

EGYPT. which will keep to a Dog-trot, especially if you hire a Servant with the As, as the *Franks* usually do, to prick him forward with a Goad. The governing Part of the Nation reserve the riding on Horses, as a peculiar Privilege to themselves: But on EGYPT. long Journeys, when they cross the Deserts with the Caravans, most People make Use of Camels and Dromedaries.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diseases and Inconveniences of Egypt.

Inconveniences and Diseases.

THE chief Inconveniences and Distempers of this Country, according to *Thevenot*, are, first, excessive Heats in the Day-Time; and in the Night, there is no sleeping for Muskettoes or Gnats; there are always Swarms of them buzzing about: The best Remedy against them, is to have a fine Cloth tacked close round the Bed; but some of them will get in, and torment a Person, notwithstanding. Another Inconvenience is the Sand, which insinuates itself every where, insomuch that you will find the Bed-Cloaths full of it, and as hot as if they had been warmed with a Pan of Coals.

A PAIN in the Stomach, Foreigners especially are very subject to, which proceeds from their going open-breasted, which chills their Bowels, and causes dangerous Fevers and Fluxes, especially in Autumn, when the River overflows the Country. Another Distemper which reigns here, is the Swelling of the Scrotum, and sore Eyes are almost universal, in Summer-Time, occasioned by the scorching Heat reflected from the Sand; and the Dust itself, which is very subtle and salt, is pernicious to the Sight. *Mr. Thevenot* relates, that a *French* Merchant of his Acquaintance lost his Sight by it, as many of the Country People do; and others were so afflicted with it, that they were in the extreme Torture, crying out Night and Day for a Fortnight or three Weeks together, and could get no Sleep. You will hardly see any Body abroad in Summer-Time that is perfectly free from this Distemper, and most of them with little Slips of blue Stuff hanging over their Eyes. *Mr. Thevenot* says, he escaped sore Eyes himself, which he imputes to his washing

them with cold Water. The Swelling of the Legs, attended with sharp Pains, is another Inconvenience many People suffer at *Cairo*; and when the Water of the *Nile* begins to rise, there are few People but are troubled with an Inflammation which runs over the whole Body; and when they drink, they feel sharp pricking Pains all over them, as if 100 Needles run into them at once.

THE Plague generally visits them once in seven Years, during which Time it is observed to take a Tour round the *Ottoman* Empire, but is sometimes at *Cairo* two Years together. All Diseases are more fatal in *Egypt* during the *Hamchin*, or Hot Winds, than at any other Time, and they generally begin about the 7th of *April*, and last fifty Days. They bring Abundance of Sand into the Town, which gets into the Chambers, Trunks, and Boxes, let them be never so close; and many of the People, who travel with the Caravans at this Time of the Year, perish by these Winds; as soon as the Hot Winds cease, and the Dews begin to fall, by some, or, as others, when the *Nile* begins to rise, all Distempers, even the Plague itself, ceases to be mortal; so that this noble River constantly brings Health and Plenty with it, when it overflows the Country, and may well be the Occasion of that annual Joy they express on its rising to a certain Height.

As for Physicians or Remedies, the *Mahometans* in *Egypt* scarce use any, adhering immoveably to their Doctrine of Fate; and, therefore, when the Plague is in a Family, they visit their Neighbours as at other Times, and do not scruple to wear the Cloaths of a Man that died of it.

Doctrine of Fate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Diversions, Fortune-Tellers, and Gypsies.

Diversions.

THE Streets of *Cairo*, like other populous Cities, are infested by Juglers, Ballad-Singers, and Fortune-Tellers; and among other Amusements to wheedle the Common People out of their Money, they lead about dancing Camels: These Animals are taught to dance when they are young, by being set upon a heated Floor, which gives them a great deal of Pain, and makes them lift up their Legs as if they were dancing, at the same Time they beat upon a Drum; and thus they deal with the Creature for about half a Year; after which, whenever he hears the Noise of a Drum, he strikes into a Dance. Their Fortune-Tellers breed up little Birds, which when any Person comes to enquire concerning the Success of his Affairs, carry him a little Scroul of Paper, ready prepared, in which he finds his good or bad Fortune written. And this I find some People give as much Attention to, as to an Oracle; which brings me to enquire into the first Rise of that rascally People called Gypsies, those pretended Fortune-Tellers, that infest most Countries in *Europe* and *Asia*, and who are generally held to be of *Egyptian* Extraction, at least, the first of them were such. They are called in *Turky*, *Zinganees*, from their Captain *Zinganeus*, who, when Sultan *Selimus* made a Conquest of *Egypt* about the Year 1517, with several other *Mamalukes*, and as many native *Egyptians* as refused to submit to the *Turkish* Yoke, retired into the Deserts, where they lived by Rapine and Plunder, and frequently came down into the Plains of *Egypt*, committing great Outrages in the Towns upon the *Nile*, under the Dominion of the *Turks*; and idle People frequently resorting to them in Hopes of participating in their Plunder, they encreased, at length, to so formidable a Body, that the *Turks* were glad to come to a Treaty with them; wherein it was agreed, they should lay down their Arms,

and be permitted to exercise any other Callings, with the same Privileges other Subjects enjoyed: But the *Zinganees* having been long used to a vagabond, rapacious Way of living, and composed of a Mixture of Nations, who, during their Depredations upon Mankind in the Deserts, had lost all Sense of Religion, and became averse to the following any Art or Science, began to have Recourse to their former Ways of Rapine and Robbery; and though they were often forgiven by the *Turks*, for Fear of another Insurrection, yet it being found, at length, that they were not to be reclaimed, the Government were compelled to banish the *Zinganees* their Country, and a Power was given to any Man to kill a *Zinganee*, or make him his Slave, if he was found in *Egypt* after a limited Time; and this Edict was so well executed, that a *Zinganee* was not to be seen in *Egypt* for several Years after; at least any that dare profess themselves such; for, it seems, they agreed to disperse themselves in small Parties into every Country in the known World; and as they were Natives of *Egypt*, a Country where the occult Sciences, or the Black Art, as it was called, was supposed to have arrived to great Perfection, and which, in that credulous Age, was in great Vogue with People of all Religions and Persuasions, they thought that they could not pitch upon a more effectual Way to gain a Subsistence, and yet indulge that lazy, wandering Life, they had been used to, than by setting up for a more than ordinary Skill in foretelling future Events; and as they had, by a profligate Life, quite eradicated all Principles of Honour and Conscience, no Doubt they had a View of supplying their Necessities by other Means, when Fortune-Telling should fail them. They needed no Testimonials, that they were of *Egyptian* Extraction; the Swarthiness of their Complexions demon-

E G Y P T. strating as much wherever they came. And what make me give the greater Credit to this Account of the Original of our Gypsies, is, an Act of Parliament which I find made in the 22d of *Henry VIII.* being about fourteen Years after the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Selimus* the *Turkish* Emperor, wherein it is recited, That, whereas certain Out-landish People, using no Craft or Merchandize to live by, but going from Place to Place in great Companies, using subtle and crafty Means to deceive the King's Subjects, bearing them in Hand, that they by Palmestry, can tell Men and Womens Fortunes, and so, many Times subtly deceive the People of their Money, and commit divers Felonies and Robberies: It is enacted, That all such Offenders, commonly called *Egyptians*, who shall remain in this Realm for the Space of one Month, should be adjudged Felons; and that every Person who shall import such *Egyptians*, should forfeit for every Offence 40 *l.*

BUT in the 5th Year of *Queen Elizabeth*, it being found that several Natives of our Country were so much in Love with this idle, profligate Way of Living, that they frequently listed themselves among these *Egyptians*, and disfigured their Faces that they might appear such, using an unintelligible Cant, which other People were as much Strangers to, as to the Language of *Egypt*: It was enacted by 5 *Eliz.* Chap. 20, That every Person that should be seen or found within this Realm, in the Company and Fellowship of those Vagabonds, commonly called *Egyptians*, or counterfeiting, or disguising themselves by their Apparel, Speech, or otherwise, like to such Vagabonds, and shall continue so to do, either at one or several Times by the Space of a Month, should be adjudged Felons, and lose the Benefit of Sanctuary and Clergy, provided, that this Act did not extend to Children under fourteen Years of Age: For they travelled with Children, which were their greatest Protection, it seems, as they are to the Vagabonds of this Age; few People caring to apprehend or punish the Parents, or reputed Parents, for Fear of bringing a Charge of Children on them-

selfes, or the Places where they resided; **E G Y P T.** and this might be one Reason that these People encouraged Propagation, and laid no Restraints on those of their Tribe, but suffered the nearest Relations to couple together like the common Herd; which might also be one Inducement for so many loose, profligate People to join them, as occasioned the above-mentioned Statutes to be made in *England*. But notwithstanding these Laws had that good Effect, as to rid the Country of all Foreign Gypsies, we find there are too many of their Disciples remaining among us to this Day. But in *Turkey* and other Countries, where they have not been thus restrained by Laws, their Parties are larger and more formidable than with us, and many of this Kind of vagabond People are now to be found even in *Egypt* itself.

THE Reason they are still tolerated in *Turkey*, may be, that they do there, at least of late Years, apply themselves to some Handicraft Business, particularly the making of Edge-Tools, which they are very excellent at; carrying their Tents and Utensils upon Asses, and usually pitch their swarthy Camp near some great Town, where by Working, Thieving, or Fortune-Telling, they make a pretty good Provision for their Bellies, but do not much trouble themselves about Cloathing and Furniture: And when the People begin to grow weary of their pilfering Tricks, they move off to some other Part of the Country. The native *Egyptians* have a Prophecy amongst them, that they shall recover the Dominion of *Egypt* again, and the *Turkish* Empire, after a certain Period, shall be destroyed; which *Mr. Hill* has given us in *English* Verse, as follows.

I.

*Years over Years shall roll,
Ages o'er Ages slide,
Before the World's Controul,
Shall check the Crescent's Pride.*

II.

*Banish'd from Place to Place,
Wide as the Ocean's Roar,
The mighty Gypsy Race
Shall visit every Shore.*

III. But

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III.

*But when the hundredth Year
Shall three Times doubled be,
Then shall an End appear
To all their Slavery.*

IV.

*Then shall the warlike Powers
From distant Climes return;
Egypt again be ours,
And Turkish Turrets burn.*

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C H A P. XII.

Dr. Shaw's Observations on the Relations of the several Travellers that have visited Egypt, or endeavoured to give the antient or present State of that Kingdom.

THE Doctor observes, that *Herodotus* makes the Base of the great Pyramid to be 800 Feet long, *Diodorus* 700, and *Strabo* only 600. Among the Moderns, *Sandys* found it to be 300 Paces, *Bellonius* 324, our Professor *Greves* 693 English, and *Le Brun* 704 Feet (as we may suppose) of France, which makes about 770 of our Measure. There is no Way, I presume, to reconcile those Differences; and it would be unjust to charge any of these Authors with a designed Mistake. (See Observations on the Dimensions of the great Egyptian Pyramid, in Miscellaneous Observations on Authors, antient and modern, Vol. I. p. 119.) Thus much in general may be said, in Defence of Errors and Disagreements of this Kind, that none of the Sides of this Pyramid are exactly upon a Level. For there is a Descent in passing from the Entrance into it, all along by the Eastern Corner to the Southern; there is again an Ascent from this to the Western Point: At the same Time, the Sides, which regard the West and the North, have been encroached upon by such Drifts of Sand, as the *Etesian* Winds, from Time to Time, have brought along with them. As therefore it will be difficult to find a true horizontal Base, it being likewise uncertain (which is the chief Thing to be considered) how far these Drifts of Sand have been accumulated above the Foundation of it; all Calculations of this Kind must be exceedingly precarious, agreeable only to the Time, and

to the particular Circumstances of the Situation when they were made.

NEITHER doth it appear, that either this, or any other of the three greater Pyramids, was ever finished. For the Stones in the Entrance of the greatest are placed Archwise, and to a greater Height than seems necessary for so small a Passage; there is also a large Space left on each Side of it, by discontinuing several of the parallel Rows of Steps, which in other Places run quite round the Pyramid.

DR. *Shaw* is of Opinion also, that the Pyramids were not intended for the Tombs of their Princes, as has been generally held.

THE great Chest of Granite Marble, which is found in the upper Chamber of the great Pyramid, he supposes to have been rather intended for some Religious Use, than for the Coffin of *Cheops*. For among other Uses, which at this Distance of Time, and in so symbolical a Religion, we cannot expect to trace out in History, this Chest may be supposed to have been concerned, either in the mystical Worship of *Osiris*, or to have served for one of their Sacred Chests, wherein either the Images of their Deities, or their Sacred Vestments, or Utensils, were kept; or else, it might have been a Favista, or Cistern, such as contained the Holy Water, made Use of in their Ceremonies. The Length of it, which is somewhat more than six Feet, does not indeed favour the received Opinion of its having been designed for a Coffin; yet both the Height and the Breadth, which are

EGYPT. are each of them about three Feet, very far exceeds the Dimensions, that perhaps, were ever observed by the *Egyptians* upon such Occasions.

THOSE Stone Coffins, which I have seen in *Egypt*, (and by them, I presume, we may judge of others) were all of them of a quite different Form from this pretended one of *Cheops*, being inscribed with Hieroglyphicks, and made exactly in the Fashion of the Mummy Chests, just capacious enough to receive one Body; whereas this which I am speaking of, is on oblong Square, not ending as the Mummy Chests do, in a kind of Pedestal, whereupon it might have been erected; neither is it adorned with any sacred Characters, which from the great Number of Coffins that are never known to want them, seem to have been a general, as well as necessary Act of Regard and Piety to the Deceased.

THE Manner likewise in which this Chest is placed, is quite different from what was, perhaps, ever observed by the *Egyptians*, in the depositing of their Dead. For the Mummies always stand upright, where Time or Accident have not disturbed them: Whereas the Chest lieth flat upon the Floor, and thereby hath not the Dignity of Posture, which we may suppose this wise Nation knew to be peculiar, and therefore would be very scrupulous to deny to the Human Body. Now, if this Chest was not intended for a Coffin (and indeed *Herodotus* tells us, that *Cheops's* Tomb was in the Vaults below) we have so far a presumptive Argument, that neither could the Pyramid itself have taken the Name of a Sepulchre from it. Nay, provided that even *Cheops* and others, had been buried within the Precincts of this, or any other of the Pyramids, yet this was still no more than what was practised in other Temples; and therefore would not destroy the principal Use and Design for which they were erected. And, indeed, I am apt to think, that there are but few who attentively consider the outward Figure of these Piles, the Structure, and Contrivance of the several Apartments, in the Inside of the greatest, together with the ample Provision that was made on each Side of it, for the Reception,

as may be supposed, of the Priests, but **EGYPT.** will conclude, that the *Egyptians* intended the latter for one of the Places, as all of them were to be the Object, at least, of their Worship and Devotion.

THE Doctor further observes, that in a Country like *Egypt*, which is annually overflowed, it cannot be expected that there should be any great Variety, either of Plants or Animals. However, *Prosper Alpinus*, *Bellonius*, and other Authors of great Reputation, have been very copious upon both these Subjects; though it may be presumed, if the Aquatick Plants and Animals are excepted, there are few other Branches of the natural History that are coeval with *Egypt*. The Musa, the Date-Tree, the Cassia-Fistula, the Sycamore, nay, even the Leek and the Onion, may be supposed to have been originally as great Strangers to it, as the Camel, the Bubalus, the Gazel, and the Camelopardalis; for it is highly probable, that the Soil of *Egypt* cannot claim the same Antiquity with that of other Countries, but being made in Process of Time by the *Nile*, all these animal and vegetable Productions must have been by Degrees transplanted into it.

YET even some of those Plants and Animals, that may be reckoned among the Indigenæ, or to be at least of great Antiquity, are now either very scarce, or altogether wanting in this Country. For the more indigent Sort of People have left us very little of the Papyrus, by continually digging up the Roots of it for Fuel. The Persica too, that had formerly a Place in most Pieces of their symbolical Writing, is either lost at present, or the Descriptions of it do not accord with any of the *Egyptian* Plants that are known at this Time. It cannot certainly be the Persica or Peach-Tree, as it is commonly rendered, because the Leaves are perennial, and fall not like those every Year.

AND then among the Animals, the Hippopotamus is what the present Race of the *Egyptians* are not acquainted with. Nay, the very Crocodile so rarely appears below the Cataracts, that the Sight of it is as great a Curiosity to them as to the *Europeans*. In like Manner, the Ibis, that was

EGYPT. was once known to every Family is now become exceeding rare, though the Want of it is sufficiently supplied by the Stork. For besides a great Number of these Birds that might undoubtedly escape my Notice, I saw, in the Middle of *April*, 1722, three Flights of them, each of which took up more than three Hours in passing by us, extending itself, at the same Time, more than Half a Mile in Breadth: They were then leaving *Egypt* (where the Canals and the Ponds, that are annually left by the *Nile*, were become dry) and directed themselves towards the North-East.

It is observed of the Storks, that for about the Space of a Fortnight, before they pass from one Country to another, they constantly resort together, from all the circumjacent Parts, in a certain Plain; and there forming themselves once every Day into a *Douwanne* (according to the Phrase of these People) are said to determine the exact Time of their Departure, and the Places of their future Abodes. Those that frequent the Marshes of *Barbary*, appear about three Weeks sooner than the Flight abovementioned were observed to do, though they likewise are supposed to come from *Egypt*, whither also they return a little after the Autumnal Equinox, the *Nile* being then retired within its Banks, and the Country in a proper Disposition to supply them with Nourishment.

THE Mahometans have the *Bel-arje* (for so they commonly call the Stork) in the highest Esteem and Veneration. It is as sacred among them, as the Ibis was among the *Egyptians*; and no less profane would that Person be accounted, who should attempt to kill, nay, even hurt or molest it. The great Regard that is paid to these Birds, might have been, perhaps, first obtained, not so much from the Service they are of to a moist, fenny Country, in clearing it of a Variety of useless Reptiles and Insects, as from the solemn Gesticulations they are observed to make, as often as they rest upon the Ground, or return to their Nests. For, first of all, they throw their Heads backwards, in a Posture, as it were of Adoration; then they strike, as with a

Pair of Castanets, the upper and lower EGYPT. Parts of their Bills together, and afterwards prostrate their Necks in a suppliant Manner, quite down to the Ground, always repeating the same Gesticulations three or four Times.

It may be observed, that the Sands and mountainous Districts, on both Sides of the *Nile*, afford as great Plenty, both of the Lizard and Serpentine Kinds, as the Desert of *Sin*. The *Cerastes* is the most common Species of the latter. *Signore Gabrieli* (a *Venetian* Apothecary, who had lived a long Time at *Cairo*) shewed me a Couple of these Vipers, which he had kept five Years in a Bottle, well corked, without any Sort of Food, unless a small Quantity of fine Sand, wherein they coiled themselves up in the Bottom of the Vessel, may be reckoned as such. When I saw them, they had just cast their Skins, and were as brisk and lively as if new taken.

As it seldom rains in the inland Part of this Country, the different Species of Grain, Pulse, and other vegetable Productions, are all of them, intirely indebted to the River for their Growth and Increase. However, these several Kinds of Plants are not all raised and nourished the same Way: For Barley and Wheat (which are usually ripe, the one about the Beginning, the other at the latter End of *April*) require no further Culture and Refreshment, than in some Part or other of *October* (the Inundation being then over) to be either thrown upon the Mud, or else to be beat or ploughed gently into it. At this Time they also sow Flax and plant Rice. Now Wheat and Rice being of a slower Growth than Flax and Barley, it usually falls out in the Beginning of *March*, and when the former Kinds are not yet grown up, or begin only to spindle, the Barley is in the Ear, and the Flax is bolled. The Plantations of Rice are kept almost constantly under Water; and therefore the larger Crops of it are produced near *Damiata* and *Rozetto*, where the Plains are low, and consequently more easily overflowed than those which lie higher up the River.

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Now such Vegetable Productions as require more Moisture than what is occasioned by the Inundation, are refreshed by Water that is drawn at certain Times out of the River, and lodged in large Cisterns made for that Purpose. *Archimedes's* Screw seems to have been the Instrument that was antiently made use of upon these Occasions, though at present it is not known; the Inhabitants serving themselves either with various Kinds of Leathern Buckets, or else with a Sakiah, as they call the *Persian* Wheel, which is the most general and useful Machine. Engines and Contrivances of both these Kinds, are placed all along the Banks of the *Nile*, from the Sea to the Cataracts, their respective Situations being higher, and consequently the Difficulty of raising Water the greater in Proportion as we advance up the River. When, therefore, their Pulse, Safranon, (or *Carthamus*) Melons, Sugar-Canes, &c. (all which are commonly planted in Rills) require to be refreshed, they strike out a Plug that is fixed in the Bottom of one of these Cisterns, and then the Water, gushing out, is conducted from one Rill to another by the Gardener, who is always ready, as Occasion requires, to stop and divert the Torrent by turning the Earth against it with his Foot, and opening, at the same Time with his Mattock, a new Trench to receive it.

The several Dynasties or Families of the Kings of Egypt.

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| | 1. <i>Mizraim</i> , the Son of <i>Cham</i> , by the Grecians called <i>Osiris</i> . |
| | 2. <i>Typhen</i> , an Usurper. |
| | 3. <i>Orus</i> , the Son of <i>Osiris</i> , restored unto the Kingdom by his Uncle <i>Lehabim</i> , the Advancer of <i>Joseph</i> . |
| A. M. | |
| 2207. | 4. <i>Anasis Themosis</i> , or <i>Amos</i> , in whose Time <i>Jacob</i> went down into <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 2233. | 5. <i>Cheborn</i> . |
| 2245. | 6. <i>Amenophis</i> , or <i>Amenophthis</i> . |
| 2266. | 7. <i>Amarsis</i> , the Sister of <i>Amenophthis</i> . |
| 2288. | 8. <i>Mephres</i> . |
| 2300. | 9. <i>Mesphormathesis</i> . |
| 2325. | 10. <i>Thamosis</i> , or <i>Thuthmosis</i> . |
| 2335. | 11. <i>Amenophthis</i> . |
| 2366. | 12. <i>Orus II.</i> the <i>Busiris</i> of the Grecians, |

a bloody Tyrant, who commanded the Male Children of *Israel* to be slain.

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| 13. <i>Acencheres</i> , by some called <i>Thermutis</i> , the Daughter of <i>Amenophthis II.</i> and afterwards the Wife of <i>Orus</i> , who preserved <i>Moses</i> , and survived her Husband. | 2403. |
| 14. <i>Rathossis</i> , the Son of <i>Orus</i> . | 2416. |
| 15. <i>Acencheres II.</i> | 2422. |
| 16. <i>Cencbres</i> , called <i>Arenasis</i> (<i>Bocchoris</i> by others) drowned in the <i>Red-Sea</i> , with his Horses and Chariots. | 2449. |
| 17. <i>Acherres VIII.</i> | 2453. |
| 18. <i>Cberres</i> . | 2462. |
| 19. <i>Armais</i> , by the Grecians called <i>Danaus</i> , whose fifty Daughters being married to the fifty Sons of his Brother <i>Egyptus</i> , murdered their Husbands; for which Cause, <i>Danaus</i> being forced out of <i>Egypt</i> , passed into <i>Greece</i> , where attaining to the Kingdom of <i>Argos</i> , he gave unto the Grecians the Name of <i>Danai</i> , supposed to be <i>Sesostris</i> by some. | 2472. |
| 20. <i>Rameses</i> , surnamed <i>Egyptus</i> , the Brother of <i>Danaus</i> . | 2575. |
| 21. <i>Amenophthis III.</i> | 2580. |
| 22. <i>Sethos</i> , or <i>Sesothis</i> . | 2590. |
| 23. <i>Rapsaces</i> , or <i>Ranses</i> . | 2645. |
| 24. <i>Amenophthis IV.</i> | 2711. |
| 25. <i>Rameses II.</i> | 2751. |
| 26. <i>Tbaoris VII.</i> after whose Death succeeded the twelve Kings called the <i>Diospolitani</i> , who held the Kingdom for the Space of 177 Years. Their Names we find not, but that one of the latest of them, whose Daughter <i>Solomon</i> married, was called <i>Vapra</i> ; and perhaps <i>Ogdoos</i> , who removed the Royal Seat from <i>Thebes</i> to <i>Memphis</i> , might be another, and the eighth as his Name importeth. | 2777. |
| 39. <i>Smendes</i> , the <i>Sisac</i> of the Scriptures, who made War upon <i>Rehoboam</i> the Son of <i>Solomon</i> , conceived to be the <i>Sesostris</i> of <i>Herodotus</i> , and other antient Writers. | 2961. |
| 40. <i>Pseucnes</i> , conceived to be the <i>Cheops</i> of <i>Herodotus</i> , Founder of the vast Pyramid. | 2987. |
| 41. <i>Nepher Cheres</i> . | 3028. |
| 42. <i>Amenophthis V.</i> | 3032. |
| 43. <i>Opsochon</i> , the <i>Apychis</i> of <i>Herodotus</i> . | 3041. |
| 44. <i>Psamuchos</i> . | 3047. |
| 45. <i>Pseucenes II.</i> | 3056. |
| 46. <i>Sesonchis</i> . | 3070. |
| 47. <i>Usorthon</i> . | 3091. |
| 48. <i>Takellotis</i> . | 3108. |
| 49. <i>Pa-</i> | |

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3119.

3159.

3167.

3185.

3229.

3238.

3252.

3270.

3277.

3281.

3335.

3360.

3366.

3391.

3435.

3555.

3561.

3567.

3579.

3580.

3598.

3600.

49. *Patubastis*.50. *Oferchon*, the second *Hercules Egyptius*.51. *Psamnis*.52. *Bachoris*, called by the Name of *So*, 2 *Kings* xvii. 4. taken and burnt by *Sabakon*, the King of *Ethiopia*.53. *Sabakon*, King of *Ethiopia*.54. *Sevacus*, Son of *Sabakon*.55. *Taracon*, falsely supposed to be the *Zerah* of the Scriptures.56. *Stephinales*.57. *Niclupses*, after whose Death followed an Aristocracy of twelve Princes, who having governed fifteen Years, were divested of the Authority, by one of their own Number, called,58. *Psamniticus*, who first made the *Grecians* acquainted with *Egypt*, whom he invited to his Aid against the *Syrians*, the Founder of the famous Labyrinth before mentioned, and no less memorable for his prudent preventing of the *Scythians* from breaking into his Country.59. *Necho*, who slew *Josiah* at the Battle of *Megiddo*.60. *Psamnis II*.61. *Apries*, called *Hephro*, *Jer.* xlv. subdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and deposed by *Amasis*.62. *Amasis II*.63. *Psamnitas*, or *Psamniticus II*. a King of six Months only, vanquished by *Cambyses*, the second Monarch of *Persia*, who united *Egypt* to that Empire, under which it continued till the Time of *Darius*, the sixth King of the *Medes* and *Persians*; in the second Year of whose Reign, it revolted from him, and became a Kingdom of itself as in former Times.64. *Amyrteus*, the first King after the Revolt.65. *Nepherites*.66. *Achoris*.67. *Psamnites III*.68. *Nepherites II*. a King of two Months only.69. *Nectanebus*.70. *Teos*, or *Tachos*, deposed by,71. *Nectanebus II*. the last King of the natural *Egyptian* Race, that ever governed *Egypt* by the Name of a King: For

in the Eighteenth of the Reign of this EGYPT.

King, *Egypt* was again recovered by the Valour of *Ochus*, the eighth Emperor of *Persia*; and when *Alexander* had overthrown *Darius*, he came, and without Blows, won this fertile Kingdom, which yielded him, during his Life, the Yearly Value of 6000 Talents. After his Death, this Kingdom fell to the Share of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, from whom all the subsequent Kings of *Egypt* were called *Polemys*.

The second Dynasty, or the Ptolemean Kings of Egypt.

A. M.

1. *Ptolemy*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, 3661.reputed to be the Son of *Lagus*, but supposed to be the Son of *Philip* of *Macedon*, Half-Brother to *Alexander*.2. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who filled the Li- 3681.brary of *Alexandria* with 700,000 Volumes, and caused the Seventy-two Interpreters to translate the Books of *Moses*.3. *Ptolemy Evergetes*, the Son of *Philadelphus*, vanquished *Seleucus Callinicus*, King 3717.of *Syria*.4. *Ptolemy Philopater*, a cruel, voluptuous 3743.Prince, killed *Cleomenes* the last King of *Sparta*, who had fled to his Father for Relief in the Time of his Exile.5. *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, at the Age of five 3760.Years, succeeded his Father, protected by the *Romans* against *Antiochus the Great*, of *Syria*, who invaded his Kingdom.6. *Ptolemy Philometer*, the Son of *Epiphanes* by *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Antiochus*, protected in his Nonage by the 3784.*Romans*, also, caused himself to be crowned King of *Syria*, but again relinquished it.7. *Ptolemy Evergetes II*. for his Deformity 3829.called *Physcon*, the Brother of *Ptolemy Philometer*, a wicked Prince, and one that spent the greatest Part of his Reign in a causeless War against *Cleopatra*, his Wife and Sister.8. *Ptolemy Lathurus* reigned sixteen Years 3858.with *Cleopatra* his Mother, by whom dispossessed of his Estate, for the Space of ten Years, after her Death was sole Lord of *Egypt*. His Brother *Alexander* being taken by the Queen-Mother as

Associate

EGYPT.

A. M.
3392.

Associate in the Time of his Deprivation, and passing in the Account of the Kings of Egypt.

3392.

9. *Ptolemy Auletes*, the Son of *Lathurus*, surnamed also *Dionysius*, whose Brother being settled by him in the Isle of *Cyprus*, was most unjustly stripped of it by the Power of the *Romans*, and he himself expelled *Egypt* by his own Subjects, but restored by *Pompey*.

3922.

10. *Ptolemy Dionysius*, called also *Junior*, or the Younger, together with *Cleopatra*, his Wife and Sister, succeeded *Auletes* in the Throne, which they held together by the Space of three Years; in the last of which, *Pompey* was barbarously slain on the Shores of *Egypt*, by the Command of *Achilles* the young King's Governor, and the young King himself unfortunately slain in the *Alexandrian* Tumult against *Julius Cæsar*.

3925.

11. *Cleopatra*, the Wife and Sister of *Dionysius*, restored to the Crown of *Egypt*, by the Bounty of *Cæsar*, of whom she was exceedingly beloved for her Wit and Beauty; after which she governed *Egypt* nineteen Years in her own sole Right, with great Pomp and Splendor, when being embarked in the Bed and Fortunes of *Mark Anthony*, she killed herself not long after his fatal Overthrow at the Battle of *Actium*, that she might not be led in Triumph through *Rome*.

The third Dynasty, or the Saracen Caliphs of Egypt.

A. D. A. H.

870. 247. 1. *Achmades*, or *Achmet*.
 880. 257. 2. *Tolen*.
 883. 260. 3. *Hamaria*.
 903. 280. 4. *Abarum*, slain by *Musapha*, the Caliph of *Babylon*.
 940. 317. 5. *Achid Mahamid*, the Son of *Tangi*.
 943. 320. 6. *Abiquid*, the Son of *Achid*.
 970. 347. 7. *Meaz Ledin Illabi*, of the Race of *Phatima* and *Hali*.
 975. 352. 8. *Aziz*, the Son of *Meaz*.
 996. 373. 9. *Elbacain*.
 1019. 396. 10. *Etabar Leazizdin Illabi*.

A. D. A. H.

1035. 412. 11. *Musleratzar Billabi*.
 1096. 472. 12. *Muscale*.
 1100. 477. 13. *Elamir Bahacan Illabi*.
 1135. 512. 14. *Elphait Ladin Illabi*.
 15. *Etzahar*.
 16. *Elpaiz*.
 17. *Etzar Ledin Illabi*, the Son of *Elphaiz*, the last Caliph, or King of *Egypt*, of the Race of *Phatima*; the *Turks* succeeding after his Death in this Kingdom, *Elphaiz* the Father of *Etzar*, being overpowered by *Almericus* King of *Jerusalem*, craved Aid of *Norradine* the *Turkish* Sultan of *Damascus*; which he received under the Conduct of *Seracon*, or *Syrachoch*, a valiant Commander; who taking his Advantages, not only cleared the Country of *Almericus*, but got the whole Kingdom to himself, dashing out the Brains of *Elphaiz* with his Horseman's Mace; and, though *Etzar* his Son assumed for a while, the Title of Caliph, yet the Destruction of himself and the whole *Phatimean* Family rooted out by *Saracon*, soon put an End to that Claim, and left the Kingdom in the peaceable Possession of the *Turkish* Sultans.

The fourth Dynasty, or the Race of the Turkish Kings.

1. *Aferedin*, surnamed *Sbirachoch*, called *Saracon* by the Christian Writers, the first of the *Turks* that reigned in *Egypt* of the noble Family of *Abiub*.
 2. *Zeli-heddin*, called *Saladine* by the Christian Writers, the Son, or as some say, the Nephew of *Saracon*, or *Sbirachoch*, confirmed in his Estate by the Caliph of *Bagdat*, under whose Jurisdiction he reduced the *Egyptian* Schismatics. He obtained, also, the Kingdom of *Damascus*, conquered *Mesopotamia* and *Palestine*, and in the Year 1190, regained the City of *Jerusalem*.
 3. *Elazir*, the second Son of *Saladine*, succeeded in the Realm of *Egypt*, which he exchanged afterwards with his Brother *Eladel* for the Kingdom of *Damascus*.
 4. *Eladel*, or *El Apbtzel*, by the Christian Writers called *Meledine*, succeeded up-

EGYPT.

A. M.
1163.

1186.

1199.

on

EGYPT.

A. M.

1210.

1237.

1242.

1255.

1260.

1286.

on this Exchange in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and overcame the Christians, without the Loss of a Man at the Siege of *Cairo*, by letting loose the Sluices of the *Nile*, which drowned great Part of the Army.

5. *Elchamul*.

6. *Melech Affalach*, by the Christian Writers called *Melechfala*, the Son of *Elchamul*, who overcame *Lewis IX.* of *France*, and going with that King towards *Damietta*, was slain by his Guards, called *Mamalukes*.

7. *Elmutan* the Son of *Melech Affalach*, succeeded for a Time in his Father's Throne; but the *Mamalukes* being resolved to obtain the Kingdom for themselves, forced him to fly to a Tower of Wood, which they set on Fire; the poor Prince half burned, leaping into a River (which ran close by it) was there drowned, and the *Mamalukes* settled in the Kingdom, Anno 1245.

The fifth Dynasty of the Egyptian Kings, or the Race of the Mamalukes.

1. *Turquimenius* being promoted to the Kingdom, released King *Lewis*, whom *Melechfala* his Predecessor had taken Prisoner, but performed not half the Conditions agreed upon.

2. *Clothes*, (by some called *Elmutabaz*) taking Advantage of the Miseries of the *Turks*, then distressed by the *Tartars*, seized on the greatest Part of *Syria* and *Palestine*.

3. *Bandocader* perfected the begun Conquest of *Clothes*, and took from the Christians the strong City of *Antioch*, carrying his Arms as far as *Armenia*, almost ruined those Countries.

4. *Melechfai*, or *Melechfares*, restored the Power of the *Mamalukes* in *Syria* and *Palestine*, where it had been much impaired by *Edward*, the Son of *Henry III.* of *England*, and *Henry Duke of Mecklenburg*, &c.

5. *Elphis*, or *Alphix*, recovered from the Christians, the strong Cities of *Tripoli*, *Berytus*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*; all which he razed to the Ground, that they

might not be any more serviceable to the Affairs of the Christians.

A. M.
1291.

6. *Araphus*, or *Eustrephus*, by Birth a *German*, released *Henry Duke of Mecklenburg*, after he had been Prisoner twenty-six Years. he rooted the Christians out of *Syria*, took *Ptolemais*, the last Town they there held; and so razed it that he made it fit to be ploughed.

7. *Melechnesar*, when he was Lieutenant to *Araphus*, was defeated by *Cassanes*, a great Prince of the *Tartars*, with the Loss of 40,000 *Egyptians*; but *Cassanes* being departed he recovered again all *Syria* and destroyed *Jerusalem*, for which Service, he was afterwards made Sultan of *Egypt*.

8. *Melechbadel*, the Sultan that governed *Egypt* when *Tamerlane*, with irresistible Force conquered it; from this Time there is wanting a continued Series of his Successors till we come to,

9. *Melechaella*, or *Melechnasar*, who, in the Year 1423, subdued the Isle of *Cyprus*, and made the Kings thereof to be from thenceforth Tributaries to the *Mamaluke* Sultan.

10. *Cathbeyus*, who much reformed the State of *Egypt*, and was a professed Enemy of *Bajazet II.* the eighth King of the *Ottomans*.

11. *Mahomet*, the Son of *Cathbeyus*, deposed by the *Mamalukes*, for fear the Kingdom might by him be made Hereditary; it being against their usual Custom, that the Son should succeed his Father in the Name and Privileges of a *Mamaluke*.

12. *Campson Chiarfesus* succeeded on the Deposing of *Mahomet*.

13. *Zanballat*, who dethroned *Campson*, and not long after was deposed by,

14. *Tonombeius*, who was expelled by the joint Consent of the *Mamalukes*, to make Way for *Campson Gaurus*.

15. *Campson II.* surnamed *Gaurus*, reformed the disordered and factious State, both of Court and Country, for the Space of sixteen Years governed very prosperously: But siding at the last with *Hyfmael*, the *Persian* Sophy, against *Selimus*, the first of the Name, the third Emperor, and

6 F

tenth

EGYPT.

A. M.
1517.

tenth King of the *Ottoman* Family; he drew his Kingdom into a War, in which his Armies were overthrown, and himself slain in Battle.

16. *Tonombeius* II. succeeded *Campson Gaurus*, both in his Kingdom and Misfortunes,

vanquished in his first Year by the said EGYPT. *Selimus* I. Anno. 1517; who having conquered this rich Kingdom, *Egypt* became a Province of the *Turkish* Empire, as it still continueth, and its future History is blended with that of *Turkey*.



BARBARY.

BARBARY.

UNDER this Head of *Barbary*, are usually comprehended *Morocco*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*. *Morocco* has been described already: I proceed therefore to enquire into the State of *Algiers*.

Algiers Kingdom, Situation.

THE Kingdom of *Algiers* is situate between 1 Degree West, and 9 Degrees of Eastern Longitude, being about 600 Miles long, and 400 broad; bounded by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the North, by the River *Guadalbarbar*, which divides it from *Tunis* on the East, by Mount *Atlas* on the South, and by the River *Mulvia*, which separates it from *Morocco*, on the West.

Mountains.

It is generally a mountainous Country. *Atlas*, the most considerable Chain of Mountains, runs from East to West, to the *Atlantick* Ocean, to which they give their Name: But Dr. *Shaw* observes, that these are neither of that extraordinary Height or Magnitude the antients relate.

Rivers.

THE chief Rivers are, 1. *Mulvia*, which separates *Algiers* from *Morocco*. 2. *Saffran*, near the City of *Algiers*. 3. *Major*; and, 4. *Guadalbarbar*, all of which run from South to North, and discharge themselves into the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Provinces.

THE Kingdom of *Algiers* is divided into three Provinces, viz. 1. That of *Tlemsan*, or *Tremesen*, on the West. 2. *Titterie* in the Middle; and, 3. *Constantina* on the East.

Chief Towns.
Tremesen.

THE chief Towns in the Province of *Tremesen* are, 1. *Tremesen*, situate almost under the Meridian of *London*, in 35 De-

grees of North Latitude, about sixty Miles South of the *Mediterranean*; heretofore a rich populous City, Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name; but an inconsiderable Town at present. 2. *Oran*, or *Warran*, a Port-Town on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*; and, 3. *Marsalquiver*; the two last being under the Dominion of *Spain* at present, which they reduced in the Year 1732.

BARBARY.

2. THE Province of *Titterie*; the chief Town whereof is *Algiers*, the Capital of the Kingdom, situate in 36 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 3 Degrees odd Minutes East Longitude. It lies on the Side of a Hill, rising gradually from the Sea-Shore, and makes a very grand Figure when viewed from the Sea. The Walls are three Miles in Circumference; the Port of an oblong Form, 130 Fathom long, and eighty broad, defended by several Batteries of Great Guns.

THE Hills and Vallies round about *Algiers* are every where beautified with Gardens and Country-Seats, whither the Inhabitants of better Fashion retire during the Summer-Season. The Country-Seats are little white Houses, shaded with a Variety of Fruit-Trees and Ever-Greens, whereby they afford a gay and delightful Prospect towards the Sea. The Gardens are well stocked with Melons, Fruit and Pot-Herbs of all Kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot Climate, each

of

BARBARY. of them enjoys a great Command of Water, from the many Rivulets and Fountains, which every where distinguish themselves in this Situation. The Fountain-Water made use of at *Algiers*, universally esteemed to be excellent, is likewise derived through a long Course of Pipes and Conduits from these Sources. The Town contains, according to the same Writer's Computations, 2000 Christian Slaves, 15,000 *Jews*, and 100,000 Mahometans, of which only thirty at most are Renegades.

Naval Force. THE Naval Force of the *Algerines* hath been for some Years in a declining Condition. If we except their Row-Boats and Brigantines, they had, *Anno Dom. 1732*, only half a Dozen capital Ships, from thirty-six to fifty Guns, and at the same Time had not half that Number of brave and experienced Captains. A general Peace with the three trading Nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable Discipline, where every private Soldier disputes Authority with his Officer, are some of the principal Reasons why so small a Number of Vessels are fitted out, and why so few Persons of Merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their Want likewise of Experience, with the few Engagements they have been lately concerned in at Sea, have equally contributed to this Diminution of their Naval Character. However, if by proper Discipline and Encouragement, they should once more assume their wonted Courage and Bravery, they have always in Readiness such a Quantity of Naval Stores, as will put them in a Capacity of making considerable Augmentations to their Fleet, though, even at present, we find them troublesome enough to the Trade of *Europe*.

IN the Southern Part of this Province is the highest Mountain in *Barbary*, called *Jurjura*, being Part of that Chain of Hills, which go under the Name of *Atlas*. It is at least eight Leagues long, lying nearly in a North-East and South-West Direction. It appears to be from one End to another a common Range of naked Rocks and Precipices, and secures, by its rugged Situation, a Number of Kabyles from becoming tributary to the *Algerines*.

3. THE Province of *Constantina* is situated between the River *Booberak*, which separates it from *Titterie* on the West, and the River *Zaine*, which divides it from the Kingdom of *Tunis* on the East, and is almost equal to the two former Provinces, being upwards of 200 Miles in Length, and more than 100 in Breadth. The Tribute likewise collected by this Viceroy, is much greater than that of the other two; inasmuch as the *Titterie* Bey brings only every Year into the Treasury about 12,000 Dollars, and the Western Bey 40,000 or 50,000; whereas there is paid in by the Viceroy of this Province never less than 80,000, and sometimes 100,000.

THE Coast of this Province, from the *Booberak* to *Boujejah*, and from thence almost entirely to *Bona*, is mountainous and rocky, answering very appositely to the Title of the High or Lofty.

THE chief Towns of this Province are, 1. *Bugia*, formerly the Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name, situate on an Hill near the Mouth of the River, about twenty Leagues East of *Algiers*, the Port being formed by a narrow Neck of Land running out into the Sea. It is a fortified Town, built upon the Ruins of a large City, and a great Part of the old Wall still remaining, which is carried up to the Top of the Mountain; and besides a Castle on the Hill, which commands the City, there are two more at the Bottom of it for the Security of the Port; but these, it seems, were not able to defend the Ships in the River's Mouth, when they were attacked by Sir *Edward Spragg*, the *English* Admiral, in the Year 1671; for he took and destroyed nine *Algerine* Men of War in this Harbour.

2. *CONSTANTINA*, the Capital of the Province, the antient *Cirta*, situated on the River *Rummel*, upwards of ninety Miles to the Southward of *Bugia*, of which Dr. *Shaw* gives the following Description. The greatest Part of the Town hath been built upon a Kind of peninsular Promontory, inaccessible on all Sides, except towards the South-West. This I computed to be a good Mile in Circuit; and is situate on a Precipice of at least 100 Fathom perpendicular.

BARBARY.
Constantina
Province.

Bugia Town,

Constantina
City.

BARBARY.

cular. In this Direction we have a beautiful Landkip, arising from a great Variety of Vales, Mountains and Rivers, which lie before it to a great Distance.

Seasons, Soil
Produce, and
Husbandry.

BARBARY, according to Dr. *Shaw*, enjoys a wholesome Temperature of Air, neither too hot in Summer, nor too sharp and cold in Winter. The Winds are generally from the Sea, *i. e.* from the West (by the North) to the East. Those from the East are common at *Algiers* from *May* to *September*, at which Time the Westerly Winds take Place, and become the most frequent. Sometimes also, particularly about the Equinoxes, we very sensibly experience that Force and Impetuosity, which the Antients have ascribed to the *Africus*, or South-West Wind, called *Labach* by the Mariners of these Seas. The Southerly Winds, which are usually hot and violent, are not frequent at *Algiers*. They blow sometimes for five or six Days together, in *July* and *August*, rendering the Air so excessively suffocating, that during their Continuance, the Inhabitants are obliged to sprinkle the Floors of their House with Water.

THE Winds from the West, the North-West, and the North, are attended with fair Weather in Summer, and Rain in Winter: But the Easterly Winds, no less than the Southerly, are for the most Part dry, though accompanied with a thick and cloudy Atmosphere in most Seasons.

It is seldom known to rain in this Climate during the Summer-Season, and in most Part of the *Sabara*, or Desert, on the South of *Algiers*, particularly in the *Yereed*, they have rarely any Rain at all. The first Rains fall some Years in *September*; in others a Month later; after which the *Arabs* break up their Ground, and begin to sow Wheat, and plant Beans. This commonly falls out about the Middle of *October*; but the sowing of Barley, and the planting of Lentils and Gravances, is a Fortnight or three Weeks later, or not till the End of *November*. If the latter fall in the Middle of *April* (as they usually do) the Crop is reckoned secure; the Harvest following in the latter End of *May*, or in

the Beginning of *June*, according to the BARBARY. preceding Quality of the Season.

Two Bushels and a Half of Wheat, or Barley, are judged here to be sufficient to sow as much Ground as a Pair of Oxen will plow in one Day, which I have always found to be, a little more or less, equal to one of our Acres. I could never learn that any Part of *Barbary* afforded yearly more than one Crop, one Bushel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, though some Districts, I have been informed, afford a much greater Increase. There is but one Kind of Wheat and Barley cultivated in this Country. In some Districts, where they have a Command of Water during the Summer-Season, the Natives cultivate Rice, *Indian* Corn, and particularly a white Sort of Millet, which the *Arabs* call *Drah*, and prefer it to Barley for the fattening of their Cattle. Oats are not cultivated at all by the *Arabs* (the Horses of this Country feeding altogether upon Barley) neither is Big (or Winter-Wheat) so much as known in this Climate.

THE *Moors* and *Arabs* continue to tread out their Corn, after the primitive Custom in the East. After the Grain is trodden out, they winnow it, by throwing it up into the Wind with Shovels, lodging it afterwards in *Mattamores* or subterraneous Magazines.

BEANS, Lentils, and Gravances (the latter of which is a Cicer or Chich-Pea) are the chief Pieces of Pulse that are cultivated in these Kingdoms. Pease, till of late, were known in the Gardens only of the several Christian Merchants. They are sown with the first Rains, and blossom in the latter End of *February*, or the Beginning of *March*. Beans are usually full podded at that Time, and being boiled up with Oil and Garlick, are the principal Food of Persons of all Distinction during the Spring. After them Lentils and Gravances begin to be gathered.

OF Roots, Pot-Herbs, and the Fruits of the Country, there is not only a great Plenty and Variety, but a Continuance or Succession at least of one Kind or other throughout the whole Year.

T H E R E

BARBARY. THERE are great Numbers of Palm-Trees in this Country, also Almond-Trees, Apricots, Plumbs, Cherries, Mulberries, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Nectarins, Pomegranates, Prickle-Pears, Olives, Walnuts; but no Hasel Filberts, Gooseberry or Currant Trees.

THE Grape ripens towards the latter End of *July*, and is cut for the Vintage in *September*. The Wine of *Algiers*, before the Locusts, in the Years 1723 and 1724, made such vast Destruction of the Vineyards, was not inferior to the best *Hermitage*, either in Briskness of Taste or Flavour. But since that Time it is much degenerated, having not hitherto recovered its usual Qualities, though, perhaps, it may still dispute the Preference with the Wine of *Spain* or *Portugal*. The Lemon (and sometimes the *Seville* Orange) Tree, is always in a Succession of Fruit and Blossoms; but the *China*, as it is commonly called, is a Foreigner, and beareth only towards the latter End of Autumn.

As to their Gardens, there is nothing laid out with Method, Beauty or Design; the Whole being only a Medley and Confusion of Trees, with Beds of Cabbages, Turneps, Beans, Gravances, &c. nay, sometimes of Wheat and Barley dispersed among them. Fine Walks, Parterres, and Flower-Plats, would be to these People the Loss of so much profitable Soil; as planting in Order and Regularity, the Study of Soil and Composts, or the aiming at any new Improvements and Discoveries, would be so many Deviations from the Practice of their Ancestors, whose Footsteps they follow with the utmost Reverence and Devotion.

THE Soil, which supports these Vegetables, is for the most Part of such a loose and yielding Contexture, that an ordinary Pair of Oxen is sufficient, in one Day, to plough an Acre of the stiffest Sort of it. The Colour of it is not always the same; for in the Plains of *Zeidoure* it is blackish, whilst in those of *Elmildegab*, &c. it inclineth to be red; though all of them are equally fruitful, and impregnated alike with great Quantities of Salt and Nitre.

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IN the Salt-Petre Works of *Tlemfan*, **BARBARY.** they extract six Ounces of Nitre from every Quintal of the common Mould, which is there of a dark Colour; and at *Doufan*, *Kairwan*, and some other Places, they have the like Quantity from a loamy Earth, of a Colour betwixt Red and Yellow. The Banks of several Rivers, to the Depth, sometimes, of two, or three Fathoms, are studded, in Summer-Time, with nitrous and saline Knobs and Exudations, which, besides the Depth of the Soil, shew us likewise, how well it is saturated with these Minerals. For to this grand and inexhaustible Fund of Salt, we may, in a great Measure, attribute the great Fertility for which this Country has always been remarkable, and still continueth to be so, without any other manuring than the burning, in some few Places, of the Stubble: Though it is somewhat extraordinary, that the Province of *Bizacium*, which was formerly held in so much Repute for its Fertility, should be at present the most barren and unprofitable Part of these Kingdoms.

It appears further, that the Salt is the chief and prevailing Mineral of these Kingdoms, as well from the several Salt-Springs and Mountains of Salt, as from the great Number of salinous Shibkahs, that are one where or other to be met with in every District.

THE Salt-Pits of *Arzew* lie surrounded with Mountains, taking up an Area of about six Miles in Compass. They appear like a large Lake in Winter, but are dry in Summer, the Water being then exhaled, and the Salt left behind crystalized. In digging they pass through different Layers of this Salt, whereof some are an Inch, others more in Thickness; in Proportion, I presume, to the Quantity of Saline Particles the Water was impregnated with, before their respective Concretions. This whole Area is made up of a Succession of similar Strata heaped one upon another: And in the same Manner are the Salinae betwixt *Carthage* and the *Gulletta*, those of the *Shott*, and of other Places, either bordering upon, or lying within the *Sabara*.

JEBBEL HAD-DESSA is an entire Mountain of Salt, situated near the

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Eastern

BARBARY. Eastern Extremity of the Lake of *Marks*.

The Salt of it is of a quite different Quality and Appearance from that of the *Salinæ*, being as hard and solid as Stone, and of a reddish or purple Colour. Yet what is washed down from these Precipices, by the Dews, attaineth another Colour, becoming as white as Snow, and losing that Share of Bitterness, which is in the Parent Rock-Salt. The Salt of the Mountains, near *Lwotaiab* and *Jibbel Minifs*, is of a grey or bluish Colour, and, without submitting to the like accidental Purification as at *Had-Deffa*, is very agreeable to the Palate; the first especially being sold at *Algiers* for a Penny an Ounce.

OF the like Quality and Flavour is the Salt of the Lake of *Marks* (called likewise *Babirah Pharuoune*) and of other lesser Plains of the same Nature. These are usually called *Shibkab*, i. e. Salty Plats of Ground, being commonly overflowed in Winter (at the same Time they appear like so many extensive Lakes) but are dry all Summer (when they may be taken for the like Number of Bowling-Greens prepared for the Turf.) Some of these *Shibkabs*, have a hard and solid Bottom, without the least Mixture of gritty Mould, retaining the Salt that lieth crytallized upon them after Rain. But others are of a more ouzy, absorbent Nature, seldom preserving any saline Incrustations upon the Surface.

BUT, besides the Salt-Springs and Rivulets, already mentioned, these Countries abound in hot and sulphurous Springs and Baths. Some of these Waters are little more than lukewarm; others of more intense Heat, and very proper to bathe in, while the *Hammam-Meskouteen*, and the upper Bath at *Mereega*, are much too hot for that Purpose; the former boiling a large Piece of Mutton very tender in a Quarter of an Hour.

BESIDES the hot Mineral Effluvia that are continually discharged by the *Thermæ*, there still remains below the Surface some vast and inexhaustible Funds of Sulphur, Nitre, and other inflammable Bodies, of which the Frequency and Violence of the Earthquakes, *Anno 1723* and *1724*, shook

down a Number of Houses, and closed up BARBARY.

the Course of several Fountains: But by one of these violent Concussions, *Anno 1716*, a large Patch of Ground at *Wamre*, lying in an easy Descent, with a Well, a few Trees, and a Farm-House, glided all down together for the Space of a Furlong, till they were, one or other of them, stopped by the Channel of the *Harbune*. Several of the Branches, together with some Pieces of the House, turned upside down, and lying a Distance from each other, are to this Day standing Monuments of this Catastrophe. I was likewise informed, that the like Accident happened at the same Time in some of the mountainous Districts near *Boujeiab* and *El-Khadarab*. The great Shock in *Anno 1724*, was perceived from *Miliana* to *Bona*, the Air being then very clear and temperate, and the Quicksilver standing at the greatest Height, whilst, upon Enquiry, other Concussions were only found to be local, or of small Extent; the Quicksilver, in these Cases, observing no certain Period, and the Air being, as at other Times, either calm or windy, hazy or serene.

EARTHQUAKES, during my Stay at *Algiers*, fell out generally a Day or two after a great Rain, at the End of the Summer, or in the Autumn. The Cause, perhaps, may arise from the extraordinary Constipation or Closeness of the Surface at such Times, whereby the subterraneous Streams will be either sent back or confined; whereas the whole Country being full of deep Chinks and Chasins, the inflammable Particles have an easier Escape.

LEAD and Iron are the only Metals that have yet been discovered in *Barbary*; the latter white and good, but in no great Quantity. Their Lead Ore is very rich, and might be obtained in large Quantities, if their Mines were under a good Regulation.

BESIDES the Horse, the Mule, the Ass, Animals, and Camel, used in *Barbary* for riding and carrying Burthens, Dr. *Shaw* mentions another Animal, called the *Kumrah*, a little serviceable Beast of Burthen, got betwixt an Ass and a Cow, being single hoofed like

BARBARY. like the Afs, but the Tail and Head (except the Horns) like a Cow, and a Skin sleeker than that of the Afs.

THE Neat Cattle of this Country are generally very small and slender, the fattest of them, when brought from the Stall, rarely weighing above five or six Quintals, or 100 Weight; neither is their Milk in Proportion to their Sizes; for notwithstanding the rich Herbage of this Country from *December* to *July*, the Butter hath never the Substance or Richness of Taste, with what our *English* Dairies afford us in the Depth of Winter. *Abdy Bashaw*, the late Dey of *Algiers*, was no less surprized than his Ministers, when Admiral *Cavendish*, a few Years ago, acquainted him, that he had a *Hampshire* Cow aboard the *Canterbury* (then in the Road of *Algiers*) which gave a Gallon of Milk a Day; a Quantity equal to what half a Dozen of the best *Barbary* Cows would yield in the same Time. The *Barbary* Cattle, likewise, have another Imperfection, that they always lose their Calves and their Milk together.

THE Sheep and Goats contribute also to the Dairies of this Country, it being chiefly of their Milk that the *Moors* and *Arabs* make Cheese. Instead of Runnet, they make Use (in the Summer-Season particularly) of the Flowers of the great-headed Thistle, or wild Artichoke, to turn the Milk, putting the Curds thus made into small Baskets of Rushes, or *Palmetta* Leaves, and binding them afterwards and pressing them. I have already seen many of these Cheeses above two or three Pounds Weight, being usually of the Shape and Size of a Penny-Loaf. They have no other Method of making Butter, than by putting their Milk or Cream into a Goat-Skin, which being suspended from one Side of the Tent to the other, and pressed too and fro in one uniform Direction, quickly occasioneth that Separation which is required of the unctuous wheyey Parts.

BESIDES the great Variety of the Cattle of this Country, we may observe further, that each Species are very numerous and prolific. Several *Arabian* Tribes can bring into the Field only 300 or 400

Horses, at the same Time that they are BARBARY. possessed of more than so many thousand Camels, and triple again that Number of Sheep and Black Cattle. The *Arabs* rarely kill any of their Flocks, living chiefly upon their Milk and Butter, or else upon what they get in Exchange for their Wool.

OF Cattle that are not naturally tame and domesticated, these Kingdoms afford large Herds of the Neat Kind, called *Bekker-el-wash* by the *Arabs*. This Species is remarkable for having a rounder Turn of Body, a flatter Face, with Horns bending more to each other than in the tame Kind; these are of the Size of the Red Deer, with which they agree in Colour.

AMONG their Wild Beasts are the Lion and Panther: The Tyger is not a Native of *Barbary*.

THE *Dubbah* is an Animal about the Bigness of a Wolf, but of a flatter Body, and naturally limps upon the hinder Right Leg.

BESIDES these Animals, it has others in common with other Countries, as Red and Fallow Deer, the Gazel or Antelope, the Bear, the Ape, the Ichneumon, the Porcupine, the Hedge-Hog, the Fox, the Ferret, the Weasel, besides the Mole, the Rabbit, the Hare, and the Wild Boar, which are every where in great Numbers. The Lion is supposed to prey chiefly upon the latter, which notwithstanding hath sometimes been known to defend itself with so much Bravery, that the Victory hath inclined to neither Side, the Carcasses of them both having been found lying dead together all in a Gore, and mangled to Pieces.

THE Locusts, which I saw in the Years 1724 and 1725, says Dr. *Shaw*, were much bigger than our common Grasshoppers, having brown spotted Wings, with Legs and Bodies of a bright Yellow. Their first Appearance was towards the latter End of *March*, the Wind having been for some Time Southerly, and in the Middle of *April* their Numbers were so vastly increased, that in the Heat of the Day, they formed themselves into large Bodies, appeared like a Succession of Clouds, and darkened the Sun: About the Middle of *May*,

BARBARY. *May*, when their Ovaries were turgid, each of these Bodies began gradually to disappear, retiring into the *Metijah*, and other adjacent Plains, to deposit their Eggs. Accordingly, in the Month following, their young Broods began gradually to make their Appearance, and it was surprizing to observe, that no sooner were any of them hatched, than they immediately collected themselves together, each of them forming a compact Body of several hundred Yards square, which marching afterwards directly forward, climbed over Trees, Walls, and Houses, and eat up every Plant in their Way, and let nothing escape them. The Inhabitants, to stop their Progress, made Trenches all over their Fields and Gardens, and filled them with Water; or else placing in a Row great Quantities of Heath, Stubble, and such like combustible Matter, they set them on Fire on the Approach of the Locusts. But all this was to no Purpose, for the Trenches were quickly filled up, and the Fires put out by infinite Swarms succeeding one another, whilst the Front seemed regardless of Danger, and the Rear pressed on so close, that a Retreat was impossible. A Day or two after one of these Bodies was in Motion, others were already hatched to glean after them, gnawing off the young Branches, and the very Bark of such Trees as had escaped before with the Loss only of their Fruit and Foliage; so justly hath the inspired Writer compared them to a great Army, and observed, That the Land is as the Garden of *Eden* before them, and behind them a desolate Wilderness.

HAVING, in this Manner, lived near a Month upon the Ruin and Destruction of every Thing that was green and juicy, they arrived at their full Growth, and threw off their worm-like State by casting their Skins. To prepare themselves for the Change, they clung by their hinder Feet, to some Bush, Twig, or Corner of a Stone, when, immediately, by an undulating Motion, used upon the Occasion, their Heads would first appear, and soon after the rest of their Bodies, after which they lay in a languishing Condition; but as soon as the Sun and Air had hardened their Wings,

and dried up the Moisture that remain-**BARBARY.** ed upon them, after the casting off their Sloughs, they returned again to their former Voracity, with an Addition both of Strength and Agility: But they continued not long in this State, before they were entirely dispersed, as their Parents had been before, after the laying of their Eggs; and as the Direction of their Marches, and Flights of them both, was always to the Northward, it is probable they perished in the Sea, a Grave, which, according to those People, they have only in common with other winged Creatures.

THESE Insects, sprinkled with Salt, and fried, are, in Taste, not much unlike the River Cray-Fish.

AFRICA produces few Monsters: According to the same Author, the natural and ordinary Course of Things is much the same in *Barbary*, as in other Places; each Species, as far as I could be informed, keeping inviolably to itself; for if we except the Mule and the Kumrah, (which two are produced from Animals under the Direction of Mankind, and, therefore, not so properly left to themselves) few, I presume, if any other Instances, can be fairly urged in Favour of the old Observation, that *Africa* is always producing some new Monsters.

ARTS and Sciences are little known or encouraged in *Barbary*: Besides their Arts and Sciences. Koran, and some other Enthusiastick Comments upon it, very few Books are read or enquired after, by those few Persons of riper Years, who have both Time and Leisure for Study and Contemplation. All that Variety of Learning which they formerly either invented themselves, or adopted into their own Language, may be reduced, at present, to a few Sheets of blundering Geography, or to some tiresome Memoirs of the Transactions of their own Times; for such Branches of History as are older than their Prophet, are a Medley only of Romance and Confusion.

UPON my Arrival at *Algiers*, says the same Writer, I made it my chief Business, to be acquainted with such Persons as had the Character of being learned and curious; and though it is very difficult (as well

BARBARY. well from their natural Shyness to Strangers, as from a particular Contempt they have for Christians) to cultivate any real Friendship among them; yet, in a little Time, I could find the chief Astronomer (who had the Superintendence and Regulation of the Hour of Prayer) had not Trigonometry enough to project a Sun-Dial; that the whole Art of Navigation, as it is practiced at *Algiers* and *Tunis*, consisted in nothing more than what is called the pricking of a Chart, and distinguishing the eight principal Points of the Compass. Even Chymistry, formerly the favourite Science of these People, is no farther applied at present, than to the distilling of Rose-Water.

THERE are not, indeed, wanting several Persons who prescribe in Physick, play upon a Variety of Musical Instruments, and are concerned in other Actions and Performances, which seem, at least, to suppose some Skill in the Nature of Mathematicks; yet all this is learned merely by Practice, long Habit and Custom, assisted, for the most Part, with great Strength of Memory and Quickness of Invention; for no Objection can be made against the natural Parts and Abilities of these People, which are certainly subtle and ingenious, only Time, Application, and Encouragement, are wanting to cultivate and improve them.

FEW Persons will either admit of Advice or Medicine, believing in strict and absolute Predestination, whilst others, who are less superstitious, prevent the Assistance of both by their ill Conduct and Management, leaving all to the Strength of Nature, or else to *Mager-eah*, as they call Charms and Enchantments.

NEITHER Numeral Arithmetick, or Algebra, are known to one Person in twenty Thousand, notwithstanding their Forefathers, if we may judge from the Name, seem to have been the Inventors of the one, as they have given to all *Europe* the Characters of the other. However, the Merchants, besides being frequently very dextrous in the Addition and Subtraction of large Sums by Memory, have a singular Method of Numeration, by putting their Hands into each other's Sleeve, and there touching one

another with this or that Finger, or such particular Joint of it (each of them denoting a determined Sum or Number) they will transact Affairs of the greatest Value, without speaking to one another, or letting the Standers-by into the Secret.

NO Nation in the World is so much Superstition. given to Superstition as the *Arabs*, or even the Mahometans in general. They hang about the Childrens Necks, the Figure of an open Hand, which the *Turks* and *Moors* paint upon their Ships and Houses, as an Antidote and Counter-Charm to an evil Eye; for five with them is an unlucky Number. Those who are grown up carry always about with them some Paragraph or other of the Koran, which as the *Jews* did their Phylacteries, they place upon their Breast, or sew under their Caps, to prevent Fascination and Witchcraft, and to secure themselves from Sickness and Misfortunes.

THE Virtue of these Charms and Scrolls is supposed likewise to be so far universal, that they hang them upon the Necks of their Horses and other Beasts of Burthen. They place great Confidence in Magicians and Sorcerers; and upon some extraordinary Occasions, particularly in a lingering Distemper, they use several superstitious Ceremonies in the Sacrificing of a Cock, a Sheep, or a Goat, by burying the whole Carcase under Ground, or by drinking a Part of the Blood, or else by burning or dispersing the Feathers. For it is a prevailing Opinion all over this Country, that a great many Diseases proceed from some Offence or other that has been given to the *Jenoune*, a Sort of Creatures placed by the Mahometans betwixt Angels and Devils. These, like the Fairies of our Fathers, are supposed to frequent Shades and Fountains, and to assume the Bodies of Toads, Worms, and other little Animals, which being always in our Way, are liable every Moment to be hurt and molested. When any Person, therefore, is sickly or maimed, he fancies that he hath injured one or other of these Beings, and immediately, the Women who are dextrous in these Ceremonies, go up-

BARBARY. on a *Wednesday* with Frankincense, and other Perfumes, to some neighbouring Spring, and there sacrifice, as I have already hinted, a Hen or a Cock, an Ewe or a Ram, &c. according to the Sex and Quality of the Patient, and the Nature of the Distemper.

Tunis Kingdom, Situation.

THE Kingdom of *Tunis*, the antient *Africa Proper*, is situate between 6 and 11 Degrees of Eastern Longitude, and between 30 and 37 Degrees of North Latitude; bounded by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the North and East, by Mount *Atlas* South, and by the Kingdom of *Algiers* on the West; being about 400 Miles long from North to South, and 250 Miles broad where broadest. Several Branches of Mount *Atlas* encumber this Country; but they have many fruitful Vallies.

Mountains.

Rivers.

THE chief Rivers are those of *Guadil-barbar*, the Western Boundary; and that of *Megarada*, which runs through the Middle of it: Both of them rise in Mount *Atlas*, and running from South to North, discharge themselves into the *Mediterranean*.

Chief Towns.

THEIR chief Towns are, 1. *Cairoan*, situate on the Eastern Coast, said to be the first Town the *Saracens* built, and the Residence of their Sultans, who had the Dominion of *Barbary*.

2. *AFRICA*, situate on the same Coast, ninety Miles South-East of *Tunis*, held to be the *Adrumetum* of the Antients.

3. *SUSA*, the antient *Ruspina*, situate on the same Coast, twenty-five Miles East of *Tunis*.

Tunis City.

4. *TUNIS*, at present the Capital of this Kingdom, situate in a fine Plain, on the Confines of a spacious Lake, in $36\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees of North Latitude, and 10 Degrees of Eastern Longitude; nine or ten Leagues South of the Ruins of *Carthage*, a large populous City, the Seat of the Government, and a Place of some Trade.

Carthage.

5. *CARTHAGE*, or rather the Place where it stood, for it is now dwindled to a Village, is situate in 9 Degrees of East Longitude, and $36\frac{1}{2}$ North Latitude, on a Peninsula, formed by two Bays of the *Mediterranean* Sea: Here are still some Marble Ruins, and several Arches of the

Aqueduct standing, which used to convey **BARBARY.** Water to the City from a Fountain, thirty Miles distant from the Town.

6. *BYSERTA*, the antient *Utica*, a *Utica*. Port-Town, situate on the *Mediterranean*, in 9 Degrees of Eastern Longitude, and 37 North Latitude; where *Cato* chose to be his own Executioner, rather than submit to *Cæsar*. This was built before *Carthage*.

THE Kingdom of *Tripoli*, including *Barca*, is situate between 10 and 30 Degrees of Eastern Longitude, and between 30 and 34 Degrees of North Latitude, being 1200 Miles long, and the greatest Breadth 240 Miles; bounded by the *Mediterranean* Sea North, by the Kingdom of *Egypt* East, by *Nubia* and the unknown Parts of *Africa* South, and by *Tunis* on the West. The Country of *Tripoli Proper* has a fruitful Soil; but *Barca* is a perfect Desert, and destitute of Towns, though formerly it was a considerable Territory, annexed to *Egypt*, and had the Name of *Cyrene*.

Tripoli Kingdom.

THE chief Town of *Tripoli Proper* is of the same Name, and a populous Place, situate near the *Mediterranean*, in $14\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees of East Longitude, and $33\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees of North Latitude.

THE Governments of *Tunis* and *Tripoli* resemble that of *Algiers*; only in the two former the Grand Signior has a Bassa, who is advised with in Matters of State, and collects the Tribute demanded by the Porte; whereas the Dey of *Algiers* is entirely independant, and has no Bassa to controul him.

As to the Original of these piratical States, it appears that the *Moors* of *Spain*, having been driven from that Country in the Year 1492, and transported to the Coast of *Barbary*, took all Opportunities of retaliating the Injury that was done them, and revenging themselves on the *Spaniards*, by taking their Merchant Ships, and plundering the Towns on the Coast; which they were very successful in for some Years, being well acquainted with the Country; and they found Means in these Excursions to surprize and carry Multitudes of People into Captivity. Whereupon Cardinal *Ximenes*, Prime-Minister to

Original of these Kingdoms.

Ferdinand

BARBARY. *Ferdinand V.* King of *Arragon*, in order to restrain these Outrages, fitted out a Fleet in the Year 1505; on which having embarked a Body of Land-Forces, under the Command of *Peter*, Count of *Navarre*, he besieged and took the Town of *Oran*, on the Coast of *Barbary*, then inhabited by *Moors*, who had been driven from *Grenada* and *Valencia*. The Count afterwards made himself Master of *Bugia*, and several other Towns upon the same Coast, together with the little Island that lies before the Bay of *Algiers*, whereby he prevented the *Moors* Shipping going in or out of that Port, and gave the Town Apprehensions of falling suddenly under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*.

IN this Distress, Prince *Selim*, then Sovereign of *Algiers*, having heard of the Fame of *Barbarossa*, the successful *Turkish* Corsair, sent to desire his Assistance against the *Spaniards*: The Pirate was cruising in the *Mediterranean*, when he received the Invitation, and glad of the Opportunity, sent eighteen Gallies, and thirty small Barks, to *Algiers*, marching thither by Land himself, with such Forces as he could assemble on a sudden. The *Algerines* receiving Advice of his Approach, marched out of Town, with Prince *Selim* at their Head, to welcome their Deliverer; and having conducted him to *Algiers*, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, he was lodged in the Prince's Palace. But their Joy was not long lived; for the Pirate, who, for many Years had made no Scruple of seizing whatever came in his Way, immediately formed a Design of making himself Sovereign of *Algiers*; and having found Means to assassinate Prince *Selim* privately, caused himself to be proclaimed King, massacring all those he imagined might oppose his Designs: Whereupon most of the Natives abandoned the Place, and left the Usurper in the peaceable Possession of the City; but, upon his promising them his Protection, and the Enjoyment of their antient Laws and Liberties, they returned to their Habitations, and acknowledged him their Sovereign. They soon found themselves, however, under the Dominion of a barbarous Tyrant, who, after he had fortified

the Place, and secured his Possession, treated them no better than Slaves. BARBARY.

THIS Revolution happened at *Algiers* in the Year 1516; and the Son of Prince *Selim* flying to *Oran* for Protection, prevailed on the *Spaniards*, the Year following, to fit out a strong Fleet, with an Army of 10,000 Landmen on Board, to assist him to recover his Right, promising to acknowledge the King of *Spain* for his Sovereign, if he succeeded: But the *Spanish* Fleet, being arrived near *Algiers*, was dispersed, or shipwrecked in a violent Storm, and most of their Forces drowned, cut in Pieces, or made Slaves by the *Turks*. *Barbarossa*, puffed up with this Success, continued to treat the *Moors*, both in Town and Country, with greater Insolence than ever, which induced the rest of the *Moorish* Princes to enter into a Confederacy against the Usurper; and having chosen the King of *Tenez* their General, and assembled 10,000 Horse, and a good Body of Foot, they took the Field, in order to lay Siege to *Algiers*. *Barbarossa*, having Intelligence of their Motions, marched out to meet them, with no more than 1000 *Turkish* Musketeers, and 500 *Moors* he could confide in, and had the good Fortune to defeat the numerous Forces of his Enemies; who being without Fire-Arms, were soon disordered by his Musketeers, and especially their Horse, on whom they most relied: After which the Conqueror entered the City of *Tenez*, the King being fled to Mount *Atlas*, and caused the Inhabitants to proclaim him their King.

THERE happened about the same Time an Insurrection in the Kingdom of *Tremesen*, which lies still more to the Westward; and the Rebels, hearing of the surprizing Successes of *Barbarossa*, invited him to come and deliver them from the Oppressions they pretended to have suffered under their native Sovereign, a Message extremely acceptable to the ambitious *Turk*, who, having sent for a Re-inforcement of Troops, and his Artillery from *Algiers*, immediately advanced towards *Tremesen*; and engaging that King in the Plain of *Aghad*, obtained a compleat Victory; to which his Artillery and Small-Arms very much contributed

BARBARY.

tributed, the *Moors* having neither the one or the other, but still fought with their old Weapons, Launces, Bows, and Swords. The King of *Tremesen*, it seems, escaped out of the Battle, but his traitorous Subjects afterwards murdered him, and sent his Head to the Conqueror; who thereupon entered the City of *Tremesen* in Triumph, and was proclaimed King. The Citizens acknowledged him their Sovereign, and took the Oaths of Allegiance to *Barbarossa*, who now saw himself Master of three Kingdoms within the Space of a Year, which he had acquired with the Assistance of a Handful of Men: But as *Tremesen* was in the Neighbourhood of *Oran*, he justly apprehended the *Spaniards* would not long permit him to enjoy his Conquests in Quiet. He entered, therefore, into an Alliance with *Muley Hamet*, King of *Fez*, the most powerful of the *African* Princes, who was no less an Enemy to *Spain* than himself; and, thus supported, he did not doubt but he should be able to defend the extensive Territories he had conquered against all the Power of the Christians: And he might have judged right possibly, if his Ally, the King of *Fez*, had been as ready to oppose the Efforts of the *Spaniards* as he was. But *Charles V.* coming to take Possession of the Throne of *Spain* about this Time, and being implored by the Prince of *Tremesen* to assist him in the Recovery of his Father's Kingdom out of the Hands of *Barbarossa*, he sent over 10,000 Men from *Spain*, under the Command of the Governor of *Oran*, who immediately took the Field, and, being joined by a good Body of *Moors* and *Arabs*, marched towards *Tremesen*. Whereupon *Barbarossa* immediately sent to his Ally, the King of *Fez*, to hasten to his Assistance, and marched in Person, with 1500 *Turkish* Musketeers, and 5000 *Moorish* Horse, to attend the Motions of the Governor of *Oran*, till he should be joined by the King of *Fez*; but, being hemmed in by the *Spaniards*, and endeavouring to break through them in the Night-Time, he was cut in Pieces with all his *Turkish* Infantry; whereupon the Governor of *Oran* continued his March to *Tremesen*, and the

Citizens opening their Gates to him, the BARBARY.

young Prince was restored to his Throne. Some Days after the Battle, the King of *Fez* arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Tremesen*, with an Army of 20,000 Men; but hearing of the Success of the *Spaniards*, he returned with more Haste into the Country than he came: Whereby the *Spaniards* had an Opportunity of recovering both *Tenez* and *Algiers*, if they had pursued their Success, and might with Ease, have expelled the *Turks* from the Coast of *Barbary* at that Time; but the Governor of *Oran* contented himself with what he had done, and sent back the Forces to *Spain* that had been employed in this Expedition, at a Time when the *Turks* of *Algiers* had given themselves over for lost. But finding the *Spaniards* made no Preparation to attack them, they proclaimed *Cberedin*, the Brother of *Barbarossa*, their King, who met with no Disturbance till the Year 1529, when he understood there was a general Conspiracy of the *Moors* and *Arabs*, to free themselves from the *Turkish* Yoke, and recover their antient Liberties: And, as he was conscious he was too weak to resist their united Forces, especially if they should be joined by the *Spaniards*, whom he apprehended to be at the Bottom of this Conspiracy, he dispatched an Express to *Selim*, the then Grand Signior; representing, That all *Africa* would soon fall under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, if the *Turks* should be driven from *Algiers*; and desiring he would send him a strong Re-inforcement of Troops, promising to resign his Kingdoms to the Porte, and that he would act for the future, as *Basha*, or Viceroy to the Grand Signior.

THE Ottoman Emperor accepted *Cberedin's* Offer, and sent 2000 Janizaries to his Assistance; publishing a Proclamation at the same Time, That all *Turks*, who should resort to *Algiers*, should enjoy the same Privileges there, as the Janizaries did at *Constantinople*; whereupon all People of desperate Fortunes, and whose Crimes had rendered them obnoxious to the Government, immediately entered themselves in the Service of *Cberedin Barbarossa*, and with these Re-inforcements, he was soon

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BARBARY. in a Condition to defeat all the Conspiracies of the *Moors*, and render himself absolute Master of that Part of *Barbary*: He also subdued the Island the *Spaniards* had possessed themselves of at the Mouth of the Bay of *Algiers*, and, by a Mole, joined it to the Continent; and having erected a strong Fortrefs on the Island, he enlarged his piratical Fleet, and so infested the Coasts of *Spain* and *Italy*, that a Merchant-Ship could not stir out of any Port, without falling into the Hands of his Corsairs. He also made frequent Descents upon the Coasts, carrying Multitudes of Christians into Slavery; and this at the Time when *Charles V.* then Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, was at the Height of his Glory.

THIS Prince, now Sovereign of the best Part of *Europe*, incensed to see his Dominions insulted, and his Subjects daily carried into Slavery by these rascally Pirates; and being incited to extirpate them by Pope *Paul III.* as Enemies, not only to the Christian Faith, but to all Mankind; the Emperor, in the Year 1541, having assembled a Fleet of 500 Sail, including Transports and Gallies, embarked with an Army of 20,000 Men and upwards, in *Spain*, and arriving before the Bay of *Algiers*, the latter End of *October*, landed about two Thirds of his Army, and summoned the Place, which was upon the Point of surrendering to him, when a sudden Storm happened, in which great Part of his Fleet was wrecked, his Provisions all destroyed, and such heavy Rains at the same Time fell on the Shore, that his Forces could no longer keep the Field; whereupon he found himself obliged to abandon the Enterprize, and re-imbark what Forces he had left, having lost, at least, one Third of them, either by Shipwreck or the Sword of the Enemy, in his Retreat; though, had this Enterprize been undertaken sooner in the Year, in all Probability it had succeeded, and *Charles V.* had added *Africa* to his Empire, which was already extended over the best Part of *Europe* and *America*.

BUT I should have taken Notice, that some little Time before this memorable

Enterprize of *Charles V.* the Grand Signior **BARBARY.** had preferred *Cberedin Barbarossa* to the honourable Post of Captain *Basha*, and Commander in Chief of all the Territories of *Algiers*; but thought fit to appoint *Hassan Aga*, the Eunuch, *Basha* of the Town of *Algiers*, probably to be a Check upon *Cberedin*, and prevent his setting up again for himself. And after the Death of *Barbarossa II.* the Porte governed the Kingdom of *Algiers* by their *Bashas* (as other Provinces of that Empire are governed) till the Seventeenth Century, when the Janizaries, or Militia of *Algiers*, it is said, represented to the Grand Signior, that his *Bashas* tyrannized over the Country, squandered away the Soldiers Pay, and rendered the Government of the *Turks* so odious there, that the *Spaniards* and *Moors* were about to unite against them, and would infallibly drive the *Turks* from the Coast of *Barbary*, if that Government was not better regulated: They desired, therefore, that they might elect one of their Officers, with the Title of *Dey*, to be their Governor; promising, thereupon, to raise Supplies sufficient to maintain their Forces, which would save the Porte an immense Charge, and that they would, however, always acknowledge the Grand Signior for their Sovereign; in which Proposal, it seems, the Porte acquiesced. They elected a *Dey*, and under the Government of such Magistrates of their own electing they remain at present; but in no Part of the World are there such frequent Instances of the People's deposing and murdering their Princes, scarce any of them dying a natural Death. They reign with absolute Authority for a few Years, Months, or Weeks; and sometimes a few Hours puts an End to their Dominion and their Lives; nor are the *Algerines* at present otherwise subject to the Dominion of the Grand Signior, than as they acknowledge him the Head of their Religion. His Orders are very little regarded in their Territories.

To every private Soldier of this Body, it seems, they give the Title of *Effendi*, or Lords; and indeed these Lordains demand a Respect from the Natives equal to that of Princes;

BARBARY. Princes; and out of them are elected their Deys or Kings, their Agas, their Beys or Viceroys. The Governors of Towns, and all Officers of State, and this Militia, are exempted from all Taxes and Duties whatever, seldom punished for any Crimes unless those against the State; nor is any Justice to be obtained against them, where the native *Moors*, *Arabs*, Christians, or *Jews*, are Parties: They fly the Streets if they see a Janizary coming, or stand close up to the Wall in the most respectful Posture, till those High and Mighty Robbers pass by them.

WHILE the Dey is successful, he pays the Soldiers duly, and does not attempt to invade their Privileges; no Prince is obeyed with more Alacrity by his Troops; they refuse no Hazards in his Service; but if Things go never so little amiss, the Fault is immediately charged upon the Dey, and it is well if he be not sacrificed to their Fury; which makes most of their Princes so cautious, as not to enter upon any Thing of Consequence, without the Concurrence of the Divan, or Great Council of the Soldiery.

THOSE Janizaries, who are unmarried; have much the greatest Privileges: They are lodged in spacious Houses provided by the Government, attended by Slaves, and have the Privilege of buying their Provisions one Third under the Market-Price, and a great Allowance of Bread every Day, besides their Pay; but the married Men are excluded from all these Advantages, being obliged to find their own Houses, and their own Provision for their Families, out of their Pay. One Reason for discouraging the Soldiers marrying, is supposed to be, because the Government is entitled to all the Estate and Effects of all those that die, or are carried into Slavery without Children; but the principal is, that the married Men are supposed to have more Regard to the Natives with whom they intermarry, than the unmarried Soldiers, and for the same Reason, the Sons of the married Janizaries are not allowed the Privileges of natural *Turks*, or ever preferred to any Post in the Government; which are such Discouragements to their taking

Wives, that scarce any Janizaries marry, **BARBARY.** unless the Renegadoes that are admitted into that Body, who are not very numerous: However, all of them are allowed to purchase Female Slaves, and keep as many Concubines as they please without any Restraint.

THE greatest Crime here next to Treason, if it be not held a Branch of it, is the expressing any Compassion or Tenderness for the Natives: However, they employ Armies of *Moors* in several Parts of the Country, who assist in oppressing their Fellow Subjects, and levying the Tributes the Dey imposes. And, notwithstanding the Tyranny the *Turks* exercise over the *Moors* and *Arabs*; yet if any Christian Power makes an Attempt against their Country, they seem ready to unite their Forces against such Invaders, as dreading the Government of Christians more than the Usurpations of those of the same Faith.

BUT to be a little more particular as to the Election of a Dey: He ought, by their Constitution, to be chosen by the *Turkish* Militia without one dissenting Voice. When the Throne is vacant, they assemble at the Palace, and the Aga of the Soldiery demands who shall be their Dey; whereupon every one calls out for the Person he is best affected to; but till all agree in the Choice, they are directed to name others, till they pitch upon one who is universally approved; and it is not uncommon for them to draw their Sabres, and for the strongest to force the rest to agree with them: In which Contentions, many are killed or wounded. And there are Instances of a powerful Faction in electing another Dey, while the former has been living, and murdering the reigning Dey as he sat upon his Tribunal: And in this Case, the Usurper seldom fails to murder the great Officers and Members of the Divan that oppose him.

HALY Dey, who was placed upon the Throne on the Murder of *Ibrahim* Dey, surnamed *the Fool*, in 1710, caused no less than 1700 Persons to be murdered the first Month of his Reign, whom he apprehended to be in a different Interest. When the Dey happens to be killed, his

BARBARY. his Women are plundered of all they have, and reduced to their primitive State, and his Children have nothing more allowed them than the Pay of a private Soldier, and excluded from all Preferment in the State: But if the Dey dies a natural Death, (which rarely happens,) they suffer his Women to remain possessed of what he leaves them. *Haly* Dey had the good Fortune to reign eight Years, viz. from 1710, to 1718, and died in his Bed at last. However, he was no sooner given over by the Physicians, but a powerful Faction made Choice privately of a Successor before he was dead; and the Moment *Haly* expired, proclaimed *Mahomet* Dey, who was before High-Treasurer, and he was immediately invested with the Royal Robes; and thereupon all the Officers of State and the Soldiery kissed his Hand and congratulated him on his Accession, knowing it would have been fatal to them to have insisted on another Election; though it has happened that a Dey has been no sooner chosen and placed upon the Throne, but he has been murdered there by the opposite Party. There were, it seems, some few Years since, no less than six Deys assassinated in twenty-four Hours, whose Tombs still form a Circle without one of the Gates of *Algiers*.

THE *Europeans* trade with *Tunis* and *Tripoli* for Corn, Oil, Wool, Soap, Dates, Ostrich Feathers, Skins of Wild and Tame Beasts; but one of the best Branches of their Commerce here, is Slaves: The *European* Christians taken by their Piratical Ships, they set very high Ransoms upon, or force them to serve at Sea and Land in all Manner of Employments and Drudgery. They have also some Traffick for Negro Slaves to the Southward: Their Camels, they usually sell in *Egypt*, and their fine Horses to the *French*: But they get much more by their Piracies than by Trade; and, indeed, this furnishes them with every Manufacture of *Europe*, which the *Jews*, who are very numerous here, as well as in the rest of the Towns in *Barbary*, know how to make their Advantage of, by trafficking with such Goods in the Country, or ex-

porting them again to Places where there **BARBARY.** is a Demand for them.

Revolutions in BARBARY.

THE North Coast of *Africa* was, no First Inhabitants. Doubt, first peopled from *Asia*, from which it is divided only by the Isthmus of *Suez* and the *Red-Sea*; but the *Phœnicians* or *Tyrians* of *Palestine* (or the Land of *Canaan*) situate on the *Levant* Sea, were the first we read of that sent Colonies thither. These being the first great Maritime Power, visited the Shores both of *Europe* and *Africa*, and planted Colonies Phœnician Colonies. *Utica*, afterwards Utica. called *Byferta*, History informs us, was the first Town they built on the *Barbary* Coast. *Carthage* is held to have been built much Carthage. later, viz. in the Year of the World, 3120, before the building of *Rome*, 135 Years, and 883 before the Birth of Christ.

THE Territories of *Carthage* at first extended very little further than the Walls of the Town; but in its most flourishing State, all the Countries from *Cyrene* or *Barca* in the East, to the *Atlantick Ocean* on the West, were subject to that Republick.

It is said to have been built by *Dido*, By Dido. or *Elisa*, a *Tyrian* Princess, who fled from her Brother *Pygmalion*, King of *Tyrus*, to *Africa*, on the following Occasion: She married a near Relation, named *Acerbas*, and sometimes *Sichæus*, who was very rich: And *Pygmalion*, as the Story goes, caused him to be assassinated, in order to possess himself of his great Wealth; but his Sister *Dido* defeated his principal Design; for having provided several Ships to carry her off, she fled, with all her late Husband's Effects, to *Africa*, before *Pygmalion* had an Opportunity of getting them into his Hands; and, very probably, made Choice of this Part of *Africa* to reside in, because there was a Colony of *Tyrians* settled at *Utica*, about three Leagues from the Place, already. But however that was, she purchased Lands here of the Natives, on which she built a City, calling it *Carthada*, *Carthage*, or the *New Town* (as the Word signifies in the *Phœnician* or *Hebrew* Languages) in opposition to *Utica*, which had been built

BARBARY. built some Time before by her Countrymen, and in this Respect might be called *the Old Town*. The remaining Part of the Story (in which I doubt there is a Mixture of Romance) informs us, that *Jarbas*, King of *Getulia*, afterwards made Love to *Dido*, and threatned War in Case she refused to marry him: But she having made a Vow to *Sichæus*, her first Husband, never to marry again, prepared her Funeral Pile, and ascending it when *Jarbas* came again to make his Addresses to her, she drew a Poniard, and gave herself a mortal Wound, as the only Means she had left to put an End to his detested Courtship. But whatever of Novel there may be in this, there is no Doubt to be made that *Virgil* exercised his Poetical Vein, when he made his Hero *Eneas* Cotemporary with *Dido*; the Destruction of *Troy* being generally held to have happened 300 Years before the Building of *Carthage*.

THE first War *Carthage* was engaged in, it is said, was occasioned by the *Carthaginians* refusing the Annual Tribute they had agreed to pay the Prince of that Country, when they obtained Leave to build their City; but in this they had such ill Success, that the *Africans* obliged them to enter into new Engagements to pay their Tribute. However, upon receiving fresh Supplies and Reinforcements from *Tyre*, their Mother-Country, they were not only enabled to dispute the Tribute again with the *Africans*, but to carry their Arms still farther, and enlarge their Territories.

War with
Cyrene.

THE next War they engaged in, was with the City of *Cyrene*, which stood between *Carthage* and *Egypt*, in that Part of the Country now called *Barca*. *Carthage* and *Cyrene*, it seems, were at Variance about the Limits of their respective Territories, which occasioned a War between the two States; till, at length, both Sides agreed that their Bounds should be ascertained in the following Manner, *viz.* that two Men should set out at the same Hour from either City, and wherever they happened to meet, that should be the Boundary of their several States: The two *Carthaginians* pitched upon for this Service, were Brothers, named *Philæni*, who

being swifter of Foot than their Adversaries, the *Cyrenians* pretended there was foul Play, and would not stand to the Agreement, unless the two Brothers, as an Evidence of their fair Dealing, would be content to be buried alive in the Place where they met, which, it is said, they consented to, and the *Carthaginians* erected a Pillar upon the Spot, and two Altars, on which they sacrificed, and paid divine Honours to the heroick Brothers: But whether we are to give entire Credit to this Story or not, certain it is, two Altars were erected, and remained many Years on the Borders of the two States, which were called the Altars of the *Philæni*: And we may observe, both from Sacred and Prophane History, that nothing was more common among the Antients, than the erecting Altars and sacrificing upon them at the Conclusion of a Treaty, or on any memorable Event; it is probable, therefore, that the Substance of the Story may be true, whatever Foundation there may be for that Part of it relating to the burying the two Brothers alive near these Altars. This War being ended, the *Carthaginians* carried their Arms to the Westward, and subdued all the Nations as far as the *Atlantick Ocean*, or made them tributary to their State; so that they were, in Reality, Sovereigns of all the Northern Coasts of *Africa*, to the Westward of *Cyrene*, or *Barca*, and, in the Opinion of some Writers, of the West Coast of *Africa*, as far as *Cape Verd*, which lies in 15 Degrees North Latitude. Nor were the Conquests of the *Carthaginians* confined to the Continent of *Africa*; they made themselves Masters of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and the *Baleares*, or the Islands of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ivica*, from whence they found an easy Passage into *Spain*, whether they were first invited by the *Phœnicians*, who inhabited the City of *Cadiz*, an antient Colony of the *Tyrians*, their Countrymen. This City, it seems, was at War with the *Spaniards*, and being hard pressed, called in the *Carthaginians* to their Assistance, who not only defended their Allies, but carried on an offensive War in the *Spanish Territories*; and that People being divided into several little Kingdoms and

They subdued
all the Coast
of Barbary.

Sardinia and
the *Baleares*.

War with
Spain.

BARBARY and States, became an easy Conquest to their Enemies; great Part of *South Spain* became subject to the *Carthaginians*, and even the City of *Cadiz*, that called them in, was obliged to submit to their Dominion; the usual Fate of those who introduce Foreign Armies into their Country.

Sicily.

THE Time, when the *Carthaginians* first attempted to make Conquests in *Sicily*, is not exactly known: But it appears from a Treaty they made with the *Romans*, the same Year Kings were excluded from that Government, and Consuls instituted, that the *Carthaginians* were then in Possession of Part of *Sicily* as well as of *Africa* and *Sardinia*; and by this Treaty, the *Romans* agreed not to sail further Westward than the Fair Promontory near *Carthage*, which the *Carthaginians*, even then, insisted on, as being under an Apprehension the *Romans* might one Day encroach upon their Territories, and give them some Disturbance.

Their Alliance with Xerxes.

ABOUT 264 Years after the Building of *Rome*, and 484 Years before Christ, the *Carthaginians* entered into an Alliance with *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, against *Greece*. And while *Xerxes* marched with a prodigious Army to attack the *Greeks* upon the Continent, the *Carthaginians* transported an Army of 300,000 Men into *Sicily* (if the Numbers be not enlarged) in Expectation of reducing the Remainder of the *Grecian* Cities, in that Island, under their Dominion: But this great Army was defeated and cut to Pieces, it is said, on the same Day that memorable Action happened at *Thermopylae*, where 300 *Spartans* disputed the Passage into *Greece*, with that numerous Army of *Persians*, commanded by *Xerxes*, and put a Stop to his Progress, though they lost their Lives in the Defence of that Pass, *Anno Mun.* 3525; *Ante Christ.* 479.

Defeat in Sicily.

THE *Carthaginians* made another Attempt to subdue the *Grecian* Cities in *Sicily*, in the 336th Year of *Rome*, and met with great Success, being upon the Point of taking *Syracuse*, the Capital of the *Grecian* Cities in *Sicily*, when the Plague broke into their Army, and destroying the greatest Part of them, the Remain-

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der perished by the Swords of the *Syracusians*; which occasioned an Insurrection in *Africa*, where no less than 200,000 of the Malecontents laid Siege to *Carthage* itself; but the Rebels being destitute of Provisions, and disagreeing about the Command, soon dispersed, and delivered the Government from the Ruin that threatened it.

IN the Year 400, after the Foundation of *Rome*, we meet with a Treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, for their mutual Defence: And about the same Time the *Carthaginians* made further Attempts to reduce the *Grecian* Cities in *Sicily*; but *Timoleon* coming with a Body of *Corinthians* to their Assistance, obtained a Victory over them, and again defeated their Design: After which, *Agathocles*, the *Syracusan* General, carried the War into *Africa*, and, in Confederacy with some of the *African* Princes, laid Siege to *Carthage*, and bid fair for the total Subversion of their State. While the *Carthaginians* were in this Distress it was, that an Ambassador arrived from *Tyre*, to negotiate for a Reinforcement of Troops to enable them to defend themselves against *Alexander the Great*, who not long after laid that City in Ashes, and destroyed every Man in the Place; and all that the *Carthaginians* could do for their Mother City, was to receive the Women and Children, sent them from *Tyre*, and afford them a Refuge in their Country. In the mean Time, the *Carthaginians* looking upon the Calamities that befel them to proceed from the Wrath of Heaven, for some Omissions in their Religious Worship, and particularly in not

The Sicilians invade Africa.

Human Sacrifices.

sacrificing a certain Number of Children of the best Quality annually to *Saturn*, as their Superstition required, and substituting the children of Slaves and poor People, purchased for that End, in their Stead: To appease the Anger of that God, therefore, they sacrificed 200 Children of the first Rank; and 300 Persons more, it is said, offered themselves voluntarily to be sacrificed, to atone for the pretended Neglect. This is a further Evidence, that the *Carthaginians* were descended from the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, who used to sacrifice their Children to *Moloch*, particularly

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BARBARY

Another Re-
bellion in
Carthage.

Suppressed.

The Greeks
driven from
Africa.Pyrrhus in-
vades Sicily.

larly in their Distress; Sacred History taking Notice of a King that sacrificed his eldest Son upon the Walls, when the City he was Sovereign of was in Danger of being taken: But to return to the History. Notwithstanding this bloody Sacrifice of so many Children and innocent Men, the Affairs of the *Carthaginians* grew still more desperate. *Bomilcar*, their General, taking Advantage of the Distress of the State, in order to raise himself to Sovereign Power, fomented an Insurrection within the City, while their Enemies pressed them from without: But they had at length the good Fortune to disperse the Rebels, by offering a Pardon to all that would return to their Duty; and *Bomilcar* being thereupon deserted, was crucified, and put to the most exquisite Torture; and while he hung upon the Cross, it is said; he reproached the Government with a Breach of Faith, in punishing him after they had proclaimed an Indemnity; and with Ingratitude in putting to Death many of their bravest Generals after a long Series of eminent Services, which it seems, was frequently done, if Success did not attend their Arms, unless the General prevented the Disgrace by being his own Executioner: Of which there are also several Instances in the History of *Carthage*.

THIS Rebellion being fortunately suppressed, a Misunderstanding happened about this Time between *Agathocles*, the *Grecian* General, and his *African* Allies: Whereupon he raised the Siege of *Carthage*, and transported himself to *Sicily*; after which the *Carthaginians* recovered all the Places they had lost, and established their Empire again over the *African* Princes. And now *Sicily*, as well as *Italy*, being threatened with an Invasion by *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, the *Carthaginians* renewed their Confederacy with the *Romans*, for the Preservation of their Territories in that Island. *Pyrrhus*, however, made a Descent with his Forces in *Sicily*, and reduced all the Towns belonging to the *Carthaginians*, except *Lilybaeum*; but this Place making a vigorous Defence, and the *Romans* gaining some advantages over the Forces of *Pyrrhus*, in *Italy*, he was forced

to abandon all his Conquests in *Sicily*, and return thither: Nor was he able to restore his Affairs on the Continent, being afterwards defeated in several Engagements there by the *Romans*, and obliged to quit that Country also.

THE *Romans* having now no Enemies in *Italy*, began to think of enlarging their Empire by Foreign Conquests. It is very probable they had for some Time cast their Eyes on the fruitful Island of *Sicily*, separated from the Continent by a narrow Strait, and only waited for a Pretence to invade it; when some *Sicilian* Rebels seizing on the important City of *Messina*, and offering to deliver it up to the *Romans*, that People, notwithstanding their mighty Pretences to Honour and Justice, did not scruple to break through their Alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and sent over a Re-inforcement of Troops to support those Rebels, which occasioned that War between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, usually called the first *Punick War*, begun Anno *Mun.* 3738, after the Building of *Rome* 488, and before *Christ* 266 Years. The Romans invade Sicily.
First Punick War.

As the *Roman* People made Arms their Profession, and from the Infancy of their State, had been engaged in Warlike Contests with their Neighbours, they are universally acknowledged to have been excellent Soldiers. We find in the *Sicilian* War, the *Carthaginians* were not able to keep the Field against them, but retired into such strong Towns as were situated near the Sea, which they could relieve, from Time to Time, with their Fleets, the *Romans* having yet no Shipping to oppose them; and thus the War was like to prove endless. The *Carthaginians* abounded in Wealth as well as Shipping, and were able to defend the Maritime Places against the whole Power of the *Romans*, who found themselves exhausted both of Men and Money by the Continuance of the War, while *Carthage* rather grew rich by trafficking with every Nation.

THE *Romans*, therefore, saw it absolutely necessary to dispute the Dominion of the Sea with *Carthage*; without which, they found their Foreign Conquests must remain at a Stand; and collecting Naval Stores

BARBARY. Stores from every Quarter, offered the highest Rewards and Encouragements to such Ship-Builders as would afford them their Assistance: And, as they were at that Time possessed of several Cities and Port-Towns in *Sicily*, and in Alliance with many *Grecian* States, such Crowds of Workmen offered their Service, and their own People used such Application and Diligence, that within a few Months, they built or hired a Fleet almost as numerous as that of the *Carthaginians*, and engaged Abundance of Foreign Mariners in their Service: But still conscious that the *Carthaginians* must have a considerable Advantage of them by their Skill and Dexterity in Sailing, whenever they came to an Engagement, they contrived a Machine or Engine, by which they might grapple with the Enemy's Ships, and deprive them of all Advantages of their Sails. This, it seems, was a great Piece of Timber, armed with Hooks and Chains, which they let down with Pullies into the Enemy's Ships on approaching them, and which it was impossible for a Vessel to disengage itself from, without mastering the Ship's Crew that attacked her.

Naval Victory of the Romans.

Thus prepared, the *Romans*, under the Command of *Duillius*, put to Sea with 120 Gallies (the only Shipping of those Days) and being met by the *Carthaginian* Fleet, consisting of 130 Vessels, commanded by *Hannibal*, their Admiral, near *Myla*, they soon came to a close Engagement; for the *Carthaginians* looking upon the *Romans* as a very contemptible Enemy at Sea, advanced towards them with an Assurance of Victory: And the *Romans*, on the other Hand, having no Hopes but in their new-invented Grapples, made equal Haste to join Battle.

THE *Carthaginians* were a little surprized to see the *Romans* advance so resolutely, and still more when they began to play their Engines; but when they found themselves so fastened to the Enemy's Ships, that they could make no Use either of Oars or Sails, but were forced to fight as upon firm Land, they were confounded and dispirited, and the *Romans* gained an easy Victory over them, taking no less than

four-score Sail, and among them the Admiral's Galley, *Hannibal* himself narrowly escaping in his Boat.

THIS Victory was more acceptable to the *Romans*, as it was in a Manner unexpected. They were overjoyed at the Success of their Fleet, and immediately decreed their Admiral *Duillius* a Naval Triumph; which was the first of that Kind that had been seen in *Rome*. They also erected a Rostral Pillar to his Honour, with an Inscription, containing the Particulars of the Engagement. These Pillars were styled *Rostratae*, from the Heads or Beaks of Ships that adorned them. But to return to our History. The *Carthaginians* were so discouraged by this Defeat, that they suffered the *Romans* to lord it in the *Mediterranean* for two Years without Controul. But being informed that their Enemies were about to bring the War home to their own Doors, and make a Descent on the Coast of *Africa*, they exerted themselves once more, and equipped a Fleet consisting of 150 Gallies, manned by 150,000 Men, with which they put to Sea, in order to recover the Dominion of the *Mediterranean*: But being met by the *Romans*, who, according to their Accounts, had not so many Gallies by twenty, they received another memorable Defeat; no less than Sixty of their Vessels being taken by the *Romans*; who, on their Side, had twenty-four Gallies destroyed; which shews, that this Victory was not obtained so easily as the former; though the *Romans* had now more Experience in Maritime Affairs, and probably had more *Grecian* Mariners in their Service. The *Carthaginians* were better provided against the Grappling-Irons of the Enemy in this Fight than in the last, which made their Loss the less; for no Stratagem in War has that Effect the second Time as it has the first. The Novelty and Surprize the Engine gave on the first Trial, contributed, no Doubt, in a great Measure to the Defeat of the *Carthaginians*.

Carthaginians defeated again at Sea.

BEFORE I proceed further in this History, give me Leave to take Notice of the Partiality of the *Roman* Historians, and of such *Grecians romanized*, as have wrote the History of these Wars, who insinuate,

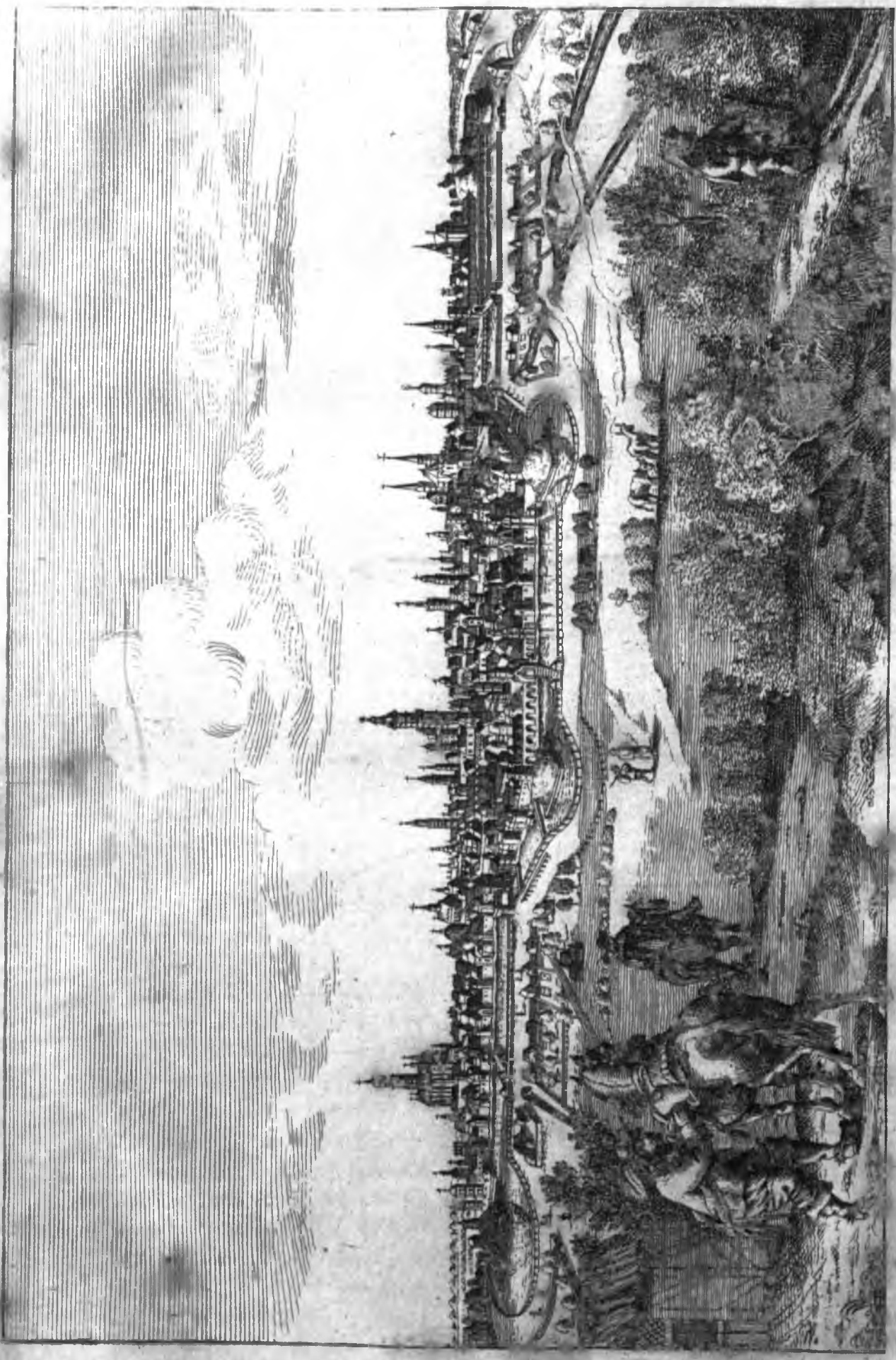
BARBARY. insinuate, that the *Romans* themselves, without Foreign Assistance, in the Space of a few Months, built and manned that Fleet, with which they obtained the first Victory over the *Carthaginians*; when it is evident from their own Writings, that the *Romans* were then in Possession of the best Part of the Island of *Sicily*, and in Alliance with several *Grecian* States, that would, and no Doubt did, furnish them with great Part of the Ships and Mariners in their Service. It is pretended, indeed, to serve a Turn, and reflect the greater Honour on the *Roman* State, that there was at that Time no other Naval Power but that of *Carthage*; but the same Writers, in other Parts of their Works, take Notice, That the *Greeks* in *Sicily*, assisted by their Countrymen on the Continent, had often engaged the *Carthaginians* at Sea with Success, before the Wars happened between them and *Rome*. It does not seem so strange and miraculous, therefore, that the *Romans*, in Confederacy with the *Syracuzians*, and other *Grecian* Cities (who were alone a Match for the *Carthaginians*) should when united with them, gain an Advantage of the *Carthaginian* Fleet. But to proceed. The *Romans*, after their second Naval Victory, embarked a numerous Army, under the Command of *M. Attilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius*, their Consuls, who had commanded as Admirals in the last Sea Engagement, and made a Descent on the Coast of *Africa*; whereupon the *Carthaginians* quitting the Field, and retiring into their strong Towns, the *Romans* laid Siege to *Clypea*, one of their Sea-Ports, and took it; after which, they ravaged all the open Country, and took 20,000 Prisoners, besides vast Flocks and Herds of Cattle, of which Advice being sent to *Rome*, the Senate ordered that *Regulus* should remain in *Africa*, with a Body of 15,000 Foot, and 500 Horse, with forty Gallies to attend his Motions, and that the rest of the Fleet and Army, with the other Consul, should return to *Italy*: Such a Contempt did the *Romans* entertain for the *Carthaginians* at this Time, that they thought an Army of 15,000 Men sufficient to make Head against all the Forces of that State; and with these did *Regulus* venture to form the Siege of *Adis*, one of

Romans in-
vade Africa.

the strongest Fortresses in *Africa*, and actually defeated an Army sent to the Relief of the Place. He afterwards made himself Master of near 200 Towns, and amongst the rest of *Tunis*, situated within nine or ten Leagues of *Carthage*: And the *Numidians* invading the *Carthaginians* Territories at the same Time, they were reduced to the last Extremity, and offered the *Roman* General very advantageous Terms of Peace: But he, puffed up with Success, would hear of no other Conditions than their being made a Province of *Rome*; insolently telling their Ambassadors, it is said, *That they ought either to conquer like brave Men, or learn to submit to the Victor.*

DURING this Treaty, according to *Livy*, the *Roman* Army encountered a Monster of a Serpent, in passing a River, which terrified them more than all the Forces of the *Carthaginians*, several Soldiers being devoured by this terrible Animal, whose Skin, it is said, no Dart could penetrate; and it was long before they could destroy him with Stones thrown from their Military Engines; adding, that the River was dyed with the Blood of this Serpent when it was killed; and that the Stench of his dead Carcass so infected the Air, that the Army was obliged to remove their Camp; and that the Skin of the Creature, being sent to *Rome*, was 120 Feet long: A relation which it is impossible for any Man to give entire Credit to; and yet, perhaps, we ought not to reject every Part of the Story. It is very probable from the Creature's being found on the Banks of a River, and having an impenetrable Skin, that instead of being a Serpent, it was a Crocodile; which is an amphibious Animal, and his Scales impenetrable by Darts or Arrows: But instead of being 120 Feet in Length, I must beg Leave to reduce it to 20 Feet, the usual Length of a full grown Crocodile, and omit the Figure 1, which was very probably inserted by Mistake: Besides, there are several undeniable Instances of a Crocodile's devouring a Person whole, but not one of a Man's being swallowed by a Snake, which has the least Throat in Proportion of any Animal whatever, except a Whale.

To



F. Borden Sculp.

AUGSPURG.

Plate 113. N. 250. Page 501.

BARBARY.

Romans de-
feated and Re-
gulus made
Prisoner.

To return to our History: *Regulus* refusing to grant *Carthage* any other Terms than those of an absolute Submission to *Rome*, they prepared for a vigorous Defence, and having received a small Re-inforcement of Troops from *Greece*, under the Command of *Xantippus*, a celebrated *Spartan* General, they took the Field, and giving Battle to the *Romans*, entirely defeated them: *Regulus* with 500 more were made Prisoners; about 2000 escaped to *Clypea*, and all the rest were killed on the Spot; the greatest Execution being done by the Elephants, of which the *Carthaginians* had 100 in their Army.

THE *Romans* having received this Defeat in *Africa*, sent no more Forces thither, notwithstanding they obtained a third Victory over the *Carthaginians* at Sea, and took 114 of their Ships: They contented themselves with bringing off the 2000 *Romans* that had retired out of the Battle to *Clypea*. In the mean Time, the *Carthaginians* permitted *Regulus* to go to *Rome*, and propose an Exchange of Prisoners, upon his taking an Oath to return and surrender himself again, if he did not meet with Success. And here the *Roman* Historians take an Opportunity of applauding the Courage and Sincerity of *Regulus* beyond Measure, and from him would have us make an Estimate of the Resolution and Veracity of his Countrymen. They tell us, that notwithstanding *Regulus* knew he must undergo the greatest Torments on his Return to *Carthage*, if he did not succeed in this Negotiation, and must never see his Family or his Country more, he advised the Senate not to consent to an Exchange of Prisoners, for that it would be an ill Example to shew so much Favour to their Troops, who had cowardly surrendered themselves Prisoners to the Enemy; that they were unworthy the Compassion of their Country; and for himself, who was in the Decline of Life, his Loss was nothing, if compared with the Number of the *Carthaginian* Generals and Officers, in the Flower of their Age, who were in their Hands, and might be capable of doing *Rome* Abundance of Mischief, if they were permitted to return

Home. And the Senate agreeing with him in that Opinion, *Regulus* returned to *Carthage*, where he was crucified, and underwent the most exquisite Tortures, if we may credit some Writers.

BUT I find it is very much doubted, whether the Facts, on which the *Roman* Historians lay the greatest Strefs in this Relation, are true; for that *Polybius*, esteemed the best Author that writes of these Wars, says not one Word of the Sufferings of *Regulus* after his Return to *Carthage*: And *Diodorus Siculus*, another Historian, speaking of the Captivity and Death of *Regulus*, only says, that his Wife was incensed when she heard of his Death, because she thought it might be occasioned by ill Usage, and therefore incited her Sons to revenge their Father's Fate. on two noble *Carthaginian* Captives the Senate had put into her Hands to exchange against her Husband, and that one of them was actually killed by the Severities exercised upon him; which the Senate expressed their Abhorrence of, and took the Survivor out of her Custody, which, it is presumed, they would not have done, if *Regulus* had suffered those Tortures, which their Historians and Poets feign: And, indeed, it is conjectured by some, that the Wife of *Regulus* invented these Stories to excuse her Cruelty to the Captives under her Power, and that they obtained Credit on very slender Evidence, since they tended to asperse the *Carthaginians*, with whom the *Romans* had a perpetual National Quarrel. Another Thing that weighs with me is, that *Regulus* is made to say in his Speech to the Senate, That the *Roman* Captives did not deserve their Compassion, because they had surrendered cowardly to their Enemies; whereas it appears that the *Romans* fought it out to the last, and did not surrender till all but 500 of them were cut in Pieces, and these in the Company, and very probably by the Command of that very General, when he found all further Resistance vain, and to no Purpose. Besides, it must be the most impolitick Thing in the World, to torture their Prisoners, while so many Prisoners of the first Quality of their own People remained in the

BARBARY, the Hands of the *Romans*, on whom their Enemies might have gratified their Revenge. But this is not the only partial Relation we meet with in the *Roman Histories*, framed to calumniate their Enemies, and reflect Honour on their own Nation.

THE War in *Sicily* was still carried on with great Vigour on both Sides ; notwithstanding the *Romans* obtained a great Victory there, and took above 120 Elephants from the *Carthaginians* in one Engagement. They defended *Lilybaeum*, and some other Port-Towns, for several Years ; but finding themselves at length overpowered, *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, the *Carthaginian* General in that Island, was ordered to make the best Terms he could ; and, accordingly, he concluded a Peace with *Rome*, *A. M.* 3762, upon the following Terms, *viz.* That the *Carthaginians* should evacuate *Sicily*, and no more make War upon the *Syracusians*, or their Allies : That they should release all the *Roman* Prisoners they had taken, without Ransom, and pay them 3200 *Euboick* Talents of Silver (something more than half a Million Sterling) within the Space of ten Years ; and thus ended the first *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, which had lasted four and twenty Years.

Carthaginians expelled Sicily.

THE *Carthaginian* Treasury being pretty much exhausted by so many Years Expence, and the vast Losses they had sustained, and being still obliged to pay prodigious Sums to the *Romans*, they were very backward in paying and disbanding the Mercenary Troops in their Service ; but putting them into Quarters of Refreshment on their Return from *Sicily*, desired they would be content with a bare Subsistence, till the State was in a Condition to discharge them ; and even proposed their accepting a Part of their Pay instead of the Whole, which incensed the Soldiery to that Degree, who expected to have been dismissed with Honour, and to have returned to their respective Countries, after so many Years of hard Service, that it occasioned a general Mutiny amongst them : They assembled to the Number of 20,000 Men, and having taken Possession of *Tunis*, invited the Rest of their Brethren to join them. The States of *Carthage*, now

The Army mutinies.

too late, seeing their Error, deputed *Gisgo*, one of their most popular Generals, to offer the Malecontents any Manner of Satisfaction ; and though their Demands appeared very high, he was upon the Point of concluding a Treaty with them, when *Spendius* and *Matbo*, two of the most active Mutincers despairing of a Pardon, represented to the Multitude, that there was no trusting to their Governors on these Occasions ; if they once laid down their Arms, they must expect to be called to a severe Account ; There was no Medium between Death and Victory, as the Case stood. Which seditious Harangue had such an Effect upon the Multitude, that they immediately broke off the Treaty, chose *Spendius* and *Matbo* their Generals, and having seized the Treasure that *Gisgo* brought with him to pay off the Army, made him and his Attendants Prisoners : And not long after, all the Towns in *Africa*, except *Utica* and *Hippacra*, declared for the Rebels ; to which they were provoked by the heavy Taxes they had long borne, and of which they could not hope to see an End, while the State were obliged to make such large Payments to Foreigners as well as their Domestick Creditors.

A general Rebellion.

THE *Carthaginians*, on the other Hand, having still a Reserve of Treasure, armed all their Citizens, and took other Mercenaries into their Pay ; and constituting the celebrated *Amilcar* (*Barcas*) their General, compelled the Rebels to raise the Siege of *Utica*, which they had invested : *Amilcar* afterwards defeated a considerable Body of the Rebel Forces, making great Numbers of them Prisoners ; but instead of exercising the Severity that was expected upon the Captives, he endeavoured to reclaim them by an unexampled Clemency, listing many of them in his own Troops, and suffering the rest to return to their Dwellings. The Chiefs of the Rebels, fearing this gentle Usage might occasion a general Desertion of their Forces, incited them to commit such barbarous Actions, as might make them despair of ever being reconciled to the State ; and, particularly, they tortured *Gisgo* the General, and the rest of the Prisoners, they

had

BARBARY. had in their Hands, whom they put to the most cruel Deaths, under Pretence of their holding a Correspondence with *Carthage*. *Utica* and *Hippacra* also revolted at the same Time, and sacrificed their Governors to their Fury, which encouraged the Rebels to lay Siege to *Carthage*; but they were forced to raise it by *Amilcar*, who also defeated a great Body of their Forces, and cutting off their Provisions, reduced them to the fatal Necessity of eating one another, it is said: Whereupon the Multitude compelled their Chiefs to enter into a Treaty with *Amilcar*, who agreed, That upon surrendering their Arms, they should be suffered to return Home, except ten of them, who were to be left to the Mercy of the State: But the *Carthaginians* refusing to confirm the Treaty, the Rebels resolved to sell their Lives as dear as they could; and a Battle ensuing, most of them were cut in Pieces, or trodden under Foot by the Elephants: Part of the Rebels, however, made good their Retreat to *Tunis*, which, they determined to defend to the last Extremity. Whereupon *Amilcar*, investing the Place, caused *Spendius*, one of their Chiefs, and several other Prisoners he had taken, to be crucified in Sight of the Town: On the other hand, *Matbo*, the other Rebel Chief, who commanded in *Tunis*, having in a Sally surprized *Hannibal*, one of the *Carthaginian* Generals, and several of his Men, ordered them to be crucified on the Walls, by Way of Retaliation, in the Sight of *Amilcar* and his Army. But *Matbo* himself being soon after taken, together with the Town of *Tunis*, he paid dear for all the Treachery and Barbarity he had been the Occasion of, suffering the most exquisite Torments before he was put to Death. Thus an End was put to the *African* War, one of the cruelest that ever was known in any Age, after it had lasted three Years and upwards. This War was not finished, when the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries in *Sardinia* mutinied also for their Pay, and calling in the *Romans* to their Assistance, actually expelled their Masters from that Island. And when the *Carthaginians* sent forces thither to recover

The Rebels
suppressed.

Sardinia lost.

it again, the *Romans* declared, they should look upon such Acts of Hostility, as a Declaration of War against their State; and taking Advantage of the low Circumstances the *Carthaginians* were then in, compelled them not only to make a Cession of that Island to *Rome*, but to pay them 200 Talents for a Confirmation of the Peace, which the *Carthaginians*, on their Part, had never violated. This is another notorious Instance, that the *Roman* Faith was no more to be relied on than *Punick* Honour, when Interest prompted them to break through their Treaties.

NOR were the *Carthaginians* insensible of the Outrage that was done them by the *Romans*, in protecting their Rebel Troops, and taking their Country from them: From this Time, therefore, they made Preparations to recover the Losses they had sustained, and revenge the repeated Affronts they had received from that haughty Nation.

AND as it was necessary, in the first Place, to secure their Territories in *Spain*, and form Alliances with the Princes of *Gaul* as well as *Spain*, before they could think of attacking the *Romans*, *Amilcar*, Father of the celebrated *Hannibal*, was constituted Viceroy of their *European* Dominions, who subdued several Princes that had entered into an Alliance with the *Romans*, and brought over others to the Side of *Carthage* by his insinuating Address: But while he was thus employed in promoting the Interest of *Carthage*, he was unfortunately killed in an Engagement with the Enemy. To him succeeded *Asdrubal*, his Son-in-Law, who was no less successful in enlarging the *Carthaginian* Territories in *Spain* than his Predecessor; and built the Town of *New-Carthage*, or *Carthagena* in *Spain*, almost over-against *Old-Carthage*: Nor were the *Romans* idle all this Time, but endeavoured to draw over the *Gauls* and the *Spaniards* to their Party; and in a Manner, secured all that Part of *Spain* to the Eastward of the River *Ebro* in their Interest. At length, the two States of *Rome* and *Carthage* came to the following Agreement, viz. That the River *Iberus*, or *Ebro*, in *Catalonia*, should

BARBARY. be the Boundary between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, and their Respective Allies; only the City of *Saguntum*, on the West-Side of the *Ebro*, being in Alliance with the *Romans*, was included in this Treaty.

AS DRUBAL, having acted as General in *Spain* with great Honour eight Years, was assassinated by one of the *Gauls*, who had received some Affront from him. Whereupon *Hannibal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, then about twenty-three Years of Age, having served in *Spain* some Years under *Asdrubal*, was constituted General on that Side. This great Man, for some Time, kept his Army in perpetual Action, by invading and reducing such of the *Spanish* Princes as were not in Alliance with *Rome*: But having formed a Design of humbling that proud State, he afterwards laid Siege to *Saguntum*, on Pretence of their encroaching on the *Carthaginians* Allies.

THE *Saguntines*, apprehensive of their Danger, immediately dispatched an Express to *Rome* imploring speedy Succour; but the *Romans* contented themselves with sending a Deputation to *Hannibal*, requiring him to raise the Siege, and, in Case he refused, ordered their Ambassadors to go to *Carthage* and complain of this Hostility: But while they spent their Time in fruitless Negotiations, *Hannibal* took the City by Storm, and gave the Plunder of it to his Soldiers, which was very considerable: However, some Writers relate, that the principal Inhabitants, before the Enemy entered the Town, burnt themselves, their Wives and Children, together with all their rich Effects, in one common Fire, rather than fall into the Hands of the *Carthaginians*. But however that was, the *Romans* immediately demanded that *Hannibal* might be delivered up to them, for having violated the Peace between the two Nations. And when the Senate of *Carthage* justified the Conduct of their General, the *Romans* declared War against them: And thus begun the second *Punick* War, in the Year of *Rome* 535, being 201 Years before Christ.

Second Punick War.

HANNIBAL assembled an Army of 100,000 Men the following Spring, and declared his Intentions of marching through *Gaul* directly to *Italy*; and accordingly,

leaving his Brother *Asdrubal* with 15,000 **BARBARY.** Men in *Spain*, he began his March from *Carthagina*; but spent most of this Summer in making Alliances with the Princes of *Gaul*, or subduing such of them as opposed the Enterprize, and did not arrive at the Foot of the *Alps*, which divide *France* from *Italy* till the Middle of *October*, when his Army appears to have been so lessened by the Detachments he had made, or the Losses he had sustained, that it scarce amounted to 40,000 Men; though it does not appear that the *Romans* once attempted to obstruct his March, not even at the Passage of the *Alps*, which took him up fifteen Days. Perhaps they imagined that *Hannibal* had no further View than to enlarge the *Carthaginian* Empire, by adding to it that Part of *Spain* to the Eastward of the *Ebro*, or perhaps some Part of *Gaul*. And this seems the more probable, because they made great Preparations to dispute *East-Spain* with him; and were surprized when they heard he had passed the *Robne*. It is said also, that the marching an Army over the *Alps* was, till that Time, held to be impracticable; which might be a further Reason for their making no Provision to receive him on that Side. But to return to the History. *Hannibal*, having passed the *Alps*, and mustered his Army in the Plains of *Piedmont*, found it still more diminished. He had here but 12,000 *African* Foot, 8000 *Spaniards*, and 6000 Horse, most of them *Numidians*, in all 26,000 Men; a small Army to invade the most powerful Nation then in being. Having given his Army some Refreshment, after their Fatigue in passing the *Alps*, he proposed an Alliance with the *Gauls*, who then inhabited *Piedmont*, which being slighted, he laid Siege to their Capital City (*Turin*) and took it by Storm in three Days, giving the Plunder of it to his Soldiers. Whereupon all the neighbouring *Gauls* came in and made their Submission, and several of their Princes entered into a Confederacy with the State of *Carthage*, which gave him an Opportunity of recruiting and encreasing his Army to 40,000 Men, and upwards; and Provisions were afterwards brought to his Camp in great Plenty. The

Hannibal passes the Alps.

Romans

BARBARY. Romans finding the *Carthaginian* Army daily encreasing, by the Addition of fresh Forces from *Gaul*, ordered *P. Scipio*, the Consul, to advance with all Diligence, and give the Enemy Battle; and the other Consul, *Sempronius*, was commanded to return from *Sicily*, whither he had transported his Army, with an Intention to have made a Descent in *Africa* from thence.

First Battle. *P. SCIPIO* hereupon passed the *Po*, and advanced within Sight of the *Carthaginian* Army, which lay encamped on the Banks of the *Tesin*: And as both Sides had their Reasons for coming to a speedy Engagement; the *Carthaginians*, to encourage their new Allies, and confirm them in their Interest; and the *Romans*, to prevent the Enemy's penetrating into their Country, and making it the Seat of War; a Battle soon after was fought, wherein *P. Scipio* received a dangerous Wound, and his Army was defeated; which the *Romans* imputed chiefly to the Superiority and Dexterity of the *Numidian* Horse, which surrounded their Troops, and fell upon them in Flank and Rear. *Scipio*, however, made good his Retreat over the *Po*, and by breaking down the Bridges on that River, put a Stop to the Pursuit of the Enemy for some Time. *Scipio*, it seems, was once taken Prisoner in this Battle, but released by the Bravery of his Son *Scipio*, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, then seventeen Years of Age.

Second Battle. AND now *Sempronius*, the other Consul, having joined *Scipio* and their united Army, amounting to about 40,000 Men, another Battle was fought in the Middle of Winter, near *Placentia*, in which the *Romans* were again defeated, by falling into an Ambuscade which the Enemy had prepared for them, and the Consuls, with their broken Troops, consisting of about 10,000 Men retreated into *Placentia*; but by the Hardships of this Winter Campaign, *Hannibal*, it is said, lost great Numbers of his Horses, and all his Elephants, but one, on which he himself usually rode. *Hannibal* also lost one of his Eyes about this Time, occasioned, as it is said, by the constant

Fatigue and Hardships he underwent, Night and Day, in this rigorous Season. BARBARY.

EARLY the next Spring *Hannibal* attempted to pass the *Apennine* Mountains, with a Design to have penetrated as far as *Rome*, before his Enemies were recovered from their Consternation; but the Snows were yet so deep, and the Weather so tempestuous on these Mountains, that he was compelled to return with his Army to *Placentia*, where he fought another Battle with *Sempronius*, in which neither Side gained any great Advantage, though it is probable the *Carthaginians* had the Advantage; for *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* being chosen Consuls, *Hannibal* soon after advanced into *Tuscany*, and having drawn the Consul *Flaminius* into an Ambuscade, near the Lake of *Thrasymene*, obtained another Victory over the Enemy, the Consul *Flaminius* being killed upon the Spot, with the greatest Part of his Forces; only 6000 of them made their Retreat in a Body, and these were obliged to surrender Prisoners the next Day. In this Battle 16,000 *Romans* were slain, and only 10,000 Run-aways made a Shift to escape by different Ways to *Rome*.

As to the *Latins*, who were made Prisoners in this Battle, *Hannibal* gave them their Liberty, and was so happy in cultivating a Friendship with this People, and the rest of the Allies of *Rome*, that he was enabled to support himself many Years in *Italy*, when scarce any Supplies or Reinforcements were sent him from *Carthage*.

HANNIBAL, after the Victory of *Thrasymene*, marched his Troops into that fine Country, called the *Campania* of *Rome*, which he plundered from one End to the other, and laid in a good Stock of Provisions against the ensuing Winter; but as he was retiring with his Booty, the celebrated *Fabius*, now constituted Dictator (a General of the most consummate Prudence and Conduct, who would never engage an Enemy, but where he had a manifest Advantage) surrounded the *Carthaginians* in an enclosed Country, and possessed himself of all the Passes, so that it appeared almost impossible for them to extricate themselves. But *Hannibal* surmounted this Difficulty,

BARBARY. it is said, by the following Stratagem : He caused Torches and Firebrands to be fastened to the Horns of 200 Oxen, and ordering them to be driven up the adjacent Mountains in the Night-Time, the *Romans* imagined, that the Enemy's Army was making their Retreat that Way ; and quitting the Passes to follow them, *Hannibal* gained an Opportunity of getting out of those Defiles.

THE next Year, being the third Campaign after *Hannibal's* entering *Italy*, the *Romans* determined to make one grand Effort to drive the Enemy out of their Country ; when (*Terentius Varro* and *Emilius Paulus* being Consuls) they raised eight Legions instead of four, their usual Number, consisting of 5000 Foot and 400 Horse, and 40,000 Foot of their Allies, making in all near 100,000 Men ; whereas the *Carthaginians* were not computed to amount to more than 40,000 Men : Which Superiority, it is said, gave *Varro*, one of the Consuls, such an Assurance of Victory, that he declared, before he left *Rome*, he would fall upon the Enemy wherever he found him, and put an End to the War at once. Accordingly, on a Day when it was his Turn to command (for the Consuls commanded alternately) coming up with *Hannibal's* Army, which he found drawn up in Battalia, on a fine Plain near *Cannæ*, **Cannæ Battle.** he gave the Signal of Battle, and a very fierce Encounter followed, in which the *Romans* received a memorable Defeat, which is generally ascribed to two Causes, the Goodness of the *Carthaginian* Horse, and the Dust that drove in Clouds in the Faces of the *Romans* : For the sagacious *Hannibal*, it is said, observing that the Wind Vulturius rose from the South-East constantly at a certain Hour every Day, and that the Plain, on which the Engagement happened, was a deep Sand ; he drew up his Forces in such a Manner, as to have the Wind in his Back, and consequently in the Faces of his Enemies, who were blinded and disordered by the Dust, not being able to discern Friends from Foes. But to whatever Cause this important Victory is to be ascribed, *Rome* never received so great an Overthrow : For *Emilius*, one

of the Consuls, was killed on the Spot, as **BARBARY.** were two *Questors*, one and twenty Military Tribunes, several others that had been Consuls or Pretors, fourscore Senators, and between forty and fifty Thousand Officers and Soldiers besides, according to those who speak most modestly of the Loss ; and above 10,000 more, that had been left to guard the Camp, surrendered themselves Prisoners immediately after the Battle. It is related, that *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage* a Bushel (some say three Bushels) of Gold Rings, which were taken off the Fingers of the *Roman* Nobility and Knights that fell in this Engagement : Nor was this Victory obtained without Loss, there being killed, of *Hannibal's* Infantry, 6500, of which 4000 were *Gauls*, and 1500 *Spaniards* and *Africans* ; but he did not lose above 200 Horse. *Varro*, the surviving Consul, fled with seventy Horse only to *Venusia*, and about 4000 more escaped to other Towns.

HANNIBAL is censured by some Writers, for not advancing immediately to *Rome* on the obtaining this Victory, it being suggested that *Carthage* would probably have surrendered in the Consternation they were in on the Loss of this Battle. But *Hannibal* was certainly a better Judge of the Matter than any of those that take upon them to censure him : Nor is it to be conceived how any Man, who was not on the Spot, and acquainted with the Circumstances of the Case, should be able to pass a Judgment on his Conduct, especially if it be considered, that few Generals (much less Historians) are qualified to correct so great a Proficient in the Art of War.

AND, indeed, at this Distance of Time, a Man of ordinary Sense may suggest a great many Things that will sufficiently justify the Conduct of that General in this Particular ; as, that his Army required some Rest and Refreshment after so obstinate an Engagement ; that, as betwixt six and seven Thousand of his Men were killed in the Battle, according to the usual Way of Computation, there must be twice as many wounded ; and consequently he had not above 20,000 effective Men remaining, with which it was scarce practicable to invest a City

BARBARY City of that Magnitude, and so compleatly fortified as *Rome* then was, especially if we reflect, that its Inhabitants are supposed to amount to above 1,000,000 of Souls: That their Nobility, Gentry and Citizens were all bred to Arms from their Infancy, and most of them had no other Profession. If we consider *Rome* in this Light, it is not to be supposed that they would have been so terrified at the Approach of 20,000 Men, as to have surrendered immediately; and if they had not, it is still more absurd to suppose, that 20,000 Men could have reduced such a City by a Siege. *Hannibal*, therefore, instead of attempting what he knew to be impracticable, made use of his present good Fortune to influence the Allies of *Rome* to join him; and marching to the Southward, *Capua* and most Part of what is now called *Naples*, with several Towns of *Sicily*, declared for him, and renounced their Alliance with the *Romans*, which gave him an Opportunity of importing Corn and other Provisions from *Sicily* for the Use of his Army during the Winter, which would otherwise have been reduced to great Distress, all the Country about *Rome* having been destroyed: *Hannibal*, also, dispatched his Brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with the News of his Victory, and to desire a further Re-inforcement to compleat the Conquest of *Italy*. In the mean Time, he sent his Army into Winter-Quarters in the *Campania* of *Rome* and *Naples*, taking up his own Residence in the City of *Capua*; which is severely censured also by some Writers, who tell us, that his Army was so softened and enervated by living luxuriously this Winter in that charming Country, that they had no longer the Air or Resolution of Soldiers, but became perfectly effeminate, and unfit for the Fatigues of War; which is surely the most ridiculous Charge that ever was brought against a General, and shews how unqualified studious Men sometimes are to pass a Judgment on military Affairs.

CAN any Man believe, that a Soldier's lying in a warm Lodging, and eating and drinking well two or three Months in the Winter-Season, should make him less fit for Service than he was before? Did not

the Officers and Soldiers of the Allies, as well as those of *France*, do the same Thing every Winter during the two last long Wars? And yet, I believe, no Man will pretend they were the less fit for Action the ensuing Campaign: Want and Hardship frequently destroys the Soldiers in a rigorous Winter; but it is very seldom they are hurt by too great Plenty.

BESIDES, we find *Hannibal* had a double Reason to quarter his Army in the *Campania* of *Rome* and *Naples*; first, to keep both *Naples* and *Sicily* firm to his Interest; and, secondly, that he might receive Supplies from these Countries, which were not exhausted by the Marches and Counter-Marches of the respective Armies, as the more Northern Parts of *Italy* had been. The Reader will forgive my dwelling on these Particulars, when he reflects how Gentlemen are taught to declaim against this great Man, for quartering his Army in a plentiful Country, and not storming *Rome* immediately after the Battle of *Cannæ*.

I SHALL not relate every Action between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; only observe, that as *Hannibal* expected his Brother *Asdrubal* with a great Re-inforcement from *Spain*, to enable him to finish the Conquest of *Italy*, so the *Romans* sent large Detachments thither, under the command of *Cneius* and *Publius Scipio*, to put a Stop to *Asdrubal's* March; which they did for some Years, but were afterwards both defeated by the *Carthaginians*, and lost their Lives in that Service: Whereupon *Asdrubal*, in the eleventh Year of the War, marched with an Army of 70,000 Men, and upwards, through *France* into *Italy*, passed the *Alps*, and advanced as far as *Placentia*, in order to join *Hannibal*; but, while he was engaged in the Siege of that City, the *Romans* intercepted an Express he had sent to *Hannibal*; and being thereby fully acquainted with the Number and Condition of *Asdrubal's* Troops, the two Consuls suddenly united their Forces, and fell upon him before *Hannibal* had any Notice of their Motions: *Asdrubal* was killed in the Battle, with upwards of 50,000 of

BARBARY. of his Men, according to the *Romans* Account of the Action; and *Hannibal*, who, just before, expected to have finished the Conquest of *Italy* this Campaign, now found it difficult to maintain his Ground in that Country. However, he did not yet despair; but sending for fresh Re-inforcements from *Spain* and *Africa*, so disposed of his Troops, that he might be able to wait their Arrival; and, it seems, he took Care to post his Army in such a Manner, and was so much superior to any of the *Roman* Generals in Point of Military Skill, that though their Forces were double the Number of the *Carthaginians*, they found the driving him out of *Italy* impracticable. Whereupon they determined to increase their Army in *Spain*, and appointed *Publius Cornelius Scipio* (the Son of *Publius Scipio*, who lost his Life here a little before) General of their Forces on that Side, proposing, by that Means, to put a Stop to the *Carthaginians* making any further Levies there, and recruiting *Hannibal's* Army from thence.

SCIPIO having defeated the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, in several Engagements, and taking *Hanno*, one of their Generals, Prisoner, at length came to a general Battle with them on the Plains of *Batica*, (now *Andalusia*.) The *Carthaginians* were commanded by *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, and joined by *Massinissa*, King of *Numidia*; notwithstanding which, *Scipio* was victorious; whereupon most of the strong Towns in *Spain* submitted to the *Romans*. *Massinissa*, also, upon this Success, deserted the *Carthaginians*, and entered into an Alliance with the *Romans*, to which, it is said, he was induced, by some Affronts he had received from *Asdrubal*, and particularly, his not giving him his Daughter, the beautiful *Sophonisba*, in Marriage, as he had promised him.

His Alliance with *Massinissa* and *Syphax*. *SCIPIO* having now prevailed on one of the *Numidian* Kings to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, formed the Design of making *Africa* the Seat of the War: He sent a Deputation, therefore, to *Syphax*, another of the *Numidian* Kings, to discover how he stood affected; and on the Return of the Deputies, understanding that

Syphax seemed inclined to enter into a BARBARY. Treaty with the *Romans*, and only insisted on a personal Treaty with *Scipio*, this General embarked for *Africa* with a small Retinue, and coming to the Court of *Syphax*, there concluded an offensive and defensive Alliance with him.

SCIPIO returning to *Spain*, and from thence to *Italy*, made Use of all his Interest to prevail on the Senate to make *Africa* the Seat of War, and give him the Command of the Army designed for that Service; but meeting with great Opposition from the Senate, more than a Year elapsed before he was prepared for a Descent on *Africa*. And when he had assembled his Forces in *Sicily*, and was ready to embark, he received Intelligence, that *Syphax* had espoused the *Carthaginian* Interest again. For *Asdrubal*, in order to draw off *Syphax* from the *Roman* Interest, Syphax defects the Romans. had given him his Daughter *Sophonisba* in Marriage, who was reputed to be the greatest Beauty, and the most accomplished Princess of that Age; whereupon *Syphax* entered into an Alliance offensive and defensive with *Carthage* soon after, and being joined by *Bochar*, King of *Mauritania*, he fell upon *Massinissa*, and having defeated that Prince in several Engagements, obliged him to quit the Field, and retire with some few Followers into the Mountains for his Security: But *Scipio*, with a powerful Army, landing on the *African* Coast soon after, *Massinissa* found an Opportunity of joining him, and it was agreed between the *Roman* General and *Massinissa*, that the latter should pretend to be reconciled to *Carthage*, that he might have an Opportunity of betraying their Councils, and give Advice, from Time to Time, of the Strength and Situation of the Enemy; which having done to the Satisfaction of *Scipio*, he joined the *Roman* Army again with a great Re-inforcement of Troops, he had raised in *Numidia*; and not long after, they attacked the *Carthaginian* Camp with their united Forces, in the Night-Time, burnt their Huts, which were built chiefly with Cane, and in the Confusion killed 40,000 of the Enemy; and *Massinissa* pursuing his Rival *Syphax*, had the good Fortune to take

Scipio invades *Africa*.

BARBARY. take him Prisoner, and carrying Syphax with him in Chains to his Capital City of *Cyrtha*, the Citizens opened their Gates to him, where he found the beautiful *Sophonisba*; she begged, that *Massinissa* would not deliver her to the Romans to be led in Triumph; but if there should be no other Way of avoiding it, that he would take her Life: *Massinissa* was so captivated with the fair Suppliant, for whom he had long entertained a Passion, that he offered to marry her, which she making no Difficulty of complying with, the Nuptial Knot was tied, and she was Wife to both the Numidian Kings at the same Time.

Massinissa marries her.

MASSINISSA returning afterwards to the Roman Camp, was reproached by *Scipio*, for matching with their mortal Enemy, insinuating, that he would not long continue in the Interest of Rome, as this Lady had such Influence on him. *Scipio* also claimed her as his Prisoner, and let him know, that nothing should prevent his carrying her to Rome, where he intended, she should ~~be in the~~ Triumph. Whereupon *Massinissa* desiring only some small Time to consider of it, took that Opportunity to write to *Sophonisba*, and acquaint her, that it was not in his Power to protect her from the Romans alive, and had, therefore, sent her a Draught, which would put her beyond their Reach, if she thought fit to drink it. This Princess no sooner received the fatal Potion, but she drank it off, saying, *This is the Marriage Present, which is extremely welcome to me, since my Husband could do nothing better for his Wife: Tell him, however, says she to the Messenger, I should have died with more Honour, if I had not married him on the Day of my Funeral.*

As to King *Syphax*, the other Consort of this unhappy Queen, when *Scipio* demanded what it was that could induce him to desert the Romans, and make War upon them, he answered, It was downright Madness, he forgot all private and publick Obligations when he had married that Carthaginian Syren. It was the Nuptial Torch that set his Palace on Fire:

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Sophonisba's Beauty bewitched him, and BARBARY. deprived him of his Reason; she never ceased to animate and arm him against his Friends; her Zeal and Affection for her Country was superior to all other Considerations.

SCIPIO afterwards making himself Master of *Utica*, the Carthaginians thought fit to make that General Overtures of Peace. But *Scipio*, elated with his Successes, would grant them no other Terms, than those of withdrawing their Forces out of Italy and never intermeddling again in the Affairs of Spain; delivering up all their Shipping, except twenty Vessels, to the Romans; paying down 1500 Talents, with some less material Articles: And the Carthaginians seemed to acquiesce in them, only desiring they might have a Truce till they could send to Rome, and try to get some Alteration of the Terms in their Favour; and, in the mean Time, sent Orders to *Hannibal* to evacuate Italy and return Home; which, it seems, he received with the utmost Regret; for being joined by *Mago*, he looked upon himself at this Time, to have been in a Condition to have compleated the Conquest of Italy, and, probably, had effected it, if the Carthaginian Army in Africa had stood upon the Defensive, and not received that terrible Defeat, when *Syphax* was made Prisoner. *Hannibal*, however, thought fit to obey his Masters and return, quitting that fine Country he had been contending for near sixteen Years; as the abandoning his Allies the Gauls, as well as the Italians, who had joined him, to the Mercy of the Romans, gave him a most sensible Mortification; insomuch, that, it is said, he was scarce Master of himself when he embarked his Troops.

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

DURING the Cessation of Arms (as the Romans relate) a great Fleet of theirs happening to be driven on the Coast of Carthage, many of their Ships were taken by the Enemy, and carried into that Port; which being reclaimed by *Scipio* (after the Arrival of *Hannibal*) that State refused to restore them. Whereupon, Hostilities were again renewed; and a Battle being fought not long after, *Scipio* obtained a compleat

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BARBARY.

Defeated in
Africa.Ignominious
Peace.Carthaginian
Fleet burnt.

compleat Victory by the Assistance of *Massinissa*. *Hannibal*, however, made good his Retreat to *Carthage*, having lost 20,000 Men in the Engagement. The *Romans* afterwards continued their March to invest that Capital, and in their Way were met by Deputies from *Carthage* with fresh Overtures of Peace; and were content, after some Debate, to submit to the following mortifying Terms.

THAT they should deliver up all their Ships to the *Romans*, except ten: That they should deliver up all their Allies that were in *Carthage*, as well as all Deserters and Prisoners: That they should deliver up their Elephants, and tame no more: That they should not make War out of *Africa*, nor in it without the Leave of the *Romans*: That they should restore to *Massinissa* all that he, or his Ancestors, had been possessed of: That they should pay 10,000 *Euboick* Talents of Silver at fifty Annual Payments, and give 100 Hostages for Performance of these Conditions; in Consideration whereof, the *Romans* granted they should remain a free People, governed by their own Laws, and enjoy all the Towns and Territories they possessed in *Africa* before the War.

UPON the Conclusion of this Treaty, the *Carthaginians* delivered up 500 Ships to *Scipio*, which he burnt in View of the Town. He also struck off the Heads of the Chiefs of their *Italian* Allies, and hanged up all the Deserters: After which, he returned to *Rome* with his Army, where a most magnificent Triumph was decreed him, together with the Surname of *Africanus*. And thus ended the Second *Punic* War, after it had lasted seventeen Years. On the Conclusion of this Peace, *Hannibal* was employed in reducing some Parts of *Africa* that revolted from *Carthage*: But the *Romans*, still jealous of his being at the Head of an Army, required he should be recalled, and not intermeddle with Military Affairs. Whereupon returning to *Carthage*, he was constituted *Prætor*; and the Reformation of the Civil Government, and of the Treasury, was committed to his Care; in which Charges he acquitted himself with no less

Honour than he had obtained in the Field. BARBARY.

But his Enemies charging him with holding a Correspondence with *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, against the *Romans*, the Senate of *Rome* sent a Deputation to *Carthage*, requiring that General should be delivered up to them; whereupon he embarked suddenly for *Phœnicia*, from thence he went to the Court of *Antiochus*, and prevented his being seized; for the *Carthaginians* would have delivered up *Hannibal* and half their Nobility, rather than have hazarded another War with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* was at first received with great Marks of Esteem by *Antiochus*, who was then entering into a War with the *Romans*: But he afterwards entertained a Jealousy of this great Man, and meeting with ill Success in that War, in order to procure the better Peace of *Rome*, he stipulated to deliver up his Guest to the *Romans*, which *Hannibal* receiving timely Notice of, retired to the Island of *Crete*; and carrying a considerable Treasure with him, was in Danger of being murdered for it by these untrustworthy Islanders, from whom he made his Escape by an ingenious Stratagem.

HE afterwards fled for Refuge to the Court of *Prusias*, King of *Bythinia*, who being then engaged in a War with *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, *Hannibal* was exceeding useful to him. However, upon the Application of the *Romans*, *Prusias* promised to deliver up *Hannibal* to them, which when the old General understood, he put an End to his Life by drinking a Glass of Poison, being then seventy Years of Age. The same Year also died his great Rival *Scipio*, in a Kind of voluntary Banishment, being obliged to fly his Country to avoid malicious Impeachments, notwithstanding the important Services he had done the *Roman* State. But to return to *Carthage*. The *Romans* not only obliged that State to restore to *Massinissa* all the Territories he possessed before the War, but conferred on him, also, those of *Syphax*, with which, however, his Ambition was not satisfied; for he seized several Cities belonging to the *Carthaginians*: Whereupon they appealed to the *Romans*, who

BARBARY. who promised to redress the Injury; but under-hand encouraged *Massinissa* in his Encroachments, in order to keep the *Carthaginians* low, and prevent that State's rising to its former Grandeur; and observing at length, that notwithstanding all their Oppressions and Discouragements, *Carthage* still increased in Wealth and Power, it was determined by the *Romans*, absolutely to destroy their State, and raze the City they so much dreaded to the Ground: They remembered with Horror how *Hannibal*, for sixteen Years, had ravaged their Country, and brought them to the Brink of Ruin, and could not be easy while *Carthage* was in being. For many Years were Speeches made in the *Roman* Senate against the Imprudence of suffering that State to rise again: And it is observed of *Cato*, that he scarce ended a Speech in relation to that Debate for many Years, without those memorable Words, *Delenda est Carthago: Carthage must be destroyed.*

NOR was that State ignorant of what was intended against them: They endeavoured, therefore, by the most humble Submissions to avert their Ruin, but all to no Purpose: The *Romans* assembled a numerous Army, which was transported to *Africa*, under the Command of *L. Martius*, and *M. Manlius Nepos*, their Consuls, who having wheedled them to deliver up all their Arms and Engines of War, under Pretence of granting them the Peace they demanded, the *Roman* Generals then informed them, That it was the Pleasure of the Senate they should evacuate *Carthage*, and remove to some other Part of their Territories; at a Distance from the Sea, for they were commanded to destroy their City; which put the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors into the utmost Consternation. They only desired they might return to the City, and consult their Principals before they gave a peremptory Answer: This Request the *Roman* Generals thought fit to indulge them in, imagining, after they had parted with their Arms, they would not think of defending themselves: But the *Carthaginians*, being now reduced to Despair, and resolving to hazard their Lives, and all that was dear to them, rather than see their

City destroyed, fell immediately to forging **BARBARY.** of new Arms, and providing all Manner of Instruments of War; insomuch that when the *Romans* approached the City, they found it would be a Work of some Time to reduce it: And indeed the first Year very little was done towards taking the Town, several brisk Sallies being made, in which the *Romans* suffered much.

THE following Year, *Scipio*, Grandson, by Adoption, of the celebrated *Scipio Africanus*, who put an End to the Second *Punic* War, being elected Consul, and commanding the *Roman* Army before *Carthage*, battered the Town with great Fury, and gave the Besieged little Rest. However, they held out two Years more against all the Power of the *Romans*, and the Stratagems of their ablest Generals: But the third Year, the City was taken by Storm, when *Scipio* resigned every Thing to the Plunder of the Soldiers, except the Plate and Ornaments of the Temples; and afterwards commanding it to be set on Fire in several Places, it continued burning for seventeen Days, and Orders were given by the Senate of *Rome*, that it should never be rebuilt or inhabited again, and that the Cities also should be razed that had continued in the Interest of *Carthage* during the War; dreadful Imprecations being made against those who should attempt to rebuild *Carthage*, to avoid which, it is said, when *Augustus Caesar* erected the new Town, to which was given the Name of *Carthage*, it was built upon another Spot of Ground near the former; and this afterwards arrived to be a noble populous City, the Capital of *Africa*, and so remained for 700 Years, till destroyed by the *Saracens*; but not comparable either in Dimensions, Strength or Beauty, to the old Town; of which we meet with the following Particulars relating to the Description of it.

THAT it was situated on three Hills in a Peninsula, almost surrounded by the Sea, and was in Reality three Towns united in one; the Whole two and twenty Miles in Circumference, and contained two Harbours within its Works; one for their Men of War, and another for the Merchant-Ships; and that it was on all Sides surrounded

BARBARY. rounded by Rocks : That on the Isthmus, towards the Continent, stood the Citadel, called *Byrsa*, defended by a tripple Wall, and Towers at proper Distances : That the Walls were two Stories high, built upon Arches ; and that in the lower Arches were kept 300 Elephants, with their Provisions and Warlike Accoutrements : In the upper Arches were Store-Houses and Stables for 4000 Horse, and Barracks for 20,000 Foot : That the City, properly so called, lay almost round the Citadel, and was named *Megara* ; and the Harbour, which was a double one, as has been observed already, being divided by a little Island, called *Cothon*, was inhabited chiefly by Seamen : That the whole Town contained 700,000 Souls when the *Romans* invested it, and that there was found in the Place, when it was taken, 470,000 Pounds Weight of Silver, besides what was plundered by private Soldiers, and consumed in the Fire. *Carthage* was destroyed 609 Years after the Building of *Rome*, and before Christ 146 Years. Before I dismiss the History of the *Cartbaginians*, it may be proper to enquire into the Genius and Temper, the Religion and Policy of that once famous Nation.

Their Character.

THE Character, which the *Romans*, their Enemies, give of them, is not to their Advantage, nor can it be expected it should : They charge them with Craft, Covetousness and Treachery ; insomuch, that *Punick* Faith was become a proverbial Phrase at *Rome* : They will not allow this People one good Quality, except Industry. But it appears, however, that they had a mighty Genius for Navigation and Foreign Commerce ; made more Discoveries, and settled more Colonies, than all the Nations in the World besides ; and one would think the *Romans* might have allowed them Courage and Military Skill, when they suffered so much from these Talents, and could never think themselves safe, till *Carthage* was destroyed : As they were a trading People, they might put up many Affronts rather than engage in War, which must interrupt their Commerce ; but when they found themselves oppressed, and did exert themselves, *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, as well as *Africa*, were Witnesses of the Bravery

and Conduct of their Generals ; and the noble Defence of their Capital for three Years after the *Romans* had treacherously seized their Arms, sufficiently manifests, that they were not so dispirited upon every Misfortune, as to neglect their Defence, as the *Roman* Authors insinuate : And, indeed, they appear to me to have been a brave, wise, frugal and diligent People. It is true, their great Commerce and active Genius, rendered them the most powerful Nation in *Africa* ; and they had an Ambition of keeping the neighbouring Powers under their Subjection ; but this is no more than what all other People, in the like Circumstances, have done, especially the *Romans* : And this may be observed in Favour of the *Cartbaginians*, which cannot be said of the former, that they improved the Trade and Manufactures of every Country where they came, and supplied one Part of the World with what the other wanted ; whereas the *Romans* destroyed all Trade and Commerce, and subsisted chiefly on the Spoils of others.

THE Religion of the *Cartbaginians* appears to have been the same with that of the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, from whom they descended. They worshipped a Multitude of Deities, as Monsieur *Rollin* observes, from the Preamble of a Treaty they concluded with *Philip* of *Macedon*, wherein it is recited to be made, in the Presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo* ; in the Presence of the Demon or Genius of *Carthage* ; in the Presence of *Hercules*, *Mars*, and *Neptune*, and all the Confederate Gods of *Carthage* ; in the Presence of the Sun, Moon, Earth, Rivers, Meadows, Waters, &c. But the Gods chiefly invoked by them, were the Moon (called *Cælestis*, and sometimes *Urania*) and *Saturn*, called *Moloch* in Sacred History ; to which last they sacrificed their Children, sometimes burning them in a Brazen Statue of *Saturn*, heated for that Purpose, sounding at the same Time Drums and Trumpets, that they might not hear their Cries ; and it was looked upon as a Piece of Heroism in their Mothers to assist at these Sacrifices with dry Eyes, and even without a Groan or Sigh, the Sacrifice not being thought acceptable to *Saturn*, if offered with any Reluctance ;

BARBARY. luſtance : But, as the longeſt Cuſtom could not perfectly eradicate the Horror theſe unnatural Rites created, they were uſually contented with making their Children paſs through the Fire ; in which, however, they ſometimes perished : And ſtill, in any great Diſtreſs, they actually burnt them, making Choice of the fineſt and nobleſt Youths their Nation bred.

IN a dubious Battle, or in Expectation of a City's being taken and ſtormed, they have ſacrificed Children to this infernal Fury, from Morning till Evening ; a Cruelty ſo deteſted by the reſt of Mankind, that we find Princes, in their Treaties with this Nation, inſiſting they ſhould offer no more Human Sacrifices : And this was, probably, one of thoſe horrid Crimes for which the *Canaanites*, their Anceſtors, were extirpated ; and which brought down that terrible Ruin on the *Carthaginian* State.

Government. THE chief Magiſtrates in this Commonwealth were the two Suffetes, ſaid to reſemble the *Roman* Conſuls, and ſometimes ſtiled Kings. They were elected annually, it ſeems ; but it does not appear by whom. Theſe aſſembled the Senate, and preſided in it, and had ſometimes the ſupreme Command in Military as well as Civil Affairs ; and, when they reſigned that Office, they were Pretors of Courſe, and thereby retained a very great Authority, even that of calling both the Judges and Officers of the Publick Revenues to an Account, and of propoſing new Laws. The Senate conſiſted of Men of the firſt Quality ; but whether they ſat there by Election or Inheritance, or what their Numbers were, does not appear any further than that ſeveral Hundreds enjoyed this Dignity. The Senate was the laſt Reſort in all Appeals ; here Laws were framed, Ambaſſadors had their Audience, and Reſolutions taken as to Peace and War : But when the Senate could not agree, the Matter was brought before the People, or rather a Representative of the People ; but by whom appointed, or elected, does not appear.

THERE was alſo another Member of this State, called the Tribunal of one Hundred,
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No Perſon was admitted to any Poſt in this Government, who had not an Eſtate that might be ſuppoſed ſufficient to ſet him above all Temptations to do a mean Thing, or betray his Truſt : Nor was any one ſuffered to purchaſe a Place ; it being preſumed, that thoſe that bought would ſell again, and re-imbuſe themſelves, perhaps, by ſome Failure in their Duty.

MASSANISSA, King of *Numidia*, **Maſſaniſſa's**
to whoſe Alliance the *Romans* may aſcribe **Succeſſors.**
their Succeſs againſt the *Carthaginians*, left three Sons, viz. *Gulaffa*, *Maſſanabal* and *Micipſa*, of whom the youngeſt ſucceeded to the Throne, the two eldeſt dying before their Father. *Micipſa* had two Sons, *Hiempſal* and *Adherbal*, with whom *Micipſa* cauſed *Jugurtha*, the Son of his Brother *Maſſanabal*, to be educated. Upon the Death of *Micipſa*, *Jugurtha* murdered his Couſin *Hiempſal*, and attempted the Life of *Adherbal*, who flying to *Rome*, *Jugurtha* aſcended the Throne, as Heir to his Father *Maſſanabal*, the elder Brother of *Micipſa*, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to make good his Title, and diſtribute Bribes among the moſt popular Men in the Senate ; whereupon the Caſe having been heard, ten Commiſſioners were ſent from *Rome*, to divide the Kingdom of *Numidia* between *Adherbal* and *Jugurtha*, who allotted the beſt Part of the Kingdom to *Jugurtha*, being biassed, as it is ſaid, by the rich Preſents he made them : And not being content with this, ſoon after the Commiſſioners were returned, he invaded the Territories allotted to *Adherbal*, beſieged the City of *Cirta*, and having taken *Adherbal* in it, put him to Death ; whereupon the *Romans* declared War againſt *Jugurtha*, and commanded their Generals to invade his Territories ; but he applied his Money amongſt them

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them with so much Address, that he met with little Disturbance from the Roman Forces, and having obtained a Peace, had the Assurance to visit *Rome*, where meeting with *Massanissa*, the Son of his Uncle *Gulassa*, who was soliciting the Senate for the Kingdom, he caused him to be murdered; and notwithstanding this Outrage, *Jugurtha* was permitted to retire to *Africa* unpunished; so dextrously had he applied his Bribes among the leading Men. When he left *Rome*, it is said, he looked back upon the City, and observed, that such a general Corruption reigned there, *That Rome itself would be sold, if they could meet with a Purchaser.*

Jugurtha subdued.

Bochus, King of Mauritania.

Juba's Dominions.

THE Romans afterwards entered into a War with him, but met with such ill Success, the Generals sent against him being corrupted, that they were content to grant him very advantageous Terms in a Treaty of Peace, which succeeded. The War being again revived, *Jugurtha* prevailed on *Bochus*, King of *Mauritania*, to join him with a numerous Body of Horse; but the great *Marius* commanding the Roman Army, defeated *Jugurtha* in several Engagements, took him Prisoner, and carried him to *Rome*, where having adorned his Triumph, that restless enterprising Prince was put to Death, and his Territories given to *Bochus*, King of *Mauritania*, as a Reward of his Merit in betraying *Jugurtha*, as it is said.

THE Dominions of *Bochus*, *Syphax* and *Massanissa* being afterwards united in the Person of *Juba*, who lost his Life in the War against *Julius Cæsar*, and *Numidia* and *Mauritania* made Provinces of the Roman Empire, *Juba*, the Son of the former *Juba*, was carried Captive to *Rome*, where becoming eminent for his Learning, *Augustus* restored him to all the Dominions of his Father, and married him to *Silene*, the Daughter of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: After whose Death, and the Death of *Ptolemy*, their Son, whom *Caligula* murdered, *Mauritania* was by *Claudius* added to the Roman Territories, being divided into two Provinces, viz. *Cæsariensis*, between the Rivers *Mulvia* and *Amptaga*, now the Kingdom of *Algiers*; and *Tingi-*

tana, now a Province of *Morocco*, extending from the River *Mulvia* to the *Atlantick* Ocean.

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THE Diocese of *Africa* was divided by the Romans afterwards into the following Provinces, viz. 1. *Africa Propria*, called also *Zengitania* and *Proconsularis*: Chief Towns, *Carthage* and *Utica*, now *Biserta*. 2. *Byzacena*: Chief Towns *Adrametum*, now *Machometta*, and *Bysaicum*. 3. *Tripolitana*: Chief Town *Tripoli*. 4. *Numidia*: Chief Towns *Syrtis* and *Hippo*. 5. *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, which is properly a Part of *Numidia*: Chief Town *Tenes*. 6. *Mauritania Sittifensis*. 7. *Mauritania Tingitensis*, now *Tangier*: Chief Town *Tangis*. 8. *Getulia*, situate South of the *Mauritanias*; and, 9. *Cyrenaica*, annexed to *Egypt*.

African Provinces.

Of these the six first were subject to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, whose Vicar resided at *Carthage*: As to *Mauritania Tingitensis*, this was annexed to the Diocese of *Spain*, and called *Hispania Transfretana*. *Getula*, situate South of the *Mauritanias*, was not reckoned among the Roman Provinces in *Africa*, and as for *Cyrenaica*, which lies between *Tripoli* and *Egypt*, this was annexed to *Egypt*, as has been observed already.

THE Christian Religion was planted very early here by *St. Peter*, according to some. In the Year 250, there were no less than ninety Bishops assembled at the Council of *Labesitum*; and in 398, there were 214 Catholick Bishops assembled at the Council of *Carthage*, besides 270 Bishops of the Sect of the *Donatists*, who were not esteemed Orthodox, whereupon the Orthodox Party increased the Number of their Bishops, that they might not be out-voted at a General Council. These Bishops were ranged into six Classes, according to the Number of the *African* Provinces. The Bishops of each Province being subject to their own Metropolitan, who in this Diocese had the Name of Primate; but all of them were subject to the Primate of *Carthage*, who was originally invested with Patriarchal Jurisdiction over all these Parts. Some of the most celebrated Bishops of this Church were, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Julius Africanus*, *Arnobius*,

Christianity introduced.

Great Men Natives of Africa.

BARBARY *bis, Lactantius, Victor Uticenses*, and above all, *St. Austin*: Among their Poets, were *Terence* and *Apuleius*: Their Military Men of greatest Fame, were *Amilcar*, and his three celebrated Sons, *Hannibal, Asdrubal*, and *Mago*.

Africa subdued by the Vandals.

THE Vandals subdued the Roman Provinces in *Africa* in the 5th Century: These People antiently inhabited the Shores of the *Baltick* Sea, in the North of *Germany*, and with their Neighbours the *Suevi* and *Alani*, having over-run *France* and *Spain*, were invited over into *Africa* by *Boniface*, the Emperor *Valentinian's* Lieutenant there, who was become a Malcontent, on receiving Advice that he was to be displaced, and his Government given to one of his Enemies, who had misrepresented his Conduct at Court, and prevailed on the Emperor to send Forces against him. The Vandals appeared very ready to accept the Invitation *Boniface* had given them, especially as they found themselves hard pressed by the *Goths*, who followed them into *Spain*, and began to dispute the Dominion of that Country with them.

THE Vandals having subdued all the Roman Provinces in *Africa*, were not content with that Conquest, but invaded *Italy* and took the City of *Rome* by Storm: They also carried their Arms into *Illyricum* and *Greece*, but were obliged to abandon those Countries again, either by the *Romans* or the *Goths*, and return to *Africa*, where they entirely subverted both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government; and, as the Orthodox complain, expelled all their Bishops, and persecuted such Christians as would not profess the *Arian* Doc-

trines, which the *Goths*, as well as the **BARBARY** *Vandals*, appear to have been strenuous Assertors of, in that Age. It was about the Year 427, when the *Vandals* made themselves Masters of *Africa*, which remained under their Dominion upwards of 100 Years during the Reign of seven of their Kings; but in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian* III. about the Year 534, *Belisarius*, that Emperor's General, having defeated the *Vandals* in several Battles, reunited *Africa* to the Roman Empire, and *Justinian* thought fit, at this Time, to exempt *Africa* from the Command of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, to whom it was formerly subject, making it a *Præfecture* of itself, and appointed the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africa* to reside at *Carthage*; he, also, at that Time, constituted *Africa* a Consular Province, having formerly been Proconsular only.

Africa recovered by the Romans.

AFRICA remained under the Dominion of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, until the Year 647, when *Osman*, the third Caliph of the *Saracens*, made an entire Conquest of the whole Coast of *Barbary*, which was afterwards divided into Abundance of petty Kingdoms and Principalities, the Christian Religion totally abolished, and that of *Mahomet* established. The *Turks*, afterwards subduing the *Saracens*, erected the four Governments of *Morocco*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, which still exist, but have frequently been invaded by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who still remain possessed of some of the principal Port-Towns on that Coast, particularly *Arzillai*, *Ceuta*, and *Oran*.

Subdued by the Saracens.

Divided into several Governments by the Turks.

A ME-

AMERICA.

The INTRODUCTION.

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THE Antients were of Opinion, that the Heavens constituted but one Hemisphere, which was supported by the Earth, the Form whereof they imagined to be flat and round like a Table.

THE Fathers of the Church laughed at the Philosophers who believed the Terrestrial Globe to be spherical, and surrounded by the Heavens: They exploded the Notion of Antipodes. "We are not," says St. *Austin*, to believe, that there "are Antipodes, which inhabit that Part "of the Earth under us; a Region where "the Sun rises, when it sets with us, and "the Feet of the People are opposite to "ours; or that the Earth is in the Midst "of the World, encompassed on all Parts, "and covered equally with the Heavens." And speaking of the Notion some entertained of another Continent, he says, "It is not agreeable to Reason, "or good Sense, to affirm, that Men may "pass over so vast an Ocean as the *Atlantick*, from this Continent to a New-found World, or that there are Inhabitants there, all Men being descended "from the first Man *Adam*." And even *Aristotle*, and those of the Antients, who believed both the Heavens and the Earth to be globular, and that there might be another Continent, yet looked upon it to be divided from us by such vast Seas, that we could have no Communication with it; and that all about the Equator, whether in this, or any other Continent, was not habitable, on Account of the excessive Heat.

SENECA, in his *Medea*, seems to prophesy, that another World should be discovered beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, to the South-West; and this also was the Opinion of other great Men among the Antients, founded upon that Disproportion there appeared to be between the Land and Water then discovered. But this shews there was no such Continent discovered at that Time. *Plato*, indeed, speaks of a vast Island beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, equal in Dimensions to *Asia* and *Africa*, and of several intermediate Islands, which rendered the Passage short and easy thither, but then he tells us, those Islands were long since sunk, and covered with the Ocean. If we take his Testimony, therefore, entire, there was no such Land as *America* known in his Days: And, indeed, his whole Relation appears to be no more than Poetical Fiction, and *Plato's Atlantick* Islands to have no other Existence than *More's Utopia*.

ACCORDING to the Sacred Scriptures, all Men descended from *Adam*; and had we not the Authority of Sacred Writ for this Opinion, yet the Resemblance there is between the People of that Continent and this, and the Religion and Customs of the one and the other demonstrate, that we proceeded from one common Stock.

THE Stature, Form, and Features of the *Americans*, do not differ from ours; the Frame and Turn of their Minds are the same; they adored the same Almighty Being, built Temples, and sacrificed to him as the Antients did; and they retained

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tained a Tradition, that their Continent was gradually peopled from a small Number. They used Arms of the same Form, also, as the Men of our Continent did, viz. Swords, Spears, Lances, Bows, Arrows, Slings, and Darts: All the Difference was, that as they had lost the Use of Iron, their Wooden Swords were edged with sharp Flints, and their Spears, Arrows, and Darts pointed with the Bones of Fishes, or other Animals. However, it is highly probable, these Countries were peopled very early, because they seemed Strangers to almost every Art and Science, when the Spaniards came amongst them; and for the same Reason, we may be assured, no Adventurers arrived there in these later Ages, before Columbus.

PART of the Coast of *Africa*, and the *Canary Islands* opposite to it, which lie not far from *America*, were planted by the *Carthaginians*, 400 or 500 Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour; some of their Ships carried 1000 Souls; and it is probable, when they sent Ships to the *Canary*, or *Cape Verd* Islands, to plant Colonies, they were crowded with Men, Women and Children, as ours are, that we send to the Plantations at this Day. Is it strange then, that some of those Ships should be driven to *America*, by the Winds, which constantly blow from the Eastward, when it is not more than three Weeks Sail from *Africa*, or the *Canaries*, to that Continent? If such Planters were once driven from their intended Port, far to the Westward, and they found it impossible for them to return, the Wind setting always directly against them, what could be more rational, than to run before the Wind, in Hopes of making some other Land? And as we suppose them victualled, in order to plant and recruit some Colony, such Adventurers could not have less than three Weeks, or a Month's Provision on Board, which was sufficient to support them in such a Voyage, where they could suffer no Hardships from the Climate, which was suitable to *African* Constitutions.

If it be demanded how it happened, that no Shipping was ever driven thither since the *Carthaginian* State flourished, it may very truly be answered, that no People

have ever navigated those Seas, since the *Carthaginians*, till very lately; all the Discoveries and Plantations of the *Carthaginians*, upon the West Coast of *Africa*, and in the *Canaries*, were lost and ruined upon the Conquest the *Romans* made of *Carthage*; neither did the *Romans* ever revive that Branch of their Navigation.

EVEN the *Canaries*, that were certainly planted by the *Carthaginians*, remained unknown for many Ages after that State became subject to the *Romans*; nor did the Natives know from whence to derive their Original, when the *Spaniards* made a new Discovery of those Islands in the Fifteenth Century.

ANOTHER Circumstance to induce us to believe they are descended from the *Phœnicians*, or *Carthaginians*, is, their imitating them in such of their Religious Rites, as Nature or Reason could never have taught them. As to their worshipping the Sun and Moon, this was common indeed to almost all other Nations; but their offering Human Sacrifices seems to have been almost peculiar to these Nations. It is observable also, that the *Americans* adored Mountains, Woods, Seas and Rivers, and almost every Animal, as the *Africans* once did, and some of them actually do at this Day. But further, if we suppose that *America* was first peopled by Sea, it could be by no other Nation but the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*, no other People having Fleets and Colonies on the Western Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa* in those early Ages.

FOR as to the peopling *America* by Fleets or Colonies from *China*, or any other Part of *Asia*; in the first Place, the Breadth of the *Pacifick* Ocean, or *South-Sea*, which separates *China* from *America*, is not less than eight or nine Thousand Miles, twice the Breadth of the *Atlantick* Ocean, which lies between us and *America*. Secondly, The Winds are always contrary within the Latitude of 30 North and South, where the Winds constantly blow from East to West, and in higher Latitudes are variable. Thirdly, It is well known, that the *Chinese*, the only People furnished with Shipping in the Eastern Parts of the World, never affected to make

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long Voyages, or visit remote Regions; their Navigation was always confined to their own Seas, and they either knew nothing of distant Countries, or despised them too much to take any Pains to come at them; and it is very unlikely, that any of their Ships should be driven by Accident to *America*, because the Sea, that separates *Asia* from *America*, is so very wide, and the Winds always against those that would sail from thence to *America*, within the Latitude of 30 North and South; and both *Japan* and *California*, which lie the nearest each other, of any Lands we know in *Asia* and *America*, lie in and about the Latitude of 30 North.

As to that Notion, That the People of the Continent went North about to *America* by Land, it scarce deserves mentioning; for we know from our late Voyages to the North-East, and to the North-West, that the Sea extends more than 80 Degrees to the Northward; and consequently, if *America* was peopled either of those Ways, those who went thither must travel within 10 Degrees of the Pole, which Parts are neither passable nor habitable; and if there be any other Land which unites their Continent to ours, in a less rigorous Climate, it must be between the Land of *Jesso*, or *Yesso*, to the Northward of *Japan* and *California*; but these are about 80 Degrees asunder, and no one has pretended to have discovered any Land between them, unless some merry Map-Makers, who separate them only by the imaginary Strait of *Anian*, which they make to be little broader than the Strait between *Dover* and *Calais*, though we know certainly, that the Land of *Jesso* and *California* are several Thousand Miles asunder, and no Man pretends to have discovered any Country between the one and the other.

To the Southward also our Mariners have sailed to near 70 Degrees; and consequently, if the two Continents are united in that Part of the Globe, it must be in too rigorous a Latitude for Men to travel that Way by Land.

BUT should it be admitted, that there was a Passage by Land, either near the North or South Pole, from the Old to the

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New World; it is strange, that no Man ever returned again that Way from *America* to us. This Passage is probably as easy from thence by Land as it is to it; and if it be objected, that the same Argument held good against those who suppose *America* was peopled from hence by Sea, this is evidently a Mistake, because the Wind always sits fair for sailing from *Africa* to *America*, and contrary to those that would return from thence. Besides, as it appears the *Americans* had lost the Art of Ship-building and Navigation, when the *Spaniards* came amongst them, and never knew the Use of the Loadstone, there was no Possibility they should ever return, or that we should have any Knowledge of them. Had they been furnished with Shipping, as they were not, it would not have been possible for them to have found the Way back to *Africa*; for till the Use of the Loadstone, the North or South Seas were very little navigated, if at all: And as well as we understand Navigation at this Day, we find it very difficult to come back from *America* without sailing pretty far North or South, where we meet with variable Winds, and for the most Part Westerly; if we were obliged to sail within the Tropicks, or indeed within the Latitude of 30, our Voyages from *America* would be long, and very difficult even to us.

BUT there remains still a formidable Objection against the peopling of *America* by the *Phenicians* or *Carthaginians*; and that is, that they were destitute of almost all Arts and Sciences; nay, that they knew nothing of Ship-building, or the Use of Iron, which they must have been acquainted with, if they had derived their Original from the *Carthaginians*. To this it may be answered, that those who were first driven to the Coasts of *America*, might be acquainted with most of the Arts the *Carthaginians* were Masters of; but as the first Generation was probably worn out before any Iron-Mines were discovered, and it is possible, that none of those that arrived there might understand the digging, melting or separating of Metals, if any such Mines had been discovered, it is no Wonder, that in an Age or two, the Use of Iron

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Iron was forgot, and consequently Ship-building, and all other Manufactures that depended on the Use of Iron; though the Arts of Spining and Weaving, for which the *Tyrians* and *Phœnicians* were famous, were retained.

ANOTHER Circumstance which inclines us to think, that *America* was peopled by the *Africans* by Sea, and not by Land, is, that we found it better peopled in the Middle, between the Tropicks, than it was towards the North or South; whereas, in our Continent, the most populous Places are, and the most considerable Empires have been, within the Temperate Zone, to the Northward of the Tropick of *Cancer*.

HAD the *Europeans* or *Asiatics* gone North about to *America*, they would probably have first planted those Countries that lay nearest the North, or at least those within the Temperate Zone, as most agreeable to them, and suitable to their Constitution, and not have chosen to fix the two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* within the Torrid Zone, and in a Manner desert the rest of the Country. It is much more likely, therefore, that the Inhabitants of *Peru* and *Mexico* should derive themselves from the *Africans*, than from any Northern People whatever; besides, the Climate of *Peru* and *Mexico*, as has been observed, resembles that of *Africa*, and is much more agreeable to an *African* Constitution, than to those of more Northern Latitudes.

STILL I apprehended it may be objected, that though Men might pass first to *America* in Ships, it can never be supposed that every Species of Beasts, Birds and Insects, passed thither the same Way. To which I answer, it is equally improbable they should travel thither by the Extremities of the North or South Pole; for it cannot be supposed, that such Animals as were bred in hot Climates, would ever wander into frozen Regions; nay, it is a Question, whether many of them would live in a cold Climate, if they were carried thither, and consequently their Passage that Way must be miraculous, if ever they effected it; besides, it appears, that many of the hardiest Animals, and the fittest for

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such a Journey, such as Oxen, Mules, and Horses, were none of them to be found there, when the *Spaniards* discovered *America*; and if other Animals went that Way, it is strange that Horses, and Mules, the best made for such Expeditions of any Creatures we know, should none of them have attempted this Passage as well as the rest.

ON the other Hand, if there was such a Passage by the Extremities of the North and South, how comes it to pass, that several Species of Animals we find in *America*, never appeared in our Continent? If these at first passed from us to them, how comes it that none of the same Species are left here? If any one will be so good to inform me how these Animals came into *America*, I will inform him how the rest came thither. Since the Difficulty therefore remains equal, whether we suppose Animals passed from the one Continent to the other by Sea or Land, our being ignorant how the *Americans* came to have some of the same Animals we have, can be no Objection to the Notion that *America* was peopled by Sea; nay, it seems to strengthen this Opinion, that Men never passed from this Continent to that, by the Extremities of North and South, inasmuch as neither Horses or Mules, and some of the rest of the hardiest Animals we have, and the best made for travelling, were not found there; for if Men could pass that Way, is it to be supposed, that those Beasts would not have passed that Way too; or rather, that Men would not have made Use of them to ride on, or to carry their Baggage, and their Wives and Children with them?

If it be said, that it was by Divine Impulse, that the Animals of this Continent wandered to the other; I answer, If we must resort to a Miracle, or supernatural Means, to solve the Difficulty, we may as well suppose a new Creation; for that would be but a Miracle. That Men might, and did pass to *America* in Shipping, has been in a Manner demonstrated: How Beasts, and other Animals, came thither, I must confess remains a Difficulty; for though some might pass in Ships, we cannot suppose all of them did. But still this does not weaken the Opinion, that *America*

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was peopled by Fleets, or single Ships of the *Carthaginians*, from the Western Coasts of *Africa*, because there are equal, or greater Difficulties to encounter, if we suppose Men and Animals went thither, either by or near the North or South Poles; and there are no other possible Ways of their passing to *America* by Land, unless we suppose with *Plato*, that some great Islands are sunk, that lay between us and *America*, of which we should certainly have had some other Evidence to corroborate his Testimony, if there were any such: And indeed from the whole Tenor of that Essay it appears, that *Plato* was speaking of some imaginary Country that never had a real Existence.

I PROCEED, in the next Place, to give an Account of our modern Discoveries to the Westward. *Christopher Columbus*, or *Colon*, was a Native of some obscure Village in the State of *Genoa*; his Father, and several of his Ancestors, Seafaring People; not in such mean Circumstances, however, but *Columbus* was put to School at *Pavia*, where he was taught Arithmetick, Navigation, Astronomy, Drawing, and Painting, at least sufficient to draw a Landskip, or describe the Situation of a Place: From School he went to Sea, and was in several Engagements with the *Turks*, *Venetians*, and other Nations; in one of which the Ship he was in was burnt near the Coast of *Portugal*; but he had the good Fortune to escape to Shore upon a Plank, and coming to *Lisbon*, found several of his Countrymen and Acquaintances settled in that City, with whom he resided some Time, and afterwards made several Voyages with the *Portuguese* to the North and South, and particularly to *Guinea* on the Coast of *Africa*. While he was in the Service of the *Portuguese*, he married a Wife of some Quality and Fortune, whose Father had been concerned in several Naval Enterprises, and was Governor of *Porto Santo*, one of the *Madeira Islands*, by which Means, *Columbus* came into the Possession of all his Father-in-Law's Charts, Maps, and Journals, which gave him the first Hint, it is said, of making Discoveries to the Westward,

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COLUMBUS, it is said, had three Inducements to believe that there lay a Continent in the *Atlantick Ocean*, not far to the Westward, and that this Continent was contiguous to, or rather Part of the *East-Indies* (under which Name was then comprehended even *China*, and all the Countries to the Eastward of the *Ganges*.)

1. He observed that *Marinus* had placed the *East-Indies* fifteen Hours to the Eastward of the West Coast of *Africa*, (which was, however, a very gross Mistake;) and that as there could remain but nine Hours more between this Continent and that, in sailing Westward, supposing that Space to be all Sea, which he hoped was a great Part of it Land, he concluded it would be no very long Voyage to the *East-Indies* by the West. And this by the Way, is the Reason why *America* was called the *Indies*, because the first Discoverer proposed to sail to the *East-Indies*, through the *Atlantick* or Western Ocean; and when the Continent of *America* was first found out, they looked upon it to be Part of the Continent of *India*, till they discovered that the *South-Sea*, or *Pacifick Ocean*, lay between *America* and *India*.

2. A SECOND Inducement for his attempting these Discoveries Westward, was, the Opinions of several learned Men, both Antients and Moderns, that there was another Continent beyond the Western Ocean, either very near or contiguous to the *East-Indies*, and that it was not very far distant from ours. But no Man confirmed *Columbus* more in the Opinion of a Continent that lay to the Westward, than *Signior Paul*, a Physician of *Florence*, with whom he held a constant Correspondence while he resided at *Lisbon*. This Physician, in one of his Letters, relates, how rich and populous a Country *China* or *Cathay* was, as they had learned by some Ambassadors, who came from thence to the Pope, and from Merchants that had traded thither by Land, that it was full of great Towns, yielded Gold, Precious Stones, and Merchandize of incredible Value; and assures him, that the Voyage thither, through the *Atlantick Ocean*, by the

Introduction. the West, could not be further than the Voyage from *Portugal* to *Guinea*, which (though it was a very great Error) gave *Columbus* great Encouragement to attempt that Voyage. In short, he computes the Distance between *Lisbon* and *China*, sailing Westward, to be about 5000 Miles, in which he was two Thirds. However, so far he was accidentally in the Right, that the Space between ours and the next Continent to the Westward, was much thereabouts, and gave *Columbus* a Notion, that he should meet with Land 5000 or 6000 Miles to the Westward.

3. A THIRD Inducement to this great Man's undertaking this Discovery, was the Reports of some Sea-faring Men, who had used those Western Seas. A Portuguese Pilot, named *Martin Vicente*, informed *Columbus*, that being 450 Leagues to the Westward of *Cape St. Vincent*, he took up a Piece of carved Wood, which he guessed came from some Island to the Westward, the Wind having long sat that Way: And *Peter Corea*, who married his Wife's Sister, assured him, that he saw a Piece of carved Wood drove by the Westerly Winds on *Porto Sancto*, one of the *Madeira Islands*; and that there had been thick Canes driven upon those Shores, such as did not grow in this Part of the World; and when the West Winds blew, Pines were frequently driven on the *Azores*, or Western Islands: Others, that had sailed to the Westward of the *Azores* some Hundreds of Leagues, affirmed, they had seen an Island in those Seas. But his principal Encouragement to this Undertaking, was, according to some Sea-Charts and Journals of a Pilot that died at his House in *Lisbon*, that appeared to have discovered some Land far to the Westward; and, indeed, by his persisting so long in the Resolution of sailing in Search of another Country beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, and applying to so many Princes and States for their Assistance, and his stipulating for no other Pay or Reward, than the Government of the Lands and Seas he should discover, one would be inclined to think, *Columbus* had some Certainty, or, at least, a very high Probability of his succeeding in this Attempt;

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Introduction. otherwise, for a Man to venture to sail so many thousand Miles upon an Ocean, till then esteemed boundless, must have been deemed rather Temerity than Wisdom. However, his Son rejects this Story of the Pilot's dying at his House, and leaving him those Intimations of a Country, he had discovered to the Westward, as derogatory to his Father's Honour, who, he insists, was the first Discoverer of that New World; and, no Doubt, he was the first that discovered it to any Purpose, so as to plant Colonies, and make Settlements there, in these latter Ages, which is an Honour that might satisfy his Descendants. One would think, the Discovery was made at first by Accident; and, indeed, as those Seas about the *Azores*, the *Canaries*, the *Cape-Verd Islands*, and the Coast of *Guinea*, were then constantly navigated by the Portuguese and Spaniards; it is not improbable, that some one of their Ships should have been driven a Fortnight or three Weeks Sail to the Westward of their designed Port, and discovered either the Islands or Continent of *America*, as it is said this Pilot did, who died at the House of *Christopher Columbus* in *Lisbon*.

BUT whatever were the Admiral's Motives to this Undertaking, he chose, it seems, rather to apply to Sovereign Princes and States for their Assistance, than invite private Adventurers into the Project; foreseeing, that if he should himself, or in Partnership with others, arrive at the rich Countries he proposed to visit, the Prince, whose Subjects they were, would claim the Sovereignty of such Places, and dispose of them to whom he saw fit; or other Princes might fit out Fleets, after he had found the Way to this New World, and deprive him and his Fellow-Adventurers of the Advantage of their Discovery. It was extremely prudent, therefore, in him, to endeavour to engage some Prince in the Design; and, since he could not hope to obtain the Dominion of what he should discover, to stipulate for the second Place in those happy Regions he proposed to come to, viz. the Post of Viceroy by Land and Sea, which we find he always insisted on, and obtained at length, a Patent for.

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Introduction. He set Sail from *Palos* the 3d of *August*, 1492, with three Ships, viz. the *St. Mary*, which he commanded in Person, the other two being commanded by the two Brothers *Martin* and *Vincent Pinzon*, all their Crews amounting to no more than ninety Men. He arrived at the *Canary Islands* on the 12th of *August*, and on the First of *September*, set Sail again upon his grand Design: He had not sailed a Fortnight in this wide Ocean to the Westward, before his Men began to murmur at the Enterprize, imagining they were sent on certain Destruction; for they observed the Wind constantly sat from East to West, and apprehended there would be no Possibility of returning, if they missed of the Land they were made to expect. But on the 19th, observing some Birds fly over their Ships, and on the 22d, Abundance of Weeds driving by them, they began to be better satisfied, and concluded they were not far from Land.

HOWEVER, continuing their Course still several Days farther Westward, and meeting with no Land, the Seamen murmured to that Degree, that they had almost agreed to throw their Admiral over-board, and return Home without him; when fortunately for him, they saw more Birds, Weeds, Pieces of Boards, Canes, and a Shrub with the Berries upon it also swim by them, which made them conjecture, there must be some Island thereabouts; and, indeed, had the Admiral inclined a little more to the Southward, he would have made either the *Caribbee Islands*, *Hispaniola* or *Cuba*, some Time before; for these now lay on the Left, or Larboard Side of him; some of them a-stern, or rather on his Larboard Quarter; for the first Lands he made, were the *Lucayos* or *Bahama Islands*, near the Coast of *Florida*: It was on *Thursday*, the 11th of *October*, 1492, about Ten at Night, that the Admiral first discovered a Light upon the Island of *Guanabani*, or *St. Salvador*, as the Admiral named it, in Consideration that the Sight of it delivered both him and his Men from perishing. This Island lies 60 Degrees West of the *Canaries*, in 25 Degrees North Latitude.

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THE Day appearing, the Ships came to an Anchor very near the Island, which they computed to be about 15 Leagues in Length, and found it to be populous, well planted, and watered with a great Lake and generally flat, low Land, without Hills: The Natives came down crouching to the Shore, and seemed astonished at the Sight of the Ships; and the Admiral believing there was no great Danger to be apprehended from them, went on Shore in his Boat, with the Royal Standard, as did the other two Captains in their Boats with their Colours flying. They no sooner came on Shore, but they kneeled down, gave God Thanks for their Success, and kissed the Ground (says the Son of *Columbus*) with Tears of Joy; after which, the Admiral stood up, and having reared the Royal Standard, called the Island by the Name of *St. Salvador*, taking Possession of it in the Name of their Catholick Majesties, with great Solemnity; after which his People recognized him their Admiral and Viceroy, swore to obey him, and begged Pardon for their perverse, untractable Behaviour during the Voyage.

THE *Indians*, in the mean Time, stood gazing at the *Spaniards*, without attempting to oppose them, while they were thus taking Possession of their Country; and the Admiral offered some Strings of Glass-Beads, Caps, and Toys of small Value, that made a glittering Shew, to be distributed amongst the Natives; at which they seemed infinitely pleased, and immediately hung the Beads about their Necks, testifying by all the Signs imaginable, the Value they set upon these Presents. They were

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were all perfectly naked, of a middle Stature, and Olive Complexion, like those of the *Canaries*; their Features just, only their Foreheads of the largest; their Eyes black as well as their Hair, which was generally cut short about their Ears, though others wore it long, and tied up; some of them also had their Bodies painted with a Kind of Vermilion, and others only painted their Faces with it. The principal Ornament about them, was a thin Gold Plate, in the Form of a Crescent, which hung from the Nose over the Upper-Lip, and their Arms were Spears, pointed with the Bones of Fish. When the Admiral returned to his Ships, they followed him; some swimming, and others in their Canoes, a Vessel made out of the Body of a Tree, some of which would hold forty Men, and others not more than two. When they came on Board, they brought Parrots and Cotton-Yarn, and all the Merchandize they had to exchange for *European* Trifles. They seemed to set a Value upon every Piece of broken Glass or Earthen-Ware, jumping into the Sea, and swimming to Shore with such Trifles, with Abundance of Joy. But they admired nothing more than the Swords, and bright Arms of the *Spaniards*, being at that Time perfectly ignorant of the Use of Iron.

THE Admiral demanding, as well as he could by Signs, from whence they had their Gold Plates, they pointed to the South and South-West, where they gave the *Spaniards* to understand, there were several large Countries well replenished with that precious Metal. The Admiral rowed in his Boats round the Island, to discover if there was any Thing worth settling there, being followed by the Islanders every where, who seemed to adore him and his People, as if they were come from Heaven. From this Island he sailed to another of the *Bahama* Islands, which he called *St. Mary of Conception*, and having viewed this, and several more of these Islands, and found nothing to invite him to stay here, he took seven of the Natives with him, and set Sail for the great Island of *Cuba*, which lies to the Southward of the *Bahama* Islands, arriving there on *Sunday*, the 28th

of *October*: Here they found some Houses on the Shore, but the People all fled up into the Mountains on their Approach; whereupon two *Spaniards* and two *Indians* were sent up into the Country to get Intelligence; who, returning again the Fifth of *November*, reported they travelled about twelve Leagues within the Land, that they came to a Town consisting of fifty large Timber-Houses, thatched, which contained about 1000 People, who came with great Respect, and kissed the two *Spaniards* Feet, giving them boiled Roots to eat: They entreated them also to remain in their Country; and, when they saw them resolved to return to their Ships, would accompany their Guests thither; for the two *Indians* had informed the Natives there was no Danger to be feared from the *Spaniards*. There were several other Towns the *Spaniards* reported they had seen in their Journey, where they were hospitably entertained, and said the Country was well planted with Oaks, Pines, Palms, and Cotton-Shrubs, and sown with *Indian* Corn; and they saw great Variety of Birds, but no Beasts, except some few dumb Dogs; and the *Indians* had great Quantities of Cotton-Yarn in their Houses, of which they made them Hammocks to lie in, and Aprons for their Women. But it being demanded of the Natives, if they had any Gold or Precious Stones, they pointed towards the East, intimating, that in a great Country, called *Bobio*, and which the *Spaniards* afterwards named *Hispaniola*, there was Plenty of these Things. Whereupon the Captain determined to sail Eastward, and taking twelve of the Natives of *Cuba*, Men, Women and Children with him, the Husband of one of the Women, and Father of two of the Children, who had been carried on Board, came in a Canoe to the Ship, and desired he might also go with them, and not be parted from his Wife and Children: Whereupon the Captain ordered him to be taken on Board; and, setting Sail from *Cuba* the Fifth of *December*, arrived the next Day at the Island of *Bobio*, about sixteen Leagues to the Eastward of *Cuba*; and here observing the Country to resemble that of *Spain* in several Particulars, he gave it

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it the Name of *Hispaniola*, which it retains to this Day. Having sent some *Indians* and *Spaniards* on Shore for Intelligence, the People at first ran away, and abandoned their Houses; but the *Indians* afterwards informing the Natives, that there was nothing to be feared from the *Spaniards*, they returned, and shewed them all imaginable Respect, offering them such Food as the Country afforded. But what the *Spaniards* were most inquisitive after, was the Place where they had their Gold from, observing most of them to wear thin Gold Plates at their Noses, as in the other Islands; and the People directing them further Eastward, the Admiral made no long Stay at the West End of the Island; but sailed again along the North Coast, in search of that precious Mineral: And arriving at a good Harbour, the Admiral built a Fort there, which he called the Port of the *Nativity*; and leaving in it a Garrison of thirty-nine Men, with Cannon, Small-Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, he determined to return to *Spain*, and give an Account of the Success of his Voyage.

THE Admiral departed from *Hispaniola* on the Sixteenth of *January*, and meeting with a Storm the Fourteenth of *February*; he lost the Company of the Ship, commanded by *Martin Pinzon*, about 150 Leagues West of the *Azores*: They all expected to have perished in this Storm, and went to their Prayers; after which they cast Lots which of them should go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Guadalupe*, if they escaped, which fell upon the Admiral himself. Then they drew again, which of them should go to the Lady of *Loretto*, in *Italy*, on their Arrival in *Europe*, which fell to the Share of *Peter de Villa*, a Mariner of *Port St. Mary's*; and the Storm still increasing, they all made a Vow to go bare-foot, in their Shirts, at their landing, to some Church of our Lady's, and every one made private Vows besides for himself. In the Account *Columbus* gives to their Catholick Majesties of this Storm, he says, "I had been less concerned at the Tempest, had I alone been in Danger, for I know I owe my Life to the Su-

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preme Creator; and I have been at other Times so near Death, that very little was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved me was, that God was pleased to frustrate this Enterprize, intended for the Propagation of the Christian Religion, and the Increase of your Majesties Dominions; and what added to my Grief was, the Loss of those Men who had so bravely ventured their Lives with me: Nor was it the least of my Afflictions, that I had left two Sons at School at *Cordoua*, destitute of Friends, in a strange Country; and it could not be known I had done any Service which might incline your Highnesses to remember them: And though, on the one Side, I comforted myself with the Belief that God would not permit a Thing, which was so much for the Advantage of his Church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with such Opposition and Labour, almost brought it to Perfection; yet, on the other Hand, I was afraid I was far from meriting so great an Honour. In this Perplexity, I meditated on your Highnesses good Fortune, and considered, that though I were dead, and the Ship lost, you might some Way reap the Fruits of this Enterprize: As briefly as I could, therefore, I wrote a Narrative in Parchment of what I had discovered, in how many Days I performed the Voyage, and what Way I had done it, with the Nature of those Lands, and of the Inhabitants; and that your Majesties Subjects were left in Possession of what I had discovered; which Writing, folded up and sealed, I addressed to your Highnesses, promising a Reward of 1000 Ducats to him that should deliver it to you sealed; that if any Foreigner found it, the promised Reward might induce him not to give it to another; then I wrapped the Writing in an oiled Cloth, and inclosed that in a Ball of Wax, which I put into an empty Cask; and, having bunged the Cask up close, threw it into the Sea. Another Cask, with the Copy of the same Writing inclosed in like Manner, I placed on the highest Part of the Ship;

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"Cask might still remain above Water."

THE Admiral, however, had the good Fortune to weather the Storm, and, on Friday the Fifteenth of February, made the Islands of *Azores*. and the next Day came to an Anchor at *St. Mary's*, where the Country People brought on Board fresh Provisions, and treated them very kindly; and finding an Hermitage dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, they agreed to go bare-foot, and in their Shirts, to the Chapel of the Hermitage, according to their Vow in the Storm; and accordingly the Admiral sent one Half of the Ship's Crew, to perform their Devotions there, determining on their Return to go himself thither with the rest of the Company: And having waited a whole Day in Expectation of his Men, he understood, that they were made Prisoners in the Island. But giving the *Portuguese* to understand, that this Outrage would probably occasion a War between their Catholick and *Portuguese* Majesties, and that if his Men were not returned, he would make Reprisals, and carry double their Number off the Islands; they consented at length to release the *Spaniards*, who reported, at their coming on Board, that the King of *Portugal* had sent Orders to all Places under his Dominion, that they should secure the Person of the Admiral by any Means whatever.

THE Admiral set Sail from the *Azores* the Twenty-fourth of February, and soon after met with another terrible Storm, not inferior to the former, which drove him, much against his Will, into the River of *Lisbon*, in *Portugal*; however, he was received here, contrary to his Expectations, very hospitably. The People of *Lisbon* crowded on Board to see him, and the *Indians* he had brought from the New World; some of them applauding the glorious Enterprize, while others cursed the Covetousness and Incredulity of their Ministers, which had lost them the Honour and Advantage of the Discovery.

THE next Day, the King of *Portugal* ordered the Admiral to be furnished with all Manner of Provisions gratis, and wrote to him, congratulating his Arrival, and in

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THEIR Catholick Majesties being at *Barcelona* at this Time, when the Admiral drew near that City, all the Court went out to meet him, and he was received with all the Honours due to a Sovereign Prince; nor was it easy to determine, whether the Admiral had greater Satisfaction in relating, or their Majesties in hearing the Discoveries he had made in the New World.

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THE Rejoicing for the Success of this great Enterprize being over, their Majesties confirmed to the Admiral the Viceroyship of all the Islands and Continent to the Westward of the *Azores*, and the *Cape Verd* Islands, which he either had or should discover and conquer, empowering him to appoint all Governors, Civil and Military, in these new discovered *Indies* (as they were called, it being then imagined, that they lay contiguous to, or near the *East-Indies*) and Orders were given for the fitting out a Fleet immediately to plant and take Possession of those Countries; in which such Diligence was used, that the Admiral set Sail again, with seventeen Ships, and 15,00 Men, from the Road of *Cadiz*, the Twenty-fifth of *September*, 1493. He touched at the *Canaries*, as in the first Voyage; and, departing from those Islands the Seventh of *October*, made *St. Dominica*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands, the Second of *November*, in the Night-Time, when, by their Reckoning, they were between 750 and 800 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Meeting with no convenient Harbour in *St. Dominica*, which he so named from its being discovered on a *Sunday*, he sailed to another Island, which he called *Marigalante*, which was the Name of his Ship; where landing, and taking Possession of it for their Catholick Majesties, he returned on Board again, and sailed to another of the *Caribbee* Islands, which he called *St. Mary's of Guadalupe*, at the Request of some Friars who belonged to a Monastery of that Name in *Spain*.

On *Sunday*, the Tenth of *November*, he weighed Anchor, and sailed along the Coast of *Guadalupe*, towards the North-West, for *Hispaniola*, and came to another Island, to which he gave the Name of *Mountferrat*, because of its great Height; and the *Indians* that were with him, informed him that it was depopulated by the *Caribbees*, who had devoured the Inhabitants: And sailing on further Westward, he saw Abundance of other Islands; among the rest, that of *St. Martin*, where he met with a Canoe, having four Men and a Woman in it, who fought his Boat's Crew with Bows and Arrows, and the Boat over-setting

the Canoe, one of the *Indians* shot several Arrows as he swam in the Water: However, they were at length all taken up, and the *Spaniards* observed, that the Men were castrated; it being usual, says the Son of *Columbus*, for the *Caribbees* to geld their Captives as we do Capons, that their Flesh may relish the better. The Admiral having passed by fifty other Islands, which he left to the Northward, came at length to the Island of *Boriquin*, which he named *St. John Baptist*, and anchored in a Bay on the West Side of it, where he met with several Houses pleasantly situated.

THE Admiral arriving at *Hispaniola* the Twelfth of *November*, found that all the People he had left in the Fort he built there, were dead: The Natives informed him, that some of them died a natural Death, others parted with their Company, and were destroyed by the *Indians* as they straggled into the inland Country in search of Gold, and the rest were defeated and slain by a Cacique, who came down from the Mountains, and attacked the small Remainder that were left in their Fort, notwithstanding the Cacique, or Prince, the Admiral had entered into an Alliance with in the first Voyage, did all he could to protect the *Spaniards*; and it appeared, that this Cacique, and several of his People, were wounded in an Engagement with the *Indians* of the Mountains, who had overpowered the *Spaniards* and their Friends, and destroyed the Fort. He understood, also, that the little Garrison he left soon fell into Parties and Divisions, and had led most abandoned Lives, taking four or five Women a piece, and, perhaps, some of them by Force; which, with their Attempts to discover the Gold the *Indians* were possessed of probably hastened their Ruin.

THE Admiral having observed other Parts of the Island more convenient for building a Town, and settling a Colony, than that where he built his first Fort, returned with his Fleet further Eastward, and near a Mountain he named *Monte Christo*, finding a commodious Harbour near the Mouth of a River, and a Rock that was a good natural Fortification, he laid out the Plan of a Town, to which he

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he gave the Name of *Isabella*, being the Name of the Queen of *Castile*: And while one Part of his Men were busied in building this Town, another Detachment was sent to discover the Country of *Ciboa*; about three or four-score Miles to the Southward of it, where the greatest Plenty of Gold was to be found, according to Information of the Natives: For though the *Spaniards* frequently insinuate, that their grand Design in planting these Countries, was to extend and advance the Kingdom of Christ, nothing is more evident, than that the possessing the Gold that they expected to find there, was the principal Thing they had in View. For this no Labour or Hazard was thought too much; and few of the Chiefs, employed in these Discoveries and Conquests, stuck at any Villainy to gratify their insatiable Avarice.

THE Admiral receiving Advice that *Ciboa* was a Rocky Country, pretty well replenished with Rivers, in whose Sands were found Gold-Dust, he went thither in Person, in order to build a Fort there that might command the Natives; having first sent twelve of his Ships back to *Spain*, and so disposed of the rest as to prevent a Mutiny in his Absence: For the Adventurers, having flattered themselves that they should immediately possess Mountains of Gold, when they found there was a great Deal of Labour and Fatigue to be undergone, in building Forts and Towns, and making Discoveries, before they could expect to accomplish their Ends, they formed a Conspiracy against the Admiral, and had even laid a Design to run away with the remaining Ships, and return to *Spain*; but *Columbus* having discovered the Plot, and so disposed Things as to prevent a Mutiny for the future, he set out for the Country of *Ciboa*, with a strong Party of Men, and some Horses and Mules; and here he erected a Fortress, to which he gave the Name of *St. Thomas*, in which he left a Garrison of 400 Men, and upwards, and then returned to his Ships in the Harbour of *Isabella*.

In this Expedition, the Admiral observes, that the Natives were under the greatest Consternation when they saw their

Horses; and, though the *Indians* would sometimes venture to engage their Foot, a single Horseman might drive Hundreds of them before him. They did not think themselves secure even when there was a deep River between them and the Horse; and, as the Poet suggests, perhaps they took the Horse and Rider for one Animal.

THE Admiral having put the Town of *Isabella* and the Fort of *St. Thomas* in a Posture of Defence, and left a sufficient Body of Troops in the Country, to keep the Natives in Awe, determined to go upon new Discoveries: Whereupon he nominated a Council of his principal Officers to take the Government of the Island upon them in his Absence, in which his Brother, *James Columbus*, was to preside, and then set Sail to the Westward, with three Ships, for *Cuba*, not knowing yet whether it were an Island, or Part of the Continent. In this Voyage he met with several good Harbours and Rivers, and found the Country to be very fruitful. He also discovered the Island of *Jamaica*, to the Southward of *Cuba*; which he commends as a more populous, pleasant and fruitful Country than either *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*; and relates, that it was inhabited by a warlike People, who attacked his Men with their Bows and Arrows, and would not permit him to make a Settlement upon the Island: Whereupon he returned to *Cuba*, determining to sail along that Coast, 500 or 600 Leagues to the Westward, till he found whether it was an Island or not; but he met with so many small Islands, Rocks and Sands on the Coast, together with bad Weather, as made most of his Men sickly, as well as himself; and he was obliged to return to the Town of *Isabella*, in *Hispaniola*, without effecting his Design.

WHILE the Admiral was absent, Don *Peter Margarete*, to whom he had given the Command of the Flying-Army that was to keep the Country in Subjection, aspiring after the sole Command of the Island, and refusing to obey the Council the Admiral entrusted with the Government, finding he could not obtain his Ends, left the Country and transported himself to *Spain*: Whereupon his Troops dispersed

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CERTAIN it is, the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* were subdued in this second Voyage of *Columbus*, who imposed a Tribute on them; and having taken *Caunabo*, the most powerful Cacique, or Prince of the Island Prisoner, sent him to *Spain*. This Cacique acknowledged, that it was he that destroyed the first *Spanish* Fort, called *the Nativity*, and put to the Sword above Twenty of the Garrison the Admiral had left there.

THE Admiral having settled the Government of the Island and built three Fortresses, besides that of *Isabella*, to preserve his Conquest, thought fit to return to *Spain*; for he found so many ill Offices had been done him by his Enemies, that the Court of *Spain* neglected to send him any farther Re-inforcements, to enable him to extend his Discoveries. He seemed under a Necessity, therefore, of attending their Catholick Majesties, in Person, in order to set Matters right, and procure such Supplies as were wanting; and, accordingly, setting Sail to the Eastward on the 10th of *March*, the Wind being directly against him, he arrived with infinite Labour at the *Caribbee* Islands, the

10th of *April*, where he took in fresh *Provisions*. It was the 9th of *June*, before he came upon the Coast of *Spain*, being near three Months after his setting Sail from the Town of *Isabella*; and attending their Catholick Majesties at *Burgos*, presented them with such Foreign Plants and Animals, as he judged would be most acceptable to them, and with some Gold-Plate and Gold-Dust, but in no great Quantities, and was in Appearance graciously received: But the Court were much disappointed, that they received little more than Trifles for all the Expence they had been at; they expected to have entered immediately on Mountains of Gold, and to have loaded their Ships Home with it; whereas they could not yet hear of any Mines that were opened, and met only with small Quantities of the Dust that was washed down from the Mountains, or in the Sands of Rivers.

THIS, with the Practices of the Admiral's Enemies, who insinuated that he was not equal to the great Work he had undertaken, and by no Means qualified to civilize and govern barbarous Nations, very much abated the Zeal of the *Spanish* Court for supporting and enlarging their Discoveries in the New World; insomuch that the Admiral was obliged to remain near two Years at the Court of *Spain*, before he could obtain the Supplies he solicited for.

THE Admiral having at length procured six Ships, set sail on the 30th of *May*, 1498, for *America* again, and in his Way, touched at the *Madeiras*. He afterwards made the Island of *Ferro*, the most Westerly of the *Canaries*; from thence he detached three of his Ships directly for *Hispaniola*, and with the other three bent his Course towards the Islands of *Cape Verd*, which lie in 15 Degrees North Latitude: Here he touched again; and, having taken in some Refreshment, held on his Course to the South-West, in Expectation of discovering the Continent, till he came into five Degrees North Latitude; but meeting here with Calms and excessive hot Weather, with Abundance of Thunder and Lightning, he was deterred

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THE Admiral going on Shore on the 5th of *August*, bartered away some Trifles with the Natives of *Paria*: He observed they were rather whiter than those of *Hispaniola*; that the Men wore their Hair long, and had little Aprons and Caps of Cotton-Linnen; that the Women wore little Gold-Plates and Chains of Pearl about their Necks, but had no Aprons or Covering for their Nudities; and that they were generally harmless, inoffensive People, not Cannibals, as some have represented them.

THE Admiral having spent about a Fortnight upon the Coast of *Paria*, in getting what Intelligence he could of that Continent, set Sail directly for *Hispaniola*, and arrived at *St. Domingo* (a Town that his Brother (and Lieutenant) had built on the South Side of the Island, and so named in Memory of their Father *Dominick*) on the 30th of *August*, 1498. The continual Labour and Watchings the Admiral had endured in attempting to discover the Continent, made the Sight of *Hispaniola* very acceptable to him, where he hoped to have enjoyed some Ease and Satisfaction after numberless Hazards and Fatigues; but to his great Mortification, he found the Island in the utmost Distraction. He had left his Brother his Lieutenant, as has been related, during his Absence, and one *Francis Roldan*, a *Spaniard*, in the Quality of Chief-Justice, who agreed pretty well in their respective Commands for the first Year after the Admiral's Return to *Spain*; but there being no News what was become of him, and generally believed that he was lost, *Roldan*, it is said, began to entertain Thoughts of setting up for himself, and expelling the Admiral's Brothers

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AND now, applying himself to search for Gold, he found such Plenty of that Metal, that one Man frequently got five Marks of Gold in a Day's Time; by which Means, *Columbus* and his Family, were in a fair Way of being immensely rich, when another Insurrection was raised against him by *Alonzo de Ojeda*, a considerable *Spaniard*, whom he had employed to make Discoveries upon the Coast of *Paria*. And though the Admiral by his excellent Conduct, found Means to maintain his Authority in the Island, in some Measure, yet his Enemies appeared too hard for him in the Court of *Spain*, by the malicious Stories they transmitted thither. They represented him to the King, as ambitious, covetous, and tyrannical; that he had no true Notion of Government, and used both *Spaniards* and *Indians* as Slaves; that he possessed himself of vast Treasures, while he concealed the richest Mines from the King's Officers: And these Gentlemen having Friends and Relations in the Court of *Spain*, to back their Complaints and malicious Suggestions, at length, worked him out of the King's Favour. But, perhaps, nothing was a greater Inducement

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to King *Ferdinand* to deprive him of his Government, than the Heaps of Gold, he was told, would flow into his Treasury, on his removing the Admiral. His Majesty, therefore, sent over *Francis Bovadilla*, a *Spanish* Knight, to *Hispaniola*, to enquire into the Admiral's Conduct, giving him Authority to apprehend him, and send him to *Spain* if he thought fit, requiring all the Commanders and Officers of the Island to assist *Bovadilla*: He sent a Letter to the Admiral himself, also, commanding him to obey this new Governor.

COLUMBUS, on the Arrival of *Bovadilla* with these Orders, surrendered himself upon the first Summons (though he was now in a Condition to have held the Island against all the Power the *Spaniards* could have sent thither,) believing, that on his representing his Case to the King and Queen of *Spain*, of whom he had deserved so well, he should be restored to his Command, especially as he was conscious his Enemies could prove none of the Things they had laid to his Charge.

THE insolent *Bovadilla* made the most of his Commission; he immediately took Possession of the Admiral's Palaces, and all his Effects, and clapping him and his Brother in Irons, sent them both Prisoners to *Spain*. The Captain of the Ship, indeed, ashamed to see this great Man in Fetters, offered to ease him of them; but he was resolved to carry them to *Europe*, as an Evidence, perhaps, of *Spanish* Gratitude; for he could not believe that *Bovadilla* durst have used him in this barbarous Manner, if he had not express Orders for it from Court. However, their Catholick Majesties no sooner heard of the Admiral's Arrival, but they sent Orders to release him, and invite him to Court, assuring him, that *Bovadilla* had exceeded his Commission, and that his Estate should be restored, and he should be continued in the Command of all he had discovered in the New World: For it evidently appeared, that the Complaints that had been brought against him, proceeded either from Self-Interest or Malice. But notwithstanding the Admiral was innocent, and had the Titles of Admiral and

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Viceroy of the *Indies* continued to him he appears to have been actually deprived of his Government of *Hispaniola*, and another was sent thither in his Room, that would be more acceptable to the *Spaniards*, as well as the *Indians*, as was supposed, and bring more Treasure into their Majesties Coffers: Which the Admiral so much resented, that he had determined to retire and lead a private Life, without attempting any farther Discoveries; for he reflected, that if what he had done for the *Spanish* Nation, could not induce them to use him well, nothing that he could do hereafter, would. But the King, either considering what Dishonour the laying the Admiral aside might reflect upon him, or imagining he might make him yet more profitable Discoveries, persuaded *Columbus* to put to Sea again, vested with the like Powers he had conferred on him in his former Voyages.

ACCORDINGLY the Admiral set Sail from *Cadiz* with four Ships, from fifty to seventy Tuns, and 140 Men, on the 9th of May, 1502; and touching at the *Canaries*, the 20th of the same Month, where he took in Wood and Water, he sailed from thence the 24th, and arrived at *Martinico*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands, the 15th of June, and the latter End of the same Month, came before *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*. But the Admiral was not suffered to enter that Port, though most of his Estate and Effects lay thereabouts, and he had represented to the *Spanish* Governor, that one of his Ships was much damaged, and he apprehended a Storm. From whence it is too plain, that the Court of *Spain* had given Orders, that he should never more reside in *Hispaniola*, which he had conquered for them. The Admiral, however had the good Fortune to get into a little Creek in the Island, where he weathered a very terrible Storm, in which *Bovadilla*, his great Enemy, and fourteen Ships loaded with Treasure, and bound for *Spain*, perished.

THE Admiral, after the Storm was over, left the Coast of *Hispaniola*, and sailing to the Westward, passed by the South-Side of the Island of *Jamaica*, from whence continuing

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tinuing his Course, he arrived at the Island of *Guayana*, in the Gulph of *Honduras*, where he met with a Canoe as long as a Galley, and eight Feet wide, made of one Tree; which being loaded with such Merchandize as the neighbouring Continent afforded, and having twenty-five Men, and several Women and Children on Board, bound for the Coast of *Mexico*, he made them Prisoners: He found on Board the Canoe several large Pieces of Cotton-Linen, Quilts, and quilted Waist-Coats, without Sleeves, finely wrought and dyed of several Colours. The Women on Board the Canoe, wrapped themselves up in Pieces of Cotton-Linen, or had Clothes of the Bigness of Handkerchiefs to cover their Nudities: There were found also on Board the Canoe, Wooden-Swords, edged with Flints, and Hatchets made of Copper: They had also Bells, Plates, and Crucibles of Copper to melt their Metal in.

THEIR Provisions were Maize or *Indian* Corn, several Sorts of Roots, and Nuts of which Chocolate is made.

THE Admiral having taken out of the Canoe such Things as he liked, and given the *Indians* such *European* Goods in Return, as were most acceptable to them, he dismissed the Canoe, and all the People in it, except one old Man he detained to inform him of the State of the neighbouring Continent, and to serve him for an Interpreter among the Natives: The *Indians*, who were already on Board the Admiral, it seems, did not perfectly understand the Language of those of the Continent, that were taken in the Canoe; but learned, however, thus much of them, that North-West of the Province of *Honduras*, on which Coast the *Spaniards* lay at this Time, there lived a potent Prince (afterwards found to be the Emperor of *Mexico*) and that to the South-West of *Honduras* was a narrow Strait that led to a vast Ocean (afterwards known by the Name of the *South-Sea*) which the Admiral determined to search out, rightly conjecturing, that over that Sea he should find a Way to the Treasures and Spices of the *East-Indies*: But the Misfortune was, that the same Word that signified a Strait by Sea, might be,

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and really ought to have been, on this Occasion, interpreted an Isthmus by Land; and if he had understood these *Indians* right, they would have informed him, that there was a narrow Neck of Land, afterwards called the Isthmus of *Darien*, that separated the North and South Seas, or the *Atlantick* from the *Pacifick* Ocean. This Mistake caused the Admiral an infinite Deal of Trouble and Fatigue; for upon this Intelligence he returned to the Eastward, in Order to find out the imaginary Strait, labouring against the Trade-Winds, and Currents, which generally blow from the East in these Seas. As he sailed to the Eastward, along the Coast of *Honduras*, his People frequently went on Shore, and trafficked with the Natives, exchanging Bells, glittering Beads and Toys, for thin Gold-Plates; and here they were furnished with Water and fresh Provisions; such as Venison, Geese, Hens, Fish, and Beans like Kidney-Beans. Most of these People went naked, only their Heads were covered with a Piece of Cotton-Linen, as were also their Nudities; and some of them had short quilted Waist-Coats of Cotton, which I find served them for Armour, as well as Clothing, and would defend them against a Stroke of their Wooden-Swords: Those that were naked, had the Figures of Beasts, Birds, Castles, &c. painted on their Arms and Bodies; and on Rejoicing-Days, when they would be very fine, they painted their Faces red or black, or marked their Faces with long Strokes of various Colours, which made them look very deformed in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, how agreeable soever they might appear to one another: They adorned their Necks, Ears, and Noses, with thin Gold-Plates: The Plates which hung at their Ears, stretched them to such a prodigious Size, that the Admiral gave the Coast of *Honduras* the Name of *De Las Orejas*, or *The Country of Ears*. The Admiral sailed along this Coast to the Eastward till he came to the Cape, which he named *Gracias a Dios*; or, *Thanks be to God*; because he was no longer obliged to struggle against the Winds and Currents; for here the Coast bending to the South, he

Introduction. continued his Voyage without any Difficulty, by the Assistance of the Easterly Trade-Winds. The Admiral found the People here very jealous that the *Spaniards* had some Design upon their Country, and came down armed, in great Numbers, with Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs, as if they intended to dispute their landing: But afterwards finding the *Spaniards* only wanted to trade with them, they became more tractable, and exchanged Cotton-Linen, and Plates of Gold, for some *European* Toys. But, it seems, one of the Admiral's People taking out a Pen and Ink, and beginning to write down his Observations on the Country, the Natives immediately fled, and left all the Things behind them they had received of the *Spaniards*: From whence the Admiral conceived, they thought they should be bewitched, if they conversed any longer with his Men. It is remarkable also, that here the *Spaniards* met with several dead Bodies embalmed, and wrapped in Cotton-Sheets, and so perfectly dry, that they had no Manner of ill Scent. These were repositied in Tombs, in a large Wooden-House or Temple, and over each Tomb was laid a Board, with the Figures of Beasts carved on it; and on some, the Figures of the Persons deceased, adorned with Beads, Gold-Plates, &c.

On the Second of *November*, the Admiral continuing his Voyage to the Eastward, came to a large commodious Harbour, to which he gave the Name of *Porto Bello*, which it retains to this Day; it lies in the Province of *Darien* or *Terra-Firma Proper*, in 10 Degrees North Latitude. Here he met with a great many *Indian* Houses, well inhabited; and, on the Islands near the Shore, he found a great Deal of *Indian* Corn, and other Refreshments, from whence he gave those Islands the Name of the *Bastimentoes*, or *The Islands of Provision*. Here the Admiral understanding that there was Gold to be found in the Province of *Veragua*, which lies to the Westward of *Terra-Firma*, he returned again to that Coast, where he met with such stormy Weather, that it almost destroyed his Ships, and reduced his Men

Introduction. to Despair: But the Weather favouring him at length, he sent some Men on Shore in search of the Golden Mountains he had heard so much of, and they had the Satisfaction of gathering some Gold, at the Roots of Trees, and near the Surface of the Earth, which made the Admiral determine to settle a Colony in *Veragua*, and leave his Brother Governor of it, till he returned to *Spain* for further Re-inforcements. Accordingly he built a little Town and Fort, in which he left his Brother, and a Garrison of eighty Men, supplying them with Arms, Ammunition and Provisions: But, apprehending the Friendship of the Natives was not to be depended on; before he set Sail, he ordered his Brother to make the Cacique, or Prince, of that Part of the Country, with his Family, and the principal Natives, Prisoners; which he did, and sent them on Board the *Spanish* Ships: But the Cacique, and most of the Prisoners, jumping into the Sea, and making their Escapes, raised the whole Country upon the *Spaniards*; and killing some, and wounding others, obliged them to quit their new Settlement; and it was with a great Deal of Difficulty that the rest escaped to their Ships, one of which was so eaten up with Worms, that they were obliged to leave her behind. After this unfortunate Rencounter, the Admiral set Sail with the three remaining Ships, in a miserable shattered Condition; and arrived again at *Porto Bello*; where he was forced to leave another of his Ships, she was so disabled by the tempestuous Weather they had on this Coast, or the Worm. From *Porto Bello* he directed his Course North, till he made the great Island of *Cuba*, and on *Midsummer-Day* they arrived at *Jamaica*, their Ships so leaky, that they found it almost impossible to keep them above Water till they got to Shore: Whereupon they run them both a-ground in a small Creek, close together, about a Musket-Shot from Land, where they supported and shored up the Ships with Timber, and lived on Board them above a Year, trafficking with the Country People for Provisions; but they did not care to lie on Shore for Fear of being destroyed by the Natives, if any

Introduction. Quarrel should happen between them and the *Spaniards*.

IN the mean Time the Admiral sent over some of his Crew to *Hispaniola* in open Canoes, to get Ships to carry him and his Company off. This was a very hazardous Enterprize; for these Canoes, which are only small Boats, made out of the Trunks of Trees, were to pass the Ocean about fifty Leagues, and were in Danger of being over-set in every little Storm. However, they arrived safe at *Hispaniola*; but the Governor, who was an Enemy to the Admiral, delayed sending Ships so long, that his People mutinied, and one Half of them left him, and went on Shore in the Island, where they committed great Outrages, till the Admiral fought them, and reduced them to their Duty by Force, many of the *Spaniards* being killed on both Sides in the Engagement. At length the Admiral's People having bought, and fitted out a Ship at his Charge, in the Island of *Hispaniola* (in which they had no Assistance from the Governor) they came back to *Jamaica*, and brought the Admiral off; after he had spent above a Year there, in great Distress, and lain most of the Time Bed-ridden with the Gout.

THE Admiral arrived at *St. Domingo*, in *Hispaniola*, the Thirteenth of August, 1504; and having settled his Affairs in this Island, where he had a good Estate, and Effects of Value, he returned to *Spain*, where his Catholick Majesty received him in Appearance very graciously; but, it seems, was contriving, at the same Time, to deprive him of most of the Advantages he had stipulated to allow him on the Admiral's undertaking the Discovery of that New World: For his great Patroness, Queen *Isabella* was now dead, and most of the Court envied him the Wealth and Honour he had acquired, how justly soever he merited them, and that chiefly because he was Foreigner. But notwithstanding the strictest Scrutiny the Malice of his Enemies could make, it does not appear that any Thing was fixed upon him, that could sully his Character, unless it was his too great Zeal to serve the ungrateful *Spaniards*, and enlarge their Dominions, by

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Introduction. bringing the innocent *Indians* under the Subjection of that cruel and haughty People. But he, as well as the rest of the Popish World, it seems, was then of Opinion, that his Holiness had the Disposal of all Pagan Countries, and could confer them on whom he pleased: Or, that all Infidel Nations ought of Right to become Slaves to the Christians. These Notions he certainly went upon, or he could not, with any Colour of Justice, have subdued *Hispaniola*, and made the *Indians* of this and other Places Captives, who received him as a Friend, trafficked with his People, and furnished them with whatever their respective Countries afforded.

IF we consider that the *Spaniards* could have no Right to invade the *Indians*, enslave them, or deprive them of their Country; even this memorable Enterprize of *Columbus* cannot be defended. However, in the Light he viewed Things, with all his Prejudices and Prepossessions about him, as he thought he was doing God good Service, by enlarging the Bounds of Christendom, and reducing the Nations of this New World to submit to the Gospel, or, which he took to be the same Thing, to the Pope and his Catholick Majesty; it must be admitted he intended well, though all he did was not strictly just.

AND what was the End of all this mighty Discovery in Regard to himself? He was indeed, at first highly caressed and honoured, his Family ennobled, and vastly enriched: But if we consider the infinite Hazards and Labours he underwent, even in his Old Age, and that he saw himself, at last, about to be deprived of the Reward of so many Years Toil and Perplexity, we cannot wonder it had an Effect upon his Health, which the numerous Hardships he had suffered had already greatly impaired: It is rather to be admired he struggled so long under a Train of Calamities, of which the Ingratitude of the *Spaniards* was not the least. This, it appears, sat heavy upon him; and being retired to the City of *Valladolid*, we find he there left this Life for a better, on the Twentieth of May, 1506; dying, it is said, with Abundance of Resignation, under

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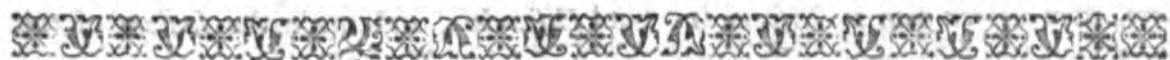
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a Sense, no doubt, that the most important Services, attended with the most surprising Success, were thrown away upon an ungrateful Nation: He saw they could not procure him a Continuance of the Fame he had so justly acquired, or a Moment's Repose in his Old Age; and that there was no Rest, or real Felicity to be found on this Side the Grave.

After his Death, indeed, his Catholic Majesty was so just to this great Man, as to bury him magnificently in the Cathedral of *Seville*, and to erect a Tomb to his Memory, with this Inscription:

COLUMBUS HATH GIVEN A NEW WORLD
TO CASTILE AND LEON.

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A M E R I C A.

AMERICA.

THIS Globe, as has been observed already, consists of Land and Water; the Land being divided into two Parts, called the Eastern and Western Continents. The Eastern has been already described. I proceed now to give the State of the Western Continent, denominated *America* from *Americus Vesputius*, an Italian in the Service of *Spain*, the second great Discoverer of this Part of the World.

America Situation.

It is situate between 35 and 145 Degrees of Western Longitude, and between 80 North, and 58 Degrees odd Minutes South Latitude; bounded by the Seas, or rather by the Lands, about the Arctic Pole, on the North; by the *Atlantick* Ocean, which separates it from the Eastern Continent, on the East; by a vast Ocean on the South; and by the *Pacifick* Ocean, which divides it from *Asia*, on the West: Being about 9000 Miles in Length from North to South; but no Part of it yet discovered is more than 3000 Miles broad. It consists of *North* and *South America*, united by the narrow Isthmus of *Darien*, in about 10 Degrees of North Latitude; and the greatest Part of it is subject to four European Sovereigns, viz. The King of *Spain*, the King of *Portugal*, the King of *Great-Britain*, and the King of *France*: The *Dutch* have a very small Share in it, with some little Islands; and the *Danes* possess one of the *Caribbee* Islands.

Spanish America.

SPANISH AMERICA is the richest and much the most extensive; running along the Western Shore, from 50 Degrees North

Latitude to 45 Degrees South Latitude, all contiguous; and they claim a Right to the Countries, much beyond these Limits, both on the North and South; but thus far has been actually planted by them. The Countries on the West Coast of *North America*, which are possessed by *Spain*, are *New Mexico* and *Old Mexico*, with Part of *Florida*; but the *French* have almost excluded them from thence.

In *South America* the *Spaniards* possess *Terra-Firma*, *Peru*, *Chili* and *La Plata*, and the Islands of *Cuba*, Part of *Hispaniola*, *Porto-Rico*, *Trinidad*, *Margaretta*, with several smaller Islands.

NEW MEXICO is usually placed between 104 and 136 Degrees of West Longitude, and between 28 and 46 Degrees of North Latitude; and computed to be 2000 Miles in Length, and 1600 in Breadth; and as the *Spaniards* bound it by a *Terra-Incognita* on the North, they will in Time possibly lay Claim to the Country as far as the Arctic Pole.

New Mexico Situation.

I SHALL divide *New Mexico* only into two Provinces, viz. 1. That of *New Mexico Proper*; and, 2. *California*, contiguous to it, which is now found to be a Peninsula; and not an Island, as it was esteemed formerly.

THE Capital of *New Mexico*, is *Santa Fe*, situate in 109 Degrees of West Longitude, and 36 Degrees of North Latitude, and is most considerable for its Silver-Mines.

Santa Fe City.

OLD MEXICO, commonly called *New Spain*, is situate between 83 and 116 Degrees

Old Mexico Situation.



Degrees of Longitude West from London

Hours of Time West from London

South
America

MEXICO. Degrees of West Longitude, and between 8 and 28 Degrees of North Latitude, being 2000 Miles in Length, and 600 in Breadth, in the broadest Part, but near the Isthmus of *Darien* scarce sixty Miles broad; being bounded by *New Mexico* on the North-East, by *Terra-Firma* on the South-East, and by the *Pacifick* Ocean on the South-West; containing the three Divisions. Audiences, of, 1. *Galicia*. 2. *Old Mexico Proper*; and, 3. *Guadalajarra*.

Guadalajarra. THE most Northerly Division of *Old Mexico*, is that of *Guadalajarra*; the chief Town whereof is of the same Name, and situate in 108 Degrees of West Longitude, and 20 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude.

Mexico Proper. THE Middle Division, is that of *Mexico Proper*; the chief Town whereof, and of

Capital City. all *North America*, is **MEXICO**, situate in 103 Degrees of West Longitude, and 20 Degrees of North Latitude. It stands upon an Island, in a Lake which lies in the Middle of a Valley, surrounded by Mountains at about ten Miles Distance. The Town is of a Square Form, about two Leagues in Circumference, with a grand Esplanade, or Area in the Middle of it, in which all the Streets center. It is built some Part of it on a Morass: And as Abundance of Rivers discharge themselves into the Lake, from the adjacent Mountains, it is subject to be overflowed, though they have been at a vast Expence in making Canals, Dikes and Sluices, to carry off the Waters. They have sometimes found the Hazard and Inconveniences of their Situation so great, that it has been debated, whether they should not abandon the City, and build another upon better Ground. But they have hitherto been diverted from that Resolution by several Considerations. 1. By the vast Expence it would be, to build such another City. 2. By the Coolness of the Situation, occasioned by the Lake, which they should want on drier Ground. And, lastly, by the natural Strength of the City, there being no approaching it but by the five Causeys that have been made between the City and the Main Land. This the antient *Mexicans*, as well as the

Spaniards, looked upon to be so great a **MEXICO.** Security, that they never erected Walls or Gates about it.

THE old *Indian* Town when *Cortez* arrived in *Mexico*, was divided into two Parts; the one inhabited by the Court, the Nobility, and Persons of Distinction, and the other by *Tradesmen* and People of inferior Rank. The former was much the largest Part, where the Streets were spacious, the Houses of white hewn Stone, one Story high, with flat Roofs, adorned with Battlements: Their Ceilings were of Cedar, Cypress, or other odoriferous Wood; and their Hangings were either made of Furs and beautiful Feathers, or painted Cotton-Linen, with a Variety of Figures of Birds, Beasts, or Plants. The only Furniture mentioned besides, are their Beds and Chairs, which do not seem suitable to the rest; for their Beds were no better than Mats, and their Chairs of Wood; nor were any of the Nobility served in Plate: This was the Prerogative only of the Emperor; the rest eat out of Earthen Dishes.

THE only publick Buildings Writers give us any Description of, are the Emperor's Palaces, and their Temples; and these Descriptions are not so full as could be wished.

THE Palace where *Montezuma*, the last Emperor, resided, sufficiently shewed the Magnificence of that Prince, says the History of the Conquest. The Pile was so very large, that it opened with thirty Gates, into as many different Streets; the principal Front making one Side of the great Square abovementioned. The Materials of this Building were polished Jasper, black, red, and white; and over each Gate, in a large Shield, were the Arms of *Montezuma*, being a Griffin, Half-Eagle and Half-Lion, with the Wings extended, and a Tyger in his Talons.

THIS Palace consisted of several Square Courts, so vastly extensive, that here were Apartments for 3000 of his Women, and a proportionable Number of other Domesticicks; and might rather be stiled a separate City than a Palace.

MEXICO.

THE Palace assigned to *Cortez* and his Army was vastly large, containing commodious Rooms and Apartments for 500 *Spaniards*, and for several Thousand *Tlascalans*, his *Indian* Allies; the Whole being surrounded with a thick Stone-Wall, and flanked with stately Towers at convenient Distances. In several of the Streets of *Mexico*, were Canals with Bridges over them, and many thousand Boats plied upon the Water to bring in Provisions, and for the Service or Pleasure of the Inhabitants. There were two vast Aqueducts also made by the Emperor *Montezuma*, which brought in fresh Water from a Mountain three Miles Distance, supplying the Palaces and the numerous Fountains in the high Streets with Water.

BESIDES the two Palaces already mentioned, *Montezuma* had several Pleasure-Houses in and about the City. In one of which were great Galleries supported by Pillars of Jasper, in which were kept every Species of Land-Fowls and Birds, that *Mexico* produced. The Sea-Fowls were preserved and fed in Reservoirs of Salt-Water, and those that were bred in Lakes and Rivers, in others of fresh Water; and so numerous were the Feathered Race of all Kinds, that, it is said to have been the Business of 300 Men to feed and look after them.

IN another Square of the same Palace, were kept all Manner of Wild Beasts in their respective Dens and Cages in a most regular Order, and in another Part of this Palace were Apartments for Dwarfs and Monsters, Fools and Naturals of the Human Species, kept for the Sport or Service of the Court.

HERE were also Armories well replenished with Armour and all Manner of *Indian* Weapons; and in the same Quarter were seen the Artificers at Work that formed and cleaned their Arms.

ALL these Palaces had spacious, and elegant Gardens, not planted with Fruit, but laid out in fine shady Walks, Beds of fragrant and medicinal Herbs, and Parterres of beautiful Flowers, with magnificent Summer-Houses, Bagnios, Arbours and Fountains, that might have

vied with any Thing of that Kind in *Europe* in those Days.

BUT there was a Building in the most solitary Part of these Gardens, which surprised the *Spaniards* more than any Thing they had met with; and that was an Edifice called the House of Sorrow, to which the Emperor used to retire, on the Death of his near Relations, or on any Calamity, publick or private. It was so contrived as to inspire those that approached it with gloomy, melancholy Thoughts; the Roof, the Ceiling, and Sides were black, and only Light enough let in to discover the dismal Obscurity: Here he used to remain till the Time of Mourning and Humiliation were over; and here, if we may credit those Authors who wrote the Conquest of *Mexico*, *Montezuma* used to converse familiarly with the Prince of Darkness: But those who read these Gentlemen, are at Liberty to believe as much, or as little as they please of such Relations.

I COME in the next Place to the Description of the *Mexican* Temples, the principal whereof was dedicated to *Vitzliputzli*, the God of War: This stood in a spacious Square, surrounded by a Wall of hewn Stone, wrought on the Outside with various Knots of twisted Serpents: At a little Distance from the principal Gate was a Place of Worship, built of Stone, and ascended on the Outside by thirty Steps, on the Top whereof was a long flat Roof, and the Front of it adorned with the Skulls of Men that had been sacrificed, placed in Rows one above another, which half covered this Edifice.

ON each Side of the grand Square was a magnificent Gate, and over every one of them four Statues, supposed to represent some subordinate Deities; for all that entered the Gates, seemed to adore them. Under the Wall, on the Inside, were the Apartments of the Priests, and of their Officers, and Servants, and yet the Square was so very extensive, that there was Room left for 8000 or 10,000 Persons to dance on their solemn Festivals.

IN the Middle of the Square was an Edifice of a Pyramidal Form, three Sides whereof were smooth, and the fourth contained

MEXICO. fained 120 Stone-Steps, by which they ascended to the Top, that was a Flat of forty Feet square, laid with Jasper of all Colours. The Rails or Ballustrades, that surrounded this, were of a Serpentine Form, covered with a Stone as black as Jet, and joined with a red and white Cement, that was very ornamental.

Human Sacrifices.

ON each Side within the Rails, was a Marble Statue, supporting a vast Candlestick; and between them a green Stone five Spans high from the Floor, which terminated in a Point; and on this they extended the Human Victims they sacrificed, throwing them on their Backs, and ripping them open with Knives made of Flint; after which they tore out their Hearts, and offered them to their Idols; for on the farther Side, opposite to the Stairs, stood a Chapel of exquisite Materials and Architecture, where the Idol was placed on the Altar. This Image was of Human Form, and sat on a Throne, sustained by an azure Globe, which they called Heaven; from the Sides whereof issued four Rods, their Ends resembling the Heads of Serpents: On the Head of the Image was a Helmet, adorned with Plumes of various Colours; its Countenance was severe and terrible, and much deformed by two blue Bands, which bound the Forehead and the Nose: In the Right Hand it held a twining Serpent, that served for a Staff; and in the Left, four Arrows, which were revered as the Gift of Heaven: It bore a Shield also, adorned with fine white Plumes in the Form of a Cross. On the Left Hand was another Chapel of the same Form, in which was the Image of *Tlalock*, another of their Gods, resembling the former, however, in every Respect: They were esteemed Friends, or rather so intimately united, that they ascribed to them the same Attributes, and paid them the same Honours. The Walls and Altars of these Chapels were immensely rich, covered with Jewels and Precious Stones, set on Feathers of various Colours.

THERE were eight of these Temples in *Mexico*, of the like Architecture and equal Wealth, besides 2000 small ones, dedicated to as many different Gods, eve-

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ry Street having its tutelar Deity, every **MEXICO.** Distress or Calamity had its particular Altar, to which they had Recourse for a Remedy of their several Complaints.

BOTH *Old* and *New Mexico* are very much encumbered with Mountains, which are for the most Part covered with Woods, but there are a Chain of Hills higher than usual, that run almost the whole Length of the Coast from the South-East to the North-West: From these we descend to other Hills, considerably lower; and between the Hills are fine fruitful Vallies, but scarce any of a considerable Extent. Which Way soever we turn our Eyes, the Prospect is bounded by Hills and Woods, till we come near the *North* or *South-Seas*: But the Lands near the Sea-Coast, especially on the *North-Sea*, are so flat, and low, that they lie under Water great Part of the rainy Season; and upon these Morasses and Bogs, are Thickets of Bamboo-Canes, Mangroves, Thorns, and Briars, so closely interwoven, that it is almost impossible to penetrate them without cutting a Way through with a Hatchet. There are, indeed, some Sandy Bays, where it is tolerable Landing; but there are much more of the Mangrove-Lands, where a Man must wade up to the Middle in Mud, before he can get to the dry Ground. Beyond the Mangroves, we meet with fine Savannahs or Meadows, and on the North-West Coast, near the Gulph of *California*, the Mountains come almost close to the Shore; and there are none of these Morasses, or Mangrove-Lands, that we find on the East Shore of *Mexico*.

THE Mountains on the West Side of *Mexico*, are most of them Vulcanos from whence Fire and Smoke are perpetually issuing; and this is supposed to be the Occasion of those frequent Earthquakes that happen on this Coast, where whole Towns are sometimes buried.

UPON these Mountains there is a great Variety of fine large Timber, and little or no Under-Wood. A Man may ride through them without any Difficulty; whereas the Woods upon the East-Coast are so full of Bushes and Under-Wood, that there is scarce any breaking through them.

6 U

MEXICO.
Seas.

THE Seas of Mexico, are either the Gulph of Mexico and the North-Sea on the North-East, or the Pacifick Ocean on the South-West.

IN the Gulph of Mexico lies the Bay of Campeachy, between 18 and 20 Degrees of North Latitude, where the greatest Quantities of Logwood are cut. And between Yucatan and Honduras, is another great Bay, called the Gulph of Honduras, lying between the 15th and 18th Degree of North Latitude.

Rivers.

THE Rivers in the two Mexicos, which fall into the Gulph of Mexico, and the North Sea, are, 1. North-River, 2. Panuco. 3. Alvarado. 4. Tobasco. 5. Xagua; and, 6. Yara.

RIVERS which fall into the South-Sea, are, 1. Rosario. 2. Tegoantipeque; and 3. Lempa.

Capes.

THE Capes are, Sardo, Cape St. Martin's, Cape Conducedo, Cape Catoche, Cape Honduras, Cape Cameron, and Cape Gracias Dias, in the North-Sea; Cape Marques, Cape Spirito Sancto, Cape Corientes, Cape Gallesco, Cape Blanca, Cape Burica, Cape Puerco, and Cape Mala, in the South-Sea.

Bays.

ON the North-Sea, are the Gulphs or Bays of Mexico, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, and Honduras; in the Pacifick Ocean, are the Bays of Nicoya, Acapulco, and Salinas.

Lakes.

THE chief Lakes are those of Mexico and Nicaragua.

Seasons.

THE Year is divided into the wet and dry Seasons; the rainy Season beginning the latter End of May, when the Sun is in the Northern Signs. The proper Summer or fair Season, is when the Sun is at the greatest Distance from them.

Winds.

NEAR the Sea-Coast, in the Pacifick Ocean, they have their Periodical Winds, viz. Monsoons, and Sea and Land Breezes, as in the East-Indies.

IN the Gulph of Mexico, and the adjacent Seas, there are strong North Winds from October to March, about the Full and Change of the Moon.

TRADE-WINDS prevail every where at a Distance from Land, within the Tropicks.

Air.

THE Air of Mexico is very hot, and very unhealthful on the Eastern Coast, but much cooler and wholesomer on the high Land.

Vegetables.

THEIR Vegetables are the Cotton and Cedar-Trees, and Logwood, which grows

chiefly in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, on the flooded Shores. It is much like White-Thorn, but a great deal larger; the Heart of it, which is red, is used in Dying; some of these Trees are five or six Feet in Girth.

THE Mangrove-Tree grows in the flat Country, by the Sea-Side, almost always in Water.

THE Maho-Tree has a Bark with strong Fibres, of which they twist and make Ropes and Cables.

THE Light-Wood is as light as a Cork, of which they make Floats, and carry their Merchandize along the Sea-Coasts, several Hundred Miles, building two or three Storries high upon them.

THE Cabbage Tree is 100 or 120 Feet high; which has no Branches but on the Head, where they meet with a Fruit resembling a Cabbage.

THE Calabash is a Gourd, that grows to a great Bigness here.

THE Tree which bears the Cacao, or Chocolate-Nut, is seven or eight Feet high to the Branches, and a Foot and Half Diameter; the Nuts are enclosed in Cods, usually twenty or thirty Cods on a well-bearing Tree; there are sometimes three or four-score Nuts in a Cod, in some not twenty, about the Bigness of an Almond.

THE Venella, or Bexuco, is sometimes mixed with the Chocolate-Nut; it is a Kind of Cane, and runs up any Tree that stands near it; The Fruit is enclosed in a long green Cod.

THERE are a great many other Fruits peculiar to this Country, and they have introduced almost all Manner of European Fruits and Plants.

THEIR Animals are, the Pecaree, a little black, short-legged Animal, that has some Resemblance of a Hog, but his Navel grows on his Back. Animals.
Quadrupeds.

THE Warree is like the former, but something less.

THE Oppossum is remarkable for a false Belly, where it preserves its young ones when Danger threatens her.

THE Moose-Deer, which resembles the Red Deer, is almost as big as an Ox.

THE Guanoe is of the Shape of a Lizard, but as big as a Man's Leg.

THE

MEXICO. THE Flying Squirrel has a small Body, and a loose Skin, which he extends like Wings, and is borne up by the Wind for a considerable Time.

THE Sloth is about the Bigness of a Spaniel, and feeds on the Leaves of Trees; but is so many Days getting down one Tree and climbing up another, that he will grow lean on the Journey; no Blows will make him mend his Pace; he will be eight or nine Minutes in moving one of his Legs.

THE Armadillo is so named from his Shell resembling Armour, in which he can inclose himself as a Hedge-Hog does in his Bristles.

THE Racoon pretty much resembles a Badger.

THE Ounce, or Tyger-Cat, seems to be a small Species of Tygers.

THE Beavers are surprizing Animals, that will cut down Trees, and make Dams a-cross Brooks to catch Fish; their Furs are very valuable, of which our *Hudson's-Bay* Company import many Thousands annually.

Fish. OF their Fish, the Manatee is as big as an Ox, and excellent Food.

THE Paracood is about an Ell long, and well-tasted, but unwholesome at some Seasons.

THE Gar-Fish is of the same Length, and has a sharp Bone at the End of his Snout like a Spear, but not indented like that of the Sword-Fish.

OF Tortoises, there are five or six Species, some valuable for their Flesh, and others for their Shells. The Females will lay about 200 Eggs in a Season, which she buries in the hot Sand, and leaves them to hatch there.

Birds. OF the Feathered Kind, peculiar to America, are the Macaw, resembling a Parrot, but much larger; the Quam, the Curaco, the Cardinal, and the Humming-Bird.

Reptiles and Insects. AMONG their Reptiles, are the Rattle-Snake, which gives the Traveller Notice of his Danger by a Rattle in the Tail.

THE Migua is an Insect so small, that it cannot easily be discerned, and usually strikes into a Man's Legs; and if it is let alone, will get deep into his Flesh, where it lays a great many Nits or Eggs, which encrease to the Bigness of a Pea, and if the

Part be scratched, it immediately festers, and endangers the Loss of a Limb.

THE Cochineal-Fly is a very profitable Insect; it is bred in a Fruit that grows on a Shrub about five Feet high; when the Fruit opens, these Insects take Wing, and hover a little while over the Tree, and then fall down dead on the Sheets that are spread for them.

THE Trafick of Mexico is one of the richest and most extensive in the World; for they trade with the *Philippine* Islands, near the Coast of China, through the *South-Sea* or *Pacifick* Ocean; with *Peru* and *Chili*, through the same Sea, and with *Old Spain* and the *Spanish* Islands, through the *North-Sea* and *Atlantick* Ocean; all which Trades are held lawful. There is also a very considerable clandestine Trade carried on by the *Mexicans* and *Indians* on the one Side, and the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* on the other.

THE Cargo of the *Manila* Ship consists of Diamonds, Rubies, Sapphires, and other Precious Stones, found in the *East-Indies*; of Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, and Pepper; of the rich Carpets of *Persia*; the Camphire of *Borneo*; the Benjamin and Ivory of *Pegu* and *Cambodia*; the Silks, Muslins, and Calicoes of *East-India*; the Gold-Dust, Tea, China Ware, Silk, Cabinets, &c. of *China* and *Japan*; all which amount to a prodigious Value, the *Acapulco* Ship having more Riches in it than some whole Fleets. The *Spanish* Merchants, it is said, get 150 or 200 per Cent. Profit by the Voyage between Mexico and the *Philippine* Islands.

THERE is very little Trafick carried on by Sea on the Coast of Mexico; all Goods are carried from *Acapulco* to the City of Mexico, by Mules, and Pack-Horses, and from thence to *Vera Cruz*, on the *North-Sea*, in like Manner, in order to be shipped for Europe.

THIRTY or forty Ships carry on all the Trade between *Old-Spain* and the *Spanish* Dominions in America; and these are almost all of them their own Vessels, no Foreigners being suffered to trade thither. The Vessels used by the *Spaniards*, in transporting Merchandize from *Old Spain* to America,

MEXICO. *America*, are generally large, and of good Force, called Galleons: They sail in Fleets, annually, from *Cadiz*, laden with the Goods of almost every Country in *Europe*; the Property whereof belongs to almost as many different Nations; but chiefly to the *English, Dutch, Italians, and French*.

THE *Spaniards* are, in a great Measure, their Factors; for when the Galleons return from *America* with the Treasure, for which these Effects have been sold; it is most of it distributed amongst the Merchants, and Factors of the four Nations last mentioned; but so true are the *Spaniards* to their Trust, it is said, that those in whose Names the Effects are sent over, and the Returns made, scarce ever abuse the Confidence placed in them, or betray their Principals.

Clandestine Trade.

THE *English* from *New-York, Jamaica, &c.* the *French* from *Hispaniola*, and the *Dutch* from *Curaçow*, fit out Sloops with all Manner of Provisions and Necessaries which they know are wanting on the Coast of *Mexico*; in order to trade with the *Spaniards* there, who are no less ready to receive the Goods of these Foreigners, than they are to sell them, giving Pieces of Eight for what they buy; which makes this a very beneficial Commerce to the *English, French, and Dutch*.

THERE has been another Trade, or Business carried on by the *English* in *North-America*, which has occasioned many Disputes between the two Nations of *Britain* and *Spain*; and is not yet adjusted; and that is the cutting of Logwood in the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*. This the *English* had done in several Parts of the Country, destitute of *Spanish* Inhabitants, for a great many Years; and looked upon it, that their long Possession had given them at least as good a Right to that Part of the Country as the *Spaniards* had to any other: And in some Treaties, the *Spaniards* seem to have yielded up this Point to the *English*: However, they have thought fit, of late Years, to fall upon the Logwood-Cutters, killed many of them at *Campeachy*, and carried the rest into perpetual Slavery, not suffering them to be exchanged or ransomed; but our Log-

wood-Cutters still keep Possession of the **MEXICO** Bay of *Honduras*; in which they are not disturbed by the *Spaniards*, on Shore, though they make Prize of all Ships loaded with Logwood at Sea, and of many others, that never came in Sight of those Shores, which was the principal Occasion of the late War, but never considered in the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The *Spaniards* still continue to search and seize the *British* Merchant-Ships on the most frivolous Pretences.

THERE are at present a great Variety of Inhabitants in the Provinces of *Mexico*. Modern Inhabitants of Mexico.

1. The native *Indians*.
2. The *Spaniards* and other *Europeans*.
3. The Descendants, of the *Spaniards* unmixed, who are called *Creoli*.
4. The *Mestices*, or *Mestizos*, the Issue of a *Spaniard* and an *American*.
5. The fine *Mestizos*, the Issue of such Issue.
6. The *Terceroons des Indies*, the Children of the last, intermarried with pure *Spaniards*; and
7. The *Quateroons des Indies* whose Posterity are allowed the same Privileges as pure *Spaniards*.

THE Blacks also are pretty numerous, having been carried over to the *Indies* from *Africa*, and by one Means, or other obtained their Freedom. The Issue of a *Spaniard* (or other *European*) by one of the Female Negroes, is called a *Mulattoe*. The Descendants of those who are called *Mulattoes*, though again intermarried with *Spaniards*, and as white as the *Spaniards* themselves, can never enjoy the Privileges of *Spaniards*, unless they can conceal their Descent, which they frequently do by removing from the Place of their Nativity.

AND there is also a mingled Breed of Negroes and *Indians*, whose Descendants are ever excluded from the Privileges of the *Spaniards* till their Ancestors are forgotten. But besides these there are some Commonwealths of Blacks, in several Parts of *Mexico*, that own no Subjection to the *Spaniards*. These are constituted out of the Negroes that ran away from their Masters; into the Woods and Mountains; and, at length, became so formidable, that the *Spaniards* were forced to enter into Treaties with them, and grant them their Liberties, and permit them to be governed by their

MEXICO. their own Magistrates, on Condition they should put a Stop to their Depredations.

Persons of the
native Mexi-
cans, Habits
and Orna-
ments.

I PROCEED, in the next Place, to describe the Persons and Habits of the native *Mexicans*.

THE *Indians*, I find, are generally of a middle Stature, and their Complexions a deep Olive, darker than that of the *Portuguese*. The Men have clean strait Limbs, are big-boned, and well shaped, scarce a crooked or deformed Person to be found among them: They are nimble and active, and run very swiftly. The Women are moderately fat and well-shaped; and the Faces both of Men and Women are round, their Eyes large, either black or grey, lively and sparkling: Their Foreheads are high; their Noses short; the Mouth of a moderate Size; their Lips thin; their Chins and Cheeks well proportioned; and all of them have fine Sets of Teeth: The Features of both Men and Women are generally good.

IN the wearing their Hair, which is always black, they differ much; in some Places the Men wear it short, and the Women long; and in others it is just the Reverse: Some are proud of having long Hair hanging down their Backs; and others wear it short just below their Ears, and some tie it up behind: But all agree in suffering no Hair to remain upon them, unless the Hair of their Heads and Eyebrows: The rest is pulled off with Tweezers as soon as ever it appears, which is the Business of the old Women, it seems, inasmuch that the *Spaniards* did not find a Beard in the Country, or any Hair below the Girdle, when they arrived among them. There are some Nations of *Indians* that take Abundance of Pains to render their Countenances deformed: They do not only flat the Noses of their new-born Infants, but so press and squeeze their Heads between two Boards; that they make them perfectly flat; while others endeavour to mould their tender Skulls into the Shape of a Sugar-Loaf: And there are scarce any of them but disfigure their Faces and Bodies with Paint, and rub themselves over with Fat. They begin to anoint and paint their Children very

young, and the Women are the Operators. MEXICO.

The Colours they chiefly affect, are a lively Red, Blue, or Yellow; and sometimes, they make the Figures of Men, Beasts, Birds, or Plants, on every Part of the Body, but chiefly on the Face: They draw these Figures on the Skin, with Wooden Pencils, gnawed at the End to the Softness of a Brush, renewing the Paint from Time to Time, till the Colours are fixed. But the Way they often take to render the Figures lasting and indelible, is by pricking the Skin with a Thorn, till the Blood follows, and then rubbing the Paint in with their Hands. Some Nations of *Mexicans*, when they go to the Wars, paint their Faces red, and their Bodies with other Colours, according to their several Fancies; but this is usually washed off at Night, and renewed every Morning.

As to their Habits, most of the *Mexican* Nations wear some Habit or other; but there are *Indians* that go perfectly naked: *Gimelli* relates, that he saw some of the *Chiehimecas*, when he was at *Mexico*; who had no Part of their Bodies covered; but their Nudities, all the rest of the Body was naked and stained with several Colours: That their Faces were streaked with black Lines, made by pricking the Skin, and rubbing in the black Liquor: That some of these wore Stags-Skulls on their Heads with the Horns on; others had a Lion's, a Tyger's, or a Wolf's Head upon their own, fastened about their Necks with Part of the Beast's Skin. These are worn as Triumphs of their Victories over those Animals. But they are ambitious of nothing so much, as of killing a *Spaniard*, that they may fix his Head on their own, and triumph in the Destruction of their most dreaded Enemy.

THE *Spaniards* relate, that *Montezuma* the Emperor, when he met *Cortez* at his Entrance into *Mexico*, had on a Robe of fine painted Cotton-Linen, that trailed upon the Ground, and was covered in a Manner with glittering Jewels and Precious Stones; that he wore a Crown of Gold in Form of a Mitre, had Shoes of hammered Gold, and a Kind of Roman Buskin about his Legs: That the High-Priest

Montezuma's
Robes.

MEXICO.

The High Priest's Robes.

Priest wore on his Head a Crown of beautiful Feathers of various Colours with Golden Pendants, enriched with Emeralds; at his Ears, and that he was cloathed in a Vest, and a fine Scarlet Robe over it; and in the Pictures they have given us of the Priests, it appears, they had Sandals on their Feet; but their Legs were bare, which makes it reasonable to believe, that the Generality of the People, even in their Capital City, wore neither Stockings or Shoes, if the rest of the Body were cloathed; and in other Pictures they have given us the upper Part of the Body naked.

Genius of the Mexicans.

As to the Genius and Temper of the *Mexicans*, it seems, there is a wide Difference between what they were when the *Spaniards* arrived amongst them, and what we find them to be at this Day: They are far from being improved either in Arts or Morals. The first Adventurers inform us, that they were a wonderful, ingenious People, inoffensive and hospitable; and, except in the Matter of Human Sacrifices and their idolatrous Worship, which their Superstition required, there was very little Reformation wanting; nay, we are assured, that the Generality of the People detested these Sacrifices, and were weary of their Superstition.

It appears they were no mean Proficients in Painting, Statuary, and Building; that they used both the Pencil, and the beautiful Feathers of Birds, in drawing and forming of Pictures; and, without any Manner of Iron Tool, hewed out vast Pillars and Slabs of Marble, out of the Rocks, and polished them, as they did several Stones and Jewels; that they made Arms, defensive and offensive, wrought Mines of Silver and Copper, melted and separated these Metals, and afterwards wrought them into Plates and Vessels; and all this, as has been observed, without being acquainted with Iron. We find also that they built great Towns, removed Stones of a prodigious Size, from Place to Place, and yet had no Horses, Oxen, or other Cattle for Draught; but all their Carriages were drawn by Men. They had also Images of Gold and Silver, Wood and Stone: But how they did carve, engrave,

I

paint, and build without Tools, remains very much a Secret to us. The *Spaniards* were so intent upon plundering their Gold and Silver, that they neglected to make proper Observations on these Articles; at least they did not think fit to transmit these Matters to Posterity. We have only lame and imperfect Accounts of the Arts and Manufactures of the *Indians*; they tell us that there were magnificent Buildings, Images, Pictures, Vessels, and Utensils of Gold, Silver, Earth, and Wood; but how they formed them, without the Help of Iron Tools, is in a great Measure unknown to us. We are told, indeed, that sharp Flints served them instead of Axes, Knives and Swords; that with these they formed their Edge-Tools; but how they could grave or carve their hardest Stones with such Instruments, is not easy to conceive; and tho' formerly I gave some Credit to these Tales, seeing them affirmed by many of the *Spanish* Writers, I must now condemn my own Credulity, and declare I believe very little of them.

As to the Virtues of the antient *Mexicans*, they do not seem to have been defective, either in Point of Temperance, Fortitude, or Military Skill: Both their Policy and Stratagems were admirable, considering the Disadvantages under which they laboured, and that they had an Enemy to oppose, versed in the modern Arts of War, possessed of Gunpowder, Artillery, Arms, Armour, and Horses, which the *Indians* had never seen or heard of till then.

The principal Manufacture of the antient *Mexicans* was Cotton-Linen, which they spun and wove, and afterwards painted with the Figures of Men, Animals, Trees, Flowers, &c. These they always made fit and proportionable for the Uses they designed them, and never cut any of their Linen. They used the Sinews of Animals instead of Thread, and Bones instead of Needles. The Feather-Manufacture, also, was very great: They stripped and plundered every feathered Animal to make their Pictures, and adorn their Houses or their Persons: And almost every Man made his own Arms. They had no other Vessels upon the Water in their Seas, Lakes, or Rivers,

MEXICO.

MEXICO. Rivers, but Canoes or Periaguas, which only differ in their Dimensions. They are both of them made out of the Body of a Tree, and carry from three Men to three-score: They first hewed one Side of the Tree flat, with Flint Hatchets, and then burnt it hollow with Wood Coals, smoothed it, and formed the Ends something like a Boat, which they pushed along with small flat Staves; but knew nothing either of Sails or Oars. These Kind of Vessels are found very useful to this Day, and they have now a much easier Way of framing them by the Help of *European* Tools.

The Mexicans degenerated.

I PROCEED, in the next Place, to shew how the modern *Mexicans* are degenerated from their Ancestors. *Gemelli Careri* relates, that the present *Mexicans* are cowardly and cruel: That they have no Sense of Honour, are drowned in Vice, and die without any Concern or Apprehensions of Futurity; but seems to intimate, that the hard Usage of the *Spaniards* is the Occasion of this Change: For he says they make them work in their Mines, and treat them worse than Slaves; nay, that they suffer the Negro Slaves to abuse and insult them; and if they happen to get any Thing by their Labour, the rapacious *Spanish* Governors and Officers take it from them, and it is no Wonder that this Usage has made them perfectly careless; for to what Purpose should a Man labour for what he can never possess securely? Or why should he be concerned at dying when it relieves him from something worse than Death? But *Gemelli* adds, that the Mulattoes in *Mexico*, which are the most numerous Body of People in that City, are still worse than the *Indians*, greater Cheats and Thieves than the former; and that there is not one honest, fair-dealing Man in a Hundred amongst them: Nor does *Gemelli* give the *Spaniards* themselves, that reside in this City, a better Character: For he says, he saw 400 *Spaniards* brought before a Court of Justice there, for Theft, at one Time: That they are many of them idle, slothful Vagabonds, and turn Sharpers to get a Livelihood; and that it is almost impossible for a Stranger to escape being robbed among them. And all Travellers agree, that the present Inhabi-

The Spaniards of America vicious.

tants of *Mexico*, of what Nation, Tribe, **MEXICO.** or Denomination soever, are more vicious and effeminate than the *Indians* which the *Spaniards* found there; and might be beaten out of that Country with as much Ease almost as the antient *Spaniards* made that Conquest, if they were not to be supported or re-inforced from *Europe*.

I COME in the next Place to enquire into the Character of the *Indians* in the open Country, that do not live in Towns, and have still preserved their Liberties, of which there are yet great Numbers; and many more that only obey them occasionally, when they happen to reside in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Towns, or are obliged to yield a forced Obedience when the *Spanish* Troops are amongst them. These, *Dampier*, and other late Adventurers, inform us, are People of great Humanity, still brave, generous, active, and unacquainted with the sordid Vices of those that live in Towns, whom the *Europeans* have corrupted. *Dampier*, in his second Volume, Part II. p. 115, says of the *Indians*, they are an inoffensive People, kind to Strangers, and even to the *Spaniards*, who use them worse than Slaves, when they get them into their Power; those of the open Country spending great Part of their Time in Hunting, Shooting, or Fishing, as the Antients did: Every Man builds his own House, and makes his own Arms, Tools and Implements of Husbandry. They cultivate but little Ground, planting just enough *Indian* Corn, Roots, and Fruit, to serve the Necessities of the Family; and these Plantations are the Business of the Women altogether, after the Men have cleared the Ground. The Women also spin and weave their Cotton-Linen. They do all the Household Business; and what is still harder upon them, they carry the Baggage upon a March, and serve their Husbands instead of Porters and Pack-Horses; and that with all imaginable Chearfulness and Alacrity. They are never known to murmur, or speak disrespectfully to their Husbands: Nor is a Man ever heard to give his Wife any hard, ill-natured Language. On the contrary, they are admired by our People for the mutual

Character of the Indians not subject to the Spaniards.

MEXICO. mutual Love and Kindness that seems to reign in their Families.

Food, Exercises and Diversions.

As to the Diet, Exercises, Festivals and Diversions of the *Indians*, who still enjoy their Liberties, their principal Food is either *Indian* Corn, parched and ground into Flour, and made into thin Cakes; and Fruit, Roots, and sometimes Fish, Wild-Hog, Deer, and other Venison. They go out a hunting and shooting frequently, in Companies, a Week or a Fortnight for Food, every Man carrying with him his Bow and Arrows, or a Gun, if he can procure one, a Spear, a Hatchet, and a long Knife: Each Man also takes a Dog or two with him to beat for Game. Some Women also go with them to carry their Provisions; namely, roasted Plantains, Bananoes, Yams, Potatoes, and the Flour of Cassavi-Roots: They carry also in their Baskets, parched *Indian* Corn ground to Flour, with Calabashes, or Gourds to drink out of, and Pipkins to dress their Food. The Beasts they hunt are chiefly Pecary or Warree (two Sorts of Wild-Hogs peculiar to *America*) and they meet with great Variety of Fowls: They lodge at Night wherever they happen to be at Sun-set, chusing to be near some River, and on the Brow of an Hill, if they can find such a Situation; they hang up their Hammocks between the Trees, and have scarce any other Covering but a Plantain-Leaf, only they make a Fire near their Hammocks: They begin again to hunt at Sun-rise, the next Morning. Their Game, the Pecary and Warree, are not swift of Foot, and usually go together in Drovers of 200 or 300; but sometimes they hunt a whole Day without meeting any: When the Beast is tired or wounded, he will stand at Bay with the Dogs, till the Master comes up and shoots him; after which the *Indian* strikes his Spear into the Creature to let out the Blood, embowels it, and cuts the Beast in two Pieces, carrying them on a Stick laid across his Shoulder, to the Place where they have appointed their Women to meet them; here they cut off the Head of the Hog, quarter and flay him. What they intend to preserve they dry upon a Wooden Grate (which is called a

Barbacue) making a Fire of Wood Coals MEXICO. under it; this they renew for three or four Days or a Week, till the Meat is as dry as a Chip, and the Pieces will keep a great While. The Men are so good as to assist the Women to carry the Venison Home, when they have a great Deal of it, and when their Stock of Provision is almost spent, they go out again to look for more.

As to their Cookery, whether their Flesh is dried or fresh killed, they cut it into small Pieces, and throw it into a Pipkin, adding some Roots, green Plantains, or other Fruits, with a great Deal of Pepper, stewing them together seven or eight Hours, and not suffering them to boil; this reduces all the Ingredients to a Pulp or Hotch-Potch, and is for their set Meal at Noon, when it is poured out into an Earthen Dish or Calabash, and being set upon a Wooden Block, that serves them for a Table, they sit round on lesser Blocks every one having a Calabash of Water standing by him on the Ground, into which they frequently dip their Fingers while they are eating. (These Calabashes, or Gourds, serve them for Bottles; and when they are cut in Half, for Bowls, Basons, or Drinking-Cups.) They have seldom more than one set Meal; but they eat Plantains and other Fruit raw or roasted, almost all Day long: With the Flour of *Indian* Corn, or of the Cassavi-Root, they sometimes make a Kind of Gruel, or else make it into Paste, and bake it as hard as Biscuit; and either the Flour or Biscuits made of it, they have always by them, especially when they are on a Journey, or in Hunting; these serving them both for Meat and Drink, mixed with Water and Fruit, when they want more substantial Food.

THERE is scarce any Flesh, Fish or Fowl, but what the Natives of *Mexico* eat, either stewed or barbacued, that is, broiled over a Wooden Grate, or upon the Coals; and I do not perceive they use either Knives, Forks or Spoons, in eating; but take up the stewed Hotch-Potch with their Right-Hand, and fill their Mouth with it; and the broiled Flesh they tear off the Bones with their Teeth, unless those that have learned better of the *Europeans*, and conform

MEXICO. form themselves to *Spanish* Customs. Every Thing they eat is high seasoned with Pepper and Salt too, if they can get it; but as Salt is scarce in many Places, they are content with stroking their Meat upon a Lump of Salt, before they put it into their Mouths.

As to Chocolate, this serves both for Meat and Drink, in almost every Province of *Mexico*, both among the civilized and savage *Indians*, if they can get it; but this is so much used by the *Spaniards*, and so much of it exported to *Europe*, that it is pretty scarce among the Forest *Indians*.

Liquors.

THEY have a great Variety of Liquors; the readiest and most ordinary Drink is Water, with the Flour of *Indian* Corn infused into it, and drank off presently. This, *Dampier* says, the Natives call *Pofole*, and the *English*, Poor-Soul, because it just serves to keep them alive on a March, when they can get no other Provision.

AGAINST an Entertainment, they frequently steep twenty or thirty Baskets of *Indian* Corn; and after the Water is impregnated, the Women chew more of the same Corn and spit into it, which ferments and works the Liquor like Yeast; when it has done working, they draw the Liquor clear off, and it proves very intoxicating, but tastes pretty much like four Small-Beer.

Cassavi Bread.

THE Cassavi Root, already mentioned, of which the *Indians* make Bread, is first boiled and squeezed, then dried, ground, and made into Paste for Biscuit; and, tho' this Kind of Bread is very wholesome, when it is thus dressed; yet if it be eaten before it is boiled, and the Juice squeezed from it, it is rank Poison. As for green Herbs and Sallads, I do not find the *Indians* of the open Country eat any. As their Pine Apples are one of the most delicious Fruits of *America*, an Infusion of these, is one of their beloved Liquors; and, indeed, they make Drink of all Manner of Fruits almost, as well as Grain, adding Honey to them at their Entertainments. But as to Wine, their Country affords none; for their Grapes will not ripen kindly in the rainy Season, and the Heats at other Times

make the Liquor four; and this is the Reason that scarce any Countries between the Tropicks afford good Wine. **MEXICO.**

THE *Indians* scarce undertake any Business of Consequence, without making an Entertainment. If they propose entering into a War, either with the *Spaniards*, or any *Indian* Nation, their Chiefs are summoned to a Consultation, where they eat and drink plentifully, before they enter upon Business. A Hunting-Match, which lasts, usually, some Weeks, is preceded also by an Entertainment. At Weddings, and other joyful Occasions, they have their Feasts, where they continue drinking two or three Days till all the Liquor is out: And as they are very quarrelsome in their Drink, the Master of the House always secures their Arms before they begin to be merry; for they never go without their Arms, if it be but to next Door: They sometimes get so drunk, that they can neither stand nor go; and having slept, till they have recovered their Senses, they move off.

THE Men, it seems, drink to one another at Meals as the *Europeans* do, but never to the Women: These always stand by, and wait upon their Husbands, while they are drinking, serving them with Liquor; and even when they are at Home, the Wife does not eat till the Husband has done. But the Females feast, and are as merry as the Men, among themselves.

HOWEVER, till their Husbands are recovered, they take Care to keep sober; and when they perceive the Men overcome with Liquor, they will take them up and put them into Hammocks, waiting on them, and sprinkling them with Water, till they are in a Condition to return Home.

NOTHING is more universally drank in the City of *Mexico* itself, and in such Towns as are under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, than Chocolate: To every Pound of the Cacao, or Chocolate-Nut, the *Europeans* add a Pound of Sugar, and an Ounce of Cinnamon; but neither the *Spaniards* there, nor the *Indians*, use any Venellas in it, looking upon them as unwholesome. But to every

MEXICO. every Pound of Cacao, they add two Ounces of the Flour of *Indian Corn* to make it froth. This Drink was not used by the *Indians* before the *Spaniards* arrived there. They distil a Spirit from a Plant called Magey, which is very intoxicating, and so generally drank, that *Gemelli* tells us, the Excise of it came to 1,100,000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum* in *Mexico*: That the *Indians* committed such Outrages, when they were intoxicated with this Liquor, that it was prohibited for a Time; but, while he was at *Mexico*, Orders came from the King of *Spain* to take off the Prohibition; and both *Europeans* and *Indians* drank it again.

Tobacco
smoked.

I MUST not forget, that the *Indians* smoke as well as drink, since it was from them we first learned the Use of Tobacco, about 200 Years ago; but what the Natives plant, is not so good as that the *English* plant and cure in *Virginia*. They neither understand, nor will take the Pains to cultivate it as our People do; and if they taught us to take Tobacco, we taught them the Use of Pipes: For the Way they smoked it was, by lighting one End of a Roll they made with the Leaf, and holding the other End of the Roll in their Mouths, and when it was half burnt out, they threw the Remainder away; others contented themselves with the Smell of the Tobacco. A Boy having lighted one End of the Roll, went round the Company, and blew it in their Faces, and this is done in some of the Provinces of *Mexico*, by the Natives, to this Day. This seems to be the Incense of the *Indians*.

Mines.

THE Mines of *Mexico* are in the rocky, barren Parts of the Country: As to Gold, nine Parts in Ten of this Metal, is found in the Sands of their Rivulets. Many thousand Negroes are employed annually, in the fair Season, to take up and wash these Sands, till they have separated the Gold from the Sand. Some Veins of Gold are found in hard Stone, and particularly in the *Lapis Lazuli*. The purest Gold in *Mexico*, is in the Province of *Nicaragua*.

GOLD is more esteemed than any other Metal, *Acosta* observes, because it is the most durable and incorruptible; for Fire,

which consumes and diminishes other Metals, amends this, and brings it to Perfection. Gold keeps its Colour also, tho' it have often passed through the Fire; and, notwithstanding the Body is so firm and solid, yet is it the most soft and malleable, and the most easily wrought of any other Metal. But I take it, that the chief Reason Gold is more valued than any other Metals, is, the Scarcity of it, and the Difficulty of coming at it: For Iron, no Doubt, is much more useful and serviceable than Gold; and were it as scarce, would be much more valued; all Manner of Tools, Arms, and Instruments of Husbandry, being made of this Metal, and no other so proper for these Uses.

THE Silver Mines, as has been hinted already, are usually found in barren Rocks and Mountains; though they are sometimes met with in plain Fields. There are two Sorts of them, the one straggling here and there in Spots, the other more continuous and fixed. It is the fixed Mine, that has the greatest Depth and Length; and these are said to resemble the Branches and Ramifications of Trees and Plants; and where they find one, they usually meet with a great many in the same Place. The *Indians*, it seems, knew how to purify Silver by Fire, and to separate it from Lead and other Metals, before the *Spaniards* came amongst them; but they knew nothing of the Art of refining it by Quicksilver, which the *Spaniards* use at this Day.

THERE are some Sorts of Silver Ore, which cannot be purified and refined by Fire alone, without Quicksilver. This Kind of Ore they call Poor, from yielding but little Silver, and great Quantities of baser Metals.

THE Veins where they find Silver run between two Rocks; the one commonly hard as Flint, and the other softer and easier to break. The Ore is very unequal; for in the same Vein, they find that which is very rich, and that which is very poor: The richest Ore is of an Amber Colour, and the second Sort that which inclines to Black; a third is Red, and a fourth of an Ash Colour; and

MEXICO. and some of the Ore is scarce to be distinguished from common Stone, unless by those who are well skilled in Minerals. It is usual to draw from one Quintal (or Hundred Weight) of Ore, thirty, forty, and fifty Pesoes of Silver, of the Value of thirteen Ryals, (six Shillings and Sixpence.) And *Acosta* relates, that he saw some from whence was extracted 250 Pesoes out of every Quintal; but this is a very great Rarity. The poorest Ore yields from two to six Pesoes the Quintal, or very little more. This the *Indian* looked upon as Rubbish before the *Spaniards* came, not being able to refine it by Fire; but this is found to be much easier refined by Quicksilver than the richest Ore; and they use Quicksilver now both in *Mexico* and *Peru*, which is found to extract more Silver out of any Ore than the Fire will. But as they have no Mines of Quicksilver in *Mexico*, as they have in *Peru*, the Silver is refined at a much easier Expence in *Peru*, than it is in the Country I am describing.

As the rich Ore yields much Silver, so it consumes a great deal of Quicksilver; and that which yields but little Silver, wastes but little Quicksilver.

THE Manner of refining Silver, according to *Acosta*, is thus: They first grind or beat the Ore to Powder, and then sift it through a fine Sieve. After which they put the Powder into Vessels, and set it over Furnaces, putting to every fifty Quintals of Ore, five Quintals of Salt, the Salt separating the Earth and Dross from the Silver, and making Way for the Quicksilver to operate more effectually: Then they strain the Quicksilver through a Piece of fine Linen into the Ore, stirring it about, so that it may the better incorporate with the Ore. Before they used Furnaces, they mingled the Ore with the Quicksilver in great Troughs, letting it remain some Days, and then mixed and stirred it, till they thought the Quicksilver was well incorporated with the Silver, which was about twenty Days; but when they found that Fire incorporated them much sooner, they set their Vessels over Furnaces, and in five or six Days, the

Quicksilver is incorporated with the Silver. **MEXICO.** When the Mercury has done its Part, and assembled all the Silver, leaving nothing behind, but is filled as a Sponge with Water, and has separated the Silver from the Lead and Copper with which it was ingendered, they put the Ore into Coppers and Vessels full of Water, turning it about with Wheels, and washing of it: Whereupon the Earth and Dross goes off with the Water that runs away, and the Silver and Quicksilver being more ponderous, remains at Bottom. Then they take it out, and wash it again in other Tubs and Vessels, until they have well cleansed the Silver and Quicksilver from all the Dross: After which they strain it through Cloths, and make it into the Form of Sugar-Loaves, of about a Hundred Weight each, on which they put Earthen Vessels, or Caps of the same Shape; and setting these over a violent Fire, the Quicksilver exhales in Smoke, which striking against the Earthen Cap, thickens and distils like the Smoke of a Pot covered; and by a Pipe, like that of a Limbeck, they receive the Quicksilver which distils from it, the Silver remaining without changing its Form; but its Weight is diminished five Parts in six, and is light and porous, like a Sponge. Thus the Quicksilver is separated from the Silver, and of two of these Loaves, they make one Bar of Silver of sixty-five or sixty-six Marks Weight, eight Ounces in every Mark, and then carry them to be touched and marked.

GEMELLI CARERI relates, that when he was at *Mexico*, in the Year 1698, he went to see the Silver Mines of *Pachuca*, one of which called *Santa Cruz*, was 224 Yards deep; and the other called *Navarro*, was 195 Yards deep: That out of the first, the Ore was drawn up by Wheels, which were kept in perpetual Motion by four Mules, and as one Bucket came up, another went down; and that they drained the Mine of Water the same Way; that out of the Mine called *Navarro*, the *Indians*, brought up the Ore on their Backs with imminent Danger, climbing up many Ladders, or rather upright Posts with Notches in them; for which they were paid

MEXICO. paid four Ryals (two Shillings) a Day, and at Night were allowed to carry up as much Ore as they could at once, and share it with the Owner of the Mine. The same Writer relates, that he went to see the Mines on a neighbouring Mountain, where he found a little City of thatched Houses, not less than 12,000 *Indians* getting a Livelihood by digging in those Mines; adding, that there are within six Leagues of that Mountain, no less than 1000 Mines; and that out of one of those called *the Trinity*, 900 or 1000 Men were employed every Day, and within the Space of ten Years, had drawn 40,000,000 of Silver (I presume he means Pieces of Eight or Crowns) and that it had cost them 2,000,000 to prop out those Mines with Timber, and throw up the Water; and it was then become so dangerous, that there was no working of it: And, indeed, nothing is so common with the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* and *Peru*, as to dig Mountains perfectly hollow in Search of Silver, and leave nothing but a Crust of Earth and Rocks, which it requires no small Skill and Labour to support, till they have exhausted the Treasure.

BUT tho' the *Trinity* Mine was become impracticable, our Author says, they sunk another near it no less rich; into which he had the Curiosity to go and see the Veins of Silver; and having gone down five Ladders or Stages, he was astonished to see how likely the Mine was to tumble in, and would have gone up again; but the Miner, who carried a Light in his Hand, persuaded him to go down the rest; which he did in great Fear, because he found it, sometimes, difficult to clasp the Post in his Arms, in which the Steps were cut, and fix his Feet in the Notches: But, having at length, gone down three Times as far as the Miner told him it was, he came at last to the Place where the Workmen, with Iron Wedges, were splitting the hard Ore, and made it fly about; but they informed him, it was softer in some Places, and of various Colours.

WHEN he was at the Bottom of the Mine, he began to reflect on the Danger

he had run, not only of falling, but of the **MEXICO.** Pestilential Damps that frequently arise in these dismal Caverns: After he had staid there about two Hours, therefore, he went up in the utmost Terror, the Ascent being exceedingly difficult, and when he got up into the open Air again, he seemed newly born into the World, and condemned the Rashness of the Attempt, wherein he thought he run more Hazards, than he had done in travelling round the Globe.

ANY Person who discovers a Mine of Silver in *Mexico*, may work it, paying the King's Tenth of the Produce, and the King's Officers assign the Discoverer sixty Yards round about the Place he chuses to dig; beyond which Space another may open a Mine, leaving five Yards between them for a Partition: And as they sink under Ground, one may work into another's Division, till he meets with his Workmen; but then he must desist and retire into his own Part.

ALL the Silver dug in the Mines of *Mexico* or *New Spain*, is brought to the King's Exchequer in the Capital City, and entered there, except what is run and concealed, which amounts to a great Deal: And it is related, that there are 2,000,000 of Marks, of eight Ounces each, entered in one Year; out of which they coin annually in that Mint, 700,000 Marks into Pieces of Eight.

As to the Stones for building, there are Quarries of Stone. in *Mexico*, Quarries of Jasper, Porphyry, and all Kinds of excellent Marble; and of such Stones, the *Spanish* Historians relate, the Palaces and Temples of *Mexico* were built before the Conquest.

THEY mention, also, a great many Precious Stones and Jewels in the Ornaments of *Montezuma*; but have not specified what they were, unless Emeralds and Pearls, and of these the World is furnished with great Quantities from *Mexico*.

WITH their Jewels and Precious Stones, I may very well range their Pearls; of which there are great Quantities found on the Coast of *Mexico*, as well as in the Seas of *South-America*. Multitudes of *Indians*, and other Slaves, have been destroyed by the

MEXICO. the *Spaniards* in this Part of the World, in fishing up the Oysters that contain them. These Slaves, *Acosta* relates, were forced to dive into six, nine, and even twelve Fathoms Water, in search of these Oysters, which are fastened to Rocks and Gravel in the Sea, and that they continued above a Quarter of an Hour under Water, as he himself had seen, being dieted in such a Manner, as might best enable them to hold their Breath. The same Writer observes, that Pearls differ much in their Size, Figure, Colour, and Lustre; and that it is very rare to find two of the same Size, Form, and Colour; and when they do find two alike in all Respects, it much increases the Value of both, especially for Ear-Rings. He had seen several Pair valued at 1000 Ducats each; which, however, fell short of *Cleopatra's* two Pearls, one of which was valued at 100,000 Ducats; and yet that Queen had the Vanity, it seems, to beat one of them to Powder, and swallow it at a Draught, at a Supper she made for *Mark Antony*: And the other, it is said, was cut in two, and hung in one of the Ears of the Image of *Venus*, in the Pantheon at *Rome*. But as they are more plentiful now, especially since the Discovery of *America*, there is none of near that Value at present; tho' they are not inferior to those the Antients mention, in any Respect but the Price.

Forces.

THE regular Forces the *Spaniards* have in the Viceroyalty of *Mexico*, are very inconsiderable: In the Metropolis, there are scarce 500 Soldiers; and at *Vera Cruz*, the Port of the greatest Consequence on the *North Sea*, they have not half that Number; and their Fortifications are as contemptible as their Garrisons. There is scarce a Town of any Name near the Coast of the *North Sea*, but has been taken and plundered by the Buccaneers, more than once, though these Rovers seldom consist of more than 1000 or 1500 Men. These small Bodies have, in a Manner, defied all the Militia of the Country; though they have frequently remained long enough on the Coasts for the *Spaniards* to assemble their whole Possé, yet have they generally carried off their Booty in Sight of them. The same Buccaneers have fought their

Royal Fleets on the *South-Sea*, taken some **MEXICO.** of their stoutest Ships, and seldom been unsuccessful in their Encounters with the *Spaniards* by Sea or Land. And if the Buccaneers and Privateers have appeared so much superior to all the Forces the *Spaniards* have, in that Part of the World, what might not an *English* or *French* Squadron of fifteen or twenty Men of War, and 5000 or 6000 Land-Forces effect in the *Spanish West-Indies*? We see the *Scots* fixed themselves at *Darien* with much less Force; and had not the *English* themselves opposed and discouraged that Expedition, it would not have been in the Power of the *Spaniards* to have removed them.

AND, indeed, it is not the Want of Power, but the Want of Inclination, that has prevented the *English* fixing themselves in the richest Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies*.

OUR Governors seem to have been of Opinion, that we should lose more by dispossessing the *Spaniards* of their Acquisitions in the New World, than we should get by the Conquest, if we succeeded. And, I must confess, I am entirely of that Mind; for though we might come in for a Share of their Gold and Silver, yet if we lost our Traffick, by it, we should be no Gainers in the End. I look upon it to be the Interest both of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, to live in perpetual Amity and good Understanding, and to unite their whole Powers to oppose the encroaching *French*, particularly in *Florida*, to which *France* hath already given the Name of *Louisiana*; for if the *French* succeed there, as they will be very uneasy Neighbours to the *British* Plantations, they will be much more terrible to the *Spaniards* on the Side of *Mexico*, which lies contiguous to it; since the rich Mines in *Mexico* may be supposed to draw them sooner that Way than to the *British* Plantations, where there is nothing that can come in Competition with those Treasures: Nay, the *Spaniards* can never secure their Mines in *Mexico* from the *French* but by introducing the *English* into the Western Part of *Florida*, before the *French* are too well established there. The *English* would be their best Barrier for their

MEXICO. *Mexican Dominions*: They find the *French* have already driven them from their Forts at the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, and some of their Settlements on the Frontiers of *New Mexico*; and they may assure themselves they will advance to the Mines, if they are not disappointed by the *English*. It is therefore, undoubtedly, the Interest of *Spain* to cultivate a good Understanding with *Great-Britain*.

NOR is it less our Interest to have the *Spaniards* for our Friends: If we do not drive them into the Arms of *France*, we may have the Cloathing of the greatest Part of the *Spanish West-Indies*; and we shall not only lose that most valuable Branch of our Trade by quarrelling with them; but, should the *Spaniards* be provoked to join with the *French* in *Florida*, they would greatly distress our Colonies that border on that Country, and put a Stop to our extending our Plantations to the Westward. And though this would be a great Step to their own Destruction, we cannot be assured they will never take such Measures; for we find Pique and Resentment go a great Way, and that Courts, as well as private Men, are sometimes governed more by Passion than Reason. And if both our Foreign Traffick and Plantations must evidently suffer by our quarelling with *Spain*, it is not the Possession of a Mine or two that would be an Equivalent for them. Besides, if ever we should attempt to make ourselves Masters of any Part of the *Spanish West-Indies*, we shall be opposed by the *French*, and, perhaps, by the *Dutch*, and other *European Nations*. We have already suffered in our Trade by quarrelling with *Spain*. A great Part of the Woolen, and other Manufactures and Merchandize, they formerly took from us, are now furnished them by the *French* and *Dutch*; and when Trade has found a new Channel, it is difficult to reduce it to the old one. I hope, therefore, both *Britain* and *Spain* will consider their mutual Interests better for the future. We are not possessed of the Mines of *Mexico* indeed; but great Part of the Treasure the *Spaniards* dig there flows into this

Kingdom, as has been observed by others, **MEXICO.** in Return for our Manufactures: They have the Labour, but we always share the Profit with them. On the other Hand, *Spain* will not fail to be protected by us against the Encroachments of the *French*, if they use us well; and I do not know any other Power that can protect their *American Dominions* against that potent and enterprizing People.

THE Revenues the King of *Spain* receives from the Viceroyalty of *Mexico*, are very considerable, and arise principally from three Branches, viz. 1. The King's Fifth, or Tenth of the Treasure dug out of their Mines. 2. From the Duties of Excise and Custom; and, 3. From the Rents and Services by which they hold their Estates, and the Produce of their Husbandry and Manufactures.

GEMELLI CARERI informs us, that the King has but a Tenth of the Silver in *Mexico*, though he has a Fifth of the Silver of *Peru*, because the *Mexicans* are at a very great Charge in purchasing Quicksilver to refine their Silver; whereas the *Peruvians* have Mines of Quicksilver in their Country. Gold, however, pays a Fifth to the King both in *Mexico* and *Peru*. The same Gentleman relates, that when he was at *Mexico*, in the Year 1698, the King's Part for that Year came to 600,000 Marks; every Mark eight Ounces of Silver (which must make 1,200,000 Pounds *Sterling* of our Money) and that the Assayer assured him, the King's Share came to 800,000 Marks, or 1,600,000 Pounds *Sterling*, in the Year 1691: And the King's Part of the Plate of *Peru* comes to four Times as much at least.

THE Customs and Excises also must raise a great Deal of Money; for the same *Gemelli* informs us, that the King's Duties paid by the *Manila Ship*, in which he came from the *East-Indies*, amounted to 80,000 Pieces of Eight; and those Ships which arrive from *Peru* and *Europe* annually, also are vastly rich, and pay very high Duties to the Crown. The same Writer relates, that the Excise on a Spiritu-
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MEXICO. ous Liquor drawn from the Plant Maghey only, amounted to 1,100,000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum* in the City of Mexico.

THE third Branch of the Revenue, *viz.* the Rents and Services due to the Crown, must be equal, if not superior to either of the former Branches; for *Gage* observes, that the poorest married *Indian* pays four, six, and in some Places eight Ryals (four Shillings) *per Annum* to the Crown; and others in Proportion to their Estates. There are Lands also held immediately of the Crown that pay very great Rents. Others are held of the *Encomenderoes*, that resemble our Lords of Manors, or rather the ancient Barons; to whom their Tenants pay a large Portion of the Produce of their Grounds and Manufactures in Kind: And these Lords hold of the Crown by certain Tenures or Rents; for all Lands there, as with us, hold mediately or immediately of the Crown, and the Owners of them contribute to the Support of the Government, either by their personal Service, or the Rents they pay in Lieu of such Service.

The GRAND REVOLUTION in Mexico.

DON *Diego de Velasco*, Governor of the Island of *Cuba*, and General of the *Spanish* Forces in *America*, having made Choice of *Fernando Cortez* to command the Forces designed to invade the Empire of *Mexico*, *Cortez* set Sail from the *Havanna* on the Tenth of *February*, 1518-19, and made a Descent on the Island of *Cozumel*, near the Coast of *Jucatan*, where, mustering his Men, he found his whole Force amounted to no more than 508 Foot, and sixteen Troopers, besides 108 Seamen, and his two Chaplains, *John Diaz* and Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo*.

WITH this small Body of Forces he embarked again, and set Sail from *Cozumel* on the Fourth of *March*, 1518-19, and arrived at the Mouth of the River *Tobasco*, in the Bay of *Campeachy*, where the Natives made a Show of opposing his landing till he fired some Great Guns at them, with which they were so terrified, that they abandoned the Shore, and he landed without Opposition, and marched to the City

of *Tobasco*, which he found fortified with a **MEXICO.** Kind of Wooden Wall, formed with the Bodies of Trees, fixed like Palifadoes, through the Intervals whereof they shot their Arrows: But his Men no sooner came up to the Works, and fired their Muskets through the Palifadoes, than the Enemy retired to a large Square in the Middle of the Town, where they made some Shew of defending themselves; but upon the Approach of the *Spaniards*, they retired from thence, also, and fled to their Friends in the Woods. And in these Encounters, which the *Spaniards* represent as very bloody and obstinate, there were only fourteen or fifteen of them wounded, and no more than two of these died of their Wounds. I do not doubt that Part of the Relation, which informs us that great Numbers of the Natives were killed; for it seems to have been a Maxim with *Cortez* to render himself as terrible to the *Mexicans* as possible, in order to facilitate the Conquest of their Country: But it cannot be supposed that the *Spaniards* met with any great Opposition, when in a Battle, wherein they engaged many Thousands, and stormed the Capital City of the Province, only two of their Men were killed; and indeed the Fire-Arms of the Christians were so very terrible to the *Indians*, who had never seen any Thing of that Kind till the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, that they could very seldom be brought to make a Stand within the Reach of them.

BUT to return to the History: My Author *Don Antonio de Solis* relates, that the Day after the taking of *Tobasco*, the *Mexicans* assembled an Army of 40,000 Men, with which they attacked the *Spaniards*; and the Battle seemed doubtful till *Cortez* sallied out of a Wood, and charged them in the Flank with Horse; by which he obtained another compleat Victory. The *Indians* are represented in this Battle as a formidable Enemy, and to have attacked the *Spaniards* with that Bravery, that they were scarce able with their Fire-Arms to repulse them. And this is related with a View, on Doubt, to magnify the Courage and Conduct of *Cortez* and the Christians. They relate, also, that *St. James* the Apostle appeared

MEXICO. appeared in the Battle, on a white Horse, and fought for the *Spaniards*; insinuating that nothing less than a Miracle could have given them the Victory over the *Indians*: Whereas every one knows, that the *Spanish* Writers themselves confess in other Places, that the *Indians* durst never stand a regular Body of *Europeans*, but were in the utmost Consternation when they were attacked with Fire-Arms, or Horse, and especially when the Artillery thundered upon them, believing that the People they engaged were rather Gods than Men; and consequently there was very little Occasion for a Miracle, or indeed for much Military Skill or Courage to defeat an Enemy, when they had such Advantages on their Side. Even at this Day, now Fire-Arms are so well known, and used by every Nation almost, I do not doubt but 1000 Veteran Soldiers of *Europe*, attended by a Train of Artillery, would defeat an Army of 100,000 Men, either in the *East* or *West-Indies*; the Writer of these Sheets having seen 300 *Europeans* rout 20,000 *Indians*, intrenched up to the Teeth, who wanted neither Horse, Artillery or Small-Arms to defend themselves, and had the Courage to stand till they came to Push of Pike and Bayonet. What then might we suppose a Body of Veteran Soldiers capable of effecting against a naked People, that had never seen a Horse, or heard of Gunpowder or Artillery, till they saw their Forces slaughtered and tumbled upon Heaps by those Murdering-Pieces, a Mile almost before they approached them? The Success of *Cortez* and his *Spaniards*, therefore, is not to be wondered at; it was no more than might reasonably be expected, all Circumstances considered.

THE Day after the Battle, *De Solis* relates, that the Cacique, or Prince of *Tobasco*, sent a solemn Embassy to *Cortez*, to implore Peace, attended with a Present of such Fruits and Provisions as his Country afforded, together with Jewels, Plumes, and painted Cotton-Linen, and whatever he thought most acceptable to the Conquerors: That the Ambassadors approached *Cortez* as they used to do their Gods, with Golden-Pans or Censers, in which they

burnt Aromatick Gums, and other Incense: **MEXICO.** That the Cacique afterwards came in Person, and made his Submission, bringing with him twenty beautiful *Indian* Virgins, which he made *Cortez* a Present of: And one of these, whom the General afterwards caused to be baptized by the Name of *Donna Marina*, served him, it seems, during the whole Expedition, in the double Capacity of Concubine and Interpreter; for she was a Native of *Mexico*, a Female of ready Wit, and understood the Customs of the Country, and the Language perfectly well; and indeed to her Merit and Address the *Spaniards* ascribe the Success of their Arms in a great Measure. The Historian, however, takes an Opportunity, in this Place, to admire the Virtue and Piety of his Hero, *Cortez* following in this the Precedent set him by the Antients. But to proceed: When the Cacique of *Tobasco* came to make his Submission, *Cortez* let him know, that he came from a powerful Prince; and that his principal View was to make them all happy in this World and the next, by making them Subjects of the same Sovereign, and converting them to the true Religion. To which the frightened Cacique answered, as the *Spaniards* tell us, that he and his People should think themselves happy in obeying a King, whose Power and Greatness appeared with such Advantage in the Valour of his Subjects: But as to the Point of Religion, it is said, they gave little Hopes of their Conversion.

CORTEZ being about to advance still farther with his Fleet on the *Mexican* Coast, was under the greatest Concern, we are told that he must leave that People before he had fully instructed them in the Catholick Religion; and on *Palm-Sunday*, the Day he appointed to embark his Troops, he first caused an Altar to be erected in the open Field; where he celebrated high Mass in the Presence of the *Indians*, and all his Troops marched in their Ranks to the Altar, with Boughs or Palms in their Hands, to celebrate that Festival: The Procession seeming to excite in the Natives the utmost Awe and Reverence, insomuch that some of them, it is said, cried out, "This must

MEXICO. "must be a great God that such brave
"Men adore."

CORTEZ, having concluded a Peace with the Natives of *Tobasco*, or rather compelled them to acknowledge the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign, embarked his Forces, and sailed to the Westward, till he arrived at the Port of *St. John de Ulva*. When the *Spaniards* were coming into this Port, two *Periaguas*, or large Canoes, full of *Indians*, came into the Fleet, and addressed themselves to the General in a submissive Manner; but were not understood by his Interpreter, which the celebrated *Donna Marina*, the General's Concubine, observing, offered to become Interpreter between the Christians and her Countrymen the *Mexicans*.

AND here the *Spanish* Writers entertain us with the Character and Family of this *Indian* Damsel; who being Mistress to their Hero *Cortez*, and so instrumental in the following Conquest, we must not wonder that they derive her Pedigree from Ancestors of Quality and Distinction. They acknowledge, indeed, that she was Slave to the Prince of *Tobasco*, who presented her, with several more, to *Cortez*; but then, they tell us, this happened by Accident; she was really the Daughter of a Cacique or *Mexican* Prince, though she had the Misfortune to be taken Captive in the Wars, and made a Slave: That she had a ready Wit, and several natural Endowments, which well agreed with the Nobility of her Birth: That *Cortez* took her to his Bed for political Reasons, and had a Son by her, to whom he gave his own Name, making him a Knight of *St. Jago*, in Consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth. But to return to the History: *Donna Marina* supplying the Place of Interpreter, the General was informed by the *Mexicans*, that their Emperor *Montezuma* had sent two of his Ministers, viz. *Pilpotote*, Governor of that Province, and *Tentile*, one of his Generals, to know with what Intention the *Spaniards* visited his Dominions, and to offer them such Provisions and Accommodations, as his Country afforded. To which the General answered, that he came as a Friend

to treat of Matters of great Importance; MEXICO. desiring a Conference with the Officers *Montezuma* had sent to receive his Proposals: And landing with his Troops on *Good-Friday*, he laid out a Camp on an advantageous Situation, fortifying it with Trenches and Redoubts, and planting his Artillery, in such a Manner, as to command the Country round him, being assisted in this Work, and erecting Huts and Tents to preserve his Soldiers from the Weather, by great Numbers of *Mexicans*, that the Governor of the Province sent to assist him: For the Historian observes, that the *Mexicans* having heard of the Defeat of their Countrymen at *Tobasco*, made a Virtue of Necessity, and thought it Prudence to make Friends with a People they durst not oppose; nor does *De Solis* forget, in this Place, to observe again the great Veneration this Hero had for Religion; telling us, that he immediately erected a Chapel, setting the Image of the Blessed Virgin on the Altar, and a great Cross at the Entrance, in order to celebrate the approaching Festival of *Easter*; for Religion (says he) was always his principal Care.

AMBASSADORS arriving from the Emperor *Montezuma*, on *Easter-Day*, 1519, were splendidly entertained by *Cortez*, after which he acquainted them, that he was come from *Don Carlos*, King of *Spain*, the greatest Monarch of the East, to propose Matters of the greatest Importance to their Emperor, and, therefore, desired an Audience of him. To which the *Mexicans* answered, they had brought the General a Present, and had Orders to give him and his People a hospitable Reception; but that their Sovereign never admitted Foreigners to his Presence. Whereupon the Ambassadors desired Time to acquaint their Emperor with his Demand; which being agreed to, *Cortez* entertained the *Mexicans*, with exercising his Soldiers before them, and making several Discharges of his Cannon and Small Arms, at which, he perceived, they were exceedingly astonished. Another rich Present, some Time after, arrived from the Emperor, but with an Intimation that he could not admit the *Spaniards* to his Presence.

MEXICO. fence. To which *Cortez* replied, that he must deliver his Message to the Emperor in Person; and, therefore, was determined to continue his March to the City of *Mexico*.

CORTÉZ foresaw that the *Mexicans* would not be able to prevent his approaching *Mexico*, especially, as he was joined, about this Time, by a Cacique, or Prince of the Country, named *Zempoala*, who offered to enter into an Alliance with *Cortez* against *Montezuma*, whom he represented as a cruel Tyrant and Oppressor.

THE Cacique furnished him with 400 Men to carry his Baggage, and others to draw his Artillery, there being no Beasts in the Country fit to draw Carriages; but every Thing of this Kind was done by the Strength of Men.

THE General continuing his March by the Sea Coast to *Vera Cruz*, was joined there by above thirty Caciques from the Mountains, who reinforced his Troops with 100,000 Men; and some Parties of *Europeans* hearing of the Success of *Cortez*, also voluntarily followed him hither, and joined his Troops: Whereupon he became so confident of his Success, that he burnt all his Ships, and having fortified *Vera Cruz*, in which he left a small Garrison, he began his March directly for the City of *Mexico*, being joined by the *Tlascalans*, Sovereigns of a Country of a vast Extent, who offered to become Subjects of the King of *Spain*, at which *Montezuma* was so alarmed, that he offered to pay the *Spaniards* an annual Tribute, amounting to one half of his Revenues; and when he found it in vain to oppose the General's March, he thought fit to give him an Invitation to his Capital; but *Cortez*, who was determined to have the Plunder of the Capital City, pretended, that the *Mexicans* were not sincere in their Invitation, but had entered into a Conspiracy to surprize the *Spaniards*, when they had drawn them into an Ambuscade, and massacre them; and, therefore, immediately began Hostilities, and cut in Pieces some Thousands of *Montezuma's* Subjects.

AFTER which the *Spaniards* continuing their March, were attended by several

other Caciques, and Lords of the Coun- MEXICO. try, who complained of the intolerable Oppressions of *Montezuma*; telling *Cortez*, that they looked upon him as their Deliverer, sent from Heaven to restrain and punish the Injustice and Cruelty of Tyrants: To whom he promised his Protection, and drawing near to *Mexico*, in order to strike the greater Terror into the Natives, he ordered his Artillery and small Arms to be discharged; and caused several *Indians* to be shot, that approached too near his Quarters, while he lay encamped at *Amemeca*, on the Borders of the *Mexican* Lake.

HERE Prince *Cacumatzin*, the Nephew of *Montezuma*, attended by the *Mexican* Nobility, came to the General, and bid him Welcome; assuring him, that he would meet with a very kind and honourable Reception from the Emperor; but intimated, that there having been lately a great Scarcity of Provisions in the City of *Mexico*, occasioned by unseasonable Weather, they could not accommodate him as they desired; and, therefore, entreated, he would defer his Entrance into that Capital, if he did not think fit entirely to decline going thither. But *Cortez* appearing determined to advance, the Prince seemed to acquiesce; and the Preparations for the Reception of the *Spaniards* were continued.

CORTÉZ being arrived at *Quitlavaca*, a City situated on an Island in the great Lake, five or six Leagues from *Mexico*, is said to have had some Apprehensions, that the *Mexicans* should break down the Causeway, and remove the Bridges on it; which would have very much embarrassed him, because he could neither have advanced or retired in that Case, especially with his Horse and Artillery. But the Cacique of *Quitlavaca*, who appeared to be a Friend of the *Spaniards*, very much encouraged the General, telling him, he had nothing to fear; that the Prodigies in the Heavens, the Answers of the Oracles, and the Fame of the great Actions and surprizing Arms of the *Spaniards*, had perfectly dispirited their Emperor, and disposed him to submit to whatever the General would impose on him; and that he

was

MEXICO. was so far from meditating to impede their March, that he had given his Commands to all the Places, through which the Army was to pass, to supply them with Provisions and all other Accommodations; and that he would find the people every where infinitely rejoiced at his Approach, looking upon him, in a Manner, as their good Angel, and in Expectation the *Spaniards* would answer the Character they had conceived of them, and rescue them from Oppression.

THIS is acknowledged by all the *Spanish* Historians: How is it possible then, to form a more favourable Conjecture for the *Spaniards* to have established their Dominion in *Mexico*, even without the least Bloodshed, if the General, who conducted them, had been equal to the Enterprize, or had less Avarice and Cruelty in his Composition?

THE last Town the *Spaniards* came to before they arrived at *Mexico*, was *Itxtaepalapa*, which stands upon the great Causeway leading to that Capital, and is about two Leagues from thence; where he was received with all imaginable Honours by the Cacique and the neighbouring Princes, who presented him with a great Variety of Plumes and Fruits, and with Plates of Gold to the Value of 2000 Pesos. The Prince assigned *Cortez* his own elegant Palace also for his Quarters, and entertained him in the Gardens of it, which the *Spaniards* inform us were equal in Beauty and Magnificence to any Thing of that Kind in *Europe*.

THE General having remained here one Night, began his March early the next Morning, being the 19th of *November*, 1519, in order to make his Entrance into the Metropolis of the Empire, and as they drew near it, says *De Solis*, in his lofty Style, they saw with Admiration that great City, elevated vastly above the rest of the Cities of the Lake, and carrying an Air of Dominion in the Pride of her Buildings. Being come within a League of the City, they were met by 4000 of the Nobility and great Officers of State, who, having paid their Compliments, advanced before them to the Gates of *Mexico*, and

then made a Lane for the Army to MEXICO. march through, the rest of the People appearing at the Windows and Battlements on the Tops of the Houses, which were crowded with them; but they were not suffered to stand in the Streets; that the March of the *Spaniards* and their Auxiliaries might not be impeded or disordered.

THE Army consisted at this Time of 450 *Spaniards* and 6000 *Tlascalans* and *Indians*, who had no sooner entered the Streets of *Mexico*, but they were met by 200 Noblemen of the Emperor's Household, cloathed in one Livery, with large Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, all of the same Fashion and Colour.

THESE, after meeting and complimenting the General, fell back also, and dividing themselves, made a Lane for the *Spaniards*; then came another Body of the Nobility of a superior Dignity, who made a more splendid Appearance; and in the Midst of them was the Emperor *Montezuma*, carried in a chair of beaten Gold, on the Shoulders of his favourite Courtiers; four more of them sustained a Canopy over his Head; the Whole adorned with beautiful Feathers, through which the glittering Gold appeared: He was preceded by three Officers with Rods of Gold, the Harbingers of the Emperor's Approach, on whose Appearance the People prostrated themselves, none daring to look up.

CORTEZ dismounting when the Emperor drew near, the *Mexican* Monarch alighted from his Chair, and Carpets were spread in the Streets for him to tread on: He advanced, according to the *Spanish* Historians (who seem to have taken many of the Ceremonies they relate from their own Court) with a slow, solemn Pace, leaning on the Arms of two Princes, his Relations; and was met by *Cortez* with a becoming Haste, and a most profound Reverence, which *Montezuma* answered by touching the Ground with his Hand, and afterwards raising it to his Lips; a new and unheard of Condescension, my Author observes, from *Montezuma*, who would scarce bend a Knee to his Gods, and added to the Esteem and Veneration his Subjects

MEXICO.jects already had of the *Spaniards*. The Conference between the Emperor and the General was short, the Historian relates, at this Interview, neither has he made a Speech for either of them on this Occasion; only tells us, that their Speeches were suitable to the Occasion, and that the Emperor commanded one of the Princes, his Relation, to conduct the General to the Palace assigned for his Residence, and then returned to his own Palace.

It was about Noon the *Spaniards* were brought to the Royal House appointed for their Reception, which was so spacious as to contain all the *Europeans* and their Auxiliaries: It had thick Stone Walls, they tell us, flanked with Towers: The Roof of the Palace flat, and defended by Battlements and Breast-Works; insomuch that when the General had planted his Artillery, and placed his Guards, it had very much the Appearance of a Fortress.

HITHER *Montezuma* came the same Evening, and was received by *Cortez* in the principal Square of the Palace; and that Monarch having entered the Room of State, and seated himself, ordered a Chair for *Cortez*, and a Signal was made for his Courtiers to retire to the Wall: Whereupon the *Spanish* Officers did the same; and *Cortez* being about to begin a Speech by his Interpreters, the Historian relates, *Montezuma* prevented him, and spake as follows:

"ILLUSTRIOUS and valiant Stranger, before you disclose the important Message the great Monarch you came from has given you in Command, it is necessary, some Allowances be made for what Fame has reported of us on either Side. You may have been informed by some, that I am one of the immortal Gods; that my Wealth is immensely great, and my Palaces covered with Gold: And on the other Hand, you may have heard that I am tyrannical, proud, and cruel. But both the one and the other have equally imposed upon you: You see I am a Mortal of the same Species with other Men; and though my Riches are considerable, my Vassals make them much

MEXICO. more than they are; and you find that the Walls of my Palaces are nothing more than plain Lime and Stone. In like Manner, no doubt, has the Severity of my Government been magnified: But suspend your Judgment of the Whole, till you have had an Opportunity of informing yourself concerning it; and you will find that what my Rebellious Subjects call Oppression, is nothing more than the necessary Execution of Justice.

"AFTER the same Manner, have your Actions been represented to us; some speak of you as Gods, affirming, that the Wild Beasts obey you; that you grasp the Thunder in your Hands, and command the Elements, while others assure me, you are wicked, revengeful, proud, and transported with an insatiable Thirst after the Gold our Country produces.

"I AM now sensible, ye are of the same Composition and Form as other Men, and distinguished from us only by Accidents which the Difference of Countries occasions.

"THESE Beasts (Horses) that obey you, are, probably, a large Species of Deer, that you have tamed and bred up in such imperfect Knowledge as may be attained by Animals: Your Arms are made of a Metal, indeed, unknown to us; and the Fire you discharge from them, with such an astonishing Sound, may be some Secret taught by your Magicians. As to your Actions, my Ambassadors and Servants inform me, that you are pious, courteous, and governed by Reason; that you bear Hardships with Patience and Chearfulness, and are rather liberal than covetous; so that we must, on both Sides, lay aside our Prejudices and Prepossessions, and rely only on what our Eyes and Experience teach us. Nor need you take any Pains to persuade us, that the great Prince you serve is descended from our Ancestor *Quezalcoal*, Lord of the seven Caves of the *Navatlaques*, and King of the seven Nations, that gave Beginning to the Mexican Empire. We know,

MEXICO. " know, that he departed from this Land
 " to conquer new Regions in the East,
 " promising to return again, and reform
 " our Government and Manners: And
 " because you come from the East, and
 " your Actions manifest you are descended
 " from this our illustrious Progenitor, we
 " have already determined to pay you all
 " imaginable Honours."

To this the General answered, " That
 " it was true, various were the Reports
 " they had heard: Some endeavoured to
 " defame and asperse him, while others a-
 " dored him as a God. But the *Spaniards*,
 " who were endowed with a penetrating
 " Spirit, easily saw through the different
 " Colours of Discourse, and the Deceit of
 " the Heart: That they neither gave Credit
 " to his rebellious Subjects, or those that
 " flattered him; but came into his Presence,
 " assured, that he was a great Prince, and a
 " Friend to Reason; but very well satisfied,
 " however, that he was mortal, as they
 " themselves were: That the Beasts which
 " obeyed him were not Deer, but fierce and
 " generous Animals, inclined to War, and
 " seemed to aspire with Ambition, after the
 " same Glory their Masters did.

" THEIR Fire-Arms were indeed the Ef-
 " fect of human Industry, and owed no-
 " thing to the Skill of the Magician, whose
 " Arts were abominated by the *Spani-*
 " *ards*." And thus having given some
 " Answer to the Emperor's Discourse, *Cortez*
 " proceeded to let him know, " That he
 " came Ambassador from the most potent
 " Monarch under the Sun, to desire his
 " Friendship and Alliance: That there
 " might be a Communication and Inter-
 " course between their respective Domini-
 " ons; and by that Means, the Christians
 " might have an Opportunity of convinc-
 " ing them of their Errors: And though,
 " according to their own Traditions, he
 " might claim a more absolute Power over
 " this Part of the World, their King only
 " desired to make Use of the Authority to
 " instruct them in Matters infinitely to
 " their Advantage; to shew the *Mexicans*
 " that they lived in Darkness and Error,
 " adoring insensible Blocks of Wood, the
 " Works of Mens Hands and Fancies:

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" Whereas there was but one true God, MEXICO.
 " the eternal Cause of all Things, without
 " Beginning or Ending; whose infinite
 " Power created, out of Nothing, the
 " wonderful Fabrick of the Heavens, the
 " Sun which gave them Light, the Earth
 " that sustained them, and the first Man
 " from whom they all proceeded: And
 " this God they were all under equal
 " Obligation to acknowledge and adore;
 " an Obligation imprinted on their Souls,
 " and of which even the *Mexicans* could
 " not be wholly ignorant, though they
 " dishonoured that Almighty Being, by
 " worshipping Devils and impure Spirits,
 " Creatures of the same God, who, for
 " their Ingratitude and Rebellion, were
 " doomed to subterranean Fires; of which
 " their Vulcanoes had an imperfect Re-
 " semblance: That these infernal Spirits,
 " whose Malice and Envy rendered them
 " most inveterate Enemies of Mankind,
 " endeavoured their Perdition, by causing
 " themselves to be adored in their abo-
 " minable Idols: That it was their Voice
 " they sometimes heard in the Answers
 " of their Oracles, and their Illusions that
 " imposed on their Reason: That these
 " Mysteries could not be explained at a
 " single Interview; but the King, whose
 " Superiority they acknowledged, admo-
 " nished them to hear those Fathers, whose
 " Business it was to preach the Heavenly
 " Doctrine. This was the first and prin-
 " cipal Thing the King his Master com-
 " manded him to insist on, as the most
 " likely Means of establishing a lasting
 " Amity; that, being united in Prin-
 " ciples of Religion, their Alliance might
 " become indissoluble."

THE Reply *Montezuma* made to this
 Harangue, it is said, was, That he ac-
 cepted the Alliance proposed by the King
 of *Spain*, the Descendant of his great
 Ancestor *Quetzalcoal*: But as to the Over-
 ture that had been made concerning Reli-
 gion, he held that all Gods were good, and
 the God of the *Spaniards* might be what
 they represented; but he saw no Reason to
 withdraw that Veneration the *Mexicans*
 paid to theirs; and having made *Cortez* a
 Present of Gold, Jewels, and other valuable

MEXICO. Curioſities, and diſtributed more among his Officers, that Prince returned to his Palace. MEXICO.

In the firſt of theſe Speeches, the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have made *Montezuma* ſpeak what they thought it was proper for him to ſay on ſuch an Occaſion; and have ſufficiently diſcovered that Submiſſion *Montezuma* was then diſpoſed to pay them: They ſhew that the *Spaniards* were then ſo high in the Opinion of the *Mexicans*, that they might have impoſed what Terms they pleaſed upon them, if they had not ſtruck upon the only String that could have prevented it; namely, the demanding a ſudden and total Change in their Religion, even at this firſt Conference. Whether the Answer, ſaid to be made by *Cortez*, be genuine, or not, is not very material; but it is evident from this firſt Speech, their Writers have put into his Mouth, and many other Paſſages, as alſo from his demolishing their Temples and Images at *Cozumel* and *Zempoala*, that he began fooliſhly to prejudice the *Indians* againſt the *Spaniards*, by inſiſting on a Change of Religion before he had eſtabliſhed his Authority. Had he once poſſeſſed himſelf of the Government, which the Emperor *Montezuma*, and his Subjects the *Mexicans*, in a Manner courted him to accept, he might probably, by Reason, by Encouragements and Rewards, have wrought upon many of the *Indians* to have relinquished their Superſtition; for though he had not the Power of working Miracles, the Actions of the *Europeans* were looked upon as miraculous, and their Power invincible: And if to this had been added ſome Examples of that Humanity and Benevolence which Chriſtianity inſpires; had the *Indians* ſeen them act like Chriſtians, and manifeſt a real Concern for their temporal as well as eternal Happineſs, the Chriſtian Religion had, in all Probability, been ſoon eſtabliſhed in that Part of the World. But when they ſaw the *Spaniards* deſtroying their Temples and Idols by Force, before gentle Means, and the Arts of Perſuaſion had been made uſe of to convert them from their Errors, and give them an Opinion of the Religion propoſed to be introduced; when they ſaw thoſe they at firſt looked upon as Gods or Angels

rather than Men, rapacious and cruel, intent upon amassing Gold and Treafure, and murdering the Natives by Thouſands and Ten Thouſands, under Pretence of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt them; when they found by Experience that the *Spaniards* were but Men, and were rendered deſperate by the cruel Treatment they met with from them; no Wonder they held faſt their Errors, and endeavoured to free themſelves from a Yoke they found intolerable.

CORTEZ and the *Spaniards* ſeem to have proceeded upon very impolitick and bloody Maxims: They expected, in the firſt Place, that the *Indians* ſhould immediately entertain and embrace their Religion before they knew any Thing of it; and believed it lawful, if the *Indians* reſuſed this, to deſtroy them by all Ways imaginable: And accordingly we ſhall find in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that they uſed them worſe than they would have uſed any Species of Animals; firſt making them Slaves, and then deſtroying them without Mercy; which was not only barbarous, but extremely impolitick. The *Romans*, we find, whenever they extended their Arms, made even the Princes of the conquered Nations ſubſervient to their Deſigns, and aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing their Dominion, by conſtituting them Viceroyſ and Governors under them; and, by that Means, reconciled the People they ſubdued to their Empire. But the *Spaniards* rejected, or neglected, all ſuch politick Arts; and ſeemed to know no other Way of ſubduing that New World, than by maſſacring and murdering the antient Inhabitants; inſomuch that large Provinces and Iſlands were perfectly depopulated, and many Millions of People deſtroyed, within the Space of twelve Years after the Invaſion of *Cortez*, as the *Spaniſh* Biſhop of *Chiapa* informs us, who was ſo ſucceſſful, in his Application to the *Spaniſh* Court, as to procure a Stop to be put to theſe unparalleled Outrages and Devaſtations, in ſome Meaſure. But to proceed in our Hiſtory, which will abundantly manifeſt the Truth of what I have advanced.

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THE *Spanish* General, attended by some of his Officers and Soldiers, went the next Day to the Palace of *Montezuma*, and was admitted to an Audience. And here again, their Historians relate, that *Cortez* entertained their Prince chiefly on the Subject of Religion: That he endeavoured to give him an Opinion of the Rites, and Ceremonies of the Christians, exclaimed against Human Sacrifices, and how unnatural it was to devour their own Species thus sacrificed: And they tell us that they prevailed so far on him, as to induce him to banish Human Flesh from his own Table; though he durst not prohibit his Subjects eating of it, or his Priests the continuing to offer such Sacrifices. On the contrary, he maintained, that it was no Cruelty to offer to his Gods Prisoners already condemned to die; though *Cortez* and Father *Olmedo*, the Priest, frequently endeavoured to convince him of the Barbarity of the Practice, and of the Excellency of the Christian Religion: That he still insisted, that his Gods were as good in his Country, as the God of the Christians was in theirs; nor could he dissemble his Resentment, when he was pressed so closely on this Subject.

AT another Time *Montezuma* carried *Cortez*, Father *Olmedo* the Priest, and some of the principal *Spanish* Officers, to take a View of the great Temple; explained to them their Rites and Ceremonies, the Deities the Images represented, and the Use of the Sacred Vessels and Utensils; and this with great Reverence and Seriousness: At which the *Spaniards*, their Historians inform us, were so rude and impolitick, as to laugh and make a Jest of them, and that *Montezuma* thereupon admonished them to keep themselves within the Bounds of Decency. But *Cortez*, transported with great Zeal, said to the Emperor, "Permit me, Sir, to fix the Cross of Christ before these Images of the Devil, and you will see whether they deserve Adoration or Contempt." At which the Priests were enraged, and *Montezuma* himself in Confusion; and said to the *Spaniards*, "You might, at least, have shewn this Place the Respect you owe to

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"my Person." And immediately led them out of the Temple; but returned thither again himself, telling them, "He must ask Pardon of his Gods for having suffered them to proceed so far." And now, it seems, *Cortez* and his Priests were themselves convinced, they had taken a wrong Step in pressing the Emperor so strenuously to change his Religion, which only tended to provoke him, and fix him in his Errors; and contented themselves with erecting a Chapel, by his Leave, for the Exercise of the Christian Religion publickly; in which they placed the Image of our Lady and a Cross, and celebrated Mass every Day. They add, that *Montezuma*, and his Court, were frequently present at Divine Service, and admired the Humanity of the Christian Sacrifice; though they could not be brought to abolish their own.

GIVE me Leave just to remark, in this Place, that the *Mexicans* did not eat the Flesh of those that were sacrificed, or ever fed on Human Flesh; nor were Human Sacrifices frequent in *Mexico*; though, upon some Festivals and extraordinary Occasions, it be admitted, Men were sometimes sacrificed. The Design of the *Spaniards*, in representing these People to be so very barbarous, was evidently to justify their own cruel Butcheries on these unfortunate *Indians*, as will be shewn under the Head of Religion. And, indeed, with what Face could the *Spaniards* declaim against their Worship while they worshipped Images themselves? Or how could they pretend such a Detestation of Human Sacrifices, when they sacrificed so many Thousands to their Ambition and Avarice? And, as some have observed, might not the *Indians* have justly retorted upon them, that if they sacrificed Prisoners taken in War, the *Spaniards* every Day almost sacrificed and eat their very God, as they themselves acknowledged.

STILL there continued a great Intimacy between *Montezuma* and *Cortez*. If we may credit the *Spanish* Historians, *Cortez* frequently resorted to the *Mexican* Court; and *Montezuma* as often visited the *Spanish* Quarters, making Presents to the General, and to his Officers and Soldiers, and exhibiting

MEXICO. biting Shews and Entertainments for their Diversion. The *Mexicans* still treated the *Spaniards* with a Respect that favoured of Submission, according to my Author. *Montezuma* spoke of their King with the same Veneration he mentioned his own Gods; his Nobility paid a profound Respect to the *Spanish* Officers, and the People bowed the Knee to the meanest *Spanish* Soldier; but an Accident happened, which very much lessened the Esteem, or rather Dread, the *Mexicans* at first entertained of these Foreigners.

ONE of that Emperor's Generals, levying the annual Tax imposed on the Vassal Princes in that Part of the Country, which lay in the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish* Garrison of *Vera Cruz*, these Caciques, who had thrown off their Subjection to the *Mexican* Empire, and entered into an Alliance with the *Spaniards*, applied themselves to *John de Eschalanie*, Governor of *Vera Cruz*, for Protection; who thereupon marched out of that Fortress, with forty *Spaniards*, and three or four Thousand confederate *Indians*, to their Assistance; and though he had the good Fortune to defeat the *Mexican* General, yet one of the *Spaniards* was killed, and his Head sent up to Court; and the Governor, with five or six more of his Garrison were mortally wounded. Which News being brought to *Cortez*, gave him great Uneasiness; and the more, because he was informed, by the confederate *Indians*, that the *Mexicans* were consulting how to drive him out of their Territories; which they did not apprehend impracticable since the Engagement near *Vera Cruz*.

THE *Spanish* General, therefore, finding it impossible to maintain his Authority among the *Indians* any longer, without entering on some Action that might give them fresh Cause of Astonishment, says my Author, and recover that Reputation they seemed to have lost by that unfortunate Accident, resolved to seize the Person of *Montezuma*, and bring him Prisoner to his Quarters: And, accordingly, at an Hour when the *Spaniards* were used to pay their Court to that Prince, *Cortez*, having given Orders to his Men to arm themselves

without Noise, and possess themselves of **MEXICO.** all the Avenues leading to the Palace, in small Parties, that no Notice might be taken of it; went to the *Mexican* Court, attended by several of his Officers and thirty Soldiers, whose Resolution he could rely on; and being admitted to the Emperor's Presence, he complained of the Violation of the Peace between them, by one of the *Mexican* Generals falling upon his Confederates, and afterwards killing a *Spaniard* he had taken in cold Blood. To which *Montezuma* answered, "That if any Thing of that Nature had been done, it was without his Orders, and he was ready to make Satisfaction for any Injury that might have been done undesignedly, either to the *Spaniards*, or their Allies." But *Cortez* gave him to understand, that nothing would satisfy them, but his surrendering himself into their Hands, and residing with them in the Palace assigned to the *Spaniards* for their Quarters.

MONTEZUMA, at first, seemed astonished at the insolent Demand, and remained for some Time silent: But recovering from his Surprise, he said, that Princes of his Rank were not accustomed to yield themselves up to a Prison; nor would his Subjects permit this, if he should forget his Dignity so far. *Cortez* answered, "If he would go along with them voluntarily, they were not afraid of any Opposition his Subjects should make; and they would treat him with all the Regard due to his Dignity: He might continue to exercise his Authority as formerly, and no Restraint should be put upon his Actions; only for their Security, he insisted that the Emperor should reside amongst them." *Montezuma* still refusing to put himself into their Hands, was given to understand, that if he would not, they would carry him off by Force, or murder him if they were opposed: Whereupon he submitted to do, what he found it was impossible to avoid; and gave Orders to his Officers to prepare for his Removal to the *Spanish* Quarters, whither he went in the usual State, and in all Appearance voluntarily, unless that he was attended by a Company of *Spaniards*, that surrounded

MEXICO. surrounded his Chair, under Pretence of doing him the greater Honour: The *Spaniards* also obliged him to take with him some of his Children, with the principal Lords and great Officers of State, whom they detained as Hostages for their further Security; all which could not be effected, without a Suspicion, that they were in Reality all Captives to the *Spaniards*, and had very near caused a general Insurrection to obtain their Liberty. But *Cortez* obliged *Montezuma* to declare, that his Removal was voluntary, and to give his Orders, that the People should disperse; which was submitted to, possibly, lest the *Spaniards* should murder their Emperor, and all the great Men they had in their Power: And, it is said, that Prince was allowed to live in the same State he had done in his own Palace for some Time, attended by his Officers and Servants; and that he issued his Orders, as if he had been under no Manner of Restraint; only the *Spaniards* used that Precaution, as not to admit too many of the *Mexicans* to enter their Quarters at a Time, and kept a very strict Guard at all the Avenues.

AND here I cannot but observe a little Inconsistency in the *Spanish* Historians, particularly in *Antonio de Solis*, who tells us, that *Montezuma*, neither in his Expressions, or his Behaviour, discovered the least Weakness under his Confinement, or ceased to maintain the Grandeur of an Emperor. And within twenty Lines he says, the Want of Spirit in *Montezuma* was not less remarkable, than the Boldness of the *Spaniards* was surprizing; adding, that the Hand of God was upon the Hearts of the *Mexicans*, as well as their Emperor, or so haughty a Prince, and a warlike Nation, excessively zealous in supporting the Dignity of their Sovereign, would never have submitted so tamely, and without attempting his Rescue.

THE *Spaniards* relate also, that *Montezuma's* Table, during his Confinement, was served with greater Plenty than usual, and that what was left, was distributed amongst the *Spanish* Soldiers; that some of the best Dishes were sent to the General and his Captains, who were now perfectly

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known to *Montezuma*, and that he would converse freely and pleasantly with them; but in such a Manner, as was not inconsistent with Majesty: That he spent most of his Time, when he was disengaged from Affairs of State, among the *Spaniards*, and used to say that he was not himself without them; and the Respect they paid him in Return, gave him great Satisfaction: That he would sometimes play with *Cortez* at a Mexican Game, called Toloque, wherein they bowled at certain Golden Pins, and that he used to distribute his Winnings amongst the *Spaniards*, and that he preserved the Sentiments of a Prince even at Play. But sometimes they tell us, that *Cortez* entertained this Prince with more serious Subjects; particularly, that his Zeal would not permit him to lose so far an Opportunity of making the Emperor his Convert: But that all the Arguments, that he and Father *Bartolomew de Olmedo*, the Priest, could use, had no Effect upon him insomuch, that they were in Doubt, whether he had still some Intercourse with the Devil, though it was the general Opinion, that after the Appearance of the Cross of Christ in *Mexico*, all their infernal Invocations lost their Force, and the Oracles became silent.

NOR did the *Spaniards* only tease this unhappy Prince on the Point of Religion, but they compelled him to issue out his Orders for apprehending his General *Qualpopoca*, who had engaged the *Spaniards* near *Vera Cruz*; and this Gentleman being brought Prisoner to Court, the *Spanish* Officers, at a Court-Martial, condemned him to be burnt before the Gates of the Palace, with the rest of the Captains that were concerned in that Enterprize; and lest this should Occasion an Insurrection, and an Attempt be made to rescue *Montezuma*, *Cortez* caused him to be laid in Irons that Morning the Execution was to be performed.

BUT such was *Montezuma's* Astonishment, when he saw himself treated in this ignominious Manner, says *De Solis*, that he wanted Force to resist or complain, and his Servants lamenting their Emperor's hard

MEXICO. hard Fate, threw themselves at his Feet, endeavouring to ease him of the Weight of his Fetters: And though when he recovered from his first Amazement, he began to express some Impatience, yet correcting himself he acquiesced in his Misfortunes, acknowledging, they proceeded from the Will of his Gods; and waited the Event, not without Apprehensions, that there was a Design against his Life: But *Cortez* having seen the Execution performed, by which he found he had struck such a Terror into the *Mexicans*, that little was to be feared from them, he returned to *Montezuma's* Apartment, and ordered his Fetters to be taken off; and, as some Writers relate, he fell on his Knees, and took them off with his own Hands; for which Favour the Emperor embraced and thanked him. But what is still more difficult to be believed, they assure us, that *Cortez* gave the Emperor Leave to return to his Palace, and that he refused the Offer, out of Regard to the *Spaniards*; telling them, he knew very well that as soon as he was out of their Power, his Subjects would press him to take up Arms against them, to revenge the Wrongs he had suffered: Nay, the *Spanish* Historians positively affirm, that notwithstanding all the Injuries and Indignities they had offered to *Montezuma*, he expressed a more than ordinary Friendship and Regard for them, preferring their Interest to that of his own Subjects; which I must take the Liberty to suspend my Belief of, till they produce better Proofs of it, and cease to speak less inconsistently than they do in their Accounts of this Enterprize.

AND now, *De Solis* relates, that *Cortez* gave *Montezuma* Leave to go whither he pleased, which he seems to contradict in a very few Lines afterwards: For he tells us, when that Prince only desired to perform his Devotions in one of his Temples, it was granted upon certain Conditions; namely, that he should give his Royal Word to return to the *Spanish* Quarters again, and from that Day abolish Human Sacrifices; and I make no Doubt,

but they insisted on a third, viz. that he **MEXICO** should take a Guard of *Spaniards* with him; for they acknowledge that a Body of *Spaniards* actually attended him to the Temple; which they could do with no other View than securing their Prisoner; though *De Solis* says, indeed, it was at the Request of *Montezuma* they went with him: Nor did he ever go abroad without a *Spanish* Guard, or without asking Leave of *Cortez*, or ever lay one Night out of their Quarters, by their own Confession; which they would have us ascribe purely to Choice, and his Affection to the *Spaniards*, who had put such Indignities upon him. They add, that *Cortez* was now become his Prime Minister: That all Posts of Honour or Profit were disposed of by him and his principal Officers, who were courted by the *Mexican* Nobility, when they saw that no Places or Preferments could be had but by their Interest, which possibly might be true: But surely, it is much more probable, that *Montezuma* was influenced more by his Fears than his Affection for the *Spaniards*. And we may observe from hence, that with all these Advantages *Cortez*, and his *Spaniards*, might have established their Power upon such a Foundation, as could not easily have been overthrown, without such a Deluge of Blood as they spilt afterwards, if *Cortez* had been as able a Politician as he was a Soldier; or if his Benvolence and Humanity had exceeded his Cruelty and Avarice.

HE seems to have left scarce any Means untried for his Security and Establishment; but the principal, namely, the gaining the Affections of the *Indians*, and the winning them over to his Party, as well as to the Christian Religion, by Acts of Generosity and Beneficence. He was so careful of himself, that he caused some Brigantines to be built on the Lake of *Mexico*; whereby he entirely commanded the Lake, and the Causeys leading to the City; and, at the same Time, he increased his Reputation with the *Mexicans*, by the artful Management of those Vessels. The *Indians* were, at this Time, ignorant of the Use of Sails and Rudders; and when

MEXICO. when they saw the *Spaniards* failing not only before the Wind, but upon a Wind, and sometimes, almost directly against it, and that the Vessels were steered, this Way and that Way, with only the Turn of a Hand, they began to return to their first Opinion, that the *Spaniards* had, in Reality, the Command of the Elements: And, indeed, such was the Opinion the *Indians* now entertained of the Skill and Power of the *Spaniards*, that it was purely their own Fault the *Mexicans* ever attempted to regain their Freedom.

THE most fatal of all the Errors *Cortez* committed, were his repeated Attempts from the very Time he landed, to destroy the Temples and Images of the *Mexicans*, and force them to receive a new Religion, before they knew any Thing of it, and before he was in a Condition to force their Compliance. Indeed, Religion ought never to be forced upon a People, how potent soever their Governors may be: But to attempt the Subversion of a Religion, and the introducing another by Force, in the Infancy of a Revolution, was, surely, the most impolitick Thing in the World. And if the Attempt was not to be ascribed to Weakness in *Cortez* and his Officers, it must be imputed to a worse Cause; namely, to their Avarice and Cruelty, who, looking upon themselves, to be armed with the Pope's Authority, as well as the King of *Spain's*, imagined, that all the Wealth of that rich Country would be forfeited to them, if the *Mexicans* refused an immediate Submission to their Demand of becoming Christians; and that in such a Case, it was lawful to plunder, enslave, and murder them without Mercy, and make all the Wealth of *Mexico* their own.

THIS they looked upon as the shortest Way to arrive at what they principally aimed at; namely, the acquiring unbounded Treasures. This their future Actions evidently demonstrate, if any Credit is to be given to their own Historians.

EVEN now, when the Emperor *Montezuma* and his Subjects appeared to be all Submission, and had, in a Manner, given the Reins of Government into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, did they offer them such

unnecessary Provocations, in the Capital **MEXICO.** City of the Empire, as no People would ever have borne. They attempted at once, without demanding Leave, or giving any Reason for it, to demolish all the Images of their Gods, and convert the principal Temples in *Mexico* into Christian Churches; which occasioned, as might reasonably be expected, a general Insurrection. The Priests took up Arms, and the whole City rose, says my *Spanish* Author, in Defence of their Gods, and the *Spaniards* were at length, convinced, by the Opposition they met with, that it was expedient to admit their Idols to remain for the present where they stood: However, the *Spaniards* persisted in erecting a Christian Chapel in one of the Temples, and placing in it, the Cross and an Image of the Blessed Virgin; and actually singing Mass in it with great Solemnity; which the *Indian*, Priests agreed not to oppose, provided their own Idols might be permitted to remain in their Temples: Thus the Matter was accommodated between them, and the Tumult appeased. Some of the *Spanish* Historians describe a solemn Procession, also, that was made to the new erected Chapel, when the Popish Images were carried into it; and give us a Speech said to be made by *Cortez* on the Occasion, before the Crucifix. They tell us also of that General's working a very great Miracle, a little afterwards, for the Proof of the Christian Doctrine. They say, that the *Mexicans* came to him in a tumultuous Manner, complaining, that their Gods refused to send them Rain, because he had introduced strange Deities into their Temples: And that to appease the People, he told them, the God of the Christians would send them Plenty of Rain in a very few Hours; which Prediction Heaven was pleased to fulfil, to the great Admiration of *Montezuma* and his Subjects.

HOWEVER, these pretended Miracles were but of small service to the *Spaniards*, it seems; and had they been real, the false Politicks or Bigotry of *Cortez*, in endeavouring to destroy the *Indian* Superstition, and introduce his own, thus precipitately, prejudiced that People against him

MEXICO. him to such a Degree, that we hear of nothing but Plots and Conspiracies on the one Side, and cruel Butcheries and Oppression on the other, till the *Spaniards* established themselves by pure Force, and had, in a Manner extirpated the Natives, instead of converting them to the Christian Faith.

DON *Diego Velasques*, Governor of *Cuba*, being informed that *Cortez* had met with great Success in *Mexico*, and was endeavouring to render himself independent of him, declared him a Rebel, and sent *Pamphilio de Narvaez* with 800 Men to reduce him, and take upon him the Command of the *Spanish* Forces in *Mexico*. Whereupon *Cortez* leaving a Garrison in the City of *Mexico*, and confining *Montezuma* there, marched to meet *Narvaez* his Rival, and surprized him in the Night-Time, and made him Prisoner, and so corrupted the Officers of the Troops, that came over with *Narvaez*, by the rich Presents he made them, that they agreed to join *Cortez*; and thus reinforced, he returned to the City of *Mexico* again, and now imagining himself powerful enough to subdue that Empire by Force, without courting *Montezuma*, or his Subjects, he treated that Monarch with great Contempt: But some of the *Spanish* Historians observe, that in this he committed a very great Error; for had the General on his returning in Triumph with such an Addition of Forces, entered into a Treaty with that Emperor and his Nobility, they would have yielded to almost any Terms; and he might have gained the Dominion of that Empire, for the King of *Spain*, his Master, without any Bloodshed. But he was too much elated with Success, to think of pacifick Measures. On the contrary, he resolved to give them all Manner of Provocations, and even to render them desperate, that he might have a Colour to destroy them, and seize all their Possessions, whether Lands or Treasure. He found a Garrison of Four-score *Spaniards* able to repel the whole Force of *Mexico*; and he did not doubt, now he saw himself at the Head of 1100 *Spanish* Horse and Foot, with a Multitude of Confederate

Indians, he should be able, by Force, to MEXICO. reduce the *Mexicans*, and make them Slaves; but he was near paying very dear for his Presumption; for sending out a Detachment of 400 *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* in Search of the Enemy, who were retired to the farthest Part of the City, they were surrounded, and in Danger of having their Retreat cut off; and he himself, with the rest of his Troops, escaped very narrowly being starved, or cut in Pieces, as will appear in the ensuing Relation: For the *Mexicans*, rendered brave by their Despair, were not afraid to attack *Cortez* in his Quarters, though defended by a numerous Garrison and a Train of Artillery: And when, at any Time, he made a Salley, he found Intrenchments in the Streets, and the Bridges broken down, which rendered his Cavalry, in a Manner useless; and, though he usually came off victorious, he found he had committed a very great Error, in shutting himself up in *Mexico*, from whence it was almost impossible to make his Retreat, and where he found it impracticable to fetch in Provisions; the Enemy being Masters of all the Causeys, that led to the Town, and of all the Boats upon the Lake; so that if his People were not destroyed by the continual Attacks of the Enemy, they must certainly in Time be reduced by Famine.

In this Distress, *Cortez* thought fit to endeavour a Reconciliation with *Montezuma*, and make Use of the Authority he still retained among his Subjects, to induce them to lay down their Arms, and permit the *Spaniards* to march out of *Mexico*; which it was presumed they would readily have come into, that they might get rid of a People so much dreaded, as well as hated by them: Accordingly, a Parley being proposed and agreed to, *Montezuma* appeared on the Battlements of the Palace, and some of the *Mexican* Nobility advancing to hear what Overtures he would make them, the *Spaniards* tell us, their Emperor made a Speech to his Subjects, wherein he greatly reprimanded them for taking up Arms without his Leave, though it was with an Intention to obtain the Liberty of their Prince;

MEXICO. Prince, declaring, that he was, in reality, under no Manner of Restraint, but remained with the *Spaniards* upon Choice: That he thought himself obliged to shew the *Spaniards* this Favour, on Account of the Respect they had always paid him, and out of Duty to the Prince that had sent them: That their Embassy being dispatched, he was about to dismiss these Foreigners from his Court, and desired his Subjects would lay down their Arms, and not interrupt their March, and he should readily pardon their having taken up Arms, or to that Effect.

WHETHER this Speech is genuine, or not, it is evident; the *Mexicans* paid little Regard to it: Whatever their Emperor's Words were, they knew they were put into his Mouth by the *Spaniards*, whose Prisoner he was, and tended only to procure them a safe Retreat; and they were sensible, if they lost the Advantage they had, they must never expect such another Opportunity of getting rid of these unwelcome Guests. They had them now cooped up in this Fortress, where no Relief could be brought them, and from whence it was scarce possible for them to retreat, if the *Mexicans* broke down the Bridges, and Causeys upon the Lake, and made such Ditches and Trenches in the Streets, as the *Spaniards* themselves had taught them; but foresaw, if their Enemies ever got over the Lake again, they might not only receive fresh Reinforcements from Spain and their Indian Allies, but they must engage them to great Disadvantage, in the open Country, having nothing to oppose their Horse and Artillery. The *Mexicans* resolved, therefore, not to consent to a Cessation of Arms; but rejected the Overture with Disdain, as being framed only to give their mortal Enemies an Opportunity of escaping out of their Hands, and reinforcing themselves to the Destruction of their Country: And some Historians say, they were so enraged at the Overture, that they shot at their Emperor, for making it, and mortally wounded him. Others say, he was wounded by Accident. On the other Hand, the *Mexicans* gave out, that the *Spaniards* murdered him af-

terwards in their Retreat, when they found they could not carry him off; which last seems to me much the most probable Opinion.

CORTEZ finding the *Mexicans* were not to be amused with insidious Proposals, from what Hand soever they came, that his Provisions were almost spent, and that it would be impracticable to make his Retreat in the Day-Time, resolved to attempt it in a dark Night. Having divided the Treasure, therefore, among his Men, with which they were pretty well loaded, for it amounted to the Value of 1,000,000 of Crowns, he issued out of his Quarters at Midnight, the Weather being extremely tempestuous, whereby his March was, for some Time, concealed; but he had not advanced a Mile upon the Causey, before he found himself attacked, on every Side, by the *Mexicans*, both by Land and Water, the Lake being filled with their Canoes or Boats; and as they had broke down the Bridges, and cut the Causeys through in several Places, the *Spaniards* were in great Danger of being entirely cut off. Cortez, indeed, had foreseen this, and provided a portable Bridge to pass the Breaches in the Causey, which was of great Use to him in several Places: But the *Indians* found Means to destroy this Bridge before they were all passed over, and their Rear-Guard consisting of 200 or 300 *Spaniards*, and 1000 *Tlascalans*, were cut in Pieces: They lost also their Artillery, Prisoners, Baggage, and Treasure, with six and forty Horses. However, Cortez, with the best Part of his Forces, broke through the *Indians*, and escaped to the other Side of the Lake. Some impute this Loss to the Avarice of his Soldiers, who were so loaded with Gold and Silver, that they could scarce make use of their Arms; and, possibly, there may be some Truth in it: But I believe, every one who considers his Circumstances, must be of Opinion, that he was very fortunate in escaping so well. Had the Enemy provided a Body of Forces to oppose him on the further Side of the Lake, he must inevitably have perished;

MEXICO. rished; but they did not expect his falling out so suddenly, especially in that tempestuous Season, and, therefore, were not provided to attack him.

DE Solis, the Historian, endeavours to give us a particular Account of this Action, admires the Valour and Conduct of *Cortez* and his Officers, and informs us how every one distinguished himself in this memorable Retreat: But, as he says, just before, that it was performed in a dark, tempestuous Night, and in the utmost Hurry and Confusion, no great Regard is to be given to the Particulars he has given us. He proceeds to inform us, that they arrived, just as it was Day-Light, on firm Land; and thought themselves very happy that there was no Army to oppose them there, and that they were pursued no further, till they had Time to form and recover themselves from their Consternation.

THIS good Fortune, it seems, was owing to the Compassion the *Mexicans* expressed for the two Sons of *Montezuma*, and several Princes of the Royal Blood, whom they found slaughtered among the *Spaniards*, when the Day-Light, appeared. The *Mexicans* relate, that *Montezuma* himself was of this Number; and that the *Spaniards* murdered both him and his Sons, when they found they could not carry them off. The *Spaniards*, on the other Hand, say, that *Montezuma* was killed before, by the Arrows of the *Mexicans*; and that the Princes, also, were accidentally killed in the Engagement, while it was dark, and they could not distinguish Friends from Foes. But, however that was, it is agreed the Princes were found dead, pierced through with many Wounds; and the *Mexicans* deferred the Pursuit of the *Spaniards*, to solemnize the Exequies of those two Princes, or of *Montezuma* himself. To which Piece of Piety, *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, who were left alive, in a great Measure, owed their Safety.

THE *Spaniards* having halted some Time to refresh themselves, and take Care of their wounded Men, continued their March towards *Tlascala*, the Country of their faithful Allies and Confederates: But

they had not advanced many Leagues before they were again overtaken, and attacked by the *Mexicans*, at a Time when they were so fatigued and harrassed, that had not *Cortez* taken Possession of a Temple, surrounded by a Wall of a large Extent, that very fortunately lay in his Way, he would have found it difficult to have repulsed the Enemy. But the *Mexicans* finding they could make no Impression on the *Spaniards*, as they lay entrenched within those Walls, thought fit to sound a Retreat. However, *Cortez* apprehending he should be distressed here for Want of Provisions, began his March again at Midnight, with great Silence, in Hopes to have got the Start of the Enemy so far, that he should have reached the *Tlascalan* Territories, before they could have overtaken him: But, to his great Surprise, being arrived on the Top of a very high Mountain, he discovered the whole Forces of the *Mexicans*, consisting (according to their Historians) of 200,000 Men, drawn up in Battalia in the Valley of *Otumba*, through which it was necessary to pass, in his Way to *Tlascala*.

WHEREUPON, *De Solis* relates, *Cortez* made only this short Speech to his Officers: *We must either die or conquer. The Cause of our God fights for us.* And finding an uncommon Ardour in his Soldiers to engage, he immediately led them on. The Fight, they pretend, was for some Time bloody and obstinate, and that *Cortez* apprehending his Men would be wearied out by the continual Supplies of fresh Forces, which the *Indians* poured in upon him, gave a surprising Turn to the Battle, by attacking the imperial Standard, carried by the *Mexican* General, who was surrounded by the Nobility: For having routed them, killed the General, and taken the Standard, the rest of their Troops turned their Backs and fled, and were pursued with incredible Slaughter by the *Tlascalans* as well as the *Spaniards*, who made themselves ample Amends, with the Spoils of the Enemy, for the Treasure they lost on retiring from the City of *Mexico*.

MEXICO. THEY tell us, indeed, as usual, that their Protector, St. James, visibly fought for them; and that they were obliged to a Miracle at last, for their Victory: But as they relate, at the same Time, that the *Mexicans* durst never oppose their Horse or Fire-Arms, a General of an ordinary Capacity might, one would think, have obtained a Victory, armed with such Advantages, over the naked, defenceless *Indians*, without the Help of Miracles. And, however great and decisive this Victory is represented to be, it appears, that *Cortez* continued his Retreat from *Mexico*, and did not think himself safe till he arrived at the Country of his Friends and Confederates the *Tlascalans*.

AND now *Cortez* found it necessary to cultivate a good Understanding with the *Caciques* and Princes of the Country, and to take their Troops into his Service, and made himself Master of such Posts, as might be of most Advantage to him in reducing the City of *Mexico*; and as he could not approach it by Land, but on the Causeys, he built thirteen Brigantines and Sloops, whereby he became Master of the Navigation of the Lake, and then attacked the Town by Water as well as on the Land Side, having about a Thousand *Spaniards* in his Army, and 200,000 *Tlascalans*, and other *Indian* Allies; he took the City by Storm on the Thirteenth of August, 1521.

ONE Hundred Thousand *Mexicans* perished in Defence of the City, and this Conquest was attended with the Submission of most of the neighbouring Provinces, who consented to acknowledge themselves Subjects to the King of *Spain*, (the then Emperor, *Charles V.*)

THE City of *Mexico* being thus reduced, *Cortez* distributed the Plunder among his Soldiers, reserving only a Fifth, with the most remarkable Curiosities for the King, which he sent to *Spain* by some of his principal Officers, together with an Account of his Conquest, and the State of that Country; desiring his Majesty would confirm the Magistrates he had appointed to govern that Country, with the Grants of the conquered Lands and *Indian* Slaves

he had made, to his Soldiers. Among the **MEXICO.** rich Jewels *Cortez* sent to the Emperor, it is said, there was a fine Emerald of a Pyramidal Form, as large as the Palm of a Man's Hand, at the biggest End; a noble Set of Gold and Silver Vessels; several Things cast in Gold and Silver, viz. Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fruits and Flowers; Bracelets, Rings, Pendants, and other ornamental Pieces of Plate and Jewels; some of their Idols, Priests Vestments of Cotton, Furs, and Feathers of various Colours.

THE General requested his Imperial Majesty to send over Persons qualified to survey the Country, that it might be improved to the best Advantage, with Priests and Missionaries, for the Conversion of the People; as also Cattle, Seeds and Plants, to improve the Lands: But, it is said, he provided particularly against the sending over Physicians or Lawyers.

WHAT could have been his Reason against sending Physicians, is not easy to be conceived; but he had certainly all the Reason in the World to desire that neither Laws nor Lawyers should be admitted there, having determined to treat the Natives as Slaves, and seize both their Persons and Possessions, and, indeed, to usurp an arbitrary Dominion over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* in that New World.

CORTEZ having finished the Conquest of this Empire, and in almost every Province committed great Cruelties, as well on the People that submitted to become Subjects of *Spain*, as on those who endeavoured to defend their Territories, the Emperor, *Charles V.* sent over *Lewis Ponce de Leon*, Anno 1527, as Supreme Judge of *Mexico*, now denominated NEW SPAIN, to examine the Conduct of *Cortez*: But this Judge died soon after his Arrival, suspected to be poisoned by *Cortez*, or his Creatures. However, before his Death, he appointed *Mure de Aguilar* to succeed him; but he also died soon after, appointing *Alonso de Estrada* his Successor. But *Cortez* refused to submit to his Judgment, alledging, that his Predecessor had no Power to appoint a Successor. Orders afterwards arriving from *Spain* to confirm *de Estrada* in the Post of Supreme

MEXICO Supreme Judge, he commanded *Cortez* to remove from the City of *Mexico*, and took the Administration out of his Hands; and sending over a just Representation of the Outrages committed by that General and his Officers, three other Commissioners were sent to *Mexico*, to bring *Cortez* to a Trial; and it was generally expected he would have lost his Head. But he found Means, in some Measure, to pacify the Court of *Spain*, and obtained Leave to go over thither, and make his Defence before the Emperor: He carried with him such a prodigious Treasure, that all his Faults seemed entirely forgot; his Majesty Countenanced him, seemed delighted with his Conversation, and to give Credit to every Thing he said, rewarding and honouring this barbarous Tyrant, instead of punishing him; particularly, his Imperial Majesty made him a Grant of the whole Valley of *Arislo*, in *Mexico*, with all the Towns and Villages belonging to it; in which he had 24,000 Vassals: He created him Marquis of the Valley of *Guaxaca*, and constituted him Generalissimo of all the Forces in *New Spain*; though it was thought fit to exclude him absolutely from the Civil Government: And several strict Orders were made for the better Usage of the Natives for the future; particularly that they should not be obliged to carry Burthens like Pack-horses on the Road; and that every *Spaniard*, who should so load an *Indian*, should for the first Offence forfeit 100 Pieces of Eight; for the second Offence 300; and for a third should forfeit all his Goods: That the *Indians* should not be compelled to work in the Mines, or on their Fortifications or Buildings, unless for Wages, and that voluntarily: That no *Indians* should be carried out of their respective Countries, tho' really Slaves: That the Magistrates should have Power to determine who were Slaves, and who were not: And that the *Spaniards* should detain no *Indian* Women in their Houses on any Pretence whatever. And that these Orders might be better observed, the Bishop of *Mexico*, and the Superiors of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, &c. were made Protectors of the *Indians*; among whom was the celebrated Father

Bartholomew de Casas, afterwards Bishop of **MEXICO**. *Chiapa*, who laid the Grievances of the *Indians* before the Court of *Spain*, and procured a Redress of them in some Measure; though he complains the Emperor's Orders were very ill observed at that Distance. But from these intended Regulations, we may gather what the Grievances of the *Indians* were, namely, their being obliged to carry Burthens beyond their Strength; to work in the Mines, Fortifications, and Buildings, with such Rigour, that they perished in the Service; that their Women, Wives and Daughters were taken from them, and abused by the lustful *Spaniards*; that they made Slaves of the Natives without Distinction, and transported them to the Mines in distant Countries, where they perished: And it was many Years before these Abuses were fully redressed, even in those Countries that peaceably submitted to their Dominion. As to the Natives, who fled to the Woods and Mountains, they were always very cruelly used, when they fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, as their Posterity are at this Day. And it is not very strange, if the *Indians* have sometimes retaliated the Injuries they received from a People that so violently and unjustly expelled them from their Country, and treated them as Slaves.

BEFORE *Cortez* left *Old Spain*, he procured all the Grants of the Lands and Territories of the *Indians*, which he had given to his Soldiers, to be confirmed; and that he might not want Employment now the Civil Government of *Mexico* was taken from him, he was constituted Governor of all the Continent and Islands he should discover in the *South-Seas*, and a twelfth Part of such Discoveries was granted to him and his Heirs.

THE General having taken his Leave of the Emperor, embarked soon after for *New Spain*, and arrived at *Vera Cruz* in July 1530; and not being suffered to go to the City of *Mexico*, took up his Residence at *Texcuco*, some few Leagues distant from it, where he had a very great Court, consisting of his *Indian* Confederates, and of his Officers and Soldiers, amongst whom he had distributed the Lands of the subdued Provinces.

The

MEXICO. The General, before his going to *Old Spain*, had sent three Ships through the *South-Sea* to the *Moluccas*, or Spice-Islands in the *East-Indies*; where his People encountering the *Portuguese*, who had already got Possession of those Islands, his Ships, and most of the Men, were destroyed, some few only returning to *Old Spain* with an Account of their Misfortune. Before *Cortez* received Advice of this Accident, he fitted out two other Ships on the *South-Sea*, to make Discoveries towards *California*, and the North-West; but these met with no better Success than the Fleet he had sent to the *East-Indies*, most of the Men perishing in the Attempt. He again fitted out two Ships more in the Year 1531, to make Discoveries to the North-West: These also were as unfortunate as the former. Whereupon *Cortez* embarked on the *South-Sea* himself, but did not meet with better Success than those he had sent upon Discoveries before him: He was obliged to return, after he had sustained innumerable Hazards and Fatigues, without meeting with any Thing answerable to the Pains and Expence he had been at. In the Year 1539, however, *Cortez* fitted out three Ships more in the *South-Sea*, which sailed to the Northward till they arrived in 50 Degrees and upwards, and his People landed in *California* and the opposite Continent, but made no Settlements: And the General having been at a vast Expence in these several Naval Expeditions, went over to *Old Spain* again in the Year 1539, in Hopes of prevailing with that Court to reimburse him his Charges. But the Ministry expecting to have received an Increase rather than a Diminution of their Treasure, from these Expeditions, *Cortez* did not meet with so favourable a Reception as formerly: The Court began to give Credit to the repeated Complaints that had been made against him, and though it was not thought fit to proceed rigorously against the General, since he had been instrumental in adding so large and wealthy a Country to the Crown of *Spain*, yet he was never suffered to return to *Mexico* again; and he remained a Kind of Prisoner at large in the Emperor's Court, where he died on the

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second Day of *December*, 1545, in the **MEXICO.** sixty-second Year of his Age; and his Body was afterwards transported to *Mexico*, and interred in the Cathedral of that City.

THESE Countries, when the *Spaniards* invaded them, swarmed with People, and we have, says the *Spanish* Bishop of *Chiapa*, in little more than forty Years, depopulated and destroyed more Countries than *Europe* contains; we have not only plundered and usurped the Dominion of them, but have murdered 20,000,000 of Souls.

THE *Spaniards* in attempting the Conquest of the *Indies*, had very little Regard to the Honour of God or Religion: Their Zeal for the Salvation of Mankind was but a Pretence: Nor had they any Views to their Prince's Service, of which they so vainly boasted; but Covetousness drew them thither, and an Ambition to usurp the Dominion of those Countries; for they perpetually solicited the Court of *Spain* to have it divided among them: And to speak plainly, says the Bishop, their Views are to expel the Kings of *Castile* out of that World, and seize upon it themselves. However, we see Success frequently sanctifies the worst Actions, and gains the Applauses of inconsiderate Men.

DON *Velasquez*, Governor of *Cuba*, first laid the Design of adding *Mexico* to the *Spanish* Dominions: It was he that first levied Soldiers, provided a Fleet of Ships with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions, suitable to such an Undertaking, and gave the Command of the Whole to *Fernando Cortez*: But being apprised of the Ambition and Ingratitude of that Gentleman, before he left the Island, he revoked his Commission, and recalled him with a Design of sending another Commander in his Room. But *Cortez* refused to obey his Orders, and corrupting the Soldiers and Mariners, persuaded them to turn Rebels and Pirates; to renounce the Authority of *Velasquez*, their Governor, who fitted them out, and to set up for themselves; and, at last, to chuse *Cortez* the Captain of this mutinous Crew, who, by all Laws, Civil and Military, deserved Death, and would probably have been hanged with their Leader, if they had not met with unexpected Success.

MEXICO. And as the Enterprize was rebelliously undertaken, so was it prosecuted with such Cruelty and ill Conduct, as must affect every one with Horror and Detestation of the wicked Instruments that were concerned in it: They found a naked defenceless People, terrified to the last Degree with their Fire-Arms, Artillery, Horses and Dogs: They found the several Kingdoms and States also at Variance, and so equally divided, that either of them were ready to join the Invaders of their Country, and assist them in the Conquest of it: And we find all of them ready to submit to the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, to become subject and tributary to him, before there was scarce any Blood spilt. But this would not have done the Business of our piratical Adventurers: Here would have been little or no Spoils or Plunder to have enriched them with; no Slaves to have been made, or Territories conferred on private Men; the *Mexicans* would have been their Fellow Subjects, and intitled to the like Protection and good Usage as the *Spaniards* themselves were: And therefore they held it necessary to make Enemies of them, to give them all Manner of Provocations, and, under Pretence of Plots and Conspiracies of the Natives, to massacre them, and take their Country from them, and seize on their Lands and Treasures, together with the Gold and Silver Mines, that were looked upon then, and have since been found to be inexhaustible. These were Temptations which that rapacious Crew could not resist; and it is more than probable, if *Narvaez* had not been sent to reduce *Cortez*, that he would have set up for himself, and assumed the Sovereign Authority of *Mexico*, as the Bishop of *Chiapa* suggests; and the sole Reason that he did not, probably, was an Apprehension that if he did not acknowledge the Authority of the King of *Spain*, many of his own Men would have deserted him, as he had deserted his General and Benefactor, and the Advantage of that Conquest would have been taken from him. And though he and his Officers did submit to hold those Countries of the Crown of *Spain*; yet we find they procured themselves to be made Proprietors

of them in such a Manner as to have the absolute Dominion both of the Country and the People, and that they treated them as their Slaves and Vassals; nay, worse than Enemies, worse than ever Brute Animals were used; massacring and torturing them in such a Manner as could never have been credited, if their Actions had not been publicly tried and condemned, and the Facts confessed and acknowledged by many of those that were engaged in the Enterprize; and had it not been evident, to all the World, that Countries had been destroyed and depopulated for Thousands of Miles together, which were before crowded with People, and (in the Bishop of *Chiapa*'s Phrase, who was upon the Spot) resembled a terrestrial Paradise. And what still aggravates the Cruelty is, that the Natives were, according to the best Accounts, a harmless inoffensive People, treated all Mankind civilly and hospitably, even the *Spaniards* themselves, and are generally admired for their Ingenuity, and the Quickness of their Parts; the Popish Missionaries themselves acknowledging, that they never met with a more tractable People, more ready to be instructed, and to embrace the Christian Religion; insomuch, that the Bishop of *Chiapa* observes, there was no Manner of Occasion to use Force to bring them over to Christianity: And, therefore, *Cortez*, and his Officers, could never justify their barbarous Usage of the *Indians*, on Pretence of Obstinacy: Their mighty Zeal for Religion, and the Service of their Prince and Country, was all a Sham: Their Cruelties could be ascribed to nothing else but to their Ambition or Avarice: The Gold and Silver of the Country, the *Indians* themselves observed, were the only Gods these Adventurers adored; for the acquiring of which they seem to have divested themselves of all Humanity.

It may be objected, indeed, to the Credit of those Relations given us by the Bishop of *Chiapa*, of the Cruelties of *Cortez*, *Alvarado*, and the rest of the Commanders concerned in the Conquest of *Mexico*, that those Barbarities are scarce mentioned either by *Antonio de Solis*, or *Antonio de Herrera*, two of the best of the *Spanish* Historians.

MEXICO. To which I answer, that it was evidently the Design of *De Solis* to write a Panegyrick upon *Cortez*; and, therefore, it cannot be expected he should give us the dark Side of that General's Character: Besides, the greatest Part of that pretended History, appears, on the Face of it, to be a mere Romance; only valuable for the Language, and for some Reflections he makes on the Facts he is pleased to feign; which are judicious enough, admitting there was any Truth in what he relates. And as to *Antonio de Herrera*, who was Historiographer to the King of *Spain*, he was employed by the Ministry to give such an Account of that Conquest, as might reflect Honour on the Kingdom of *Spain*, and on the Administration under which it was effected: And had he related the Barbarities of *Cortez* and his Officers, after he had informed us, that those Adventurers were encouraged and rewarded instead of being punished, he could not have reflected a greater Dishonour on the Kingdom and Court of *Spain*. And, although *Herrera* himself does not give us all the Particulars the Bishop of *Cbiapa* does, yet he confirms some of them; and assures us, the Bishop is an Author that deserves Credit. It was not convenient for him to say what the Bishop had said; but, on the other Hand, he was so faithful an Historian as to let us know, that that Prelate ought to be believed.



FLORIDA.

FLORIDA.
Situation.

F *FLORIDA* was the Name given by the *Spaniards* to those Countries, which lie North of the Gulph of *Mexico*, bounded by *Canada* on the North; the *Atlantick* Ocean on the East; and *New Mexico* on the West. This they took Possession of, soon after the Conquest of *Mexico*, but abandoned it again for richer Settlements, being possessed of little more at present than the Port Town of *St. Augustine*, situate in 81 Degrees of West Longitude, and 30 Degrees of North Latitude; and these Countries being now under the Dominion of *Great-Britain* or *France*, will be described in treating of *British* and *French America*. I proceed, therefore, in the next Place, to consider the State of the *Spanish* Dominions in *South-America*: And, first, of *Terra Firma*, which is contiguous to *Mexico*, or *New Spain*.

TERRA FIRMA.

Terra Firma.
Situation.

T *THE Spanish* Province of *Terra Firma* is situated between 50 and 82 Degrees of Western Longitude, and between the Equator and 12 Degrees of North Latitude; bounded by the *Atlantick* Ocean on the North; by the same Sea and the *Dutch* Settlements of *Surinam* on the East; by *Amazonia* on the South; and by the *Pacifick* Ocean and the Province of *Veragua* on the West. It is a very mountainous Country, especially that Part of it which lies on the *Atlantick* Ocean; but the Coast which lies on the *Pacifick* Ocean, on the contrary, is flat, low Land, overflowed great Part of the Year.

THE

Terra Firma.
Rivers.

THE chief Rivers are those of, 1. *Darien*. 2. *Cbagre*. 3. *Santa Maria*. 4. *Rio Grande*, or *Magdalena*. 5. *Maricaibo*; and, 6. *Oronoque*.

THE *Isthmus of Darien*, or, *Terra Firma Proper*, unites *North* and *South America*; a Line drawn from *Panama* in the *South-Sea* to *Porto-Bello* in the *North-Sea*, or rather a little to the Westward of those two Ports, is the Boundary between *North* and *South America*.

Bays.

THE chief Bays are, 1. The Bay of *Panama*. 2. The Bay of *St. Michael's* in the *South-Sea*. 3. The Bay of *Porto-Bello*. 4. The Gulph of *Darien*. 5. *Sino Bay*. 6. *Carthagera Bay* and Harbour. 7. The Gulph of *Venezuela*. 8. The Bay of *Maracaibo*. 9. The Gulph of *Trieffe*. 10. The Bay of *Guaira*. 11. The Bay of *Curaco*; and, 12. The Gulph of *Paria*, or *Andalusia*, in the *North-Sea*.

Capes.

THE chief Capes are, 1. *Samblas Point*. 2. *Point Canoa*. 3. *Cape del Agua*. 4. *Swart Point*. 5. *Cape de Vela*. 6. *Cape Conquistador*. 7. *Cape Cabelo*. 8. *Cape Blanco*. 9. *Cape Galera*. 10. *Cape Three Points*; and, 11. *Cape Nassau*; all on the North Shore of *Terra Firma*.

Divisions.

TERRA FIRMA is divided into nine Provinces, viz. 1. *Terra Firma Proper*, or *Darien*. 2. *Carthagera*. 3. *St. Martha*. 4. *Rio de la Hacha*. 5. *Venezuela*. 6. *Comana*. 7. *New Andalusia*, or *Paria*. 8. *New Grenada*; and, 9. *Popayan*.

Terra Firma.
Proper.

THE Province of *Darien*, or, *Terra Firma Proper*, is bounded by the *North Sea* on the North; by the Gulph or River of *Darien*, which separates it from *Carthagera* on the East; by *Popayan* and the *South-Sea* on the South; and by the same Sea and the Province of *Vexagua* on the West; lying between 7 and 10 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 78 and 83 Degrees of Western Longitude. The most exact Boundary of this Province on the West, is a Line drawn from the Fort at the Mouth of the River *Cbagre* on the *North-Sea*, to the Town of *Nata* on the *South-Sea*; and the truest Southern Boundary, a Line drawn from *Point Garachina*, or the South Part of the Gulph of *St. Michael's* in the Bay of *Panama*,

directly Eastward to the River of *Darien*. *Terra Firma.*

It lies in the Form of a Bow or Crescent, about that noble Bay of *Panama*; being 300 Miles in Length, and 60 in Breadth, from Sea to Sea. I am the more particular in describing the Situation of this Province, because it is in Proportion the richest, and of most Importance to the *Spaniards*, (as it would be to any *European* Nation that should possess themselves of it) and has been the Scene of more Action than any Province in *America*. Its Situation both on the *North* and *South-Seas*, and on the Confines of *North* and *South America*, and the Gold Sands and Pearls with which this Province and the adjacent Seas are replenished, render it invaluable, and make it the darling Object of all the *European Maritime Powers*.

1. THE River or Gulph of *Darien*, the *Rivers*. Eastern Boundary of this Province, rises in the South, and running directly North, upwards of 100 Miles, falls into the *North-Sea*, near *Golden Island*. It is six or seven Leagues wide at the Mouth; but hath not above six Feet Water in a Spring Tide. It is deep enough within the Bar for great Ships, and navigable fourscore or an hundred Miles: But as no Vessels of Burthen can get over the Bar, there is very little Traffick carried on upon it.

2. THE River of *Conception* rises about the Middle of the great Ridge of Mountains, and running precipitately to the North-West, falls into the Sea, over-against an Island called *La Sounds Key*, being one of the *Sanbalas Islands*. This River is pretty broad, and makes a good Appearance at the Mouth; but has a Bar also, that prevents any Ships of Burthen getting in; however, it is fine riding in the Channel at the Mouth of this River, between the Islands and the Main Land, which form a pretty good Harbour.

3. THE River *Cbagre*, is the most navigated of any River of this Province. It rises not far from *Panama* on the *South-Sea*; and taking its Course to the North-West, finds a Way through deep winding Vallies, falling into the *North-Sea* ten Leagues to the Westward of *Porto-Bello*; upon this River, therefore, is embarked all the

Terra Firma. the Merchandize that is sent from *Panama* to *Porto-Bello* for the Galleons, except the Gold and Silver, which are carried directly over Land upon the Backs of Mules to *Porto-Bello*.

4. THE River *Santa Maria*, or *St. Mary's*, which rising in the Mountains on the North-East Part of this Province, runs to the Westward, and falls into the Gulph of *St. Michael's*, on the South Side of the Bay of *Panama*. This is a pretty large navigable River, and considerable, on Account of the Rivulets which fall into it, in whose Sands are found Abundance of Gold. One of these Rivulets is called the *Golden River*: Hither the *Spaniards* come with their Slaves from *Panama*, and other Towns, in the dry Season (which lasts three Months) to gather Gold. These Brooks, at that Time, not being more than a Foot deep, the Slaves take up the Sand in little Wooden Dishes, in which they find such a Quantity of Gold, that in some Seasons, it is said, they carry off 18,000 or 20,000 Pounds Weight of pure Gold, out of that Brook, which goes by the Name of the *Golden River*.

5. THE River *Congo* rises in the Mountains on the East Part of this Province, and running to the South-West, almost parallel to the River of *Santa Maria*, falls into the same Gulph of *St. Michael's* to the Northwards of it. It is a large River, navigable for great Vessels within the Bar, but so shallow at the Mouth, that it is very difficult entering. There are a great many small Streams fall into this River, both on the East and West.

6. THE River of *Cheapo*, which rising in the Mountains near the *North-Sea*, first bends its Course to the Westward, and then turning to the South, falls into the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues to the Westward of that City. It is a considerable navigable River, and runs a long Course; but has the same Misfortune as the rest to have a Bar at the Mouth, that large Ships cannot enter it.

Seasons.

THIS Province being very narrow, and lying between two great Oceans, viz. the *North* and *South-Seas*, is observed to have more wet Weather than any other Place

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within the Torrid Zone. The Rains usually begin here in *April* or *May*: In *June*, *July*, and *August*, they are very heavy, and it is extreme hot at this Time, whenever the Sun shines out: There are then no Breezes to cool the Air, but it is, in my Author's Phrase, glowing hot. In *September*, the Rains begin to abate; but it is *November* or *December*, and sometimes *January*, before the fair Season returns: So that the Country is very wet for two Thirds, if not three Quarters of the Year. But in the wettest Season, there are some fair Days, with only a Tornado, or Thunder Shower, now and then. The Floods and Torrents caused by these Rains often bear down Trees, which dam up the Rivers, and occasion their overflowing all the neighbouring Plains. The low Countries appear at this Time like one great Lake. The coolest Time of the Year is after the Rains about *Christmas*, when the fair Weather approaches.

THE chief Towns in *Terra Firma* *Towns in*
Proper, are, 1. *Panama*. 2. *Porto-Bello* *Darien.*
3. *Venta de Cruizes*. 4. *Cheapo*. 5. *Nata*.
6. *Conception*. 7. *Santa Maria*. 8. *Schuchadero*; and, 9. (lately) *New Edinburgh*.

1. THE City of *Panama* is situated in *Panama*.
9 Degrees of North Latitude, and 82 Degrees of West Longitude. It stands on the most capacious Bay in the *South-Sea*, and is built with Brick and Stone, being surrounded by a Stone Wall, fortified with Bastions and other Works, planted with great Guns both towards the Sea and Land. It lies in the Form of a Half-Moon upon the Bay, affording a most beautiful Prospect; all the best Houses and publick Buildings appearing above the Walls. There are no large Woods or Marshes near *Panama*, but a fine, dry, Champaign Land (according to *Dampier*) not subject to Fogs. The Island of *Perica*, three Miles distant, is the Port to *Panama*. For the Water is so shallow near the Town, that great Ships cannot come up to it, though small Vessels lie close to the Walls.

THIS Town, according to *Funnel*, contains upwards of 6000 Houses, eight
7 F Parish-

Terra Firma. Parish-Churches, besides the Cathedral, thirty Chapels, and several Monasteries and Nunneries. It is a Bishop's See; Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Lima* in *Peru*, the Seat of the Governor, and of the Courts of Justice of the Province. But what renders it most considerable, are the Treasures of Gold and Silver, and the rich Merchandizes of *Peru*, which are lodged in the Magazines of this Town, till they are sent to *Europe*, as well as the Merchandize sent over by the Galleons from *Old Spain*, to be transported to the several Cities and Provinces of *Peru* and *Chili*.

Porto-Bello.

2. *PORTO-BELLO* is situated on a Bay of the *North-Sea*, in 10 Degrees of North Latitude, and 82 Degrees of Western Longitude, about seventy Miles North of *Panama*, and had this Name given it by *Columbus*, on Account of the Security of its Harbour.

WAFER gives us the following Description of the Harbour and Town: *Porto-Bello*, says this Writer, is a very fair and commodious Harbour, affording good Anchorage and Shelter for Ships, having a narrow Entrance, and spreading wider within. The Galleons from *Spain* find good Riding here, while they take in the Treasures of *Peru*, that are brought thither from *Panama*. The Entrance is secured by a Fort on the Left-Hand, going in, and by a Blockhouse on the other Side, opposite to it. At the Bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending with the Shore like a Half-Moon: In the Middle of which, upon the Sea, is another small Fort; and at the West End of the Town, upon an Eminence, lies another strong Fort, yet commanded by a neighbouring Hill; and in all these Forts, there are usually about 200 or 300 Men in Garrison. The Town lies open towards the Country, without Walls or Works; and at the East End, is a long Stable for the King's Mules. The Governor's House stands upon an Eminence, near the great Fort at the West End of the Town. It is an unhealthy Place, the East End being situated in a low swampy Ground, and the Sea, at low Water, leaving the Shore within the Harbour bare, a great

Way from the Houses, which having a black filthy Mud or Ouze, occasions very noisome Vapours in this hot Climate: From the South and East Part of it, the Country rises gradually in hills, which are partly Woodlands, and partly Savannah or Pasture; but there are few Fruit-Trees, or Plantations near the Town.

MUCH the greatest Part of the Inhabitants are *Indians*, *Mulattoes* and *Negroes*, no *Spaniard* of any Substance caring to reside in so unhealthy a Place, though at the Time of the Fair it is so crowded with rich Merchants, that above 100 Crowns are given for a poor Lodging, and 1000 Crowns for a Shop, during the short Time that the Galleons stay there, and all Provisions are proportionably dear; though they are cheap enough at other Times; and so subject is the Place to Pestilential Fevers, that 500 People have died there during the Time of the Fair only. No People ever experienced the Unhealthfulness of this Climate, more than the *English*, when the Squadron under the Command of the Admirals *Hofier* and *Hopson*, lay before it, without being suffered to enter upon Action, in the Year 1727. For here, we did not only lose the two Admirals, but the Seamen twice over; and what added to the Misfortune was, that all the Ships were so damaged by the Worms, that it was with Difficulty they were brought back to *England* again. We might have fixed ourselves on the Isthmus, with less Expence of Men, Ships, and Treasure, than it cost us to lie here, and render the *Spaniards* our irreconcilable Enemies, without acquiring the least Advantage to ourselves.

3. *VENTA de Cruz* is situated on the Banks of the River *Chagre*, where it begins to be navigable, about thirty Miles to the Northward of *Panama*; and here the Merchandize brought from *Panama* is embarked for *Porto-Bello*, in order to be sent to *Europe*; but I do not find this Place to be considerable upon any other Account.

4. THE Town of *Cheapo* is situated on a River of the same Name, about twenty-five Miles North-East of *Panama*, and eighteen