Mokrib Khan* came to Town; he had been to meet a great Commander, who <sup>e</sup> was returning from the Wars of *Dekan*, and designed to pass by *Surát*. Before he left the Place, he sent to desire Mr. *Jourdaine* to commend him to Sir Henry; and acquaint him that he was going out of Town, but would not stay above three Days; and, at his Return, would be as good as his Word, in what he had promised concerning their Factory. Now, at his Return, he sends for him again, and, contrary to his Expectation, with a frowning Countenance, demands what he did there? And why the *English* were not all gone? *Jourdaine* answered, that he staid, depending upon his Promise, that they should have a Factory, and that otherwise he should not have been there. The other replied, they should have no Factory there; and that by the long

Mokrib  
Khan's In-  
consistency.

Stay of the *English* Ships, he had lost in his Customs above a Million of *Manuveys*: That therefore he charged them, in the King's Name, to quit the Town immediately; for that neither Trade nor Factory was there to be had for them. *John Williams* returned this Morning, and two Carts with Provisions came from *Surát*. The twenty-ninth, the General sent to hasten the Factors away from *Surát*, as *Mokrib Khan* had commanded, intending to stay no longer on that Coast.

1612.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton.

## SECT. IX.

They leave *Surát*. *Nautical Remarks*. Put into *Dabul*. Have some Trade there. Leave *India*. *Cape Guardafui*. News of Captain *Saris*. Resolve for the *Red Sea*. Enter the *Báb*, or *Streights*. Several Ships stopped. *Saris* joins Sir Henry, and goes a *Sharer* in the *Cruise*. Several Ships more stopped. The *Rhemi*, belonging to the Great Mogol's Mother. Latitudes.

THE ninth of *February*, in the Morning, <sup>They leave</sup> being calm, they warped over the Sand <sup>Surát</sup> with the *Increase*. Had they not gotten over this Tide, they had lost the whole Spring. This Road of *Swally* standeth in the Latitude of twenty Degrees, fifty-seven Minutes; Variation, sixteen Degrees, thirty Minutes. The eleventh, in the Morning, they set Sail for the Road of *Surát*, and anchored there in the Afternoon, by a new Ship of that Place, which was lately launched, and came out of the River, bound for the *Red-Sea*. The Latitude of this Road is twenty Degrees, forty-two Minutes. The twelfth, they weighed, and driving to the Southward, anchored two Leagues from the Road, near a Ship of *Kalekut*, bound for *Surát*, out of which the General took a Pilot for *Dabul*. The thirteenth, they weighed, and drove down. At Noon there sprung a Northerly Gale; at which Time they had seventeen Fathom. They hauled off West by South, into twelve and fourteen Fathom. After this, they steered South-West by West till four o'Clock; in which Interval they had from fourteen to twenty Fathom: Upon a sudden, they came to eight Fathom, and then to six; being about ten Leagues from the Ship, which lay in the Road of *Surát*. Upon this, they hauled in East and East by South, three Quarters of a Mile, and found from six to twenty again: Then they steered South-West by South, till one o'Clock after Midnight, for the most part against the Tide. At that Time the Water shoaled, in two Casts, from twenty to fifteen Fathom; having

In *Perch*, *Banggham*.

<sup>a</sup> *Dantwicker*.

<sup>b</sup> We knew not that *Sharpey* was arrived at the Fleet before.  
run,



1612. run, in nine Hours, about seven Leagues and a half.

Sir Henry  
Middleton.

Nautical  
Remarks.

THEN they stood off for three Hours (there being but little Wind) till they came to twenty Fathom. Next they steered South South-West; at which Time they saw the Land with two Hummocks, bearing East South-East about eight Leagues distant, which they judged to be *Damon*. At six in the Evening they ran in South South-East; the Wind Northerly; which suddenly falling calm, so continued till past Midnight. This Morning their Latitude was nineteen Degrees, fifty Minutes (having sailed all Night South by West) and their Depth between twelve and fourteen Fathom, five Leagues off Shore. In the Morning they had but little Wind. At Noon there sprung a Gale at West North-West, and they steered South. In the Evening being four or five Leagues from the Shore, they had thirteen Fathom. They judged themselves athwart of *Chaul* at Sun-set; and sailed South all Night with a fair Wind.

Put into  
Dabul.

THE sixteenth, they held their Course along the Coast South and by East, till six o'Clock in the Evening, keeping, for the most part, in about ten Fathom; at which Time they arrived in the Road of *Dabul*, which standeth in the Latitude of seventeen Degrees, forty-two Minutes: Variation sixteen Degrees, thirty Minutes.

NEXT Day Sir *Henry* sent the Pilot which he had out of the *Malabar* Ship, on Shore, in a Fisher-boat; with a Letter to the Governor, which head at *Mokha*, from *Malek Amber*<sup>a</sup>, Captain, or *Nakhada* of a great Ship of this Place. The Letter was to intreat him to use the General kindly, and trade with him. In the Afternoon he received a small Present of Refreshments, both from the Governor and *Malek Amber*<sup>b</sup>, with many Compliments, offering him any thing the Country afforded; and promising to deal with him, if he pleased to send ashore. Whereupon he sent a Couple of Merchants with a good Present, who were bid welcome, and kindly entertained while they staid there.

Have some  
Trade there.

THE eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth were spent about the Sale of some Goods; the Particulars whereof (says the Author, or perhaps rather the Collector) I refer to the Account of the Merchants, holding it not fit here to be expressed. By the twenty-third, they had delivered all the Goods which had been bargained for: After which, there being no farther Prospect of selling any in this Place, Sir *Henry* determined to depart without Delay.

THE twenty-fourth, Sir *Henry* called a Council, and proposed the Question, whether to go

from thence directly for *Priaman*, *Bantam*, &c. or return to the *Red-Sea*, to trade with the *Indian* Ships bound thither. He alledged, that since they would not deal with them at their own Doors, to which they had brought from far Commodities proper for their Country, and no where else in *India* vendible; he thought they should do themselves but Justice, and them no Wrong, in compelling them to barter, and give their *Indicos*, and other Goods in Exchange. It was the unanimous Opinion, that they should return to the *Red-Sea*, for several Reasons. First, in order to put off the *English* Goods, and get others in lieu, fit for their own Country. Secondly, to take some Revenge of the great and unsufferable Injuries done Sir *Henry*, by the *Turks* at *Mokha*. And lastly, to save the Ship, which they heard (by Way of *Massulipatan*) was bound that Way; judging, that otherwise she could not possibly escape being betrayed.

1612.  
Sir Henry  
Middleton

FROM this Day to the twenty-seventh, they spent in getting fresh Water aboard. The *Indians* had bought all the Red-lead, and it was actually delivered ashore; but afterwards disliking it, they returned it back. In the Evening, the *English* saw a Ship in the *Offing*. Two or three *Malabars* which rode near them, told them she was a *Portuguese* Vessel, of *Kochin*, bound for *Chaul*: Whereupon the General sent the *Pepper-Corn*, *Darling*, and Frigate to fetch her in; which they did the twenty-eighth. Those in the Frigate having pillaged the Mariners, he took their Plunder from them, and returned it to the Owners. Her Lading was Cocoa Nuts, and little else. This Day was spent in rummaging her; but the General could find no Bills of Lading. Some small Matter he took from her, on account of the Injuries offered him by the Captain-Major *Don Francisco de Soto Mayor*, at the Bar of *Surat*, in seizing his Goods, and hindering his Trade. That he sustained no farther Damage from them, was not owing to their Good-will, but Want of Power, as appeared by the Viceroy's, &c. Letters before-mentioned. Sir *Henry* took an Account of the Things he had out of her, from under the Hands of the principal Men who were aboard.

THE twenty-fifth of *March*, 1612, they had Sight of the Island *Sokatra*<sup>c</sup>, and at four in the

Afternoon the Point of *Dellashaw*<sup>d</sup> bore South South-West six Leagues off. Variation sixteen Degrees. From the twenty-fourth at Noon, till this Day at Noon, they steered North-West and by West, and West North-West, and West all Night; thinking by Day-light to have been near the Westermost Part of the Island: But contra-

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Mollich Abor*.  
elsewhere, *Loccatra*, and *Soccatora*.

<sup>b</sup> *Mellich Amber*, in *Purchas*.  
<sup>d</sup> *Delysha*, by others.

<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas* *Zacotera*, and

1612. ry to their Expectation, they found they had a Leagues off. About four they were thwart of *Aden*. This Evening Variation thirteen Degrees, forty Minutes: Latitude of *Aden* twelve Degrees, forty-seven Minutes.

From four o'Clock this Day, till the third in the Morning, they had little Wind; they steered along the Channel West by North, and West North-West. Towards the Heat of the Day, it began to blow, and they continued their Course as before. About Sun-set they anchored in twenty Fathom, four Leagues short of the *Bâb*, where they rid till next Morning.

THE twenty-seventh, shaping their Course West South-West, they met with a Current setting to the Northward. In the Morning they were thwart of *Abba del Kuria*, and before Night had Sight of *Cape Guardafui*, about seven Leagues distant. From Yesterday Noon, till this Night, they ran about twenty-eight Leagues West South-West: Their true Course West, a little Southerly. They stood in till Midnight, and hauled close of a Wind to the Southward.

THE twenty-eighth, by eight o'Clock, they were fair by the Shore, midway between the two Capes of *Guardafui* and *Felix*.

THE second of April, Mr. Pemberton came aboard, and told the General that he had been at *Sokotra*; and that the King had shewed him a Writing left there by Captain *John Saris* (who was General of three Ships) wherein an Account was given of the Time he left *England*, his Places of refreshing by the Way, his Arrival there, and proceeding thence to the *Red-Sea* to seek Trade. It was also mentioned, that he had perused a Writing left there by *Sir Henry*, with Reasons to dissuade him from going thither: Yet that having the Grand Signor's Pass, he hoped to meet with better Entertainment than *Sir Henry* had done. The General having heard this unexpected News, called a Council, who, without spending much Time in Debate, resolved to proceed as formerly they had determined: And indeed they had no other Way left; for they could not get back till the Westerly Wind came in, which would not be before the Middle of *May*: Whereupon the General left Captain *Nicholas Downton*, in the *Pepper-Corn*, to stay thereabouts, till the fifth of this Month, in order to observe the Port of *Aden*; whilst himself, with the *Trade's-Increase* and *Darling*, went to watch the two-fold Entrance of *Bâb al mondell*. They steered from thence with the Head of *Aden*, being about seven

Leagues off. About four they were thwart of *Aden*. This Evening Variation thirteen Degrees, forty Minutes: Latitude of *Aden* twelve Degrees, forty-seven Minutes.

FROM four o'Clock this Day, till the third in the Morning, they had little Wind; they steered along the Channel West by North, and West North-West. Towards the Heat of the Day, it began to blow, and they continued their Course as before. About Sun-set they anchored in twenty Fathom, four Leagues short of the *Bâb*, where they rid till next Morning.

THE fourth, about eight in the Morning, they set Sail, and, about ten, anchored within *Bâb al Mondel*, between *Arabia* and the Island, in eight Fathom Water. The Channel is half a League over. As soon as they had anchored, there came a Boat from Shore aboard the *Trade's-Increase*, wherein was a *Turk* and three or four *Arabian* Soldiers. This *Turk* was Chief of the Place, sent by the *Aga* of *Mokha* to guard it. He promised the General, that in case he thought fit to write a Letter thither, to send it away by a Foot-post, who should return in three Days, with an Answer: Hereupon he wrote a Letter to Captain *Saris*, to acquaint him with his Reasons for coming, and what he intended to do.

THE sixth, there came in a *Felba* of *Zeyla*, a Place without the *Bâb*, on the Coast of *Habashah*, bound for *Mokha*; her Loading was Mats. *Sir Henry* bought of her twelve Sheep, and so permitted them to depart. This Day they had much Rain.

THE seventh, before Day, there came in a Ship from *Basanor*, which the General caused to anchor by him. The same Morning *Richard Wickam*, one of Captain *Saris's* Merchants, brought Letters from him; the Purport whereof he forbore to set down in this Journal. He kept *Wickam* with him, for fear they of *Mokha* should detain him, on account of the General's stopping the *India* Ships; and returned an Answer by a *Turk* who came in his Company. The eighth, in the Afternoon, there arrived a Ship of *Diu* (bound for *Mokha*) the General sent off his Frigate to fetch her to an Anchor by him. She proved to be the same Ship he had detained the Year before in *Mokha* Road. This Day they rummaged these two Ships, and took out such Goods as were for their Purpose, which were brought aboard the *Trade's-Increase*. The ninth, came in a small Frigate of *Shabr*, laden with coarse *Ollibanum*, of which they bought Part, and paid for it to their Content in Ryals. They continued

\* Or *Felix*, called Mount *Felix*.

\* *Zela*, in *Purchas*. In *Purchas*, *Bâb al mondell*, afterwards *Bâb mandell*, and the *Bâb*.

\* In *Purchas*, *Shabr*. This is the same Place called by others, *Xacr*, and more commonly *Xabl*, after the Portuguese, dependant on *Kalben*, or *Kalbin*.

1612. rummaging the *India* Ships for more Goods. <sup>a</sup> The eleventh, the General detained a small Bark of *Sinde*. <sup>b</sup> The Mother's Ship, called the *Rhemu*, would soon be there.

1612.

Sir Henry Middleton.

Middleton.

*Note*, THAT ever since their Coming into the *Báb*, till the twelfth, the Wind kept still upon the South-East Quarter; but then changed to North-West. Last Year, on the same Day, the Wind sprung up at North-West, and continued so for three Days: This Course the Wind holds every Year. The rest of this Day, and all the next, was spent in mooring their own and the *Indian* Ships; which were ready to drive ashore, had not they laid out mooring for them, the Wind blowing hard.

Saris joins Sir Henry,

THE fourteenth, Captain *Saris* came into the Road, about eight in the Morning, and anchored, with his three Ships by Sir *Henry*. Having saluted each other with their Ordnance, Captain *Saris*, Captain *Tourson*, and Mr. *Cox* (their chief Merchant) came aboard the *Trade's-Increase*, where they spent all that Day together. Captain *Saris*, at parting, invited Sir *Henry* and others next Day to Dinner with him.

And got a Sbarer.

THE fifteenth, Sir *Henry* and the rest going aboard the *Clove*, the Captain shewed him the Grand Signor's Pass, and read it. They had a good deal of Talk upon this Occasion, *Saris* having promised himself much Trade at *Mokha*, if Sir *Henry* had not come, which my Experience (says the Author) found to the contrary. At last, by an Agreement in Writing, Captain *Saris* was to have one third Part of what should be taken, paying for the same as Sir *Henry* did, for the Service of his three Ships in the Action; and leaving the disposing of the Ships afterward to him who had suffered the Wrongs.

Several Ships more stopped.

THE sixteenth, two Ships coming-in, Sir *Henry* sent his Frigate, and brought them to Anchor. One was of *Kalikút*, laden with Rice, bound for *Mokha*; the other was of *Karapatan*, (near *Dabul*, and subject to the same Prince) laden with Pepper: Which Ship came from *Achen*, and was bound for *Aden*; but being chased by Captain *Downton* to Leeward of the Place, they proposed to go for *Mokha*.

THE eighteenth, came in a Ship of *Kananor*; she had been at *Achen*, and was bound for *Mokha*, laden, for the most Part, with Pepper. Next Day arrived two more from *Surát*; one called the *Hassani*, belonging to *Abdal Hassan*<sup>a</sup>, bound for *Jiddah*<sup>b</sup>; the other a small Ship of Sir *Henry's* old Friend *Khejah Nassan*, bound for *Mokha*. They were brought to anchor near the General, who ordered their Sails to be taken from their Yards, and kept some of the chief Men aboard himself: By them he understood, that the Great Mogol's

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Abdelasfan*. *Abdal Hassan* signifies, the Servant of *Hassan*; and the Ship took its Name from the Owner. <sup>b</sup> *Jeddah*, or *Jiddah*, the Port of *Mekka*: In *Purchas*, written *Zidda*. <sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Sabar*.

THE twentieth, there came in a Ship of *Diu*, laden with *Indian* Commodities, bound for *Mokha*, and presently after another of *Dabul*: She passed by, but the Pinnace fetched her back. Next Day, Sir *Henry* sent away Passengers out of the *Surát* Ships. About Noon, there arrived a small Vessel from *Kalikút*, bound for *Mokha*, which was stopped with the rest.

THE twenty-second, there came in a Frigate of *Shahr*<sup>c</sup>, bound from *Goa* for *Jiddah*, and laden with gross Olibanum. Presently after, they had Sight of a large Ship, which passed the great Channel, but was chased by the *Darling*, which caused her to anchor by the *Heffor*. She was of *Diu*, bound for *Swáken*, and laden with *Indian* Commodities.

AT length, on the twenty-third, the *Rhemu* <sup>The great</sup> of *Surát*, the Queen Mother's Ship, arrived; she <sup>Rhemu of</sup> was bound for *Jiddah*, and stopped with the rest. In this Vessel there were fifteen hundred Persons. In the Afternoon, Sir *Henry* delivered the Ships their Sails, and ordered them to be ready betimes next Morning, to sail with him for the Road of *Affab*.

THE twenty-fourth, they all set sail from the *Báb*, only the *Thomas* and *Darling* were left to ply up to the Streights. They arrived at *Crab* Island about five o'Clock, and came to Anchor in twelve Fathom Water, where they rode all Night, the Wind at South South-West. Next Morning, they stood in for the Road of *Affab*, and about one o'Clock cast Anchor in seven Fathom and an half.

THE twenty-seventh, they fetched a large Quantity of Indico out of the Ships of *Surát* and *Diu*. The *Clove* plying to and fro in the *Offing*, without perceiving where the Fleet was, Sir *Henry* caused a Gun to be shot off; which she answering with another, presently bore up for the Road.

## LATITUDES.

<i>Quiriba</i> Islands, about	—	—	11°	10' S.
<i>Sandy Bay</i> , in <i>Sakotra</i>	—	—	12	25 N.
<i>Tamarin</i> Town	—	—	12	30
—— Variation	—	—	19	18
<i>Zenan</i> , or <i>Sanaa</i> City	—	—	16	15
<i>Swally</i> Road	—	—	20	57
—— Variation	—	—	16	30
<i>Surát</i> Road	—	—	20	42
<i>Dabul</i> Road	—	—	17	42
—— Variation	—	—	16	30
<i>Aden</i> , in <i>Arabia</i>	—	—	12	47
—— Variation	—	—	13	40

## C H A P. XII.

*The Journal\* of Captain Nicholas Downton, Lieutenant-General, in the same Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton.*

## S E C T. I.

*Saldanna Road. Situation of the Coast. Cattle-Trade spoiled. Inhabitants, their Drefs. Wild Beasts and Fowl. Plenty of Fish. Journey round the Table. Nature of the Country. Useful Project. Leave Saldanna Bay. Meet the Union at Madagaskar. Captain Rowles and others betrayed. The Crew relieved by the General. St. Augustino's Bay described. Curious Trees. The Inhabitants.*

*Saldanna Road.*

THE twenty-second of July, 1610, at four in the Afternoon, they had Sight of the Table, and Point of Saldanna, bearing East, distant twelve Leagues; but by Reason of Calms and uncertain Winds, it was the twenty-fourth before they were moored in the Road. Here they found three Ships of Holland, one whereof was bound for Bantam, and in her *Peter But*, General of thirteen Sail; who having spent his Main-mast, and lost Company of his Fleet, put into the Road to refresh his sick Men: The other two had made Train-oil of Seals at Pengwin Island, and were bound home.

*Situation of the Coast.*

SALDANNA is a Bay about fourteen Leagues North North-East from the Cape of Good Hope, and North by West ten <sup>b</sup> Leagues from Cape Falso, which is Eastward of the former, both which may be seen from the same Bay: These two Capes are also divided by another great Bay. The Distance between these two Bays <sup>c</sup> is about three Leagues, the interjacent Country being low, marshy Ground, extended South and North, which on either Side is environed with Mountains. When you have brought the Northern Point of this Bay West North-West, North-West and by West, for a small Ship North-West, thwart the Ledge of Rocks (or Watering-place) near the Shore, and facing the Swamp between the high Mountains, called the *Table* and *Sugar-loaf*, you may safely ride in six, five, or four Fathom, according to the Draught of your Ship, in clean Ground, and good Anchor-hold. *Pengwin Island*, with its Ledge, will be three Leagues distant, bearing North North-West half

a West, and stretching to the North by West of you in the Road <sup>d</sup>. The main Land also, though it be thirteen Leagues distant, trendeth away to the [North] West by West; so that there is little above three Points open to let in the North-West Sea, which is [accompanied with] the greatest Storms.

SALDANNA was formerly a comfortable Re- *Cattle Trade* treat for the English, both outwards and home- *spoiled*. wards bound, yielding abundance of Sheep and b Beeves, which sold for Trifles; as an Ox for a Piece of an Iron Hoop of fourteen Inches long, and a Sheep in Proportion. But Captain Downton found Matters quite otherwise. Yet, for Want of understanding the Language of the Inhabitants, the Author could not tell what to impute this Alteration in the Trade to; whether it was destroyed by the Dutch, who, by their Liberality, (regarding only their present Occasions) spoiled all Places wherever they came; or whether the Cattle, so abundantly brought down heretofore, were not the Growth of the Country, but taken in War, (at which Time Iron might be in Esteem with them for pointing their Launces or Darts) and that these Wars ceasing, they no longer valued Iron, or had Opportunity to get Cattle. However that was, although the Natives came down every Day to their Tents in fair Weather, yet they could not, either by Bribes, or other Means, procure any thing more from them to relieve their sick Men, but four Cows, and seven Sheep. These Cows withal were so old and lean, that the Flesh was good for little: Neither would they take Iron for them, but insisted on having thin Pieces of Copper, six Inches square. For each of the Sheep they would have a Piece three Inches square cut out of a Kettle. Of this they made Rings, wearing six or eight together on their Arms; which being bright and smooth, were a great Ornament with them.

THESE People were the filthiest that the Au- *Inhabitants, thor* had ever seen or heard of, adding to the na- *their Drefs,* tural Uncleannefs of their Bodies, (occasioned by Sweat or otherwise) by anointing them with a filthy Substance, supposed by him to be the Juice

\* Purchas has inserted this Journal, or (as he says) certain Extracts thereof, in his *Pilgrims*, vol. 1. p. 274. it contains forty Pages, and has many Things more particular than Sir Henry's. He was Captain of the *Pepper-Corn*. We have given a Narrative of his before, see p. 250.

<sup>b</sup> Lying East of the Cape of Good Hope, the Distance ought to be greater not lesser.

<sup>c</sup> The Extracter has omitted something here; for the first of these two Bays must be Table Bay, not that of Saldanna. In effect, one is confounded with the other.

<sup>d</sup> This Situation of Pengwin, or Robbin Island, can agree only with Table Bay.

1610. of Herbs; which looked like Cow-dung, and was baked in the Wool of their Heads, resembling a Cake of green Herbs. For their Apparel, they cover their Privities with the Tail of a Cat, or some other small Beast, and wear a Cloak made of a Sheep-skin, which reaches down to the Middle of their Thighs; turning sometimes one Side, sometimes the other, outwards, according to the Weather. Their Sheep have no Wool, but Hair, and are party-coloured like Calves: Their Legs are longer, and their Bodies larger than the *English* Sheep, but not so fat.

And Ornaments.

THE principal Persons among them wear, about the Bight of their Arms, a thin flat Hoop of Ivory, very smooth, near sixteen Inches wide; and on their Wrists, six, eight, ten, or twelve bright Rings of Copper, all either fastned together, or wrought in one: Also Bracelets of blue Glafs, and Pearl shells, which are either made Presents, or exchanged with them by idle Sailors for Estridge Egg-shells, or Porcupine Quills, which the *Dutch* usually bought. They had another most strange and filthy Sort of Garniture; namely, the Guts of Cattle hung about their Necks, which made them stink like a Slaughter-house. In their Hand they carry a short Launce or Dart, with a small Iron Head, and a few Estridges Feathers, as a Fan to keep away the Flies. They use also Bows and Arrows, but when they came down to the *English*, they would leave them in some Hole or Bush by the Way. They are well made, and very nimble. They seem to remove their Habitations from Time to Time for the Convenience of Pasture for their Cattle: The best Place is in the Valley between the Mountains. The Tops of those far up in the Country were then covered with Snow, which the Hills near the Sea were free from, notwithstanding they are very high.

Wild Beasts and Fowl.

HERE they met with Snakes and Adders; also many Sorts of wild Beasts, as fallow Deer, Antilopes, Porcupines, Land Tortoises, and Baboons. The *Dutch* told them, there were Lions, but they saw none. They saw likewise abundance of wild Geese, Ducks, Pellicans, Passes, Flemings, Crows, (which have a white Band round their Necks) small green Birds, and several other unknown Sorts: Also Sea-Fowls, as Penguins, Gulls, and Pentados, which are spotted black and white: A grey Fowl, with black Wings, which the *Portuguese* call *Alcatrazes*; Shags or Cormorants in great Numbers, and another Kind of Fowl like Moor-hens.

Plenty of Fish.

HERE is great Variety of Fish. Those the Author had seen were first a small Sort of Whales, which were very numerous about the Island in fair Weather; and Seals infinite. With the Saine,

they took Fish like Mulletts\*, being as large as Trouts; Smelts, Thorn-backs, and Dogs; and on the Rocks, Limpets, and Mussels in abundance. In the fresh Water, the *Union's* Men caught, with their Saine, abundance of Mulletts, as they informed them. The Air is very wholesome, and the Water good, descending in small Streams from the Mountains.

ONE Morning, Captain Downton and the General, accompanied with thirteen Men, whereof four were small Shot, went to look out for a Place to cut Wood. Having gone about three Miles without finding any, (except small green Wood, which they in the *Pepper-Corn*, being in great Want, were forced to cut;) Sir Henry desirous to get some Refreshment for the weak, sick Men, determined to walk about the Table<sup>b</sup>, to see if they could meet with any Cattle to buy, not thinking it would have proved so long a Journey. They passed through a most uneven, stony, pathless, (and as it were) overgrown Wilderness; wherein often they were obliged to descend and ascend, through deep and hollow Water-courses, (made by the rapid Fall of Rains from Table-Hill) beset with Trees from Side to Side. After a while, they found a beaten Path, along which they passed for a while, and many Pens where Cattle had been kept: But as it led from their Ship, they were forced to leave it, and turn to the Right, where they had a most tiresome Journey for a Time, till they hit upon another Path, which led towards the Road along the Mountains; between which they marched for a while, still following the beaten Track, (as near as the Hills would let them) which was their best Guide. At length, they got into the Swamp, between the Southermost *Sugar-loaf*, and the Table. At the same Time they came in Sight of the Shore, along which they went, over the Sides of the Cliffs; which, at length, they forsook, going, by Estimation, East towards the Swamp, between the Northermost *Sugar-loaf* and Table. In the Morning (after they had rested themselves a little by a Fire) they set forward at a good Rate, and passing over the Swamp before Day-break, came to their Tents.

ON their Approach, they found all the Men, that could be spared, in Arms, divided into two Companies, one half under Mr. Thorton, the other under Mr. Pemberton, proposing, as soon as it was Light, to go seek the General. The Leaders were to take different Routs, and to meet again on the other Side of the Table. Sir Henry's seasonable Arrival having prevented their Journey, they all sat down, and refreshed themselves with what had been prepared for their Provision on the Road. In this March Sir Henry and his

\* In Purchas, Millets.

<sup>b</sup> Table Hill is near Table Bay; another Proof, that this was not Saldanna Bay.

1610. Company kept the *Table* on their Right-hand all a the Day, and the *Marsh* on their Left; which, near the Mountains, was much pestered with Rocks, that had fallen down from the Tops. It is moist Ground, and seems to be good Pasture for Cattle. They saw, scattered here and there, in divers Places, certain low Trees, somewhat broad topped; bearing a Fruit of the Size of a Pine-apple<sup>a</sup>, but the Husks not so hard and spungy. The Seed were devoured by the Birds, and the Husks remained. The Leaves were shaped like the Houseleek, but not so thick.

Useful Pro-  
ject.

BOTH Trees and Herbs were in Blossom every where, this having been their Spring. Captain *Downton* was very sorry that he came unprovided of all Sorts of Garden Seeds, which being sown there, might have afforded Relief to such Ships as for the future passed this Way. The Captain supposed, that although the Salvages should somewhat spoil his Labour, yet every Commander of a Vessel would covet to restore and improve the same. The Planting of Acorns also, he is of Opinion, would turn out much to the Benefit of Posterity, because Trees were not here so long growing, as in cold Climates. The Author was sensible some might reckon it idle in him to sow, where there was no Likelihood he should ever reap: But, for his Part, he deemed the Neglect of making such Provision, when in *England*, greater Idleness; wishing, that it had been in his Power to do something in every Place he touched at, that might be of real Advantage to those who came thither after him, to the End of Time.

Lowe Sal-  
danna Road.

HAVING taken in Water, and relieved their weak, sick Men, with what Refreshing they could get, which was principally Mussels, they prepared to set sail the ninth of *August*; but were hindered by contrary Winds till the thirteenth, at four in the Afternoon, when the Wind blew fair at South South-East<sup>c</sup>. And at six, in the Afternoon, the *Cape of Good Hope* bore South-East sixteen Leagues off. The sixteenth, in the Morning, it bore North-West by West twelve Leagues distant; and by four, in the Afternoon, they had brought Cape *Agullas*<sup>b</sup> North-East sixteen Leagues distant, their Course being South-East. The eighteenth, there was not much Wind; but they had an high Sea, flowering on the Top like a Breach in Shoal-water. The nineteenth, they had a very strong Gale.

THE sixth of *September*, at three o'Clock, 1610<sup>d</sup> they deseried the Island of *Madagaskar*, or *St. Lawrence*, in the Latitude of twenty-three Degrees, thirty-eight Minutes; and at six anchored in twelve Fathom Water in the Bay of *St. Augustin*. Where they found the *Union* of *London*, Vice-Admiral in the fourth Voyage<sup>e</sup>, whose People were distressed for Want of Victuals to carry them home. They gave the General the following Account of their Voyage: They unfortunately lost Company with their Admiral and Pinnace, between *Saldanna* and the *Cape of Good Hope*, and never heard of them after. They put into this Bay outward bound to seek them, and thence sailed to the Island of *Zanzibar*<sup>f</sup>, where the *Portuguese* made Shews of Favour and Trade; till enticing them to land with their Boats, they treacherously seized three of their Men. The rest seeing the Danger they were in, fled with their Boat to the Ship, which proceeded on her Voyage. Being hindered by contrary Winds from reaching any convenient Port, they were forced, for Want of Water, to return towards *Madagaskar*; proposing to make the Bay of *Antongil* on the East-South-East<sup>e</sup> Coast: But the Wind, or the Course, not suiting with their Determination, they put into *Gungomar*<sup>f</sup>, a good Harbour or Bay, on the North-West Corner of the Island.

HERE they were a while fed with fair Promises and kind Entertainment by the King: In-  
somuch, that at length the Cape-Merchant conceived so good an Opinion of his Sincerity, that, in Hope of Trade for *Ambergrease*, and other Commodities, he was tempted, at the King's Invitation, to land, and persuaded his Captain and other Merchants to accompany him. When he was brought into the King's Presence, he sent also for the Surgeon, Trumpet, and Drum: But they refusing to go to him, there sallied out of the Woods a great Number of People; who, with Darts, Arrows, and Lances, attempted to force the Boat. The Sailors having repulsed them, and put off from Shore, they pursued the Boat with armed Canoes out of the River; till, by Shot from the *Union*, they were forced to retire. A few Days after, they formed a Design to attack the Ship itself, which staid in Hope of hearing from their Captain and Merchants: Accordingly there issued out some hundred Canoes, advancing in Form of an half Moon. Those in the *Union*, not thinking it prudent to wait their

1610<sup>d</sup>  
Downton.  
Union at  
Madagaskar,

The Captain  
and others  
betrayed.

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, in Bigness and Proportion like a Pine-apple. fore, p. 350<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, *Zanzibar*.

<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Aguilbas*.

<sup>d</sup> Rather, East North-East.

<sup>e</sup> See be-

<sup>f</sup> *Jungomar*, in

*Purchas*; who, in the Margin, writes, or *Vingomar*. He elsewhere calls it, *Boamora*; and *Moris*, *Kongumorra*. See before, p. 348<sup>e</sup>, and Note <sup>d</sup>. We put *Gungomar* here, because it is so called afterwards; and the Name approaches nearer *Kongumorra*. The Maps mention the Bay of *Boamora*, or *Vabemaro*, on the North-East Side to the North of *Antongil*, and *Vingagura* (which seems to be *Purchas's* *Vincemar*) on the opposite Side, called also *Porto Rundo*.

1612. Coming, brought themselves under Sail, and departed on their Voyage.

*Downton.*  
Retained by  
the General.

It seemed, that they could not fetch *Sokatra*; or else the Master being unwilling to go either to the *Red-Sea*, or *Surât*, went to *Acbin*, and there dealt for some Commodities with the *Guzerats*; and from thence repaired to *Priaman*, to lade Pepper: Where the Merchants bargained to receive it at *Tekkoo*<sup>a</sup>, an Island three Leagues distant from *Priaman*, at fifteen, fourteen, and thirteen Ryals of Eight and an half the Bahar, every Bahar being three hundred and twelve [Pounds] there. This Ship, the General plentifully supplied with Victuals, making the longer Stay, on Purpose to relieve her. He also composed the Differences that were among them; for at his Arrival, they were much divided: *Samuel Bradshaw*, for his discreet and prudent Conduct in the Company's Business, having been much envied by the factious Master, and his Adherents: But the General left them, seemingly well reconciled, and good Friends.

*St. Augustin*  
Bay described.

IN this Bay they continued seventy Hours: It is, for the most Part, all deep Water, and uncertain: In divers Places there is no Ground (by Report) in two hundred Fathom. They found all the South Shore, in a Manner, from the Western Point, to the High-cliff Land, all rocky Flats, whose Ledges were dry at low Water. At the Eastern End of the Rocks, near the Cliff, they anchored in twelve Fathom; and might have rode nearer the Shore in seven. They entered the Bay with a strong Gale at South South-West: But when they drew near the Land, the Wind grew duller: However, it blew pretty fresh in the Day, during the Time they were there; but in the Night was usually calm. Yet, it must be noted, that it was then new Moon, which makes the foulest Weather in those Countries: So that the Captain could not say how it was at other Times. It seemed to be always very hot on Land, especially when the Sun is to the South of the Line.

*Curious*  
Trees.

IN this Place they met with Trees, full of a fat yellow Sap; to which Sap Fire being put, it would run blazing up, and catch the Leaves and Branches. The Timber of this Tree is soft: But there is another Sort, whose Wood is near as hard as *Lignum Vita*; the Colour is white, only it has a small brown Heart; whether any Kind of white Sanders, the Captain knew not. The Trees which they cut for Firing in the *Pepper-Corn*, were most common of any Sort there. The Branches hung with Cods of green Fruit (as big as a Bean Cod) called *Tamerin*<sup>b</sup>. It hath a very sour Taste; and by the Apothecaries, is held good against the

Scurvy. The Admiral's Men, who had more Leisure, gathered some as it was green, for their particular Uses. Here is also Plenty of an Herb, (as to its Form, scarce to be distinguished from the *Sempervivæ*) of which the Aloes, called *Albes Socatrinæ*, of all Sorts, is made: But the Author could not tell, whether the savage Inhabitants had either the Knowledge, or Use thereof.

THE Natives, for some Reason or other, forbore to come to them; so that they got no Kind of Cattle for Refreshing. Formerly, an Ox had been offered for a Ryal of Eight: But the *Union*, it was said, hurt this Trade: For, the Company being under no Government, when any was brought down, disorderly Fellows, not regarding the Measures taken by the Factor to keep down the Price, to serve their own Occasions, gave the Savages what they demanded; so that there were scarce any to be gotten for ten Shillings apiece. It seems, that in all Parts of this Island, Ships must stand upon their Guard, the People being treacherous: Yet, by Report, they are stout and valiant; and know how to draw up in Battle, as appeared by their Order at *Gungomar*, when they assaulted the *Union*. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, Lances, and small Darts, which they carry in Bundles.

## S E C T. II.

*Karribas Isles, or Rocks. Strong Current. Duas Hermanas Isles. Bay of Galanza. Tamarin Town. News of the Ascension. The General visits the King. The Government. Commodities. Abdal Kuria. Saboyna Rock. Mount Feluk, or Fœlix. Aden described. Its Situation.*

THE ninth of September, at four o' Clock, Afternoon, they set Sail out of the Bay of *St. Augustin*, leaving the *Union* behind them. The twenty-first, between ten and eleven Degrees South Latitude, the Wind being at East South-East, and the Current setting South-West, they were entangled with a Lee-shore, which they called the *Karribas*<sup>c</sup>. These are several small Islands; off which there lie many Ledges of Rocks, that are to be discovered only by the Sea breaking over them. They were six Days before they could get quit of them. This Coast lieth nearest North-Easterly, and South-Westerly; and the Wind all these six Days blew between the East North-East, and East South-East: So that against their Wills, they were still forced to Lee-ward; though by towing with their Boats, and otherwise, they endeavoured to get off. This Place, in the Captain's Judgment, might be about seventy Leagues Northward of *Mozambik*.

<sup>a</sup> By others written *Tekoo*. <sup>b</sup> *Tamerin*, in *Purchas*. *Quariba*, p. 361. <sup>c</sup> and in the Maps, *Quirimba*.

1612. By Night, for the most Part, they were nearest <sup>a</sup> confirmed what himself feared, that the Easterly 1612.  
 Dounton. these Dangers, which were always between them <sup>Dounton.</sup> *Monson* was already come, and, consequently, all their Hopes of getting to *Kambaya*, were frustrated for nine Months; of which however, they expected to be better informed at *Tamarin*, by the King.

Strong Current.

THE greatest Danger of all, is in the Current setting strongly on, and no Place to anchor in, it being deep Water close to the Rocks; and though somewhat near them you have Ground, yet it is so deep and foul, that there is no anchoring: Likewise on the Northern Part hereof, though by the Captain's Estimation, they were little more than two Leagues from Shore, yet they had no Ground in one hundred and fifty Fathom. These are sandy Islands; and (for the most Part) were full of Trees. Every Evening, after it grew dark, they could see the Fires on Shore, made by the Inhabitants: But they had no Inclination to lose so much Time as to go speak with them. After they had gotten clear of these Dangers, they, to their great Surprise, found themselves carried by the Current to the Northwards, as much more as the Ship went. For Instance, when they computed she went but fifteen Leagues, she ran thirty. The second of *October*, there fell much Rain.

THE ninth, they found the Current cease, unless it set to the Eastwards, which they could not discern. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, they perceived themselves to lose more and more by the Current.

Duas Hermanas Isles.

THE seventeenth, at Sun-rising, they descried two Islands, which for their Likeness, are called the *Duas Hermanas*\*, (or *Two Sisters*.) They lie in respect of each other, West by South, and East by North, and are distant from the West Point of *Sokotra*, about seven Leagues and an half. Steering North North-East with the West Point of *Sokotra*, three Leagues and an half off, they had twenty-three, twenty-four, and twenty-six Fathom. After they had got round the Western Point, the Wind shortened, so that they could not coast it: But by the Help of a Current, they were put off. The Admiral, and the *Darling*, anchored in twelve Fathom; while the *Pepper-Corn*, through Calms, and a Gale from Land, could not get into Shoal Water, till the ninth at Noon; at which Time, they anchored in twelve Fathom, near a Town, called *Gallanza*†. Toward the Cool of the Evening, Captain *Dounton* went with the Pinnace and Saine, to a low sandy Point, a League to the East (thwart the Admiral and *Darling*) to get Fish for refreshing their People; and got enough to serve the whole Fleet two Meals, and much longer if it would have kept. Here the General informed the Author, that the People with whom he spoke in the Morning, had

THE twentieth, being *Saturday*, they anchored at a Point near six Leagues short of *Tamarin*‡, and five Leagues from the Point of *Gallanza*. This they effected by Help of a Sea-turn, which continued long that Night: But not content to stay there till Day, and then consult what was best to be done, by Reason of an Eddy-Tide, which set by the Shore on the West Side, where they rode (which forced their Sterns to Windward) and a flattering Gale from Land, they weighed, and were forced off into the Current: So that the twenty-first, they were carried back thwart the Town of *Gallanza*; but at a great Distance from Shore, and in very deep Water.

THE twenty-second, the Admiral and *Darling*, got into Shoal Water; and about two o' Clock, the *Pepper-Corn*, which had like to have been put quite off the Island, anchored also in the Bay, Westward of *Gallanza*, in six Fathoms. The Captain presently went on Shore with his Pinnace, carrying Barriques, to seek fresh Water. He carried a Flag of Truce, to see if any of the Inhabitants would come to him, in Hopes to have procured some Goats, or other Refreshments. They wondered to see the People stand in Troops at a Distance: But it seems none durst approach them, for Fear of the King's Displeasure; who would not suffer his Subjects to have any thing to do with Strangers: But all Intelligences, as also Licences for fresh Victuals, and their Prices, must come from himself: Wherefore at Night, having filled thirteen Barriques with Water, they returned aboard.

THIS Night, being full Moon, it was high Water at nine o' Clock; when the Captain computed, that the Tide rose between ten and eleven Foot. All the Time of flowing, the Stream set to the Northward, that is close by the Shore: And with the Ebb, and a small Gale from Land, they set Sail, coasting it for four or five Miles, thwart the sandy Bay, where they fished; and finding the Current there to set off to the Westward, they anchored, to wait for the next Tide, or Wind.

THE twenty-fifth, as the Wind served, they set Sail; and about eleven o' Clock, anchored in eight Fathom, a Mile from Shore, right against *Tamarin*, where the King's House is, to the North of the Castle, on the Top of the Hill above the Town. At their anchoring, the General shot off five Pieces of Ordnance, the *Pepper-Corn* three,

In *Purchas*, *Ismanas*.

† In *Purchas*, *Gallanza*, afterwards, *Galanza*, *Gallanza*.

‡ In some Maps, *Tamarifor* and



1612. and the *Darling* one. The General sent Mr. a judged, was the only Reason he had to desire their 1612.  
*Downton.* *Femal* on Land, handsomely attended in the Pin- Absence. Next Day, they almost made an End *Downton.*  
 nace (which was furnished with a red Crimson Tilt) of taking-in Water out of a Pond, fed by Springs  
 with a Present for the King, consisting of a Silver descending from the Hills. The seventh, being  
 ten Ounce Cup, gilt; a Sword-blade, and three *Sunday*, their People went on Land to recreate  
 Yards of Stammel Broad-cloth. The King re- themselves.

ceived them by the Water Side, in an Orange This King of *Sokotra* is called, *Muley Amor* *The Govern-*  
 tawny-coloured Tent; where he sat attended by *ohn Sayd* <sup>a</sup>, being but Vice-Roy under his Father, *mem.*  
 the principal of his Countrymen, (the *Arabs*) who is King of *Fartak*, in *Arabia*, not far from  
 and a Guard of small Shot. They discoursed *Aden*, and comes into the Sea at *Camricam* <sup>b</sup>. He  
 together more than an Hour. He thankfully re- said, that his Father was at War with the *Turks*  
 ceived the General's Present, bad him welcome, of *Aden*, which he gave as a Reason, for deny-  
 and expressed a Desire to see him on Land; prom- ing them a Letter to the Governor of that City.  
 ising him Water free, and what else in Reason None but *Arabs* were employed about him for  
 the Island afforded, considering the Drought, it his Defence, or State: The old Inhabitants of  
 not having rained there for two Years before. the Island, who were originally banished People,  
 As for *Aloes*, there was not a Pound to be had, living in the most abject Slavery.

his own Frigate being gone to sell it in the *Red-* The chief Merchandize here, is *Aloes Soca* *Commodities*  
*Sea.* The *Ascension*, he said, came in here for *trina*: They make it about *August*, (of an Herb  
 the first Time, in *February*; and finding a *Guze-* like *Semper Viva*, which they have in *Spain*) but  
*New of the* *rat* Ship in the Road, eight Days after, departed c not passing one Ton a Year. There is also a small  
*Ascension.* with her towards the *Red-Sea*; that eight Days Quantity of *Sanguis Draconis*, or *Dragon's Blood*,  
 from thence, her Pinnace came in, and made no a little whereof the Factors bought at twelve  
 Stay, but followed her Admiral: That in *July*, Pence a Pound; and Dates, which serve them  
 both the *Ascension* and her Pinnace, returned from for Bread, which the King sells at five Ryals of  
 the *Red-Sea*; and having taken-in Water, soon Eight the hundred [Weight]. Bulls and Cows  
 after failed for *Kambaya*. Farther he said, that are sold at twelve Ryals of Eight apiece; Goats  
 his Frigate being at the Port of *Bazain*, near *Dam-* at one Ryal, Sheep and Hens at half a Ryal a-  
*mon*, in *India*, they were informed by the *Portu-* piece; all exceeding small, owing to the Bar-  
*guese*, that the said Ship and Pinnace, arriving on renness of the Island. The Price of Wood is  
 the Coast too soon, before the Winter and foul d twelve Pence for a Man's Load. All these are  
 Weather were past, were both cast away, but the dear Articles: What else the Island might pro-  
 Men saved. duce, the Author knew not; but the Whole  
 seemed to him, to consist of Rocks and Stones;  
 and the Land to be exceeding dry and bare.

The General sent a Present of twelve Goats to This Day, [the seventh of *October*] having *Abdal Ku-*  
*The General* the General; who next Day went well attended, finished their Business, they set Sail, directing <sup>na.</sup>  
*visits the* and with a Guard, to visit the King. The Ships their Course towards *Aden*, in the *Red-Sea*. They  
*King.* gave him, as before, five, three, and one, Pieces took Leave of the King with five Guns. Their  
 of Ordnance; and he was welcomed on Land Course, after they got clear of *Sokotra*, was by  
 with ten great Shot. The King received him in *Abba del Kuria* <sup>c</sup>, to Cape *Guardafui*, the East-  
 a courteous Manner, and entertained him and- ernoost Point of *Habash* <sup>d</sup>, which lies near West,  
 his Followers as well as the Place could afford: thirty-four Leagues distant from the Western  
 But he did not seem willing, that they should Point of *Sokotra*: For from this Point, to the  
 make any longer Stay there, refusing to let East End of *Abba del Kuria*, are fourteen Leagues.  
 them set up their Pinnace. His Excuse was, The Length of *Abba del Kuria*, a long narrow  
 that neither his own Ship, nor any other, (as ragged Island, may be from East to West, five  
 by) durst come into the Road, while they were Leagues; and, from the West End thereof, to  
 there. The Author was of Opinion, that their Cape *Guardafui*, are fifteen Leagues. The King  
 Stay here was very chargeable to his Majesty; in- of *Sokotra* hath some People and Goats on this  
 asmuch as to shew the Strength of his Town, he Island. Near three Leagues North from the Mid-  
 had drawn down the *Arabs*, and others, from d dle of it, are two great white Rocks, close to  
 all Parts of the Island, who, while they staid each other, about half a Mile in Length. The

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Mulli Amore Bensaide*.

<sup>b</sup> We cannot tell what to make of this Remark. *Purchas* who, probably, has omitted something in the Text, puts in the Margin, *King of Fartak*, or *Canacaym*; which does not in the least clear up the Obscurity; unless we suppose, that *Canacaym* is printed instead of *Carafim*, which is the same with *Kassim*, or rather *Kyssem*, to which *Fartak* now belongs.

<sup>c</sup> By some, called *Abba del Kuria*; by others, *Abdal Kuria*: Perhaps, it should be, *Abdal Kuria*, or *Abdal Kuri*, as Captain *Hamilton* writes it.

<sup>d</sup> In *Purchas*, *Abax*.

1612.

Dowston.

Sabayna  
Rock.

Rocks are white, not naturally, but made so by a short of *Aden*. They continued coasting the Land 1612.

THE thirty-first, at eleven o' Clock, they were thwart of the Western Point of *Sokotra*: At two, Afternoon, they left the white Rock, called *Sabayna*, (four Leagues North-West by West of that Point) to the North on their Star-board Side; and at three, they descried the two highest Mountains of *Abba del Kuria*, bearing West South-West, distant ten Leagues. The first of *November*, at Sun-rise, they were between *Abba del Kuria*, and the two Rocks. The former two Leagues and a half off, on their Larboard; the latter half a League distant on their Star-board. At Noon, they were in twelve Degrees seventeen Minutes North: The Variation, seventeen Degrees thirty-five Minutes. This Afternoon, they met with a Current, which set them to the Southward. At one, in the Afternoon, they descried Cape *Guardafui*; but it being Night before they came near it, they passed it, without any distinct View thereof.

Mount Pe-  
hik, or Pe-  
hix.

THE second, in the Morning, they were thwart of an high Mountain, nine Leagues Westward from the Cape: And, between that Point, and another high Point, five Leagues distant West by South, there is a low sandy Point, lying one League and a quarter off, into the Sea: And some three Leagues more Westerly, they anchored; and went on Land with all their Boats, to cut Wood. Here they met with some of the Inhabitants, who informed them, that the last Mount they passed, was called *Peluk*<sup>a</sup>, or by the Portuguese, *Felix*: But so soon as they found they were *Christians*, they fled from them.

THE third, they landed again, and cut more Wood; and after Noon, set Sail towards the *Red-Sea*. The fifth, at ten o' Clock, they descried the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, bearing North North-West, and North by East, some twelve Leagues distant. At Noon, the Captain found the Latitude thirteen Degrees twenty-eight Minutes. At Sun-set, they were twelve Leagues from Shore; all the Mountains within the Land, appeared high, very rough, and without Sign of Grass, Wood, or any other Verdure. They now directed their Course West by South, as the Coast lies, soon expecting to see the City of *Aden*. When the Captain first fell with the Land, he reckoned himself not above twenty-four Leagues short thereof, supposing the Ship's Way over the Gulf was North-West by North; whereas, by Reason of the Current, their Course was little other than North: So that at their Fall with the Land, they were little less than threescore Leagues

with a good Sail all Day, and a short Sail all Night, to avoid over-shooting that Port: They had, for most of the Way, twenty-five, twenty, fifteen, twelve, ten, and eight Fathoms.

WEDNESDAY, at Sun-setting, being very *Aden* <sup>near</sup> the Mountain, on a sudden they descried *Aden*, which is situate at the Foot of an unfruitful Mountain, a Place where the Author should scarce have looked for a Town<sup>b</sup>: But it is set there for Defence. It is very strong, and not easily to be taken, to Seaward, though it be in a Manner dry at low Water. There stands an high Rock, somewhat larger than the Tower of *London*, which is of difficult Ascent, being very steep. There is but one Way up, by narrow Steps; so that four Men might keep down a Multitude. This Rock is so walled, flanked, and furnished with Ordnance, that it seems to command both Town and Road: Yet one may ride out of its Reach, in nine Fathom Water, or within it, from nine Fathom downward. A little to the North of this Rock, is another, which is low, almost even with the Water, and of small Compass; whereon is a Fort well furnished with Ordnance. The Captain could not learn what Number of Soldiers there were in *Garilon*; but as Occasions are, they are drafted from the Inland Towns. It is supplied with Provision, partly from the adjacent flat Country, and partly from *Barbora*, a Place opposite on the *Habashin* Coast; from whence their Barks fetch Cattle, with much Fruit, and Provision, besides Myrrh, Incense, and other Goods.

ADEN stands in the Latitude of twelve Degrees thirty-five Minutes; the Variation twelve Degrees forty Minutes Westerly. The Tide, at Flood, rises by Estimation, between six and seven Foot, on the Day of the Moon's Change; and a South East by East, or North-West by West Moon, make a full Sea. The Mountain, at whose Foot the Town stands, is a Peninsula, shooting into the Sea. Toward the Land, there is first a narrow Neck of sandy Ground; and beyond that, a larger sandy Tract of marshy Ground, reaching as far as the Mountains, which may be sixteen or twenty Miles from the Town. At their first anchoring, the Governor, in the Dusk of the Evening, sent an *Arab* in a Canoe, to view the Ships, who refused to come aboard.

THURSDAY Morning, the same *Arab* came aboard the Admiral, from the *Amir*<sup>c</sup>, or Governor, to know what they were; saying, that if Friends, they should be welcome to land. Upon this, a Present was prepared, consisting of a

<sup>a</sup> Captain Hamilton says, the *Arabs* call it *Baba Fiteh*. *Eden* signifying, *A Place of Pleasure*.

<sup>b</sup> Yet *Aden* seems to be the same Word with *Eden*. <sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Mir*. *Mir* is a Contraction of *Amir*, much used by the *Portugals*; and *Amir* is the same with *Emir*, as we have it from the *French*. From this Word *Amir*, comes *Admiral*, first introduced in the Time of the *Levant* *Crusades*.

1612. *Musket*, after the *Turkish* Fashion, engraved; a *Dutch* and a *Sword-Blade*, which was carried by *John Williams*, and one *Mr. Walter*, Linguist, with other Factors to accompany them. The *Turks* not permitting them to go into the Town, entertained them without the Gate, near the Water-side; yet, with great Shew of Joy, pretending much Kindness to their Nation, with whom they said they had much Familiarity at *Stambol*<sup>a</sup>, *Aleppo*, and other Places. All this while they mentioned not one Word of Trade, but dropped Hints, that they daily expected the Coming of thirty thousand Soldiers. It seemed very strange to the *English*, that so barren a Country should yield Provision for so many People. Perceiving therefore, that these Suggestions proceeded from Fear, they were given to understand, that the General's sole Request to the Governor was, that for his Money he might have a Pilot, to carry his Ships to *Mokha*. Then he<sup>b</sup> told them, that he was only Deputy to the *Amir*, who was out of Town, but would be returned next Morning, whereof (he said) the General should be informed. He sent Sir *Henry* a Present of two *Barbora* Sheep, with broad Rumps, and small Tails; some Plantains, and other Fruits.

## S E C T. III.

*They leave Aden. Request of the Amir for a Ship to be left. The General consents. Pepper-Corn stays behind. Arts to amuse and trap the English. State of Aden. More Turkish Wiles. Their Views and Design. The Tricks of the Aga. The English deluded. The Captain's Weakness.*

*They sail from Aden.*

N E X T Day the General sent again betimes, to require a Pilot for *Mokha*: Then they were brought to the *Amir's* House, and still fed with fair Words; but the Governor himself was not yet returned. When the Deputy Governor heard that their Ships were under Sail, he sent to request the General to leave one Ship at least behind, for their Supply, demanding the Prices of divers Commodities. This Bait took (although he sent no Pilot) being heightened with the Mention of *Indico*, *Ollibanum*, *Myrrh*, and divers other Things, which they pretended they had to dispose of. Before the Messenger arrived to acquaint the General with this Request, the *English* Ships had turned the Point, and not being able to get back again, by reason of the Current, they anchored thwart of a Bay on the South Side of the Town<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Or, *Constantinople*.  
Antecedent to the Relative.  
Town.

<sup>b</sup> This Person, perhaps, was the *Arab* before-mentioned; for there is no other  
<sup>c</sup> Rather to the West of the Point, or Cape of *Aden*, out of Sight of the

THE General perceiving several People fishing in the Bay, and a great many Persons of Fashion on the Hill, went towards Shore in his Pinnace, to enquire of them, when the Current would change, that they might get about. The Deputy Governor appeared angry at this, pretending that his Coming was to discover their Strength; inasmuch that *John Williams* was apprehensive they would have detained him: But the *Amir*, who was lately come to Town, being present, seemed not so rigorous; but, dissembling the Matter, spoke mildly, and granted a Pilot for *Mokha*. At the same Time he desired, that one of the Ships might stay for their Supply, with Commodities; saying, that the Town, by former Governors ill Usage to Strangers, had lost its Trade, which he endeavoured to restore again; and proposed, by them to make a Beginning. He added, that in case all their Ships should depart without trading at his Town, he should be blamed by the *Bashá*, his Superior, who would impute it to his ill Usage of them.

As the *English* understood by others, that the first Part of his Words was true, they thought the latter Part true also; so that the General was willing to comply with his Request, provided safe Riding could be found for the Ships against the Easterly *Monsoon*, which is dangerous on this Coast: But he, who wished their Ruin instead of their Safety, made light of this Objection. *John Williams* was again sent early on Monday to the Governor for the Pilot, promised the Night before: But he was answered, that the Pilot's Wife would not let him go, unless they left four of the principal Men in the Ships in Pledge till his Return. This bred in them a great Dislike, as it shewed the Inconstancy of the *Turks*; yet the General, more strict to his Promise, determined to leave the *Pepper Corn*. But whereas before the Captain was allowed to have landed above one fourth Part of the Goods at a Time, now he was directed to carry none at all: For since they would not trust them with one of their rascally People, but on such disgraceful Terms, he thought fit not to trust the *Turks* with any of their Goods.

IN case therefore they should really want any of their Commodities, as they pretended, it was resolved, that they should buy and pay for them aboard; and in case their Merchants were shy of venturing, without Security, they should exchange Pledges upon a Par, for Number and Quality; and that if they did not like this, the Ship should immediately follow the Admiral to *Mokha*. The same Day, about

Noon.

1612. Noon, the General, with his own Ship and the *a* oned them in the Price in any thing, they were 1612  
*Downton, Darling*, departed. At setting out, they descried a very ready to do them Justice. This the Au- *Downton*  
 a Sail in the *Offing*, which they supposed to be a thor judged to have been done by the Governor's  
*Guzerat*, bound to *Mokha*: The General, in Directions; the better to deceive the *English*, and  
 hope to procure a Pilot, stood off with her a induce them to confide in their Flatteries and  
 while; till perceiving it to be a small Craft, he Lies, wherein they excel. When any Number of  
 gave over the Chace, and stood on his Course. Soldiers or others came into Town, they would

The Pepper-  
 Corn stays  
 behind.

TUESDAY, the *Pepper-Corn*, having laboured with long Warps to get up, both against Wind and Current (like Men striving to hasten their own Misfortunes) at length came athwart the b  
 Fishing-Bay. The *Amir* of *Aden* sent a Boat and a Messenger aboard, signifying his Desire to speak to the Merchants, to know whether they purposed to trade with the Town or not. Whereupon Mr *Fowler*, *John Williams*, and the Purser (for other Business) went on Land, where the Merchants declared to the *Amir* in what Manner they were to trade with them. The Governor not liking that Method, would by no means agree to deal upon such Terms: And as c  
 by this Precaution he saw his Designs frustrated, therefore, for Fear the Ship should depart, as soon as those three should return aboard, he thought best to detain them, by that means to procure something; although he pretended he stopped them for Anchorage, and other Duties, amounting to fifteen hundred Venetianos of Gold, at one Ryal and an half of Eight, each.

Art to amuse, and

BEFORE this Town of *Aden*, the Captain remained till the sixteenth of *December*, in continual Fear of Storms, which are very common there during this *Monson*. He had taken care to get the Goods in Readiness, that nothing might delay them, in case they should at length incline to trade. But this proved to be the least of their Design: However they daily made use of Artifices to amuse the *English*, who were in their Hands, and make them believe they intended to traffic with them: Sending Messenger after Messenger to the General at *Mokha*, for Licence to land the Goods; and pretending, that then the Merchants would repair to *Aden*, from all Parts of the neighbouring Country. This was said perhaps, because they suspected the Factors had sent him Word, that there were none in the Town able to buy the same. For the Captain's Part, he never could persuade himself to hope for Trade, or any honest Dealing amongst them.

Trapan the  
 Esculisti.

WHILE he lay there, he sent his Pinnace commonly every two or three Days to Land, with one or two Men, besides the *Cocks Gang*\*, to know how the Factors did. These were always courteously received: The Soldiers particularly frequented their Company, treating them with Drink; and if any *Jew* or *Bannian* over-reck- d  
 oned them in the Price growing near an End, *More Turk- 15th Miles*  
 he would have been glad, before his Departure, to have found them so foolish as to land some of their Goods. He would often commend Captain *Sharpey* (who was here in the *Ascension* sixteen Months before) for the Confidence he put in them: Saying, that he brought Goods on Land at once, without Mistrust; and that he took Delight to hear his Trumpets sound on the Walls; that his Men also came boldly on Land, like Merchants; and that since the *English*, who were then in the Road, did not the like, he doubted whether they were so or not. But Captain *Downton* took these for no other than insuaring Devices, nor could believe, but, that if those with *Sharpey* trusted much, they repented it afterwards; or else, being the first *Englishman* who entered that Port, they possibly might have let him go away without Injury: But that, since then they had taken up another Way of acting.

HIS Opinion was, that at his first Coming, *Their Pleas and Design*  
 they were in hopes to buy their Goods without Money; and that their Reason for desiring one Ship to stay was because they had a better Chance to work their Ends on one Ship, and those of *Mokha*, on two Ships, than on three: Both Pla-

\* Or, Cock's Gang.

1612. 1612.  
 Doughton. Doughton.  
 coss acting for the Benefit of the *Bastā*. They a  
 knew also, that the *English* were ignorant how  
 tempestuous, and unfit for Commerce this Win-  
 ter-time was; and that no Ships could stay there  
 long, without their Favour, if it was only for  
 want of fresh Water. They considered that  
 both Wind and Sea there are exceeding violent;  
 and that the Shore being low, there was nothing  
 to hinder the Force of the Suff and mounting  
 Billows: Whence they might, with good Reason,  
 expect that in little Time the Ship would be dri-  
 ven from her Station in nine Fathom, into five  
 Fathom near the Town, towards the Island, and  
 under Command of their Ordnance; from  
 whence, without their Leave, she could not have  
 put to Sea again. However, lest this should not  
 happen, he put on a Shew of Kindness, in hopes  
 by that means, at length, to draw a good many  
 of the Company ashore, either for Sake of Re-  
 creation, or to get Water: And that thus having  
 gotten a considerable Number of them in his  
 Power, he might force them to procure the rest  
 to bring in the Ship. But indeed he defeated his  
 own Scheme, by his too much Haste in stopping  
 the three Men at first, which made Captain  
*Doughton* suspicious and wary ever after  
 write again to the General, saying, that before  
 they had sent a Fool on their Message; but now  
 they should send a Man of their own, who, they  
 might be sure, would bring an Answer.  
 THIS Day, while the Captain made Shew, as  
 if he was preparing to be gone with the Ship,  
 aboard came a Letter from *John Fowler*, to im-  
 part to him this joyful News; urging him to  
 write a-new to the General, for Leave to land the  
 Goods. But the Captain says, he might have done  
 it himself, and would, if he had been any Likeli-  
 hood of Trade or fair Dealing. However, seeing  
 he had till *May* to go to *Mokha* (for so long the  
*Easterly Monsoon* lasts) and being desirous to hear  
 from the General, on *Monday* he dispatched a-  
 way *Mr. Caulker*, with a Letter (which he says  
 proved a future Grief to him) and for eight Days  
 after the Persons on Shore had nothing but Shews  
 of Kindness and good Quarter; thinking long  
 till the Messenger returned, that they might be-  
 gin their good Markets.  
 SATURDAY, the Boatswain informed the Cap-  
 tain, that he was in great Want of small  
 Cordage; desiring that he and others might go  
 ashore, while they had Leisure, to make some,  
 on the Strand, by the Town-Wall. Hereupon  
 The Cap-  
 tain's W<sup>ch</sup>ak-  
 ressi.

*Preſb. Triſh,* SATURDAY, the Captain wrote, for the firſt of the Amir. Time, to the General, by a Soldier of *Aden*, who having taken his Inſtructions from the Governor, brought back no Answer to him. He pretended, that the *Aga* of *Mokha* promiſed to deliver the Letter; but having had Occaſion to write to *Aden*, would not let him ſtay for the Answer.

**THURSDAY**, the Governor rode out of Town, and was absent till the first of *December*. Mean time the *English* in Prison were more hardly used. They had no manner of Favour shewed them; and even paid as much for fetching the Victuals, as the same cost. They were told that the *Amir* was gone, and that a new one was to come in his Stead. But on *Saturday*, about Midnight, he returned, and going to their Prison, spoke kindly to them, and caused good Provision to be made for them at his own Cost: Promising all Sorts of Kindness, so soon as they should begin to trade; and to give them their full Liberty without Payment of the fifteen hundred Venetianos formerly demanded. He farther told them, that the Custom should be no more than five in the hundred; that all other Charges should be reasonable; and ready Gold paid down for the Goods that were bought. He therefore desired them to

write again to the General, saying, that before 1612.  
they had sent a Fool on their Message; but now Downton.  
they should send a Man of their own, who, they  
might be sure, would bring an Answer.

THIS Day, while the Captain made Shew, as *The English*  
if he was preparing to be gone with the Ship, *decide it.*  
aboard came a Letter from *John Fowler*, to im-  
part to him this joyful News; urging him to  
write a-new to the General, for Leave to land the  
Goods. But the Captain says, he might have done  
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he had till *May* to go to *Mokka* (for so long the  
Easterly *Monsoon* lasts) and being desirous to hear  
from the General, on *Monday* he dispatched a-  
way *Mr. Caulker*, with a Letter (which he says  
proved a future Grief to him) and for eight Days  
after the Persons on Shore had nothing but Shews  
of Kindness and good Quarter; thinking long  
till the Messenger returned, that they might be-  
gin their good Markets.

*SATURDAY*, the Boatswain informed the Captain, that he was in great Want of small Cordage; desiring that he and others might go ashore, while they had Leisure, to make some, on the Strand, by the Town-Wall. Hereupon Captain *Downton* sent to entreat the Governor, that his People might do the Work under his Wall<sup>a</sup>. This Request was readily granted, and the Men allowed the most convenient Place they could find, with a House at Night to lay up their Tools till next Day. Mean Time the Governor set Smiths to make Shackles for the *English* Prisoners, and some of them were, by Signs, informed of it. But suspecting nothing then, they took it only as a Jest.

WEDNESDAY, in the Afternoon, the Men <sup>Twenty Men</sup> who went on Shore, were all betrayed, bound, <sup>betrayed.</sup> shackled, and pinioned, and some put into the Stocks. All were tortured and grievously abused, stript of their Money, and every thing else they had. The Pinnace was lost, and its Ging gone amongst the Rope-layers. Amongst those taken were two Merchants, a Purser, and one to attend on them; a gadding Apothecary; the Surgeon, and Mr. *Caulker*, the Boatswain, and one of his Mates; two Quarter-Masters; the Cooper, Carpenter, and Gunner's Mate: Besides the Cockswain, and five more of the Cock's Ging, in all, twenty Persons. Some few went for their Pleasure, the rest to work, excepting the Ging who were appointed to keep the Pinnace: But being out of the Captain's Sight, they did what

\* Methinks it was great Weakness in the Captain, to put these Men in the Governor's Power, after seeing how he had served three; and suspecting that his chief Aim was to draw as many of them as he could on Shore. Besides, the desiring to have the Work done near the City-Wall, was enough to alarm the Governor; there being nothing which the *Turks* are so jealous of, as inspecting their Fortifications. The Captain found also that the General's going towards Shore at the Cape, was taken ill, though at a great Distance from the Town.

1612. they lifted; and the Boatswain seemed to want their a  
Downton. Help about his Ropes.

MONDAY, the Captain set Sail out of the Southermost Road of *Aden*, directing his Course towards *Mokha* through the Streights of *Bab al mandel*, in the Entrance of the *Red-Sea*; which is distant from *Aden*, West by South, thirty-two Leagues.

#### SECT. IV.

*He leaves Aden. Arrives at Mokha. Is told of Sir Henry's Misfortune. Extent of Yaman. Governor of Mokha's Malice, and ensnaring Arts. Device to draw the General ashore. His Shews of Friendship. English seized and slain at Land. Turks killed aboard the Darling. Chambers ventures ashore. Pemberton's Escape.*

*He leaves Aden.*

THURSDAY, at four in the Morning, the Moon was eclipsed; and at one in the Afternoon, they passed the *Báb*, or Streight, being half a League over. There is in the midst ten Fathom Water, and towards each Side, eight, six, or four Fathom Depth, according as you approach it: The Length of the Channel is about two Miles, and through it there sets a good strong Tide, both Ebb and Flood. They had, on the Starboard Side, a Mountain and rocky Peninsula joined to the Coast [of *Arabia*] which is low Land by a narrow Neck of Sand; and on the Larboard Side, a low rocky Land, about five Leagues<sup>a</sup> long, from East to West. Between the West End thereof, and the *Habashin* Coast, for ought the Captain could discern, was a clear Channel, three, or near four, Leagues broad: But he thinks not much used by Ships, the Water being deep, and not fit for anchoring; besides the other is the nearer Way. When they had passed the *Báb*, in as much as they were ignorant of the Distance of *Mokha* from thence, or in what Mariner it was situated, they kept along the *Arab* Coast, in between nine and ten Fathoms; and at Night-Fall, anchored in eight Fathom, nine Leagues within the *Báb*, against a little Mount standing alone by the Seaside.

*Arrives at Mokha.*

FRIDAY, at six in the Morning, they set Sail, standing along North, and North by West, as their Depths directed them, in between nine and seven Fathoms; and, at last, between six and four Fathoms, when they came to have the Shoals without them. As they drew near *Mokha*, which stands eighteen Leagues within the *Báb*, on the Verge of a low, sandy, barren Ground, they

perceived their Admiral riding alone, about four Miles off at Sea, in six Fathom, with two [Anchors] Shot a-head, by reason of the Vehemence of the Weather. Their Pinnace lay manned along by the Ship's Side, with Mr. *Thornton*, the Master, in it, but durst not put off till the *Pepper-Corn* was thwart them, for fear they should not recover their own Ship again, by reason of the Wind and Current. Being somewhat near, they pulled down their Flag; whereby Captain *Downton* understood that some Misfortune had befallen the General. As soon as he had anchored, *Thornton*, with the Pinnace, came aboard; where, after giving Vent to his Grief, he gave the Captain an Account of all that had happened since they parted at *Aden*<sup>b</sup>. They had a quick Passage from *Aden* to *Mokha*, running all that Way in thirty Hours: But in entering the Road, the Ship ran aground, and stuck so fast, with her Bilge on the shoalest of the Banks, that notwithstanding the great Sea, by Force of the Wind, her Head and Stern being in deep Water, she did heave and set without any dangerous Striking. In lightening the Ship they were obliged to trust the *Turks*, who omitted nothing to prevent their Doubt of being welcome. Mr. *Laurence Femel* seemed most fearful, for he speedily carried all his Things to Land in a private Boat, leaving nothing of his own in the Ship that he regarded.

1616.  
Downton.

*Tid of when had happened.*

It must be observed, that this Part of *Arabia*, from Eastward of *Aden*, up the *Red-Sea* to *Kamran*, which is threescore and ten Leagues above *Bab al mandel* (but the Captain knows not how far within Land) is called the Land of *Yaman*<sup>c</sup>; and was then governed by one *Jaffar*<sup>d</sup> *Bashá*, who resided in the City of *Zenan*, which they reckon from *Mokha* fifteen Days moderate Journey: Captain *Downton* thinks they go and come by Post in that Time. The Governors of *Aden* and *Mokha* (which last is the better Place, as there is a greater Resort of Ships) are appointed by him annually. At that Time one *Rajib Aga*<sup>e</sup>, who had been his Slave, was Governor of *Mokha*, being removed from *Aden*, where he commanded the Year before, when Captain *Sharpey* was there; and because he was a beneficial Knave to his Master, he was preferred to a better Place.

*Extent of Yaman.*

At their first Arrival, he sent to acquaint his Master, and procure his Directions how to deal with them. Mean while he laid his Scheme, and prepared to put it in Execution. For this Purpose he drew into *Mokha*, out of the neighbouring Country and Islands, a sufficient Number of Soldiers; and to prejudice them against the Eng-

*Governor Mokha's Malice.*

<sup>a</sup> As he must mean the Island, it should be but five Miles. <sup>b</sup> This Part we have much contracted, to avoid Repetitions, and great Superfluities of Stile; only retaining such Things as either supply or illustrate Sir *Mary's* Account. <sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Yezman*.

among the *Turks*, is much the same as a Colonel with us.

<sup>d</sup> In the same Author, *Jeffer*.

<sup>e</sup> An *Aga*,

1612. *lish*, represented them as Pirates and *Christians* (whom they consider as great Enemies to their holy Prophet *Mohammed*) come to discover how to ruin the holy Houses of their God at *Mekka* and *Medina*; adding, that they should do singular Service to God, and their Country, in destroying them. To whet their Appetites the more, he assured them, that there were Riches enough aboard the Ships to make both them and their Country happy, provided they did but behave themselves valiantly when Occasion served.

And insinuating Arts.

MEAN while, the *English* mistrusting no Harm, hired a House, and fitted it up, preparing, against the Return of the *Bashâ's* Answer, for Sale of their Commodities. On the other Hand, the *Aga* flattered them with a Profusion of fair Promises and outward Shews of Favour; yet, at the same Time, often slyly insinuated his Surprise, that a Ship of so great Burthen should carry so small a Quantity of Merchandize; and was perpetually sending Boats for Goods, after the Ship was afloat, and even after Order was given, that no more should be landed, till farther Occasion. He was so greedy to get all into his Clutches, that the poor *Arab* Barque-men seemed afraid to return without Lading. But when he found there was no more to be had for that Time, he went another Way to work. He informed the Merchants, that it was customary for the Captains of all Ships, which came there to trade, to receive the Grand Signor's Vess for their better Security: Saying, that once they appeared thus clothed in Publick, no Man durst offer them the least Injury; and that therefore, unless the Captain came on Shore and accepted thereof, he should never think him the *Great Turk's* Friend, nor believe his Meaning was good; and, consequently, should scruple to let him trade, lest, being a Man of War, he should do Mischief in the Country by Means of that Indulgence.

Desire to share

THE Ship was moored in a Place, from whence in less than seven or eight Months there was no returning. Violent Storms were there very frequent, the Seas dangerous and untried, no Place of more Comfort known to them; nor any Man permitted to come near them, who either could or would inform them of the Dangers that were impending, or the contagious Weather that was to ensue. And thus they seemed to lie intirely at the Mercy of the *Turks*; excepting, that they wanted to have the General in their Power, which was what they next aimed at. Mr. *Femel* acquainted Sir *Henry* with what the *Aga* said; and farther gave him to understand, that the Company's Business would be quite at a Stand without his Presence on Shore. Hereupon the General, notwithstanding the little Reliance he had on the Faith of the *Turks* in foreign Places; and his Loathsomeness to run any Hazard of the Kind,

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a considering the whole Success of the Voyage depended upon his Safety, yet, since the Affairs of the Merchants seemed to require his Presence on Land, he resolved to go.

BUT before he went, Mr. *Femel* came aboard to informed him of what was necessary to be done preparatory to his landing: Yet at the Instant Sir *Henry Middleton* was about to enter the Boat, (whether he observed any suspicious Whispering amongst the *Turks*, or promoted the General's landing, only to stand betwixt him and Danger that might happen, or was seized with some sudden Apprehension of Fear, incidental to faint-hearted People) he would willingly have staid aboard; but being Cape-Merchant, and swaying the buying and selling, could not be spared, and so went with the General ashore.

SIR HENRY, at landing, was met by the Governor and principal Men of the Town; after which he was conducted to the Governor's House, where a rich Vest of Cloth of Gold being put on his Back, he mounted a Horse very richly furnished, the Governor holding the Bridle all the while.

THE Protestation and Shews of Friendship from the *Aga*, which followed this Ceremony, were enough to deceive any Man, who was not a Deceiver himself. Sir *Henry* finding Civilities from the Governor increase every Day, at length desired Leave to set up his Pinnace, which was readily granted; the *Aga* saying, that the Country was before him to do whatsoever he pleased in it. Hereupon the General caused all the necessary Materials to be brought to Land, with his Carpenters, Smiths, and others, to set about the Work; and that it might be the sooner dispatched, he staid on Shore himself taking up his Quarters in the House, with his Attendants and Furniture, which also caused many more to resort on Land, than otherwise would have done.

THE twenty-eighth of November, *Rejib Aga's* Plot growing to Ripeness, and receiving Strength from the Directions of his Master, *Jaffer Bashâ*, he sent the General Word in the Afternoon, that he had received such good News from the *Bashâ*, concerning their Business, that he could not forbear to let him know so much, although he reserved the Particulars till he had an Opportunity to communicate them. This seemed to be done to make Sir *Henry* more secure: But in the Evening, instead of good News from the *Bashâ*, he sent his Soldiers to set upon the *English* with Iron Maces. They knocked down the General, Mr. *Pemberton*, the Merchants, and all the rest who were at that Time on Shore, killing eight of them; who, suspecting no Danger amidst such Tokens of Kindness, were unarmed. They imprisoned the General, with forty-eight of his Company, and Mr. *Pemberton*, with nine of his; putting

1612. Downton.

The General ashore.

His Shew of Friendship.

English seized and slain.

F f f

1612. putting Fetters on their Necks, Hands, and Feet. <sup>a</sup> After that, they sent three great Boats full of Soldiers to surprise the *Darling*, which rode nearer the Town than the *Trade's-Increase*, by two or three Miles. The Crew, ignorant of what had happened at Land, and seeing a Boat coming aboard, imagined it to be their own: But presently descrying two more making towards them, and all full of People, they began to mistrust some Treachery.

Turks killed  
aboard the  
*Darling*.

THE *Turks* coming aboard, and seeing none of the Crew stirring, deemed themselves absolute Masters of her, murdering the Trumpeter, whom they found asleep above Deck. But, in the End, these Intruders were dispossessed, and with the Loss of only two Men more, twenty-seven of the *Turks* were slain and drowned, whereof the Admiral of the Town, who was their Leader, was one. Having cleared themselves of the Enemy, they cut their Cable, and, setting sail, anchored by the *Trade's-Increase*; whose Company knew nothing of what had happened to her till she came up. But her Information came luckily in Time to save one third more of the Admiral's Men, who were just then going on Shore in the Boat, some to fill Water, and others for Pleasure. The same Morning, those in the *Darling* found, on her Gallery, one of the *Turkish* Soldiers left behind, whom they carried Prisoner aboard the *Trade's-Increase*.

Chambers  
ventures a-  
board.

FROM this twenty-eighth of November, they heard no News from the General till the Middle of December, by Reason of the continual Storms: But the fifteenth, *John Chambers*, one of the *Trade's* Quarter-Masters, with a Flag of Truce, went on Shore, where he found Sir *Henry* and the rest in Chains, as aforesaid; so that one could not go aside to ease himself, but the rest in a Row must go with him: Yet he brought back Hopes of the Enlargement of all, excepting the General and Mr. *Femely* who were to be sent up to *Zenan* to the *Bashá*. The seventeenth, he went again on Shore, after the same Manner, carrying certain Provisions, and other Necessaries, for the Relief of the General, and the rest. He returned with Variety of News, but none good. Thus much the Captain learned from Mr. *Thorn-ton*.

THE twenty-first, in the Afternoon, the Captain sent a Letter by *Chambers* to acquaint the General with his Misfortunes at *Aden*. Sir *Henry*, in Return, gave him a brief Account of his own. He also advised him, by all Means, to get out of this Sea, and stay at *Aden*, till he had heard what became of them: He added, that he had sent the *Darling* to ply toward *Aden*, to give him Notice of his being betrayed, and prevent his coming to *Mokha*; and that he and six more

were to take their Journey, next Day, towards *Zenan*. <sup>1613. Downton.</sup>

THE twenty-second, the General set forth with his small Company, the Carpenters (who wrought still, though chained, upon their Pinnace for the *Bashá*) and the disabled Men remained behind in their Fetters. He was attended by a strong Guard of Soldiers, to prevent any from making their Escape: Yet, the same Evening, notwithstanding their Circumspection, Mr. *Pemberton* slipped aside among the Bushes; and making as much Haste as he could, being sick and weak, got, at length, to the Water-side. Here, by good Luck, he found a Canoa, with a Paddle in her, into which he got; and although he was much tired with running, yet he put off to Sea, chusing rather to trust himself to the Mercy of the Waters, than of the *Turks*. He became so fatigued, in the Morning, with Rowing, that he was obliged to give over, and had nothing to refresh himself, but his own Water: But luckily, soon after, those on board the *Trade's-Increase* having descried a Canoa in the *Offing*, which seemed to drive, it being reasonably fair Weather, she sent off her Pinnace, and, to their Surprise, found it to be Mr. *Pemberton*, whom they brought aboard, scarce able to speak through Faintness.

FROM this Day, to the twenty-seventh, the Weather continued, for the most Part, boisterous and stormy. The same Day, the *Darling* having been disabled, by the Loss of her Anchor and Cable, from executing the General's Orders before-mentioned, returned to *Mokha* Road.

## S E C T. V.

The Fleet sails towards the *Bábs*. Taken with bad Weather. Lose their Anchors. Return to *Mokha*. A Port discovered. *Afiab* Road. The Captain lands: Is kindly received. Letter from Sir *Henry*, to forbear Hostilities. Hopes of his Release. He returns to *Mokha*; and most of the Men are sent aboard.

THE second of January, it proving fair <sup>Sail to-wards the *Bábs*.</sup> Weather, the three Ships left *Mokha* Road, intending to ply towards *Báb al Mandel*: First, for Ease of their Ground-tackle, which, through long boisterous Weather, was much decayed; next, to seek a Watering-place, for Want whereof they were much distressed; and, thirdly, in order from thence to stop the Passage of all the *Indian* Ships entering this Sea, thereby to constrain the *Turks* to release the General, People, and Goods. They first stood over to the *Habashin* Coast; where, having left the *Darling*, to look for her Anchor and Cable formerly lost, the *Trade's-Increase* and *Pepper-Corn* plied up to Windward: But



613. But having scarce any [Wind] aboard, and the a Pieces of Ordnance, as a Sign of good News; 1613.  
 Downton. better [to avoid Danger] in the Evening anchor- and Mr. Pemberton instantly coming aboard, in- Downton.  
 ed on the Arab Side in eight Fathom, about formed the Captain, that he had found a very  
 three Leagues to the Windward of Mokba, and good Watering-place, and easy Road for their  
 four Miles from Shore. Ships; and that he had also recovered his Anchor  
 and Cable.

Taken with  
 bad Weather. THE third, in the Morning, they set sail,  
 with the Ebb working to Windward, the Wind  
 so increasing, that the *Pepper-Corn* spent her two  
 Top-sails; but before two new ones could be  
 brought to the Yard, Night approached. They  
 were then more than half Way over to the *Ha-* b  
*bashin* Coast, where the Captain designed to stop;  
 in order, next Morning, if the Weather proved  
 fair, to take the *Darling* with him. Between  
 eight and nine, at Night, getting into sixteen  
 Fathom, they anchored in fast Ground, as they  
 thought, the *Trade's-Increase* somewhat to the  
 Northward. As towards Morning the Wind in-  
 creased with a churlish Sea, and cloudy dark  
 Weather, they lost Sight of the *Trade's-Increase*;  
 which, in the Interim, broke an Anchor, and c  
 driving let fall another; which driving likewise  
 from sixteen to six Fathom, they were forced to  
 cut away<sup>a</sup> to flat the Ship's Head to the Offwards,  
 to prevent farther Danger.

I see their  
 Ankers. THE fourth of January, towards Day, they  
 of the *Pepper-Corn*, preparing to weigh their An-  
 chor, the Ship suddenly drove from sixteen to  
 eighteen Fathom; and before they could flat their  
 Ship's Head to the Offwards, had less than six  
 Fathom; which soon increased to eight, ten, &c. d  
 They then saw the *Trade's-Increase* standing over  
 towards Mokba, and William Pemberton in the  
*Darling*, riding in an easy Road. The Captain  
 would gladly have gone to her for Ease to his  
 Ground-tackle: However, not knowing but the  
*Trade's-Increase* might stand in Need of his Car-  
 penters, he bore up that Way; but the Weather  
 being rigorous, in hastening after her, he split both  
 his new Top-sails, which were sowed, it seems,  
 with rotten Twine, as all her Sails for the most  
 Part were.

Return to  
 Mokba. By this Means it became Night before he got  
 into the Road; where, presently being informed  
 of the *Trade's-Increase's* Misfortune, he sent his  
 Carpenters aboard to stock some other Anchors.  
 From the sixth to the eleventh, there every Day  
 came Canoes from the Town, bringing Letters  
 from the Carpenters, with Variety of News,  
 forged by the *Aga*, who permitted their sending,  
 the rather for that commonly it was to get Wine  
 or Beer, wherewith they treated the *Turks*; and  
 sometimes they sent a little fresh Victuals, ac-  
 cording as they had wherewithal to buy, or were  
 allowed to send aboard.

A Port dis-  
 covered. THE twelfth, the *Darling* returned into Mo-  
 kba Road, saluting the *Pepper-Corn* with three

THE eighteenth, in the Morning, there came  
 People from Mokba, who brought two Bullocks,  
 two Goats, some Hen's Eggs, and Fruit, but no  
 News from the General. At one, in the After-  
 noon, they set sail, standing over to the *Habashin*  
 Coast; and at Night anchored three Leagues short  
 of it under an Island, which they called *Crab*  
 Island, from the abundance of great Crabs there-  
 on.

THE nineteenth, they weighed again, and A safe Road  
 standing nearer into the Bay, anchored under a  
 lesser Island. Next Day, they stood farther in,  
 and anchored right against the Watering-place,  
 half a Mile from Shore, in eight Fathom Water.  
 The Captain sent George Jaffe before, in the Pin-  
 nace, to seek out the River, and see if he could  
 speak with any of the Inhabitants. He had no  
 sooner landed, but there appeared, at least, an  
 hundred of the Country People armed with  
 Lances. One of whom, coming up to the *Eng-*  
*lish*, not only talked with them, but also desired  
 to see the Ship. At his first coming aboard, he  
 informed Captain Downton, by his Interpreter,  
 that the *Turks* had sent Word to his Countrymen,  
 how they had betrayed and murdered several of  
 the *English*, and exhorted them to do the like to  
 as many as they could lay Hands on. This  
 young Man was the Son of a Person of Note,  
 and was very kind to the *English* all the Time  
 they were in the Bay: He lay this Night aboard  
 the *Trade's-Increase*, where he was entertained  
 much to his Satisfaction.

THE twenty-first, Captain Downton, with all The Captain  
 the Boats, and most of the Men, went on Shore, lands.  
 setting some to dig Wells, some to fetch Ballast,  
 others to fill Water out of a little Well, they  
 found ready made; and the rest, who were arm-  
 ed, to guard those at Work. Soon after, there  
 came the Priest, with the Father and Brethren  
 of the young Man, who presented the Captain  
 with a Goat: He, in Return, gave them four  
 Shirts belonging to the Company, which they  
 very kindly received; promising to bring some  
 Goats next Day to sell. The Captain, on Ac-  
 count of the Usage the General and his Men had  
 met with, having learned to trust none farther  
 than needs must, continued ashore all Night with  
 a strong Guard, to see that no Harm should be  
 done to the Water, and next Morning sent the  
 Men to Work as the Day before: But by Reason  
 of the boisterous Weather, none of the Natives

<sup>a</sup> Or, cut the Cable.

1613. came near them: He continued ashore this Night <sup>a</sup> Dounton. also with a strong Watch.

<sup>Kindly re-  
moved</sup> THE twenty-third, there came the same Men, who had been here the other Day; and after them followed some others, driving Goats to sell, as they had promised, which the Captain caused the Purser to buy. In the Evening they departed very well satisfied with the Entertainment he gave them; promising, every Day, to bring down more. This Day they made an End of Watering. From the twenty-fourth, to the twenty-sixth, they brought down, every Day, both Goats and Sheep, whereof they bought according to their Occasions.

<sup>Letter from  
Sir Henry,</sup> THE twenty-ninth, the Wind being at North North-West, the Captain set sail with the three Ships for the *Bâb*, with a Design to stop all the Indian Vessels that this Year should enter this Sea, thereby to force the *Turks* to deliver the General and the rest: But being abreast of *Crab* Island, it fell calm, the Tide setting right on the Island. The Captain resolving to make the best Use he could of this Time, so soon as they had anchored, went ashore; accompanied with Messrs. *Thornton* and *Pemberton*, and most of the Men, whom he appointed to cut Wood. This Afternoon they descried two *Jelba's* crossing over from *Mokha*; one whereof came directly aboard the *Trade's-Increase*, bringing the Captain a Letter from his General, dated the fifteenth of *January*, informing him of his safe Arrival at *Zenan*, with all his Company, excepting *Richard Phillips*, Mr. *Pemberton's* Youth, whom he left very sick at a Place called *Tayez*<sup>a</sup>; and desired to be informed, whether Mr. *Pemberton* had escaped aboard or not, for that he feared the *Arabs* (attending on their *Asses*) had murdered him, for Sake of the *Ass* he rode on. As to his Enlargement, he observed, that the fair Promises made him, on that Head, were only Delusions.

<sup>To forbear  
Mishissee.</sup>

THIS Letter being kept unsent till the seventeenth, farther mentioned, that Mr. *Fowler* and the rest of the *Pepper-Corn's* Company were safely arrived at *Zenan* from *Aden*; and that God<sup>b</sup> had raised him several Friends from the midst of his Enemies, and among the rest the *Kiabya*<sup>c</sup> himself, who is next in Degree to the *Bashâ*. Sir *Henry* likewise advised him not to stop the Indian Ships, because as yet the *Turks* had no just Cause of Complaint against him; and that might furnish them with a Handle, not only to use him and his Company ill, but to hurt the English Trade in the *Mediterranean*. He added, that the *Bey* had taken upon himself the Blame of *Rejib*

*Aga's* treacherous Dealing and Murder of the 1613. English, by saying all was done by his Order. Dounton. The Captain returned an Answer to this Letter by the same Messenger, acquainting him, among other Things, that Mr. *Pemberton* had got safe on board; and that they had found out a secure Road and Watering-place on the *Habashin* Coast, just opposite to *Mokha*, and about thirteen Leagues distant, where they had Refreshing pretty cheap.

<sup>Hopes of b  
Release.</sup> THE seventh of *February*, Mr. *Thornton*, in the *Trade's-Increase*, returned to the Road of *Affab*, bringing with him a Letter from the General, dated the twenty-fifth of *February*, wherein he desired Captain *Dounton* still to forbear taking Revenge on the *Turks*; informing him, that his Affairs were in a very hopeful Situation, and that five Days after, he and all his Company should sit out on their Return to *Mokha*. The Letter gave an Account also of the Death of *Richard Elmesmere*, of the *Trade's-Increase*, and *John Baker*, one of the Captain's Quarter-Masters.

THE first of *March*, he sent the Pinnace to the Town, with the Purser, and the said *Ali*<sup>d</sup>; who, in their Way, found a Place of better Water descending from the Mountains: But this lasted no longer than the Rains within Land. After buying a few Goats and Sheep, they returned; and, in the Evening, descried a Boat coming over from *Mokha*, which, next Day, came aboard the *Trade's-Increase*, bringing Captain *Dounton* a Letter from the General; wherein he acquainted him with his Journey, being delayed by the approaching Festival of the *Turks*; but that, to make amends, he should, by that Means, have the *Shâh Bandar* of *Mokha's* Company, which would make his Return more safe and pleasant. He likewise desired the Captain to forbear Revenge, and that the Carpenters might proceed no farther in Building the Pinnace; in regard, the *Bashâ* intended her for his own Use.

<sup>He returns to  
Mokha.</sup> THE fifth, Captain *Dounton* sent the *Darling* over to *Mokha*, to hear News from his General; who, the same Day, arrived with all his Company from *Zenan*. She found, in the Road, a great Ship of *Dabul*, called the *Mohammed*.

THE eleventh, the Captain fearing some Disaster might have befallen the *Darling*, by reason of her long Absence, set sail with the *Trade's-Increase* and *Pepper-Corn*, to go for *Mokha*: But before he had gotten so far as *Crab* Island, she came in Sight. Wherefore the Wind falling, he returned to *Affab*, and, for that the Wind shortned upon them, sent Mr. *Thornton*, in the Pinnace,

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Tyes*. <sup>b</sup> It was the God *Mammon*, according to Sir *Henry's* Account elsewhere: For which Paywar he paid, or was to have paid, a large Sum. See before, p. 370<sup>b</sup>, and <sup>c</sup>. <sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Raba*. <sup>d</sup> In *Purchas*, *Alle*: But no such Person is mentioned before; which shews something has been omitted, relating to him; doubtless, by the Collector.

1613. to inquire News. In the Evening, Messrs. *Pemberton* and *Thornton*, with twenty-two of the *Trade's-Increase's* Company, and fourteen of the *Pepper-Corn's*, betrayed at *Mokha* and *Aden*, came over the Point of the Island, bringing the Captain a Letter from the General; wherein he acquainted him with the Assurances given him of Enlargement, so soon as the *India* Ships of this Year were all arrived, and the Westerly Winds returned; that the said *Phillips* having been seduced by the *Turks*, with Threats, to turn *Mohammedan*, had been detained at *Tayez*; and that none of the Captain's Letters had been delivered to him. He farther desired Mr. *Downton's* Opinion, whether it was better for him to make his Escape aboard, if he could, or to remain at the *Turks* Devotion<sup>a</sup>. And required, that the next Ship, which he sent to *Mokha*, might be the *Pepper-Corn*. Pursuant to this Order, the Captain set sail with the *Pepper-Corn* for *Mokha*; but being near over it fell calm, and a Tide to Leeward, he was forced to anchor in twenty Fathom Water, on a Bank they found three Leagues from the Road. In the Evening there came a Canoe from Shore, to know what they were; taking her, in the hazy Weather, for an *Indian Ship*.

## S E C T. VI.

*The Captain crosses over to Mokha. The General's Letter to him. He returns to Assab. The General escapes aboard. Shifting Wind. Satisfaction obtained. The General comes to Assab. Sails toward Kamaran, in Quest of the Suez Ship, without Success. The Fleet leaves Assab.*

*The Captain crosses over to Mokha.*

THE nineteenth, in the Morning, the Wind at South, the Captain stood into the Road, where, as yet, there was only the great *Dabul Vessel*, abovementioned: But before he came to Anchor, the General sent his Man aboard, with a Letter, to acquaint him, that he should be obliged to send him away very suddenly, for that his Coming having terrified the *Dabullians*, the *Aga* was discontented at it. Hereupon *Downton* sent *Jesse* in the Pinnace ashore, with two Letters: One briefly setting forth their Wants aboard, as well as his Opinion of the *Turks*; alledging that they were so accustomed to Falshood, no Performance of Promises was to be expected from them; that they fed Sir *Henry* with fair Words only, to serve their Turns; and having the Goods on Land

regarded not the empty Ships. The other Letter was designed, if he thought fit, to shew the *Aga*; wherein the Captain made Shew of refusing to obey his Commands: Insisting, that so long as he was detained Prisoner, his Power extended not over them who were at Liberty; and that therefore they would not be restrained by his Orders from coming into the Road of *Mokha*, nor in any thing else further than they themselves thought convenient. To these Letters the General wrote the following Answer.

Captain DOWNTON,

YOUR over-much Care may work your own Harms, and do me and my Company no Good, therefore take nothing to Heart more than may be necessary; for I have had, and still have, my full Share of Vexation: And whereas you alledge, that you are loath to leave this Road without me, I am more loath to tarry behind, if there was any Remedy. I made a forced Agreement with the *Bashâ* at *Zenan*, that the Ships should absent themselves out of this Road, till all the *Indian Ships* were come in; and then at the first coming of the Westerly Winds, both I and all my Company should be set free. If they fail to perform with me, then I would have you shew your Endeavours. In the mean Time you must have Patience, as well as myself. I would be loath the Agreement should be first broken on our Side, without any Cause given by them. As for the Provision that should be sent in the *Jelba*, it was my Fault it was not sent, in that I did not urge it to the *Aga*. After your Departure To-morrow, as I desire you to see performed, I will go in hand with the Lading of the Goods in the *Jelbas*, which shall not be above three Days absent from you. I have promised the Ships shall not come into the Road till the Westerly Winds be come, which will be a Month hence at the farthest: In the mean Time you shall hear from me by *Jelbas*, or Boats, which I will send of Purpose. I doubt not but there will be good Performance made with me by the *Turks*, in that my Agreement was made with the *Bashâ*, and not with *Rejib Aga*. If I doubted any new Stratagem, I would have attempted to have escaped away before this Time. I have had, and still have, Means for my Escape, were it not to leave my People in Danger of their Lives: Doubt not, if they perform not with me, when the Westerly Winds come, but I shall have good Opportunity. I had laid a Plot to have escaped, if I could have persuaded Master *Femel*; but he will, by no Means, be drawn to any thing

<sup>a</sup> That is, till the Time for his Releasement was expired. This shews Sir *Henry* had no Inclination to stand to his Agreement from the first; for he had, at this Time, no Cause to doubt the Performance, whatever he might have had afterwards.

<sup>b</sup> This confirms the Remark made before, that he meditated an Escape from the first. But methinks it was not prudent, if justifiable, to run the Hazard of an Attempt, since he declares, just before, that he did not doubt the Performance of the *Turkish* Promises; unless it be supposed, notwithstanding what he says, that he was as timorous as Mr. *Femel*.

1613. *till he see whether the Turks will perform or not.*  
 Dounton *He makes no doubt but to be sent aboard with the first of the Westerly Winds, when you shall come to demand us. You may ride in your quiet Road-stead on the other Side, with all your Ships, till God send us that long wished for Westerly Wind, unless you get a Statch of Wind to carry one of your Ships to the Bâb, to see if all be well there, and so return back to you. I know that all Sorts of Provisions waste apace, in all the Ships, which, God sending me aboard, I hope quickly to renew.*

*He returns to Assab.*

THE twenty-seventh, Captain Dounton [having crossed over to *Assab*] according to the General's Request, sent the *Darling* to *Mokha*, for the Purpose aforesaid. The twenty-ninth and thirtieth, the *Badwis* <sup>a</sup> brought down both Goats and Sheep to sell: And on the first, second, and third of *April*, *Bullocks* also. Next Day the *Darling* returned from *Mokha*, but the Wind taking her short, she was forced to anchor to the North, or Leewards of the Road of *Assab*, till the sixth; when the Wind coming more large, she entered the Road, and anchored near the *Trade's-Increase*, to deliver the *Viſtuals*, and other Provisions, which had been so long detained by the *Turks*. She also brought the Captain a very kind Letter from the General.

THE seventh, the *Darling* plied up to an Island, where the *Pepper-Corn* rode (which because they killed most *Cranes* on it, they called *Crane Island*) <sup>d</sup> in order to be careened. From this Day to the twelfth, the Company landed the Goods and *Viſtuals*, and unrigged her; mean Time some belonging to the *Trade's-Increase* were gathering of *Breming*.

THE twenty-first, the King of *Rahayta* <sup>b</sup> sent Captain Dounton a Present, of a fine Cow and a Slave, by a Kinsman of his, who continued aboard all Night.

THE thirtieth, the *Trade's-Increase* was heilded and trimmed on both Sides, so far as conveniently might be; and they filled twenty-nine Tuns of Water, which was very clear.

THE fourth and fifth of *May*, they trimmed all their Boats, the Weather being reasonably fair, and the Wind at South South-East. The seventh and ninth, the *Badwis* brought down a large Number of Sheep and Goats; but for want of Cloth they bought very few, beside three *Bullocks*, which they gave Money for.

*The General's Escape.*

THE eleventh, the General made his Escape aboard the *Darling*, with fifteen more of his Company; and next Day sent the Pinnace with a Letter, giving the Captain an Account thereof;

and desiring him forthwith to repair over to *Mokha*, with the other two Ships. This Disfection <sup>1613.</sup> he immediately put in Execution: But before his Arrival, the General had struck such Terror among his Enemies, the *Turks*, that no Boat durst go from Shore, aboard any of the *Indian* Ships, or from the Ships to Shore, without asking his Leave, and making known their *Business*: So that now *Rajib Aga* began to change his Note, and reconcile himself with Sir Henry, by means of Presents, and the Intervention of *Nakhâda* <sup>c</sup> *Mohammed*, and others of the General's best Friends, for fear he should revenge the Injuries done him. He likewise, on this Occasion, caressed Mr. *Femel*; and before his going on board invited him to his House, where he eat and drank with him. At parting, the *Aga*, with a smiling Countenance, said, they might possibly meet again at *Stambol*. This had Reference to Mr. *Femel's* threatening formerly to make his Complaint there, which stuck in the *Aga's* Stomach. The same Night (being the twenty-sixth) repairing aboard, he seemed overjoyed: But three Days after, about two in the Morning, ended his Life, not without Suspicion of Poison, which was the Opinion of the Surgeons who opened him: Whereupon the General embargoed all the Ships.

THE first of *June*, in the Evening, they had *Strong Wind*. a very strong Gust of Wind, which was so hot it almost suffocated them, it also drove the Sand from Shore through the Air, in such Sort, that they could scarce look to Windward. The second, there came aboard the Admiral, *Ali Haskie* <sup>d</sup>. This Man was born of *Portuguese* Parents, and, being a Captain, turned his Religion. As he had been the General's *Trudgman* <sup>e</sup>, or Interpreter at *Zenan*, and so had some Acquaintance with him, he was sent to bring about a Peace. He informed the General, that Mr. *Pemberton's* Boy was already come to *Mokha*, and promised he should be brought aboard next Day. Along with him came *Takkasi* <sup>f</sup>, a *Bannian*, to know the General's Demand, which was an hundred thousand Ryals of Eight. The eighth, in the Morning, Sir Henry sent the *Darling* to *Beloule*, a Place on the *Habashin* Coast, ten Leagues to the Northward of *Assab*, to fetch Water, and buy some Goats for Relief of the Men, who began to fall sick of a fainty Disease; the best Remedy for which, they found, was letting Blood and purging. No Body escaped this Distemper, which went away in Boils and Scabs.

THE nineteenth, *Shermal Shâh Bandar*, of *Mokha*, accompanied by many chief Merchants of the Town, *Ali Haskie*, and *Takkasi*, came in State

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Badwees*. See before, p. 126 Note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Nobuda*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Henry Middleton calls him *Alle Haskins*.

<sup>e</sup> See before, p. 366. Note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> In *Purchas*, *Taccacee*: Afterwards *Taccacee* and *To:acee*. Sir Henry calls him *Tetorsfi*. See before p. 380 <sup>a</sup>.

1613.

Houston.

with divers Sorts of Musick, from the *Aga* to the General (aboard the *Trade's-Increase*) to agree about the Satisfaction demanded. At length it was concluded to restore all the Iron and Lead; and for the rest of the Goods (among which were included the Vests, and all other Presents given) eighteen thousand Ryals of Eight. This the General accepted of, because he found no more was to be gotten of them; and that the whole was to come out of the Pocket of the *Shâh Bandar* of the *Bannians*, who was their great Friend, having daily relieved the Men in their Distress, with Bread, and other Sustenance; all, even to their Dog, having had an Allowance from him: So that his Presence always administered Comfort to them. As they had not Money to pay so great a Sum, the General was desired to take out of the Ship of *Diu* so much Goods as he should think a sufficient Pledge: Which they engaged to redeem, by Degrees, as they could raise Money, within fourteen Days at farthest; and, in the Interim, the Ships were to be at Liberty to land and sell the rest of their Goods. The *Shâh Bandar* brought aboard with him, according to Promise, Mr. *Pemberton's* Boy, who was cloathed after the *English* Fashion.

The General  
Comes to Affab.

THE third of *July*, having provided the Ships with Rice, and other Grain (for the *English* Provision consumed apace) the General, with the three Ships and Pinnace, set Sail; standing over to the Bay of *Affab*, to get Refreshments to recover the weak and sick Men, where they arrived the fourth, at Noon. The five following Days, the *Badwis* brought down either Bullocks, Sheep, or Goats.

THE thirteenth, they made an End of Watering. The King of *Rahayta* sent the General three fat Bullocks, by *Abdallah*, his Sister's Son, whom Sir *Henry* very kindly entertained; returning the Present, by a Vest of Broadcloth: Likewise Thanks for all the Kindness received from his Subjects at this his Port. *Abdallah* then desired him to come with his Ships more towards the *Bâb*, where, he said, there was a good Harbour, as well as greater Plenty of Refreshments; and that being near *Rahayta*, the King might have a better Opportunity to demonstrate his Affection for the General. Sir *Henry* feasted him aboard the *Trade's-Increase*; and, in the Evening, caused a Banquet of Sweet-meats and Wine to be prepared on Shore, against their Landing; whereof having both eaten and drank, he took Leave.

Island Ka-  
maran.

THE twenty-fourth, they set Sail from *Affab*,

<sup>a</sup> Rather, the *Arabian* Coast.

<sup>b</sup> From the Omission of some Words, and Crudeness of the Language, it is difficult to make Sense of this Passage: We have therefore given it as we found it, only adding, between Hooks, the Words we judged to be wanting; a Method we shall religiously keep to, that we may not give our own Sentiments for those of our Authors.

tain, or Hill.

<sup>c</sup> Sure one of the Islands is wanting.

directing their Course towards *Kamaran*, an Island on the *Habashin*<sup>a</sup> Coast, some forty Leagues to the Northward of *Mokha*, in fifteen Degrees Latitude; where there is a Town and Fortrefs. To which Place the [*English*] thought the [Ship of *Suez*] was come (or at least not far off) in order to wait for Directions, by reason of their being so near<sup>b</sup>. It is seldom that any Vessels will attempt going to the Northwards, while the Westerly *Monsoon* lasteth, which, in the *Red-Sea*, bloweth, for the most Part, Northerly, till the last of *July*. They bore up all Day, and anchored at Night. In the Way they were pestered with a dangerous Shoal, to which they unawares came so near, that they had often enough to do to quit themselves of it, when they were in very shallow Water. They continued in this State, two Days, having no Pilot; and the Currents being uncertain, it was dangerous to ride in open Sea, in case the Weather (which was doubtful) should in the Night prove cross. The General, who had been often entreated to give over the Pursuit of the *Turkish* Ship, at length thought fit himself to abandon the Design, rather than hazard any farther his Fleet, in quest of what, after all, he had but a bare Chance of meeting with.

HEREUPON they bore up with the Island of *Islands Sukkor*<sup>c</sup>, which is big and high, having another great Island to the Southwards of it, being also high, called *Jabal Arri*. These two neighbouring Islands are environed with divers other smaller Islands to the Southwards; and in several Places, Ledges of funken Rocks, which are discerned only by the Sea breaking on them. This Range of Islands lying South and North, may be in Length about ten Leagues. They lie North North-West of *Mokha*, from whence, in clear Weather, they may be plainly seen, which very seldom happens: From the Western Part of *Jabal*<sup>d</sup> to *Beloula*, the Distance is about twelve Leagues; South-West by South, close to the said Islands. In the same Direction lie two funken Rocks, known by the Sea Breach. South by West of *Jabal Arri*, are two Islands and a Rock: Between which and the Coast of *Africa*, to the South-West, lie four other small flat Rocks, distant from the former about four Miles and a half. There is no Danger in going near them; for they sound deep Water close aboard the South-Westernmost of them, which is nearest the Coast of *Africa*.

THE sixth of *August*, at four in the Morning, The Fleet leaves Affab.

1613.

Down on.

1613. they set Sail from *Affab*, and before six at Night anchored in the Road of *Mokha*; where they saw the *Suez* Galleon, which they missed of, moored near the Town-Wall, and unladen. She got into *Mokha* five Days before: One Galley also was come in, and three more were hourly expected.

THE seventh, the General went in with the *Pepper-Corn* (for Dispatch of his Business) so near as the Ships could well ride; and also, if Need required, to command all the Ships in the Road, and, about ten o'Clock, their old Friend *Tak-kafi* and *Sabrage*, the *Sháh Bandar's* Man, came aboard with a Present from his Master *Shermal*. To these the General gave Notice of his Business, and sent them away.

### SECT. VII.

*Repass the Streights. Mount Fœlix. Come to Sokotra. Arrive near Swally, in India. Remarks on the Tides. The Portuguese lie in wait in the River of Surât. News from thence. They watch the Bar. English at Surât, mocked by their Admiral. Send for Provision. Remove Northward. Followed by the Portuguese. A Frigate taken.*

*Repass the Streights.*

THE tenth, about eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, they passed through the Eastern Channel of *Bâb al mandel*, which is not above a Mile and half over; finding in the midst nine or ten Fathom, and toward either Side, seven, six, and five, according as they edged in or off. The *Darling* and *Release* put out through the greater or South-Western Channel, which may be about four Leagues over, all seeming very clear of Danger. The *Release* went along the South-West Side of the Island of *Bâb al mandel*, in twelve Fathom.

THE eleventh, about Noon, the High-land of *Aden* bore North North-West, eleven Leagues distant, and [they were] by Estimation, East by South half a Degree, some thirty-six Leagues [from the Streights]<sup>a</sup>. From this Day forward, the Captain reckons the Days from Noon to Noon, in regard he rectified his Traverse by every Day's Observation of the Latitude. Thus from Noon the eleventh, to Noon the twelfth, he reckons upon the twelfth Day; only in his Discourses he reckons according to the true Day, or from Midnight to Midnight, &c.<sup>b</sup>

*Mount Fœlix.*

THE twenty-first, from Noon till six at Night, East, they sailed about four Leagues. Before Sun-rise they descried Mount *Fœlix*, bearing East by North eleven Leagues distant; by which they plainly discovered how the Current had deceived

<sup>a</sup> Thus only we think Sense can be made of this. much more by the Stopping: Which last we have endeavoured to rectify.

them. From *Tuesday* the twentieth, in the Afternoon, to *Monday*, the twenty-sixth, they could make no Way, although they were sometimes off the Land, at other Times had Sea-turns; and, between Calms, had often a pretty Gale, continuing four, six, or seven Hours together: Yet, by reason of the Current, they could never get a-head; but, on the contrary, were fallen to the Westward some four Leagues. All this while they remained under a steep, high, whitish Cliff. At length, on the twenty-sixth, at nine in the Morning, there blew a small Gale from Shore, which brought them off North North-East into the Sea.

THE twenty-seventh, they ran East North-East about fourteen Leagues. This Day, at four in the Afternoon, Mount *Fœlix* bore South by East some nine Leagues distant; being, as the Captain computed, sixteen Leagues Westward of Cape *Guarda fui*. This Night, as well when it was calm, as windy, they met with a potching Sea; which was a sure Sign, that they were near the Point of that Cape, and began to open the Southern Ocean. The twenty-ninth, they descried *Sokotra*.

IN this Traverse from *Aden* to *Sokotra*, there is no Certainty, by reason of the Current; for often when, by the Water, they seemed to gain, yet, by the Current, they lost, or were driven back.

HAVING taken in Water and Ballast, bought all the Aloes that were there to be had, and left Letters of Advice with the King, for such of their Nation as might come to trade in the *Red-Sea*, the fourth of *September*, at two in the Afternoon, they set Sail from the Road of *Delisha*; but the Wind presently growing calm, they did little Good all that Night. The twenty-third, at six in the Morning, being near the End of an Ebb, they stood away North and North-East, two Hours, some two Leagues, the Wind at South: Their Depths from ten to sixteen Fathom; and presently, as against a Wall, seven, six, and five Fathoms. About eight, they had Sight of the Trees, which stand both South and North *Swally*, bearing East by North, by a Meridian Compass, six Leagues distant. They ran in East North-East, and North-East by East with the Flood, still raising the Land to the Northward, till near two o'Clock. Their Depths were uncertain, sometimes more, and sometimes less. They shunned many suspicious Riplings, keeping between eight and fifteen Fathom.

THEY anchored in soft Ooze; and, by the Captain's Observation, it flowed East North-East, one quarter North, and West by South, one quarter South, by the Moon. At this Time the

<sup>b</sup> This Passage is obscure in the Wording; but  
<sup>c</sup> In *Purchas*, *Socotora*.

Flood

1613.  
Dounton.

Come to Sokotra.

Leave that  
Ind.

Arrive near  
Swally.

1611. Flood ran five Hours, and the Ebb seven; by <sup>a</sup> they often took Occasion to rob the *Indians* of several Goods, under Pretence, that they were carrying them to their Enemies; and therefore confiscated. <sup>1611.</sup>

<sup>Downton.</sup> reason the Winter Freshes (occasioned by the Abundance of Rain) not being yet fully ceased, overcame or shortened the Tides: But at other Times, though the Spring Tides run always strong, yet the Flood and Ebb are equally of six Hours each. In Winter, during the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, which is the Winter-Season there, the Captain is of Opinion, that neither Cables, Anchors, nor Ships Bows can be made strong enough to resist the Tides. The Coast here lies near North and South.

Remarks on the Tides.

The Portuguese in Wait,

THE General presently sent off his Pinnace to fetch a Boat which failed near them. It came from *Surât*, and was bound to *Goga*, laden with Rice. The Men informed him, that he had overshoot that Port, a great Way towards *Kambaya*; and must return seven or eight Leagues, if he would reach the Bar of *Surât*. This Boat the General kept with him, employing the Master for a Pilot.

THE twenty-fourth, there came another Boat aboard the Admiral, whose Master likewise was content to pilot them. The first informed the General, that fifteen *Portuguese* Frigats waited at the Bar of *Surât*, to obstruct their Commerce. Wherefore at two, Afternoon, being full Sea, they set Sail, with a small Wind at South; standing off West, into the deeper Channel, and falling down with the Ebb, while Day lasted: After which, they anchored in twenty-four Fathom, the Stream being exceeding violent. Here they rode till Morning the twenty-fifth, when the Ebb being spent, and they not able to weigh their Anchors till the Tide broke, they made but a small Tide's Work of it: Yet at seven in the Evening, they anchored within a League of the Road, Southward of the Bar, where they saw three Ships of *Surât*, at Anchor.

In the River of Surât.

THE twenty-sixth, in the Morning, they stood with the Tide of Flood, into the Road, where they anchored by the said three Ships; which were to have been laden to go for *Sumatra*: But partly by Reason of the Approach of the *English*, and partly, for that the *Portuguese* would come to no reasonable Composition with them for the Custom, and *Carta's*, (or *Passes*) their Voyage was given over. According to the Pilot's former Information, they here found eighteen Sail of Frigats, whereof sometime more, and sometime fewer, appeared in View. They were under the Command of Don *Francisco de Soto Major*, Captain Major of the Forces of *Damon* and *Chaul*; accompanied also with the Captain-Major, and Forces of *Diu*. These Gentlemen, for a long Time, so strictly watched the River, that none could get by them, or any other Way come near the *English*, without being searched, to see if they had either Letters, or Provisions for them. Hence

<sup>b</sup> A good while after, they got from him two Letters: One from Captain *Hawkins*, at *Agra*, the other from *William Finch*, at *Lahor*, who was returning homewards by Land. By these, the General understood, what little Hopes they conceived of the *English* doing any Good in this Country, where the People had no Regard to their Engagements. Some Time after, *Bangham* gave them Notice, that Captain *Sharpey*, *John Jourdayne*, and others, were every Day expected in *Surât*, from *Agra*, by Way of *Kambaya*, which pleased Sir *Henry*.

THE thirtieth, Captain *Downton*, by the General's Direction, with the *Pepper-Corn*, *Darling*, and *Release*, set Sail, endeavouring to find the Passage over the Bar into the River of *Surât*, but could not effect it; which was owing partly to the diligent Attendance of the *Portuguese*, to cut off the Boats, which founded before the Ships, if they went out of Reach of their Ordnance, and partly to the dangerously sudden Shoalings, that each Ship experienced.

THE first of *October*, the Ships set Sail back again, towards the Road, but the Wind shortening, and the Tide of Ebb growing also strong, they could not fetch it, but were put off four Miles Westwards; so that it was *Wednesday*, before they were favoured enough by the Wind and Tide, to get up with the Admiral. Hereupon, Sir *Henry* wrote to the *Portuguese* Captain-Major, requesting, that if he could not permit him to trade there, yet, that he would let him take in the Merchants, and other Countrymen of his, who were in the Country; and that then he would depart: But the Captain refused even this Favour, saying, he would carry them to *Goa*, and from thence they should be sent home.

It seems also, that *Jourdayne* had, by flattery-<sup>English at</sup> ing the *Popish* Priests, both at *Agra* and *Kambaya*, obtained some Recommendations to the Vice-Roy, with Hopes of being conveyed into *Portugal*. This he did, as knowing at that Time, no better Method for getting into his own Country: But Sir *Henry* could never believe, that any who continued firm to their Religion, or Interest of their Country, could ever be safe in the Hands of such People. About the Time that the General sent his Letter to Don *Francisco*, Captain *Sharpey*, by Means of some principal *Portuguese* in *Surât*, applied to him

1611. by Letter, or otherwise, for his *Segure*, (or safe a put the Ship, which drew least Water, headmost; 1611.  
Downton. Conduct) to go with others aboard the *English* Downton.  
Ships.

Marked by  
them.

THE Don, in Scoff, sent his *Segure* for their safe Passage aboard his Galliot; and farther to shew his Malice to, and Contempt of the *English* Nation, added, that if they would go along with him to *Goa*, he would use him and his Company with as much Favour, as he would *Turks*, *Moors*, or any other Nations who frequented those Seas. Now those other Nations, (a few *Persians* excepted) were *Jews*, *Bannians*, and [such like] *Gentiles*. However, his plain Dealing, (as vile as it was) in shewing them what they had to trust to, (not thinking they could have escaped his Hands) proved a Kindness in the Main, for otherwise it is likely, that some of them might have been persuaded, that their Usage should have been better than he promised them.

Sent for the  
Provision.

SIR Henry being very zealous for procuring the Liberty of his Countrymen, wrote to them to come by Land, and meet him at *Dabul*: But that Journey was thought too tedious; and by Reason of the Wars in *Dekan*<sup>a</sup>, dangerous. The Time thus lost, seemed very irksome, their Water, and other Provisions wasted; the People daily, for Want of proper Refreshments, fell sick: Nor did they know where, or how, to get any; they being so guarded by their Enemies, that none could come to them, neither could they go from their Ships. Captain *Sharpey* had indeed made Provision for them at *Surat*, but there was no Prospect that it could escape the *Portuguese*, who lay in continual Wait for it. However, as it was in vain to propose selling it again, it was ordered to be sent at all Ventures, since it was as good to run the Hazard of losing it, as to leave it behind.

They remain  
Northward

THE eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton, much disturbed in Mind at their present unlucky Situation, in order to employ the Time, went with the *Pepper-Corn*, the *Darling*, and *Release*, along the Coast Northward, to find out some Place where the Ships might safely ride so near the Shore, as to command the Landing, and frustrate the Attempts of the *Portuguese*, to take the Boats and People: But the Day being near spent, they stopped at the North Point, thwart the Bar. This Day, *Allonso Granfillio* died.

EARLY the twelfth, the *Portuguese* having taken the Boat, which was bringing the Provisions, the Captain-Major, by way of Sncer, sent Thanks to Captain *Sharpey*, for his Care in sending him such a Supply of Viſuals. This Morning, as soon as it was Flood, they set Sail from the Point. As the Stream was very swift, and they unacquainted with the Coast, they always

and followed, keeping a-breast between the *Pepper-Corn* and Shore. They all rowed in Order of Battle, with their Colours displayed, often shouting, as if they were upon some Attack. The Captain-Major also, in a small Frigate, went from Ship to Ship, encouraging his Men. At length, the *Darling's* Boat, being at a good Distance, sounding between the Ship and Land, on Account of a suspicious Ripling, two of their swiftest Frigates, (emboldened by the long Forbearance of the *English*) rowed forth to cut off her Retreat. The Master of the *Darling*, seeing his Boat and Men in such Danger, begun to shoot at them. One Frigate got clear a-head: But those aboard the second, finding the Shot fly so fast about them, ran her on Shore through Fear; and then abandoning her, fled away themselves through the deep Mud. The Armada came up to her Rescue, but not liking the Entertainment any more than their Scouts, shoved a-stern, and left that Frigate in Possession of the *English*; for whose Service she was very fit. They found in her a small Quantity of Indico, Cinnamon, Comin-Seed, Cotton-Yarn, Mirabolans, (dry for Medicine) and one small Ballet of *Candekins Mill*, very coarse Which Goods, being of small Value, the *Portuguese* had lately taken from a poor *Bannian*. On this Occasion, the Fleet anchored here in seven Fathom Water, abreast of the North Point, at the Mouth of the River of *Surat*, within Musket Shot of the Shore, at low Water.

A Frigate  
taken.

## S E C T. VIII.

*Bragging Cowards. Two Frigates chased: They run away. Portuguese on Shore; attack the English landing. Captain Sharpey arrives from Surat. Khojah Nassan comes down. The General puts to Sea, to blind the Portuguese. Message to the Admiral. Returns to Swally. A good Road found. Refit their Ships. A Market kept on Shore for the English. Portuguese make a new Attempt. Are defeated with Loss.*

THE thirteenth, in the Morning, they stood somewhat nearer Shore, and anchored in six Fathom. Presently, they descried several Men on Land; wherefore the General sent *Messieurs Jaffe*, and *Bragge*, ashore, with a Flag of Truce: But

Bragging  
Cowards.

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Dekanis*.  
common in those Times.

<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*, it is called, *The Army of the Portuguese*; a Mode of Expression,



1611. being *Portuguese*, they retired as soon as the *English* landed, flourishing their Swords, as if they had done some great Exploit. This Day, about nine in the Forenoon, the General sent the *Darling* into the main Road, where the *Trade's-Increase* was at Anchor. She presently returned, bringing with her one of the *Indian* Ship-boats, and seventeen of their Men, whom the General at Times dispatched with Letters to Captain *Sharpey*. Before they set out, the General rewarded them nobly, and promised to satisfy them farther at their Return. Five of them were this Evening sent away with Letters, who seemed very zealous in the Business. But, according to their Custom of lying and deceiving, they intended nothing less. This Day a great *Indian* Boat, passing pretty near them, the General detained her; and, for their present Supply, bought of her one Candy, and six Maunds of *Paddy*, (with which she was laden) and then dismissed her.

*Two Frigats chased,* THE sixteenth, two Frigats being perceived, riding a good Distance to the Northward, the General had a Desire to know who they were, and their Business there. The *Portuguese* seeing the Boats rowing towards them, set Sail, standing awhile along the Coast, and then to the Offing: But the *English* finding they lost Ground, gave over the Pursuit, and stood with the River, and Point of South *Swally*. Here they landed, determining to cast their Net, but the Depth of the Water not serving, the General intended to run up the River, in his Galliot to fish. At the same Instant, a strong Gale of Wind blowing from the Sea, the two Frigats, above-mentioned, came in, accompanied with two others, newly come from the Bar of *Surât*. Aboard one of them, was the Captain of the little Frigate-Prize, who lately hazarded his Life, by running away (so bravely) through the Mud; and proposed (as they were afterwards informed) to hazard it again, in order to recover her.

*They run away.* THE Wind was all in their Favour, and cross to the *English*; who, besides, had far to row to Windward over a broad Shoal, whereon, they always had between three and four Foot Water. But being gotten off to set Sail, and the *Release* not far behind to second them; the *Portuguese* likewise perceiving them, instead of flying, use all their Endeavours to come-up with them; and that their Musket Shot, which began to fall but little short of them, would presently reach them, their Resolution failed them; and tacking about, fled as fast as their Sails could carry them, only waisting some Base Shot in running away. The *English*, however, continued the Chace, being still in Hopes of gaining Ground of them, as they lost but little. But the Wind increasing, at such Time as the Rowers began to be tired; and the Sail being too small for their little Frigate, the Enemy got clean off.

a THE twentieth, in the Morning, the General sent *Thomas Glenham* in the Pinnace, on Shore, to attend the Coming of the Country People, either with Messages, or Provision to sell; in which Case he was to give Notice, by shooting off three Muskets together, that Sir *Henry* might land: Only one Man for a Centinel went on Shore, who no sooner came to the Top of a small Hill, near the Water Side, but he saw a Troop of *Portuguese* rush out of Ambush. Whereupon, he retired to the Pinnace, which rowed a little from Shore, and anchored. The *Portuguese* coming to the Water Side, discharged their Muskets at the Men; who, so well repayed their Shot, that they presently took to their Heels. Soon after, perceiving one of the Inhabitants on Horseback, and supposing he was deterred from advancing, by the Sight of the *Portuguese*, they made the Signal, which the General hearing, he presently went on Shore with the Frigate. But, contrary to their Expectation, the *Indian* was not coming to them. In the Evening, some of the poor Inhabitants brought certain Fruits to sell, which the General caused to be bought. And as the Men were returning to the Frigate, there came over to them three Deserters from the *Portuguese* Army; one of them was a *Dutchman*, born in *Lisbon*, called *Lorenzo de Campo*. The other two were *Portuguese*; the principal of them called *Francis Consalves*.

b THE twenty-first, in the Morning, the General going on Shore in the Frigate, received a Letter, brought by an *Indian*, from Captain *Sharpey*; acquainting him, that next Day he would come down with all his Goods, guarded by an hundred Horsemen. Here also a *Mallabar* Boy, called *Antonio*, who had been five or six Years Captive to a *Portuguese* Soldier in this Army, finding an Opportunity, deserted to the *English*.

c THE twenty-second, early, the General went on Shore in the Frigate, attended by the *Release*, to wait the Coming of Captain *Sharpey*. He landed thirty Men, armed with Muskets: He appointed one for Centinel, on the Top of the little Hill beforementioned; and ordered the rest to be near the Water Side, the better to prevent any sudden Attempt. All were enjoined to keep an Eye towards *Surât*. The Centinel, in a short Time, perceiving two *Bannians* coming from the Northwards, gave Notice. These *Indians* brought some Tobacco, and other trifling Things, to sell. Being come aboard, they informed the General, that the Night before, five *Englishmen* came from *Surât*, to a Village four Miles off; that this Morning they came from them; and, that in the Afternoon, they would be there themselves. Presently after this, there sallied out of a Valley, between two Hills, seven Troops of *Portuguese*, with their Colours displayed. The *English*, on Sight of them, put themselves in a Posture of Defence:

1611.

Downton.

fence: The *Portuguese* also made a Stand, as having no Stomach to come within Reach of their Shot, although there were near three hundred of them. However, the General ordered his Men to retire, and embark themselves: Which being done, the *Portuguese* then came in Pursuit; and with five or six Bales, (brought for the Purpose) and other small Arms, began to shoot at the Boats, which returned their Fire, without receiving any Harm. So that (as they were afterwards informed) the *Portuguese* went off with the worst.

Captain  
Sharpey  
arrives.

AFTER they had waited several Hours on Shore, without any of those coming who were expected, the General returned aboard the *Pepper-Corn*; determining this Afternoon, with the Ebb, to remove near the *Trade's-Increase*: But as they were setting Sail, a Company of Men were descried coming from the Northward. Hereupon, they cast Anchor again; and the General going on Shore, there presently arrived three of the *Ascension's* Company\*; who brought with them, Captain *Sharpey*, and *John Jordayne's* Cloaths and Provisions. On *Thursday*, Captain *Sharpey* himself arrived, guarded by an hundred Horsemen, armed with Bows, and Swords: With him came aboard *Jaddow* the Broker, a *Braman*, (or *Bannian* Priest) and another *Indian*, who was the Captain's Servant.

Khojah  
Nassan comes  
down.

THE twenty-fifth, Sir *Henry Middleton*, (accompanied with Captain *Sharpey*, and *Jordayne*) went on Shore, where *Khojah Nassan*, according to their Promise, came to meet him. The Frigate coming to the Water Side, the General was fetched ashore on a Pallankin, borne on four Mens Shoulders, and there kindly entertained by *Khojah Nassan*. A Carpet being spread, according to the Country Fashion, they sat thereon, to talk about Business. At length, it was in a Manner concluded, that the Ships should repair to *Goga*, a Place on the Western Side of the Gulf, nearer to *Kambaya*; and that they should have Pilots from Shore to carry them thither: But a sudden (and at this Time of the Year, unusual) Shower of Rain happening, they broke up their Conference, promising next Day to meet again, and come to a final Resolution.

The General  
puts to Sea.

THE twenty-sixth, *Khojah Nassan*, by one of the Boats, sent *Jaddow* with a Present of ten fine Baftas, and fifty Bushels of Wheat, to the General; besides two Pilots, for his safe Conduct to *Goga*. Going on Shore with the Pinnace, the Conference was renewed: But the Pilots having given their Opinion, that the Place proposed was not convenient, it was at last agreed, that the *English* should put to Sea, for the Space of six Days; in which Time it was presumed, that the *Portuguese*, supposing them to have left that Coast,

would also leave it: Of which, Notice being given to them, they were to return and dispatch their Business. Accordingly, the same Evening, they sailed to the Southward, to the *Trade's-Increase*; but the Wind shortening upon them, they anchored about a Mile Westward of the Road. This Morning *Thomas Lane* died. Next Morning, the General departed aboard the *Trade's-Increase*; and soon after, sent his Pinnace for Captain *Sharpey*, and Captain *Downton*, to confer about their present Business. He sent also Men to fetch away the Frigate, and *Portuguese* from the *Pepper-Corn*. After the Consult was over, Sir *Henry* sent a Letter to Don *Francisco de Soto*, Captain-Major of the Armada, wherein he took Notice of the many Discourtesies received from him: As, obstructing their Landing, and the Passage of their Letters, not suffering any Relief to come to their sick Men; seizing the Provision which was sent to them; and hindering their People on Shore from joining them; (but for which, he said, he should have left that Coast long before). He mentioned in the last Place, his Endeavours to cut off his Boats sounding a-head of his Ships; adding, that now he had done his Business, he would bestow on him the Frigate he took from him, if he would send for her. The General likewise released the *Indian* Ships, which, for the Convenience of conveying Letters between Captain *Sharpey* and him, he restrained from going into the River.

1611.  
Downton.

Message to  
the Porto-  
guese Ad-  
miral.

THE twenty-ninth, they left the Coast, and put out to Seawards, the *Portuguese* Frigate following them in their usual Manner. This Day, they met with a Boat, bound to *Kambaya*, laden with Cocoa Nuts, whereof the General bought seventeen thousand; which he distributed among the poor People. This Day, Mr. *Mulleneux* was put the second Time into the *Pepper-Corn*. The thirty-first, Sir *Henry Middleton* finding, that the *Portuguese* still followed them, determined to stand off no farther, but return to do their Business the best they could in Spite of them.

ACCORDINGLY, the first of *November*, they returned to the Northward; and *Saturday* Morning, anchored abreast of South *Swally*, where the General went on Shore; but heard no News from *Surat*. This Night, the *Portuguese* in the River, shot off several Guns, for Joy (as they told the *Indians*) of the News they had received, that two great Gallies, and twenty Frigates more, were coming to their Assistance; foolishly thinking, with their Lies, to terrify the *English*, who were now armed to withstand them.

Returns to  
Swally.

THE fifth, Sir *Henry* having sent *William Pemberton*, Master of the *Darling*, with his Ship the *Release*, and Frigate, again to seek a Road to the

\* Their Names were, *Thomas Musgrave*, *Bartholomew Davis*, and *William Morgan*.

Northwards,

1611. Northwards, he there found a Place with a Bar, over which not only their smaller Ships, but also the *Trade's-Increase* (being a little lightned) might safely go at high Water, and there ride within Caliever-shot of the Shore.

Downton.

THE sixth, in the Morning, with the first of the Flood, they all removed Northwards, and anchored thwart the new discovered Road. At high Water, the *Pepper-Corn*, *Darling*, and *Release*, went over the Bar; whereon the least Depth was three Fathom and a Foot; but at low Water, only three Foot. They rode within Caliever-shot of the Shore, as above-mentioned, in eight Fathom; and right a-head, or to the Northward of them, twelve *Portuguese* Frigats were at Anchor somewhat out of the Reach of their Ordnance. In the Afternoon, the General and Captain *Downton*, with a Guard of forty Shot, going on Shore to seek for fresh Water, found, in the salt Marshes, a Place of brackish Water; with which, till better could be gotten, they were forced to make Shift. Here the Inhabitants brought five or six Goats, a Sheep, with some Fruits, which were bought for the Relief of the fatigued and weak People.

Rest their  
26 p.

THE seventh, they filled some Water, bought some little Provision brought by the *Indians*, and hauled the *Release* aground, in order to stop her Leaks, being in a manner devoured with Worms. For their better Security, while this was doing, they erected a Tent, in which Captain *Downton* continued; keeping a Court of Guard and Centinels aboard, to prevent any Design of the *Portuguese*. The eighth, all the Carpenters used their best Endeavours to stop the Leak in the Pinnacle: Likewise *Nicholas Bangham* came from *Surât* with Provisions bought by the General's Orders; as Limes for the scorbutic People, Bread, Lamp-oil, and Candles, besides his own Provision. In the Evening, some of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages informed the General, that two Gallies and eight Frigats were arrived in the River. Upon this Advice, he altered his Determination, judging it more for their Security to bring all his Forces together. Wherefore in returning aboard his Ship, which rid in the *Offing*, he directed Captain *Downton* to guard the Bark on Shore, and as soon as the Tide served, to heave her afloat, either by his own Ship, or the *Darling*. This was performed about Midnight, and presently after crossing the Bar, they went and rode by the Admiral.

A Market on  
the Shore.

THE ninth, in the Morning, *Khojah Nassan* came from *Surât*, and promised the General,

a (who was then on Shore) that so soon as all the Ships were come into the Road, he would bring down Goods and trade with them, and that in the mean time a Market should be kept on the Strand, to furnish him with all necessary Provisions. He also informed the General, that the Frigats, which came last in to the River, were a *Kâfilah*<sup>a</sup>, or Fleet of *Portuguese* Merchantmen, bound to *Kambaya*. At his Departure, *Bangham* went up to *Surât* with him.

1611.

Downton.

b THE twelfth, being in the Road, a Market was kept upon the Strand, stocked with several Sorts of Provisions: As, Meal, Bread, Bullocks, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Butter, and Cheese, Sugar, and Sugar-Candy; Limes, Palms<sup>b</sup>, Water-Melons, Goards, Onions, Radishes, Pallingenes, Cucumbers; Milk; a kind of Peascod, which they call Paupery; and Gindus, a small Fruit, with a little round Stone in the Middle; it is of the Size of a small Crab, and in Taste between sweet and sour: Likewise Sugar-Canes and Tobacco; Salt-Fish dried, Prauns, and *Palmata* Wine, which they call *Taddy*<sup>c</sup>. All these were to be had at reasonable Rates.

THE twenty-first, the Captain's Centinel, on the Mount, saw, over the Top of a neighbouring Hill, the Heads of some of the *Portuguese*, who there lay in Ambush, to the Number of five hundred Men: He had no sooner given the Alarm, but the Enemy, finding themselves discovered, came running swiftly down with their Colours to cut off the Retreat of the *English* to their Boat. But having tasted a little of their great as well as small Shot, and beholding some of their Company tumbling in the Mud, they ran back with as much Haste as they advanced. Several of those, who fell down, came afterwards to themselves, and made a Shift to crawl away; only *Antonio de Sousa*<sup>d</sup>, a Gentleman of *Chaul*, having received a mortal Wound in the Head, lay still. The *English*, more compassionate than his Countrymen, went and carried him on board. But he died in two Hours after, and was buried on Shore. The General, in the *Offing*, hearing the Guns go off, hastened, with his Frigate full of People, to assist the Captain; yet they did not think fit to land to try their Fortunes any farther with them. But going on Shore afterwards, they found many of their Relicks; such as Shoes and Socks, which, in hurrying away, they left behind. They had eight killed and wounded in this Attempt, as the *English* were informed by the *Mekkadam*, or Constable of *Swally*.

Portuguese  
new Attempt.

Defeated  
with Loss.

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Caphala*. It is the *Arabic* Word for a Karawân, or Company of Travellers.  
<sup>b</sup> By Palms, we presume Cocoa Nuts must be understood.  
<sup>c</sup> Or *Toddy*, as others write it.  
<sup>d</sup> In *Purchas*, *Sousa*.

1611.

Downton.

## S E C T. IX.

*Mokrib Khân arrives. His Conduct on Board; and double Dealing. Beggarly Noblemen. Deceitful Merchants. Mokrib Khân and Nassan come down again. English land their Goods. Nassan's base Dealing. Is arrested by the General Released on giving Pledges. Portuguese appear and retreat. Letter from Captain Floris. Another from Captain Hawkins; who arrives with others. Great Fleet of Merchantmen.*

Mokrib  
Khân ar-  
rives.

THE twenty-fourth, in the Afternoon, *Mokrib Khân*<sup>a</sup> came down with one hundred Horse, and many more Foot, five Elephants, and several Camels, Carts, and Oxen, for carrying his Provision, wherein he shewed his Greatness. He had likewise divers Leopards in Carts for his Diversion in Hunting. There one saw erected, as it were, a Town of Tents. He was met by Sir Henry, at whose Landing was discharged a Volley of an hundred and threescore small Shot; and at the Instant of their Salutation, the Ships fired their Cannon in Order; the *Darling* three, the *Pepper-Corn* five, and the *Trade's-Increase* nine. After this, the General delivered him the King's Letter and Present to himself, which he received with great Appearance of Friendship: And, at the Invitation of Sir Henry, boldly went on board the *Trade's-Increase*, accompanied with sixteen *Mogols* and *Moor*s, such as he made Choice of; leaving *Khojah*<sup>b</sup> *Nassan*, *Khojah Arjan Ali*, and other Merchants on Shore. After being entertained, in the best Manner the Ship could afford, he continued there all Night, and Part of the next Day. Sir Henry often urged him to talk about Business, but he still put it off till another Time. All his Thoughts seemed to be taken up with looking out Toys and Nicknacks, that might please the Fancy of the great King his Master: Nor did it appear, that he had any Regard to their buying or selling Goods, farther than served his own Turn.

His Conduct  
on board,

HAVING satisfied his Curiosity in that Ship, he desired, in like Manner, to see the rest, where he and his Followers acted the same Part over again. He bought all the Chests of Sword-blades, of which he seemed to be so greedy, that he would not trust them to be sent after him, but had them all sent ashore before him. A few Days after, having selected out all the crooked ones, and such others as he liked, he sent back the rest in a slighty Manner; as their Way is, if they happen to dislike a Thing after they have

<sup>a</sup> bought it. The Business, they came on board about, being ended, they hastned ashore, accompanied by the General, the Author, Captain Sharpey, and John Jourdayne. After landing, he carried them to his Tent, where, being seated upon Carpets, with many of his Friends, Sir Henry renewed his Discourse concerning Trade; which he again put off till next Day. When they saw there was nothing to be done, it growing duskish, they took Leave, and returned aboard, where they spent the Night in consulting what Course was proper to be taken.

1611.  
Downton.

THE twenty-sixth, Sir Henry Middleton hastned early ashore, thinking to do much Business; but on landing, he was informed, that *Mokrib Khân* was gone. Yet the better to pacify him, they told him he was gone to bring about a good Understanding between the Portuguese and the English. This the General well knew was not so, but rather suspected, that his Reason for going to the Portuguese was, because, having already gotten in Presents all he could from them, he would next see what the Portuguese would give him to do the English ill Offices. *Khojah Nassan* indeed staid there still, pretending it was on Purpose to buy their Commodities, whereof the General set down the particular Prices: But the Day being far spent, all Discourse upon the Matter was postponed till the Day following.

And double  
Dealing.

THE twenty-seventh, in the Morning, *Mokrib Khân* sent one of his chief Gentlemen, and his Broker, with a Letter to the General: The Purport of which, was only to beg his perfumed Jerkin, and Spaniel Dog, which was denied him the Day before, when he begged his Beaver-Hat also. He likewise desired, that their Workmen and Smith might make him the Model of a Chain-pump. This Morning Captain Sharpey and Mr. Jourdayne went ashore to confer with *Khojah Nassan* about the Prices of their Commodities. The twenty-eighth, *Khojah Nassan* went back to *Surât*, carrying with him the General's Jerkin and Dog, which *Mokrib Khân* had formerly begged: But that they should have the less Reason to doubt, he left behind him *Khojah Jellardin*<sup>c</sup>, his Son-in-law, to stay, as he pretended, to take Care of their Business till his Return. Instead of this, next Day, *Jellardin* struck his Tent and departed, to their no small Vexation. Induced, however, by their Promises, *Bartholomew Davis*, one of the Carpenters, was sent to *Surât* to provide Planks and Boards for refitting the *Release*; but he met with nothing but Delusions, or Delays: For when he had found out Timber, there was no-body to sell, or else to

<sup>a</sup> He is called *Macrib Can*, in *Purchas*; afterwards, *Macrib Chan*, and *Mokrib Chan*.

It is written, *Hosa* in the first Name, and *Cora* in the second. That the Author should differ in his Spelling, is somewhat strange, since they are the same Word.

<sup>b</sup> In *Purchas*,

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps, *Jalal addin*.

1611. saw it. Thus he lost his Labour, and what was a worse, feared he should not have Liberty to return.

*Dounton.* *Decentful Merchants.* THE same Day also, Messrs. *Jourdayne, Fraine,* and others went to the Village hard by to view some Packs of *Indian Cloth*, which *Khojah Nassan* had brought down to barter with them. They returning with Samples<sup>a</sup> and the Prices of every Sort, *per Gorge*, the General set down the Rates he would give for those he liked, requiring them to do the same by his Commodities: But they valued their own very high, and offered but little for the *English*; imagining they would be forced to sell them for what they could get.

THE first of *December*, finding that *Sir Henry* would neither give them their Demand, nor sell at their Rates, either to shew their Indifference, or try his Temper, immediately sent for their Samples of Cloth, and carried back to *Surât* all the Packs they had formerly brought down to *Damla*, a Village three Miles off. The poor Inhabitants also were restrained from bringing Provisions to sell, as they were allowed before.

*Mokrib Khân and Nassan.* THE sixth, the General was informed that *Mokrib Khân* and *Khojah Nassan* were coming down; and in the Evening they saw Tents pitched about a Mile within Land to the Eastward of the Road. Next Day, *Jaddow* and *Narran*, Brokers, came down, certifying the General, that *Mokrib Khân* and *Khojah Nassan* were now at the Tents, and To-morrow would be with him. Next Morning, they translated King *James's* Letter, and then departed: But their extraordinary Sadness, as Men sent by Constraint, gave the *English* no Hopes of Good intended them. The rather, for that they had sometime before kept as Prisoner, their Carpenter, and forbid any to bring them Provisions, under Penalty of having their Noses cut off. Which shewed they designed to force them away by Famine.

*Com' down again.* THE eighth, *Mokrib Khân* and *Khojah Nassan* came down with a great Train to the Waterside, and to remove Suspicion of their evil Dealing, brought forty or fifty Packs of Calicos, which they increased to the Number of an hundred and eight. The Merchants had a great Desire for the Quick-silver and Vermilion, and *Mokrib Khân* for the Velvet, although they seemed very indifferent about them: Yet finding those Things could not be had separately from the other Commodities, they condescended to take the Lead also; deferring to deal for the rest of the Goods till some other Time: Neither would they part with their Merchandize, unless they were fifty *per Cent.* Gainers at their own Doors; and at the same time would allow the *English* for theirs, brought so far, only such poor Rates as

would pay but a small Part of the Freight thither.

THE ninth, in the Morning, *Sir Henry* went on Shore, and the *Indians* declaring they would stand to their Bargain, the *Trade's-Increase* began to land her Lead. But a little before Noon, *Mokrib Khân* received a Letter from the Great Mogol, which at once struck such a Damp upon his Spirits, that scarce a Word could be gotten from him; and immediately after Dinner he departed, but *Khojah Nassan* and others continued, as they pretended, to finish the Business. This Night, the General being still suspicious of their inconstant Dealing, and considering what intolerable Discontent must needs arise among his People, if, after the great Fatigue, they endured in landing the Lead, they should be forced, by the *Indians* departing from their Bargain, to carry it on board again, sent some of the Factors with the Brokers to *Khojah Nassan* to intimate the same; desiring, before farther Trouble was given, to know his full Resolution: He returned for Answer, that the General need not, in the least, doubt but they would keep strictly to their Engagement, and take it. Hereupon the greatest Expedition was used for landing thereof. This Evening, *William Johnson*, Sailor, in the *Darling*, and *John Coverdale*, Trumpeter, of the Admiral, ran away to the *Portuguese* Armada, and *John Pattison* to *Surât*.

THE tenth, the Governor of *Surât*, and *Khojah Arsan Ali*, came to see the Ships. While they were aboard the Admiral, (after seeing the *Pepper Corn*) *John Jourdayne* came in Haste from Shore to inform the General, that *Khojah Nassan* having received the Velvet, and some other Things, which he coveted most, began to wrangle with them, and had not only made them give over weighing the Lead, but had also sent for his Oxen to draw away the Carts with the Packs of *Indian Cloths*. The General was so provoked at this Usage, that to oblige them to perform the Bargain, he arrested both the Governor and *Khojah Arsan Ali*, who were greatly troubled thereat; but after some little Pause, he embarked with them in the Frigate to go on Shore. Stopping in the Way at the *Pepper-Corn*, to acquaint Captain *Dounton* with what he had done, and ask his Opinion, the Captain approved of the Course he had taken.

THE General then proceeded, and landing with a sufficient Guard, let *Khojah Nassan* know what Measures his wrong Dealing had forced him to take: Adding, that since the Governor of *Surât* came only out of Courtesy, and was no Way concerned in the Affair, he thought it proper, that he should come aboard, and take his

1611.  
Dounton.

English land  
their Goods.

Nassan's  
base Dealing.

Is arrested by  
the General.

1611. Place. *Nassan* seeing no other Remedy, with a grim Look and four Countenance, came into the Frigate, and the Governor, to his great Satisfaction, being dismissed, the others were brought to remain in the *Pepper-Corn*. Next Day, they continued landing their Lead, and had so lightned the Admiral, that at High-water, the Night following, they brought her over the Bar: So that now they had all their Strength together, where their Business lay.

*Relays,*  
*Relig*  
*Relig.*

THE twelfth, in the Morning, Sir Henry having sent for the Gentlemen Prisoners on board him, *Khajah Nassan* for a long Time obstinately refused to go, till Captain *Downton* had Orders to send him *per Force*. On their Arrival, it was thought fit, for expediting their Business, to enlarge them, leaving other Pledges in their Room, viz. *Khajah Tellardin*, and one of his Sons, for *Khajah Nassan*, and two other *Persian* Merchants in Place of *Khajah Asan Ali*. The *English* Sureties given on this Occasion, were *John Williams* and *Henry Boothby*. This Night forty Packs of *Indian* Cloths were opened, counted, sorted, and agreed for. The fifteenth, there deserted to them two *Portuguese* Youths from the Armada, one of whom was the Captain-Major's Page.

*Portuguese*  
*appear and*  
*revert.*

NEXT Morning they saw, to the Southward, five *Portuguese* Colours displayed. The General being informed thereof, presently ordered two hundred Men, armed with Shot and Pikes, to land and meet them. Which they perceiving, retired. The *English* in the Pursuit, near the *Swally*, met with *Khajah Nassan*, and all his Troops, who were coming down with twenty Packs more of Cloths. He informed the General, that the *Portuguese* had already repassed the muddy Creeks, and gotten near their Frigates: Wherefore Sir Henry gave over the Pursuit, and returned aboard.

*Letter from*  
*Captain Floris*  
*1611.*

THE nineteenth, *Peter Rosemary*, who was a *Portuguese*, brought from *England*, and a Sailor in the *Trade's-Increase*, being appointed to look after *Francisco Comsalves*, ran away with him to the Armada. The twenty-seventh, *Khajah Nassan* came from *Surat* to see if he could buy any of the *English* Cloths, and other Commodities: But not agreeing about the Prices, he returned. This Day, the General received a Letter, by a Jew, from one *Peter Floris*, a *Dutchman*, who was employed by the *East India* Company. It was dated from *Masulipatan*, where they had settled a Factory, and gave an Account of three Ships, which were coming out of *England*, one of which was designed for the *Red-Sea*. This News was very displeasing to the General and the

\* In this Place of *Parchas*, *Gua Illardin*.

Place. These must have been Merchant Frigates. left as a Pledge; nor at all of what he was left in Pledge for.

a rest, in regard to the Danger they apprehended they should fall into.

1612.

*Downton*  
*Anaber from*  
*Captain*  
*He - kins,*

THE thirtieth, Messrs. *Jourdayne* and *Fraing* were sent to *Surat*, to agree for some more *Indian* Cloths, and try to put off some of their own Commodities. The same Day, the General received a Letter from Captain *Hawkins* at *Kambaya*, notifying, that he had determined to take Ship with all his Family for *Goa*, and from thence sail to *England*: But Sir Henry concluding, that if he once got to *Goa*, he would never be able to get away with his Goods, or perhaps his Life, by the same Messenger earnestly dissuaded him from that Resolution, and invited him to take his Passage with them into *England*. The *English* at *Surat* also informed the General, that *Mokrib Khan* seemed willing, that they should leave a Factory for vending the Remainder of their Commodities: The Hopes they conceived on this Occasion afterwards vanished through his Inconstancy. The eighth of *January*, [1612] *Nicholas Uphlet* came from *Kambaya*, with Letters from Captain *Hawkins* to the General, to acquaint him, that his Letter having changed his Resolution, he intended to come down to the Ships, and take his Passage along with them.

THE twenty-sixth, Captain *Sharpey*, Mr. *Who arrived* *with others.* *Fraine*, Captain *Hawkins*, with all his Goods and Family, and the rest (*Nicholas Uphlet* excepted) came to *Swally*, the General, with about two hundred Men, marching three Miles within Land, to meet and guard them from the *Portuguese*, whose Army was not far off.

THE twenty-seventh, the General having sent *John Williams* to *Surat* to know their Resolution, touching a Factory there, he returned, the twenty-ninth, with an absolute Refusal to have any farther Dealing with their Nation; who were all commanded to depart from *Surat*, without being permitted to receive Debts there owing them: Wherefore they sent to know the General's Pleasure, whether they should forthwith come down, or delay the Time, to see whether they would alter their Determination. Next Day, Sir Henry having, in Answer, written for them to repair without Delay to the Ships, the thirty-first, they accordingly came down, and brought with them all their Goods.

THE sixth of *February*, there passed by, to- *Great Fleet* *wards Kambaya*, a great *Kafilah*, or Fleet of near *of Merchants* *men.* five hundred *Portuguese* Frigates.

THE ninth, in the Morning, at High-water, the Admiral warped over the Bar, and anchored in the Offing. About Noon arrived *Nicholas Uphlet*, Captain *Hawkins*'s Servant, left behind at *Kambaya* in Pawn, as aforesaid, as they had

b His Journal of the seventh Voyage, will be given in its

c There is no Mention before of his being

1612. waited only for him ever since the last of *January*, when their Merchants were expelled *Surât*. In the Evening, Captain *Downton* set sail, and crossing the Bar, anchored in eight Fathom, about a Mile distant in the *Offing* near to the Admiral.

*Downton.*

West, half West. Likewise at West South-West, half South, and East North-East, half North, the Moon makes a full Sea.

1612.

*Downton.*

THE tenth, the General staid to settle Matters with *Jaddow* and *Narran* the Brokers: He also took out of a Frigate, going to the *Rehem* at *Goga*, certain Candies of Rice and Pitch; giving those on board Bills to be paid at *Surât* by two Men, who were indebted to Captain *Hawkins*.

THE eleventh, in the Morning, at six o'Clock, being high Water, they set sail, and at two, in the Afternoon, anchored in the South Road at the Bar of *Surât*, by a new Ship, called the *Hassani*, bound with the *Rehem* to the Red-Sea. They likewise took out of another Frigate certain Charcoal, giving the Owners a like Assignment upon their Creditors at *Surât*.

*They leave the Coast.*

AT one, in the Morning, the fourteenth, they met with a Bank, whereon they had from sixteen to thirteen Fathoms, and suddenly again twenty and twenty-two Fathoms: After which, they hauled up by a Wind some three Leagues West by South. From six o'Clock, in the Morning, to Noon, they ran South South-East about nine Leagues, the Wind being at North, and their Soundings from twenty to sixteen Fathoms. They were, at this Time, ten Leagues from Land, in nineteen Degrees thirty-seven Minutes Latitude. At one o'Clock, they passed by three *Mallabar* Ships, bound for *Surât*, laden with Cayro (or Stuff to make Ropes) and Cocoa-Nuts, which there rode in fourteen Fathom, nine Leagues from Land, to spend the Ebb; and South-East of seven other Ships, which lay nearer in towards the Mountains.

FROM Noon to Midnight, they went South-East about five Leagues: Most Part of this Night being calm, they ran till the fifteenth at Noon South South-East six Leagues; the Wind was a very gentle Northerly Gale. This Night they heard several great Guns shot off ashore; and their Passage was in fifteen, thirteen, and twelve Fathom. The Land was mountainous, mixed with divers Valleys, like Harbours, or Entries: Their Latitude, at Noon, was nineteen Degrees four Minutes. At Sun-set, they were three Leagues off Shore, and had, turning in, between twelve and six Fathom. From Noon to Midnight, their Course was South by East eleven Leagues, the Wind Northerly. The sixteenth, to Noon, South by East twelve Hours, eleven Leagues, the Wind Northerly, the Land high and full of Harbour-like Bays: All along fine Shoaling in five Fathom, four Miles off Shore; and nine Fathom three Leagues off. Their Latitude eighteen Degrees one Minute.

*Nautical Remarks.*

## S E C T. X.

*Cause of the Expulsion of the English from Surât. Swally Road described. They leave the Coast. Nautical Remarks. Come to Dabul. Traffic there. Portuguese Ships taken. The Sailors plunder them. Persist in their Outrage. Curbed by the General. The Portuguese dismissed. Designs of the General.*

*Cause of their Expulsion.*

THE *English* Fleet had now continued, in these Parts, the Space of an hundred and thirty-eight Days, in which Time they sustained many Abuses [from the Governors of *Surât*, and their Instruments] by Delays, Breach of Promises, and with-holding the Natives from trading with them. By this Means the *English* were constrained to trade with their Oppressors; who having exchanged a few Commodities at very hard and unprofitable Rates, broke off farther Traffic. To these may be added, disappointing the Merchants of settling a Factory, hindering them from demanding some Debts owing to them, and commanding them to quit the Town, and the Ships to be gone. They afterwards came to understand the Cause of this Usage: For it seems, at the very Time when they were debating, whether they should permit the *English* to leave a Factory to sell the rest of their Goods, brought for that Place, or not, *Mokrib Khân* received a Letter from *Dangie*, a *Bannian* at *Kambaya*, by the Instigation of the Jesuits there; acquainting them, that if they suffered the *English* to continue at *Surât*, the *Portuguese* would come and burn all the Towns upon the Coast, and seize all the Ships they should meet with. Upon this, they concluded it would be the most prudent Course to have nothing farther to do with the *English*.

*Swally Road described*

THE Road of *Swally*, within the Bar, lieth in twenty Degrees fifty-five Minutes North Latitude: The Variation was sixteen Degrees forty Minutes Westerly. They found the Water rose higher on the full Moon Spring, than on the Change, by four Foot: The one being twenty-four Foot, the other twenty; and that the Night-tide was higher than the Day-tide by three Foot, according as the Wind blew. The Coast, or Strand, within the Bar, lay nearest South and North, by the Compass: Which, allowing for the Variation, was North by East, and half East; and South by

\* The same before, called the *Remi*.

1612.

Downton.

Come to Dabul

THIS Day, at Sun-set, they anchored in seven a Fathom, abreast of the Bar of *Dabul*; to which Town the General went, in Hopes to sell some of his *English* Commodities. The seventeenth, in the Morning, he went in the Frigate near the Bar, to discover the Depth, which was five Fathom, very near the South Point of the Entrance; but very little farther Northwards, towards the Middle of the Entrance, but two Fathom. The Latitude of this South Point, is seventeen Degrees thirty-four Minutes: The Variation fifteen Degrees thirty-four Minutes.

THE same Day, about Noon, two Boats came from the Governor: One carried a Present of three Bullocks, certain Sheep, Plantains, Bread, and Water-Melons; the other brought the Messengers, who were sent to inquire what they were, and their Business, although they knew them at *Mokha*, and could not but have heard of their being at *Surât*. The Message, according to the *Indian* Manner, was delivered with many Compliments, and Promises of all Friendship: They added, that the Merchants should receive Money, Indico, Cloth, and Pepper, for their Goods; which was more than they had Orders to say, or the *English* could expect: For whatever Indico, Cloth, and Pepper, they had, was forthwith to be sent aboard their own Ships, bound for the *Red-Sea*.

Traffic there.

HOWEVER, upon these kind Promises, the General sent Merchants ashore, with a Present to the Governor, and Samples of *English* Cloth, and other Commodities: But could sell none, except a small Quantity of Broad-cloth, and Kerseys of the best and lightest Colours; (as *Stammels*, *Poppinjay*, *Green*, and the like) and Lead in Pigs: The Governor bought the Red-lead, but sent it aboard again: And, much in the same Manner, as they had experienced at *Surât*, dealt double with them; granting free Leave to sell, yet underhand, employed Men to restrain, or drive away, such as came to buy: So that no Man buying Goods but himself, he had the sole fixing of the Price. As for Corn, other Provision, and Water, they were favoured with as much as they wanted for their Money; and at last, got a Cable of eighteen Inches, made of the *Indian* Materials, ninety-six Fathom in Length, worth eight Pound *Sterling*, for one of the *Darling's* Anchors. Whether such Kindnesses proceeded from their good Disposition towards Strangers, or not, the Captain could not judge: For in Regard they presently blazed it abroad, and gave Information at *Mokha*, that the *English* suffered none to impose on, or wrong them unrevenge, they might possibly carry it fair to them on that Account.

Portuguese  
Ships taken.

THE twenty-sixth, in the Afternoon, besides several *Malabar* Merchant Ships, which anchored by them, they saw in the *Offing* a great Ship and Frigate. Two Hours before Night, the General

sent the *Darling* to bring her in: But for Fear 1612.  
she should lose her in the Night, and was not of Downton.  
Force enough to command her, when it grew dark, he sent Captain Downton in the *Pepper-Corn*, with his Frigate well manned, to attend him. About Midnight, though very dark, the Captain got Sight of her riding at Anchor, and sent the Frigate to the other Frigate, which was running away. The great Ship also having gotten Sight of them, was under Sail: But being commanded to strike, she did so. Presently there came a Canoe with a Soldier, and two more, to excuse the Captain's not coming on board; saying, he was old and infirm, and that their great Boat was so heavy laden, that they could not row her.

HEREUPON, Captain Downton was constrained, much against his Inclination, to send his own Pinnace, for some of the principal Merchants and Soldiers: However, to prevent Pillaging, he gave the Cockswain strict Charge not to suffer any to go into the Ship; the Captain intending, that the General should be the first who entered her. The *English* Frigate returned with the *Portuguese* Frigate they had taken; one of whose Men had been killed in her Flight. Captain Downton, having taken several of the *Portuguese* aboard, gave the rest Orders to stand in with the Frigate for *Dabul*: But perceiving they steered wrong, which he judged to be done on Purpose; and that being gotten a little on-head, the *Pepper-Corn* with all her Sails, could not fetch them up; he caused them to be hailed, to take in their Sails, for Fear they should mend their Sailing, and get away. Then casting Anchor, he went into his Cabin, to examine some of the *Portuguese*, what their Ship was laden with. Mean while, his Master pretending to doubt, whether the Ship was anchored or not without the Captain's Order, or Privity, sent his Pinnace aboard, with one of his Mates, who not only went into the Ship, but fell to rifling; and, though often called to, staid his own Time.

HOWEVER, Captain Downton to be even with *Perfist* in him, caused *Thomas Glenham*, *John Staughten*, *George Cockham*, and *Robert Mico* the Purser, to be ready at the Ladder with a Lanthorn and Candle, to search them one by one, as they came aboard, (in Sight of the *Portuguese*) and turn them out of the Boat: Which being done, and the Things thrown into the Boat's Stern, the Captain sent the same Persons back in the *Portuguese* Ship, with the Goods again, ordering the Purser, to tell those aboard, that if any Thing was wanting, they who had been aboard without his Direction, should make Satisfaction. *Thomas Love*, *George Jesse*, and *Matthew Bragge*, three Masters Mates of the Admiral, being lately dead, the Frigate was now commanded by one *Terrie*, a Servant to *Giles Thornton*: Who, although strictly charged



1612. charged to the contrary, went out with the <sup>a</sup> Frigat, and getting on board before the Boat, he, and those with him, ran into the Ship, where they broke open Chests, and took away whatever they thought fit; giving ill Language to such as were sent to restrain them. Captain *Douton*, greatly disturbed at this Proceeding, desired *William Pemberton*, in the *Darling*, to inform the General thereof, in order to recover the Goods before the Plunderers should have Time to convey them away.

Curbed by the General.

He was no sooner apprised of the Matter, but at one o' Clock, when they all anchored by him, he commanded both the Frigats, wherein those of the *Pepper-Corn* were, to anchor-off, and none of them to come aboard him. This done, he and the Author, attended by the Captain and Merchants of the *Portuguese* Ship, went first to his own, and then the Prize Frigat, and had every one narrowly searched; turning them out one by one, as the Things were taken from them. After this, the *English* small Frigat was by their Pinnace towed aboard the *Portuguese* Ship, and the Goods restored to the Proprietors. This Ship, of about three hundred Tons, was called the *St. Nicholas*: It belonged to *Kochin*, and was bound to *Chaul*. Their Lading consisted principally of dried Cocoa Nuts, some Tin, black Sugar, and Racka Nuts; ten Fats of *China* Ware; certain Bags of Alom, and some *Cayro*, or Bast-Ropes. They would not own to any Bills of Lading, nor could the *English* find them, after all their Search. They took from them certain Bails of *China* raw Silk; some small Quantity of Cloves, with a few Canistres, and three Chests of Cinnamon, besides some Wax to make Candles: But this was no more than a Mite, in Comparison of the Damages done the *English*, by the *Portuguese*.

The Portuguese were dismissed.

The Frigat belonged to *Chaul*, and was bound to *Ormuz*: Her Burden was sixty Tons, and her Lading Rice, and Tamarinds. Out of her, they took certain Bags of Rice for their Provision. This Business held them doing every Day somewhat till the first of *March*. By this Frigat, the General sent away such *Portuguese*, as came to him from the Army at *Surât*; to wit, *Lorenzo de Campo*, and his Consort; the Fellow taken in the Frigat, and the two Boys who came from their Masters; giving each of them Money, according to his Quality, besides the Cloaths that had been made for them. To the Merchant, who owned most of the Silk, he gave a fine Piece of Broad-cloth; and to the Captain of the Frigat, from whom he took the Rice, another Kersey. This Day, the Governor sent to give the General Notice, that the great *Kâfilab*, which pass by the sixth of *February*, towards *Kambaya*, would either the next Day, or Night following, again pass by in

its Return towards *Goa*: But the *English* saw nothing of them.

The fourth, the General called them together, to consult what was best to be done, shewing his Desire to sail for *Goa*, to demand Reparation from the Vice-Roy, for the Wrongs done them by the *Portuguese*; to the End, that if he refused their Demand, they might have the better Warrant to make Repulsals upon such of their Ships as they should meet with. This Proposal was thought very reasonable. But in regard they were stinted in Point of Time, and were to expect many dilatory, as well as treacherous Proceedings, it was concluded, that as the Time did not yet serve, to go to the Southwards, about Cape *Komerin*, they should, in the Interim, return to the *Red-Sea*, to see if they could get those Goods off their Hands, which were left; recover some of their Losses from the Subjects of the Great Mogol, and take farther Revenge on the *Turks* at *Mokha*, and *Aden*, for the Mischief they have formerly done them: But principally to rescue, or defend the Ship; which, as the General was informed from *Masulpatan*, had been sent, by the Company, into those Parts.

## SECT. XI.

The Fleet leaves Dabul. Passes by Sokotra. Abdal Kuria. Letters left on Land. Resolution to separate, and obstruct the Turks Trade. Intercept an Indian Ship; but do her no Harm. Boat from Aden. Rifle an Indian Ship. The Aga's Present rejected. Jelbas stopped. Sail for the Straights of Mekka. Two large Ships in Sight. Two taken, and rifled.

THE fifth, at six in the Morning, they set sail from *Dabul*, standing North North-West along the Coast; (the General being desirous to see the Ship of *Kochin*, near *Chaul*, where she was bound, clear of Danger from the *Malabars*, their Enemies) and at Sun-set, they anchored in seven Fathom, one League from Land, six from *Dabul*, and nine short of *Chaul*. The Wind at South, and so veering to the Westwards.

FROM the Coast of *India* to *Sokotra*, they this Time daily found their Ship farther to the Southwards, than by their Course they could expect; and especially when they were abreast of the Gulf, or Entrance of *Sinus Persicus*, which the Author imagined, to be some Current setting thence to the Southwards.

THE twentieth of *March*, the General sent *William Pemberton* (in the *Darling*) before him to *Sokotra*, to inquire after the said Ship, bound for the *Red-Sea*.

THE twenty-fourth, at ten in the Morning, they passed by *Sokotra*.

1613. they descried Land, bearing West South-West, a  
 Dou. to: about eight Leagues distant, being the Eastern  
 End of *Sokatra*, which is High-land, consisting of  
 four white Cliffs, or Sand-Hills; the Northern  
 Part whereof they could not discern, the Weather  
 being hazy.

THE twenty-fifth of *March*, [1613] at Sun-  
 set, the Point of *Delisha* bore South-East, four  
 Leagues distant. Next Day, at five in the Morn-  
 ing, it fell calm; and the Current setting North-  
 ward upon the Rock of *Saboyna*, they were forced  
 to anchor on the South South-East Side of it, half  
 a Mile distant, in twenty Fathom Water. There  
 is abundance of Fish at this Rock. Between  
 nine and ten o' Clock, they again set Sail with a  
 South Wind, standing Westwards of Cape *Guar-  
 dasui*.

Abdal Kuria. THE twenty-seventh, about four in the Morn-  
 ing, the Rocks to the Northwards of *Abdal Ku-  
 ria* <sup>a</sup>, (three Leagues and a half distant) bore  
 North of them half a Mile off, which is by Esti-  
 mation, twenty Leagues West by South, from the  
 Western Point of *Sokatra*. The Depths they  
 there found, were sixteen, seventeen, and eigh-  
 teen Fathom. Day being come, they saw the  
 Island of *Abdal Kuria*. Next Morning, at six  
 o' Clock, Cape *Guardasui* bore South-East seven  
 Leagues distant, and Mount *Fælix* <sup>b</sup> West, half  
 a Point Southerly, nine Leagues. They passed  
 within four Miles of the Land; and had forty,  
 thirty-nine, thirty, twenty-seven, twenty-three,  
 twenty-one, eighteen, and fifteen Fathom. A-  
 bout three, Afternoon, having a Fret of Wind  
 at East North-East, they anchored in rough  
 Ground, in seven Fathom, a Mile and a half West  
 of Mount *Fælix*. The General coasted all this  
 Shore in his Frigate. Having taken aboard three  
 of the Country People, he gave them Letters to  
 deliver to the *Darling*, if he came there after  
 their Departure; and so put them ashore again.  
 They informed the General, that four Days be-  
 fore his Arrival, four *Indian* Ships passed by to-  
 wards the *Red-Sea*.

Letters left  
 on Land.

THE twenty-ninth, in the Morning, the Ge-  
 neral sent Letters to others on-Land, to be de-  
 livered to the *Darling*. The Inhabitants brought  
 down to sell, a good many Sheep; small Goats,  
 with some Frailes of Olibanum, and Gum *Ara-  
 bic*; all which they had at reasonable Rates: The  
 People took them all this while for *Mohammedans*,  
 and not *Christians*, or (as they call them) *Frangis*,  
 whom they have an Aversion to. The Boat re-  
 turning about Noon, the General thought fit to  
 stay no longer for the *Darling*: Wherefore they

set Sail, standing towards *Aden* in *Arabia*. At 1613.  
 four, Afternoon, Mount *Fælix* bore East by South  
 half a Degree South, some eight Leagues distant. Dou. to:.

FROM Noon, the thirtieth, to one o' Clock  
 in the Morning, the thirty-first, thirteen Hours,  
 North-West eighteen Leagues, the Wind at East  
 North-East. This Day, Afternoon, they descried  
 the Land of *Arabia Fælix*. The thirty-first,  
 in the Morning, at one o' Clock, being near  
 Shore, they tacked to the Southwards, to waste  
 the Time till Day. At five, they cast about again  
 North-West to Landwards. From six in the  
 Morning, to six, Afternoon, twelve Hours, they  
 stood along the Coast West by South, and West  
 South-West thirteen Leagues, always keeping  
 within five Miles of Shore, in Depths between  
 eighteen and thirty Fathom: From six o' Clock,  
 to Midnight, six Hours West South-West, six  
 Leagues.

THE first of *April*, from Midnight, till six  
 o' Clock, West by South, half South, five Leagues,  
 at which Time, by Estimation, they were eigh-  
 teen Leagues short of *Aden*. This Day, the Gene-  
 ral sent for Captain *Downton*, Messieurs *Lauise*,  
 and *Fowler*, to consult about their Separation:  
 At length, it was concluded, that the *Pepper-  
 Corn* should ply before the Port of *Aden*, to keep  
 all *Indian* Ships from entering, or staying there,  
 and put them by towards the *Red-Sea*; whither  
 the General was to repair with the *Trade's-In-  
 crease*.

THE second, from Midnight, to six o' Clock,  
 West South-West three Leagues, little Wind at  
 East. About eight o' Clock in the Morning,  
 when they should have separated, about eight  
 Leagues Eastward of *Aden*, they found the *Dar-  
 ling* at Anchor. She had got before them, by  
 Reason of their Lingerings for her four Days: She  
 had done her Business at *Sokatra*, and left that  
 Island before the General past it; and got a Day  
 before him, in her Passage, by the *Saboyna*, *Ab-  
 dal Kuria*, and Mount *Fælix*, where he lingered  
 for her. She brought from thence, the Copy of  
 a Letter, left with the King, by Captain *John  
 Saris*; who, had under his Command, the *Clous*,  
 the *Heitor*, and the *Thomas*, signifying, that not-  
 withstanding the Account Sir *Henry* gave in his  
 Letter, of the villanous Treatment received in  
 the *Red-Sea*, yet he with his said Ships was gone  
 thither: Immediately, the General, with the  
*Trade's-Increase*, and *Darling*, departed towards  
 the *Bâb*, leaving Captain *Downton* at an Anchor,  
 to execute the Orders before given him.

THE third, at one in the Morning, the Cap-

<sup>a</sup> In *Purchas*, *Abba del Curia*. Captain *Hamilton* calls it, *Abdel Curi*. See the Chart of the Eastern Coast of  
*Africa*, in his new Account of the *East Indies*. <sup>b</sup> The same Author tells us, the *Arabs* call it *Baba Rikat*.  
 Whence *Europeans* have made *Fælix*.