Price Rs. 220/-

an historical relation of CEYLON

by ROBERT KNOX



TISARA PRAKASAKAYO LTD

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Very little was known of Robert Knox's early life until the discovery last year in the Bodleian Library of a copy of his 'Historical Relation of Ceylon,' containing his autobiographical notes and additional manuscript. This discovery was due to the untiring research of the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

It has been generally assumed that Robert Knox was probably of Scottish extraction, but he tells us in his ' Notes' that his grandfather was born in 1581, at Nacton in Suffolk. His father also was born at Nacton and baptised there on the 15th of March, 1606. 1

Robert Knox, the author of the ' Historical Relation of .Ceylon,' was born on Tower Hill, February the 8th, 1641 ; he was the son of Robert Knox, a sea captain who traded chiefly in the Mediterranean. His mother was Abigail Bonnell, and he had a sister and a brother — Abigail, born about 1639, and James, about 1647-8. Knox's account of his early days may best be given in his own words ; he says — 'In the time of my Childhood I was Cheiefely brought up under the education of my Mother, my

^hen we recollect that the Knox family intermarried with the Bonnells or Bonneels, and the Van Strips or Strypes who were Dutch, it is highly probable that the Knoxes were also of Dutch extraction, The name in Scandinavian is common, and means 'bony.' We have the root in English in the word ' knuckle.'

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Father generally being at Sea, a Commander of a ship
that traded in the Medeteranian Seas. She was a woman
of extraordinary Piety ; God was in all her thoughts as
appeered by her frequent discourses, & Godly exhorta-
tions to us her Children to teach us the knowledge of
God, & to love, feare & serve him in our youths : it was
alwayes her practice, while she with my SistSr ware Kniting
or Sowing, to set mee to read by them in the Bible or some
other Godly booke, alwayes earnestly exhorting us to the
feare of God & not at noe time to omitt priviatt Morning
& evening prayers for which use she gave mee the Pracktise
of Piety & was in my pocket when taken thare. I may say
by Gods Blessing one my Mothers frequent Godly exhor-
tations God spake to my Consiance in my Childhood.'

He notes 'when I was grown big enough I was sent
to a hording schoole at Rohajnton to Dr. James
fleetwood (my father then dwellings at Wimbleton in
Surry) who since was Bishop of Worcester. An unhappie
accident hapned by my hand, when I was aboute 9 years of
age, one Christmasse Eve, one of my fathers servants had
bin a shooting small birds in the feild & came whome
& set up his gun against the house wall, Charged but
not primed, for all his powder was spent, which was the
Cause he came whome for more : whilds he was gone
in to fill his home with powder, I tooke up the Gun &
presented it at the tame pegeons that sat one a low backe
house. I understood to cocke the Gun: My Brother
standing by me one the ground, in the intremm the maid
came to fetch in my brother, & tooke him up in her armes,
he being then aboute 2 or 3 years old & the gun longe &
heavie that I could not well hold it up, it went of & hit
my brother right in his left eye. He was not then above

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6 yards from the muzell of the gun, all the shot, except
very few, fell directly into his eye, at which the same
Servant was sent imediately to London to advise my father
of what had hapned, who that day came whome with a
Surgion, who by Gods blessing cured my Brother with
only the losse of the eye, that he lived to see me after my
Captivity. When I was aboute 14 years of Age, my father
had built him a new ship (the same I was taken in) & my
inclination was strongly bent for the Seas, but my father
much avarce to make me a Seaman, it hapned some Sea
Capts coming to see him, amounge other discourse, I stand-
ing by, asked my father if I was not to goe with him to Sea.
Noe, saith my father, 1 intend my Sonn shall be a tradsman,
they put the question to me, 1 answered, to goe to Sea was
my whole desire, at which they soone turned my father, say-
ing this new ship, when you have done goeing to sea, will be

as good as a plentiful! estate to your Sonn & it is pitty to crosse his good inclination, since commondly younge men doe best in that Calling they have most mind to be in.'

Accordingly on the 7th of December, 1655, he sailed from the Downs on the c Ann,' bound for Fort St. George and Bengal. He returned safely to London in July, 1657. During this voyage Robert Knox lost his mother, who died in 1656 and was buried at Wimbledon.

At this time, as in his own vrords, c the old East india Company ware suncke & next to nothing,' the c i\nn ' was a free ship, and without delay Captain Knox fitted her for a second East India voyage, but before they could get to sea Cromwell had brought in his Navigation Act, and the c Ann ' was forced into the hands of the new East India Company. The copy of the Charter Party by which this arrangement was made is as follows : —

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xiii th of November 1657.

The Committee having deferred their resolution concerning the Anne Frigott her termes of Enterteynment untill this tyme ; Cap! Knox Maister of her presented himselfe to the Committee, and although his Demaunds touchinge the said ship (which hee made at the last Meeting) were too high, yet hee now declared, that his Owners are willing to cast themselves upon the Committee, to give them what they shall thinke fitt. Whereupon they Agreed that the ship Anne^ burthen 230 tunns or thereabouts, should be srt Graves-end by the 15th of December next, ready to saile thence for ye Coast & Bay 1 with 20 gunns and 48 men. and to have 300 lb ymprest 2 2olb in leiw or primage & Average 5 1 81 b per tunn for what course Goods shee shall bring home, and 22lb per tunn for Fine : And if shee shall not be dispeeded 3 thence for England by the 10th of January come twelve moneths, it shalbe at ye liberty of the Company to keep her upon demoiage 1 2 moneths after the said 10th of January, or soe long tyme thereof as they shall thinke fitt, soe it be not lesse then 4 moneths of the said 12 moneths : and shee is to have 61 bs. 10s. per diem for so^ long tyme as shee shall be employed upon demorage as aforesaid by $he Company after the said 10th of January untill she shalbe dispeeded for England : And that she shalbe dispeeded for England by the 10th of January come two yeere at the furthest : Which being made known to the Captaine, hee consented thereunto, and promised to subscribe theis conditions on behalfe of himselfe and the rest of the Owners.

It was now thought fitt . . .

That the ship Amie should goe foi the Coast and Bay, and if shee be not dispeeded for England by the xoth of January come

12 moneths, shee shall then or at any tyme, at ye pleasure of the Company, Voyage for Persia.

xixth of December 1657

It was now Ordered that the Anne should carry out 1 3,000 lb Stocke upon her ; 5,000 lb whereof being to be left at the Coast or Bay ; the other 8,000 lb for her Carga to Persia.

The ‘Ann’ sailed, 2xst January, 1658, on c that fatall voiage in which,’ says Knox, 6 1 lost my father & my-

J The Coromandel Coast and Bay of Bengal. 2 Advance. 3 Despatched.

‘The Englishman’s Tree,’ Cottiar, under which Knox and his companions were captured in 1660

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selfe & the prime of my time for buisnesse & preferment for 23 years tell Anno 1680.’ The date has been uni-formly read by previous writers according to the O.S. calendar as 1657, the calendar year then beginning on 25th March. This mistake has been repeated in the inscription on the stone inset by Mr. Nevill, C.C.S., into the historic tamarind tree wnder which Knox was captured at Cottiar.

The ‘Ann’s’ first destination after arriving in India was Gumroone. 1 The elder Knox appears to have fallen foul of the Company, and no less than three protests were lodged against him. From Gumroone he returned to Surat, the port of which was then known as ‘ Swalley Marine,’ a possible transliteration of c Swahili,’ a port.

He was quite right to refuse to go to Bantam, which was then being blockaded by the Dutch. It seems pro-bable that he did go to Achin in Sumatra. In any case he was at Masulipatam ‘^on the 19th November, 1659, when the £ Ann ’ was dismasted in the cyclone.

Southern India is a treeless country and to get a new mast, the ‘ Ann ’ had to go to Cottiar, where the father and son and sixteen of the crew were held in bondage, and where the father died in 1661 at the age of fifty-five.

There was’ no imprudence to account for their falling into the hands of the Sinhalese, for in 1648 John Burford

had stayed many days, finding a Christian town and travelling as much as thirty miles inward.

The causes of their detention were :

(i) a quaint whim of King Rajah Singho to make a sort of menagerie of European captives ;

(ii) the jealousy of the Dutch at the possibility of English intervention ;

3 Bandarabas in the Persian Gulf.

2 Matlipatan.

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(iii) the disinclination of the captives themselves to make a determined effort to escape.

They were evidently in a state of abject terror of the tyrant who held them in bondage, but it is also highly probable that most of them had fallen into a lotus-eating phase, and found Ceylon a sailors 5 paradise or Fiddler's Green after the hard life of a Cromwellian fbc'sle.

After their captivity the crew of the c Ann 5 seemed to think that they were neglected by the Company. As a matter of fact much pains and trouble were taken, and considerable money spent in their behalf.

An Accot of the JLosse & Damage by sending a Vessel from Fort St George to Zeilon to Redeeme ye English Captives on sd Island wch Vessell was Impeeded & brought back by a Dutch Shipp, who mett her within six Leagues of her Port. As per Protestes etc. appeare.

6 Feb. 1664.

Paid for a Boate being purposely bought

to

Pa

Fa Ca

redeeme the English Captives etc.

–

IOO.

–

Paid for a Cable for Ditto Boate wth

15

Mds. Roapes for ye use of ye premen–

coned Boate –

*7–

30 –

Laid out by Thomas Dyas his accot

for

Laskars Wages etc. Charges in said

Boate –

–

70.

–

For a Persian Horse sent to ye King

of

Candie, but ye Dutch Stopping

ye

Vessell he remavning so long aboard

yt ever since hath bin diseased &

is

now dead – – – –

–

150–

–

Pa.

337–

30. –

which at 10 – per Pa, the

lb.

s.

Principall losse is –

Sterl.168

19. –

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Knox and his four c com pleat batchelors ' of Legun-
denya, two of whom fell from grace, saved themselves
from espionage by refusing to contract alliances with
native women. When, at last, he and Stephen Rutland
did make a serious attempt to escape, they had little diffi-
culty in effecting their purpose. Others, also, got away
from tini£ to time, and Hubbard, who did not reach
England until 1706, had a unique record of returning
home at last after practically fifty years' absence in
captivity.

The c Ann '

c that fatal and perfidious bark
Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,'

as Milton sang at this time, continued a luckless career,

and the letter book of the East India Company quaintly
tells her end : /

Wee are glad you approve of ye sale of ye ANNE wch aftei much
Cost and expence in Voyadgeing to Arracan to have made her a
firme & serviceable shipp, she came over in February last unfitted,
and laid her Ribbs at Narzapore sands occasioned by ye indiscretion
of those that went upon her, and though wee know your Losse
hath bin much, yet ours much greater.

The last pitiable letter of Vassall and March rings down
the curtain as far as written history goes on the English
captives in the hands of Rajah Singho.

To the Right Honble President

of the English Nation of Madrass.

Candy ye 7th March 1690

Right Honble Sr,

Wee thank God and allso Yor Honour for
your remembering us after soe many years ; Yor Honour's Letter
by this More ye 26 August 1689 : wee have seen but feare he can

doe but little good as to ye ; procuring our liberty for this pretends
not to deliver us to any but our owne nation but if your Honour
would send a shipp to some port of this Island to demand us hapes
might obtaine our libertyes ; here are yett liveing Vizt : William
Vassall, Thomas March, and Richard Gelfe, of ye 4 Persia Mer-
chants ' Company, John Berry, William Huband, and George
Smith of 4 Annes ' Company, Abraham Grace, Efcivid Michell, and
David Branch of the 4 Herberts' Company, Robert Munda, and
Henry Dod, of the 4 Rochesters ' Company allso 2 Cofferyes the
English all a 11 : Wee are in a very missarable condition, God of
his mercy looke upone us, and Inable us to beare what he shall
please to lay upone us with patience, it is a very daingerous
thing to write ; for if it should be known wee should suffer very
severely 5 Wee beseech yor: Honour to pardon our un decent
writeing, as to our want of necessaryes if yor: Honrs Charity
pleas to send us any releife by this Conveyance as allso what news
of late Years (for here wee can here nothing of truth) wee should
bee very glad being in very great necessity e and sadness, so praying
to ye Allmighty God to Bless Yor: Honour in all your affaires.
Wee commit Yor: Honour to his holy protection and Remaine
Your Honrs Most Humble Servants

William Vassall
Thomas March.

Rt Honble Sr:

I left at my comeing out of England my Father
four brothers and A Sister liveing in a very prosperous condition
(and ?) should bee very glad to hear if any of them be liveing for
ye old saying is trew Tempora Mutantur etc. Nos Mutamur abillis
but they have I suppose given me our for Dead.

(Yor:) Honrs Most humble Servant

Do: William Vassall.

Knox's autobiography, now printed for the first time,
tells us pretty fully of his after life. Some difficulty
appears to have arisen, after his return, between himself
and his family to which he alludes. It is quite probable

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that twenty years deferred interest might have mounted
up to a sum which his sister could not possibly pay, and
Knox was pretty certain to claim to the uttermost farthing.
This is, however, mere supposition.

That he should have deliberately gone kidnapping
slaves, after his own captivity on which he harps so much,
is a ciyious* commentary on how the Puritans of his
time wrested Scripture to suit their own ends.

The curse of Ham was a very real thing from the
days of stout Sir John Hawkins, who started the trade,
to the time of Zachary Macaulay. The slave traders kept
the law to the letter, for there was no enslavement of the
inhabitants of India or of China, and their simple ethnology
failed to recognise that the Malagasy is not Negro but
Malay.

Knox's little incursion into piracy, and his constant
bickering and squabbling with crews and super-cargoes,
merchants and directors, make somewhat unpleasant
reading. Still, misogynist and grumbler, with a command
of the Bible which he had incorporated into his system, he
was charitable, as was the way with the seafaring men
of those day$.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for our general impression of
his veracity that he should have magnified the tonnage and
gunnage of the ' Tonquin Merchant.'

It may be as well to note that in 1683, on his return

from his first voyage in the ‘ Tonquin Merchant,’ Knox had an hour’s audience of Charles II. What a loss to posterity it is that Samuel Pepys has not preserved for us the details of this interview. We can imagine that there were certain Sinhalese manners and customs that would have appealed to the Merry Monarch.

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Knox’s relative, Mrs. Bonnell, seems to have made some effort to entrap him into perhaps a direr bondage than his captivity in 4 Zeylon.’ She writes to Strype on March 31st, 1702, saying :

Indeed Capt Knoxes Rudeness in his letter did not at all move my resentment. I rather pittied his ill manners and unjust aspersion of me, but I have suffered too mucii to Jet such trifles ruffle me, but I thought it was necessary to let him know huffing at abbusife treatment should not provoke my charity, and indeed I had given it so largely to that poor cupple in his absence that I could not continue an addition to what was promast without suffering for it.

On October 3rd of the same year she writes :

I thank you for your account of Capt Knox. I assure yu I am very glad to here of his wellfear, for such trifles as his rude letter never sticks with me. If he be naturally rude and un-polished it would be unreasr^able in l^e to expect that he should change his nature on my account.

At last, at the age of nearly eighty, Knox died on 19th June, 1720, leaving behind him considerable sub-stance as shown in his will. This document reads as follows :

This is the last Will and testament of mr Robt Knox of London Mariner, and Son or Robt Knox who dyed on Ceylon in ye East Indies.

Forasmuch as Death is most Certaine : and ye time place and manner most uncertaine, therefore now in ye time of my health I Robt Knox have wrote this all with my owne hand, which is to stand and be in full force after my Death, for my last Will and Testament, and I doe hereby make null and void and Revoke all former Wills whatsoever, tho I know of none : And whatsoever I am possessed of is given me by Gods Blessing on my hazardous and painfull indeavours, I doe hereby Cut of and Bar all Claimes and Pretentions whatsoever as Heires at : or by Law to my estate,

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and although! this may not be worded according to ye usuall forme in Law, yet Nevertheless it is my true intent and meaning that this is and shall be my last Will and Testament, and let all Concerned Remember this fearfull Malediction to those who act otherwise on any pretence Whatsoever viz. Exod. 22.22 ver : and Deut. io & 18:27: Chap 17: 19: ver. And I doe hereby ordain e and appoint Edward Lascelles my owne Sisters Son to be my Sole-Executor and he ye said Edward Lascelles, having paid and performed all ye Leguces etc hereafter mentioned, all ye rest and remainder of my estate is and shall be his owne, and for his owne use, without further or other account for ye same y as given him by this my Will and not otherwise.

First. I doe hereby give to my Niece Rebecka Ward Grand Daughter to my father viz : My Silver bowl or montith and ye large Silver Salver ; and Silver Chocolatt pott : and my repeating Clock in an ebony frame, and my Red Silk flowred quilt, and my picture ingraven on a Copper plate in Remembrance of me ; more my affections would have given her ; had her circumstances required it.

Secondly I doe hereby give to Abigail Lessingham now Smith, Grand daughter to my owne Sister, my two Silver Sconces and more three hundred pounds in money to be paid to her in 30 dayes after my death.

Thirdly I doe here by give to Edward Lascelles my Executor all my bookes and papers, boath written and printed (Ceylon Excepted) with all Bonds ; Bills or notes for money which is all my estate out of which he is pay Leguces. And what remaines after Leguces etc are paid is for himselfe and for his owne use.

Fourthly I doe here by give to Knox Ward who beareth my Name viz : My Booke of Ceylon with Maniscripts of my owne Life — and my Ceylone Knife, and a picture on board with 3 Ships, And 2 Silver hiked Swords, And 2 pairc of Pistols, and 2 Silver headed Caines, and 4 ebony Chaires, with 4 blew velvet Cushons and my Ceder Chists of Draws, ye ceder I brought from Berbados, and ye ebony I

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Cut my Selfe at ye Hand of Maurushus and m\ Steele Seale with yc Knoxes Coate of Armcs 1 I had from Scot-land, and my Sea beadstead with a flock e bed and 2 feather

pillows, and a bolster and a small painted quilt, and a
Carpet and also a Water pott with a Silver Cover and
my Ring Dyall and Sea-quadron, and my Load Stone
and Anchor which was ye Handle Robert Boyles and after
Dr Rob. Hooke and my Commition under ye^reat Seale
of England, all to keepe in Remembrance of me.

Note all ye rest of my goods Stuff and lumber is here-
after given to Susanna Bartlett Sener or her children if
dead.

fiftly I doe hereby give to Hester Harrison Niece to Cousen
John Strypc who is a poore indigent Widow twenty pounds
to be paid to her Selfe within 30 dayes after my Death.

Slxtly I doe hereby give and bequeath to ye 4 children of
Susanna Bartlett Sen, \iz. to Elizabeth Bartlett two
hundred pounds, To Susanna Sartlett Jun, two hundred
pounds, To Frances Bartlett two hundred pounds, To
Beniamen Bartlett one hundred pound to be paid to them-
selves in lawfull mony of England within 30 dayes after
my Death.

Beniamen being beyound the Seas, his one hundred pound
to be paid to his order when he shall either come or send
to demand ye same.

Seventhly I doc hereby give and bequeath to Susanna Bartlett
Senr two hundred pounds to be paid to her Selfe within 30
dayes after my Death in lawfull mony of England and I
doe also give to her Susanna Bartlett Sen. all the remainder
of my goods or household stuff, as mentioned in ye 4 article
of this my Will (and not before given) for her owne use
without further or other account for ye same, By goods I
meane all my Cloath, boath lining and Woolling, Silke and

1 The arms mentioned by Knox are : Gu. an eagle displayed or, with
m orle engrayled eounter-engrayled argent. Crest — an eagle head
:ouped between the wings or.

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Bcding- China Ware and ye remainder of my plate etc.
lumber of any sort whatsoever and I charge you Ed:
Lascelles my Sole Executor before God to be punctual!
in performing all this that I have given, lest ye cryes of the
Widdow and fatherlesse come up to heaven against you, and
your Iott be a curse instead of a blessing and Remember

(Luke 4 & 26) that thought there were many Widows in Israel l°yet to none of them was Elias sent but to Zarephath, a City of Sidon to a woman yt was a Widow.

Eightly I doc appoint one hundred pounds for my finerall Charges Rings etc. Strictly forbidding all vaine gaudy Cerimonies, and if any be left give it to ye Poore without delay :

I find it natural to desire to be buried by parents by my father it cannot be ; who was Buried by my hands on the Hand of Ceylone in ye East Indies — but my Mother was buried at Wimbleton, in ye County of Surry in ye Chancell of ye Ch$xh in Anno 1655 or 1656. If it Could be my desire is to be buried there by her, it being ye towne where I was brought up when a Boy and where God often Spoake to my Conscience in my Mineority, and I doe hereby order my Executor Edward Lascelles to give to ye poore where my Corps are buried fifty pounds with-out delay and to be disposed of with his Advice and Concent. •

Note this my Will all wrote with my owne hand and it is my full intent yt it should stand and remaine in full force and vertue for my last Will and testament and that all ye remainder of my Estate (After discharged) are and shall be for the use of Edward Lascelles my Sole Executor and Sisters Son.

Written in London this thirtieth day of November Anno 17 1 1 in witneth whereof I signe with my owne hand and have fixed hereunto my owne Seale 30 Nov. 1711.

Roet Knox,

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Perhaps the only note that is necessary with regard to this document is that the Ceylon Knife which he leaves to his nephew Knox Ward, Clarencieux Herald, was not the knife which is alluded to in the narrative of his escape, but is one which was given to him by his Dutch fellow captive, whom he met at Cochin in after years, he also having escaped. It was then* that Knox wrote the letter to his surviving fellow captives which is given in his autobiography.

Knox's literary friends were numerous and influential. Sir Christopher Wren, who gave his imprimatur , was President of the Royal Society at the time of his publica-tion. Robert Hooke was his life-long friend, and wrote the ' verses ' which adorn Knox's portrait. Hooke was linguist and inventor ; he died, as Knox quaintly says, a

‘ mizer,’ with ,£30,000 in his stroag-box in cash.

Daniel Defoe knew Knox. He quotes from him in extenso in Captain Singleton , and the immortal Quaker who contrived to serve both God and Mammon in that work, smacks somewhat strongly of Knox himself. It is worth noting that Robinson Crusoe was published but a few months before Knox’s death* and its intro-spective and religious passages strongly resemble Knox’s account of his own religious difficulties in captivity.

£ An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies,’ on which Knox’s literary fame has rested until now, was written on his passage home from Ceylon after his escape and was printed by £ Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1681.’ It was published with the approval of the Royal Society and of the East India Company, and Knox tells us that ‘ it hath found such

eptance of this present generation that all the bookes .t were printed are bought up & many more would /e bin bought if were to be had & also that it :h bin translated into Dutch & french.’ In another ce he notes, as a reason for not reprinting, that when sold the c Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich. Chiswell, ir., I gave him my Bond that neither my selfe nor any ■ me should ever reprint the same.’

The Autobiography is bound up with a copy of the listorical Relation 5 in the Bodleian Library. This copy irs the signature of Knox Ward, Clarencieux King of ms, who was Knox’s nephew and bequeathed the lume to the Bodleian. It is contained in 127 folio ^es, and there are also at the beginning of the volume pages of manuscript, continued over on to the back the printed fly-leaf. Jfhis is signed June 19th, 1696. In making this transcription the manuscript has been ictly followed, except that the contractions 4 yt ’ for iat,’ 4 ye ’ for 4 the,’ ‘ wth ’ for 4 with,’ and 4 wch ’ for r hich’ have been extended: the letters i, j, u, and ff * F have been used according to modern custom, and the nctuation, which in the manuscript is very irregular and netimes altogether wanting, has been slightly modified. References to the folios of the original manuscript, d side notes, have been inserted in the margin, and lere the numbering of the pages has been incorrectly ide in the manuscript, both the incorrect and correct

imberings are given.

To the original illustrations in the 4 Historical Relation ’ ∗re have been added the portrait of Knox, from the graving inserted in the volume in the Bodleian, a rsimile specimen of Knox’s writing and signature from

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the Autobiography, the Knox coat of arms, and a view of the tree, which is still standing at Cottiar, under which Knox and his companions were captured. I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Cave for permission to use this illustration, the original photograph having been taken by Captain John Stewart of the Black Watch.

I have to thank the Hon. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Mr. H. L. Codrington, C.C.S., for much invaluable help in the preparation of this edition, and it is a matter of deep regret to me that Mr. Donald Ferguson is not alive to witness the issue for the first time of the autobiography of Knox. I have also to thank his widow for a copy of Mr. Ferguson’s Biography of Knox, with many valuable MS. notes. To Mr. Arthur Hayward I am indebted for much secretarial assistance.

James Ryan.

The Itinerary of Knox’s Flight as shown in his Map.

Name as spelled by Knox.
Elledat
2 (Hill Bocawl)
Ecckrowat
(Dedero weya)
Paunegum
Rombadagol
1 Bondercoosewatt
1 Nicovarr (gravet)
E rede nne
Dempitigall
1 Porooagh
Nicotticum
Honopoologom •

(Caula weya)
Duelwaya
Conn~vava
1 Coluela
1 (Malwat weya)

1 (Anurodgburro)

Modern Sinhalese
equivalent.

Eladetta

Bokawala

Ikiriwatta

(Deduru Oya)

Paimagama

Ramboxiagalla

Koswatta

Nikavebera

Irideniya (?)

Dempitigala

Parawaha (gama)

Nikatagama

Hunupolagama

(Kala Oya)

(?) Eliya Diwulwewa
Konwewa
Kaluvila
(Mulwatu Oya)
(Anuradhapura)

District.

Udunuwara

Harispattu

Madure Korale, 7 K.

do.

do.

Ihala Visideka K.

Ihala Otota K.
Parawaha K. N.C.P.
do.
do.

Negatnpaha N.C.P.
do.

Eppawala K. N.C.P.

(?)

Nuwaragama K. N.C.P.

1 The places thus marked are mentioned by Knox in the account of his escape.

2 This place is mentioned in his account, but not shown on the map.

This Booke vras wrote by mee Robert Knox (the sonu of Robert Knox who died one the Hand of Zelone) when I was aboute 39 years of Age. I was taken prisoner one Zelone, 4 th A prill, 1660. I was borne one Tower hill in London, 8 th Feb: 1641. My Age when taken was 19 years: 1 Month & 27 dayes. Continewed prisoner thare 19 years 6 month 14 dayes So that I was a prisoner thare 4 Month & 17 dayes longer then I had lived in the world before, &c one the 18 October 1679 God set mee free from that Captivity, being then with the Hollanders at Arepa fort to whome be all Glory & prayse.

^Robert Knox, 1696 in London.

In my passage to England from Bantam, in Anno 1679 I wrote this Booke, 3 Reasons Induced mee so to doe: first to Record Gods great mercies in so plentifully sustaining me in the land of myne enimies in despite of those who boath invied & hated mee & sent to mee thare his most sacred Word the wholy Bible in my owne native language even whare the name of the true God is not known, & after a Detainement of 19 yeares 6 months & 14 dayes his providence so disposed of & directed mee

to escape thence with the first, & Conducted me safe whome to my Native Country, all the perticulars thareof ought to be remembred by me to my lives end, for he hath fulfilled to me his promise; Deute 30 Chap, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 verses which I often called to mind in that land whare I was a Stranger to my great Comfort & Consolation, lest time should ware them out of my mind. Secondly : that after my death if had died by the way my Relations might know what became of my Father (& how & after

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

what manner the Almighty had dealt with mee which 1 could not but thinke they would be glad to be informed of.

3 Thirdly to excercise my hand to wright for in all the time of my Captivity, I had neither pen Inke nor paper & now as a man new borne I came into the world, so made it part of my buisnesse to learne to write & for the afforesaid reasons, thought this would be a f fitt subject to imploy my pen one, but then intended it noe further.

After I came to London the East india Company haveing heard I had bin dilligent in writing papers in my passage desired a sight of what I had wrote (if it ware not a secret) so I presented my papers to theire view : they being of some bulke could not presently peruse them but bad me leave them tel next Court day & S l Josiah Child said he would carry them whome with him to peruse ; next Court day he delivered them to mee againe saying in his opinion they might well be printed, the papers Containing many new & Strainge Stories. The Court of Committies advised mee the same *then I asked theire leave to dedicate the booke to themselves which they readily granted, & by the assistance of my Cousen John Strype a Minister who Composed it into heads & Chapters for my papers ware promiscuous & out of forme with severall inlargements one such heads as I had but touched briefely which then my memory was fit to doe haveing the very Idea or representation of what* I wrote so perfectly in my mind, by my longe detainement & Conversation thare as if they had bin visible to my sight & so it came to the booke you see.

And since I have severall times Considerately read over the same, & doe find nothing to disagree from the very truth to my Certaine knowledge, but onely note in page (46) whare in I write that the old King poysond his onely sonn, but since at my being at the City of Batavia 1 am certainely informed that at the old Kings Death that very sonn succeeded his father, & reigneth King in his stead, & hath setled a peace with the Hollanders, & releaced all

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Captives of theire nation that ware in his dominions, now I see that the old Kinge Raja-Singah by his craft hath Imposed one all the people of his Country, whare I thinke not one doubted of the truth of his death, more then my selfe, but when I wrote that he poysoned his son it was so generally beleeved & in truth I beleeve then nobody (unlesse those that attended his person) knew better. I thinke I need* not doubte of any Readers pardon that I have incerted a lye, for if they themselves had bin upon the place they might as safely have bin deceaved as my selfe, but I must Confesse it is some Injury to my old Master Raja Singah whose Tyrany without this Act was not inferiour to any, yet my offence ought to be pardoned since he himselfe was the onely cause that made all people thare beleeve it.

This that I have said is the true Cause how my Scribled papers came to be published in print which at the wright-ing heere of I never thought worthy troubling the world with, I haveing since, the Death of my father (whome I buried with my own'e hands) had such Ample experience of Gods wonderfull & peculiar providence over mee ought not to let them passe unregarded & from thence I make this Inference viz* that obedience to Parence is not with-out reward even in this life. In fo: 119 my father stricketly charged me as I would answer before Almighty God & one his Blessing when I was sent one board, to returne one shore to him againe Althought at that time when I went one board thare was but little apperence of any other Condition then slavery yet I blesse God the Scence of that Great Charge, my Fathers Blessing, so animated my heart that I set it higher then life without it, & althought I continewed in a longe Captivity yet I was Compased aboute with so many peculiar Blessings & such Composuer of mind that I never found cause to repent of my obedience to my father, although I suffered Captivity thareby. 1 further note that my escape (which was carried one in a Chaine of providences) followed the prediction of my dying father.

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And when I came whome to my Native Country of England I was Destitute both of mony & friends finding

but very little that my father left mee : & my abillity for any Imployment lesse, then did he set the heart of S l Josiah Child a man great in power, to doe mee good & since God hath strangely preserved mee, & blessed mee. From hence I further observe it was one of my fathers Charges to me one his deathbead to talfe care of my Brother & Sister, both which I found living at my returne to England after 23 years absence, but how could I per-forme this Charge of my Dying father, when they boath ware in a fitter Capassity to take care of mee who had nothing to helpe my selfe, yet his providence straingely enabled mee to performe this Charge for my portion of patrimony was devided betweene my Brother and Sister : the latter paid mee, but my Brother told me he was not able to doe it, but God made mee able notwithstanding my poverty franckely to remitt it to him. My Brother & Sister are boath Dead & have nqe further neede : the Blessing of God to mee is such that now it is in the power of my hand to be helpfull my fathers Grand-Children.

Those passages that I have writen Concerning Gods dealings with mee seemes to mee so remarkeable that I cannot omitt to leave them upon Record to my Relations & friends (mistake mee not) I looke not one those great Blessings from God to come as a reward o*r Meritt one my obedience, but from the faithfullnesse of God in fully performing his promise, made Exodus 20 & verse 12 as he did the other promise Deut: 30 & verse 1 to 5, which was an introduction to the other.

Neither did the speciall Care of Gods providence over me Commence at & after my deliverance, but was signally manifested to mee During the whole time of my Captivity, as by this Booke doth appeare for I wanted nothing nesses-sary but a deliverance, which he also gave me in his dew time.

I have often thought of David who accounted it a great

mercie that his enimies did not triumph over him : What a mercie did I injoy when my enemies ware my Servants which leadeth mee to apply his words to my selfe Psal: 107, verse 1, 2, 3. ‘ O give thankes to the Lord for he is good for his mercie endureth for ever. Let the Redeemed of the Lord say so whome he hath redeemed from the hand of the pnemy, & gathered them out of the lands, from the East & from the West & from the North & from the South,’ & from these words I put to my selfe two questions, first, wheather I am one of those Redeemed

ones ; if not, who they are. Secondly, wheather it was not onely God that Redeemed mee, or any other meanes or power.

In answer to the first : Surely my Soule thou art the Man in expresse words of the Psalme ‘ Redeemed from the hand of the Enemy : & gathered from a strange land’ this hath thou seene fulled upon thy selfe, so that if thou be not a Redeemed one thare never was such a one upon earth.

Secondly. I saw all externall meanes faile, as the Inter-session of the Dutch & English Nations in that behalfe that I might see the Clearer that my deliverance sprange onely from God, as in Proverbs 16, Chapt., 1, Verse, ‘the preparation of the heart in man & the Answer of the Tongue is from the Lord,’ & verse 9 ‘a mans heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps ’ : & in Chapt 19 verse 21 ‘thare are many Devices in a mans heart neverthelesse the Counsel of the Lord that shall stand ’ : & in Chapt 20, verse 24. ‘ Mans goeing are of the Lord, how can a man then understand his owne way ’ & Chapt 2 1 & 30 verse ‘ thare is noe wisdome nor Counsell nor understanding against the Lord : & Chapt 16 ver. 33, ‘ the Lott is Cast into the lap but the whole disposing thareof is of the Lord ;’ these texts of Scripture I conte as proofs to my selfe that my Soule may say in thanksgiving it was onely the Lord God that Redeemed mee from all Adversities & this I put upon Record with full proofe to my Soule, as Josuah did to Israeli in the like Case that I

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may not forgitt my God that in a peculier manner hath redeemed mee & since Continewed his Carefull providence over mee : that now I may Rightly apply Davids words in Psalme 30 & x x & 1 2 verses to my selfe, ‘ Thou hath turned for mee my Morning into Danceing, thou hath put off my sackecloath & girded mee with gladnesse ’ : 1 2 to the end £ that my Glory may singe prayse fp thee & not be silent, O Lorde my God I will give thankes to. thee for ever.’ Amen.

Since in this Booke I have given some account of some passages of my life during the dayes of my Captivity, I will heere Add some what Concerning the dayes of my Minority before I was taken Captive one the Hand of Zelone.

In the time of my Childhood I was Cheiefely brought up under the education of my Mother, my Father generally

being at Sea, a Commander of a ship that traded in the Medeteranian Seas. She was a woman of extraordinary Piety : God was in all her thoughts? as appeered by her frequent discourses & Godly exhortations to us her Children to teach us the knowledge of God, & to love, feare & serve him in our youths. It was alwayes her practice while she with my Sister ware Kniting or Sowing, to set mee to read by them in the Bible, or some other Godly booke, alwayes earnestly exhorting us to the feare of God & not at noe time to omitt priviatt Morning & evening prayers, for which use she gave mee the Pracktise of Piety, & was in my pocket when taken thare.

I may say by Gods Blessing one my Mothers frequent Godly exhortations God spake to my Consiance in my Childhood for I well remember at the Reading Hebrew 1 2 & 8 verse ‘ but if ye be without Chastisement, whareof all are partakers, then are ye Bastards & not sonns ’ it troubled my mind that I had noe affliction, & lived without want : but his providence since hath remooved the Cause of that Doubte & brought me up in the schoole of Afflictions, & given me seasonable & nessesary stripes,

but so moderately as not to discourage but Correct me, & keepe me from Security, Wantonnesse, Stupidity & Contempt of holy things, & might spoyle all temptations to Ambition, worldlynesse, voluptiousnesse & fleshly lusts that now I can unfaignedly say with David, viz 1 c it is good for mee that I have bin afflicted.’

When I was grown big enough I was sent to a hording schoole at Rofiamton, to D r James fleetwood (my father then dwelling at Wimbleton, in Surry) who since was Bishop of Worcester. An unhappie accident hapned by my hand, when I was aboute 9 years of age, one Christ-masse Eve one of my fathers servants had bin a shooting small birds in the feild, & came whome & set up his gun against the house wall, Charged but not primed, for all his powder was spent, which was the Cause he came whome for more : whilds he was gone in to fill his home with powder, I tooke up the Gun & presented it at the tame pegeons that sat one a low backe house. I understood to cocke the Gun : Nlf Brother standing by me one the ground in the intremm the maid came to fetch in my brother, & tooke him up in her armes he being then aboute 2 or 3 years old & the gun longe & heavie that I could not well hold it up it went of & hit my brother right in his left eye. He was not then above 6 yards from the muzell of the gun, all the shot except very few

fell directly into his eye, at which the same Servant was sent imediately to London to advise my father of what had hapned who that day came whome with a Surgion who by Gods blessing cured my Brother with onely the losse of the eye, that he lived to see me after my Captivity.

When I was aboute 14 years of Age my father had built him a new ship (the same I was taken in) & my inclination was strongly bent for the Seas, but my father much avarce to make me a Seaman it hapned some Sea Capts coming to see him, amounge other discourse, I standing by, asked my father if I was not to goe with him to Sea. Noe, saith my father, I intend my Sonn shall be a tradsman ; they put the question to me, l answered to goe

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to Sea was my whole desire, at which they soone turned my father saying this new ship, when you have done goeing to sea will be as good as a plentiful! estate to your So nn, & it is pitty to crosse his good inclination since commondly younge men doe best in that Calling they have most mind to be in, & one the 7 Decem r 1655 I went with my father from the Bounds bound for the East indies, first to fort St George, & thence to Bengali, & returned whome full laden to London in July Anno 1657,

At this time the old East india Company ware suncke & next to nothing that we ware a free ship. Without delay my father fitted his ship for a Second East India voiage but before we Could gitt out to sea Cromwell had set up this Company, & forbid all others : the ship was then ready fitted for the east indies, therefore faint to lett her to serve the Company & we sailed out of the Downs the 21 Jan: 1657. This was that fatall voiage in which I lost my father & my selfe, & the prime of my time for buisnesse & preferment for 23 years tell Ann6<~i6So, tell God in his mercy visitted mee, for the East india Company in whose Service 29 men ware taken, used noe other meanes (to save Charges I beleeve) then letters, & after my returne whome they gave mee for a grata ety twenty pounds, & ten pounds to Stephen that came with me, which stands as Gratuities upon Record, under our owne hands in the Companies Generali Receipt booke at the Eafet India house in London, 1680.

When God brought me out of my Captivity, I had lesse then when I was in it for I left all behind mee & fled, so that I lived one the Charity of the Hollanders who ware exceedingly bountifull to me & Stephen my Companion although strangers to theire Nation that in truth I beleeve

in Cloaths & monie (besides victuals) we had not lesse then fifty pounds starling in valew. The Cloaths they gave mee served me some years after & more they would have done tor me but I was too fond of my Native Country & stood in my owne light. This I testifie under my owne hand in London the 19 th day of June Anno 1696. Rob* Knox,

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Facsimile of Knox's Handwriting

autobiography

A t the end of this Booke I intend to write somewhat Concerning severall remarkeable passages of my Me that hath hapned since my deliverance out of my Captivity that they may stand upon Record for my owne Rememberance lest I should forgitt the goodnesse of the Lord.

At the Court of Committees for the East-India Company the 10 th of Augifst, 1 68 1 .

i!E Esteem Captain Knox a Man of Truth and Integrity, and that his Relations and Accounts of the Island of Ceylon (which some of us have

lately Perused in Manuscripts) are worthy of Credit, and therefore encouraged him to make the same Publick.

Robert Blackbourne, Secretary.

By Order of the said Court.

August 8. 1 68 1 .

Mr. Chiswell,

Perused Capt. Knox's Description of the Isle of Ceylon, which seems to be Written with great Truth and Integrity ; and the Subject being new, containing an Account of a People and Countrey little known to us ; I conceive it may give great Satisfaction to the Curious, and may be well worth your Publishing.

Chr. Wren.

AN

Hiftorical Relation
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CEYLON,

IN THE

EAST-INDIES:

TOGETHER,

With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in
Captivity the/ Author and divers other
Englifhmen now Living there, and of the
Author’s Miraculous ESCAPE.

Illuftrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.

By ROBERT KNOX, a Captive there
near Twenty Years.

LONDON,

Printed by Richard Chipwell , Printer to the
Royal Society, at the Rofe and Crown in
St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1 68 1 .

To the Right Worshipful The Governor, the
Deputy-Governor, and Four and Twenty
Committees of the Honorable the East-India
Company, Viz.

Sir Josiah Child Baronet, Governor.
Thomas Papilion Esq ; Deputy.

The Right Honorable George
Earl of Berkley,

Sir Joseph Ashe Baronet,

Sir Samuel BarnardistorfBaro-
net.

Mr. Christopher Boone,

Mr. Thomas Canham,
Colonel John Clerke,

Mr. John Cudworth,

John Dubois Esquire,

Sir James Edwards Knight,
and Alderman,

Richard Hutchinson Esquire,
Mr. Joseph Herne,

Mr. William Hedges.

Sir John Lawrence Knight,
and Alderman,

Mr. Nathaniel Letton,

Sir John Moore Knight,
and Alderman,

Samuel Moyer Esquire,
Mr. John Morden,

Mr. John Paige,

Edward Rudge Esquire,
Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke,
Mr. William Sedgwick,
Robert Thomson Esquire,
Samuel Thomson Esquire.
James Ward Esquire.

Right Worshipful,

'Hat I formerly Presented you in Writing, having in pursuance of your Commands now somewhat dress'd by the help of the Printer and Graver, I a second time humbly tender to you. 'Tis I confess at best too mean a Return for your great Kindness to

me. Yet I hope you will not deny it a favourable Acceptance, since 'tis the whole Return I made from the Indies after Twenty years stay there ; having brought

home nothing else but

(who is also wholly at your

Service and Command)

Robert Knox.

London i&t. of August, 16S1.

The Preface

Ow much of the present Knowledge of the Parts of the World is owing to late Discoveries, may be judged by comparing the Modern with the Ancient's Accounts thereof ; though possibly many such Histories may have been written in former Ages, yet few have scaped the Injury of Time, so as to be handed safe to us. 'Twas many Ages possibly before Writing jras known, then known to a few, and made use of by fewer, and fewest employ'd it to this purpose. Add to this, that such as were written, remain'd for the most part Imprison'd in the Cells of some Library or Study, accessible to a small number of Mankind, and regarded by a less, which after perished with the Place or the Decay of their own Substance. This we may judge from the loss of those many Writings mention'd by Pliny, and other of the Ancients, And we had yet found fewer, if the Art of Printing, first Invented about 240 years since, had not secured most that lasted to that time. Since which, that Loss has been repaired by a vast number of new Accessions, which besides the Satisfaction they have given to Curious and Inquisitive Men by increasing their Knowledge, have excited many more to the like Attempts, not only of Making but of Publishing also their Dis-coveries. But I am not ignorant still ; that as Discoveries have been this way preserved, so many others have been lost, to the great Detriment of the Publick. It were very desirable therefore that the Causes of these and other

THE PREFACE

Defects being known, some Remedies might be found to prevent the like Losses for the future.

The principal Causes I conceive may be these ;

First, The want of sufficient Instructions (to Seamen and Travellers,) to shew them what is pertinent and considerable, to be observ'd in their V oyages and Abodes, and how to make their Observations and keep Registers or Accounts of them.

Next, The want of some Publick Incouragement for such as shall perform such Instructions.

Thirdly, The want of fit Persons both to Promote and Disperse such Instructions to Persons fitted to engage, and careful to Collect Returns ; and Compose them into Histories ; by examining the Persons more at large upon those and other Particulars. And by separating what is pertinent from what is not so, and to be Rejected ; who should have also wherewith to gratifie every one according to his Performances.

Fourthly, The want of some eSisie Way to have all such Printed : First singly, and afterwards divers of them together. It having been found that many small Tracts are lost after Printing, as well as many that are never Printed ; upon which account we are much oblig'd to Mr. Haclute and Mr. Purchas, for preserving many such in their Works.

Fifthly, The want of taking care to- Collect all such Relations of Voyages and Accounts of Countries as have been Published in other Languages, and Translating them either into English, or (which will be of more general use) into Latin, the learned Language of Europe. There being many such in other Countries hardly ever heard of in England.

The Difficulties of removing which Defects is not so great but that it might easily fall even within the compass of a private Ability to remove, if at least Publick Authority would but Countenance the Design, how T much less then would it be if the same would afford also some moderate Encouragement and Reward?

Illuftrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.

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& Pants Church-yard , i 6 8

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The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, has not been wanting in preparing and dispersing Instructions to this end, and is ready still to promote it, if the Publick would allow a Recompence to the Undertakers. The desirableness and facility of this Undertaking may, I hope, in a short time produce the Expedients also. In the Interim all means should be used, to try what may be obtain'd from the Generosity of such as have had the Opportunities of knowing Foreign Countries.

There are but few who, though they know much, can yet be persuaded they know any thing worth Communicating, and because the things are common and well known to them, are apt to think them so to the rest of Mankind ; This Prejudice has done much mischief in this particular as well as in many other, and must be first remov'd. There are others that are conscious enough of their own Knowledge, and yet either for want of Ability to write well, or of use to £k>mpose, or of time to Study and Digest, or out of Modesty and fear to be in Print, or because they think they know not enough to make a Volume, or for not being prompted to, or earnestly solicited for it, neglect to do it ; others delay to do it so long till they have forgotten what they intended. Such as these Importunity would prevail upon to disclose their knowledge, if fitting Persons were found to Discourse and ask them Questions, and to Compile the Answers into a History. Of this kind was lately produc'd in High Dutch a History of Greenland, by Dr. Fogelius of Hamborough, from the Information of Frederick Martin, who had made several Voyages to that Place, in the doing of which, he made use of the Instruction given by the Royal Society.

'Tis much to be wondred that we should to this Day want a good History of most of our West-Indian Plantations. Ligon has done well for the Barbadoes, and somewhat has been done for the Summer Islands, Virginia, &c. But how far are all these short even of the knowledge of these and other Places of the West-Indies, which may

be obtain'd from divers knowing Planters now Residing in London? And how easie were it to obtain what is Defective from some Ingenious Persons now Resident upon the Places, if some way were found to gratifie them for their Performances ? However till such be found, 'tis to be hoped that the kind Acceptance only the PubKck shall give to this present Work, may excite several other Ingenuous, and knowing Men to follow *this Generous Example of Captain Knox, who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or in his Purse, did yet Transport the whole Kingdom of Conde Uda in his Head, and by Writing and Publishing this his Knowledge, has freely given it to his Countrey, and to You Reader in particular.

'Twas not I confess without the earnest Solicitations and Endeavours of my self, and some others of his Friends obtain'd from him, but this uneasiness of parting with it was not for want of Generosity and Freedom enough in

Communicating whatever he knew«pr had observed, but from that usual Prejudice of Modesty, and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing any thing should be worthy the view of the Publick. And had he found leisure to Compose it, he could have filled a much greater Volume with useful and pertinent, as well as unusual and strange Observations. He could have inrich' t it with a more particular Description of many of their curious Plants, Fruits, Birds, Fishes, Insects, Minerals, Stones ; and told you many more of the Medicinal and other uses of them in Trades and Manufactures. He could have given you a compleat Dictionary of their Language, understanding and speaking it as well as his Mother Tongue. But his Occasions would not permit him to do more at present. Yet the Civil Usage this his First-born meets with among his Countreymen, may 'tis hoped oblige him to gratifie them with further Discoveries and Observations in his future Travels.

To conclude, He has in this History given you a tast of his Observations. In which most Readers, though of

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very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physitiam, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. 1 believe at least all that love Truth will be pleas'd ; for from that little Conversation I had with him I conceive him to be no ways prejudiced or byassed by Interest, affection, or hatred, fear or hopes, or the vain-glory of telling Strange Things, so as to make him swarve from the truth of Matter of Fact : And for his opportunity of being informed, any one may satisfie himself when he understands his almost 20 years Abode and Converse among them. His Skill in the Language and Customs of the People, his way of Employment in Travelling and Trading over all Parts of the Kingdom ; add to this his Breeding till 19 years of Age under his Father a Captain for the East-India Company, and his own Natural and acquired parts ; but above all his good Reputation, which ma^be judged from the Employment That Worshipful Company have now freely bestowed upon him, having made him Commander of the Tarquin Merchant, and intrusted him to undertake a Voyage to Tarquin.

Read therefore the Book it self, and you will find your self taken Captive indeed, but used more kindly by the Author, than he himself was by the Natives.

After a general view of the Sea Coasts, he will lead

you into the Country by the Watches, through the Thorney Gates, then Conduct you round upon the Mountains that Encompass and Fortifie the whole Kingdom, and by the way carry you to the top of Hommalet or Adam's Peak ; from those he will descend with you, and shew you their chief Cities and Towns, and pass through them into the Countrey, and there acquaint you with their Husbandry, then entertain you with the Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Roots, Plants and Trees, and by the way shelter you from Sun and Rain, with a Fan made of the Talipat-Leaf. Then shew you their Beasts, Birds, Fish, Serpents, Insects ; and

last of all, their Commodities. From hence he will carry you to Court, and shew you the King in the several Estates of his Life ; and acquaint you with his way of Governing, Revenues, Treasures, Officers, Governors, Military Strength, Wars : and by the way entertain you with an account of the late Rebellion against him. After which he will bring you acquainted with the Inhabitants themselves, whence you may know their different Humours, Ranks and Qualities. Then you may visit their Temples such as they are, and see the Foppery of their Priests Religious Opinions and Practices both in their Worship and Festivals, and afterwards go home to their Houses and be acquainted with their Conversation and Entertainment, see their Housewifery, Furniture, Finery, and understand how they Breed and Dispose of their Children in Marriage ; and in what Employments and Recreations they pass their time. Then you may acquaint your self with their Language, Learning, Laws, and if you please with their Magick & Jugling. A^d last of all with their Diseases, Sickness, Death, and manner of Burial. After which he will give you a full account of the Reason of his own Going to, and Detainment in the Island of Ceylon, and Kingdom of Conde-Uda. And of all his various Conditions, and the Accidents that befel him there during Nineteen years and an halfs abode among them. And by what ways and means at last he made his Escape and Returned safe into England in September last, 1680.

Robert Hooke.

Aug. 1. 1681.

To the Right Worshipful Sir William Thomson
Knight, Governor, Thomas Papillon Esquire,

Deputy, and the 24 Committees of the Honorable
East-India Company hereunder Specified, Viz.

The Right Honorable George
Earl of Berkley,

The Right Honorable James
Lord Chandois.

Sir Matthew Andrews Knight,
Sir Josia Bancks Baronet,

Sir Samuel BarnardistonrBaro-
net,

Mr. Christopher Boone,

John Bathurst Esquire,

Sir John Child Baronet,

Mr. Thomas Canham,
Collonel John Clerk,

Sir James Edwards Knight,
Mr. Joseph Herne,

Richard Hutchinson

Esquire,

James Hublon Esquire,
Sir John Lethieullier
Mr. Nathaniel Petton,

Knight,

Sir John Moor Knight,
Samuel Moyer Esquire,
Mr. John Morden,

Mr. John Paige,

Edward Rudge Esquire,
Daniel Sheldon Esquire,
Mr. Jeremy Sambrook,
Robert Thomson Esquire.

Right Worshipful,

Ince my return home to my Native
Countrey of England, after a long and
Disconsolate Captivity, my Friends and

Acquaintance in our Converse together
have been Inquisitive into the State of
that Land in which I was Captivated ;
whose Curiosity I indeavour to satisfie.
But my Relations and Accounts of Things in those Parts
were so strange and uncouth, and so different from those

in these Western Nations, and withal my Discourses
seeming so Delightful and Acceptable unto them, they
very frequently called upon me to write what I knew ot
that Island of Ceilon, and to digest it into a Discourse,
and make it more Publick ; unto which motion I was not
much unwilling, partly that I might comply with the
Desires and Councels of my Friends, and chiefly that I
might Publish and Declare the great Mercy of God to me,
and Commemorate before all Men my singular Deliverance
out of that Strange and Pagan Land, which as often as I
think of or mention, I cannot but admire and adore the
goodness of God towards me, there being in it so many
notable Footsteps of his signal Providence.

I had then by me several Papers, which during my
Voyage homeward from Bantam at leisure times I writ
concerning the King and the Countrey, and concerning
the English there, and of my Escape ; which Papers I
forthwith set my self to Peruse and draw into a Method,
and to add what more might od3£ur to my Thoughts of
those Matters, which at length I have finished, contriving
what I had to relate under four Heads. The first con-
cerning the Countrey and Products of it. The second
concerning the King and his Government. The third
concerning the Inhabitants, and their Religion and Cus-
toms, and the last concerning our Surprize, Detainment
and Escape ; In all which I take leave to Declare, That
I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by
my own personal Knowledge to be true, and wherein I
have born a great and a sad share, or what I have received
from the Inhabitants themselves of such things as are
commonly known to be true among them. The Book
being thus perfected, it required no long Meditation unto
whom to present it, it could be to none but your selves
(my Honoured Masters) by whose Wisdom and Success
the East-Indian Parts of the World are now near as well
known, as the Countries next adjacent to us. So that by
your means, not only the Wealth, but the Knowledge of
those Indies is brought home to us. Unto your Favour

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

and Patronage therefore (Right Worshipful) I humbly
presume to recommend these Papers and the Author of
them, who rejoyceth at this opportunity to acknowledge
the Favours you have already conferred on him, and to
profess that next unto God, on you depend his Future
Hopes and Expectations ; being

Right Worshipful,

Your most obliged and most humble
and devoted Servant to be Commanded,

Robert Knox.

Lond. 1 8 th.
March, i6f^.

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Their Departure thence to Batavia. And from
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An Historical Relation

OF

ZEILON,

(Alias Ceylon,)

An Island in the East-Indies.

PART I.

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Chap. I.

A general Description of the Island.

Ow this Island lyes with respect unto the Neighbouring Countries, I shall not speak at all, that being to be seen in our ordinary Sea-Cards, which describe those Parts ; and but little concerning the Maritime parts of it, now under the Jurisdiction of the Dutch : my design being to relate such things onely that are new and unknown unto these

Europsean Nations. It is the Inland Countrey therefore I chiefly intend to write of, which is yet an hidden Land even to the Dutch themselves that inhabit upon the Island. For I have seen among them a fair large Map of this Place, the best I believe extant, yet very faulty: the ordinary Maps in use among us are much more so. I have procured a new one to be drawn, with as much truth and exactness

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A general division of the Inland Countrey.

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as I could, and his Judgment will not be deemed altogether inconsiderable, who had for Twenty Years Travelled about the Hand, and knew almost every step of those Parts especially, that most want describing.

I begin with the Sea-Coasts. Of all which the Hol-lander is Master. On the North end the chief places are Jafnipatan, and the Hand of Manaur. On the East side Trenkimalay, and Batticalow. To the South is the City of Point de Galle. On the West the City of Columbo, so called from a Tree the Natives call Ambo, (which bears the Mango-fruit) growing in that place ; but this never bare fruit, but onely leaves, which in their Language is Cola, and thence they called the Tree Colambo : which the Christians in honour of Columbus turned to Columbo. It is the chief City on the Sea-coasts, where the chief Governour hath his residence. On this side also is Negumba, and Colpentine. All these already mentioned are strong fortified places : There are besides many other

smaller Forts and Fortifications. All which, with considerable Territories, to wit, all round bordering upon the Sea-coasts, belong to the Dutch Nation.

I proceed to the Inland-Country, being that that is now under the King of Cande. It is convenient that we first understand, that this land is divided into greater or less shares or parts. The greater divisions give me leave to call Provinces, and the less Counties; as resembling ours in England, tho not altogether so big. On the North parts lyes the Province of Nourecalava, consisting of five lesser Divisions or Counties ; the Province also of Hotcourly (signifying seven Counties:) it contains seven Counties. On the Eastward is Mautaly, containing three Counties. There are also lying on that side Tammanquod, Bintana, Vellas, Paunoa, these are single Counties. Ouvah also containing three Counties. In this Province are _ Two and thirty of the Kings Captains dwelling with their Soldiers. In the Midland within those already mentioned lye Wallaponahoy (it signifies Fifty holes or vales which describe the nature of it, being nothing but

OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY

Hills and Valleys,) Poncipot, (signifying five hundred Souldiers.) Goddaponahoy, (signifying fifty pieces of dry Land;) Hevoihattay (signifying sixty Souldiers,) Cotemul, Horsepot (four hundred Souldiers,) Tunponahoy (three fifties,) Oudanour (it signifies the Upper City,) where I lived last and had Land. Tattanour (the Lower City) in which stands the Royal and chief City, Cande. These two Counties I last named, have the pre-eminence of all the rest in the Land. They are most populous, and fruitful. The Inhabitants thereof are the chief and principal men : insomuch that it is a usual saying among them, that if they want a King, they may take any man, of either of these two Counties, from the Plow, and wash the dirt off him, and he by reason of his quality and descent is fit to be a King. And they have this peculiar Priviledge, That none may be their Governour, but one born in their own Country. These ly to the Westward that follow, Oudipollat, Dolusbaug, Hotteracourly, containing four Counties ; Portaloon, Tunsdurly, containing three Counties ; Cuttiar. Which last, together with Batticalaw, and a part of Tuncourly, the Hollander took from the King during my being there. There are about ten or twelve more un-named, next bordering on the Coasts, which are under the Hollander. All these Provinces and Counties, excepting six, Tammanquod, Vellas, Paunoa, Hottera-courly, Hotcourly, and Neurecalva, ly upon Hills fruitful and well watered : and therefore they are called in one word Conde Uda, which signifies, On top of the Hills, and the

King is styled, the King of Conde Uda.

All these Counties are divided each from other by great Woods. Which none may fell, being preserved for Fortifications. In most of them there are Watches kept constantly, but in troublesome times in all.

The Land is full of Hills, but exceedingly well watered, there being many pure and clear Rivers running through them. Which falling down about their Lands is a very great benefit for the Countrey in respect of their Rice, their chief Sustenance. These Rivers are generally very

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Each County divided by Woods .

The Country Hilly , but enriched with Rivers .

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rocky, and so un-navigable. In them are great quantities of Fish, and the greater for want of Skill in the People

to catch them. The main River of all is called Mavela-gonga ; Which proceeds out of the Mountain called Adams Peak (of which afterwards :) it runs thro the whole Land Northward, and falls into the Sea at Trenkimalay. It may be an Arrows flight over in bredth, but not Navigable by reason of the many Rocks and great falls in it : Towards the Sea it is full of Aligators, but on the Mountains none at all.

It is so deep, that unless it be mighty dry weather, a man cannot wade over it, unless towards the head of it. They use little Canoues to pass over it : but there are no Bridges built over it, being so broad, and the Stream in time of Rains (which in this Countrey are very great) runs so high, that they cannot make them, neither if they could, would it be permitted ; for the King careth not to make his Countrey easie to travel, but desires to keep it intricate. This River runs within a mile'or less of the City of Cande. In some places of it, full of Rocks, in others clear for three or four miles.

There is another good large River running through Cotemul, and falls into that before mentioned. There are divers others brave Rivers that water the Countrey, tho none Navigable for the cause abovesaid.

The Land is generally covered with Woods, excepting the Kingdome of Ouvah, and the Counties of Oudipollat, and Dolusbaug, which are naturally somewhat clear of them.

It is most populous about the middle, least near about by the Sea ; how it is with those Parts under the Hollander, I know not. The Northern parts are somewhat sickly by reason of bad water, the rest very healthful.

The Valleys between their Hills are many of them quagmires, and most of them full of brave Springs of pure water: Which watery Valleys are the best sort of Land for their Corn, as requiring much moisture, as shall be told in its place.

On the South side of Conde Uda is an Hill, supposed

OF ADAM'S PEAK

to be the highest on this Island, called in the Chingulay Language, Hamalell; but by the Portuguez and the European Nations, Adams Peak. It is sharp like a Sugar-loaf, and on the Top a flat Stone with the print of a foot like a mans on it, but far bigger, being about two foot long. The people of this Land count it meri-torious to go and worship this impression ; and generally about their New Y£ar, which is in March, they, Men, Women and Children, go up this vast and high Mountain

to worship. The manner of which I shall write hereafter, when I come to describe their Religion. Out of this Mountain arise many fine Rivers, which run thro the Land, some to the Westward, some to the Southward, and the main River, viz. Mavelagonga before mentioned, to the Northward.

This Kingdom of Conde Uda is strongly fortified by Nature. For which way soever you enter into it, you must ascend vast and high mountains, and descend little or nothing. The wayes ar$ many, but very narrow, so that but one can go abreast. The Hills are covered with Wood and great Rocks, so that ? tis scarce possible to get up any where, but onely in the paths, in all which there are gates made of Thorns, the one at the bottom, the other at the top of the Hills, and two or three men always set to watch, who are to examine all that come and go, and see what they carry, that Letters may not be conveyed, nor Prisoners or other Slaves run away. These Watches, in case of opposition, are to call out to the Towns near, who are to assist them. They oftentimes have no Arms, for they are the people of the next Towns: but their Weapons to stop people are to charge them in the Kings Name; which disobeyed, is so severely punished, that none dare resist. These Watches are but as Sentinels to give notice ; for in case of War and Danger the King sends Commanders and Souldiers to ly here. But of this enough. These things being more proper to be related, when we come to discourse of the Policy and Strength of the Kingdom.

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The one part of this Island differs very much from the other, both in respect of the Seasons and the Soyl. For when the Westwardly Winds blow, then it rains on the West side of the Island : and that is the season for them to till their grounds. And at the same time on the East side is very fair and dry weather, and the time of their Harvest. On the contrary, when the East Winds blow, it is Tilling time for those that inhabit the East Parts, and Harvest to those on the West. So that Harvest is here in one part or other all the Year long. These Rains and this dry weather do part themselves about the middle of the Land ; as oftentimes I have seen, being on the one side of a Mountain called Cauragas hing, rainy and wet weather, and as soon as I came on the other, dry, and so exceeding hot, that I could scarcely walk on the ground, being, as the manner there is, barefoot.

It rains far more in the High-Lands of Conde Uda, then in the Low-Lands beneath the Hills. The North End of this Island is much* subject to dry weather. I have known it for five or six Years together so dry, (having no Rains, and there is no other means of water but that, being but three Springs of running water, that I know, or ever heard of) that they could not plow nor sow, and scarcely could dig Wells deep enough to get water to drink, and when they got it, its tast was brackish. At which time in other Parts there wanted not. Rain ; Whither the Northern People were forced to come to buy food. Let thus much suffice to have spoken of the Countreys, Soyl and Nature of this Island in general. I will proceed to speak of the Cities and Towns of it, together with some other Remarkable Matters thereunto belonging.

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[Chap. II.

OF THE CHIEF CITIES

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Chap. II.

Concerning the Chief Cities and Towns of this Island.

N this Island are several Places, where, they The most say, formerly stood Cities ; and still retain Eminent the "Name, tho little or nothing of Build- 9} hesare ing be now to be seen. But yet there are Five Cities now standing, which are the most Eminent, and where the King hath Palaces and Goods ; yet even these, all of them, except that wherein his Person is, are ruined and fallen to decay.

The First is the City of Candy, so generally called by [p- 5*] the Christians, probably from Conde, which in the Chingu- Can fy lays Language signifies Hills, for among them it is situated, but by the Inhabitants called Hingodagul-neure, as much as to say, the City of the Chingulay people, and Mauneur, signifying the Chief or &oyal City. This is the Chief or Metropolitical City of the whole Island. It is placed in the midst of the Island in Tattanour, bravely situate for all conveniences, excellently well watered. The Kings Palace stands on the East corner of the City, as is customary in this Land for the Kings Palaces to stand. This City is three-square like a Triangle : but no artificial strength about it, unless on the South side, which is the easiest and openest way to it, they have long since cast up a Bank of Earth cross the Valley from one Hill to the other ; which nevertheless is not so steep but that a man may easily go over it any where. It may be some twenty foot in height.

In every Way to come to this City about two or three miles off from it are Thorn-Gates and Watches to examine all that go and come : It is environed round with Hills.

The great River coming down from Adams Peak runs within less than a mile of it on the West side. It has oftentimes been burnt by the Portuguez in their former Invasions of this Island, together with the Kings Palace

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and the Temples. Insomuch that the King has been fain to pay them a Tribute of three Elephants per annum. The King left this City about Twenty Years ago, and never since has come at it. So that it is now quite gone to decay.

A second City is Nellemby-neur, lying in Oudipollat, South of Cande, some Twelve miles distance. Unto this the King retired, and here kept his Court, when he forsook Candy.

Thirdly, The City Allout-neur on the North East of Cande. Here this King was born, here also he keeps great store of Corn and Salt, &c. against time of War or Trouble. This is Situate in the Countrey of Bintan, which Land, I have never been at, but have taken a view of from the top of a Mountain, it seems to be smooth Land, and not much hilly ; the great River runneth through the midst of it. It is all over covered with mighty Woods and abundance of Deer. But much subject to dry Weather and Sickness. In these Woocjs is a sort of Wild People Inhabiting, whom we shall speak of in their place.

Fourthly, Badoula Eastward from Cande some two dayes Journey, the second City in this Land. The Portugals in time of War burnt it down to the ground. The Palace here^ is quite ruined ; the Pagodas onely remain in good repair.

This City stands in the Kingdom or Province of Ouvah, which is a Countrey well watered, the Land not smooth, neither the Hills very high, wood very scarce, but what

they plant about their Houses. But great plenty of Cattle, their Land void of wood being the more apt for grazing. If these Cattle be carried to any other Parts in this Island they will commonly dye, the reason whereof no man can tell, onely they conjecture it is occasioned by a kind of small Tree or Shrub, that growls in all Countreys but in Ouvah, the Touch or Scent of which may be Poyson to the Ouvah Cattel ; though it is not so to other. The Tree hath a pretty Physical smell like an Apothecaries Shop, but no sort of Cattle will eat it. In this Country

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OF THE CHIEF CITIES

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grows the best Tobacco that is on this Land. Rice is more plenty here then most other things.

The fifth City is Digligy-neur towards the East of [p. 6.] Cande, lying in the Country of Hevahatt. Where the the King ever since he was routed from Nellemby in the °f tk Rebellion Anno 1664. hath held his Court. The scitua- Afina™ 1 tion of this place is very Rocky and Mountainous, the Lands Barren ; So that hardly a worse place could be found out in the whole Island. Yet the King chose it, partly because it lyes about the middle of his Kingdom, but chiefly for his safety ; having the great Mountain Gauluda Gaukda . behind his Palace, unto which he fled for Safety in the Rebellion, being not only high, but on the top of it lye three Towns, and Corn Fields, whence he may have neces- sary supplies : and it is so fenced with steep Cliffs, Rocks and Woods, that a few men here will be able to defend themselves against a great Army.

There are besides these already mentioned, several other Many Ruins ruinous places that do still retain the name of Cities, where °f Cities. Kings have Reigned, tho now little Foot-steps remaining of them. At the North end of this Kings Dominions is one of these Ruinous Cities, called Anurodgburro where Anurodg- they say Ninety Kings have Reigned, the Spirits of whom they hold now to be Saints in Glory, having merited it by making Pagoda's and Stone Pillars and Images to the honour of their Gads, whereof there are many yet remain- ing: which the Chingulayes count very meritorious to worship, and the next way to Heaven. Near by is a River, by which we came when we made our escape : all along which is abundance of hewed stones, some long for Pillars, some broad for paving. Over this River there have been

three Stone Bridges built upon Stone Pillars, but now are fallen down ; and the Countrey all desolate without Inhabi- tants. At this City of Anurodgburro is a Watch kept, beyond which are no more people that yield obedience to the King of Candy. This place is above Ninety miles to The mm ^ the Northward of the City of Candy. In these Northern t y ^ Qr ^ ern Parts there are no Hills, nor but two or three Springs of Parts.

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running water, so that their Corn ripeneth with the help of Rain.

he Port of There is a Port in the Countrey of Portaloon lying on '' the West side of this Island, whence part of the Kings affor s a t. Q oun ^ re y j s S upplyed with Salt and Fish : where they have some small Trade with the Dutch, who have a Fort upon the Point, to prevent Boats from coming : But the Eastern Parts being too far, and Hilly, to drive Cattel thither for Salt, Gods Providence hath provided them a place on the East side nearer them, which in their Language they call •awai'o. Leawava. Where the Eastwardly Winds blowing, the Sea r ords Salt in beats in, an d j n Westwardly Winds (being then fair weather undance. t b ere) ; t becomes Salt, and that in such abundance, that they have as much as they please to fetch. This Place •scribed. of Leawava is so contrived by the Providence of the Almighty Creator, that neither the Portuguez nor Dutch in all the time of their Wars could ever prevent this People from having the benefit of this Salt, which is the principal thing that they esteem in timejof Trouble or War ; and most of them do keep by them a store of Salt against such times. It is, as I have heard, environed with Hills on the Land side, and by Sea not convenient for Ships to ride ; and very sickly, which they do impute to the power of a great God, who dwelleth near by in a Town they call Cotteragom, standing in the Road, to whom all that go to fetch Salt both small and great imust give an Offering. The Name and Power of this God striketh such terror . 7.] into the Chingulayes, that those who otherwise are Enemies to this King, and have served both Portuguez and Dutch against him, yet would never assist either to make Invasions this way.

•eir Towns Having said thus much concerning the Cities and other 0 Built. Eminent places of this Kingdom, I will now add a little concerning their Towns. The best are those that do belong to their Idols, wherein stand their Dewals or Temples. They do not care to make Streets by building their Houses together in rowes, but each man lives by himself in his own Plantation, having an hedg it may be

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OF THE TOWNS

and a ditch round about him to keep out Cattel. Their Towns are always placed some distance from the High-ways, for they care not that their Towns should be a thorough-fair for all people, but onely for those that have business with them. They are not very big, in some may be Forty, in some Fifty houses, and in some above an Hundred : and in some again not above eight or ten.

And as I said Before of their Cities, so I must of their Towns, That there are many of them here and there lie desolate, occasioned by their voluntary forsaking them, which they often do, in case many of them fall sick, and two or three die soon after one another: For this they conclude to happen from the hand of the Devil. Where-upon they all leave their Town and go to another, thinking thereby to avoid him: Thus relinquishing both their Houses and Lands too. Yet afterwards, when they think the Devil hath departed the place, some will sometimes come back and re-assume their Lands again.

Chap. III.

Of their Corn, with their manner of Husbandry.

Aving discoursed hitherto of the Countrey, method will require that I proceed now to the Products of it ; Viz. their Fruits, Plants, Beasts, Birds, and other Creatures, Minerals, Commodities, &c. whereof I must declare once for all, That I do not pretend to write an Exact and Perfect Treatise, my time and leisure not permitting me so to do ; but only to give a Relation of some of the chief of these things, and as it were a tast of them, according as they occur to my Memory while I am writing. I shall first begin with their Corn, as being the Staff of their Countrey.

They have divers sorts of Corn, tho all different from ours. And here I shall first speak of their Rice, the Choice

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and Flower of all their Corn, and then concerning the other inferior kinds among them.

ce. Of Rice they have several sorts, and called by several

names accor din g to the different times of their ripening : However in tast little disagreeing from one another. Some will require seven Months before it come to maturity, called Mauvi ; some six, Hauteal ; others will ripen in five, Honorowal ; others in four, Henit ; and others in three, Aulfancol: The price of all these is one and the same. That which is soonest ripe, is most savoury to the tast ; but yieldeth the least increase. It may be asked 8.] then, why any other sort of Rice is sown, but that which is longest a Ripening, seeing it brings in most Profit ? In •ms in answer to this, you must know, That all these sorts of Rice

ct ‘ r – do absolutely require Water to grow in, all the while they

etr . In ~ stand; so that the Inhabitants take great pains in pro-
"tering their cur i n g and saving water for their Grounds, and in making tn Lands. Conveyances of Water from their Rivers and Ponds into their Lands, which they are vsyy ingenious in ; also in levelling their Corn Lands, which must be as smooth as a Bowling-Green, that the Water may cover all over.
Neither are their steep and Hilly Lands uncapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they use this Art. They level these Hills into narrow Allies, some three, some eight foot wide one beneath another, according to the steepness of the Hills, working-'’ and digging them in that fashion that they lye smooth and flat, like so many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the top of the Hills falling downwards are let

into these Allies, and so successively by running out of one into another, water all ; first the higher Lands, and then the lower. The highest Allies having such a quantity of Water as may suffice to cover them, the rest runs over unto the next, and that having its proportion, unto the next, and so by degrees it falls into all these hanging parcels of Ground. These Waters last sometimes a longer, and sometimes a shorter Season. Now the Rice they sow is according as they foresee their stock of Water will last.

OF RICE

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It will sometimes last them two or three, or four or five Months, more or less ; the Rice therefore they chuse to cast into the Ground, is of that sort that may answer the s ^ nd ^ £ icg duration of the Water. For all their Crop would be spoilt if the Water should fail them before their Com grew ripe.

If they foresee their Water will hold out long, then they sow the best and jnost profitable Rice, viz. that which is longest a ripening ; but if it will not, they must be content to sow of the worser sorts ; that is, those that are sooner ripe. Again, they are forced sometimes to sow this younger Rice, for the preventing the damage it might otherwise meet with, if it should stand longer. For their Fields are all in common, which after they have sown, they enclose till Harvest ; But as soon as the Corn first sown becomes ripe, when the Owner has reaped it, it is lawful for him to break down his Fences, and let in his Cattle for grazing ; which would prove a great mischief to that Corn that required to stand a Month or two longer.

Therefore if they are constrained to sow later than the rest, either through want or sloth, or some other Impedi- ment, yet they make use of that kind of Rice that will become ripe, equal with that first sown. And so they all They sow at observe one time of reaping to prevent their Corn being different trampled down or eaten up by the Cattle, Thus they time together their Corn to their Harvest ; some sowing sooner, some later, but all reaping together, unless they be Fields that are enclosed by themselves ; and peculiar to one Man.

Where there are no Springs or Rivers to furnish them Their Irtifi- with Water, as it is in the Northern Parts, where there dial Pools . are but two or three Springs, they supply this defect by saving of rain Water ; which they do, by casting up great Banks in convenient places to stop and contain the Rains that fall, and so save it till they have occasion to let it out

into their Fields : They are made rounding like a C or Half-Moon, every Town has one of these Ponds, which if they can but* get filled with Water, they count their Corn is as good as in the Barn. It was no small work [p. 9.] to the ancient Inhabitants to make all these Banks, of which

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Harvest.

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there is a great number, being some two, some three Fathoms in height, and in length some above a Mile, some less, not all of a size. They are now grown over with great Trees, and so seem natural Hills. When they would use the Water, they cut a gap in one end of the Bank, and so draw the Water by little and little, as they have occasion for the watering their Corn. These Ponds in dry weather dry up quite. If they should dig these Ponds deep, it would not be so convenient for them. It would indeed contain the Water well, but would not so well nor in such Plenty empty out it self into their Grounds. In these Ponds are Aligators, which when the Water is dried up depart into the Woods, and down to the Rivers ; and in the time of Rains come up again into the Ponds. They are but small, nor do use to catch People, nevertheless they stand in some fear of them. The Corn they sow in these Parts is of that sort that is soonest ripe, fearing lest their Waters should fail. As the Water dries out of these

Ponds, they make use of therfy for Fields, treading the Mud with Buffeloes, and then sowing Rice thereon, and frequently casting up Water with Scoops on it. I have hitherto spoken of those Rices that require to grow in Water.

There is yet another sort of Rice, which will ripen tho' it stand not alway in Water : and this sort of Corn serves for those places, where they cannot bring their Waters to overflow ; this will grow with the Rains that fall ; but is not esteemed equal with the others, and differs both in scent and taste from that which groweth in the watery Fields.

The ordinary Season of seed time, is in the Months of July and August, and their Harvest in or about February ; but for Land that is well watered, they regard no Season ; the Season is all the year long. When they Till their Grounds, or Reap their Corn, they do it by whole Towns generally, all helping each other for Attoirfc, as they call it ; that is, that they may help them as much, or as many days again in their Fields, which accordingly they will do.

u

OF THE HUSBANDRY a.d.

1681.

They Plough only with a crooked piece of Wood, some- thing like an Elbow, which roots up the Ground, as uneven as if it were done by Hogs, and then they overflow it with water,

But if any be so curious as to know more particularly A particular
how they order and prepare their Lands, and sow their description
Corn, take this account of it. But before we go to work, f i^hlndrp.
it will be convenient first to describe the Tools. To begin
therefore with their Plough. I said before it was a crooked Their Plough.
piece of Wood, it is but little bigger than a Man's Arm, one end whereof is to hold by, and the other to root up the Ground. In the hollow of this Plough is a piece of Wood fastned some three or four Inches thick, equal with the bredth of the Plough ; and at the end of the Plough, is fixt an Iron Plate to keep the Wood from wearing. There is a Beam let in to that part of it that the Ploughman holds in his hand, to which they make their Buffaloes fast to drag it.

These Ploughs are proper for this Countrey, because The
they are lighter, and so may be the more easie for turning, convenience

the Fields being short, so that they could not turn with
longer, and if heavier, they would sink and be unruly in
the mud. These Ploughs bury not the grass as ours do,
and there is no need they should. For their endeavour [p. 10.]
is only to root up the Ground, and so they overflow it with
Water, and this rots the Grass.

They Plough twice before they sow. But before they Their first
begin the first time, they let in Water upon their Land, to Ploughing.
make it more soft and pliable for the Plough. After it is
once Ploughed, they make up their Banks. For if other-
wise they should let it alone till after the second Ploughing,
it would be mere Mud, and not hard enough to use for
Banking. Now these Banks are greatly necessary, not Their Banks,
only for Paths for the People to go upon through the an d use of
Fields, who otherwise must go in the Mud, it may be knee iIiem '
deep ; but chiefly to keep in and contain their Water,
which by the help of these Banks they overflow their
Grounds with. These Banks they make as smooth with

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d. HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

3i.

the backside of their Houghs, as a Bricklayer can smooth
a Wall with his Trowel. For in this they are very neat.
These Banks are usually not above a Foot over.
second After the Land is thus Ploughed and the Banks finished,
mg. lt j s j a j,y under water again for some time, till they go
to Ploughing the second time. Now it is exceeding
muddy, so that the trampling of the Qattel that draws the
Plough, does as much good as the Plough ; for the more
muddy the better. Sometimes they use no Plough this
second time, but only drive their Cattel over to make the
Ground the muddier.

'hey Their Lands being thus ordered, they still keep them
e their overflowed with Water, that the Weeds and Grass may
j0,n ’ rot. Then they take their Corn and lay it a soak in Water
a whole night, and the next day take it out, and lay it in a
heap, and cover it with green leaves, and so let it lye some
five or six days to make it grow. Then they take and wet
it again, and lay it in a heap covered over with leaves as
before, and so it grows and sbpots out with Blades and
their Roots. In the mean time while this is thus a growing,
after it they prepare their Ground for sowing ; which is thus :
vghed. -pjjgy k ave a B oar d about four foot long, which they drag
over their Land by a yoke of Buffaloes, not flat ways, but
upon the edge of it. The use of which is, that it jumbles
the Earth and Weeds together, and also levels and makes
the Grounds smooth and even, that so*the Water (for the
ground is all this while under water) may stand equal in

all places. And wheresoever there is any little hummock standing out of the Water, which they may easily see by their eye, with the help of this Board they break and lay even. And so it stands overflown while their Seed is growing, and become fit to sow, which usually is eight days after they lay it in soak.

When the Seed is ready to sow, they drain out all the Water, and with little Boards of about a foot and a half long, fastned upon long Poles, they trim the Land over again, laying it very smooth, making small Furrows all along, that in case Rain or other Waters should come in,

T £

OF THE HUSBANDRY

it might drain away ; for more Water now would endanger rotting the Corn. And then they sow their Corn, which they do with very exact evenness, strewing it with their hands, just as we strew Salt upon Meat.

And thus it stands without any Water, till such time as the Corn be grown some three or four Inches above the Ground. There were certain gaps made in the Banks to let out the water, t&ese are now stopped to keep it in. Which is not only to nourish the Corn, but to kill the weeds. For they keep their Fields as clean as a Garden without a weed. Then when the Corn is grown about a span high, the Women come and weed it, and pull it up where it grew too thick, and transplant it where it wants. And so it stands overflown till the Corn be ripe, when they let out the water again to make it dry for reaping. They never use any dung, but their manner of plowing and soaking of their Ground serves instead thereof.

At reaping they are excellent good, just after the English manner. The whole Town,- as I said before, as they joyn together in Tilling, so in their Harvest also ; For all fall in together in reaping one man’s Field, and so to the next, until every mans Corn be down. And the Custome is, that every man, during the reaping of his Corn, finds all the rest with Victuals. The womens work is to gather up the Corn after the Reapers, and carry it all together.

They use not Threshing, but tread out their Corn with Cattel, which is a far quicker and easier way. They may tread out in a day forty or fifty Bushels at least with the help of half a dozen Cattel.

When they are to tread their Corn they choose a con-

venient adjoyning place. Here they lay out a round piece Ground some twenty or five and twenty foot over. From which they cut away the upper Turf. Then certain Ceremonies are used. First, they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers and branches, and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells, and pieces of Iron, and some sorts of Wood, and a bunch of betel Nuts, (which are reserved for such purposes) and lay all these in the very k,c. 17 B

Their manner of sowing

How they Manure and order their young C01 », [p. >>.]

Their manner of Reaping .

They tread out 'their Corn with Cattel .

The

Ceremonies they use when the Corn is to he trodden .

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middle of the Pit, and a large stone upon them. . Then the women, whose proper work it is, bring each their burthen of reaped Corn upon their heads, and go round in . the Pit three times, and then fling it down. And after this without any more ado, bring in the rest of the Corn as fast as they can. For this Labour, and that of weeding, the Women have a Fee due to them, which they call Warapol, that is as much Corn, as shall cover thfe Stone and the other Conjuration-Instruments at the bottom of the Pit.

They will frequently carry away their new reaped Corn into the Pit, and tread it out presently as soon as they have cut it down, to secure it from the Rains, which in some Parts are very great and often ; and Barns they have none

big enough. But in other places not so much given to Rains, they will sometimes set it up in a Cock, and let it stand some months.

v they They unshale their Rice from its outward husk by beat-
usk then Jng it in a Mortar, or on the Ground more often ; but
f ‘ some of these sorts of Rice # mu$t first be boyled in the

husk, otherwise in beating it frill break to powder. The which Rice, as it is accounted, so I by experience have found, to be the wholsomest ; This they beat again the second time to take off a Bran from it ; and after that it becomes white. And thus much concerning Rice-Corn.

heir sons of Besides this, tho far inferior to it, there are divers other
7/ among sorts Q f Q orn > w hich serve the People for food in the absence of Rice, which will scarcely hold out with many of
mmi. them above half the Year. There is Coracan, which is a small seed like Mustard-seed. This they grind to meal or beat in a Mortar, and so make Cakes of it, baking it
i 2 1 upon the Coals in a potsheard, or dress it otherwise. If they which are not used to it, eat it, it will gripe their Bellies ; When they are minded to grind it, they have for their Mill two round stones, which they turn with their hands by the help of a stick : There are several sorts of this Corn. Some will ripen in three months, and some require four. If the Ground be good, it yields a great encrease ; and grows both on the Hills and in the Plains.

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OF THE CORN

A.D.

1681.

There is another Corn called Tanna ; It is much eaten in Tanna.
the Northern Parts, in Conde Uda but little sown. It is as small as the former, but yieldeth a far greater encrease.

From one grain may spring up two, three, four or five stalks, according as the ground is, on each stalk one ear, that contains thousands of grains. I think it gives the greatest encrease of any one seed in the World. Each Husbandman sowes®not above a Pottle at a Seeds-time.

It growes up two foot, or two foot and an half from the ground. The way of gathering it when ripe, is, that the Women (whose office it is) go and crop off the ears with their hands, and bring them home in baskets. They onely

take off the ears of Coracan also, but they being tough, are cut off with knives. This Tanna must be parched in a Pan, and then is beaten in a Mortar to unhusk it. It will boyl like Rice, but swell far more ; the tast not bad but very dry, and accounted wholsome ; the fashion flattish, the colour yellow and very lovely to the Eye. It ripens in four months, some, sorts of it in three. There are also divers other sorts, which grow on dry Land (as the former) and ripen with the Rain. As Moung, a Corn Moung. somewhat iike Vetches, growing in a Cod. Omb, a small Omb. seed, boyled and eaten as Rice. It has an operation pretty strange, which is, that when it is new it will make them that eat it like drunk, sick and spue ; and this only when it is sown in some Grounds, for in all it will not have this effect : and being old, none will have it. Minere, a small seed.

Boumas, we call them Garavances. Tolla, a seed used to make Oyl, with which they anoint themselves ; and some-times they will parch it and eat it with Jaggory, a kind of brown Sugar. And thus much of their Corn.

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Chap. IV.

Of their Fruits, and Trees.

F Fruits here are great plenty and variety, and far more might be if they did esteem or nourish them. Pleasant Fruits to eat ripe they care not at all to do, They look only after those that may fill the Belly, and satisfie their hunger when their Corn is spent, or to make it go the further. These onely they plant, the other Fruits or Pleasure plant them-selves, the seeds of the ripe Fruits shedding and falling on the ground naturally spring up again. They have all Fruits that grow in India. Most sorts of these delicious Fruits they gather before they be ripe, and boyl them to make Carrees, to use the Portuguez word, that is some-ie best what to eat with and relish their Rice. But wheresoever a * ts > there is any Fruit better thaj ordinary, the Ponudecars, mcvei ihe \ or Officers of the Countrey, will tie a string about the Tree the Kins;. m ^e Kings Name with three knots on the end thereof,

.13.] * and then no man, not the Owner himself, dare's presume

under pain of some great punishment, if not death, to touch them. And when they are ripe, they are wrapped in white cloth, and carried to him who is Governour of that Countrey wherein they grow : and if they be without any defect or blemish, then being wrapped up again in wffiite cloth, he presents them to the King. But the owner in whose Ground they grow is paid nothing at all for them : it is well if he be not compelled to carry them himself into the bargain unto the King, be it never so far. These are Reasons why the People regard not to plant more than just to keep them alive.
etel-Xuts. But to specific some of the chief of the Fruits in request among them. I begin with their Betel-Nuts, the Trees that bear them grow only on the South and West sides of this Island. They do not grow wild, they are only in their Towns, and there like unto Woods, without any

inclosures to distinguish one mans Trees from another s ; but by marks of great Trees, Hummacks or Rocks each man knows his own. They plant them not, but the Nuts being ripe fall down in the grass and so grow up to Trees. They are very streight and tall, few bigger than the calf of a mans Leg. The Nuts grow in bunches at the top, and being ripe look red and very lovely like a pleasing Fruit. When they ''gather them, they lay them in heaps until the shell be somewhat rotted, and then dry them in the Sun, and afterwards shell them with a sharp stick one and one at a time. These Trees will yield some 500, some a 1000, some 1500 Nuts, and some but three or four hundred. They bear but once in the Year generally, but commonly there are green Nuts enough to eat all the Year long. The leaves of it are somewhat like those of a Coker-Nut Tree, they are five or six foot long, and have other lesser leaves growing out of the sides of them, like the feathers on each side of a quill. The Chingulays call the large leaves the boughs, and the leaves on the sides, the leaves. They fall off every Year, and the skin upon which they grow, with them. These skins grow upon the body of the Tr'ee, and the leaves grow out on them. They also clap about the buds or blossoms which bear the Nuts, and as the buds swell, so this skin-cover gives way to them, till at length it falls quite off with the great leaf on it. It is somewhat like unto Leather, and of great use unto the Countrey People. It serves them instead of Basons to eat their Rice in, and when they go a Journey to tie up their Provisions : For in these skins or leaves they can tie up any liquid substance as Oyl or water, doubling it in the

middle, and rowling in the two sides, almost like a purse. For bigness they are according to the Trees, some bigger, some less, ordinarily they are about two foot length, and a foot and an half in breadth. In this Countrey are no Inns to go to, and therefore their manner when they Travel is, to carry ready dressed what provisions they can, which they make up in these leaves. The Trees within have onely a kind of pith, and will split from one end to the other, the

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The Ttees.
The Emit.

The Leaves.

The Sktns ,
and their use .

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'he Wood. Wood is hard and very strong ; they use it for Laths tor their Houses, and also for Rails for their Hedges, which are only stakes struck in the ground, and rails tyed along with rattans, or other withs growing in the Woods.
he profit the Money is not very plentiful in this Land, but by means)uit fields. 0 f these Nuts, which is a great Commodity to carry to the Coasts of Cormandel, they furnish # themselves with all things they want. The common price of Nuts, when
3. H–] there was a Trade, as there was when I came first on this Land, is 20000 for one Doller ; but now they ly and grow, or rot on the ground under the Trees. Some of these Nuts do differ much from others in their operation, having this effect, that they will make people drunk and giddy-headed, and give them some stools, if they eat them green.

ads. There is another Fruit, which we call Jacks ; the Inhabi-

tants when they are young call them Polos, before they be full ripe Cose ; and when ripe, Warracha or Vellas ; But with this difference, the Waraacha is hard, but the Vellas as soft as pap, both looking alike to the eye no difference ;

but they are distinct Trees. These are a great help to the People, and a great part of their Food. They gfow upon a large Tree, the Fruit is as big as a good Peck loaf, the outside prickly like an Hedg-hog, and of a greenish colour ; there are in them Seeds or Kernels, or Eggs as the Chingulayes call them, which lie dispersed in the Fruit like Seeds in a Cucumber. They usually gather them before they be full ripe, boreing an hole in them, and feeling of the Kernel, they know if they be ripe enough for their purpose. Then being cut in pieces they boil them, and eat to save Rice and fill their Bellies ; they eat them as we would do Turnips or Cabbage, and tast and smell much like the latter : one may suffice six or seven men. When they are ripe they are sweet and good to eat raw. The Kernels do very much resemble Chesnuts both in colour and tast, and are almost as good : the poor people will boyl them or roast them in the embers, there being usually a good heap of them lying in a corner by the fire

side ; and when they go a Journey, they will put them in a bag for their Provisions by the way. One Jack may contain three pints or two quarts of these seeds or kernels.

When they cut these Jacks, there comes running out a white thick substance like tar, and will stick just like Bird-lime, which the Boyes make use of to catch Birds, which they call Cola, or bloud of the Cos. Some will mix this with the flower of Rice, and it will eat like Eggs.

Another Fruit there is which I never saw in any other Jombo.

Parts of India, they call it Jombo. In tast it is like to an Apple, full of Juice, and pleasant to the Palate, and not unwholsom to the Body, and to the Eye no Fruit more amiable, being white, and delicately coloured with red, as if it were painted.

Also in the wild Woods are several sorts of pretty Other Fruits
Fruits, as Murros, round in shape, and as big as a Cherry, fi und ' m
and sweet to the tast ; Dongs, nearest like to a black Cherry. Woods '
Ambelo's like to Barberries. Carolla cabella, Cabela pooke, and Polla's, these are like to little Plums, and very well tasted. Paragidde, lilce to our Pears, and many more such like Fruits.

Here are also, of Indian Fruits, Coker-nuts ; Plantins Fruits common also and Bananas of divers and sundry sorts, which are other distinguished by the tast as well as by the names; rare P artso fl ndia '

sweet Oranges and sower ones. Limes but no Lemons,
such as ours are ; Pautaurings, in tast all one with a Lemon,
but much bigger than a mans two fists, right Citrons, and
a small sort of sweet Oranges. Here are several other
sorts of Lemons, and Oranges, Mangoes of several sorts,
and some very good and sweet to eat. In this sort of
Fruit the King much delights, and hath them brought to
him from all Parts of the Island. Pine-Apples also grow
there, Sugar Canes, Water-Melons, Pomegranates, Grapes
both black and white, Mirablins, Codjeu's, and several
other.

There are three other Trees that must not here be [p. 15,]
omitted ; which tho they bear no eatable Fruit, yet the
Leaves of the one, and the Juice of the other, and the

Bark of the third are very renowned, and of great

benefit.

The Talhpot; The first is the Tallipot ; It is as big and tall as a Ships
*he fme Uses Mast, and very streight, bearing only Leaves : which are
if the Leaf, g reat use anc [benefit to this People ; one single Leaf

being so broad and large, that it will cover some fifteen or
twenty men, and keep them dry when it rains. The leaf
being dryed is \ery strong, and limb el and most wonder-
fully made for mens Convenience to carry along with them ;
for tho this leaf be thus broad when it is open, yet it will
fold close like a Ladies Fan, and then it is no bigger than
a mans arm. It is wonderful light, they cut them into
pieces, and carry them in their hands. The whole leaf
spread is round almost like a Circle, but being cut in pieces
for use are near like unto a Triangle : They lay them upon
their heads as they travel with the peaked end foremost,
which is convenient to make their way thro the Boughs
and Thickets. When the Sun is vehement hot they use
them to shade themselves freyn the heat. Souldiers all
carry them ; for besides the benefit of keeping them dry
in case it rain upon the march, these leaves make their
Tents to ly under in the Night. A marvelous Mercy
which Almighty God hath bestowed upon this poor and
naked People m this Rainy Country! one of these I
brought with me into England, and you have it described
in the Figure. These Leaves all gro^y on the top of the

Tree after the manner of a Coker. It bears no kind of

Fruit until the last year of its life, and then it comes out on the top, and spreads abroad in great branches, all full first of yellow blossoms, most lovely and beautiful to behold, but smell very strong, and then it comes to a Fruit round and very hard, as big as our largest Cherries, but good only for seed to set : and tho this Tree bears but once, it makes amends, bearing such great abundance, that one Tree will yield seed enough for a Countrey. If these Trees stand near any houses, the smell of the blossoms so 7 he pith good l lluch annoyes them, that they . regarding not the seed, to cut . forthwith cut them down. This Tree is within a Pith

only, which is very good to eat if they cut the Tree down before it runs to seed. They bear it in Mortars to Flower, and bake Cakes of it ; which tast much like to white bread. It serves them instead of Corn before their Harvest be ripe.

The next Tree is the Kettule. It groweth streight, but not so tall or big as a Coker-Nut-Tree ; the inside nothing but a white Pith, as the former. It yieldeth a sort of Liquor, which they® call Tellegie: it is rarely sweet and pleasing to the Pallate, and as wholsom to the Body, but no stronger than water. They take it down from the Tree twice, and from some good Trees thrice, in a day. An ordinary Tree will yield some three, some four Gallons in a day, some more and some less. The which Liquor they boyl and make a kind of brown Sugar, called Jaggory ; but if they will use their skill, they can make it as white as the second best Sugar: and for any use it is but little inferior to ordinary Sugar. The manner how they take this Liquor from the Tree is thus ; When the Tree is come to maturity, first out of the very top there cometh out a bud, which if they let it grow, will bear a round fruit, which is the seed it yieldeth, but is only good to set for encrease. This bud they cut and prepare, by putting to it several sorts of things, as Salt, Pepper, Lemons, Garlick, Leaves, &c. which keeps it at a stand, and suffers it not to ripen. So they daily cut off a thin slice off the end, and the Liquor drops down in a Pot, which they hang to catch it.

It bears a leaf like to that of a Betel-Nut-Tree, which is fastned to a Skin as the Betel-Nut Leaves were, onely

this Skin is hard and stubborn like a piece of Board : the Skin is all full of strings as strong as Wyer ; they use them to make Ropes withal. As long as the Tree is growing the leaves shed ; but when the Tree is come to its full growth, they remain many years upon the Tree before they fall ; and when they fall, there are no new ones come again : The top-bud, as it ripens and withers, other buds come out lower and lower every Year till they come to the bottom of the Boughs, and then it hath done bearing, and so may stand seven or ten years, and then dyeth.

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l68l.

The Kettule yields a delicious juice.

[P . 16.]

The Skin bears strings as strong as wyer.

A.D.

i68i.
The Wood ; its Nature and Use.

The

Cinnamon-

Tree.

The Bark.

The Wood.

The Leaf.

The Fruit.

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The Wood of this Tree is not above three inches thick, mighty strong and hard to cut in two, but very apt to split from top to bottom ; a very heavy wood, they make pestles of it to beat their Rice with ; the colour black, but looks not like natural wood, but as if it were composed of divers pieces. The budds of this Tree, as also of the Coker, and Betel Nut-Tree, are excellent in tast, ^resembling Walnuts or Almonds.

I proceed to the third Tree, which is the Cinnamon, in their Language Corunda-gauhah. It grows wild in the Woods as other Trees, and by them no more esteemed ; It is most on the West side of the great River Mavela-gonga. It is much as plenty as Hazel in England, in some places a great deal, in some little, and in some none at all. The Trees are not very great, but sizable. The Cinnamon is the Bark or Rind, when it is on the Tree it looks whitish. They scrape it and pull it off, and dry it in the Sun : they take it onely from off the smaller Trees, altho the Bark of the greater is as sweet to the^mell and as strong to the tast. The Wood has no smell, in colour white, and soft like Fir. Which for any use they cut down, favouring them no more than other wild Trees in the Wood. The Leaf much resembleth the Laurel both in colour and thickness ; the difference is, whereas the Laurel hath but one strait rib throughout, whereon the green spreads it self on each sides, the Cinnamon hath three by which the Leaf stretches forth it self. When the young leaves come out they look purely red like scarlet : Break or bruise them, and they will smell more like Cloves than Cinnamon. It bears a Fruit, which is ripe in September, much like an Acorn, but smaller, it neither tasts nor smells much like the Bark, but being boyled in water it will yield an Oyl swimming on the top, which when cold is as hard as tallow and as white ; and smelleth excellently well. They use it for Oyntments for Aches and Pains, and to burn in Lamps to give light in their houses : but they make no Candles of it, neither are any Candies used by any but the King.

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OF THE FRUITS AND TREES a.d.

1681.

Here are many sorts of Trees that bear Berries to make

Oyl of, both in the Woods and Gardens, but not eatable, but used only for their Lamps.

There are other Trees remarkable either for their strangeness, or use, or both. Of these I shall mention a few.

The Orula, a Tree as big as an Apple-Tree, bears a Berry [p. 17.] somewhat like an Olive, but sharper at each end ; its Skin The Oruk, is of a reddish green colour, which covereth an hard stone. t j* f p^ c f° £ They make use of it for Physic in Purges ; and also to J ar j Bftng. dy black colour : Which they do after this manner ; They take the fruit and beat it to pieces in Mortars, and put it thus beaten into water ; and after it has been soaking a day or two, it changeth the water, that it looks like Beer.

Then they dip their cloth in it, or what they mean to dy, and dry it in the Sun. And then they dip it in black mud, and so let it ly about an hour, then take it and wash it in water : and now it will appear of a pale black. Then being dry, they dip it again into the aforesaid Dy, and it becomes a very good black.

Another use there is of this water. It is this : Let any This water rusty Iron ly a whole night in it, and it will become bright ; will brighten and the water look black like Ink, insomuch that men may write with it. These Trees grow but in some Parts of ilJadoflnL the Land, and nothing near so plentiful as Cinnamon.

The Berries the Drugsters in the City there, do sell in their Shops.

The Dounekaia gauhah, a shrub, bears leaves as broad The as two fingers, and six or eight foot long, on both sides Dounekaia. of them set full of Thorns, and a streak of Thorns runs thro the middle. These leaves they split to weave Matts withal. The Tree bears a bud above a span long, tapering somewhat like a Sugar-loaf. Leaves cover this bud folding it about, like the leaves of a Cabbage. Which leaves smell rarely sweet, and look of a lovely yellow colour like gold.

This bud blowes into divers bunches of Flowers, spreading it self open like a Plume of Feathers, each Flower whitish, but very small. The Roots of this shrub they use for

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1681.

Ropes, splitting them into Thongs, and then making them into Ropes.

he Cafm . The Capita gauhah, is a shrub never bigger than a mans

arm. The Wood, Rind and Leaves have all a Physical smell ; and they do sometimes make use of it for Physic. The Leaf is of a bright green, roundish, rough, and as big as the palm of an hand. No sort of Cattel will eat it, no, not the Goats, that will sometimes brouze upon rank poyson. There is abundance of these Trees every where, and they grow in all Countreys, but in Ouvah. And this is supposed to be the cause, that the Ouvah-Cattle dy, when they are brought thence to any other Country. They attribute it to the smell of this Tree, of such a venomous nature it is to Beasts. And therefore to destroy their Pleas, or to keep their houses clear of them, they sweep them with Brooms made of this shrub. ? Tis excellent good for firing, and will burn when it is green. There are no other coals the Goldsmiths use, but what are made of this wood. #

attans. Rattans grow in great abundance upon this Island. They run like Honey-suckles either upon the Ground, or up Trees, as it happens, near Twenty fathom ill length. There is a kind of a shell or skin grows over the Rattan, and encloseth it round. Which serves for a Case to cover and defend it, when tender. This Skin is so full of prickles and thorns, that you cannot touch it. As the Rattan growes longer and stronger, this Case growes ripe, and falls off prickles and shell and all.

∗s Fruit, It bears fruit in clusters just like bunches of Grapes, l 1 8.] and as big. Every particular Berry is covered with a husk like a Gooseberry, which is soft, yellow and scaly, like the scales of a Fish, hansome to look upon. This husk being cracked and broken, within grows a Plum of a whitish colour: within the Plum a stone, having meat about it. The people gather and boyl them to make sour pottage to quench the thirst.

Canes grow just like Rattans, and bear a fruit like them. The difference onely is, that the Canes are larger.

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OF THE FRUITS AND TREES®"

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The Tree that bears the Betel-leaf, which is sL'°Kich loved and eaten in these parts, growes like Ivy, tuning about Trees, or Poles, which they stick in the ground, for it to run up by : and as the Betel growes, the Poles grow

also. The form of the Leaf is longish, the end somewhat sharp, broadest next to the stalk, of a bright green, very smooth, just like a Pepper leaf, onely different in the colour, the Pepper leaf being of a dark green. It bears a fruit just like long Pepper, but not good for seed, for it falls off and rots upon the ground. But when they are minded to propagate it, they plant the spriggs, which will grow.

I shall mention but one Tree more as famous and highly set by as any of the rest, if not more, tho it bear no fruit, the benefit consisting chiefly in the Holiness of it. This Tree they call Bo-gahah ; we, the God-Tree. It is very great and spreading, the Leaves always shake like an Asp. They have a very great veneration for these Trees, wor-shipping them ; upon a Tradition, That the Buddou, a great God among them, when he was upon the Earth, did use to sit under this kind of Trees. There are many of these Tfees, which they plant all the Land over, and have more care of, than of any other. They pave round under them like a Key, sweep often under them to keep them clean ; they light Lamps, and set up their Images under them : and a stone Table is placed under some of them to lay their Sacrifices on. They set them every where in Towns and High wayes, where any convenient places are : they serve also for shade to Travellers. They will also set them in memorial of persons deceased, to wit, there, where their Bodies were burnt. It is held meritorious to plant them, which, they say, he that does, shall dy within a short while after, and go to Heaven: But the oldest men onely that are nearest death in the course of Nature, do plant them, and none else ; the younger sort desiring to live a little longer in this World before they go to the other.

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The Betel
Tree.

The

Bo-gnuhah, or
God-Tree.

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Roots for
Food , .

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The manner
of their
growing.

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s Chap. V.

Of their Roots, Plants, Herbs, Flowers.

Ome of these are for Food, and some for Medicine. I begin with their Roots, which with the Jacks before mentioned, being many, and generally bearing well, are a great help towards the sustenance of this People. These by the Chingulays by a general name are called Alloes, by the Portugals and us Inyames, They are of divers and sundry sorts, some they plant, and some grow wild ; those that grow wild in the Woods are as good, onely they are more scarce and grow deeper, and so more difficult to be plucked up. It would be to no purpose to mention their particular names ; I shall onely speak a little in general of them. They serve both for Food, and for Carrees, that is, sauce, or for a relish to their Rice. But they make many a meal of them alone to lengthen out their Rice, or for want of it: and of these there is no want to those that will take pains but to set them, and cheap enough to those that will buy.

There are two sorts of these Alloes ; some require Trees or Sticks to run up on ; others require neither. Of the former sort, some will run up to the tops of very large Trees, and spread out very full of branches, and bear great bunches of blossoms, but no use made of them ; The Leaves dy every year, but the Roots grow still, which some of them will do to a prodigious bigness within a Year or two 3 s time, becoming as big as a mans wast. The fashion of them somewhat roundish, rugged and uneven, and in divers odd shapes, like a log of cleft wood : they have a very good, savoury mellow tast.

Of those that do not run up on Trees, there are likewise sundry sorts ; they bear a long stalk and a broad leaf ; the fashion of these Roots are somewhat roundish, some grow out like a mans fingers, which they call Angul-alloes, as

much as to say Finger-Roots ; some are of a white colour, some of a red.

Those that grow in the Woods run deeper into the Earth, they run up Trees also. Some bear blossoms some-what like Hopps, and they may be as big as a mans Arm.

For Herbs to boyl and eat with Butter they have excellent good ones, and several sorts: some of them are six months growing to maturity, the stalk as high as a man can reach, and being boyled almost as good as Asparagus. There are of this sort, some having leaves and stalks as red as blood, some green : some the leaves green, and the stalk very white.

They have several other sorts of Fruits which they dress and eat with their Rice, and tast very savoury, called Carowela, Wattacul, Morongo, Cacorehouns, &c. the which I cannot compare to any things that grow here in England.

They have of our English Herbs and Plants, Colworts, Carrots, Radishes, Fennel, Balsam, Spearmint, Mustard. These, excepting the two last, are not the natural product of the Land, but they are*transplanted hither ; By which I perceive all other European Plants would grow there : They have also Fern, Indian Corn. Several sorts of Beans as good as these in England : right Cucumbers, Calabasses, and several sorts of Pumkins, &c. The Dutch on that Island in their Gardens have Lettice, Rosemary, Sage, and all other Herbs and Sallettings that we have in these Countreys.

Nor are they worse supplyed with Medicinal Herbs. The Woods are their Apothecaries Shops, where with Herbs, Leaves, and the Rinds of Trees they make all their Physic and Plaisters, with which sometimes they will do notable Cures. I will not here enter into a larger discourse of the Medicinal Vertues of their Plants, &c. of which there are hundreds : onely as a Specimen thereof, and like-wise of their Skill to use them ; I will relate a Passage or two. A Neighbour of mine a Chingulay, would under-take to cure a broken Leg or Arm by application of some Herbs that grow in the Woods, and that with that speed,

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them.

Herbs for
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Flowers.

A Flower that
serves instead
of a Dial

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that the broken Bone after it was set should knit by tfce
time one might boyl a pot of Rice and three carrees, tha'j
is about an hour and an half or two hours ; and I knew'
a man who told me he was thus cured. They will cure
an Imposthume in the Throat with the Rind of a Tree
called Amaranga, (whereof I my self had the experience ;)
by chawing it for a day or two after it is prepared, and

swallowing the spittle. I was well in*a day and a Night, tho before I was exceedingly ill, and could not swallow my Victuals.

Of Flowers they have great varieties, growing wild, for they plant them not. There are Roses red and white, scented like ours : several sorts of sweet smelling Flowers, which the young Men and Women gather and tie in their hairs to perfume them ; they tie up their hair in a bunch behind, and enclose the Flowers therein.

There is one Flower deserves to be mentioned for the rarity and use of it, they call it a Sindric-mal, there are of them some of a Murry colour, |nd some white. Its Nature is, to open about four a clod? in the Evening, and so continueth open all Night until the morning, when it closeth up it self till four a clock again. Some will trans-plant them out of the Woods into their Gardens to serve them instead of a Clock, when it is cloudy that they cannot see the Sun.

There is another white Flower lik$ our Jasmine, well scented, they call them Picha-mauls, which the King hath a parcel of brought to him every morning, wrapt in a white cloth, hanging upon a staff, and carried by people, whose peculiar office this is. All people that meet these Flowers, out of respect to the King, for whose use they are, must turn out of the Way ; and so they must for all other things that go to the King being wrapt up in white cloth. These Officers hold Land of the King for this service : their Office is, also to plant these Flowers, which they usually do near the Rivers where they most delight to grow : Nay, they have power to plant them in any mans Ground, and enclose that ground when they have done it

for the sole use of their Flowers to grow in ; which Inclosures they will keep up for several years, until the Ground becomes so worn, that the Flowers will thrive there no longer, and then the Owners resume their own Lands again.

Hop-Mauls, are Flowers growing upon great Trees, which bear nothing else, they are rarely sweet scented ; this is the chief Flower thh young people use ; and is of greatest value among them.

Chap. VL

Of their Beasts, Tame and Wild, Insects.

Aving spoken concerning the Trees and Plants of this Island, We will now go on to speak of the Living Creatures on it, viz. Their Beasts, Insects, Birds, Fish, Serpents, &c. useful or noxious. And we begin first with their Beasts. They have Cowes, Biflfaloes, Hogs, Goats, Deer, Hares, Dogs, Jacols, Apes, Tygers, Bears, Elephants, and other Wild Beasts. Lions, Wolves, Horses, Asses, Sheep, they have none. Deer are in great abundance in the Woods, and of several sorts, from the largeness of a Cow or Buffalo, to the smalness of a Hare. For here is a Creature in this Land no bigger, but in every part rightly resembleth a Deer. It is called Meminna, of colour gray with white spots, and good meat.

Here are also wild Buffalo’s ; also a sort of Beast they call Gauvera, so much resembling a Bull, that I think it one of that kind. His back stands up with a sharp ridg ; all his four feet white up half his Legs. I never saw but one, which was kept among the Kings Creatures. Here was a Black Tygre catched and brought to the King, and afterwards a Deer milk white ; both which he very much esteemed ; there being no more either before or since ever heard of in that Land.

If any desire to know how this white Deer was caught,

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Deer no bigger than Hares ,

Other Creatures rare in their kind .

The way hmt
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was catched.

it was thus ; This Deer was observed to come on Evenings with the rest of the Herd to a great Pond to drink ; the People that were ordered to catch this Deer, fenced the Pond round and plain about it with high stakes, leaving onely one wide gap. The men after this done lay in ambush, each with his bundle of Stakes ready cut. In the Evening the Deer came with the rest of the Herd to drink according to their wont. As soon* as they were entred within the stakes, the men in ambush fell to their work, which was to fence in the gap left, which, there being little less than a Thousand men, they soon did ; and so all the Herd were easily caught ; and this among the rest.

Oftlmr The King hath also an Elephant spotted or speckled all Ehphmts t h e b oc iy over) —which was lately caught ; and tho he hath many and very stately Elephants, and may have as many more as he pleases, yet he prefers this before them all.
The of And since I am fallen upon discourse of the Elephant, the Tl ! “l' S . 1 creature t^t this Countrey is famed for above any in India,

" " I will detain my self a little longer upon it.

I will first relate the manner of taking them, and after-wards their Sagacity, with other things that occur to my memory concerning them. This Beast, tho he be so big and wise, yet he is easily catched. When the King com-mands to catch Elephants, after they have found them they like, that is such as have Teeth ; for tho there be many in the Woods, yet but few have Teeth, and they males onely : unto these they drive some She-Elephants, which they bring with them for the purpose ; which when once the males have got a sight of, they will never leave, but follow them wheresoever they go ; and the females are so used to it, that they will do whatsoever either by a word or a beck their Keepers bid them ; and so they delude them along thro Towns and Countreys, thro the Streets of the City, even to the very Gates of the Kings Palace ; Where sometimes they seize upon them by snares, and sometimes by driving them into a kind of Pound, they catch them. After they have brought the Elephant which is not yet caught together with the She, into the Kings presence, if

it likes him not, he commands to let him go ; if it does, he appoints him some certain place near unto the City, where they are to drive him with the Females ; for without them it is not possible to make him stay ; and to keep him in that place until the Kings further order and pleasure is to catch him, which perhaps may not be in two or three or four Years; All which time there are great men with Souldiers appointed \o watch there about him : and if he should chance to stray a little out of his bounds set by the King, immediately they bring him back, fearing the Kings displeasure, which is no less than death it self. Here these Elephants do, and may do, great dammage to the Country, by eating up their Corn, and trampling it with their broad feet, and throwing down their Coker Nut Trees, and often-times their Houses too, and they may not resist them. It is thought this is done by the King to punish them that ly under his displeasure. And if you ask what becomes of these Elephants at last ; sometimes after they have thus kept watch over them two pr three Years, and destroyed the Countrey in this manner, the King will send order to carry them into the Woods, and let them go free. For he catchefh them not for any use or benefit he hath by them, but onely for his recreation and pastime.

As he is the greatest in body, so in understanding also. For he will do any thing that his Keeper bids him, which is possible for a Begist not having hands to do. And as the Chingulayes report, they bear the greatest love to their young of all irrational Creatures ; for the Shees are alike tender of any ones young ones as of their own : where there are many She Elephants together, the young ones go and suck of any, as well as of their Mothers ; and if a young one be in distress and should cry out, they will all in general run to the help and aid thereof ; and if they be going over a River, as here be some somewhat broad, and the streams run very swift, they will all with their Trunks assist and help to convey the young ones over. They take great delight to ly and tumble in the water, and will swim excellently well. Their Teeth they never shed.

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understanding
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Their El at ure.

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Executing
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Their
Diseases .

Neither will they ever breed tame ones with tame ones ; but to ease themselves of the trouble to bring them meat, they will ty their two fore-feet together, and put them into the Woods, where meeting with the wild ones, they con-ceive and go one Year with young.

It is their constant practice to shove down with their heads great Trees, which they love to eat, when they be too high, and they cannot otherwise reach the boughs. Wild ones will run much faster than a man, but tame ones not. The People stand in fear of them, and oftentimes are kill’d by them. They do them also great dammage in their Grounds, by Night coming into their Fields and eating up their Corn and likewise their Coker-nut-Trees, &c. So that in Towns near unto the Woods, where are plenty of them, the people are forced to watch their Corn all Night, and also their Ortyards and Plantations ; into which being once entred with eating and trampling they will do much harm, before they can get them out. Who oftentimes when by lighting^of Torches, and hollowing, they will not go out, take th£ir Bowes and go and shoot them, but not without some hazard, for sometimes the Elephant runs upon them and kills them. For fear of which they will not adventure unless there be Trees, about which they may dodg to defend themselves. And altho here be both Bears and Tygers in these Woods, yet they are not so fierce, as commonly to assault people ; Travellers and Way-faring men go more in fear of Elephants than of any other Beasts.

The King makes use of them for Executioners ; they will run their Teeth through the body, and then taer it

in pieces, and throw it limb from limb. They have sharp Iron with a socket with three edges, which they put on their Teeth at such times ; for the Elephants that are kept have all the ends of their Teeth cut to make them grow the better, and they do grow out again.

At some uncertain seasons the males have an infirmity comes on them, that they will be stark mad, so that none can rule them. Many times it so comes to pass that they

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with their Keepers on their backs, run raging until they throw them down and kill them : but commonly there is notice of it before, by an Oyl that will run out of their cheeks, which when that appears, immediately they chain them fast to great Trees by the Legs. For this infirmity they use no Medicine, neither is he sick : but the females are never subject to jhis.

The Keepers of the Kings Elephants sometimes make The Sport a sport with them after this manner. They will command make - an Elephant to take up water, which he does, and stands with it in his Trunk, till they command him to squirt it out at some body, which he immediately will do, it may be a whole paleful together, and with such a force, that a man can hardly stand against it.

There are Ants of several sorts, and some worthy our Ants of din remark. sortL

First of all, there are the Coumbias, a sort of small reddish Ants like ours in England.

Secondly, the Tale-Coum{rias, as small as the former but blackish. These usually live in hollow Trees or rotten Wood, and will sting most terribly.

Thirdly, the Dimbios, great red Ants. These make their nests upon the Boughs of great Trees, bringing the Leaves together in clusters, it may be as big as a mans head ; in which they lay their Eggs and breed. There will be oftentimes many nests of these upon one Tree, insomuch that the people are afraid to go up to gather the Fruits lest they should be stung by them.

A fourth sort of Ants are those they call Coura-atch.

They are great and black, living in the ground. Their daily practice is to bring up dirt out of the ground, making great hollow holes in the Earth, somewhat resembling Cony-Burrows ; onely these are less, and run strait downwards for some way, and then turn away into divers paths under ground. In many places of the Land there are so many of these holes, that Cattle are ready to break their Legs as they go. These do not sting.

A fifth is the Coddia. This Ant is of an excellent bright

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These Ants
a very
mischievous
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black, and as large as any of the former. They dwell always in the ground ; and their usual practice is, to be travelling in great multitudes, but I do not know where they are going, nor what their business is ; but they pass and repass some forwards and some backwards in great hast, seemingly as full of employment as People that pass along the Streets. These Ants will bite desperately, as bad as if a man were burnt with a coal of fire. But they are of a noble nature : for they will not begin ; and you may stand by them, if you do not tread upon them nor disturb them. The reason their bite is thus terribly painful is this ; Formerly these Ants went to ask a Wife of the Noya, a venomous and noble kind of Snake ; and because they had such an high spirit to dare to offer to be related to such a generous creature, they had this vertue bestowed upon them, that they should sting after this manner. And if they had obtained a Wife of the Noya, they should have had the priviledg to have stung full as bad as he. This is a currant Fable among -the Chingulays. Tho un-

doubtedly they chiefly regard the wisedom that is concealed under this, and the rest of their Fables.

There is a sixth sort called Vaeos. These "are more numerous than any of the former. All the whole Earth doth swarm with them. They are of a middle size between the greatest and the least, the hinder part white, and the head red. They eat and devour all* that they can come at ; as besides food, Cloth, Wood, Thatch of Houses and every thing excepting Iron and Stone. So that the people cannot set any thing upon the ground within their houses for them. They creep up the walls of their houses, and build an Arch made of dirt over themselves all the way as they climb, be it never so high. And if this Arch or Vault chance to be broken, they all, how high soever they were, come back again to mend up the breach, which being finished they proceed forwards again, eating every thing they come at in their way. This Vermin does exceedingly annoy the Chingulays, insomuch that they are continually looking upon any thing they value, to see if any of these

OF ANTS

Vaeos have been at it. Which they may easily perceive by this Case of dirt, which they cannot go up any where without building as they go. And wheresoever this is seen, no doubt the Ants are there.

In places where there are no houses, and they can eat nothing belonging to the people, they will raise great Hills like Butts, some four or five or six foot high ; which are so hard and strong, that it would be work enough to dig them down with Pick-Axes. The Chingulays call these Humbosses. Within they are full of hollow Vaults and Arches where they dwell and breed, and their nests are much like to Honeycombs, full of eggs and young ones. These Humbosses are built with a pure refined Clay by the ingenious builders. The people use this Clay to make their Earthen Gods of, because it is so pure and fine.

This sort of creatures as they increase in multitudes, so they dy in multitudes also. For when they come to maturity they have wings, and in the Evening after the going down of the Sun, (neyer before) all those that are fledged and ripe, will issue forth in such vast numbers, that they do almost darken the Sky, flying to such an height, as 'they go out of sight, and so keep flying till they fall down dead at last upon the Earth. The Birds that tarry up late, and are not yet gone to roost, fly among them and make good Suppers of them.

The People in this Land never feed their Poultry. But

they feed upon these Ants, which by scraping among the leaves and dirt they can never want ; and they delight in them above Rice or any thing else. Besides all these Ants already mentioned, there are divers other distinct sorts of them.

But we will proceed to a more beneficial Insect, the Bee. Of which there be three sorts. The first are the Mee-masses, which are the right English Bees. They build in hollow Trees, or hollow holes in the ground, which the Vaeos have made. Into which holes the men blow with their mouths, and the Bees presently fly out. And then they put in their hands, and pull out the Combs, which

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The manner
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Bees of
several kinds .

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Bees that
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Trees like
Birds .

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The people
eat the Bees f
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their honey .

Leaches that

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they put in Pots or Vessels, and carry away. They are not afraid of their stinging* in the least, nor do they arm themselves with any cloths against them.

The second are the Bamburo's, larger and of a brighter colour than our English Bees. Their Honey is thin like water comparatively. They make their Combs upon limbs of Trees, open and visible to the Eye, generally of a great height. At time of year whole Towns, forty or fifty in company together will go out into the Woods, and gather this honey, and come home laden with it for their use.

The third sort they call Connameia, signifying a blind Bee. They are small like a Fly, and black. They build in hollow Trees ; and their honey somewhat tartish : and they make such small quantities of it, that the people little regard it. The Boyes will sometimes cut a hole and take it out.

When they meet with any swarms of Bees hanging on any Tree, they will hold Torches under to make them drop ; and so catch them arn^ carry them home. Which they boyl and eat, and esteem excellent food.

There is a sort of Leaches of the nature of ours, onely differing in colour and bigness. For they are of a dark reddish colour like the skin of Bacon, and as big as a Goose quill, in length some two or three inches. At first, when they are young, they are no bigger than a horse hair, so that they can scarce be seen. In dry weather none of them appear, but immediately upon the fall of Rains, the Grass and Woods are full of them. These Leaches seize upon the Legs of Travellers ; who going barefoot according to the custom of that Land, have them hanging upon their Legs in multitudes, which suck their blood till their bellies arc full, and then drop off. They come in such quantities, that the people cannot pull them off so fast as they crawl on. The blood runs pouring down their Legs all the way they go, and 5 tis no little smart neither, so that they would willingly be without them if they could, especially those that have sores on their Legs ; for they all gather to the sore.

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OF LEECHES AND MONKEYS

Some therefore will tie a piece of Lemon and Salt in a rag and fasten it unto a stick, and ever and anon strike it upon their Legs to make the Leaches drop off* : others will scrape them off with a reed cut flat and sharp in the fashion of a knife. But this is so troublesom, and they come on again so fast and so numerous, that it is not worth their while : and generally they suffer them to bite and remain on their Legs during their Journey ; and they do the more patiently permit them, because it is so wholsome for them. When they come to their Journeys end they rub all their Legs with ashes, and so clear themselves of them at once : but still the blood will remain dropping a great while after. But they are most annoyed by them when they go out to stool a-Nights, being small and of the colour of their bodies, so that they can neither see nor feel to pull them off. And these, tho they be in such quantities in some of these Countreys, yet in others there are none at all, nor ever were known to have been. But besides these, there are Water Leaches the same with ours.

Monkeys. Of which there are abundance in the Woods, and of divers sorts, some so large as our English Spaniel Dogs, of a darkish gray colour, and black faces, with great white beards round from ear to ear, which makes them shew just like old men. There is another sort just of the same bigness, but differ in colour, being milk white both in body and face, having great beards like the others ; of this sort of white ones there is not such plenty. But both these sorts do but little mischief, keeping in the Woods, eating onely leaves and buds of Trees, but when they are catched, they will eat any thing. This sort they call in their Language, Wanderows. There is yet another sort of Apes, of which there is great abundance, who coming with such multitudes do a great deal of mischief to the Corn, that groweth in the Woods, so that they are fain all the day long to keep Watch to scare them out : and so soon as they are gone to fray them away at one end of the Field ; others who wait for such an opportunity come skipping in at the other ; and before they can turn, will

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fill both bellies and hands full, to carry away with them ; and to stand all round to guard their Fields is more than they can do. This sort of Monkeys have no beards, white faces, and long hair on the top of their heads, which parteth and hangeth down like a mans. These are so impudent that they will come into their Gardens, and eat such Fruit as grows there. They call these Rillowes. The flesh of all these sorts of Apes they account good to eat. There are several sorts of Squirrels also, which they do eat when they can catch them.

Before I make an end of my discourse of their Beasts, it may be worth while to relate the ways they use to catch them. At which they are very crafty.

Hm the) For the catching of Deer or other wild Beasts, they have Trsts*^ ^ 1S in H“ Novice. In dark Moons when there are uS drisling Rains, they go about this design. They have a basket made with canes somewhat like unto a funnel, in which they put a potsheard with fire in it, together with a certain wood, which they have growing there, full of sap like pitch, and that will burn like a pitch-barrel. This being kindled in the potsheard flames, and gives an exceed-ing light. They carry it upon their heads with the flame foremost ; the basket hiding him that is under it, and those that come behind it. In their hands they carry three or four small bells, which they tingle as they go, that the noyse of their steps should not be heard. Behind the man that carries the light, go men with Bowes and Arrows. And so they go walking along the Plains, and by the Pond sides, where they think the Deer will come out to feed. Which when they see the light, stand still and stare upon it, seeing onely the light, and hearing nothing but the tingling of the bells.

The eyes of the Deer or other Cattle first appear to them glistering like Stars of light or Diamonds : and by their long experience they will distinguish one Beast from another by their eyes. All Creatures, as Deer, Hares, Elephants, Bears, &c. excepting onely wild Hogs, will stand still, wondering at this strange sight, till the people come

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OF CATCHING WILD BEASTS

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as near as they do desire, and so let fly their Arrows upon them. And by this means they seldom go, but they catch something. The blades of their hunting-Arrowes are at least a foot or a foot and an half long, and the length of the staff of their Arrowes is a Rian, that is about two cubits.

Again, they will observe where a Deers haunt is to break over their Hedges into the Corn Grounds. There they will set a sharp pole like a Spear full against the Haunt.

So that the Deer when she leaps over thrusts her self upon the point of it.

If a Tyger chance to come into their Grounds and kill a Cow, they will take notice of the place thro which he passed, and set a Cross-bow there ready charged. The Tyger coming that way again touches something that is fastned to the tricker of the Cross-bow, and so it discharges upon him.

The wild Hog is of all other the hardest to be caught ; [p. 27.] and ? tis dangerous to attempt the catching of him. For How they the people make valour to consist in three things, one is to fight against the Enemy, another to hunt the Elephant, and the third to catch Hoggs. Yet sometimes by their art they entrap them. And that they do after this manner.

They dig an hole in the Earth of a convenient depth, and fix divers sharp stakes in the bottom of it. Then they cover it over lightly with Earth and Leaves, and plant thereupon roots which the Hog loves, as Potatoes or such like, which will grow there. And the pit remains, it may be some months or half a year, till at last an Hog comes, and while he is rooting his weight betrayes him and in he falls.

Again, sometimes they will set a falling trap of an exceeding weight, and under it plant Roots and such like things, which the Hog delights in. There are contrivances under the weeds and leaves, which when he goes to eat by touching or treading upon something fastned to the trap, it falls down upon him. These are made so artificially, that people sometimes have been caught and destroyed by

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them. Once such a trap in my remembrance fell upon three women and killed them. Who having been stealing Cotton in a Plantation, and fearing to be catched went to creep out at a hole, where this Trap stood.

And thus I have related some of their ways of taking wild Cattel. They are good also at catching Birds and Vermin ; In fine, they are the cunningest people in the World for such kind of traps and gins. And all of them they make onely by the help of their Knives with green sticks and withs that grow in the Woods. And so much of their Beasts.

Chap. VII.

Of their Birds, Fish, Serpents, Commodities.

N the next place I will entertain you with some relation of the other living Creatures among them. I begin with their Birds. In that Land there are Crowes, Sparrowes, Tom-titts, Snipes, just like these in England, Wood-Pigeons also, but not great flocks of any sorts, as we have, onely of Crowes and Pigeons. I have seen there Birds just like Woodcocks and Partridges, but they are scarce. A great many wild Peacocks : small green Parrots, but not very good to talk. But here is another Bird in their Language called Mal-cowda, which with teaching will speak excellently well. It is black with yellow gills about the bigness of a Black-Bird : And another sort there is of the same bigness, called Cau-cowda, yellow like gold, very beautiful to the eye, which also might be taught to speak.

Here are other sorts of small Birds, not much bigger than a Sparrow, very lovely to look on, but I think good for nothing else : some being in colour white like Snow, and their tayl about one foot in length, and their heads black like jet, with a tuft like a plume of Feathers standing-upright thereon. There are others of the same sort onely differing in colour, being reddish like a ripe Orange, and

OF BIRDS AND FISH

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on the head a Plume of black Feathers standing up. I suppose, one may be the Cock, and the other the Hen.

Here is a sort of Bird they call Carlo, which never [p. 28,] lighteth on the ground, but always sets on very high Trees, d He is as big as a Swan, the colour black, the Legs very short, the Head monstrous, his Bill very long, a little rounding like a Hawks, and white on each side of the head, like ears: on∗ the top of the crown groweth out a white thing, somewhat like to the comb of a Cock ; com-monly they keep four or five of them together ; and always are hopping from bough to bough. They are seldom silent, but continually make a roaring noyse, somewhat like the quacking of a Duck, that they may be heard at least a mile off ; the reason they thus cry, the Chingulayes say, is for Rain, that they may drink. The bodies of these Fowls are good to eat.

Here is a sort of Bird very much resembling a Duck, Ifater-Fwls but not very plentiful. And another sort of Fowl as big resembling as a Duck, cole black, which liveth altogether upon Fish, and It is admirable to see, ho$ long they will remain under water, and at what a distance they will rise again. Besides these, there are many other kinds of Birds, much larger than Swans, which keep about the Ponds and Marshes to catch Fish, but the people eat them not: Nature hath endowed them with an admirable understanding, that they are not to be catched by the Allegators, tho there be many of them in those waters.

The Peacocks in rainy weather are sometimes hunted Peacocks. and caught by Dogs ; for their Feathers being wet, they are uncapable of flying far.

The King hath Geese, Ducks, Turkeys, Pigeons, which The King

he keeps tame, but none else may. Turkeys he delights ^ ee P s Fou '^
not in, because they change the colour of their heads:

Neither doth he kill any of these to eat, nor any other creature of what sort soever, and he hath many, that he keeps tame.

They have no want of Fish, and those good ones too. Their PhL
All little Rivers and Streams running thro the Valleys are

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How they
catch Fish in
the River.

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Fish kept and
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pleasure.

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full of small Fish, but the Boyes and others wanting some-what to eat with their Rice, do continually catch them before they come to maturity : nay all their Ponds are full of them, which in dry weather drying up, the people catch multitudes of them in this manner. They have a kind of a Basket made of small Sticks, so close that Fish cannot get thro ; it is broad at bottom, and narrow at top, like a funnel, the hole big enough for a man to thrust his Arm in, wide at the mouth about two or three foot; these baskets they jobb down, and the ends stick in the mud, which often happen upon a Fish ; when they do, they feel it by the Fish beating it self against the sides. Then they put in their hands and take them out. And rieve a Rattan thro their gills, and so let them drag after them. One end of this Rattan is stuck in the fisher’s girdle, and the other knotted, that the fish should not slip off : which when it is full, he discharges himself of them by carrying them

ashore. Nay every ditch and little plash of water but anckle deep hath fish in it. #

The great River, Mavela-gonga, abounds exceedingly with them. Some of them as big as Salmons. But the people have little understanding in the way of taking them. In very dry weather, they stretch a With over the River, which they hang all full of boughs of Trees to scare the Fish. This With thus hung they drag down with the stream, and to Leeward they place Fish-pots between the Rocks, and so drive the Fish into them. Nets or other wayes they have few or none.

At a Passage-place near to the City of Candy, the Fish formerly have been nourished and fed by the Kings order, to keep them there for his Majesties pleasure; whither, having used to be thus provided for, notwithstanding Floods and strong Streams, they will still resort : and are so tame, that I have seen them eat out of mens hands ; but death it is to them that presume to catch them. The people passing over here, will commonly feed them with some of their Rice, accounting it a piece of charity so to do, and pleasure to see them eat it. In many other places

OF SERPENTS

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also there are Fish thus fed and kept onely for the Kings Recreation ; for he will never let any be catched for his use.

Of Serpents, there are these sorts. The Pirnberah, the Serpents, body whereof is as big as a mans middle, and of a length TkPimktd proportionable. It is not swift, but by subtilty will catch his prey ; which are Deer or other Cattel ; He lyes in the path where the Deer use to pass, and as they go, he claps hold of them by a kind of peg that growes on his tayl, with which he strikes them. He will swallow a Roe Buck whole, horns and all; so that it happens sometimes the horns run thro his belly, and kill him. A Stag was caught by one of these Pimberahs, which seised him by the buttock, and held him so fast, that he could not get away, but ran a few steps this way and that way. An Indian seeing the Stag run thus, supposed him in a snare, and having a Gun shot him ; at which he gave so strong a jerk, that it pulled the Serpents head off, while his tayl was encompassing a Tree to hol^l the Stag the better.

There is another venomous snake called Polonga, the The Pdmga, most venomous of all, that kills Cattel, Two sorts of

them I have seen, the one green, the other of a reddish gray, full of white rings along the sides, and about five or six foot long.

Another poysonous Snake there is called Noya, of a The Aw. grayish colour, aboi^t four foot long. This will stand with half his body upright two or three hours together, and spread his head broad open, where there appears like as it were a pair of spectacles painted on it. The Indians call this Noy-Rodgerah, that is, a Kings-Snake, that will do no harm. But if the Polonga and the Noya meet together, they cease not fighting till one hath kill'd the other.

The reason and original of this fatal enmity between The Fake of these two Serpents, is this, according to a Fable among mui the Chingulays, These two chanced to meet in a dry 00 ^ * Season, when water was scarce. The Polonga being almost famished for thirst, asked the Noya, where he might go to find a little water. The Noya a little before had met

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with a bowl of water in which a Child lay playing. As it is usual among this people to wash their Children in a bowl of water, and there leave them to tumble and play in it. Here the Noya quenched his thirst, but as he was drinking, the Child that lay in the bowl, out of his innocency and play, hit him on the Head with his hand, which the Noya made no matter of, but bare patiently, knowing it was not done out of any malice : and having drunk as much as sufficed him, went away without doing the Child any harm.

Being minded to direct the Polonga to this bowl, but desirous withal to preserve the Child, he told him. That he knew of water, but that he was such a surly hasty creature, that he was fearful to let him know where it was, lest he might do some mischief ; Making him therefore promise that he would not, he then told him, that at such a place there was a bowl of water with a Child playing in

it, and that probably the Child might, as he was tumbling give him a pat on the Head, as he had done to him before, but charged him nevertheless n^ot to hurt the Child. Which the Polonga having promised went his way towards the water, as the Noya had directed him. The Noya knowing his touchy disposition, went after him, fearing he might do the Child a mischief, and that thereby he himself might be deprived of the like benefit afterwards. It fell out as he feared. For as the Polonga drank, the Child patted him on the head, and he in his hasty hurrjour bit him on the hand and killed him. The Noya seeing this, was resolved to be revenged ; and so reproaching him for his baseness, fought him so long till he killed him, and after that devoured him. Which to this day they ever do, always fight when they meet, and the Conquerour eats the body of the vanquished. Hence the Proverb among the Chin- gulayes, when they see two men irreconcileable, they compare them to the Polonga and Noya, and say, Noya Polonga waghe, like a Noya and Polonga.

There is the Carowala, about two foot in length very poysonous, that lurks in the holes and thatch of houses. The Cats will seize these and kill and eat them.

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OF SERPENTS

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Other Snakes there are, called Gerende, whereof there Gewidc. are many but not venomous. Of the former there are but a few in comparison. These last mentioned the greatest mischief they do, is to destroy young Birds and Eggs, and young Hares. Rabbets cannot be kept here to run wild, because of these and other Vermin, such as Polecats,

Ferrets, Weazels, &c.

Hickanella, much like a Lizzard, venomous, but seldom tikkmwlk , bites unless provoked, these ly in the thatch of the houses.

There is a Spider called Democulo, very long black and A great hairy, speckled and glistering. Its body is as big as a mans fist with feet proportionable. These are very poysonous ; and they keep in hollow Trees and holes. Men bitten with them will not dy, but the pain will for some time put them out of their Sences.

Cattle are often bit by some of these Snakes, and as often found dead of them, tho not eaten. Treading upon them sleeping, or the like, may be the cause of it. When the people are bitten by any of tljese, they are cured by Charms and Medicines, if taken and applyed in time.

There are also a sort of Water Snakes they call Duberria ; but harmless.

Alligators may be reduced hither: there be many of them. Of which we have said somewhat before.

There is a Creature here called Kobbera guion, resembling Kobbera ~ an Alligator. The biggest may be five or six foot long, a speckled black and white. He lives most upon the Land, but will take the water and dive under it : hath a long blew Alkgator . forked tongue like a sting, which he puts forth and hisseth fp. 31.] and gapeth, but doth not bite nor sting, tho the appearance of him would scare those that knew not what he was. He is not afraid of people, but will ly gaping and hissing at them in the way, and will scarce stir out of it. He will come and eat Carrion with the Dogs and Jackals, and will not be scared away by them, but if they come near to bark or snap at him, with his tayl, which is about an Ell long like a whip, he will so slash them, that they will run away and howl. This Creature is not eatable.

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T olla- guion.

The People eat Rats.

Precious

Stones.

Minerals and other Commodities.

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But there is the Tolla guion very like the former, which is eaten, and reckoned excellent meat. The Chingulays say it is the best sort of flesh ; and for this reason, That if you eat other flesh at the same time you eat of this, and have occasion to vomit, you will never vomit out this tho you vomit all the other. This creature eats not carrion, but only leaves and herbs ; is less of size than the Kobbera guion, and blackish, lives in hollow frees and holes in the Humbosses : And I suppose is the same with that which in the West Indies they call the Guiana.

This Countrey has its Vermin also. They have a sort of Rats, they call Musk-Rats, because they smell strong of Musk. These the Inhabitants do not eat of, but of all other sort of Rats they do.

Before I conclude my discourse of the Growth and Product of this Countrey, it will not be improper to reduce under this head its Precious Stones, Minerals, and other Commodities. Of which I shall briefly speak, and so make an end of this First Part. ,

In this Island are several sorts of Precious Stones, which the King for his part has enough of, and so careth not to have more discovery made. For in certain places where they are known to be, are sharp Poles set up fixed in the ground, signifying, that none upon pain of being stuck and impaled upon those Poles, presume so much as to go that way ; Also there are certain Rivers, out of which it is generally reported they do take Rubies and Saphires for the Kings use, and Cats eyes. And I have seen several pretty coloured stones, some as big as Cherry-stones, some as Buttons, and transparent, but understood not what they were. Rubies and Saphires I my self have seen here.

Here is Iron and Christal in great plenty. Salt-Petre they can make. Brimstone some say, is here, but the King will not have it discovered. Steel they can make of then-iron. Ebony in great abundance, with choice of tall and large Timber, Cardamums, Jaggory, Rack, Oyl, black Lead, Turmeric, Salt, Rice, Bettel-Nuts, Musk, Wax, Pepper. Which last grows here very well, and might be in

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OF COMMODITIES

great plenty, if it had a Vend. And the peculiar Com-modity of the Island, Cinnamon. Wild Cattel, and wild Honey in great plenty in the Woods ; it lyes in holes or hollow Trees, free for any that will take the pains to get it. Elephants Teeth, and Cotton, of which there is good

plenty, growing in their own Grounds, sufficient to make them good and strong # cloth for their own use, and also to sell to the People of the Uplands, where Cotton is not so plenty. All these things the Land affords, and it might do it in much greater quantity, if the People were but laborious and industrious. But that they are not. For the Chingulays are Naturally, a people given to sloth and laziness : if they can but any ways live, they abhor to work ; onely what their necessities force them to, they do, that is, to get Food and Rayment. Yet in this I must a little vindicate them ; For what indeed should they do with more than Food and Rayment, seeing as their Estates encrease, so do their Taxes also ? And altho the People be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they are under, that they are afraid to be known to have any thing, lest it be taken away from them. Neither have they any encouragement for their industry, having no Vend by Traffic and Commerce for what they have got.

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The People discouraged from Industry by the

Tyranny they are under .

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The

Government of this Island.

The King's Lineage.

PART II.

Chap. L

Of the present King of Cande.

Itherto I have treated of the Countrey, with the Provisions and Wealth of it : Our next Discourses shall be of the Political Government there exercised. And here Order will lead us to speak first of the King and •Matters relating to him, Antiently this Countrey consisted of Nine Kingdoms, all which had their several Kings ; but now by the vicissitude of Times and Things, they are all reduced under one King, who is an absolute Tyrant, and Rules the most arbitrarily of any King in the World. We will first speak of him as to his Personal Capacity, and next as to his Political. *

In his Personal Capacity, are to be considered his Birth and Parentage, his Person, his Relations, his State, his Manners, his Pleasures and Recreations, his Religion.

Raja-Singa is his Name, which signifies a Lyon-King. Pie is not of the right Descent of the Royal-Blood. For the former King deceased leaving his Queen a Widow, and two young Princes, which he had issue by her. She was a Christian, having been baptized by the Portuguez, and named Dona Catharina. She afterwards married to the Chief Priest, whom in their Language they call Tirinanxy. And by him had this Son, the present King. The Tirinanx his Father reigned and ruled the Land

during the minority of the young Princes: but being aged, he divided the Countrey between the three Princes by Lot, intending Conde Uda, which is the best part of the Land, for his own Son, Raja-Singa. Which was obtained by this device. The names of the three King-doms being written on three Papers, were put into a Pot, and one was appointed, who knew the matter to take them out, and deliver then! one to each, beginning with the Eldest, craftily delivering that which had Conde Uda written in it unto Raja-Singa ; and so it came to pass according to the old Kings determination. All these three in the beginning of their Reigns joyned together against the Portuguez, but soon after fell out among themselves, and this King in the end prevailed, and got all the Countrey. Danna Polla Rodgerah the youngest, King of Mautoly, being overthrown, fled down to the Portuguez to Columba, who sent him to Goa, where he dyed. The other named Comaure-Singa, King of Qwvah, dyed in Cande.

As to the Person of the present King. He is not tali, but very well set, nor of the clearest colour of their com- plexion, but somewhat of the blackest ; great rowiing Eyes, turning them and looking every way, alwayes moving them : a brisk bold look, a great swelling Belly, and very lively in his actions and behaviour, somewhat bald, not having much hair upon his head, and that gray, a large comely Beard, with great Whiskers ; in conclusion, a very comely man. He bears his years well, being between Seventy and Eighty years of age ; and tho an Old man, yet appears not to be like one, neither in countenance nor action. His Apparel is very strange and wonderful, not after his own Co un trey-fashion, or any other, being made after his own invention. On his head he wears a Cap with four corners like a Jesuits three teer high, and a Feather standing upright before, like that in the head of a fore-horse in a Team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguez fashion, his Doublet after so strange a shape, that I cannot well describe it, the body of

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one, and the sleeves of another colour ; He wears long Breeches to his Anckles, Shoes and Stockings. He doth not always keep to one fashion, but changes as his fancy leads him : but always when he comes abroad, his Sword hangs by his side in a belt over his shoulder : which no Chingulays dare wear, only white men may : a Gold Hilt, and Scabberd most of beaten Gold. Commonly he holdeth in his hand a small Cane, painted of divers colours, and towards the lower end set round about with such stones, as he hath, and pleaseth, with a head of Gold.

Hh Queen, His right and lawful Queen, who was a Malabar, and Children, brought from the Coast, is still living, but hath not been with him, as is known, this Twenty years, remaining in the City of Cande, where he left her ; She wants indeed neither maintenance nor attendance, but never comes out of the

Palace. Several Noble-mens Daughters hold Land for this Service, viz. to come to her Court in their turns to wait upon her Majesty. She bare him a Prince, but what became of him, shall hereafter be shewn. He had also a Daughter by Her, she came "also in her Youth to a piteous and unfortunate death, as I shall relate in its place.

His Pakce, He keeps his Court at Digligy neur, whither he fled in Situation and a Rebellion against him. His Palace stands adjoyning to Description a g rea |- w hich was before mentioned ; near unto that ® 1 ' part of the Hill next abutting upon his Court none dares

presume to set his foot: that being for his safeguard to fly unto in time of need. The Palace is walled about with a Clay Wall, and Thatched, to prevent the Claye's being melted by the Rains, which are great and violent : Within this Wall it is all full of houses ; most of which are low and thatched ; but some are two Stories high, and tyled very handsomely, with open Galleries for Air, rayled about with turned Banisters, one Ebony, and one painted, but not much Prospect, standing between two Hills. And indeed the King lives there not so much for pleasure as security. The Palace it self hath many large and stately Gates two leaved ; these Gates, with their Posts, excellently carved ; the Iron-work thereunto belonging, as Bolts and

OF THE KING'S PALACE

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Locks, all rarely engraven. The Windows itilayd with Silver Plates and Ebony. On the top of the houses of his Palace and Treasury, stand Earthen Pots at each comer ; which are for ornament ; or which is a newer fashion, something made of Earth resembling Flowers and Branches. And no Houses besides, except Temples, may-have these placed upon them. The contrivance of his Palace is, as I may sa^, like Woodstock Bower, with many turnings and windings, and doors, he himself having ordered and contrived all these Buildings, and the manner of them. At all the Doors and Passages stand Watches : and they who thus give attendance are not to pass without special Order from one place to another, but are to remain in that place or at that Gate, where the King hath appointed [p. 35. | them. By means of these contrivances it is not easie to know in what part or place his Person is, neither doth he care they should.

He has strong Watches night and day about his Court. Strung And they are his Grandees^ who themselves in person Ouaras^ watch in certain places, where the King himself appoints

them : and they dare not be absent from thence, without it be to go* to eat, or upon such like occasions. At Night they all have their set places within the Court, where they cannot one come to the speech of the other, neither dare they that are near together, or in sight one of the other, so much as come and sit together and talk, to pass away the Nights. All these great men have Souldiers under them, and they are also to come by turns to watch at the Court.

But at Night as their Masters and Commanders watch within the Walls, so they must watch without, in outward Courts and Guards; neither dare any of them be seen within with their Commanders. At the end of every Watch there are a multitude of Trumpets and Drums to make a noise ; which is to keep his People waking, and for the honour of his Majesty. There are also Elephants, which are appointed all night to stand and watch, lest there should be any Tumult ; which if there should, could presently trample down a multitude.

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Spies sent out
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His

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Handsom
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He hath also a Guard of Cofferies or Negro’s, in whom he imposeth more confidence, then in his own People. These are to watch at his Chamber door, and next his Person.

At uncertain times he will send out a Spy by Night, to see what Watch is kept. Who once finding one of the

Great Men asleep, took his Cap, his Sword and other Arms, and brought them to the King ; who afterwards restored them to the Owner again, reproving him, and bidding him take more heed for the future. These Spyes also are to hear and see what passes : neither is there any thing said or done but he has notice of it. Formerly he used m the Nights to disguise himself and walk abroad in the Streets to see all passages, but now he will not adventure so to do.

Most of his Attendants are Boyes, and Young Men, that are well favoured, and of good Parentage. For the supplying himself with these, he gives order to his Dissava's or Governors of the Countreys to pick and choose out Boyes, that are comely ai^d of good Descent, and send them to the Court. These Boyes go bare-headed with long hair hanging down their backs. Not that he is guilty of Sodomy, nor did I ever hear the Sin so much as men-tioned among them.

He hath many Women belonging to his Kitchin, choosing to have his Meat dressed by them. Several times he hath sent into the Countreys«a Command to gather handsome young Women of the Chingulayes to recruit his Kitchin, with no exceptions whether married or un-married : and those that are chosen for that Service never return back again Once since my being on the Land, all the Portuguez Women that were young and white were sent for to the Court, no matter whether Maids or Wives ; where some remained until now, and some that were not amiable in his sight were sent home ; and some having purchased his displeasure were cast into a River, which is his manner of executing Women. And some sent Prisoners in the Countrey, none being admitted to speech or sight of them.

OP THE KING'S STATE

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Concubines he keepeth not many. Some arc within his [p. 36.] Palace. And those whose Office is about his Kitchin are reported to be so ; which is not improbable, seeing he admits none but them that are young and very handsom t j ie f owns to the imployment. Other of his women dwell in Towns where the y near to the City. Into which no Stranger is permitted to go, nay it is dangerous to approach near. These Towns have this Priviledgythat if any Slave flee from his Master

and come hither, he is safe and free from his Masters service, but still remains a Slave there to them.

Sometimes he walketh about his Palace, where there are certain Pedestalls of Stone whitened with Lime and laid in Oyl, so that they look purely white, made and set up in divers places, here he stands when he comes forth, that he might be above the rest of the People, and see about him. But when he is minded to go abroad, though it be never so little a way, and he seldom or never goes far,

His State when he walks

Order is given some time before, for all Soldiers of his Guards which are a great many, it may be Thousands, together with a Dutch and Portugal Captain with their Flags and Soldiers, Drummers, Trumpeters, Pipers,

Singers,, and all belonging, as Elephants, Horses, Falkeners with their Faulkons, and many others, to stand at the Gate in a readiness to attend his pleasure. And tho he means not to come forth, yet they must wait in this manner, until he give order, that they may depart to their houses. Commonly all this assembly are gathered together at the Palace three or four times before he comes out once.

And oftentimes he comes out when none there are aware of it, with only those that attend on his person within his Palace. And then when it is heard, that his Majesty is come forth, they all run ready to break their necks, and place themselves at a distance to Guard his Person and wait his pleasure. Sometimes, but very seldom, He comes forth riding upon an Horse or Elephant. But usually he is brought out in a Pallenkine ; which is nothing so well made as in other parts of India. The ends of the Bambou it is carried by, are largely tipped with Silver, and curiously

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His reception of Embassadors.

[P- 37-]

His delight in them.

wrought and engraven : for he hath very good workmen of that profession.

The place where he goeth when he comes thus abroad, is to a Bankqueting-house built by a Pond side, which he has made. It is not above a Musquet shot from his Palace. Where he goeth for his diversion. Which I shall by and by more particularly relate.

Another instance of his State and Grandure will appear in his reception of Ambassadors. Who are received with great honour and Show. First he sends several of his great men to meet them with great Trains of Soldiers, the ways all cut broad, and the grass pared away for many miles : Drums and Trumpets, and Pipes, and Flags going before them, Victuals and all sorts of varieties are daily brought to them, and continue to be so all the time they are in the Land, and all at free-cost. For the Custom here is, Ambassadors, stay they never so long, are maintained at the Kings Cost and Charges. And being in the City, have their Victuals brought them out from the Kings Palace, ready dressed. Presents, Good:? or whatsoever they please to bring with them, the King prepareth men to carry. And when they are come to the House that is prepared for them, which is hung top and sides with white Callico, they are kept under a Guard, and great Commanders with Soldiers appointed to watch at their Gates, which is accounted for a great honour. But these Guards dare not permit any to come to the Speech of them, for the King careth not that any should talk with Ambassadors, but himself, with whom he taketh great delight to have conference, and to see them brought before him in fine Apparrel, their Swords by their sides with great State and Honour, and that the Ambassadors may see and take notice of the greatness of his Majesty. And after they have been there some times, he gives them both Men and handsom young Maids for their Servants, to attend and also to accompany them : often causing them to be brought into his presence to see his Sports and Pastimes, and not caring to send them away ; but in a very familiar manner entertaining discourse with them.

S3

OF THE KING’S MANNERS

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Chap. II.

Concerning the King’s Manners, Vices,

Recreation, Religion.

Nder the Consideration of his Manners,
will fall his Temperance, his Ambition and
Pside, his Policy and Dissimulation, his
cruel and bloody Disposition.

He is temperate both in his Diet and Sparing in
his Lust. Of the former, I am informed hts
by those that have attended on his Person
in his Palace, that though he hath all sorts of Varieties the
Land affords brought to his Table, yet his chief fare is
Herbs, and ripe pleasant Fruits : and this but once a day.
Whatsoever is brought for him to eat or drink is covered
with a white cloath, and whoever brings it, hath a Mufler
tyed about his mouth, lest he should breath upon the Kings
Food. The Kings manner of eating is thus. He sits After ivhat
upon a Stool before a s^all Table covered with a white m f nncr ^
cloath, all alone. He eats on a green Plantane-Leaf laid ^ nis '
in a Gpld Bason. There are twenty or thirty Dishes pre-
pared for him, which are brought into his Dining-Room.

And which of these Dishes the King pleases to call for, a
Nobleman appointed for that service, takes a Portion of
and reaches in a Ladle to the Kings Bason. This person
also waits with a Inufler about his mouth.

And as he is abstemious in his eating, so in the use of Gka$t him \
women. If he useth them 5 tis unknown and with great
secrecy. He hath not had the Company of his Queen this tQ ^ s(u
twenty years, to wit, since he went from Candy, where he
left her. He allowes not in his Court Whoredom or
Adultery ; and many times when he hears of the misde-
meanors of some of his Nobles in regard of women, He
not only Executes them, but severely punisheth the women, [p, 38,]
if known : and he hath so many Spyes, that there is but little
done, which he knows not of. And often he gives Com-
mand to expel all the women out of the City, not one to

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

remain. But by little and little when they think his wrath is appeas'd, they do creep in again. But no women of any Quality dare presume, and if they would, they cannot, the Watches having charge given them not to let them pass. Some have been taken concealed under mans Apparel, and what became of them all may judg, for they never went home again. Rebellion does not more displease this King, then for his Nobles to have tP do with women. Therefore when any are admitted to his Court to wait upon him, they are not permitted to enjoy the Company of their Wives, no more then any other women. Neither hath he suffered any for near this twenty years to have their Wives in the City, except Slaves or inferior servants.

Indeed he was once guilty of an Act, that seemed to argue him a man of most unbridled Lust. For he had a Daughter that was with Child by himself : but in Childbed both dyed. But this manner of Incest is allowable in Kings, if it be only to beget a right Royal Issue, which can only be gotten that way. But in all other ? tis held abominable, and severely punished. And here they have a common and usual Proverb, None can reproach the King nor the Beggar. The one being so high, that none dare ; the other so low, that nothing can shame or reproach them.

His Pride and affectation of honour is unmeasurable. Which appears in his Peoples manner of Address to him, which he either Commands or allows of. When they come before him they fall flat down on their Fates to the Ground at three several times, and then they sit with their legs under them upon their Knees all the time they are in his presence : And when he bids them to absent, they go back-wards, untill they are out of his sight, or a great distance from him. But of Christian People indeed he requires no more then to kneel with their Hats off before him.

Nay, He takes on him all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of Honour, which they shew unto their Gods ; making his account that as he is now their King, so hereafter he shall be one of their Gods. And the People did call him God. Formerly since my being on that Land, he used not to

OF THE KING’S TITLES

come out of his Palace into the sight of the People but very seldom out of State and Haughtiness of Spirit ; but now of later times he comes forth daily. And altho he be near fourscore years of age, yet his greatest delight is in Honour and Majesty, being most pleased with high and windy Titles given him. Such as Mauhawaul, a Phrase importing Greatness, but not expressible in our Language. Hondrewne Boudouind, Let your Majesty be a God. When the King speaks to them, they answer him at every period, Oiboa, many Lives. Baula Gaut, the limb of a Dog, speaking to the King of themselves : yet now of late times since here happened a Rebellion against him, he fears to assume to himself the Title of God ; having visibly seen and almost felt, that there is a greater power then His ruling on Earth, which set the hearts of the People against Him : and so hath given command to prophane that great Name no more, by ascribing it to him.

In Anno 1675, one of the Kings greatest and most Valiant Generals, and that had been notably successful against the Dutch, had done many pieces of good service for the King, expelled the Hollanders out of several Forts, taking and killing many of them, this man the King was jealous of, and did resolve to take away his Head as a reward of his Valour ; which he had some private Intelligence of, and so Fled, being then in Camp against the Dutch, and got to'Columba with his wife and goods. By which the King had an invaluable Loss, Yet the King out of the height of his Stomach, seemed not in the least to be vexed thereat, neither did he regard it ; as if it were beneath the quality of such a Monarch to be moved with such a Trifle. But sent down another General in his place ; And as for the house and estate of him that Fled, and whatsoever he left behind him, he let it lye and rot, scorning to esteem or regard it.

To give you an Instance or two more of this Princes Spirit. At the time of New-year, all his Subjects, high and low, do bring him certain Presents, or rather Taxes, each one a certain rate ; which formerly he used constantly

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An instance
or two of the
King's
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He scorns ft
receive his
Revenues.

to take, but of late years, He so abounds with all things, continually putting into his Treasury, and but seldom taking out, and that but little, that he thinks scorn to receive these his due revenues, least his people should think it were out of necessity and want. Nevertheless the Great Men still at the New-year, bring their Presents day after day before the King at his coming forth, hoping it will please him to accept them, but now of many years he receives them not. His mind is so haughty, that he scorns to seem to value any thing in the world. When tydings are sometimes brought him, that the Dutch have made an Invasion into his Countrey, although he be well able to expel them, he will not so much as regard it.

" he Dutch The Dutch knowing his Proud Spirit make their advan-

rve their _ tage of it, by Flattering him with their Ambassadors, "'riiTb /l ' 1 tellin g him that they are his Majesties humble Subjects 'attend him. an d Servants ; and that it is out of their Loyalty to him, that they build Forts, and keep Watches round about his Countrey, to prevent Forraign ^Nations and Enemies from coming. And that as they are thus imployed in his Majesties service, so it is for sustenance, which thpy want, that occasioned their coming up into his Majesties Countrey. And thus by Flattering him, and ascribing to him High and Honourable Titles, which are things he greatly delights in, some times they prevail to have the Countrey (they have invaded,) and he td have the Honour. Yet at other times, upon better Consideration, he will not

be Flattered, but falls upon them at unawares, and does them great damage.

he people Such a Veneration does he expect from the People, that be tew to whatsoever things are carrying to him which are known 'mUothl the wilite Cloath they are wrapt up in, all persons meeting them turn out of the way: not excepting the Kings foul Cloaths. For when they are carried to washing (which

Us natural ' S even tke g reatest r ^ se U P> as they come by,

ViMes™md which is known b y bein g carried on an hand heaved mitfiil upwards, covered with a Painted cloth.

•mprr. He is crafty, cautious, a great dissembler, nor doth he

OF TEE KING'S ABILITIES

want wisdom. He is not passionate in his anger. For with whomsoever he be angry, he will not shew it : neither is he rash or over-hasty in any matters, but doth all things with deliberation, tho but with little advise: asking Counsel of no body but himself. He accounts it Wit and Policy to lie and dissemble, that his intents and purposes may the better be concealed ; but he abhorreth and punisheth those that lie to him.

Dutch Runnawayes, whereof there are several come to him, he saith are Rogues that either have robbed or killed, or else would never run away from their own Nation. And tho he receiveth them, yet esteemeth them not.

He seems to be naturally disposed to Cruelty : For he sheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reason for it. His Cruelty appears both in the Tortures and Painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his punishments, viz. upon whole Families for the miscarriage of one in them. For when the King is displeased with any, he does not alwayes command to kill them outright, but first to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their flesh by Pincers, burning them with hot Irons clapped to them to make them confess of their Confederates ; and this they do, to rid themselves of their Torments, confessing far more than ever they saw or knew. After their Confession, sometimes he commands to hang their two Hands about their Necks, and to* make them eat their own flesh, and their own Mothers to eat of their own Children ; and so to lead them thro the City in public view to terrifie all, unto the place of Execution, the Dogs following to eat them. For they are so accustomed to it, that they seeing a Prisoner led away, follow after. At the place of Execution, there are alwayes some sticking upon Poles, others

hanging up in quarters upon Trees; besides, what lyes killed by Elephants on the ground, or by other ways. This place is alwayes in the greatest High-way, that all may see and stand in awe. For which end this is his constant practice.

Moreover, he hath a great many Prisoners, whom he

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The dogs
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Prisoners to
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The Kings
Prisoners ,
their Misery ,

kcepd.ii m Chains, some in the common Gaol, some committed to the custody of Great Men ; and for what or for how long time none dare enquire. Commonly they ly thus two, four or six years ; and some have Victuals given them, and some not having it, must ask leave to go out and beg with a Keeper. It is according as the King appoints, when they are committed. Or some of them being driven to want do get food by work, such as, sewing, making Caps, Doublets^ Purses. This coming once to the Kings Ears, he said, I put them there to torment and punish them, not to work and be well maintained ; and so commanded to take away their Sizzars and Needles from them. Yet this lasted not long, for afterwards they fell to their work again.

Those that have been long there are permitted to build little Shops on the Street side against the Prison, and to come out in the day time, and sell their work as they make it ; but in the Night time are shut up again.

When the Streets are to be swept about the Palace, they make the Prisoners come outpn their Chains, and do it.

And after all their Imprisonment, without any examination, they are carried forth and executed : and these not only the common sort, but even the greatest 'and most nobly descended in the Land : For with whom he is displeased, he maketh no difference.

He punishes Nor is his wrath appeased by the Execution of the abk Malefactor, but oftentimes he punisheth all his Generation ; foTtbsake ^ ma y kills them alltogether, or gives them all away of one ‘ f° r Slaves.

[p. +i.] Thus he often deals with those, whose Children are his The sad Attendants. I mentioned before, that young Men of the condition oh p est F ami l ies ' Ul the Land, are sought out to wait upon ''Gentlemen the ^mg ' n Court. These after they have served here that aaiton aome small time, and have as it were but seen the Court, bs Pet son. and known his Customs and Manners, he requiteth them by cutting off their Heads, and putting them into their Bellies : other faults none do know. Heretofore, as it is reported, he was not so Cruel, but now none escapes, that serves in his Palace. Then he recruits his Slain out of

the Countries, by giving Orders to his Dissava’s or Governors to send him others to Court. Whither they go like an Ox to the Slaughter, but with far more heavy hearts. For both they and their Parents full well know what end the King’s honorable Service will bring them to. Howbeit there is no remedy. Being thus by Order sent unto the Court, their own Parents must provide for and maintain them, until the fang is pleased to call them to his Use, which it may be will not be in some years. Sometimes it happens, that the Boys thus brought, before the King makes use of them about his Person, are grown too big, and so escape. But those that are employed in the Palace, enjoy this favour, That all such Taxes, Customs, or other Duties belonging to the King, which their Fathers were wont to pay, are released, until such time as they are discharged from the King’s Employment; which is always either by Execution, or by being given to somebody for perpetual Bondmen. During the time of the King’s

favour, he is never admitted tp go home to Visit his Parents and Friends. The Malekind may come to see him, but no Women are admitted, be it his Mother that bare him. And after he is killed, tho' for what no man knows, he is accounted a Rebel and Traitor against the King : and then his Father's House, Land and Estate is seized on for the King. Which after some time by giving of Fees and Gifts to the great ones, they do redeem again : And sometimes the whole Family and Generation perish, as I said before. Bo that after a Lad is taken into the King's Palace, his Kindred are afraid to acknowledge Alliance to him. But these matters may more properly be related, when we come to speak of his Tyranny.

Sometimes for his Pleasure, he will ride or be carried to his Banquetting-House, which is about a Musquet-shot from his Palace. It stands on a little Hill ; where with abundance of pains and many Months labour, they have made a little Plain, in length not much above an Arrows flight, in breadth less. Where at the head of a small Valley, he hath made a Bank cross to stop the Water run-

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I l is Pleasure
Houses,

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His Pastimes
ihroad.

ning down. It is now become a fine Pond, and exceeding fall of Fish. At this Place the King hath several Houses built according to his own appointment very handsom, born up with carved Pillars and Painted, and round about Rails and Banisters turned, one Painted and one Ebony, like Balconie. Some standing high upon a Wall, being for him to sit in, and see Sport with his Elephants, and other

Beasts, as also for a Prospect abroad. "Others standing over this Pond, where he himself sits and feedeth his Fish with boiled Rice, Fruits and Sweet-meats. They are so tame that they will come and eat in his hand ; but never doth he suffer any to be catch'd. This Pond is useful for his Elephants to wash in. The Plain was made for his Horses to run upon. For oftentimes he commands his Grooms to get up and ride in his Presence ; and sometimes for that good Service, gives the Rider five or ten Shillings, and it may be a piece of Cloath. Always when he comes forth, his Horses are brought out ready saddled before him ; but he himself mounts them vejy seldom. All of which he had from the Dutch, some sent to him for Presents, and some he hath taken in War. He hath in all some twelve or fourteen : some of which are Persian Horses.'

Other Pastimes and Recreations he hath (for this is all he minds or regards.) As to make them bring wild Ele-phants out of the Woods, and catch them in his Presence. The manner how they get them unto the City, I have mentioned already. Also when he comes out of his Court, he Delights to look upon his Hawks, altho' he never use them for his Game ; sometimes on his Dogs, and tame Deer, and Tygers, and strange kind of Birds and Beasts ; of both which he hath a great many. Also he will try his Guns, and shoot at Marks, which are excellently true, and rarely inlay'd with Silver, Gold, and Ivory. For the Smiths that make them dare not present them to his hand, not having sufficiently proved them. He hath Eight or Nine small Iron Cannon, lately taken from the Dutch, which he hath mounted in Field-Carriages, all rarely carved, and inlay'd with Silver and Brass, and coloured Stones, set in

convenient places, and painted with Images and Flowers. But the Guns disgrace the Carriages. He keeps them in an House on the Plain. Upon some Festival times he useth them. I think, they arc set there chiefly for a Memorial of his late Victories: For he hath many, and far better Guns of Brass that are not so regarded.

In his Palace he passeth his time with looking upon certain Toyes and Fancies that he hath, and upon his Arms and Guns, calling in some or other of his great Men to see the same, asking them if they have a Gun will shoot further than that : and how much Steel such a Knife, as he will shew them, needs to have in it. He takes great delight in Swimming, in which he is very expert. And the Custom is, when he goes into the Water, that all his Attendance that can Swim must go in likewise.

And now lastly for his Religion, you cannot expect much from him. Of the Religion of his Countrey he makes but a small Profession ; as perceiving that there is a greater God, than those that they tjjro long custom, have and do Worship. And therefore when an Impostor, a Bastard Moor by Nation, born in that Land came and publickly set up a new nameless God, as he styled him ; and that he was sent to destroy the Temples of their Gods, the King opposed it not for a good while, as waiting to see which of these Gods would prevail, until he saw that he aimed to make himself King, then he allowed of him no longer : as I shall shew more at large hereafter : when I come to speak of the Religion of the Countrey.

The Christian Religion, he doth not in the least perse-cute, or dislike, but rather as it seems to me, esteems and honours it. As a sign of which take this passage. When his Sister died, for whom he had a very dear Affection, there was a very grievous Mourning and Lamentation made for her throughout the whole Nation: all Mirth and Feasting laid aside, and all possible signs of sorrow exprest : and in all probability, it was as much as their lives were worth, who should at this time do any thing, that might look like joy. This was about Christmas. The Dutch

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His Dfaersh;
at home.

His Religion.

How he stands
affected to the
Christian
Religion .

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did notwithstanding adventure to keep their Christmas by Feasting. The News of this was brought to the King.

And every body reckoned it would go hard with the Dutch for doing this. But because it was done at a Festival of their Religion, the King past it by, and took no notice of it. The Value also that he has for the Christian Religion, will appear from the respect he gives .the Professors of it ; as will be seen afterwards.

Chap. III.

Of the King’s Tyrannical Reign.

Ee have all this while considered this King, with respect unto his Person, Temper, and Inclinations, now we will speak of him with more immediate respect unto his Office, and Government, as he is a King. And here we will discourse of the manner of his Government, of his Treasure and Revenues, of his Great Officers, and lastly, of his Strength and Wars.

His As to the manner of his Government, it is Tyrannical

Government and Arbitrary in the highest degree : For he ruleth Abso- Tyranmcal. } u te, anc [a f ter his own Will and Pleasure : his own Head being his only Counsellor. The Land all at his Disposal, and all the People from the highest to the lowest Slaves, or very like Slaves : both in Body and Goods wholly at his Command. Neither wants He those three Virtues of a Tyrant, Jealousie, Dissimulation, and Cruelty.

His Policy. But because Policy is a necessary endowment of a Prince, I will first shew in an instance or two, that he is not devoid of it.

He Farms cut The Countrey being wholly His, the King Farms out Ms Conntrey his Land, not for Money, but Service. And the People for Service. en j 0 y p 0rt i 0 ns of Land from the King, and instead of Rent, they have their several appointments, some are to serve the King in his Wars, some in their Trades, some serve him for Labourers, and others are as Farmers to

OF THE KING’S SERVICE

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furnish his House with the Fruits of the Ground ; and so all things are done without Cost and every man paid for

his pains : that is, they have Lands for it ; yet all have not watered Land enough for their needs, that is, such Land as good Rice requires to grow in ; so that such are fain to sow on dry Land, and Till other mens Fields for a sub- sistence. These Persons are free from payment of Taxes ; only sometimes updn extraordinary occasions, they must give an Hen or Mat or such like, to the King's use : for as much as they use the Wood and Water that is in his Countrey. Rut if any find the Duty to be heavy, or too much for them, they may leaving their House and Land, be free from the King's Service, as there is a Multitude do. And in my judgment they live far more at ease, after they have relinquished the King's Land, than when they had it.

Many Towns are in the King's hand, the Inhabitants whereof are to Till and Manure a quantity of the Land according to their Ability, and lay up the Corn for the King's use. These Towns? the King often bestows upon some of his Nobles for their Encouragement and Main- tenance, with all the fruits and benefits that before came to the King from them. In each of these Towns there is a [p. u>\ Smith to make and mend the Tools of them to whom the King hath granted them, and a Potter to fit them with Earthen Ware, and „a Washer to wash their Cloaths, and other men to supply what there is need of. And each one of these hath a piece of Land for this their Service, whether it be to the King or the Lord ; but what they do for the other People they are paid for. Thus all that have any Place or Employment under the King, are paid without any Charge to the King,

His great Endeavour is to Secure himself from Plots His Poky t§ and Conspiracies of his People, who are sorely weary of secure hmi l his tyrannical Government over them, and do often Plot ^asskatm to make away with him ; but by his subtilty and good for- or Rebellion, tune together, he prevents them. And for this purpose he is very Vigilant in the Night : the noise of Trumpets and

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Another point
of Ms Policy.

Another ,
which is to
find his People
work to do.

A vast work
undertaken
and finished
by the King.

Drums, which he appoints at every Watch, hinders both himself and all others from sleeping. In the Night also he commonly does most of his Business, calling Embassadors before him, and reading the Letters ; also displacing some of his Courtiers, and promoting others, and giving Sentence to execute those whom he would have to live no longer ; and many times Commands to lay hold on and carry away great and Noble men, who until that instant knew not that they were out of his favour.

His Policy is to make his Countrey as intricate and difficult to Travel as may be, and therefore forbids the Woods to be felled, especially those that divide Province from Province, and permits no Bridges to be made over his Rivers : nor the Paths to be made wider.

He often employs his People in vast works, and that will require years to finish, that he may inure them to Slavery, and prevent them from Plotting against him, as haply they might do if they were at better leisure. Therefore he approves not that hisJPeople should be idle ; but always finds one thing or other to be done, tho the work be to little or no purpose. According to the quantity of the work, so he will appoint the People of one County or of two to come in : and the Governor of the said County or Counties to be Overseer of the Work. At such times the Soldiers must lay by their Swords, and work among the People. These works are either —digging down Hills, and carrying the Earth to fill up Valleys ; thus to enlarge his Court, which standeth between two Hills, (a more uneven and unhandsom spot of ground, he could not well have found in all his Kingdom) ; or else making ways for the Water to run into the Pond, and elsewhere for his use in his Palace. Where he hath it running thro in many places unto little Ponds made with Lime and Stone, and full of Fish.

To bring this W T ater to his Palace, was no small deal of labour. For not having a more convenient way, they were forced to split a great Mountain in twain to bring the Water thro, and after that to make a Bank cross a Valley far above

OF THE KING'S WATER WORKS

a Cables length, and in height above four Fathom, with thickness proportionable to maintain it, for the Water to run over the top. Which at first being only Earth, the Water would often break down ; but now both bottom and sides are paved and wrought up with Stone. After all this, yet it was at least four or five Miles to bring this Water in a Ditch ; and the ground all Hills and Valleys, so that they were forced to 'turn and wind, as the Water would run. Also when they met with Rocks which they could not move, as this Ground is full of them, they made great Fires with Wood upon it, until it was soundly hot ; and hereby it became so soft, that they could easily break it with Mawls.

This Water was that which nourished that Countrey, from whence it was taken. The People of which ever since have scarce been able to Till their Land. Which extremity did compel the People of those Parts to use a means to acquaint the King how the Countrey was destroyed thereby, and disabled from performing those Duties and Services, which they owed unto the King ; and that there was Water sufficient both for His Majesties Service, and also to relieve their Necessities. Which the King took very ill from them, as if they would seem to grudge him a little Water. And sure I am, woe be to him, that should mention that matter again.

So far is he from regarding the good of his Countrey, that he rather endeavours the Destruction thereof. F or issue he hath none alive, and e’re long, being of a great Age Nature tells him, he must leave it. Howbeit no love lost between the King and his People. Yet he daily contriveth and buildeth in his Palace like Nebuchadnezzar, wet and dry, day and night, not showing the least sign of Favour to his People. Who oftentimes by such needless Imployments, are Letted from the seasonable times of Ploughing and Harvest, to their great prejudice, and sometimes utter undoing.

After the Rebellion, when the People that lived at a further distance, saw that the King intended to settle him-

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The turning
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great injury
to the People.

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a.d. HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

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self near the Mountain to which he fled, Viz. Digligy, and not to come into the old City again, it being very troublesom and tedious to bring their Rents and Taxes thither, they all jointly met together, being a great number, and sent an Address to intimate their Desires to him ; which was with great Submission, That His Majesty would not leave them destitute of his Presence, which was to them as the Sun, that he would not absent himself from them to dwell in a Mountain in a desolate Countrey ; but seeing there was no further danger, and all the Rebels destroyed, that he would return to his old Palace again, vowing all Fidelity to him. The King did not like this Message, and was somewhat afraid there being such a tumultuous Company met together, and so thought not fit to drive them away, or publickly to declare his displeasure at them ; but went to work like a Polititian. Which was to tell them that he thanked them for their love and affection towards him ; and that he was desirous to dwell among them in such a part of their Countrey as he named : and so bad them all go to work to build him a Palace there. The People departed with some Satisfaction, and fell to work might and main : and continued at it for near two years together, felling Timber, and fetching it out of the Woods, laying Foundations, hewing Stone, till they were almost killed with labour. And being wrought quite tyred, they began to accuse and grumble at one another for having been the occasion of all this toil. After they had laboured thus a long while, and were all discouraged, and the People quiet, the King sent word to them to leave off. And now it lies unfinished, all the Timber brought in, rots upon the place, and the building runs to ruin.

In what Moms he And this is the manner how he employs his People ; € pf 0 T pulling down and building up again, equalling unequal hls grounds, making sinks under ground for the passage of

[p. 46.] water thro 5 his Palace, dragging of great Trees out of the Wood to make Pounds to catch Elephants in his Presence ; altho 5 they could catch them with far less labour, and making houses to keep them in, after they are taken.

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OF THE KING'S VILLAINY

1681.

He stands not upon any Villainy to establish himself, HePoysomhs or strike terror into his People. This made him cut off qh1 j Sor2 - his only Son, a young man of about Fifteen years. After the Rebellion the Kingdom being setled in the King's hands again, and knowing that the hearts of the People disaffecting him, stood strongly bent towards the Prince, and fearing his own safety as the Prince grew to riper years, to prevent all, he poisoned him.' For about a year after the Rebellion, his Son was Sick, the King takes this Opportunity to dispatch him by pretending to send Physic to him to Cure him. The People hearing of the Death of the Prince, according to the Custom of the Land when any of the Royal Blood is deceased, came all in general towards the City where he was, with black or else very dirty Cloaths, which is their Mourning, the Men all bare-headed, the Women with their hair loose and hanging about their Shoulders, to mourn and lament for the Death of their young Prince. Which the King hearing of, sent this word unto them, That since it was not his fortune to live, to sit on his Throne after him and Reign over the Land, it would be but in vain to mourn ; and a great trouble and lett unto the Countrey : and their voluntary good will was taken in as good part as the mourning it self, and so dismist the Assembly ; and burned the Princes dead Body without Ceremonies or Solemnities.

Yet the Death of old Sister which he had, caused no The small Lamentation. It was she that carried the Prince exirao r ^! mr y away in the Rebellion. Which I shall relate by and by.

Countrey after Conn trey came up to mourn, giving all o/MsStsun $: gns of extraordinary sadness, both in Habit and Countenance ; the King himself was seen to weep bitterly. The White men also came, which the King took well. Insomuch that the Hollanders supposing the King himself to be dead, came up to take Possession of the Countrey ; but hearing the contrary and understanding their mistake returned back again. The King and all his Countrey for more than a years time went in mourning. And her Body was burnt with all the Honour and State that could be.

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give. There is a certain Rate for it. Their manner of bringing these Gifts or rather Duties is thus. Their Servants thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they take them at their hands, put them upon their heads, and so come in humble maimer, and lay them at the King's feet. These Presents are Gold, Jewels, Plate, Arms, Knives, Cloth, each one by a rate according to the Place he is in, and the Countrev he hath under him : And most of them are to present a Sum of Money besides. And if they can procure any precious Stone, or Rarity, or any other thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they bring, and glad they are to be honoured with the favour of his acceptance. These New-years Gifts for these many years he thinks scorn to receive, and bids them carry them away again till another time. Thus they come with them time after time presenting them, which he as often refusing ; at last they bring them no more.

AH sorts of Tradesmen also, and such as by their Skill can any ways get Money, aj the New year are to pay into the Treasury each one a certain rate. Which now adayes he accepts not, though formerly he always did.

At this and the other times the things which the People carry as their Rents and Taxes, are Wine, Oyl, Corn, Honey, Wax, Cloth, Iron, Elephants Teeth, Tobacco, Money. They bring them themselves, and wait at Court

with them commonly divers Months, before they be received. The great Officers tell the King, the People have brought their Rents. The King saith, 'Tis well. But if lie give no order withal to receive the things brought (as he seldom does) there is no remedy, but there they must wait with them. And this he doth out of State. The Rents and Duties brought at the two other times are after the same manner ; the great Men do only bring theirs once at the New year.

There are other Revenues the King hath, which are accidental ; but bring in great wealth; That whensoever any man dies, that hath a stock of Cattel, immediately out thence must be paid a Bull and a Cow with a Calf, and a

OF THE KING'S REVENUES a.d.

1681.

Male and Female Buffalo, which tax they call Marral. And there are Officers appointed, whose place it is, to come and carry them away. Also at Harvest yearly there is a certain rate of Corn to be paid by every man according to the Land they hold and enjoy. Heretofore the King granted, that upon Payment of a Sum of Money, they should be clear from this yearly Jax of Com so long, till the present Possessor died, and the Land descended to his Son or some body else. And then the Estate became liable again to the forementioned Duties. But now of late there is no mention of any discharge by Money. So that in time all Houses The Tiofits and Families in the Kingdom will be liable to the Payment thai 10 of this Tax of Corn ; which will bring in no small quantity of Provision to the King. Only Soldiers that are slain in the Wars, their Lands are free from the Payment of this Tax ; but if they die naturally they are not. The Farmers all in general, besides their measures of Corn, pay a certain Duty in Money, with their Rents.

If they Sell or Alienate tkeir Inheritances, the Kings accustomed Duties must not be diminished, whosoever buyeth or enjoyeth them. Neither is here any Land which doth not either pay, or do some Duty to the King. Only one case excepted, and that is, if they give or dedicate Land to a Priest, as an Alms or Deed of Charity in God's Name.

On that there is never any more Tax or Duty to be imposed, [p. 49.] as being sacrilegious to take ought from one that belongs to the Temple. Formerly the King had the Benefit of the trade of two Ports Cotiar and Portalone, unto each of Custom of which used to come yearly some twenty or thirty Sail of m P° small Vessel, which brought considerable Customs in. But fi rmc,l 5 now the Hollander has deprived him of both, suffering no Vessels to come.

The King hath several Treasure-houses, and in several places, in Cities and Towns, where always are Guards of Soldiers to watch them both day and night. I cannot His certainly declare all that is contained in them. There are Treasuries. Precious Stones such as his Land affords, mony, but not very much, Cloth, and what he hath got by Shipwrack,

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Presents, that have been sent him from other Nations, Klephants-tceth, Wax, good store of Arms, as Guns, Bowes and Arrows, Pikes, Halberds, Swords, Ammunition, store of Knives, Iron, Taiiipat-Leaves, whereof one will cover a large Tent, Bedsteads, Tables, Boxes, Mats of all sorts. J will not adventure to declare further the Contents of his

Treasuries, lest I may be guilty of a mistake. But sure 1 am he hath plenty of all such things, as his Land affords. For he is very Provident, and Careful to be well furnished with all things. And what he does abound with, he had rather it should lye and rot, then be imbezelled and wasted, that is, distributed among his Servants, or Slaves ; of which he hath great store.

He hath some hundreds of Elephants, which he keepeth tame, and could have as many more as he pleaseth ; but altho not catched, yet they are all his, and at his Command when he pleaseth.

Ft is frequently reported and I suppose is true, that both he and his Predecessors, by^the distress they have been driven to by the Portuguezes, have cast some store of Riches into the great River, Mavelagonga, running by the City, in deep holes among Rocks, which is irrecoverable, and into a made Pond by the Palace in the City of Cande, or Hmgodegul-neur. Wherein are kept to this day two Alligators, so that none dare go into the water for fear of being devoured by them. And often times they do destroy Cows, that go to drink there. But this Pond by cutting the Bank might easily be drained.

To conclude, the Land that is under his jurisdiction, is ah his, with the People, their Estates, and whatsoever it affords, or is therein. But that which he doth chiefly value and esteem, are Toys and Novelties, as Hawks, Horses, Dogs, strange Birds, and Beasts, and particularly a spotted Elephant, and good Arms, of which he hath no want.

OF THE KING'S OFFICERS

A.l).

1681-

Chap. V.

Of the Kings great Officers, and the Governours

of the Provinces,

Here are two, who are the greatest and Tm greatest highest Officers in the Land. They are Officers in the called Adigars, I may term them Chief Judges ; under whom is the Government of the Cities, and the Countries also in [p. s°.| the Vacancy of other Governours. All People have liberty in default of Justice to appeal to these Adigars, or if their causes and differences

be not decided by their Governours according to their minds.

To these there are many Officers and Sergeants belonging. All which, to be known, carry staves in their hands like to Bandyes, the crooked end uppermost, which none but they dare carry. The # ^ght of which staves, upon what message soever they be sent, signifies as much as the Adigars Hand and Seal. If the Adigar be ignorant in what belongs to his place and office, these men do instruct him what and how to do. The like is in all other places which the King bestows : if they know not what belongs to their places, there are Inferiour Officers under them, that do teach and direct them how to Act,

Next under the Adigars, are the Dissauva's, who are The next Governours over Provinces and Counties of the Land. great Officers, Each Province and County has its Governour; but all Governours are not Dissauva's, nor other great Officers known by other names or Titles, as Roterauls and Vidantes.

But all these are Generals or Chief Commanders, who have a certain number of Soldiers under them. These great men are to provide, that good orders be kept in the Countries over which they are placed, and that the King's accustomed dutie be brought in due season to the Court. They have Power also to decide controversies between the People of their Jurisdiction, and to punish contentious and disorderly

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persons, which they do chiefly by amercing a Fine from them, which is for their Profit, for it is there own : and also by committing them to Prison. Into which when they are once fallen, no means without mony can get them out again. But be the fact never so hainous (Murther it self) they can put none to death. The sentence of death being pronounced only by the King. Th$y also are sent upon expeditions in War with their Soldiers, and give Attend-nnce, and watch at Court in their appointed Stations.

These Dissauva's are also to see that the Soldiers in their Countries do come in due season and order for that purpose.

They are appointed by the King himself, not for life, hut during his good pleasure. And when they are dead or removed, oftentimes their places lay void, somtimes for months, somtimes perhaps for years ; during which time the Adigar rules and governs those Countries ; and for his labour receiveth all such Incoms and Profits as are accus-tomed and of right do belong to the Governour.

The King when he advances any to be Dissauva's, or to any other great Office regards not their ability or sufficiency to perform the same, only they must be persons of good rank, and gentile extraction : and they are all naturally discreet and very solid, and so the fitter for the Kings employment. When he first promotes them, he shews them great testimonies of his Love and Favour, (especially to those that are Christians, in whose service he imposeth greater confidence than in his own people, con-cluding that they will make more conscience of their ways, and be more faithful in their Office) and gives them a Sword, the hilt all carved and inlaid with Silver and Brass very handsomly, the Scabberd also covered with Silver, a Knife and Halberd ; and lastly, a Town or Towns for their maintenance. The benefit of which is, that all the Profits which before the King received from those Towns, now accrues unto the Kings Officer. These Towns are com-posed of all sorts of Trades and People that are necessary tor his service to whom the King hath given them; a Potter, a Smith, a Washer. And there is a piece of Land according

to the ability of the Town, which the Townsmen are to Till and manure, and to lay up the Corn for his use.

Which matters I mentioned before in the third Chapter. And besides the Customs or Taxes that all other free Towns pay to the King, there is a due, but smaller, to be paid to the Governour out of them. But these are not all his advantages.

When there is a* new Governour made over any Countrey, it is the Custom that that whole Countrey comes up to appear before him at the Court, for there his Residence is. Neither may they come empty handed, but each one must bring his Gift or Present with him. These also are expected at other times to be brought unto him by the people, tho they have no business with him, no suits or causes to be decided : even private Soldiers at their first coming tho to their due watch, must personally appear before their Commander, and if he have nothing else, he must Present him with forty leaves of green Betle, which he with his own hand receivetji, and they with both theirs delivers into his, which is talcen for an honour he vouchsafes them.

These Governours, nor any other admitted to Court into the Kings service, are never after to return home, altho they are not employed at present, and might be spared, neither are they permitted to enjoy their wives : and they are day and night to stgnd guard in certain stations, where the King appoints them.

Things thus standing with them, they cannot go in Person to visit and oversee their several Charges themselves. They have therefore several Officers under them to do it. The chief of whom is the Courlividani. This person beside his entertainment in the Countrey unto which he is sent to Govern under the Dissauva, hath a due revenue, but smaller then that of the Governour. His chief business is to wrack and hale all that may be for his Master, and to see good Government, and if there be any difference or quarrel between one or other, he takes a Fine from both, and carrieth to the Governour, not regarding K.C. Sr I

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equity but the profit of himself and him that imploys him. But he hears their case and determines it. And if they like not his sentence, they may remove their business unto the Governour himself, whose desire is not so much to find out the right of the cause, as that that may be most for his own interest and profit. And these carriages cannot reconcile them much love among the people ; but the more they are hated by the people for their*rigorous government, the better they please the King. For he cares not that the Countrey should affect the Great men.

The Dissauva's by these Courlividani their Officers do oppress and squeez the people, by laying Mulcts upon them for some Crimes or Misdemeanors, that they will find and lay to their Charge. In Fine this Officer is the Dissauva's chief Substitute, who orders and manages all affairs incum-bent upon his Master.

Next to him is Congconna, An Overseer. Who is to oversee all things under the Courlividani. But besides him, there is a Courli-atchila like our Cunstable, who is to put that in execution that the Governour orders, to dispatch any thing away that the Land affords for the Kings use, and to send persons to Court, that are -summoned. And in the discharge of this his Office, he may call in the

assistance of any man.

The next Officer under the Governor is the Liannah, The Writer. Who reads Letter^ brought, and takes accounts of all Business, and of what is sent away to the Court : He is also to keep Registers, and to write Letters, and to take notice of things happening.

Next to him is the Undia. A word that signifieth a lump. He is a Person that gathers the King's Money : and is so styled because he gathereth the King's Monies together into a lump.

After him is the Monnannah, The Measurer. His Place is to go and measure the Corn that grows upon the King's Land. Or what other Corn belongeth to him.

The Power of these Officers extends not all a whole County or Province over, but to a convenient part or

division of it. To wit, so much as they may well manage themselves. And there are several sets of the like Officers appointed over other Portions of the Countrey. As with us there are divers Hundreds or Divisions in a County. To each of which are distinct Officers belonging.

These Officers can exercise their Authority, throughout the whole Division over which they are constituted, excepting some certain Towns, that are of exempt jurisdiction. And they are of two sorts. First, such Towns as belong to the Idol-Temples, and the Priests, having been given and bestowed on them long ago by former Kings. And secondly, The Towns, which the King allots to his Noblemen and Servants. Over these Towns thus given away, neither the forementioned Officers, nor the chief Magistrate himself hath any Power. But those to whom they are given and do belong to, do put in their own Officers, who serve to the same purposes as the abovesaid do.

But these are not all the Officers ; there are others, whose place it is, upon the Death oji any Head of a Family to fetch away the King's Marrals, Harriots as I may call them ; Viz. a Bull and a Cow, a Male and Female Buffalo, out of his Stock. Which is accustomably due to the King, as I have mentioned before. And others, who in Harvest time carry away certain measures of Corn out of every Man's Crop according to the rate of their Land.

These Inferior Officers commonly get their Places by Bribery ; Their Children do pretend a right to them after their Father's Death, and will be preferred before others, greazing the Magistrate.

None of these have their Places for life ; and no longer than the Governor pleaseth. And he pretty often removes them or threatens to do so upon pretence of some neglects, to get Money from them. And the People have this privilege, that upon Complaint made of any of these Officers, and request that they may be changed and others made, They must be displaced, and others put in ; but not at their Choice, but at the Choice of the Chief Magistrate, or Owner of the Town.

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

For the hearing Complaints and doing Justice among Neighbours, here are Countrey-Courts of Judicature, consisting of these Officers, together with the Head-Men of the Places and Towns, where the Courts are kept: and these are called Gom sabbi, as much as to say, Town-Consultations. But if any do not like, and is loath to stand by what they have determined^ and think themselves wronged, they may appeal to their Head-Governor, that dwells at Court ; but it is chargeable, for he must have a Fee. They may appeal also from him to the Adigars, or the Chief Justices of the Kingdom. But whoso gives the greatest Bribe, he shall overcome. For it is a common saying in this Land, That he that has Money to see the Judge, needs not fear nor care, whether his cause be right or not. The greatest Punishment that these Judges can inflict upon the greatest Malefactors, is but Imprisonment. From which Money will release them.

Some have adventured to Appeal to the King sometimes; falling down on the ground «before him at his coming forth, which is the manner of their obeisance to him, to complain of Injustice. Sometimes he will give order to the great ones to do them right, and sometimes bid them wait, until he is pleased to hear the Cause, which is not suddenly; for he is very slow in ail his Business: neither dare they then depart from the Court, having been bidden to stay. Where they stay till they are weary, being at Expence, so that the Remedy is worse than the Disease. And sometimes again when they thus fall before him, he commands to beat them and put them in Chains for troubling of him ; and perhaps in that Condition they may lay for some years.

The King’s great Officers when they go abroad into the Countries about the King’s Business, they go attended with a number of Soldiers armed both before and behind them ; their Sword if not by their side, a Boy carrieth after them, neither do they carry their Swords for their safety or security. For in travelling here is little or no danger at all. But it is out of State, and to shew their greatness. The Custom is that all their journey Victuals be prepared

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OF THE KING’S OFFICERS

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for them ready dressed ; and if their Business requires hast, then it is brought on a Pole on a Man’s shoulder, the Pots that hold it hanging on each end, so that nothing can be spilt out into the road ; and this is got ready against the great Man’s coming. So that they are at no charge for Diet : It is brought in at the charge of the Countrey. But however this is not for # all his Soldiers that attend him (they must bring their own Provisions with them) but only for himself, and some of his Captains.

The greatest Title that is allowed in the City to be given Their Titles to the greatest Man is Oussary, which signifieth Worship- and Signs of ful But when they are abroad from the King, men call Sta/e ' them Sihattu and Dishondrew, implying, Honour and Excellency. These Grandees whensoever they walk abroad, their manner is in State to lean upon the arm of some Man or Boy. And the Adigar besides this piece of State, where- soever he goes, there is one with a great Whip like a Coach-whip goes before him slashing it, that all People may have notice that the Adigar is coming.

But there is something comes after, that makes all the The misery Honour and Wealth of these great Courtiers not at all thatsumeds desirable: and that is, that they are so obnoxious to the / m imur ' King’s displeasure. Which is a thing so customary, that it is no disgrace for a Nobleman to have been in Chains, nay and in the Common Goal too. And the great Men are as ready when the King Commands, to lay hold on one another, as he to command them : and glad to have the Honour to be the King’s Executioners, hoping to have the Place and Office of the Executed. When any of these are [p. 54.] thus dispatched, commonly he cuts off or imprisoneth all the Male kind, that are near of Kin, as Sons or Brothers, fearing they should plot revenge, and seizes on all the Estate. And as for the Family, after Examination with Punishment to make them confess where the Estate lyes, they have Monthly Allowance out of the same. But the Wife or Women-Kindred are now nothing at all in esteem for Honorable Ladies as they were before. Yet some- times he will send for the Sons or Brothers of these whom

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he hath cut off for Traitors, and remand them out of the Prisons where he had committed them, and prefer them in honorable Employment.

It is generally reported, and I have seen it so, that those whom he prefers unto the greatest and weightiest Imploy-ments are those whom he intends soon to cut off, and contrariwise those whom he doth effect, and intends to have longer Service of, shall not be so laden with Places and Honours. Howbeit altho they know and see this before their eyes daily, yet their hearts are so haughty and ambitious, that their desires and endeavours are to ascend unto the highest degrees of honour : tho that be but one remove from Death and utter Destruction. And the Women’s ambition is so great also, that they will put their Husbands on to seek for Preferment, urging how dishonor-able it is for them to sit at home like Women, that so they may have respect, and be reputed for great Ladies.

Chap. VI.

Of the King’s Strength and Wars.

T remains now that I speak aTittle of the King’s Military Affairs, His Power con-sists, in the natural Strength of his Countrey, in his Watches, and in the Craft, more than' the Courage, of his

Soldiers.

He hath no Artificial Forts or Castles,
hut Nature hath supplied the want of them. For his whole
Countrey oi Conde Uda, standing upon such high Hills,
and those so difficult to pass, is all an Impregnable Fort :
and so is more especially Digligy-neur his present Palace.
These Places have been already described at large; and
therefore I omit speaking any further of them here.

There are constant V T atches set in convenient places in
all parts of the Countrey, and Thorn-gates : but in time
of danger, besides the ordinary Watches, in all Towns,
and in all places and in every cross Road, exceeding thick,

OF THE KING’S STRENGTH AND WARS

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that J tis not possible for any to pass unobserved. These
Thorn-gates which I here mention and have done before,
are made of a sort of Thorn-bush or Thorn-tree ; each
stick or branch whereof thrusts out on all sides round
about, sharp prickles, like Iron Nails, of three or four
inches long : one of these very Thorns I have lately seen
in the Repository at. Gresham College: These sticks or
branches being as big as a good Cane, are platted one very
close to another, and so being fastned and tyeci to three or
four upright spars, are made in the fashion of a Door.

This is hung upon a Door-case some ten or twelve foot
high, (so that they may, and do ride thro upon Elephants)
made of three pieces of Timber like a Gallows, after this jp. Sv\

manner | | the Thorn door hanging upon the transverse

piece like I Shop window ; and so they lift it up, or clap
it down, as there is occasion : and tye it with a Rope to a
cross Bar.

But especially in all Road$®and Passages from the City None to pass
where the King now Inhabits, are very strict Watches set : fromtkpn^
which will suffer none to pass not having a Passport ; which ^
is the prinriof a Seal in clay : It is given at the Court to F
them that have Licence to go thro the Watches. The
Seals are different, according to the Profession of the
Party : as to a Soldier the print of a man with a Pike on

his Shoulder: to a Labourer, a Man with two Bags hanging on each end of a Pole upon his Shoulder, which is the manner they commonly carry their Loads. And to a white man, the Passport is the print of a Man with a Sword by his side, and a Hat on his head. And so many

Men as there are in the Company, so many prints there must be in the Clay. There is not half the examination for those that come into the City, as for those that go out, whom they usually search to see what they carry with them.

To speak now of their Soldiery, their Expeditions and That manner of Fight, Besides the Dissauvas, spoken of Soldiery. before, who are great Generals, there are other great Captains. As those they call Mote-Rails; as much as to

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

say, Scribes. Because they keep the Rolls or Registers of certain Companies of Soldiers, each containing 970 Men, who are under their Command. Of these Mote-Rails, there are four principal. But besides these, there are smaller Commanders over Soldiers ; who have their Places from the King, and are not under the Command of the former great ones.

All these both Commanders and common Soldiers must wait at the Court. But with this difference. The great Men must do it continually : each one having his particular Watch appointed by the King. But the private Soldiers take their turns of Watching. And when they go, they do carry all their Provisions for the time of their stay with them upon their Backs. These Soldiers are not listed, (listing Soldiers being only upon extraordinary occasions) but are by Succession the Son after the Father. For which Service they injoy certain Lands and Inheritances, which is instead of "Wages or Pay. This duty if they omit or neglect, they loose or forfeit<heir Inheritance. Or if they please to be released or discharged, they may, parting with their Land. And then their Commander placeth another in their room ; but so long as the Land lies void, he con-verts the Profits to his own proper use. And he that after takes it, gives a Bribe to the Commander, who yet notwith-standing will not permit him to hold it above two or three years, unless he renew his Bribes. *

The Soldiers of the High-Lands called Conde Uda, are dispersed all over the Land ; so that one scarcely knows the other, the King not suffering many Neighbours and Townsmen to be in one Company; which hath always heretofore been so ordered for fear of Conspiracies.

When the King sends any of these Commanders with their Armies abroad to War or otherwise, sometimes they see not his face, but he sends out their Orders to them by a Messenger ; sometimes admits them into his Presence, and gives them their Orders with his own mouth, but nothing in Writing. And when several of them are sent together upon any Design, there is not any one appointed

to be Chief Commander or General over the whole Army ; but each one as being Chief over his own Men, disposed!

and ordereth them according to his pleasure ; the others do the like. Which sometimes begets disagreement among themselves, and by that means their Designs are frustrated* Neither doth he like or approve, that the great Commanders of his Soldiers should be very intimate or good Friends, lest they should conspire against him, nor will he allow them to disagree in such a degree that it be publickly known and observed.

And when there is any tidings to send the King, they do not send in general together by consent, but each one sends particularly by himself. And their common custom and practice is to inform what they can one against another, thinking thereby to obtain the most favour and good will from the King. By this means there can nothing be done or said, but he hath notice thereof.

Being in this manner sent forth, they dare not return, altho they have performed £nd finished the Business they were sent upon, until he send a special Order and Com- mand to recall them.

When fhe Armies are sent abroad, as he doth send them very often against the Dutch, it goeth very hard with the Soldiers ; who must carry their Victuals and Pots to dress it in upon their Backs, besides their Arms, which are Swords, Pikes, Bows and Arrows, and good Guns. As for Tents, for their Armies alwayes ly in the Fields, they carry Tallipat leaves, which are very light and convenient, along with them. With these they make their Tents : Fixing sticks into the ground, and laying other pieces of Wood overthwart, after the manner of the roof of an House, and so lay their leaves over all, to shoot the Rains off. Making these Tents stronger or slighter, according to the time of their tarriance. And having spent what Provisions they carried out with them, they go home to fetch more. So that after a Month or two a great part of the Army is always absent.

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any Expedition, the Watches beyond them are all secured immediately, to prevent any from passing to carry Intelligence to the Enemy. The Soldiers themselves do not know the Design they are sent upon, until they come there. None can know his intentions or meaning by his actions. For sometimes he sends Commanders with their Soldiers to ly in certain places in the Woods yntil farther order, or until he send Ammunition to them. And perhaps when they have laid there long enough, he sends for them back again. And after this manner oftentimes he catches the Hollanders before they be aware, to their great prejudice and dammage. He cares not that his great Men should be free-spirited or Valiant; if there be any better than the rest, them to be sure suddenly he cuts off, lest they might do him any mischief.

In their W r ar there is but little valour used, altho they do accomplish many notable Exploits. For all they do is by crafty Stratagems. They will never meet their Enemies in the Field, to give them a repulse by Battel, and force of Arms : neither is the Enemy like to meet with any opposition at their first goings out to invade the King's Coasts, the King's Soldiers knowing the adverse Forces are at first wary and vigilant, as also well provided with all Necessaries. But their usual practice is to way-lay them,

and stop up the wayes before them : there being convenient places in all the Roads, which they have contrived for such purposes. And at these places the Woods are not suffered to be felled, but kept to shelter them from the sight of their enemies. Here they lye lurking, and plant their Guns between the Rocks and Trees, with which they do great damage to their Enemies before they are aware. Nor can they then suddenly rush in upon them, being so well guarded with Bushes and Rocks before them, thro which before their Enemies can get, they flee carrying their great Guns upon their Shoulders and are gone into the Woods, where it is impossible to find them, until they come them selves to meet them after the former manner.

Likewise they prepare against the enemies coming great
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Of THE KING'S STRENGTH AND WARS

bushy Trees, having them ready cut hanging only by withs which grow in the Wood ; these as they march along they let fall among them with many shot and Arrows.

Being sent upon any design they are very circumspect to keep it hidden from the Enemies knowledg ; by suffering only those to pass, who may make for their Benefit and advantage ; they* great endeavour being to take their Enemies unprovided and at unawares.

By the long wars first between them and the Portugueze, and since with the Hollander, they have had such ample experience, as hath much improved them in the art of War above what they were formerly. And many of the chief Commanders and Leaders of their Armies are men which formerly served the Portugueze against them. By which they come to know the disposition and discipline of Christian Armies. Insomuch as they have given the Dutch several overthrows, and taken Forts from them, which they had up in the Countrey.

Heretofore for bringings the head of an Enemy, the King used to gratify them with some reward, but now the fashion is almost out of use. The ordering of their battel is with great security, there being very few lost in Fight. For if they be not almost sure to win the battel, they had rather not fight, than run any hazzard of loosing it.

If his men do not successfully accomplish the design he sends them upon, to be sure they shall have a lusty piece of work given them, to take revenge on them ; for not using their weapons well he will exercise them with other tools houghs and pickaxes, about his Palace. And during the time they stay to work, they must bring their Victuals with them not having monies there to buy : They cannot

carry for above one month, and when their Provisions are all spent, if they will have any more, they must go home and fetch them. But that is not permitted them without giving a Fee to the Governour or his Overseer. Neither can they go without his leave, for besides the punishment, the Watches which are in every Road from the Kings City will stop and seize them, [Chap, VII.

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

Chap. VII.

A Relation of the Rebellion made against the King.

Or the Conclusion of this Part, it will not be improper to relate here a dangerous rising of the People against the King. ^ It happened in the year 1 664. About which time appeared a fearful Blazing-Star. Just at the Instant of the Rebellion, the Star was right over our heads. And one thing I very much wondred, at, which was that whereas before this Rebellion, the Tail stood away toward the Westward from which side the Rebellion sprung, the very night after (for I very well observed it) the Tail was turned and stood away toward the Eastward. And by degrees it diminished quite away. m

At this time, I say, the people of this land, having been long and sore oppressed by this Kings unreasonable and cruel Government, had contrived a Plot against him. Which was to assault the Kings Court in the night, and to slay him, and to make the Prince his Son, King. He being then some twelve or fifteen years of age, who was then with his Mother the Queen in. the City of Cande. At this time the King held his Court in a City called Nillemby. The Situation of which is far inferior to that of Cande, and as far beyond that of Digligy where he now is. Nillemby lyeth some fourteen miles southward of the City of Cande. In the place where this City stands it is reported by Tradition an Hare gave chase after a Dog, upon which it was concluded that place was fortunate, and so indeed it proved to the King. It is invironed with Hills and Woods.

The time appointed to put their design in action was the one and twentieth of December 1664. about Twelve in the night. And having gotten a select company of men,

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OF THE REBELLION

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how many well I know not, but as is supposed, not above two hundred, neither needed they many here, having so many Confederates in the Court ; in the dead of the night they came marching into the City. The Watch was thought to be of their confedracy : but if he were not, it was not in his power to resist them. Howbeit afterwards, whether he were or were not, he was executed for it. The said men, being thus in the City, hastened and came down to the Court ; and fell upon the great men, which then laid without the Palace upon Watch : since which by the Kings order they lye allways within the Palace. For they were well informed before who were for them and who not.

Many who before were not intrusted to know of their design, were killed and wounded ; and those that could, seeing the slaughter of others, got in unto the King. Who was walled about with a Clay-wall, thatched : that was all his strength. Yet these people feared to assault him, laying The Kl still until the morning. At which time the King made way to flee, fearing to stay yi his Palace, endeavouring to get unto the mountains, ancl had not with him above fifty persons. There were horses went with him, but the wayes were so bad, that he could not ride. They were fain to drive an Elephant before him, to break the way through the Woods, that the King with his followers might pass.

As he fled they pursued him, but at a great distance, [p. 59.' fearing to approach within shot of him. For he wanted They ft not for excellent good Fowling-pieces, which are made * m J an there. So he got safe upon a Mountain, called Gauluda, some fifteen miles distant, where many of the Inhabitants, that were near, resorted to him. Howbeit had the people of the Rebel-party been resolute, who were the major part (almost all the Land ;) this Hill could not have secured him, but they might have driven him from thence ; there being many ways by which they might have ascended.

There is not far from thence a high and peaked hill called Mondamounour, where there is but one way to get up, and that very steep, at the top are great stones hanging in chains to let fall when need requireth. Had he fled hither,

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

there had been no way to come at him. But he never will adventure to go, where he may be stopped in.

The People having thus driven away the old King, marched away to the City of Cande, and proclaimed the Prince, King : giving out to us English who were there, that what they had done they had not done rashly, but upon good Consideration, and with good advice ; the King by his evil Government having occasioned it, who went about to destroy both them and their Countrey : As in keeping Ambassadours, disanulling of Trade, detaining of all people that come upon his Land, and killing of his Subjects and their Children, and not suffering them to enjoy nor to see their Wives. And all this was contrary to reason, and as, they were informed, to the Government of other Countries.

The Prince being young and tender, and having never been out of the Palace, nor ever seen any but those that attended on his person, as it seemed afterwards, was scared to see so many coming and bowing down to him, and telling him that he was King, and his Father was fled into the mountains. Neither did he say or act any thing, as not owning the business, or else not knowing what to say or do. This much discouraged the Rebells, to see they had no more thanks for their pains. And so all things stood until the five arid twentieth of December, at which time they intended to march and fall upon the old King.

But in the Interim, the Kings Sisjter Flyes away with the Prince from the Court into the Countrey near unto the King ; which so amazed the Rebells, that the mony and cloth and plunder which they had taken, and were going to distribute to the Strangers to gain their good will and assistance, they scattered about and fled. Others of their

Company seeing the Business was overthrown, to make amends for their former fact, turned and fell upon their Consorts, killing and taking Prisoners all they could. The people were now all up in arms one against another, killing whom they pleas'd, only saying they were Rebells and taking their goods.

By this time a great man had drawn out his men, and

stood in the Field, and there turned and publickly declared for the old King : and so went to catch the Rebells that were scattered abroad. Who when he understood that they were all fled, and no whole party or body left to resist him, marched into the City killing all that he could catch.

And so all revolted, and came back to the King again : whilst he only lay still upon his mountain. The King needed not to take rare to catch or execute the Rebells, for they themselves out of their zeal to him, and to make amends for what was past, imprisoned and killed all they met ; the Plunder being their own. This continued for some eight or ten days. Which the King hearing of, commanded to kill no more, but that whom they took they should imprison, until examination passed ; which was not so much to save innocent persons from violence, as that he might have the Rebells to torment them, and make them confess of their Confederates. For he spared none that seemed guilty: some to this day lye chained in Prison, being sequestred of all their Estates, and beg for their living. One of the most itoted Rebells, called Ambom Wellaraul, he sent to Columba to the Dutch to execute, supposing they would invent new Tortures for him, beyond what he knew of. But they instead of executing him, cut off his chains, and kindly entertained him, and there he still is in the City of Columba, reserving him for some designs they may hereafter have against the Countrey.

The King could not but be sensible, that it was his rigorous government that had occasioned this Rebellion, yet amended it not in the least ; but on the contrary like to Rehoboam, added yet more to the Peoples yoak. And being thus safely re-instated in his Kingdom again, and observing that the life of his Son gave encouragement to the Rebellion, resolved to prevent it for the future by taking him away. Which upon the next opportunity he did by Poysoning him, which I have related before.

But one thing there is, that argues him guilty of imprudence and horrible ingratitude, that most of those that went along with him when he fled, of whose Loyalty he

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had such ample experience, he hath since cut off ; and that with extreme cruelty too.

In the year 1666 in the month of February, there appeared in this Countrey another Comet or stream in the West, the head end under the Horizon, much resembling that which was seen in England in the year 1680 in December. The sight of this did much daunt both King and People, having but a year or tWo before felt the sad event of a Blazing-Star in this Rebellion which I have now

related. The King sent men upon the highest mountains in the Land to look if they could perceive the head of it, which they could not, being still under the Horizon. This continued visible about the space of one month, and by that time it was so diminished, that it could not be seen. But there were no remarkable passages that ensued upon it.

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*PART III b.61.3

Chap. I.

Concerning the Inhabitants of this Island.

Ee shall in this Part speak of the Inhabitants of this Countrey > with their Religion, and Customs, and other things belonging to them.

Besides the Dutch who possess, as I The several judg, about # *me fourth of the Island, Inhditanh 0/ there are Malabars, that are free Denizens, thu s and ' and pay duty to the King for the Land they enjoy, as the Kings natural Subjects do ; there are also Moors, who are like Strangers, and hold no Land, but live by carrying- goods to the Sea-Ports, which now are in the Hollanders hands. The Sea-Ports are inhabited by a mixt people,

Malabars and Moors, &nd some that are black, who profess themselves Roman Catholicks, and wear Crosses, and use Beads. Some of these are under the Hollander ; and pay toll and tribute to them.

But I am to speak only of the natural proper People of the Island, which they call Chingulays.

I have asked them, whence they derive themselves, but The Original they could not tell They say their Land was first inhabited °/Chkgulays, by Devils, of which they have a long Fable. I have heard a tradition from some Portugueze here, which was ; That an antient King of China had a Son, who during his Fathers Reign, proved so very harsh and cruel unto the people, that they being afraid he might prove a Tyrant if he came k.c. 97 0

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to the Crown, desired the King to banish him, and that

he might never succeed. This that King, to please the people, granted. And so put him with certain Attendants into a ship, and turned them forth unto the Winds to seek their fortune. The first shore they were cast upon, was this Island. Which they seated themselves on, and peopled it. But to me nothing is more improbable than this Story. Because this people and the Chineses have no agreement nor similitude in their features nor language nor diet. It is more probable, they came from the Malabars, their Countrey lying next, tho they do resemble them little or nothing. I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the Chingulays as the people of Europe.

Wild-men. Of these Natives there be two sorts, Wild and Tame.

I will begin with the former. For as in these Woods there are Wild Beasts, so Wild Men also. The Land of Bintan is all covered with mighty Woods, filled with abundance of Deer. In this Land are many of these wild men ; they call them Yaddahs, dwelling near no other Inhabitants. They speak the Chingulayes Language. They kill Deer, and dry the Flesh over the fire, and the people of the Countrey come and buy it of them. They nSver Till any ground for Corn, their Food being only Flesh. They are very expert with their Bows. They have a little Ax, which they stick in by their sides, to cut hony out of hollow Trees. - Some few, which are near Inhabitants, have commerce with other people. They have no Towns nor Houses, only live [p, fiz.] by the waters under a Tree, with some boughs cut and laid round about them, to give notice when any wild Beasts come near, which they may hear by their rustling and trampling upon them. Many of these habitations we saw when we fled through the Woods, but God be praised the Vaddahs were gone.

/'.jj an a- Some of the tamer sort of these men are in a kind of

^7k < Kk'' nt Sub i ection t0 tbe King. For if they can be found, tho it iot:e mg. niust k e w ; t k a g reat searc h j n t h e Woods, they will

acknowledg his Officers, and will bring to them Elephants-Teeth, and Honey, and Wax, and Deers Flesh : but the

OF THE INHABITANTS

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others in lieu thereof do give them near as much, in Arrows, Cloth &c. fearing lest they should otherwise appear no more.

It hath been reported to me by many people, that the Hoc? tky
wilder sort of them, when they want Arrows, will carry buptak
their load of Flesh in the night, and hang it up in a Smith's >e

Shop, also a Leaf cu# in the form they will have their
Arrows made, and hang by it. Which if the Smith do
make according to their Pattern they will requite, and bring
him more Flesh : but if he make them not, they will do
him a mischief one time or another by shooting him in the
night. If the Smith make the Arrows, he leaves them in
the same place, where the Vaddahs hung the Flesh.

Formerly, in this Kings Reign these wild men used to They mkmly
lye in wait, to catch Carriers people, that went down with tm ^

Oxen to trade at the Sea-Ports, carrying down Betelnuts, C **J s rers
and bringing up Cloth, and would make them to give *
them such things as they required, or else threatning to
shoot them. They fearing thtur lives, and not being able
to resist, were fain to give them what they asked ; or else
most certainly they would have had both life and goods
too. At which this King sent many Commanders with
their Soldiers to catch them, which at length they did : But
had not some of themselves proved false to them, being
incouraged by large promises, they could never have taken
them. The chief being brought before the King, promis-
ing amendment, were pardoned : but sent into other Woods
with a Command not to return thither any more, neitheir
to use their former courses. But soon after their departure,
they forsook those Woods they were put into, and came
to their old haunt again, falling to their former course of
Life. This the King hearing of, and how they had abused
his Pardon, gave command either to bring them dead or
alive. These Vaddahs knowing now there could be no
hope of Pardon, would not be taken alive, but were shot
by the Treachery of their own men. The heads of two
of the chiefest were hanged on Trees by the City. And
ever since they have not presumed to disturb the Countrey,

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nor the King them he only desiring their quiet, and not to he against him.

About Hourly the remotest of the Kings Dominions there are many of them, that are pretty tame, and come and buy and sell among the people. The King once having occasion of an hasty Expedition against the Dutch, the Governour summoned them all in to go with him, which they did. And with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest but afterwards when they returned home again, they removed farther in the Woods, and would be seen no more, for fear of being afterwards prest again to serve the King.

They never cut their hair but tye it up on their Crowns m a bunch. The cloth they use, is not broad nor large, scarcely enough to cover their Buttocks. The wilder and tamer sort of them do both observe a Religion. They have a God peculiar to themselves. The tamer do build Temples, the wild only bring their sacrifice under Trees, and while it is offering, dance found it, both men and women.

They have their bounds in the Woods among them- selves, and one company of them is not to shqot nor gather hony or fruit beyond those bounds. Neer the borders stood a Jack-Tree ; one Vaddah being gathering some fruit from this Tree, another Vaddah of the next division saw him, and told him he had nothing to do to gather Jackfcr from that Tree, for that belonged to them. They fell to words and from words to blows, and one of them shot the other. At which more of them met and fell to skirmishing so briskly with their Bows and Arrows, that twenty or thirty were left dead upon the spot.

They are so curious of their Arrows that no Smith can please them. The King once to gratifie them for a great Present they brought him, gave all of them of his best

made Arrow-blades : which nevertheless would not please their humour For they went all of them to a Rock by a River and ground them into another form. The Arrows they use are of a different fashion from all other, and the Chingulays will not use them.

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They have a peculiar way by themselves of preserving How they Flesh. They cut a hollow Tree and put honey in it, and preserve their then fill it up with flesh, and stop it up with clay. Which lyes for a reserve to eat in time of want.

It has usually been told me that their way of catching How they take Elephants is, that when the Elephant lyes asleep they strike Elephants. their ax into the sole of his foot, and so laming him he is in their power to take him. But I take this for a fable, because I know the sole of the Elephants foot is so hard, that no ax can pierce it at a blow ; and he is so wakeful that they can have no opportunity to do it.

For portions with their Daughters in marriage they give The armies hunting Dogs. They are reported to be courteous. Some the ypve. of the Chingulays in discontent will leave their houses and friends, and go and live among them, where they are civilly entertained. The tamer sort of them, as hath been said, will sometimes appear, and hold some kind of trade with the tame Inhabitants, but the wilder called Ramba-Vaddahs never shew themselves.

But to come to the civilized Inhabitants, whom I am A description chiefly to treat of. They are a people proper and very well of a favoured, beyond all people that I have seen in India, C!lill S tt h-wearing a cloth about their Loyns, and a doublet after the English fashion, with little skirts buttoned at the wrists, and gathered at the shoulders like a shirt, on their heads a red Tunnis Cap, or if they have none, another Cap with flaps of the fashion of their Countrey, described in the next Chapter, with a handsom short hanger by their side, and a knife sticking in their bosom on the right side.

They are very active and nimble in their Limbs : and Their very ingenious : for, except Iron-work, all other things they disposition. have need of, they make and do themselves : insomuch that they all build their own houses. They are crafty and treacherous, not to be trusted upon any protestations : for their manner of speaking is very smooth and courteous, insomuch that they who are unacquainted with their dis-positions and manners, may easily be deceived by them. [p. 64.]

For they make no account nor conscience of lying, neither

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is it any shame or disgrace to them, if they be catched in telling lyes : it is so customary. They are very vigilant and wakeful, sufficed with very little sleep : very hardy both for diet and weather, very proud and self conceited. They take something after the Bramines, with whom they scruple not both to marry and eat. In both which other-wise they are exceeding shy and cautious. For there being many Ranks or Casts among them' they will not match with any Inferiour to themselves; nor eat meat dressed in any house, but in those only that are of as good a Cast or Race as themselves : and that which any one hath left, none but those that are near of kin will eat.

They are not very malitious one towards another ; and their anger doth not last long ; seldom or never any blood shed among them in their quarrels. It is not customary to strike ; and it is very rare that they give a blow so much as to their Slaves ; who may very familiarly talk and dis-course with their Masters. They are very near and covetous, and will pinch th^ir own bellies for profit ; very few spend-thrifts or bad husSands are to be met with here.
'he The Natures of the Inhabitants of the Mountains and

habitants of Low-lands are very different. They of the Low lands are
e Mountains pittiful, helpful, honest and plain, compassionating

oseofthe Strangers, which we found by our own experience among
%vkmts. them. They of the Up-lands are ill-natured, false, unkind, though outwardly fair and seemingly courteous, and of more complaisant carriage, speech and better behaviour, than the Low-landers.

heir good Of all Vices they are least addicted to stealing, the which
km of they do exceedingly hate and abhor ; so that there are but
'^Imctlce ^ ew ^°frberies committed among them. They do much
j WL " L extol and commend Chastity, Temperance, and Truth in words and actions ; and confess that it is out of weakness and infirmity, that they cannot practice the same, acknow-ledging that the contrary Vices are to be abhorred, being abomination both in the sight of God and Man. They

do love and delight in those Men that are most Devout
and Precise in their Matters. As for bearing Witness for

Confirmation in any matters of doubt, a Christians word
will be believed and credited far beyond their own 1
because, they think, they make more Conscience of their
words.

They are very superstitious in making Observations of Superstitious*
any little Accidents, as Omens portending good to them
or evil. Sneezing they reckon to import evil So that if
any chance to sneeze when he is going about his Business,
he will stop, accounting he shall have ill success if lie pro-
ceeds. And none may Sneeze, Cough, nor Spit in the
King's Presence, either because of the ill boding of those
actions, or the rudeness of them or both. There is a little
Creature much like a Lizzard, which they look upon
altogether as a Prophet, whatsoever work or business they
are going about ; if he crys, they will cease for a space,
reckoning that he tells them there is a bad Planet rules at
that instant. They take great notice in a Morning at their
first going out, who first appears in their sight: and if
they see a White Man, or a lyg-bellied Woman, they hold
it fortunate : and to see any decrepit or deformed People,
as unfortunate.

When they travel together a great many of them, the How they
Roads are so narrow, that but one can go abreast, and if
there be Twenty of them, there is but one Argument or ^ ^
Matter discoursed of among them all from the first to the
last. And so they go. talking along all together, and every
one carrieth his Provisions on his back for his whole
Journey.

In short, in Carriage and Behaviour they are very grave A brief
and stately like unto the Portugals, in understanding quick ^^ mUr ^
and apprehensive, in design subtil and crafty, in discourse m '
courteous but full of Flatteries, naturally inclined to tem-
perance both in meat and drink, but not to Chastity, near
and Provident in their Families, commending good
Husbandry. In their dispositions not passionate, neither
hard to be reconciled again when angry. In their Promises
very unfaithful, approving lying in themselves, but mis-
liking it in others ; delighting in sloath, deferring labour

till urgent necessity constrain them, neat in apparel, nice in eating ; and not given to much sleep.

Women As for the Women, their Habit is a Wastcoat of white Habit Q a \y 1C0 covering their Bodies, wrought into flourishes with 1 aiure ' Blew and Red ; their Cloath hanging longer or shorter below their Knees, according to their quality ; a piece of Silk flung over their heads; Jewels in their Ears, Ornaments about their Necks, and Arms, and Middles. They are in their gate and behaviour very high, stately in their carriage after the Portugal manner, of whom I think they have learned: yet they hold it no scorn to admit the meanest to come to speech of them. They are very thrifty, and it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their Pride & Glory to be accounted near & saving. And to praise themselves they will sometimes say, That scraps and parings will serve them ; but that the best is for their Husbands. The Men are not jealous of their Wives, for the greatest Ladies in the Land will frequently talk and discourse with any Men they t j)lease, altho their Husbands be in presence. And altho they be so stately, they will lay their hand to such work as is necessary to be done in the House, notwithstanding they have Slaves and Servants enough to do it. Let this suffice concerning the Nature and Manners of the People in general: The ensuing Chapters will be spent in more particular accounts of them. And because they stand much upon. their Birth and Gentility, and much of what is afterwards to be related hath reference unto it ; I shall first speak of the various ranks and degrees of Men among them.

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OF THEIR HONOURS AND RANKS

Chap. II.

Concerning their different Honours, Ranks, and Qualities.

|Mong this People there are divers and ' sundry Casts or degrees of Quality, which is not according to their Riches or Places of Honour the King promotes them to,

but according to their Descent and Blood.
And whatsoever this Honour is, be it
higher or lower, it remains Hereditary
from Generation to Generation. They abhor to eat or
drink, or intermarry with any of Inferior Quality to them-
selves. The signs of higher or meaner Ranks, are wearing
of Doublets, or going bare-backed without them; the
length of their Cloth below their knees ; their sitting on
Stools, or on Blocks or Mats # spread on the Ground : and
in their Caps.

They are especially careful in their Marriages, not to
match with*any inferior Cast, but always each within their
own rank: Riches cannot prevail with them in the least
to marry with those by whom they must eclipse and stain
the Honour of their Family : on which they set an higher
price than on their lives. And if any of the Females
should be so deluded, as to commit folly with one beneath
her self, if ever she should appear to the sight of her
Friends, they would certainly kill her, there being no other
way to wipe off the dishonour she hath done the Family,
but by her own Blood.

Yet for the Men it is something different ; it is not
accounted any shame or fault for a Man of the highest sort
to lay with a Woman far inferior to himself, nay of the
very lowest degree ; provided he neither eats nor drinks
with her, nor takes her home to his House, as a Wife.
But if he should, which I never knew done, he is punished
by the Magistrate, either by Fine or Imprisonment, or

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both, and also he is utterly ecluded from his Family, and accounted thenceforward of the same rank and quality, that the Woman is of, whom he hath taken. If the Woman be married already, with whom the Man of better rank lies, and the Husband come and catch them together ; how low soever the one be and high the other, he may kill him, and her too, if he please.

And thus by Marrying constantly each rank within it self, the Descent and Dignity thereof is preserved for ever ; and whether the Family be high or low it never alters. But to proceed to the particular ranks and degrees of Men among them.

The highest, are their Noblemen, called Hondrews. mm. Which I suppose comes from the word Homdrewne, a Title given to the King, signifying Majesty : these being honourable People. 'Tis out of this sort alone, that the King chooseth his great Officers and whom he imploys in his Court, and appoints for Governors over his Countrey. Riches are not here value^, nor make any the more Honourable. For many of the lower sorts do far exceed these Hondrews in Estates. But it is the Birth and Parentage that inobleth. •

These are distinguished from others by their names, and "otlnf t ^' C wearb £ t ^ le ∗ r which the Men wear down half 0 t!S ' their Legs, and the Women to their Heels : one end of which Cloth the Women fling over their Shoulders, and 'Ld with the very end carelesly cover their Breasts ; whereas the other sort of Women must go naked from the wast upwards, and their Cloaths not hang down much below their Knees : except it be for cold ; for then either Women or Men may throw their Cloth over their Backs. But then they do excuse it to the Hondrews, when they meet them, saying, Excuse me, it is for warmth.

'diitmtm They are distinguished also by their own Countrey Caps, ^P'– w hich are of the fashion of Mitres : there are two flaps tied up over the top of the Crown. If they be Hondrews, their Caps are all of one Colour, either White or Blew : if of inferior quality, than the Cap and the flaps on each

side be of different Colours, whereof the Flaps are always Red.

Of these Hondrews there be two sorts, the one somewhat Inferior to the other as touching Marriage ; but not in

other things. The greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Land are of the degree of Hondrews.

All Christians either White or Black are accounted equal with the Hondrews.* The Whites are generally Honourable, only it is an abatement of their Honour that they eat Beef, and wash not after they have been at Stool ; which things are reckoned with this People an Abomination.

Among the Noblemen may be mentioned an Honour, that the King confers, like unto Knighthood ; it ceaseth in the Person's death, and is not Hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their Heads a piece of Silk or Ribbond embroidered with Gold and Silver, and bestowing a Title upon them. They are stiled Mundianna. There are not above two or three of them now in the Realm living. ^ ^

Next after the degree of Hondrews may be placed Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters and Painters. Who arc all of one degree and quality. But the Plondrews will not eat with them : however in Apparel there is no difference ; and they are also privileged to sit on Stools, which none of the Inferior ranks of People hereafter mentioned, may do. Heretofore they were accounted almost equal to the Inferior sort of Hondrewes, and they would eat in these Artificers Houses, but afterwards they were degraded upon this occasion. It chanced some Hondrews came to a Smith's Shop to have their Tools mended, when it came to be Dinner time, the Smith leaves work, and goes in to his House to dine, leaving the Hondrewes in his Shop : who had waited there a great while to have their work done. Now whether the Smith fearing lest their hunger might move them to be so impudent or desperate as to partake with him of his Dinner, clapt to his Door after him: Which was taken so hainously by those hungry People in his Shop, that immediately they all went and

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declared abroad what an affront the Smith had put upon them. Whereupon it was decreed and confirmed, that for ever after all the People of that rank should be deposed, and deprived of the Honour of having the Hondrewes to eat in their liouses. 'Which Decree hath stood in force ever since.

rh'ilege Nevertheless these Smiths take much upon^ them, J f e °f especially those who are the King's Smiths ; that is, such itb, w] 10]j ve - m King's Towns, and do his work. These

have this Privilege, that each has a parcel of Towns belonging to them, whom none but they are to work for. The » | ordinary work they do for them is mending their Tools, for which every Man pays to his Smith a certain Rate of Corn in Harvest time according to ancient Custom. But if any hath work extraordinary, as making new Tools or the like, besides the aforesaid Rate of Corn, he must pay him for it. In order to this, they come in an humble manner to the Smith with a Present, being Rice, Hens, and other sorts of Provision, gr a Bottle of Rack, desiring him to appoint his time, when they shall come to have their work done. "Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the set time, and bring both Coals and Iron with them. The Smith sits very gravely upon his Stool, his Anvil before him, with his left hand towards the Forge, and a little Hammer in his Right. They themselves who come with their work must blow the Bellows, and when the Iron is to be beaten with the great Maul, he holds it, still sitting upon his Stool, and they must hammer it themselves, he only with his little Plammer knocking it sometimes into fashion. And if it be any thing to be filed, he makes them go themselves and grind it upon a Stone, that his labour of fileing may be the less ; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finlsheth it. That which makes these Smiths thus stately is, because the Towns People are compelled to go to their own Smith, and none else. And if they should, that Smith is liable to pay Dammages that * should do work for any in another Smith's Jurisdiction.

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OF THEIR HONOURS AND RANKS a.d.

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All that are of any Craft or Profession are accounted of Craftsmen , an inferior degree, as Elephant-Catchers, and Keepers, who are reckoned equal with the Smiths, &c. abovesaid, tho they neither eat nor marry together ; and these may wear Apparel as do the Hondrews, and sit on Stools, but the Hondrews eat not with them

No Artificers ever change their Trade from Generation to Generation ; but the Son is the same as was his Father, and the Daughter marries only to those of the same Craft : and her Portion is such Tools as are of use, and do belong unto the Trade : tho the Father may give over and above what he pleaseth.

Next are Barbars ; both the Women and Men may wear Bariars, Doublets, but not sit on Stools, neither will any eat with them.

Potters yet more Inferior, may not wear any Doublets, Potters. nor their Cloth much below the Knee, nor sit on Stools, neither will any eat with them. But they have this Privilege, because they make the Pots, that when they are athirst being at a Hondrew's House, they may take his Pot, which hath a Pipe to it, and pour the Water into their mouths themselves: which none other of these inferior degrees may be admitted to do : but they must hold their hands to their mouths and gape, and the Hon- drews themselves will pour the Water in. The Potters were at first denied this Honour, upon which they joyntly agreed to make Pots with Pipes only for themselves, and would sell none to the Hondrews that wanted ; whereat being constrained, they condescended to grant them the Honour above other inferior People, that they should have the favour to drink out of these Pots with spouts at their Houses.

The next are the Ruddaughs, Washers : Of these there if ashen. are great Numbers. They wash Cloths for all People to the degree of a Potter ; but for none below that degree.

Their usual Posture is to carry a Cloth on their Shoulder, [p. 69.] both Men and Women : They use Lye in their washing, setting a Pot over the Fire holding seven or eight Gallons

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of Water, and lay the foul Cloths on the top ; and the steam of the water goes into the Cloths and scalds them. Then they take them and carry them to a River side, and

instead of rubbing them with their hands, slap them against the Rock, and they become very clean ; nor doth this tear the Cloths at all, as they order it.

>y Another rank after these are the Hiyigrams, or Jaggory-n - Makers. Tho none will eat with them, yet it is lawful to buy and eat the Jaggory they make, (which is a kind of Sugar) but nothing else.

Vi/rM Another sort among them is the Poddah. These are of no Trade or Craft, but are Husbandmen and Soldiers, yet are inferior to all that have been named hitherto. For what reason neither I, nor, I think, themselves can tell : only thus it falls to them by Succession from their Prede-cessors, and so will ever remain.

«>. After these are the Weavers. Who beside their Trade, which is Weaving Cloth, are Astrologers, and tell the People good Days and good Seasons : and at the Birth of a Child write for them an account of the day, time and Planet, it was born in and under. These accounts they keep with great Care all their Life-time : by which they know their Age, and what success or evil shall befall them.

These People also beat Drums, and play on Pipes, and dance in the Temples of their Gods, and at their Sacrifices ; they eat and carry away all such Victuals as are offered to their Idols. Both which to do and take, is accounted to belong to People of a very low degree and quality. These also will eat dead Cows.

Next to the Weavers are the Kiddeas or Basket-Makers. s - Who make Fans to fan Corn, and Baskets of Canes, and Lace Bedsteds and Stools.

\hkm. Then follow the Kinnerahs. Whose Trade is to make •w fine Matts. These Men may not wear any thing on their nwy not Heads. The Women of none of these sorts ever do. Of t,t these two last there are but few.

of the All below the Couratto or Elephant-Men, may not sit

on Stools, nor wear Doublets, except the Barbar, nor wear

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OF THEIR HONOURS AND RANKS

the Cloth low down their Legs. Neither may any of these ranks of People, either Man or Woman, except the Potter and the Washer, wear the end of their Cloth to cover their Bodies, unless they be sick or cold. Neither may they presume to be called by the Names that the Hondrews are called by ; nor may they, where they are not known,

change themselves by pretending or seeming to be higher than Nature hath made them : and I think they never do, but own themselves in the rank and quality wherein they were born, and demean themselves accordingly.

All Outlandish People are esteemed above the inferior ranks. The Names of the Hondrews always end in oppow, of others below the degree of the Elephant People in adgah.

The Slaves may make another rank. For whose maintenance, their Masters allow them Land and Cattle. Which many of them do so improve ; that except in Dignity they are not far behind their Masters, only they are not permitted to have Slaves. Th^ir Masters will not diminish or take away ought, that by their Diligence and Industry they have procured, but approve of it, as being Persons capable to *repose trust in. And when they do buy or otherways get a new Slave, they presently provide him a Wife, and so put him forward to keep House, and settle, that he may not think of running away. Slaves that are born of Hondrew Parents, retain the Honour of their degree.

There is one sort of People more, and they are the Beggars : who for their Transgression, as hereafter shall be shewn, have by former Kings been made so low and base, that they can be no lower or baser. And they must and do give such titles and respects to all other People, as are due from other People to Kings and Princes.

The Predecessors of these People, from whom they sprang, were Dodda Vaddahs, which signifies Hunters: to whom it did belong to catch and bring Venison for the King’s Table. But instead of Venison they brought Man’s flesh, unknown ; which the King liking so well,

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commanded to bring him more of the same sort of Venison, The King's Barbar chanced to know what flesh it was, and discovered it to him. At which the King was so inraged, that he accounted death too good for them ; and to punish only those Persons that had so offended, not a sufficient recompence for so great an Affront and Injury as he had sustained by them. Forthwith therefore he established a Decree, that all both great and small, that were of that Rank or Tribe, should be expelled from dwelling among the Inhabitants of the Land, and not be admitted to use or enjoy the benefit of any means, or ways, or callings whatsoever, to provide themselves sustinence; but that they should beg from Generation to Generation, from Door to Door, thro the Kingdom ; and to be looked upon and esteemed by all People to be so base and odious, as not possibly to be more.

And they are to this day so detestable to the People, that they are not permitted to fetch water out of their Wells ; but do take their wafer out of Holes or Rivers. Neither will any touch them, lest they should be defiled.

And thus they go a begging in whole Troops* both Men, Women, and Children, carrying both Pots and Pans, Hens and Chickens, and whatsoever they have, in Baskets hanging on a Pole, at each end one, upon their Shoulders. The Women never carry any thing, bus when they come to any House to beg, they Dance and shew Tricks, while the Men beat Drums. They will turn Brass Basons on one of their fingers, twirling it round very swift, and wonderfully strange. And they will toss up Balls into the Air one after another to the number of Nine, and catch them as they fall, and as fast as they do catch them, still they toss them up again ; so that there are always Seven up in the Air. Also they will take Beads of several Colours, and of one size, and put them in their mouths, and then take them one by one out of their mouths again each Colours by themselves. And with this Behaviour, and the high and honourable Titles which they give, as to Men,

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Your Honour, and Your Majesty; and to Women, Queens, Countesses ; and to white Men, White of the Royal Blood, &c. They do beg for their living ; and that with so much importunity, as if they had a Patent for it from the King, and will not be denied ; pretending that it was so ordered and decreed, that by this very means they should be maintained, and unless they mean to perish with hunger they cannot accept of a denyaL The People on the other hand cannot without horrible shame, lift up their hand against them to strike or thrust them away ; so rather than to be troubled with their importunity, they will relieve them.

And thus they live, building small Hovels in remote Places, and Highways, under 'frees. And all the Land being, as it were of Necessity, Contributers towards their maintenance, these Beggars live without labour, as well or better, than the other sorts of People ; being free from all sorts of Service and Duties, which all other are compelled to perform for the King. 0£ them it is only required to make Ropes of such Cow-hides, as die of themselves, to catch and tie Elephants with : By which they have another Privilege, to claim the flesh thereof for themselves, from the Weavers. Who when they meet with any dead Cows, use to cut them up and eat them. But if any of these Roudeahs, Beggars, see them, they will run to them and drive them away, offering to beat them with the Poles, wjiereon they carry their Baskets, saying to them, How can we perform the King’s Service to make Ropes of the Hide, if the Weavers hack and spoil it? telling them also, That it is beneath such honourable People as they, to eat such Unclean and Polluted flesh. By these words, and the fear the Weavers are in to be touched by that base People, than which nothing could be more infamous, they are glad to get them away as fast as they can.

These Men being so low that nothing they can do, can make them lower, it is not unusual with them to lay with their Daughters, or for the Son to lay with his Mother, as if there were no Consanguinity ’among them.

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Many times when the King cuts off Great and Noble Men, against whom he is highly incensed, he will deliver their Daughters and Wives unto this sort of People, reckoning it, as they also account it, to be far worse Punishment than any kind of Death. This kind of Punishment being accounted such horrible Cruelty, the King doth usually of his Clemency shew them some kind of Mercy, and piftying their Distress, Commands to carry them to a River side, and there to deliver them into the hands of those, who are far worse than the Executioners of Death : from whom, if these Ladies please to free themselves, they are permitted to leap into the River and be drowned ; the which some sometimes will choose to do, rather than to

consort with them.

There are some of this sort of People which dwell in remote Parts, distant from any Towns, and keep Cattle, and sell them to the Chingulayes, also shoot Deer and sell them where they fall in the Woods; for if they should but touch them, none would, buy them.

The Barbar's Information having been the occasion of all this misery upon this People, they in revenge thereof abhor to eat what is dressed in the Barbar's –House even to this day.

Chap. III.

Of their Religion, Gods, Temples, Priests.

0 take a more particular view of the state of this Countrey, we shall first give some account of their Religion, as it justly requires the first place, and then of their other secular concerns.

Under their Religion will come to be considered, Their Gods, their Temples, their Priests, their Festivals, Sacrifices, and Worship, and their Doctrines and Opinions; and whatsoever other matters occur, that may concern this Subject.

The Religion of the Countrey is Idolatry. There are

OF THEIR RELIGION

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many both Gods and Devils, which the} worship, known by particular Names, which they call them by. They do acknowledge one to be the Supreme, whom they call Ossa polk maupt Dio, which signifieth the Creator of Heaven and Earth ; and it is he also, who still ruleth and governed) the same. This great Supreme God, they hold, sends forth other Deities to see his Will and Pleasure executed in the World ; and these are the petty and inferior gods.

These they say are the Souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the Earth. There are Devils also, who are the Inflicters of Sickness and Misery upon them. And these

they hold to be the Souls of evil men.

There is another great God, whom they call Buddou, Thn worship unto whom the Salvation of Souls belongs. Him they the Qtd that believe once to have come upon the Earth. And when kwts he was here, that he did usually sit under a large shady Tree, called Bogahah. Which Trees ever since are accounted Holy, and under which with great Solemnities they do to this day celebratejhe Ceremonies of his Wor- ship. He departed from the Earth from the top of the highest Mountain on the Island, called Pico Adam : where there is an fmpression like a foot, which, they say, is his, as hath been mentioned before.

The Sun and Moon they seem to have an Opinion to The Sun and be gods from the Names they sometimes call them by. Mm rip? ^ The Sun in their Language is Irri, and the Moon Handa, re ^ ute To which they will sometimes add the Title Haumi, which is a name they give to Persons of the greatest Honour ; and Dio, that signifies God: saying Irrihaumi, Irridio : Handahaumi, handa Dio. But to the Stars they give not these Titles.

The Pagoda's or Temples of their Gods are so many Some of Mr that I cannot number them. Many of them are of Rare *f

and Exquisite work, built of Hewn Stone, engraven with e ^f te Images and Figures ; but by whom and when I could not attain to know, the Inhabitants themselves being ignorant therein. But sure I am they were built by far more Ingenious Artificers, than the Chingulayes that now are on

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the Land. For the Portugueze in their Invasions have defaced some of them, which there is none found that hath Skill enough to repair to this day.

The fashion of these Pagoda's are different ; some, to wit those that were anciently built, are of better Workmanship, as was said before ; but those lately erected are far Inferior; made only with Clay and Sticks, and no Windows. Some, viz. Those belonging to the Buddou, are in the form of a Pigeon-House, foursquare, one Story high, and some two ; the Room above has its Idols as well as that below. Some of them are Tiled, and some Thatched.

In them are Idols and Images most monstrous to behold, some of silver, some of brass and other metals : and also painted sticks, and Targets, and most strange kind of Arms, as Bills, Arrows, Spears and Swords. But these Arms are not in the Buddou 5 s Temples, he being for Peace : therefore there are in his Temples only Images of men cross-legged with yellow coats on like the Gonni-Priests, their hair ffisled, ancitheir hands before them like women. And these they say are the spirits of holy men departed. Their Temples are adorned with such things as the peoples ability and poverty can afford ; accounting it the highest point of Devotion, bountifully to dedicate such things unto their Gods, which in their estimation are most precious.

As for these Images, they say they do not own them to be Gods themselves but only Figures, representing their Gods to their memories ; and as such, they give to them honour and worship.

Women having their natural infirmities upon them may not, neither dare they presume to come near the Temples or houses of their Gods. Nor the men, if they come out of houses where such women are.

Lnto each of these Pagodas, there are great Revenues of Land belonging: which have been allotted to them by former Kings, according to the State of the Kingdom : but they have much impaired the Revenues of the Crown, there being rather more Towns belonging to the Church,

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than unto the King. These estates of the Temples are to supply a daily charge they are at ; which is to prepare victuals or sacrifices to set before the Idols. They have Elephants also as the King has, which serve them for State.

Their Temples have all sorts of Officers belonging to them, as the Palace hath.

Most of these Pagodas are dedicated to the name and honour of those, whom they call Dio or Gods : to whom, they say, belong the Government on earth, and of all things appertaining to this life.

Besides these Publick Temples, many people do build Pm ate in their yards private Chappels, which are little houses, Mappek like to Closets, sometimes so small, that they are not above two foot in bigness, but built upon a Pillar three or four foot from the ground wherein they do place certain Image of the Buddou, that they may have him near them, and to testific their love and service to him. Which they do by lighting up candles and lamps in his house, and laying flowers every morning befoj£ him. And at some times they boyl victuals and lay it before him. And the more they perform such ceremonious service to him here, the more shall be their reward hereafter.

All blessings and good success, they say, come from the hand of God, but sickness and diseases proceed from the Devil ; not that of himself he hath such absolute power, but as servants have, power, licence and authority from their Masters, so they from God.

But the Gods will require some to wait at their Altars ; The Prksu. and the Temples, men to officiate in them ; their Priests therefore fall under the next consideration. Of these there are three sorts according to the three differences of Gods among them. And their Temples are also called by three different names.

The first and highest order of Priests are the Tirinanxes. [p« 74*] Who are the Priests of the Buddou God. Their Temples l ^ f J tor ^ n are styled Yehars. There is a religious house in the City m ' of Dlgligy, where they dwell and assemble and consult together about their affairs, which being the meeting place

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of such holy men, they call it a Yihar also ; they admit none to come into their order but persons of the most noble birth, and that have learning and be well bred ; of such they admit many. But they do not presently upon their admission arrive unto the high degree of a Tirinanx. For of these there are but three or four : and they are chose out of all the rest of the order unto this degree. These Tirinanxes only live in the Vihar, and enjoy great Revenues, and are as it were the Superiors of all the Priests, and are made by the King.

Many of the Vehars are endowed and have Farms belonging to them. And these Tirinanxes are the Land-lords, unto whom the Tenants come at a certain time and pay in their Rents. These Farmers live the easiest of any people in the Land, for they have nothing to do but at those set times to bring in their dues and so depart, and to keep in repair certain little Vehars in the Countrey. So that the rest of the Chingulais envy them and say of them, Though they live easy in this world, they cannot escape unpunished in the life to come for enjoying the Buddou's land and doing him so little service for it.

All the rest of the order are called Gonni/ The habit is the same to the whole order, both Tirinanxes and Gonni. It is a yellow coat gathered together about their wast, and comes over their left shoulder, girt about with a belt of line pack-thread. Their heads are? shaved, and they go bare-headed and carry in their hands a round fan with a wooden handle, which is to keep the sun off ther heads.

They have great benefit and honour. They enjoy their own lands without paying scot or lot or any Taxes to the King. They are honoured in such a measure, that the people, where ever they go, bow down to them as they do to their Gods, but themselves bow to none. They have

the honour of carrying the Tallipot with the broad end over their heads foremost; which none but the King does : Wheresoever they come, they have a mat and a white cloth laid over upon a stool for them to sit upon ; which is also an honour used only to the Kino*.

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They are debarred from laying their hands to any manner of work ; and may not marry nor touch women, nor eat but one meal a day, unless it be fruit and rice and water, that they may eat morning and evening : nor must they drink wine. They will eat any lawful flesh that is dressed for them, but they will have no hand in the death of it ; as to give order or consent to the killing of it.

They may lay down their order, if they please ; which some do, that they may marry. This is done by pulling off their coat, and flinging it into a River, and washing themselves head and body, and then they become like other lay-men.

There is a benefit that accrueth to them, which is, when any man is minded to provide for his soul, they bring one of these Priests under a cloth held up by four men, unto his house, with drums and Pipes and great solemnity which only can be done unto the King besides. Then they give him great entertainment and bestows gifts on him accord-ing as they are able : which^ after he hath tarried a day or more, they carry for him, and conduct him home with the like solemnities as he came. But the night that he tarries with* them he must sing Bonna, that is matter con-cerning their Religion out of a Book made of the leaves of Tallipot : and then he tells them the meaning of -what he sings, it being in an eloquent style which the Vulgar people do not understand.

Some of these Priests, against whom the King took displeasure, were beheaded, afterwards cast into the River. Which thing caused amazement in all the people, how the King durst presume to do it towards such holy and reverend persons.

And none heretofore by any former Kings have ever been so served : being reputed and called Sons of Boddou. But the reason the King slew them was because they con-spired in the Rebellion. They threw aside their Habits, and got their swords by their sides.

The second order of Priests are those called Koppuhs.

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other Gods. Their Temples are called Dewals. These are not distinguished by any habit from the rest of the People, no, nor when they are at their worship ; only they wear clean cloths, and wash themselves before they go to their service. These are taken out from among the Hon-

drews. They enjoy a piece of Land that belongs to the Dewal where they officiate, and that is all their benefit, unless they steal somewhat that is dedicated to the Gods. They follow their Husbandry and employments as other men do, but only when the times of worship are, which usually is every morning and evening, oftner or seldomer according as the Revenue will hold out, that belongs to that Temple, whereof each is Priest. The service is, that when the boyled rice and other victuals are brought to the Temple door by others, he takes it and presents it before the idol Whence, after it hath stood a while, he brings it out again, and then the drummers, pipers, and other servants that belong to the Temple, eat it. These Gods have never any flesh brought in sacrifice to them, but any thing else. *

The third order of Priests are the Jaddeses, Priests of the Spirits, which they call Dayautaus. Their Temples are called Covels, which are inferior to the other Temples, and have no revenues belonging to them. A man piously disposed, builds a small house at his own charge, which is the Temple, and himself becomes Priest thereof. Therein are Bills, and Swords, and Arrows, and Shields, and Images, painted upon the walls like fierce men. This house is seldom called Gods house, but most usually Jacco, * the Devils. Upon some extradinary festival to the Jacco, the Jaddese shaves off all his beard.

When they are sick, they dedicate a red Cock to the Devil. Which they do after this manner. They send for the Jaddese to their house, and give him a red Cock chicken, which he takes up in his hand and holds an Arrow with it, and dedicates it to the God, by telling him that if he restore the party to his health, that Cock is given to him ; and shall be dressed and sacrificed to him in his Covel

OF THEIR RELIGION

They then let the Cock go among the rest of the Poultry, and keep it afterwards, it may be, a year or two : and then they carry it to the Temple, or the Priest comes for it. For sometimes he will go round about, and fetch a great many Cocks together, that have been dedicated, telling the owners that he must make a sacrifice to the God ; though it may be when he hath them, he will go to some other place and convert them into mony for his own use, as I my self can witness. We could buy three of them for four pence half-peny.

When the people are minded to enquire any thing of their Gods, the Priests take up some of the Arms and Instruments of the Gods, that are in the Temples, upon his shoulder ; and then he either fains himself to be mad, or really is so ; which the people call Pissowetitch ; and then the spirit of the Gods is in him, and whatsoever he pronounceth, is looked upon as spoken by God himself, and the people will speak to him, as if it were the very person of God.

Chap. IV.

Concerning their Worship, and Festivals.

Ednesdays and Saturdays are the days, when people, who have any business with the Gods, come and address themselves ; that is either to pray to their God for health, or for their help in some weighty matters, as in War &c. or to swear concerning any matter in controversy, which is done before the Idols.

But one of their great and frequent businesses with their Gods is for the Recovery of health. And that God or Devil that hath made them sick, in his power only it is to restore them. Therefore when they feel themselves sick or sore, first, they use means to know which God or Devil hath been the cause or author thereof. Which to find they use these means. With any little stick they make a

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bow, and on the string thereof they hang a thing they have to cut Betel-nuts, somewhat like a pair of Sizzars ; then holding the stick or Bow by both ends, they repeat the names of all both Gods and Devils : and when they come to him who hath afflicted them, then the Iron on the bow-string will swing. They say by that sign they know their ilness proceeds from the power of that God last named ; but I think this happens by the power of the Hands that hold it. The God being thus found, to him chiefly they offer their oblations and sacrifices.

There are nine Deities, which they call Gerehah, which are the Planets (reckoning in probably the Dragons head and Tail) From whom proceed their Fortunes. These they reckon so powerful, that if they be ill affected towards any party, neither God nor Devil can revoke it.

When they are disposed to worship these Gerehah, they make Images of Clay according to the number that stand disaffected, towards them, which by certain Magick Tricks they know. These Images, ^hich are made by the Weavers, they paint of divers colours, of horrible and monstrous shapes ; some with long tusks like a Boar, some with homes like a Bull, all in a most deformed manner, but something resembling the shape of a man. Before them they pros-trate Victuals, the sick party sitting all the while before them. These ceremonies are always celebrated in the night with Drums and Pipes and dancing, until almost day, and then they take these Images and cast them out into the high ways to be trampled under foot: and the Victuals taken away and eaten by the attendants, and despicable people that wait there on purpose.

When they worship those whom they call Devils, many of whom they hold to be the Spirits of some that died heretofore, they make no Images for them, as they did for the Planets ; but only build a new house in their

jard, like a Barn very slight, covered only with leaves, and adorn it with Branches and Flowers. Into this House they bring some of the Weapons or Instruments, which are in the Pagods or Temples, and place them on Stools

at one end of the house., which is hanged with Cloth for that purpose, and before them on other Stools they la} Victuals: and all that time of the Sacrifice there is Drum- ming, Piping, Singing, and Dancing. Which being ended, they take the Victuals away, and give it to those which Drum and Pipe, with other Beggars and Vagabonds ; for only such do eat^of their Sacrifices; not that they do account such things hallowed, and so dare not presume to eat them, but contrariwise they are now looked upon as polluted meat. And if they should attempt to eat thereof, it would be a reproach to them and their Generations.

These Spirits or Gods are local. For those which the}' worship in one County or part of the Land, are not known or owned to have power over the People in other parts. But each Countrey hath several Spirits or Devils, that are peculiar to those places, and do domineer over them, and are known by several names they call them by : under whose subjection the People do acknowledge themselves to be : and, as I well perceive, do stand in a greater awe of them, than they do of them, whom they call and own to be their Gods.

And indeed it is sad to consider, how this poor People are subjected to the Devil, and they themselves acknow- ledge it their misery, saying their Countrey is so full of Devils, and evil Spirits, that unless in this manner the)* should adore them, they would be destroyed by them. Christians they do acknowledge have a Prerogative above themselves, and not to be under the Power of these infernal Spirits.

I have many times seen Men and Women of this People strangely possest, insomuch that I could judge it nothing else but the effect of the Devil’s power upon them : and they themselves do acknowledge as much. In the like condition to which I never saw any that did profess to he a worshipper of the Holy Name of Jesus. They that are thus possest, some of them will rim mad into the Woods, screeching and roaring, but do mischief to none ; some will be taken so as to be speechless, shaking, and

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quaking, and dancing, and will tread upon the fire and not be hurt ; they will also talk idle, like distracted folk.

This may last sometimes two or three Months, sometimes two or three dayes. Now their Friends reckoning it to proceed from the Devil, do go to him and promise him a reward if he will cure them. Sometimes they are cured, and sometimes die. The People do impute this madness to some breach of promise that the Party affected had made to the Devil, or else for eating some fruit or Betel-leaves dedicated to him : For they do dedicate some fruit-trees to the Devil ; and this they do, to prevent People from stealing them (which few will dare to do after such a Dedication) and also to excuse themselves in not bestowing their fruit upon any that might ask or desire it. But before this dedicated fruit is lawful for them to use, they must carry some of it to the Temple.

This for certain I can affirm, That oftentimes the Devil doth cry with an audible Voice in the Night ; 5 tis very

shrill almost like the barking of a Dog. This I have often heard my self ; but never heard that he did any body any harm. Only this observation the Inhabitants of the Land have made of this Voice, and I have made it also, that either just before or very suddenly after this Voice, the King always cuts off People. To believe that this is the Voice of the Devil these reasons urge, because there is no Creature known to the Inhabitants, that cry like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place, and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly : and because the very Dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it ; and 'tis so accounted by all the People.

This Voice is heard only in Conde Uda, and never in the Low Lands. When the Voice is near to a Chingulaye's house, he will curse the Devil, calling him Geremoi goulammah, Beef-eating Slave be gone, be damned, cut his Nose off, beat him a pieces. And such like words of Railery, and this they will speak aloud with noise, and passion, and threatning. This Language I have heard them bestow upon the Voice ; and the Voice upon this

OF THEIR WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS a.».

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always ccaseth for a while, and seems to depart, being heard at a greater distance.

When smaller Devils do fail them, they repair unto the Their great one. Which they do after this manner. They pro- /! pare an Offering of Victuals ready dressed ; one dish ' ^ m whereof is always a red Cock. Which they do as fre- quently offer to the Devil, as Papists do Wax-Candles to Saints. This Offering they carry out into a remote place in the Woods, and prostrate it to the honour and service of the Grand Devil, before which there are men in an horrible disguise like Devils, with Bells about their Legs and Doublets of a strange fashion, dancing and singing, to call, if it were possible, the Devil himself to come and eat of the Sacrifices they have brought ; the sick Party is all the while present.

I have hitherto spoke of their ordinary and daily Their Worship, and their private and occasional Devotions; FatlvnL besides these they have their solemn and annual Festivals.

Now of these there are two $<yts, some belonging to their Gods that govern the Earth, and all things referring to this life ; and some belonging to the Buddou, whose Province is to take cafe of the Soul and future well-being of Men.

I shall first mention the Festivals of the former sort. Festlmb
They are two or three. That they may therefore honour ^
these Gods, and procure their aid and assistance, they do f J ve} ! n ^
yearly in the Month jof June or July, at a New Moon, \f m ii
observe a solemn Feast and general Meeting, called Pera- Theorem
har ; but none are compelled, and some go to one Pagoda,
and some to another. The greatest Solemnity is performed
in the City of Cande ; but at the same time the like Festival
or Perahar is observed in divers other Cities and Towns
of the Land, The Perahar at Cande is ordered after this
manner.

The Priest bringeth forth a painted stick, about which
strings of Flowers are hanged, and so it is wrapped in
branched Silk, some part covered, and some not ; before
which the People bow down and worship ; each one pre-
senting him with an Offering according to his free will

These free-will Offerings being received from the People,
the Priest takes his painted stick on his Shoulder, having
[p. 79.] a Cloth tied about his mouth to keep his breath from
defiling this pure piece of Wood, and gets up upon an
Elephant all covered with white Cloth, upon which he rides
with all the Triumph that King and Kingdom can afford,
thro all the Streets of the City. But before him go, first
some Forty or Fifty Elephants, with brass Bells hanging
on each side of them, which tingle as they go.

Next, follow men dressed up like Gyants, which go
dancing along agreeable to a Tradition they have, that
anciently there were huge men, that could carry vast
Burthens, and pull up Trees by the Roots, &c. After them
go a great multitude of Drummers, and Trumpetters, and
Pipers, which make such a great and loud noise, that
nothing else besides them can be heard. Then followeth
a Company of Men dancing along, and after these Women
of such Casts or Trades as are necessary for the service
of the Pagoda, as Potters and Washer-women, each cast
goeth in Companies by themselves, three and three in a
row, holding one another by the hand ; and between each
Company go Drummers, Pipers and Dancers.^

After these comes an Elephant with two Priests on his
back : one whereof is the Priest before spoken of, carrying
the painted stick on his Shoulder, who represents Allout
neur Dio, that is, the God and Maker of Heaven and

Earth. The other sits behind him, holding a round thing, like an Umbrello, over his head, to keep off Sun or Rain. Then within a yard after him on each hand of him follow two other Elephants mounted with two other Priests, with a Priest sitting behind each, holding Umbrello's as the former, one of them represents Cotteragom Dio, and the other Potting Dio. These three Gods that ride here in Company are accounted of all other the greatest and chiefest, each one having his residence in a several Pagoda.

Behind go their Cook-women, with things like whisks in their hands to scare away flies from them ; but very fine as they can make themselves.

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Next after the Gods and their Attendance, go some Thousands of Ladies and Gentlewomen, such as are of the best sort of the Inhabitants of the Land, arrayed in the bravest manner that their Ability can afford, and so go hand in hand three in a row : At which time all the Beauties on Zelone in their Bravery do go to attend upon their Gods in their Progress about the City. Now are the Streets also all made clean, and on both sides all along the Streets Poles stuck up with Flags and Pennons hanging at the tops of them, and adorned with boughs and branches of Coker Nut-Trees hanging like Fringes, and lighted Lamps all along on both sides of the Streets, both by day and night.

Last of all, go the Commanders sent from the King to see these Ceremonies decently performed, with their Soldiers after them. And in this manner they ride all round about the City once by day and once by night. This Festival lasts from the New Moon until the Full Moon.

Formerly the King himself in Person used to ride on Horseback with all his Trainlaefore him in this Solemnity, but now he delights not in these Shows.

Always before the Gods set out to take their Progress, they are set in the Pagoda-Door, a good while, that the People may come to worship and bring their Offerings unto (p. Ho.] them ; during which time there are Dancers, playing and shewing many pretty Tricks of Activity before them. To see the which, and also to shew themselves in their Bravery, occasions more People to resort hither, than otherwise their Zeal and Devotion would prompt them to do.

Two or three days before the Full Moon, each of these Gods hath a Pallenkine carried after them to add unto their

honour. In the which there are several pieces of their superstitious relicts, and a Silver Pot. Which just, at the hour of Full Moon they ride out unto a River, and dip full of water, which is carried back with them into the Temple, where it is kept till the year after and then flung away. And so the Ceremony is ended for that year.

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This Festival of the Gods taking their Progress thro the City, in the year 1664. the King would not permit to be performed ; and that same year the Rebellion hap- pened, but never since hath he hindred it.

At this time they have a Superstition, which lasteth six or seven days, too foolish to write ; it consists in Dancing, Singing, and Jugling. The reason of which is, lest the eyes of the People, or the Power of tKe Jacco's, or Infernal Spirits, might any ways prove prejudicial or noisom to the aforesaid Gods in their Progress abroad. During the Celebration of this great Festival, there are no Drums allowed to be beaten to any particular Gods at any private Sacrifice.

■ Fean in In the Month of November the Night when the Moon

'ttnkr. ; s at the Full, there is another great solemn Feast, called in their Language Cawtha Poujah. Which is celebrated only by lighting of Lamps round about the Pogada. At which time they stick up the longest Poles they can get in the Woods, at the Doors of jjhe Pagods and of the King's Palace. Upon which they make contrivances to set Lamps in rows one above the other, even unto the very tops of the Poles, which they call Tor-nes. To irftiintain the charge hereof, all the Countrey in general do contribute, and bring in Oil. In this Poujah or Sacrifice the King seems to take delight. The reason of which may be, because he participates far more of the Honour, than the Gods do, in whose name it is celebrated ; his Palace being far more decked and adorned with high Poles and Lights, than the Temples are. This Ceremony lasteth but for one Night.

' Festival And these are their Anniversary Feasts to the honour <?'' the ^°^ S ' w ^ ose power extends to help them in this

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Buddou, who it is, they say, that must save their Souls, and the Festival in honour of him.

To represent the memorial of him to their eye, they do make small Images of Silver, Brass, and Clay, and Stone, which they do honour with Sacrifices and Worship, shew-

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nig all the signs of outward reverence which possibly they can. In most places where there are hollow Rocks ami Caves, they do set up Images in memorial of this God.

Unto which they that are devoutly bent, at New and Fib!

Moons do carry Victuals, and worship.

His great Festival is in the Month of March at their New-years Tide. The Places where he is commemorated are two, not Temples, but the one a Mountain and the other a Tree ; either to the one or the other, they at this time go with Wives and Children, for Dignity and Merit one being esteemed equal with the other.

The Mountain is at the South end of the Countrey, jp. Si.| called Hammalella, but by Christian People, Adam's Peak, the highest in the whole Island ; where, as has been said before, is the Print of the Buddou's foot, which he left on the top of that Mountain in a Rock, from whence he ascended to Heaven. Unto this footstep they give wor- ship, light up Lamps, and offer Sacrifices, laying them upon it, as upon an Altar. The benefit of the Sacrifices that are offered here do belong unto the Moors Pilgrims, who come over from the other Coast to beg, this having been given them heretofore by a former King. So that at that season there are great numbers of them always waiting there to receive their accustomed Fees.

The Tree is at the North end of the King's Dominions at Annarodgburro. This Tree, they say, came flying over from the other Coast, and there planted it self, as it now stands, under which the Buddou-God at his being on earth used, as they say, often to sit. This is now become a place of solemn worship. The due performance whereof they reckon not to be a little meritorious : insomuch that, as they report, Ninety Kings have since reigned there successively, where by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build Temples and high Monuments to the honour of this God, as if they had been born only to hew Rocks, and great Stones, and

lay them up in heaps. These Kings are now happy Spirits, having merited it by these their labours,

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Those whose Ability or Necessity serve them not to go to these Places, may go to some private Vihars nearer.

For this God above all other, they seem to have an high respect and Devotion; as will appear by this that follows. Ladies and Gentlewomen of good Quality, will sometimes in a Fit of Devotion to the Buddou, go a begging for him. The greatest Ladies of all do not indeed go" themselves, but send their Maids' dressed up finely in their stead. These Women taking the Image along with them, carry it upon the palms of their hand covered with a piece of white Cloth ; and so go to mens houses, and will say, We come a begging of your Charity for the Buddou towards his Sacrifice. And the People are very liberal. They give only of three things to him, either Oyl for his Lamps, or Rice for his Sacrifice, or Money or Cotton Yarn for his use.

Poor men will often go about begging Sustenance for themselves by this means: They will get a Book of Religion, or a Buddou's Image in a Case, wrapping both in a white Cloth, which they carry with great reverence. And then they beg in the name or the Book or the God. And the People bow down to them, and give their Charity, either Corn, or Money, or Cotton yarn. Sometimes they will tell the Beggar, What have I to give ? And he will reply, as the saying is, as much as you can take up between your two fingers is Charity. After he has received a gift from any, he pronounceth a great deal of blessing upon him, Let the blessing of the Gods and the Buddou go along with you ; let your Corn ripen, let your Cattle increase, let your Life be long, &c.

Some being devoutly disposed, will make the Image of this God at their own charge. For the making whereof they must bountifully reward the Founder. Before the Eyes are made, it is not accounted a God, but a lump of ordinary Metal, and thrown about the Shop with no more regard than any thing else. But when the Eyes are to be made, the Artificer is to have a good gratification, besides the first agreed upon reward. The Eyes being formed,

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it is thenceforward a God. And then, being brought with honour from the Workman's Shop, it is dedicated In Solemnities and Sacrifices, and carried with great state into its shrine or little house, which is before built and prepared for it.

Sometimes a man will order the Smith to make this Idol, and then after it is made will go about with it to well-disposed People to contribute toward the Wages the Smith is to have for making it. And men will freely give towards the charge. And this is looked upon in the man that appointed the Image to be made, as a notable piece of Devotion.

I have mentioned the Bogahah Tree before, which in memory of this God they hold Sacred, and perform Sacrifices, and celebrate Religious Meetings under. Under this Tree at some convenient distance about ten or twelve foot at the outmost edge of the Platform, they usually build Booths or Tents ; some are made slight only with leaves for the present use, but some arc built substantial with hewn Timber and Clay Walls, which stand many years. These Buildings are divided into small Tenements for each particular Family. The whole Town joyns, and each man builds his own Appartment: so that the Building goes quite round like a circle, only one gap is left, which is to pass thro to the Bogahah Tree : and this gap is built over with a kind of Portal* The use of these Buildings is for the entertainment of the Women. Who take great delight to come and see these Ceremonies, clad in their best and richest Apparel They employ themselves in seeing the Dancers, and the Juglers do their Tricks : who afterwards by their importunity will get Money of them, or a Ring off their Fingers, or some such matters. Here also the} spend their time in eating Betel, and in talking with their

Consorts, and shewing their fine Cloths. These Solemnities are always in the Night, the Booths all set round with Lamps ; nor are they ended in one Night, but last three or four, until the Full Moon, which always puts a Period to them. [Chap. V.

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

Chap. V.

Concerning their Religions, Doctrines, Opinions, and Practices.

Here are few or none zealous in their worship, or have any great matter of esteem for their Gods. And they seldom busie themselves in the matters of their Religion, until they come to be sick or very aged. They debar none that will come to see the Ceremonies of their wor-ship ; and if a stranger should dislike their way, reprove or mock at them for their Ignorance and Folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own Devotion, but withall tell you that they are con-

strained to do what they do, to keep themselves safe from the malice and mischiefs that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which, they say, their Country swarm.

Sometimes in their Sickness they go to the House of their Gods with an Offering, with which they present him, intreating his favour and aid to restore therft to health. Upon the recovery whereof they promise him not to fail but to give unto His Majesty (for so they entitle him) far greater Gifts or Rewards, and what they are, they do particularly mention ; it may be, Land, a.Slave, Cattle, Money, Cloth, &c. and so they will discourse, argue and expostulate with him, as if he were there present in Person before them. If after this, he fails on his part, and cannot restore them to their health, then the fore-promised things are to remain where they were : and instead of which perhaps he gets a Curse, saying, Pie doth but cheat and deceive them.

ft is a usual saying, and very frequent among them (if their Gerahah, which is their fortune, be bad) What can God do against it : Nay, I have often heard them say, Give him no Sacrifice, but shit in his Mouth, what a God is He? So slight an estimation have they of their Idol-Gods ; and the King far less esteems them. For he doth

OF THEIR DOCTRINES

not in the least give any countenance either to the Worshipper, or to the manner of worship. And God’s name be magnified, that hath not suffered him to disturb or molest the Christians in the least in their Religion, or ever attempt to force them to comply with the Countreys Idolatry. But on the contrary, both King and People do generally like the Christian Religion better than their own ; and respect and honour the Christians as Christians ; and do believe there is a greater God than any they adore. And in all probability they would be very easily drawn to the Christian or any other Religion : as will appear by this story following.

There was lately one among them that pretended himself a Prophet sent to them from a new God, that as yet was nameless. At which the People were amused, especially because he pretended to heal the Sick, and do Miracles : and presently he was had in high veneration. He gave out it was the command of the new nameless God to spoil and pull down the Dewals, # that is, the Temples of the former Gods. This he made a good progress in, with no let or impediment from King or People. The King* all this while inclined neither to one or other, as not regarding such matters, until he might see which of these Gods would prevail, the old or the new. For this People stand in fear

of all that are called Gods ; and this especially surprized them, because without a Name ; so contrary to all their old ones, who have Names. This new-found God therefore went on boldly and successfully without controui : the People all in general began to admire him thus come among them. And great troops of People daily assembled thither with Sacrifices, and to worship him. Whereby seeing their inclination so strong towards him, he began to perceive it was not only possible, but also easie and probable to change his Priesthood for a Kingdom.

At which time, whether the King began to suspect or not, I cannot say ; but he sent for one ot his Priests to be brought up to the Court. For this God had his residence in the Countrey at Vealbow in Hotcourly, somewhat

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remote from the King. This Priest having remained at the City some days, the King took' a Ring from off his Finger, and put it in an Ivory Box, and sent it by three of his great Men to him, bidding him to enquire of his name-less God what it was that was therein ; which amazed this Priest ; but he returned this subtil answer, that he was not sent to divine, but to heal the Diseases and help the Infirmities of the People. Upon which the King gave Command to take him and put him in the Stocks under a Tree, there to be wet with the Rain, and dry again with the Sun. Which was executed upon him accordingly.

The Chief Priest, who was the first Inventor of this new God, hearing what the King had done, and fearing what might follow, suddenly dispatched, and carried all what he had plundered out of the Pagods with him to Columba, and stole one of the King's Elephants to carry it upon. Where being arrived, he declares himself to be Son of the King of Mautoly ; who was elder Brother to this King that now is, and»for fear of whom he fled to Columba ; being at that time when the Portugals had it, who sent him to Goa, where he died.

This being noised abroad that he was a Prin'ce, made the People flock faster to him than before. Which changed both his heart and behaviour from a Priest to a King. Insomuch that the Dutch began to be in doubt what this might grow to. Who to prevent the worst, set a watch over him : which he not liking of, took the advantage of the night, and fled with all his Followers and Attendance up to the King again, and came to the same place where he lay before.

No sooner had the King notice of his arrival, but immediately he dispatched five of his greatest Commanders with their Soldiers to catch him, and to bring him up to him. Which they did, laying both him and all his fol-lowers in Chains. The King commanded to keep him in a certain Pagoda of the Chingulayes, until the matter were examined, the People in general much lamenting him, tho not able to help. The chief of their Church-men, viz.

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OF THEIR DOCTRINES

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their Gonni-nancies, were all commanded to make their Personal appearance at Court. Which all thought was to see the Prince or Priest, should have a legal Trial. But in the mean time, the King commanded to cut him in tour quarters, and hang them in places, which he appointed.

Which was done.

Nevertheless the Vulgar People to this dap do honour The Pepin and adore the name & memorial of the nameless God, ofmnstil With which if he could have been content, and not have °^ s ns:i gone about to usurp the Crown, the King so little regarding Religion, he might have lived to dye a natural death.

These people do firmly believe a resurrection of the [M5* 1 body, and the Immortality of Souls, and a future State.

Upon which account they will worship their Ancestors.

They do believe that those they call Gods are the spirits of men that formerly have lived upon the earth. They hold that in the other world, those that are good men tho they be poor and mean in this world, yet there they shall become high and eminent ; # and that wicked men shall be turned into beasts. There is a Spider among them, that breeds an Egg, which she carries under her belly, 5 tis as wide as a groat, and bigger then the body of the Spider.

This egg is full of young Spiders that breed there : it hangs under her belly wheresoever she goes ; and as their young ones grow to bigness they eat up the old one. Now the Chingulayes say, that disobedient children shall become Spiders in the other world, and their young ones shall eat them up.

They hold that every mans good or bad Fortune was predetermined by God, before he was born, according to an usual Proverb they have, Ollua cottaula tiana, It is written in the head. /

They reckon the chief poynts of goodness to consist in Tk highest giving to the Priests, in making Pudgiahs, sacrifices to ^ s jf m their Gods, in forbearing shedding the blood of any creature : which to do they call Pan boi, a great sin : and in abstaining from eating any flesh at all, because they would not have any hand, or any thing to do in killing

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any living thing. They reckon Herbs and Plants more innocent food. It is religion also to sweep under the Bogaha or God-Tree, and keep it clean. It is accounted religion to be just and sober and chast and true, and to be endowed with other vertues, as we do account it.

They give to the poor out of a Principle of Charity, which they extend to forraigners, as well as to their own Country-men. But of every measure of rice they boyl in their houses for their families they will take out an handful, as much as they can gripe, and put into a bag, and keep it by it self, which they call Mitta-haul. And this they give and distribute to such poor as they please, or as come to their doors.

Nor are they charitable only to the poor of their own Nation, but as I said to others : and particularly to the Moorish beggars, who are Mahometans by religion. These have a Temple in Cande. A certain former king gave this Temple this Priviledg, that every Free-holder should contribute a Ponnam to it. And these Moors go to every house in the land to receive it. And if the house be shut, they have pov T er to break it open, and to take out of goods to the value of it. They come very confidently when they beg, and they say they come to fulfill the peoples charity. And the people do liberrally releive them for charity sake.

There is only one County in the Land, viz. Dolusbaug, that pays not the aforesaid duty ta the Moors Temple. And the reason is, that when they came first thither to demand it, the Inhabitants beat them away. For which act they are free from the payment of that Ponnam, and have also another priviledg granted them for the same, That they pay no Marral, or Harriots, to the King as other

Countreys do.

These Moors Pilgrims have many pieces of Land given them by well disposed persons out of charity, where they build houses and live. And this land becomes theirs from generation to generation for ever.

They lay Flowers, out of religion, before their Images every morning and evening, for which Images they build

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little Chappels in their yards as we said before. They cam- beads in their hands on strings, and say so many prayers as they go. Which custom in all probability they borrowed of the Portugueze. They love a man that makes conscience of his ways. Which makes them respect Christians more than any others, because they think they are just and will not lye. And thus we have finished our discourse of their Religion.

Chap. VI.

Concerning their Houses, Diet, Housewifry,

Salutation, Apparel.

Aving already treated of their Religion, we now come to their secular concerns. And first we will lead you into their houses, and shew you how they live.

Their Houses are small, low, thatched Their houses. Cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles, nor whiten their walls with lime, but there is a Clay which is as white, and that they use sometimes. They employ no Carpenters, or house-builders, unless some few noble-men, but each one buildeth his own dwelling. In building whereof there is not so much as a nail used ; but instead of them every- thing which might be nailed, is tyed with rattans and other strings, which grow in the woods in abundance ; whence the builder hath his Timber for cutting. The Country

being warm, many of them will not take pains to clay their walls, but make them of boughs and leaves of Trees. The poorest sort have not above one room in their houses, few above two, unless they be great men. Neither doth the King allow them to build better.

They are not nice nor curious in their houses. They No Ck'mep. have no Chimneys in them, but make their fires in one comer, so that the roof is all blacked with the smoak.

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The great people have handsom and commodious houses. They have commonly two buildings one opposit to the other, joined together on each side with a wall, which makes a square Court-yard in the middle. Round about against the walls of their houses are banks of clay to sit on ; which they often daub over with soft Cow-dung, to keep them smooth and clean. Their Slaves anc[Servants dwell round about without in other houses with their wives and children.

Their Furniture is but small. A few earthen pots which hang up in slings made of Canes in the middle of their houses, having no shelves ; one or two brass Basons to eat in, a stool or two without backs. For none but the King may sit upon a stool with a back. There are also some baskets to put corn in, some mats to spread upon the ground to sleep on : which is the bedding both for them-selves and friends when they come to their houses. Also some Ebeny pestels about four foot long to beat rice out of the husk, and a wooden Morter to beat it in afterwards to make it white, a Hirimony or Grater to grate their Coker-nuts with, a flat stone upon which they grind their Pepper and Turmeric, &c. With another stofte which they hold in their hands at the same time. They have also in their houses Axes, Bills, Houghs, Atches, Chissels, and

other Tools for their use. Tables they have none, but sit and eat on the ground.

And now we are mentioning eating, let us take a view of this people at their meals. Their Dyet and ordinary fare is but very mean, as to our account. If they have but Rice and Salt in their house, they reckon they want for nothing. For with a few green Leaves and the juice of a Lemmon with Pepper and Salt, they will make a hearty meal. Beef here may not be eaten; it is abominable: Flesh and Fish is somewhat scarce. And that little of it they have, they had rather sell to get mony to keep, then eat it themselves : neither is there any but outlandish men, that will buy any of them. It is they indeed do eat the fat and best of the Land. Nor Is it counted any shame

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or disgrace, to be a niggard and sparing in dyet ; but rather a credit even to the greatest of them, that they can fare hard and suffer hunger, which they say, Soldiers ought to be able to endure.

The great ones have always five or six sorts of food at the $ tat one meal, and of them not above one or two at most of ' Wl tau Flesh or Fish, and of them more pottage than meat, after the Portugal fashion. The rest is only what groweth out of the ground. The main substance with which they fill their bellies is Rice, the other things are but to give it a relish.

If these people were not discouraged from rearing and !)h^uu:ged nourishing of Cattle and Poultry, provisions might be far more plentiful For here arc many Jackal Is, which catch their Hens; and some Tigres, that destroy their Cattle : but the greatest of all is the King ; whose endeavour is to keep them poor and in want. For from them that have Hens his Officers take them for the Kings use giving little or nothing for them ; the like they do by Hogs, Goats none are suffered to keep, besides the King, except strangers.

In dressing of their victuals they are not to be discom- CImiy m mended : for generally they are cleanly and very handy du$mg about the same. And after one is used to that kind of meL fare, as they dress it, it is very savoury and good. They sit upon a mat on the ground, and eat. But he, whom

they do honour and respect, sits on a stool and his victuals on another before him.

Their common drink is only water : and if they drink Their drink Rack, it is before they eat, that it may have the more ^manner at operation upon their bodies. When they drink they touch f a * 1 ^ not the Pot with their mouths, but hold it at a distance, and pour it in. They eat their Rice out of China dishes, or Brass Basons, and they that have not them, on leaves.

The Carrees, or other sorts of Food which they eat with their Rice, is kept in the Pans it is dressed in, and their wives serve them with it, when they call for it. For it is their duties to wait and serve their Husbands while they eat, and when they have done, then to take and eat that

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which they have left upon their Trenchers. During their eating they neither use nor delight to talk to one another.

They always wash their hands and mouths both before and after they have eaten ; but for others to pour the water on their hands is looked upon as an affront. For so they

do to them, whom they account not worthy to handle their Water pot. But when they wash, with one hand they pour it themselves upon the other. They are very cleanly both in their bodies and heads, which they do very often wash, and also when they have been at stool they make use of water.

But to give you a little of their Cookery. If People be in the room talking together, the woman being ready to put the Rice into the Pot, bids them all be silent till she has put it in, and then they may precede with their discourse. For if they should talk while the Rice is putting in, it would not swell.

At the time of the yearn that there is most plenty of Lemmons, they take them and squeez the juyee into an earthen Pot, and set over the fire, and boil it so long, till it becomes thick and black like Tar. This they set by for their use, and it will keep as long as they please. A very small quantity of it will suffice for sawce. They call it Annego.

They have several sorts of sweet-meats. One they call Caown. It is like to a Fritter made of Rice-flower, and Jaggery, They make them up in little lumps, and lay them upon a Leaf, and then press them with their thumbs, and put them into a Frying-Pan, and fry them in Coker-nut Oyl or Butter. When the Dutch came first to Columba, the King ordered these Caown to be made and sent to them os a ro)aI Treat. And they say, the Dutch did so admire them, that they asked if they grew not upon Trees, sup-posing it past the Art of man to make such dainties.

Oggulas another sort of sweet-meats, made of parched Rice, Jaggory, Pepper, Cardamum, and a little Cinnamons. They rowl them up in Balls, which will grow hard. These

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they tie up in bags and carry them with them when they travail to eat in afternoons when they are hungry.

Alloways, made much after the former manner, only they are flat in the fashion of a Lozenge ; which are good for faintings and thirsty souls to relish their water, and to eat

of in afternoons when they are at home. We carried some of these along with us in our travavl.

Yacpetties, made of Rice-flower, and the meat of the J hid Coker-nut and Jaggory. They are made up into small PhdkgK lumps, and so put in a Leaf, and laid on a cloth over a Pot of boyling water. The steam of which heats that which is laid upon it: and so they are sodden like a Pudding. They tast like white bread, Almonds and Sugar.

Pitu. Which is made thus. They take flower of Coracan, and sprinkle a little water into it, being both put into a large Pot for the purpose. Then they stir and rowl it in the Pot with their hands : by which means it crumbles into corns like Gun-Powder. Then they have a Pot of boyling water with a cloth tp d over it ; and upon this cloth they lay so much of this corn flower as they can con- veniently cover with another Pot. And so the steam coming through the cloth boils it, that it will be much like unto a Pudding. And this they use to eat as they do Rice.

The womens Housewifry is to beat the Rice out of the The Ifomm husk ; which they do with an Ebeny Pestle before men- tioned. They lay the.Rice on the ground, and then beat it, one blow with one hand, and then tossing the Pestle into the other, to strike with that. And at the same time they keep stroke with their feet (as if they were dancing) to keep up the Corn together in one heap. This being done, they beat it again in a wooden Morter to whiten it, [p. 89. | as was said before. This work tho it be very hard, belongeth only to the women : as also to fetch both wood and water. The wood they bring upon their heads, the water in an earthen Pot, placing it upon their hip. To the women also belongs a small bill to cut Herbs, Pumkins,

&c. Which she is to dress. Which bill she lays upon the ground, the edg upwards, and sets her self upon the Staff

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or handle to hold it fast, and what she meaneth to cut, she lays it upon the edge, and shoveth it on it.

When one comes to anothers house, being set down the Entertainment is, green Leaves, they call Bullat, which they eat raw with Lime and Betel-nut, and Tobacco. And being set a while, the man of the house will ask the Stranger what he comes for, which if he does not suddenly, the Stranger will take exceptions at it, as thinking he is not welconi to him. Neither do they ever go one to visit the other, unless it be for their own ends, either to beg or borrow.

And if Kindred, that are very nearly related come together, they have no loving or private conference one with the other, but sit like strangers very solid and grave. And if they stay above one night, which is the common custom, then they do help and assist the man of the house in any work or service he hath to do.

When any friends go to anothers house to visit, they never go empty handed, but carry provisions and sweet meats with them to their friend. And then he makes them a Feast according to his ability, but they never eat of those things, which themselves brought. *But there is but little feasting among them unless at a Wedding.

We have been long enough in the house, let us walk abroad, and show you how the People demean themselves without doors.

When they meet one another, their manner of Salutation or obeisance is, to hold forth their two hands, the Palms upwards, and bow their Bodies : but the superior to the inferior holds forth but one hand, and if the other be much beneath him, he only nods his head. The women salute by holding up both their hands edgways to their Foreheads. The general complement one to another at first meeting

is to say Ay; it signifies how do you: and the other answers, Hundoi, that is, well.

The Habit of the men when they appear abroad is after this sort. The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew Callico, and about their middle a cloth, a white one next

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(heir skin, and a blew one or of some other colour or painted, over the white : a blew or red shash girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver sticking in their bosom ; and a compleut short Hanger carved and inlaid with Brass and Silver bj their sides, the Scabbard most part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven ; a painted Cane and sometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a smalt bag in his hand, which is instead of a Pocket, wherein is Betel-leaves and nuts. Which they constantly keep chewing in their mouths, with Lime kept in a Silver Box rarely engraven, which commonly they hold in their hands, in shape like a Silver Watch,

The great ones also generally, and spruce young men, do wear their hair long hanging down behind ; but when they do any work or travail hard, it annoying them, they tie it up behind. Heretofore generally they bored holes in their ears, and hung weights in them to make them grow long, like the Malabars, but this King not boring his, that fashion is almost left off. The men for ornament do wear Brass, Copper, Silver Rings on their Fingers, and some of the greatest Gold. But none may wear any Silk.

But the women in their Apparel do far surpass the men, neither are they so curious in clothing themselves as in making their wives fine; The mens Pride consists in their Attendance, having men bearing Arms before and behind them.

In their houses the women regard not much what dress they go in, but so put on their cloths as is most convenient for them to do their work. But when they go abroad, and make themselves fine, They wear a short Frock with sleeves to cover their bodies of fine white Callico wrought with blew and red Thread in flowers and branches: on their Arms Silver Bracelets, and their fingers and toes full of Silver Rings, about their necks, Necklaces of Beads or Silver, curiously wrought and engraven, guilded with Gold, hanging down so low as their brests. In their ears hang

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ornaments made of Silver set with Stones, neatly engraven and guilded. Their ears they bore when they are young, and rowl up Coker-nut leaves and put into the holes to stretch them out, by which means they grow so wide that they stand like round Circles on each side of their faces, which they account a great ornament, but in my Judgment a great deformity, they being well featured women.

Their other ornaments and Apparel show very comely on them. Their Hair they oyl, with Coker-nut oyl to make it smooth, and comb it all behind. Their hair grows not longer than their wasts, but because it is a great ornament to have a great bunch of hair, they have a lock of other hair fastened in a Plate of engraved Silver and guilded, to tie up with their own, in a knot hanging down half their Backs. Their hands are bare, but they carry a scarf of striped or branched Silk or such as they can get, casting it carelesly on their head and shoulders. About their Wasts they have one or two Silver girdles made with Wire and Silver Plate handsomly engraven, hanging down on each side, one crossing the other behind. And as they walk

they chew Betel But notwithstanding all their bravery neither man nor woman wears shoos or stockings, that being a Royal dress, and only for the King himself.

It is in general a common custom with all sorts of People, to borrow Apparel or Jewels to wear when they go abroad, which being so customary is no shame nor disgrace to them, neither do they go about to conceal it. For among their friends or strangers where they go, they will be talking saying, This I borrowed of such an one, and this of another body. Their Poverty is so great, that their ability will not reach to buy such Apparel as they do desire to wear ; which nevertheless is but very mean and ordinary at the best

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OF THEIR LODGING AND MARRIAGES

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Chap. VI i.

Of their Lodging, Bedding, Whoredom, Marriages,

and Children.

Aving been thus entertained with the fine Ladies abroad, it is time now to return home to our Lodging. And the night coming on, we will lead you to their Bed-Chambers, and shew you how they sleep. About which they are not very curious. If their house be but one room fas it often is) then the men sleep together at one end and the women at the other.

They have Bedsteads laced with Canes or Rattans, hut no Testars to them, nor Curtains ; that the King allows not of ; neither have they nor care they for more than one Bedstead, which is only for the Master of the house to sit or sleep on. To this Bedstead belongs two mats and a straw r Pillow. The Woman with the Children always lyes on the ground on mats by the fire-side. For a Pillow she lays a Mode or such like thing under her mat, but the Children have no Pillows at all. And for covering and other bedding they use the cloth they wear by day. But

always at their feet they will have a fire burning all night. Which makes more work for the Women ; who must fetch it all upon her head. For it is accounted a disgrace for the man to meddle or make with those affairs, that properly do belong unto the Woman.

The younger sort of Children, such as go naked by day, creep in under a corner of their mothers cloths. And if they feel themselves cold in the night, they rise and blow the fire with their mouths, having no Bellows in that Countrey, and so sit and warm themselves thereby.

They are so little given to sleep, that they do rise many times in the night to eat Beatel and to take Tobacco, Which done they lay them down, and sing songs until they fall a sleep again.

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7 ,->■ At their first going to bed, it is very seldom that they

l–’t' do pray to God, "neither do they ever teach their Children ,r ' ' so to do. But sometimes will say Auh Dio, which is God help i <r keep me. But they do instead of that, teach and bid their Children to sing songs when they go to bed.

V Pcf/r Where their houses consist but of one room, the Children ,f rv that are of any years always go and sleep in other houses ^ ' among their neighbours. Which please them better than their own. For so they come to meet with bedfellows, nor doth it dhpleasc the Parents, if young men of as good quality as themselves become acquainted with their daughters, but rather like well of it ; knowing that their daughters by this means can command the young men to help and assist them in any work or business that they may have occasion to use them in. And they look upon it so far distant from a disgrace, that they will among their consorts brag of it, that they have the young men thus at their command.

' So that youth are bred up to Whoredom. Indeed here arc 1,0 Tublick Whores allowed by Authority. In the City

‘ “ some that have followed that Trade, have oftentimes by
the King’s order been severely punished by Whipping,
>r- and having their Ears and Hair cut off. But in private
few or none can exempt themselves. And for the matter
of being with Child, which many of them do not desire,
they very exquisitely can prevent the same,
r. a>c _ Indeed the Puhlick Trade would be bad, and hardly
m')£,"/, nininfain them that exercised it, the private one being so
great. And tho I think they be all W T hores, yet they abhor
the Name of Fesou, which is Whore. Neither do they
in their anger reproach one another with it, unless they
should lay with a Man of an inferior quality to themselves.
And the Woman reckons her self as much obliged to the
Man for his Company, as he does to her formers. In
these affairs the Women are very expert (it being their
continual practice) to keep their design from the Husbands
knowledge j tho by his own Experience he cannot be
ignorant of Womens devices. And unless he catch them

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in the act he doth not rniuh trouble himself to prove him
self a Cuckold; Cuckolds being so common, that it b
not here regarded∗

It is a Law here∗ that if a Man catch another in Bed The Men m
with his Wife, he may, be it whosoever, kill him and her, h

if he please. It hath so happened that the Man hath come
to the Door, when another hath been within with his Wife,
there being no way to escape, the Woman has took a pan
of hot ashes, and as she opened the Door, her Husband
being entring, cast them in his Eyes, and so she and her
Bedfellow made an escape.

To fetch wood out of the Woods to burn, and to fetch The
home the Cattle is the Woman’s work. If they cannot ^

have their opportunities at home, now they appoint their
meetings, while the Husband stays at home holding the Debauchery.
Child. In the Evenings it is common for them with whom
the Women be acquainted, to come and wait behind the
House when it is dark to attend their coming forth to them.

To which end they give them∗ notice either by breaking
of a stick, or by putting some Betel over the Wall to fall

in such places as they have appointed, where she will look to find it. And when she has such notice, she cannot want an excuse to go forth to meet him.

They bear such love to their Bedfellows, that I have known this done, The Husband hath beset the House, and the Womans Friend in it, when she hath holpen him to make a hole thro the Thatch to get out at, which he hath done and made his Escape, and she remain behind to suffer all the blame her self. When other opportunities are wanting to enjoy the Company of their Paramours whole Nights together, they usually take occasion to be discontented and fall out with their Husbands, and so go home to their Friends houses, to get longer enjoyments. Who to shew their Friendship will not hinder but further them in what they delight in. <{ Q tmt

In some Cases the Men will permit their Wives and Daughters to lye with other Men. And that is, when their intimate Friends or great Men chance to Lodge at their Daughters

houses, they conimmil} will send their Wives or Daughters to hear them company in their Chamber. Neither do they reckon their Wives to be Whores for lying with them that are as good or better than themselves.
r Mil; Thev do not matter or regard whether their Wives at the first Marriage be Maids or not. And for a small i reward the Mother will bring her Daughter being a Maiden sC—Tr. ^ unto those that do desire her. But it is so much abhorred for 'Women of the high Cast or Descent to admit Men • hi of the low Cast to have any thing to do with them, that I think they never do it.

But enough of this Ribaldry, let us turn away to more honest Practices. To speak of their Marriages, which make the Bed lawful. There are not many Ceremonies '• *"'«• used in or about the same. Here is no wooing for a Wife. The Parents commonly make the Match, and in their choice regard more the Quality and Descent than the Beauty. If they are agreed, all is done. The Match being thus made, the Man carrieth or sends to the Woman her Wedding Cloths ; which is a Cloth containing six or seven yards in length, and a Linnen W r ast-coat wrought with Blew and Red. If the Man be so poor that he cannot buy .1 Cloth, it is the Custom to borrow one. In case the Man with his Friends goes and carries it himself, that Night they both sleep together to beget acquaintance one with the other. And then they appoint a day when he is to come and fetch her home ; which is the Marriage-Day.

'f‘ \ The day being come, he attended with his Friends goes

f0 ' nouse ' which is always in the Evening, and brings
it’Ji, I! t(e Hfovisions and Sweet-meats with him according to his
Ability, towards the Charges of the Wedding. Which
is never more than two Meals. Whereof Supper is the
first. Then the Bride and Bridegroom both eat together
in one Dish, which is to intimate that they are both of one
^ n rank and quality, and sometimes they tye their Thumbs to-

1)11 f not ‘"fiways : and that Night go to sleep together.
tv’ifti/i >v I he next day having dined he taketh his Bride, and
hiitiik. departeth home with her, putting her before him, and he

OP THEIR LODGING AND MARRIAGES

following her, with some of her friends to Conduct her.

For it is the constant Custom and Fashion in this Land
for the Husband to follow his Wife. The reason whereof
is a Tradition among them, that a Man once going fore-
most, it happened that his Wife was stoln away, and he
not aware of it. Being come home the Bridegroom makes
a Feast as he is able.

Some few days after, her Friends usually come to H*e J Co,
her bringing a present of Provision with them. And ' 4 ^ V,V:A
sometimes they use this Ceremony, the Man is to stand
with one end of the Woman’s Cloth about his Loins, and
she with the other, and then they pour water on both their
I leads, wetting all their Bodies : which being done, they
are firmly Married to live together, so long as they urn
agree.

The Elder sorts of People usually woe and conclude
their Marriages as they arc in Bed together. For when
they have lost their Maidenheads, they fear not much what
Man comes to sleep with then}* provided he be of as good
quality as they, having nothing more to lose. And at the
day appointed the Man gives the Woman her Cloths, and
so takes heriiome.

But their Marriages are but of little force or validity. Man and
For if they disagree and mislike one the other; they part
without disgrace. Yet it stands firmer for the Man than 4t f murft
for the Woman ; howbeit they do leave one the other at
their pleasure. They do give according to their Ability
a Portion of Cattle, Slaves and Money with their I laughters ;
but if they chance to mislike one another and part asunder,
this Portion must be returned again, and then she is fit

for another Man, being as they account never the worse
for wearing.

Both Women and Men do commonly wed four or five |p. 94-!
times before they can settle themselves to their contenta-
tion. And if they have Children when they part, the
Common Law is, the Males for the Man, and the Females pj me
for the Woman, But many of the Women are free from tkmukek
this controversy, being Childless.

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

In this Countrey each Man, even the greatest, hath but
one Wife ; but a Woman often has two Husbands. For
it is lawful and common with them for two Brothers to
keep house together with one Wife, and the Children do
acknowledge and call both Fathers.

So long as the Women have their Infirmities or Flowers
upon them, they are accounted very unclean, insomuch that
the very house is polluted in that "degree that none will
approach near it. And even she her self cares not to con-
teal it, but calls out to them that come near, that they may
avoid her house. But after she hath washed her Head
and Body all is purified again. It is lawful for no Woman,
altho they be great Men's Wives, to sit on a Stool in the
presence of a Man. It is customary for Men upon any

frivolous account to charge one another in the King's Name to do or not to do, according as they would have it. This the Women upon Penalty of having their Tongues cut out, dare not presume to do.

As it is usual to punish* Men for faults committed by Imprisonment and Chains, or by making them stand with a weight on their Backs, until they do pay such a Sum of Money as is demanded : which for ordinary faults may be iiv e or ten Shillings. So the Punishment which is inflicted upon Women, is to make them stand with a Basket of Sand upon their Heads, so long as they shall think fitting, who appoint the Punishment. Punishment by stripes is never used either to Men or Women, but only to those on whom the King Commands them to be laid.

Lands of Inheritance which belong to Women are exempted from paying Harriots to the King. Women pay no Custom for things they carry to the Sea-Ports. Neither is any Custom paid for what is carried upon any Female Cattel, Cow or Buffalo.

I hey have no Midwives, but the neighbouring good Wi mien come in and do that Office. As soon as the Child is born, the Father or some Friend apply themselves to an Astrologer to enquire, whether the Child be born in a prosperous Planet, and a good hour or in an evil. If it

OF THE IE LODGING AND MARRIAGES ^

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be found to be in an evil they presently destroy it, either by starving it, letting it lye and die, or by drowning it, putting its head into a Vessel of water, or by burjing it alive, or else by gi\ mg it to some body of the same degree with themselves; who often will take <uch Children, and bring them up by hand with Rice and Milk ; for they <\\, the Child will be unhappy to the Parents, but to none else.

We have asked them why they will deal so with their poor Infants, that come out of their Bowels. 1 hey will indeed have a kind of regret and trouble at it. But they will say withal, Why should I bring up a Devil in my I louse ;

For they believe, a Child born in an ill hour, will prove a plague and vexation to his Parents by his disobedience and untowardliness.

But it is very rare that a First-born is served so. 1 Inn jut tMn u they love and make much of. But when they come to hnikn. have many, then usual it is, by the pretence of the Childs

being born under an unlucky Planet, to kill him. And ,
this is reputed no fault, and, no Law* of the Land takes
cognizance of it.

In their Infancy they have Names, whereby one may Then A a/wu
be called arid distinguished from the other. But when
they come to years it is an affront and shame to them either
Men or Women, to be called by those Names, Which
they say is to be like unto Dogs. Then they change their
Names into Titles according to the Town wherein they
were bom or do dwell Also they have other Names,
which may be compared to Coats of Arms, properly and
only belonging to that Family : by which likewise they are
called.

This People are very Ambitious of their Titles, having Tky
but little else that they can boast in : and of Names and lV ' mn ™ s f J
Titles of respect they have great plenty in their Language ; ^
instances whereof shall be given afterwards.

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[Chap. VIII

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

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Chap. VIII.

Of their Employments and Recreations.

1 is full time now, that we relate what

course of life the People take, and what means they use for a livelihood. This has been in part already related.

As for Commerce and Merchandize with Foreign Nations, there is little or nothing of that now exercised. Indeed in the times when the Portugueze were on this Island, and Peace between them and the King, he permitted his People to go and Trade with them. The which he would never permit them to do with the Hollander, tho they have much sought for it. They have a small Traffic among them-selves, occasioned from the Nature of the Island. For that which one part of the Countrey affords, will not grow in the other. But in one pa>*t or other of this Land they have enough to sustain themselves, I think, without the help of Commodities brought from any other Countrey: exchanging one Commodity for another; and carrying what they have to other parts to supply themselves with what they want.

But Husbandry is the great Employment of the Countrey, which is spoken of at large before. In this the best men labour. Nor is it held any disgrace for Men of the greatest Quality to do any work either at home or m the Field, if it be for themselves; but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame: and very few are here to he found that will work so: But he that goes under the Notion of a Gentleman may dispence with all w orkx, except earn ing ; that he must get a man to do when there is occasion, bar carrying is accounted the most .Slave-like work of all.

Under their Husbandry, it may not be amiss to relate how the) geld their Cat tel. The} let them be two or three years old before they go about this work ; then casting

OF THEIR EMPLOYMENTS

them and tying their Legs together ; they bruise their Cods with two sticks tied together at one end, nipping them with the other, and beating them with Mallets all to pieces, Then they rub over their Cods with fresh Butter and Soot, and so turn them loose, but not suffer them to he down

all that day. By this way they are secured from breeding Maggots. And I never knew any die upon this.

Whensoever they have occasion to use Glew, they make it after this fashion. They take the Curd of milk, and strain the water from it through a cloth. Then tying it up in a cloth like a Pudding, they put it into boyling water, and let it boyl a good while. Which done it will be hard like Cheese-curd, then mixing it with Lime, use it. If it be not for present use, they will roul up these Curds into a Ball ; which becomes hard, and as they have occasion will scrape some of it off w 7 ith a Knife, and so temper it with Lime. This Lime with them is as soft as Butter.

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Their Manufactures are few : some Callicoes, not so fine The \ r as good strong Cloth for their <jw n use : all manner of Iron Tools for Smiths, and Carpenters, and Husbandmen: all sorts of earthen ware to boil, stew, fry and fetch water in, Goldsmith’s Work, Painter’s work, carved work, making Steel, and good Guns, and the like.

But their Art in ordering the Iron-Stone and making Iron, may deserve to be a little insisted on. For the Countrey affords plenty of Iron, which they make of Stones, that are in several places of the Land ; they lay not very deep in the ground, it may be, about four or five or six foot deep, p

First, They take these Stones, and lay them in an heap, /to they and burn them with wood, which makes them more soft irmh and fitter for the Furnace. When they have so done they have a kind of Furnace, made with a white sort of Clay, wherein they put a quantity of Charcoal, and then these Stones on them, and on the top more Charcoal There is a back to the Furnace, like as there is to a Smith’s Forge, behind which the man stands that blows, the use of which back is to keep the heat of the fire from him. Behind

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

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the Furnace they have two logs of Wood placed fast in the ground, hollow at the top, like two pots. Upon the

mouths of these two pieces of hollow wood they tie a piece of a Deers Skin, on each pot a piece, with a small hole as big as a man's finger in each skim In the middle of each skin a little beside the holes are two strings tied fast to as many sticks stuck in the ground, like a Spring, bending like a bow. This pulls the skin upwards. The man that Mows stand with his feet, one on each pot, covering each hole with the soles of his feet. And as he treads on one pot, and presseth the skin down, he takes his foot off the other, which presently by the help of the Spring riseth ; and the doing so alternately conveys a great quantity of wind thro the Pipes into the Furnace. For there are also two Pipes made of hollow reed let in to the sides of the Pots, that are to conduct the wind, like the nose of a Bellows, into the Furnace.

loir the ease of the Blower, there is a strap, that is fastned to two posts, and comes refund behind him, on which he leans his back : and he has a stick laid cross-ways before him, on which he lays both his hands, and so he blows with greater ease. As the Stones are thus burning, the dross that is in them melts and runs out at the bottom, where there is a slanting hole made for the purpose so big as the lump of Iron may pass thro: out of this hole, I say, runs out the dross like streams of fire,, and the Iron remains behind. Which when it is purified, as they think, enough, so that there comes no more dross away, they drive this lump of Iron thro the same sloping hole. Then they give it a chop with an Ax half thro, and so sling it into the water. They so chop it, that it may be seen that it is good Iron, for the Satisfaction of those that are minded to buy.

For a farevel of their labours, let it not be unacceptable to relate here a piece of their Housewifry; and tell you how they make Butter, First, They boil the Milk, then they turn it into a Curd ; the next morning they skim off the Cream, and drill it in an earthen Vessel with a stick

having a cross at the bottom of it, somewhat like a Choco-late stick. When the Butter is come, they put it in a pan, and fry it, to get all the water dry out of it, and so put it into an earthen pot for use.

There are no Markets on the Island, borne few bhop> bk /r the they have in the Cities, which sell Cloth, Rice, bah,

Tobacco, limes, Druggs, Fruits, Swords, bled, Brass

Copper, &c.

As to the Prices of Commodities, they are sold after hues ft
this rate. Rice in the City, where it is dearest, is after CwwJith': .
six quarts for fourpence halfpeny English, or a small Tango,
or half a Tango ; six Hens as much ; a fat Pig the same 1
a fat Hog, three shillings and six pence or four shillings :
but there are none so big as ours. A fat Goat, two and
six pence. Bede-nuts 4000 nine pence Currant price,
when a Trad.

And now we are discoursing of their Traffick, we will
speak a little of their Measures, Weights, and Coin.

First for Measures. A Rjfin is a Cubit, which is with Of then
them from the bone on the inside of the Elbow to the tip
of the fourth Finger. A Waddo rian is the Carpenters
Rule. It is as much as will reach from one Elbow to the
other, the Thumbs touching one the other at the tops, and
so stretching out both Elbows.

For their Corn-measures, the least is a Potta, which is
to contain as much Grain as a man can hold heaped up in
his whole hand palm and fingers and all. Four Pottas
make a lawful or Statute-measure, called Bonder Nellia,
signifying the King's measure. Which is the King's
ordinary allowance to a man, that is as much as he can eat
In a day. But we Englishmen were allowed two. Four
of these Bonder Nellias make a Courney. In fashion it
is an handsom turned measure, some of them are made
with Canes like a Basket. Ten of these Courneys make
a Pale, that is forty measures, which is the usual quantity
that they sell for a Laree, or fifth part of a Piece of eight,
the usual price in Conde Uda, But in time of Harvest
two Pales for a Laree. Four of these Pales make an

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Ommouna. In which they keep the account of their Corn, reckoning by Ommounas.

For their Weights, their smallest is a Colionda, six make just a Piece of eight. They have half Collondas, and quarter Collondas. " When they are to weigh things smaller than a Colionda, they weigh them with a kind of red Berries, which grow in the Woods, and are just like Beads. I he Goldsmith's use them, Twenty of these Beads make a Colionda, and Twenty Collondas make a Pallum.

Here is no Punishment for those that make less weights .in,i measures. They are more circumspect that their measures he not too big than too little. For Money being varce, Corn passeth instead of Money, and every man mets by his own measure. Which therefore he makes as large as he can or dares, that so when he receives his Debt of Corn, he may get as much as he can. Which upon this account would he a great injury to the poorer sort of People, who commonly are the Debtors. Therefore the Adigars Officers will go abojat the Towns to examine the measures by a Statute-Measure ; and where they find great ones they cut them in pieces, and hang them up in the streets to terrific others, and sometimes will amerce a Fine upon them that have them.

Of Money they have but three sorts that passeth for Coin in the King’s Dominions. The one was Coined by the Portugal s, the King’s Arms on one side, and the Image ot a Frier on the other, and by the Chingulayes called Tangom massa. The value of one is nine pence English, Poddi Tangom, or the small Tangom is half as much. There is another sort, which all People by the King’s Per-mission may and do make. The shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The silver is purely fine beyond pieces of Eight. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate, it is "the Custom to bum the Money in the fire red hot, and so put it in water : and if it be nor then purely white, it is not Currant Money.

1 he third sort of Money is the King’s proper Coin.
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OF THEIR RECREATIONS

For none upon pain of Death may Coin if. It F lallui a Ponnam. It is as small as a Spangle : Seventy five make a piece of Eight, or a Spanish Dollar, But al! sort'- of Money is here \ cry scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities.

Pass we now from their Business to their Pastime'- and Diversions. They have but few Sports, neither do they delight in Play. Only at their New year, they will sport and be merry one with another. Their chief Play is to bowl Coker-nuts one against the other, to try which is the hardest. At this time none will work, until their Astrologers tell them, it is a good hour to handle their Tools. And then both Men and Women do begin their proper works ; the Man with his Ax, Bill, and Hough, and the Woman with her Broom, Pestle, and Fan to clean her Corn.

There is another Sport, which generally all People used with much delight, being, as they called it, a Sacrifice to one of their Gods ; to wit, Potting Dio. And the benefit of it is, that it frees the Countrey from grief and Diseases, For the beastliness of the Exercise they never celebrated it near any Town, nor in sight of Women, but in a remote place. The manner of the Game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like Elbows, one hooked into the other, and so with contrivances they pull with Ropes, until the one break the other ; some siding with one stick, and some with the other ; but never is Money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that Party that hath won doth not a little rejoyce. Which rejoycing is exprest by Dancing and Singing, and uttering such sordid beastly Expressions, together with Postures of their Bodies, as I omit to write them, as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelesly and beast-like.

This filthy Solemnity was formerly much in use among them ; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty

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of a forfeiture of Money* So that now the practice hereof
is quite left of.

w But tho it is thus pone into dis-use, yet out of the great

W* 1 delight the People had in it, they of Gompala would revive
it again ; and did* Which coming to the King's ear, he
Pj 1 sent one of his Noblemen to take a Fine from them for it.
The Nobleman knew the People would not come to pay
a Fine, and therefore was fain to go to work by a Stratagem.
Pitching therefore his Tents by a Pond, he gave order to
uli all the People to his assistance to catch Fish for the
King's use. Which they were very ready to do, hoping
to have the refuse lush for themselves. And when they
were all thus assembled together with their Tools, and
necessary Instruments for that purpose, the Nobleman
<, barged them all in the King's Name according to the
Countries fashion, which was by pulling off his Cap, and
falling down upon the ground three times, that not a man
of them should budge till they had paid such a Sum of
Money, which was so much a piece, for reviving that Play
that the King had forbid, "(Vhich they were forced to do
before they departed from the Pond side. And the Money
was carried into the King's Exchequer. *
mi When they would be merry, and particularly at their
' f J great Festival in the New Moon of June or July (before
mentioned ;) they have People that shew pretty tricks and
feats of Activity before them. A nvyi sets a Pole of seven
or eight foot long upon his Breast ; a Boy gets to the top
of this Pole, ami leans with his Belly upon the end of it ;
md thus the man danceth with the Pole on his Breast, and
the Boj on it, and but little holding the Pole. A man
takes lour Arrows with blades about a foot long, they are
tied one cross another, and so laid upon the end of a Pole,
v Inch re^ts upon the man's Breast. On a sudden he squatts
down upon the ground, and the four Arrows all fall on
the four sides of hurt, sticking in the ground. Two Cross-
bows stand bent one opposite to the other, charged with
Arrows drawn up to the heads: they are placed just so
high, as they may fly over a man's back when he lyes flat

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OF THEIR RECREATIONS

upon the ground. A man danceth between them and
shows Tricks, and when he is pleased, he touches a <-trinv
made fast to both their trickery at which they both iiKanth
Discharge, and he falls flat down between them, and the
Arrows fly over hi* back, which if they hit him, undoubted!}
fly thro his Body. A Woman takes two naked Sword*
under each Ann one, and another she holds in her mouth,
then fetcheth a run and turns clear over, and never touche**
the ground till she lights on her feet again, holding all
her Swords fast. There are divers other 1)i versions ol this
nature too large to mention.

At their leisure when their affairs will permit, they com-
monly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring
men to lodge in, in their Language called Amblomb, where
they sit chewing Betel, and looking one upon the other
very gravely and solidly, discoursing concerning the Affairs
at Court, between the King and the great Men ; and what
Employment the People of the City are busied about.
For as it is the chief of their business to serve the King,
so the chief of their discoursed concerning such matters.
Also they talk of their own affairs, about Cattel and
Husbandry. # And when they meet with Outlandish-men
they enquire about the Laws and Government of their
Countrey, and if it be like theirs ; and what Taxes and
Duties we are bound to pay, and perform to our King, &c.

And this manner of passing their leisure time they
account the greatest Recreation. Drunkenness they do
greatly abhor, neither are there many that do give them-
selves to it. Tobacco likewise they account a Tice, but
yet is used both by Men and Women; but more eaten
than drunk in Pipes.

But above all things Betel leaves they are most fond of,
and greatly delighted in : when they are going to Bed.
they first fill their mouths with it, and keep it there until
they wake, and then rise and spit it out, and take in more.
So that their mouths are no longer clear of it, than they
are eating their Victuals. This is the general practice both
of Men and Women, insomuch that they had rather want

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Betel.

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V muais or Cloths than he without it ; and my long practice in eating it brought me to the same condition. And the Reasons why they thus eat it are, First, Because it is whoisom. Secondly, To keep their mouths perfumed : for being chewed it casts a brave scent. And Thirdly, To make their Teeth black. For they abhor white Teeth, saying, That is like a Dog.

The better sort of Women, as Gentlewomen or Ladies, have no other Pastime but to sit and chew Betel, swallowing the spittle, and spitting out the rest. And when Friends come to see and visit one the other, they have as good Society thus to sit and chew Betel, as we have to drink Wine together.

• Mann But to describe the particular manner of their eating hit Mtv < thes>e Leaves. They carry about with them a small Box '* f,K “' filled with wet Lime: and as often as they are minded to eat Betel, they take some of this Lime, as much as they judge convenient, and spread it thin upon their leaf ; then they take some slices of the Betel-nut, and wrap them up in the leaf, and so eat it, rubbing their Teeth therewith ever and anon to make them black. Thus they eat it generally : but sometimes they eat it otherwise, according as they please; neither spreading the Lime on the leaf, nor rolling- up slices of the Nut into it : But they will take a little of the lame out of their Box between their Fingers, and put it in their mouths, and eat of the Nut and the Leaf by themselves.

But whensoever they eat of the Betel-leaf, the Lime and the Nut always accompany it.

v.h They have a pretty shift of making their Lime, when

1 they chance to need it as they are travailing. They take certain Shells, almost resembling Snails Shells, which they pick up in fre-.h water Rivers, washed a shore with the water beating upon the Rocks. These Shells, mixed with Charcoal -and fire, they wrap up in a wisp of Rice-straw, and hind them together in a round bundle of a convenient bigness, tying all up with green' Withs, that they may not tall in pieces. By a With some four foot long they hold

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OF THEIR LAWS

it in their hands, swinging it round over their heads, Which motion blows the Coals and makes them burn. And as they are weary with swinging it in one hand, the} shift and take it in the other: and so keep ^winging it for half an hour or thereabouts. By which time it will be burnt to very good Lime, and most part of the straw consumed : but it is still kept together by the green Whim. Then they take it and* wet it in water, and put it into their Pots or Boxes for their use. The Lime made of white stone burnt in a Kiln they do indifferently uh* to eat with their Leaves, as well as this made of Shells now described.

Chap. IX.

Of their Laws and Language,

Here are three things, that ingenious men may possibly be inquisitive after, which have not yet been professedly handled, their Laws, their Language, and their Learning.

Concerning the first, here are no Laws, but the Will of the King, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable Law. Never-theless they have certain antient usages and Customes that do prevail and are observed as Laws ; and Pleading them in their Courts and before their Governors will go a great way.

To hint some of them, their Lands are hereditary, and do descend from Parents to their Children. But the eldest son by Priviledg of Birth-right does not possess and enjoy all the Land, but if the Father please he can divide if among his Children, Yet in case the eldest son does enjoy the Land, then without dispute he is to maintain his Mother and her Children until they come to years of ability to provide for themselves.

They have a custom in the Land of Ouvah, which is a great breeder of Cattle, and hath but very little Wood,

so that they have not wherewith to make hedges; It is

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Lands descend.

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that when they sow their Lands, they drive their Cattle thence, and watch them all day that they break not into the Corn ; and at night they tie their Cattle to secure them from straying into the Corn-Lands : otherwise if one Neighbours Cattle eats another neighbours Corn, he must pay the dam mage.

Those that are lazy and loath to Plow, or that are Poor and want Corn to sow, the Custom is, to let out their ground to others to Till at Ande, that is at halves ; but tees and accustomable dues taken out by the Husbandman that tills it, the Owner of the Land receives not much above a third part.

For the Husbandman hath divers considerable payments besides his half share of the Corn. As namely, first he hath Cotoumaun, that is, so much Corn as they scratch off from the whole heap of trodden Corn by drawing a bundle of Thorns over it. Secondly, Waracool, that is a consideration for the expences they are at in Tilling and Sowing : for which there is %Rate according to the bigness of the field. Thirdly, Warrapoll, that is the Corn they leave at the bottom of the heap after they have done fanning. Which is the Womans fee for their pains in weeding the Corn, and in pulling it up where it is too thick, and planting it where it is thin, &c. Fourthly, Bolerud which is the Chaff and sweepings of the Pit. This sometimes comes to a considerable value according to the quantity of Corn that is trodden. Fiftly, Peldorah, which is a piece of Corn they leave standing before the watch house, which is set up in their Corn grounds to watch their Corn from the wild beasts. And this left standing is the fee for watching. There is yet another due Ockyaul which belongs to their Gods, and is an offering sometimes carried away by the Priest ; and sometimes they bestow it upon the beggars, and sometimes they will take it and hang it up in their houses, and at convenient time sacrifice it themselves. It is one of their measures, which is about half a Peck.

And in the mean time until this Corn is ripe, the Owner is fain to go a borrowing Corn to sustain himself and

OF THEIR LAWS

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1 68 i.

Family. Which he pays consideration for : whkn is, wher his own Corn is ripe, a bushel and an half for a bushel that is, at the rate of Fifty per Cent. Which manner of lending Corn is a means that doth maintain many strangers and others. For they who have got a small stock of Corn by that Profit may competently live upon it. Which va- the means that Almighty God prepared for my relief and maintenance.

Com thus lent is somewhat difficult to receive again.

For the Debtor being Poor, all the Creditors will come into the field, when the Corn is a shareing, that being the place of payment: and as soon as it is divided each one will scramble to get what he can. And having taken possession of it, from thence the Creditor must carry it home himself,

be it far or near.

If the Debt remains in the Debtors hands two years, it Tk debt becomes doubled: and from thence forward be it never so karmtluhk long, no more use is to be paid by the Law of the Land, tn fx 'V m ' u which Act w f as established b}; the King in favour of the Poor, there having been some whole Families made Slaves for a bushel of Corn.

But yet ifris lawful for the Creditor, missing Corn, to Iftknkhrr lay hands on any of his goods : or if the sum be somewhat considerable, on his Cattle or Children, first taking out a fjiiLZu, License from the Magistrate so to do, or if he have none, shmfir it. on himself or his wire, if she came with him to fetch the debt, if not, she is clear from this violence ; but his Children are not.

If a woman goes away from her Husband without his Diem ether consent, no Man may marry her, until he first be married. ^ am In lending of mony by the use of it in one years time, Cmtme> - it becomes double. And if the Creditor receive not his mony at the expiration of the year, but lets it lie in the Debtors hands never so long after, no more than double is to be paid, the encrease never runs up higher as it is in lending Corn. If a Bond-woman has Children by a Free-man, the Children all are Slaves to her Master : but if a Bond-man has Children by a Free-woman, the Children

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arc free : For the Children are always as the Mother, whether Bond or Free. No man may cut down a Coker-imf-Tree. If any man to a bargain or promise gives a stone in the Kings name, it is as firm as hand and seal. And if any after this go back of his word, it will bear an Action. If any man "be taken stealing, he must restore

seven for one, or else be made a Slave, if he be not able to pay it.

It L lawful and customary for a man in necessity to sell or pawn his Children, or himself. No man building an house either in his own or another mans ground, if he be afterwards minded to leave his Land, where his house stood, may pull it down again : But must let it stand for the benefit of whosoever comes after him.

For the deciding of matters in controversie especially of more abstruse cognizance, the parties do both swear before their Gods, sometimes in their Temples, and sometimes upon more extraordinary occasions in hot Oyl.

Sometimes in their Temples. To explain which, take this following relation. A Slave was accused by a Merchant to have robbed his house. Whereupon to clear himself, the Slave desired he might swear. So the Merchant and Slave went both to the Temple to swear. The Merchant swore positively that the Slave had robbed his house ; and the Slave swore as poynt blank that he had not robbed his house: and neither of them having any witnesses, God who knew all things was desired to shew a Judgment upon him that was forsworn. They both departed to their houses, waiting to see upon whom the Judgment would fall. In the mean time the Slave privatly sets the Merchants house on fire, and his house was burnt down to the ground. Then it was clear by this supposed divine Judgment, the Merchant was forsworn. The Slave presently demands satisfaction for laying Theft fasly to his charge. The Merchant could not tell what to say to it, but would give him none. The Slave was now to take his own satisfaction, as he had opportunity. And his Master bids him seize upon the Merchants Person or any other relating to him,

and bring them to his house* and there detain them. Within a short time after, the Slave seeing a Kinsman of the Merchants passing by, offers to seize him. But he, rather than be taken, draws his Knife and Stabs the Slave on the shoulder, and so escapes. In Fine, the Merchant was fain to bribe the Great Men to save himself from

further dammage, and sit down contented with the loss of his goods and house. Though the Slave was a person of a very bad reputation, and had done divers Thefts ; and some of his stolen goods he hath brought to me to

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Sometimes they do decide their debates by swearing in Tkenumw^ hot Oyi "Which because it is remarkable, I will relate at swemngh large. They are permitted thus to swear in matters of * great importance only, as when Law Suits happen about their Lands, or when their is no witness. When they are to swear, each party hath a Licence from the Governor for it, written with his hand to it. Then they go and wash their heads and bodies, whifh is a religious ceremony.

And that night they are both confined Prisoners in an house with a guard upon them, and a cloth tyed over each of their right tends and sealed, least they might use any charm to harden their fingers.

The next morning they are brought out ; they then put on clean cloths, and purifie themselves, reckoning they come into the presence of God. Then they tie to their wrists the Leaf wherein the Governors Licence is, and repair under some Bogahah, God-Tree, and all the Officers of the County assemble with a vast number of people besides.

Coker-nuts are brought, and Oyl is there extracted from them in the sight of the people, that all may see their is no deceit. Also they have a Pan of Cow-dung and water boyling close by: The Oyl and Cow-dung being both boyling and throughly hot, they take a young leaf of a Coker-nut Tree and dip that into the Oyl, that all may see it is hot. For it singes, and frizzels up, and roars as if you poured water into hot boyling Oyl And so they do likewise to the Cow-dung. When all are satisfied the

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Oyl is hot, the two men come and stand on each side of this boyling Oyl ; and say, The God of Heaven and Earth is witness, that I did not do this that I am accused of ; Or, The four sorts of Gods be witness, That this Land in controversic is mine. And then the other swears quite contrary. But first the Accuser alwayes swears. The Accused also relates his own innocence, or his own Right and Title. The cloths that their hands were bound up in are taken off. And immediatly upon using the former words he dips his two fingers into the hot Oyl, flinging it out three times. And then goes to the boyling Cow-clung, and does the same. And so does the other. Then they tie up their hands again with the cloth, and keep both of them Prisoners till the next day. When their hands are looked upon, and their fingers-ends rubbed with a cloth, to see if the skin comes off. And from whose fingers the skin comes, he is forsworn. The Penalty of which is a great forfeiture to the King and great satisfaction to the Adversary. T

1 am able to testifie, that the fingers of some of these that have thus sworn have been whole from any scald after this use of hot Oyl : but whether it be thfeir innocence or their Art, that it thus comes to pass, I know not. The penalty of the breach of the Laws or Customes of this Land is at the pleasure of the Judg, either amercement, or imprisonment, or both.

h'or the taking of Fines from men, on whom they are laid, this is their Custom. The Officers, wheresoever they meet the man, stop him in the place. Where they take away his Sword and Knife ; and make him pull off his Cap and Doublet ; and there he sits with his Keepers by him, till he pays the Fine. And if he delays paying it, they dap a great Stone upon his back ; in which condition he must remain till he pays it. And if he doth not pay, they load him with more Stones, until his compliance prevent further jains. Another way they have to exact the pay-ment of the Fines laid upon them. They take some sprigs of 1 horns, and draw them between the mans naked Legs

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OF THEIR LAWS

till he pays. But if he remain obstinate they clap him up in chains.

They have an odd usage among them to recover their debts. Which is this. They will sometime 4 ' go to the

house of their debtor with the leaves of Neiinguia a certain Plant, which is rank Poyson, and threaten him, that they will eat that Poyson and destroy themselves, unless he will pay him what he ows. The debtor is much afraid of this, and rather than the other should Poyson himself, will sometimes sell a Child to pay the debt: Not that the one is tender of the life of the other, but out of care of himself. For if the party dyes of the Poyson, the other for whose sake the man Poysoned himself must pay a ransome for his life. By this means also they will sometimes threaten to revenge themselves of those with whom they have any contest, and do it too. And upon the same intent they will also jump down some steep place or hang or make away with themselves ; that so they might bring their Adversary to great dammage^

To speak now a little of their Language. It is a language peculiar to that Island: and I know not any Indian Nations that speak it but themselves. There are a few words that are common to the Chingulavs and the Malabars, which they might borrow of one another, by Intercourse and Commerce, but the words are so few, that a Malabar cannot understand a Chingulay, nor on the contrary.

Their language is Copious, Smooth, Elegant, Courtly ; according as the People that speak it are. Who are full of words, Titles and Complements. They have no less than twelve or more Titles that they use when the)' speak to Women according to their ranks and qualities.

Puddeci. A word for a woman of the lowest

condition.

Kiddekeh A term of more respect, given to a

young wench.

Nanda. A term for an inferior woman some-

thing in years, signifies also Ant

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mug.

Nandadga.

Nauchere.

Lamhaumi.

Ettani.

Lam-Ettani.

Ettanihaumi.

MaugL

Maugiwanxi.

Comaurehaumi.

Hondreunie.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

A little higher y et, of the like years.
A Title may be given to an ordinary
woman, still, but yet higher.

A Title higher than any yet.

Higher still.

Of more respect.

Higher than that.

Proper only to an old woman, but of
good quality.

Better then the Maugi.

A Title due to the greatest Ladies.
Given to the Queen or the King.

So that it is hard to speak to a woman without they
know what she is before, least they might mistake her
Title. And the women are much pleased with some of
the better Titles.

The men also have various Titles, tho not so many as
the women. People give to them these Titles according
to the business they have with them. If they come for
some favour or kindness to be done them, they bestow
the better sort of Titles upon them.

I hey have seven or eight words for Thou, ol You, which
they apply to persons according to their quality, or accord-
ing as they would honour them. And they are To, Topi,
Umba, Umbela, Tomnai, Tomsi, Tomsela, Tomanxi. All
these words are gradually one higher than the other.

Their ordinary Plow-men and Husbandmen do speak
elegantly, and are full of complement. And there is no
difference between the ability and speech of a Country-man
and a Courtier. When any hath a favour to beg of a Noble-
man, or any business with him, they do not abruptly speak
their desires or errand at first, but bring it in with a long
harangue of his worth or good disposition or abilities ; and
this in \ery handsom and taking stile. They bring up
their Children to speak after this manner, and use them
to go with errands to great men ; and the} are able to tell
their tale very well also.

In rheir speech the people aie bold without sheepish

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OP THEIR LANGUAGE <u>.

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higher than a man, and next to God. But before the Wars
they stiled him Dionanxi, which is a Title higher than
God by the addition of Nanxi. This Title the King took
before the Rebellion* but since he forbad it. When the}
speak to the King concerning themselves, they do not speak
in the first person, and say I did so or so, but Baulagot
the limb of a Dog did it or will do it. And when they
speak of their Children unto the King, they call them
Puppies. As if he ask them how many Children they have,
they say so many Puppy-dogs, and so many Puppy-bitches, [p. icA]
By which by the way, we may conjecture at the height of
the King and the slavery of the People under him.

They have certain words of Form and Civility, that they // v
use upon occasion. When they come to another mans
house, he asks them what they come for, which is his
civility, and they answer Nicamava, 1 come for nothing,
which is their ordinary reply, the they do come for some-
thing. And upon this they have a Fable.

A God ccftne down upon earth one day, and bad all his
Creatures come before him and demand what they would
have and it should be granted them. So all the beasts
and other Creatures came, and one desired Strength, and
another Legs, and another Wings, See And it was
bestowed on them. Then came the White men, the God
asked them, what they came for? And they said, they
desired Beauty and Valour and Riches. It was granted
them. At last came the ChinguJays, the God required of
them, what they came for. They answered, Nicamava, I
come for nothing. Then replyed he again, do you come
for nothing, then go away with nothing. And so they
for their complement fared worse than all the rest.

When one proffers something as a gift to another, altho
it be a thing that he is willing to have, and would be glad
to receive, yet he will say, Eeppa queinda, No, 1 thank
you; how can I be so chargeable to your And in the

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shame ^ facedness, and yet no more confidence than i

becoming.

The King they call by a name, that sirmifies sorr.ewlu

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same time while the words are in his mouth, he reacheth forth his hand to receive it.

Neither are they free or forward to requite them, from whom they have received a gift or good turn, otherwise than with words and windy protestations ; the which shall not he wanting. But forwards they are to receive, yet very backward to part with anything. And if one neighbour asketh ought of another, or to borrow any thing, which the other is unwilling either to give or lend, they never will plainly deny by saying, I cannot or will not ; but with dissembling they will excuse themselves, saying, They have it not, or is it lent abroad already, altho it be with them in the house at the same time.

Their usual manner of swearing in protestations, is by their Mother, or by their Children, or by their two Eyes, oftner than by their Gods. But their protestations be they never so deep, and seem they never so serious, they arc not to be regarded, as proceeding more from custom than truth.

Some of their words of Reproach, or Railery are such as these. One brother will say to another, and that in presence of their Mother, Tomotowoy, go lye with your Mother, the other replyes go you and lye with your Mother. And the Mother will say to the Daughter, Jopi oppota audewind, go lye with your Father ; intimating she is good for nothing. They will commend their Children, when they can use their tongues in their own defence by scolding and say, Hasri, opanna, Well said, valiantly

spoken. They will say also in reproach, Creep between my legs, cut your Nose off. If you have five hundred lives, you shall be damned. The worst railery they can give a woman is to tell her, she has laid with ten sorts of inferior ranks of People, which they will rather dye than do. R any thing be stole out of their grounds or Planta- tions fruit or the like, they will cry out a loud, This was done by some low-cast begotten Rogue, or She was a whore to some inferior rank who dressed it ; and this Language they v> ill continue lor half an hour together, tho they know

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OF THEIR LANGUAGE

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not who hath done it. The worst word they use to \\ bites and Christians, is to cal] them Beat-eating Slaves.

1 shall conclude this Discourse of their Language, in giving you a tast of their Proverbs, some hint'* of the strain of their Speech,

Miris dilah, nigurah gotta. I have given Pepper, and Ptuu got Ginger. Spoken when a man makes a bad exchange.

And they use it in reference to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese in their Island.

Datta horrala Badda perind. Pick jour Teeth to fill your Belly. Spoken of stingy niggardly People.

Caula yonawa ruah atti. To eat before you go forth is handsom and convenient. Which they therefore ever do.

Kiallah tiannah, Degery illand avah oppala hanguand mordy, As the saying is, if I come to beg Butter-milk, why should I hide my Pan. Which is ordinarily spoken to introduce the business that one man comes to ^peak to the other about.

Hingonna wellendam cor cottonwat geah par wardenda netta. A Beggar and a Trader cannot be lost. Because they are never out of their way.

Atting mitting delah hottarah harracurnowah. To lend

to another makes him become an Enemy. For he will hate you if you ask him for it again.

Annum min yain ecka ourowaying younda eppa. Go not with a Slave in one Boat. It signifies, to have no dealing or correspondence with any ones Slave. For if any dammage should happen, it would fall upon your head, and by their Law you must make it good.

Issara otting bollanowa pos catting. First look in the hand, afterwards open the mouth. Spoken of a Judge, who first must have a Bribe before he will pronounce on their side.

Take a Ploughman from the Plough, and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a Kingdom. Spoken of the People of Conde Uda, where there are such eminent Persons of the Hondrewrank ; and because of the Civility, Under-standing, and Gravity of the poorest Men among them.

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No body can reproach the King and the Beggar. Because the former is above the slander of the People, and nothing can be said bad enough of the latter :

Like Noia and Polonga. Denoting Irreconcileable Enemies. The story of which two Serpents hath been related before.

He that hath Money to give to .his Judge, needs not fear, be his Cause right or wrong. Because of the cor-ruption of the great Men, and their greediness of Bribes.

If our Gerehah, fortune be bad, what can God do against it? Reckoning that none of their Gods have Power to reverse the fate of an ill Planet.

The Ague is nothing, but the Head-ach is all. That Countrey is very subject to Agues, which do especially afflict their heads who have them. I might multiply many more of their Proverbial sayings, but let these suffice.

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of f heir
Gramme f ,

I cannot pretend to give an account of the Grammar
of this Tongue. I shall only give a few instances of their
words, and leave if to the Learned to make their Conjec-
tures. First, I will give you some of their Nouns Plural.

Minnia, A Man.
Cucula, A Cock.
Cole-la, A Boy.

Gahah, A Tree.
Auhoun, A Horse.
Polaha, A young Jack.

Minnis, * Men.
Cuculong, Cocks.
Colani, Boyes.
Gos, Trees.
Auspio, horses.
Polas, Jacks.

But usually when they have occasion to speak of many
they express themselves by Numerals set after the Noun ;
as Dissawva two, three, &c. An Egg, Bittera, Eggs,
Bittera cattei, word for word, Egg many.

Their Verbs they form after this manner :

Mam conna, I eat.

Mam conyum, I will eat.
Mam cava, I have eat.
Conowa, Eating.

Caupoudi, Let him eat.
Caum, Let us eat.
Conda, To eat.
Caula, Eaten.

OF THEIR LANGTAGE

A J).

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Mam denyam, I will give.
Mam Doun-naJ gave.

Dila, I have given,

f Shall 1 give r
To give.

Mam yonyam, Fie go.
Mam yonda oni, I will go.

Dendi,

Dem,
Dennowa,
Dipon,
Douna, or |
Dila tiana,

Let us give.
Giving.

Give him.

Given.

Yong,

Yonowa,

Let us go.
Going.

Yonda dipadi, Let him go.
Pollatch, Gone, spoken

of an ordinary person.
Pollad-da, Gone, spoken

of a person of great quality.

Mam gia atti, I have been.

[Atti] significth [have].
Gia dendi, Let him, or give

Mam oy, I am.

Eai, He, or They, or

Dio,

Dio loco,

Jacco,

Aucoi,

Taurcoi,

Deure,

Gindere,

Oppa,

Pianannah,

Oppatchi,

Omma,

Ommandea,

Molla,

Gauhah,

Courilla,

Gom,

Oppuland,

Naund, To wash the body.

Goumanic, A journey.

Gauman corowaund, To send, word for word, to cause to do a journey.

ns

He is.

him leave to go.

God.

Gani, A Woman.

Heaven.

Rodgura, A King.

The DeviJ.

Haul, Raw rice.

i, Hell.

$at, Boyled Rice.

The Sky.

Banglale, A Table.

A Star.

Wellau, Time.

•Winter.

Wauri, Season.

Fire.

Colading, Harvest.

j- Father.

Puta, | a

Putandi, f fL

| Mother.

S ua : 1 Daughtt

Domanna, J b

A flower.

Pinaund, To swim.

A tree.

Coppaund, To cut.

A bird.

Horraund, To bore.

A town.

Hoppacaund, To bite.

To wash cloths.

Coraund, To do. [d<

Corowaund, To cause to be

A Specimen
nffheh wnA ».

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A. IX

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

Heuwoya,
Heuwoynanna

, All words signifying Common Soldiers,
i only they are titles one above an-

'i other, and the two last are as much
Hcuwoynanoura, / ag tQ say Gentlemen Soldiers.

Heuwoy) To fight, as much as to say, To act the
com-coraund, j Soldier.

Mihi,

Mich,

Mienyum,

Mioenowa,

Eppa,_

Megatin d,

To dye.

Dead.

I will dye.
Dying.

Do not.
To rise.

rise.

(Jpaudt*nowa,The Resurrec-
tion,

Negantind) Dq „ ot
Eppa, j
Tonnaund, To build.
Tannitch, Built.
Tounchеroutwitch, It is fin-
ished.

Na & Natti, No, or not.

1 shall only make one Observation from these words,
and that is concerning the four first. It is this, that they
have no words of their own Language for God and Heaven,
but in all probability borrowed them from the Portugueze.
But for the two next, The Devi] and Hell, words of their

own. They number thus,

"Mj

Kckhoi

1.

Dauhottunhof

XIII.

Deckhoi

ii.

Dauhotterhoi

XIV.

Tun hoi

hi.

Paulohoi

XV.

Hotterhoi

IV.

Dauhossahoi

XVI.

Pauhhoi

V.

Dauhahottoi

XVII.

i Hoyhoi

VI.

Dauha ot hoi

XVIII.

* Hothoi

VII.

Dauhanovihoi

XIX.

Ot hoi

VIII.

Vishoi

XX.

*

Novihoi

IX.

Tihoi

XXX.

%

Dauhoihoi

X.

Hottalehoi

XL.

Ktkolauhoi

XI.

Ponnahoi

L.

DoSahot

XII.

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OF THEIR LEARNING

A.D.

i68r.

Chap. X.

Concerning their Learning, Astronomy, ami

Art Magiek.

Heir Learning is but small. All the\ Ottka
ordinarily learn is to read and to write.

But ft is no shame to a man if he can do
neither. Nor have they any Schools
wherein they might be taught and in-
structed in these or any other Arts.

Their Books are only of their Religion Thth Bvk,
and of Physick. Their chief Arts are Astronomy and ^ r1 '-
Magiek. They have a Language something differing from
the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us) which their Books
are writ in. They learn to write upon Sand, spreading //'« tin
it upon the ground, and making it smooth with the hand, hanit' ttritf.
and so write the letters with their fingers to bring their hand
in use.

They write not on Paper, for of that they have little or
none ; but on a Talli-pot leaf with an Iron Bodkin, which
makes an impression. This leaf thus written on, is not
folded, but rolled up like Ribbond, and somewhat resembles
Parchment.

If they are to write a Book, they do it after this manner. ##« %
They take the Tallipot leaf, and cut it into divers pieces ^
of an equal shape and size, some a foot, some eight inches, arM a K '
some a foot and an half long, and about three finders broad.

Then having thus prepared the leaves, they write in them

long ways from the left hand to the right, as we do. When

the Book is finished they take two pieces of board, which

are to serve for the cover of the Book. To these boards fp. no.]

are fastened two strings, which do pass thro every leaf of

the Book, and these tye it up fast together. As the Reader

hath read each leaf, he lifts it up, and lays it by still hanging

upon the strings, and so goes to the next leaf, something Tk(Pf .

resembling Bills filed upon Wyre. ar j tf n m /, s

The Connies, who are men of leisure, write many Books of'Bmna.

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*81.

Kings
tmishzv
ped up,

* write
ftm

rj /rates.

;> Skill in
mmy ,

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ry pretend
'mxv

*tre things
the $fa r t.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

of Bonna, that is of the Ceremonies of their Religion : and will sometimes carry them to great Men, as a present, and do expect a reward.

The King when he sends any Warrants or Orders to his Officers, hath his Writings wrapped up in a way proper to himself, and none else do or may fold up their leaves in that manner but He.

They write upon the Tallipat leaves Records or matters of great moment, or that are to be kept and preserved : but for any ordinary business as Letters, &c. they commonly use another leaf, called Taulcole. The leaves of which will bear a better impression than the Tallipat, but they are more stubborn, and harder than the other, and will not fold.

But to speak a little of their Astronomy. They who have understanding in it, and practise it, are the Priests of the highest Order, of which the present King’s Father was. But the common sort of Astronomers are the Weavers. These men can certainly foretel Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. They make Leet, that is Almanacks that last for

a Month. They are written upon a Tallipat leaf, a little above a foot long, and two fingers broad, in them are told the Age of the Moon, and the good Seasons and times to begin to Plough or to Sow, or to go a Journey, or to take any work in hand. On this precise time they will be sure to sprinkle their first Seed, tho they sow all their Field it may be a Month after. And so they will begin to set forth at the very moment, tho possibly they will not go their Journey till some days after.

These Astronomers tell them also when the old year ends to the very minute. At which time they cease from all work, except the Kings, which must not be omitted. They acquaint them also with the good hour of the New year, they are to begin to work. At which time every Man and Woman begins to do somewhat in their employ- ment the) intend to follow the ensuing year. They have also another season directed them by "their Astronomers : that is, when to begin to wash their heads, which is assigned

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OF THEIR ASTRONOMY

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to every one according to the time of their Nativities which Ceremony they olverve verj religion 4 }.

These Astronomer's or rather Astrologers are skilful in the Knowledge of the Stars, and Planets, of vhkh they reckon nine: 'tis supposed they may add the DragtmN Head and Tail. By which they pretend to toretel all thino concerning the healthy and recovery of Sick Persons ; aKo concerning the fate of Children horn, about which the Parents do presently consult them, and save their Children or kill them according to the fortunate or unfortunate hour they tell the Parents they were horn in.

When a Person is Sick, he carries to these men his Nativity, which they call Hanna hom pot, upon the perusal of which they tell his destiny. The^e also direct lit times for beginning Journeys, or other undertakings. They are likewise consulted concerning Marriages by looking upon the Man and Woman's Nativity.

They reckon their Time from one Saccawarsi an ancient \y. m.j King. Their year consists of 365 days. They begin their year upon our Eight and twentieth day of March, and sometimes the Seven and twentieth, and sometimes, but i/wksj)^ very seldom,* on the Nine and twentieth. The reason of Hmu

which I conceive to be, to keep it equal to the course of the Sun, as our Leap year doth. They call the year Ouredah, This they divide into Twelve Months, named, Wasachmaha, Poniaha, Ahalamoha, Micheneha, Bochmoha,

&c They divide their Months into Weeks, each consisting of seven days, called Iridah, Sandudah, Onghorudab, Bodadah, Braspotindah, Secouradah, Henouradah.

The first of which they account a good and a fortunate day to begin to do or undertake any thing: and it falls out upon our Sunday. On their Wednesday «*, and Saturdays they open their Churches, and perform their Ceremonies. Their day, which they call Dausack, they divide into Thirty Pays, hours or parts, and begin their account from the Sun-rising, and their Night also into as many, and begin from Sun-setting: So that the Fifteenth Pay is Twelve a Clock at Noon. They have a Flower by which

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they judge of the time, which constantly blows open seven Pays before Night.

They have no Clocks, Hour-glasses, or Sun-Dials, but keep their time by guess. The King indeed hath a kind of Instrument to measure time. It is a Copper Dish holding about a Pint, with a very small hole in the bottom. This Dish they set a swimming in an Earthen Pot of water, the water leaking in at the bottom till the Dish be full, it sinks. And then they take it out, and set it empty

on the water again, and that makes one Pay. Few or none use this but the King, who keeps a man on purpose to watch it continually. The People will use it upon some occasions, as if they are to sow their Corn at any particular hour, as being the good lucky Season, then they make use of the Copper Pan, to know the time exactly.

They do practise Magick. Whereof take these two remarkable instances of many that might be given.

The Countrey of Neurecalava formerly brought forth great plenty of Corn, occasioned by reason of its large waterings. A Neighbour Kingdom, the Kingdom of Courncgal which lyes in Hotcourley, in those times was brought to a great dearth. At which the King sends to the People of Neurecalava, that they would bring a supply of Corn to his Countrey, which they did in great store upon Beasts in Sacks, and arrived at the King's City : and there for the more expeditious measuring out every Hous- holder his proportion of Corn, they made a hole in the Sacks, and let it run out, still driving on the Beasts before them : and all that was shed before every man's House, was to be his share. This exceedingly gratified the King.

Afterward the King to requite tKem, asked what they most needed in their Countrey? They answered, They had plenty of all things, only they wanted Cahah mirris, that is Turmeric and Pepper. The King to gratifie them sent them such a quantity of each as his Countrey could afford. As soon as this was brought to the People of Neurecalava, they went to measure it out to every man his Portion, but finding it of so small a quantity, they

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OF THEIR MAGIC

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resolved to grind it, they do when they u^e it with their Victuals, and put it into the Rher to give a nai oning to the water, and every Man was to take up his Dish of water if, m] thus seasoned. From whence Neurecafava had it' denomi- nation, viz. from Xeur, signifying a City, and Cah.fn that signifies Turmeric, and Lava, as if it were I -alia, put into the River.

The King hearing of this Action of theirs was offended, in that they so contemned his gift ; hut concealed his displeasure. Sometime after he took a Journey to them,

and being there, desired to know how their Countrey became so very fruitful. They told him, it was the water of the River pent up for their use in a very vast Pond.

Out of which they made Trenches to convey the water down into their Corn Grounds. This Pond they had made with great Art and Labour with great Stones and Earth thrown up of a vast length and thickness, in the fashion of an half Moon. The King afterwards took his leave of them and went home ; and by the help of his Magicians brake down this vast Dam tf tat kept in the water, and so destroyed the Pond. And by this means this fruitful Countrey wanting her water is become as ordinary Land as the rest, having only what falls out of the Sky.

When a Robbery is committed to find the Thief, they Wn Chmn Charm a Coker-nut, which is done by certain words, and any one can do it, that can but utter the Charm words. ‘

Then they thrust a stick into it, and set it either at the Door or hole the Thief went out at. Then one holds the stick with the Nut at the end of it, and the Nut pursues and follows in the Tract that the Thief went. All the way r is going they still continue Charming, and flinging the Blossoms of the Betel-nut-Tree upon it. And at last it will lead to the house or place where the Thief is, and run upon his Feet. This Nut will sometimes go winding hither and thither, and sometimes will stand still* Then they follow their Charms, strewing on Blossoms, and that sets it forward again. This is not enough to find the Thief guilty ; but if they intend to prosecute the Man upon this

Discovery, the Charmer must swear against him point blank : which he sometimes will do upon the Confidence of the Truth of his Charm : And the supposed Thief must either Swear or be Condemned.

avv tr Oftentimes Men of courage and metal, will get Clubs, ke thu anc j ' Deat lwa y Charmer, and all his Company, and by this means put all to an end. If the Thief has the wit to lay his tail by the way, the Coker-nut when it comes thither will stop and run round about it, but go no further. I doubting the truth hereof, once took the stick, and held it my self, when they were upon this Business, but it moved not forward while I held it in my hand, tho they strewed their Flowers, and used their mutterings to provoke it. But afterwards when another took it, it went forward. I doubted whether they did not guide it with their hand, but they assured me it guided their hand.
riptmis Here are some antient writings engraven upon Rocks v Rn, ks. w jjj c }j poseth all that see them. There are divers great

Rocks in divers parts in Conjje Uda, and in the Northern Parts. These Rocks are cut deep with great Letters for the space of some yards, so deep that they may last to the worlds end. No body can read them or make any thing of them. I have asked Malabars, Gentuses, as well as Chingulays and Moors, but none of them understood them. You walk over some of them. There is an antient Temple 1 * '.] in Goddiladenni in Yattanour stands by one place where there are of these Letters. They are probably in memorial of something, but of what we must leave to learned men to spend their conjectures.

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OF THEIR SICKNESS

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Chap. XL

Of their Sickness, Death and Burial

Otiiing now remains, but to carry urn to W
their Sick-beds, and to tell you what they { th (;
do with the Bodies of their friends dt> ? ' n n '
ceased, and their Behavior on these occa-
sions. They live to a great Age very
often to fourscore, and hale at that age, the
Kings Sister was near an hundred. The}
are healthy and of a sound constitution. The Diseases
this Land is most subject to, are Agues and Favours, and
sometimes to Bloody-fiuxes. The bmall-Pox also some-
times happeneth among then!. From which they cannot
free themselves by all their charms and inchantments, which
are often times successful to them in other distemper*.

Therefore they do confess like the Magicians in Egypt,
that this is the very finger of Almighty God. They are
also subject to Aches and Pains in their Bodies. For the
Remedy whereof they have excellent oyntments and oyls,
which they make and keep to have ready when they have
occasion.

Here are no professed Physitians nor Chyrurgeons, but Ezwy m*t
all in general have some skill that way, and are Physitians n

and Chyrurgeons to themselves. Their Medicines they
make of the leaves that are in the Woods, and the barks
of Trees. With which they purge and vomit themselves,

and will do notable Cures upon green wounds, and also upon sore eyes.

To give a few hints of their method of Physick ami what Ingredients they make use of.

For purging they make use of a Tree called Dallugauhak 7 \

It bears no leaves, nothing but thorns, and is of a soft substance. Being cut there runs out a white thick milk ; in which we soak some whole corns of Pepper a whole night. The next day the Pepper is taken out, and washed

clean_j and then boyled in fair water with a sower fruit they call Goraca, which we shall speak of by and by. _ This they drink, and it purgeth very well. This milk is rekoned as rank Poyson as any thing can be, and yet the Goats eat of the Tree greedily without harm.

For a Vomit, there is a leaf of a Plant called Vv arracole in colour like a Cabbage leaf, but smaller ; it grows upon a long stalk some three foot high. This leaf as soon as it is broken from the stalk is full of milk, which runs out. In this milk they put a lump of Salt, and let it lye a whole night. The next day they take the Salt out, which is not dissolved, and wash it clean : then boyl a little. Rice and Water together. After tis taken oft the fire, they put this salt into it, and drink it.

There is a strong Purge they make with a berry called Jawpolls, which is a little long greenish berry. Of it self it is rank Poyson. They boyl it with Goraca, and Pepper in water, and drink a little of the water.

For drawing and healing of Sores, they have a leaf called Mockinacola ; it is a very like our Tunhoof or Ground-ivy, only it is a brighter green ; it runs along upon the ground and spreads it self as Tunhoof doth. They ohly take the leaf and clap it upon the sore.

For an Impostume in the Throat, we take the rind of the Tree Amaranga and bruise it and rub it with green Turmeric, and wrap it up in a Plantane leaf, and bury it in hot ashes, and there let it lye an hour or two till the fire hath well qualified it. Then the Patient takes it, and keeps chewing it for a day or two swallowing the spittle. The Virtue of this I my self can testifie being exceedingly ill with a sore Throat, and could not swallow. By the use of this I was well within a day and a night.

For a sore or hurt in the eye, they take Oulcande-cole, Goderacole, two herbs, the juyce of each, and womans milk

and having mingled them, drop them into the eye. I had a Thorn of a considerable length run into the gray of my eye, and put me to great pain, the Chingulays advised me to use this means, assuring me how successful it was wont

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OF THEIR SICKNESS

to be ; but I was loath to tamper with so tender a place ; and thanks be to God, after some days the Thorn fell out of it self.

It is a speedy Cure of the Itch, to take Coudouro giddi, a fruit of a Tree in form somewhat like a Mussel but bigger. This fruit they cut in slices and fry it in Coker-nut oyl. And with this oyl they anoint the body.

The ordinary Caudle for Women in Child-bed, is Goraca boyled in water with Pepper and Ginger. Women in that condition use nothing else. This Goraca is a fruit round like an Apple marked with divers creases along the sides of it. Being ripe it is within and without red like blood, but sower. They use this fruit as we do Lemons and Oranges. The core is sweet and pleasant, but they regarding it not fling it away. If you bite this fruit, it sticks to the Teeth like wax or pitch. But their chief use of it, is to boyl it with other things to make them cast sower. They gather them at the time of year, and break the cloves assunder by their fingers, for they, if they be pulled, will part at the creases. And then they lay them in the Sun and dry them, being dryed they look like mens ears. And so they keep them for their use. Two or three of these will give a pleasant sower relish unto a large vessel of any liquid thing. This Goraca is in great use among them.

As there are in this Countrey very many Poysonous Plants, and Creatures, so the People have excellent skill in the healing thereof. There is one plant among the rest so strong a venom, that no creature will eat or touch it ; and this is the leaf, that the People sometimes carry with them when they go to demand their debts, and threaten their debtors, they will poyson themselves before them, unless they will pay them. It is called Neiingala, a sprig that springs out of the ground almost like an Hony-suckle, but not so big : and bears a curious Flower much like an Hony-suckle.

They are oftentimes stung with venomous Serpents, upon which sudden death follows without speedy help : But if the bite be taken in time, they can certainly cure them-

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To cure the
Itch.

The Caudle
for Lying in
women .
Goraca.

Excellent at
the cure of
Poyson .

They easily
heal the biting
of Serpents,
by herbs.

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selves, and make nothing of it. Which they perform both by Herbs and Charms. Tho upon the sting they presently vomit blood. The knowledg of these antidotal herbs they have learned from the Mounggoutia a kind of Ferret. This creature when the Noya and he meets always fight. If he chanceth to be bitten by the Serpent, which is very venomous, he runs away to a certain herb and eats it and so is cured, and then comes back and fights again. The Chingulays when they see these two creatures fighting, do diligently observe them, and when they see the Moung- goutia goes away, they take notice of the herbs he eats, and thereby have learned what herbs are proper to cure such venoms.

„ They are skilful also in the use of Charms, to cure the stings of Serpents or to prevent them, the Noyas they can charm^P that pass, that they will take them up in their hands, all, carry them in baskets and handle them and kiss them withdtt any harm. But the Polonga will not hear a charm. They charm other wild and venomous creatures also ; as the Tyjgr that he shall not hurt their Cattel.

But to cure inwd diseases they are not excellent. But generally when theyare sick they apply themselves to their Gods. But their tjief supplication they make to the Devil, as being God’s" nstrument, sent to punish and afflict whom he pleaseth ; as ihave discoursed at large already.

These People are ver loath to dye, and as much afraid of the Devil in their sicness, whom at such times they chiefly invoke. Being ded none will come near the house for many days, lest they si.ould be defiled. The better sort burn the dead, because worms and maggots should not eat them. But the pooier sort who regard not such matters bur) them making a hole in the Woods, and tarrying the body wrapped up in a mat upon a Pole on their shoulders with two or tiree attending it, and so laying it in without any ceremony, and covering it.

_ Some days after his decease, if his friends wish well to his Soul, they send for a Priest to the house, who spends a whole night in praying smd singing for the saving of that

OF THEIR DEATH AND BURIAL

Soul This Priest besides very good entertainment, in the morning must have great gifts and rewards. And to encourage them therein, he tells them that the like bounty and liberality as they shew to him, shall the Soul of their departed friend receive in the other world. And so accord-

ing to their ability, they freely give unto him, such things as they are possessors of. And he out of his wonderful good nature refuseth not any thing, be it never so mean. And thus with Drums and Pipes sounding before him, they conduct him home to his house.

Their manner of mourning for the dead is, that all the Women that are present do loose their hair, and let it hang down, and with their two hands together behind their heads do make an hideous noise, crying and roaring as loud as they can, much pray sing and extolling the Virtues of the deceased, tho there were none in him : and lamenting their own woful condition to live without him. Thus for three or four mornings they do rise early, and lament in this manner, also on evenings. . Mean while the men stand still and sigh.

These women are of a very strong couragious spirit, taking nothing very much to heart, mourning more for fashion than affection, never overwhelmed neither with grief or love. And when their Plusbands are dead, all their care is where to get others, which they cannot long be without.

It may not be unacceptable to relate how they bury their Dead. As for Persons of inferior Quality, they are interred in some convenient places in the Woods, there being no set places for Burial, carried thither by two or three of their Friends, and Buried without any more ado. They lay them on their Backs, with their heads to the West and their feet to the East, as we do. Then those People go and wash ; for they are unclean by handling the Dead.

But Persons of greater quality are burned, and that with Ceremony. When they are dead they lay them out, and put a Cloth over their Privy Parts, and then wash the Body,

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by taking half a dozen Pitchers of water, and pouring upon it. ^ Then they cover him with a Linnen doth, and so carry him forth to burning. This is when they burn the Body speedily. But otherwise, they cut dow n a Tree that may be proper for their purpose, and hollow it, like a Hog-trough, and put the Body being Embo welled and Embalmed into it, filled up all about with Pepper. And so let it lay in the house, until it be the King's Command to carry it out to the burning. For that they dare not do without the King's order, if the Person deceased be a Courtier. Sometimes the King gives no order in a great while, it may be not at all. Therefore in such cases, that the Body may not take up house-room, or annoy them, they dig an hole in the floar of their house, and put hollowed tree and all in and cover it. It afterwards the King commands to burn the Body, they take it up again in obedience to the King, otherwise there it lyes.

Their order for burning is thus. If the Body be not thus put into a Trough or .hollowed Tree, it is laid upon one of his Bedsteds, which is a great honour among them. This Bedsted with the Body on it, or hollowed Tree with the Body in it, is fastned with Poles, and *carried upon Mens Shoulders unto the place of Burning : which is some eminent place in the Fields or High-ways, or where else they please. There they lay it upon a Pile of Wood some two or three foot high. Then they pile up more Wood upon the Corps, lying thus on the Bedsted, or in the Trough. Over all they have a kind of Canopy built, if he be a Person of very high Quality covered at top, hung about with painted Cloth, and bunches of Coker-nuts, and green Boughs ; and so fire is put to it. After all is burnt to ashes, they sweep together the ashes into the manner of a Sugar-loaf : and hedg the place round from wild Beasts breaking in, and they will sow Herbs there. Thus I saw the King's Uncle, the chief Tirinanx, who was as it were the Primate of all the Nation, burned, upon an high place, that the blaze might be seen a great way. If '"they be Noblemen, but not of so high quality, there is only a

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Bower erected over them, adorned with Plantane Trees, and green boughs, and bunches as before.

But if any dye of the small Pox, be his Degree what it will, he must be Buried upon Thorns, without any further Ceremony,

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How they bury those that die of the Small Pox .

[Part IV.

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PART If.

Chap. I.

Of the reason of our going to Ceilon, and Detainment there,

$ this Fourth and last Part, 1 purpose to speak concerning our Captivity in this Island, and during which, in what Con- dition the English have lived there, and the eminent Providence of God in my escape thence, together with other matters relating to the Dutch, and other European Nations, that dwell and are kept there. All which will afford so much variety, and new matters, that 1 doubt not but the Readers will be entertained with as much delight in perusing these things, as in any else that have been already related. I begin with the unhappy Occasion of our going to this Countrey.

The occasion Anno MDCLVII. The Ann Frigat of London, Capt. < ‘{fcAhT mi ^°^ ert K nox Commander, on the One and twentieth day ' of January, set Sail out of the Downs, in the Service of the Honourable the English East-India Company, bound for Fort S. George, on the Coast of Cormandel, to Trade

one year from Port to Port in India. Which wc having performed, as we were Lading of Goods to return for England, being in the Road of Matlipatan, on the Nine- teenth of November Anno MDCLIX. happened such a mighty Storm, that in it several Ships were cast away, and

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we forced to cut our Main-Mast by the Board, which so disabled the Ship, that she could not proceed in her Voyage. Whereupon Cotiar, in the Island of Ceilon, being a very commodious Bay, fit for our present Distress, Thomas Chambers Esq. (since Sir Thomas) the Agent at Fort S. George, ordered, That the Ship should take in some Cloth, and go to Cotiar Bay, there to Trade, while she lay to set her Mast. Where being arrived according to the appointment of those Indian Merchants of Porta Nova we carried with us, to whom those Goods belonged, they were put ashore, and we minded our Business to set another Main-mast, and repair our other Dammages we had sus- tained by the late Storm.

At our first coming thither, we were shy and jealous of They wire the People of the Place, by reason our Nation never had m *j eahu! °f any Commerce or Dealing with them. But now having ^ n stm been there some Twenty days, and going a Shore and courteous! coming on Board at our Pleasure without any molestation, the Governor of the Place also telling us, that we were welcom, as we seemed to our selves to be, we began to lay aside all suspitious thoughts of the People dwelling there- abouts, who had very kindly entertained us for our Moneys with such Provisions and Refreshings as those Parts afforded.

By this time the King of the Countrey had notice of [p. 118.] our being there, and as I suppose grew suspicious of us, A}retcnici not having all that while by any Message made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming. There- afjckg. upon he dispatched down a Dissauva or General with his Army to us. Who immediately sent a Messenger on Board to acquaint the Captain with his coming, and desired him to come ashore to him, pretending a Letter to him from the King. We saluted the Message with firing of Guns, and my Father the Captain ordered me with Mr.

John Loveland, Merchant of the Ship, to go on shore and wait upon him. When we were come before him, he

demanded who we were, and how long we should stay?

We told him, We were English, and not to stay above

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twenty or thirty days, and desired Permission to Trade in his Majestie's Port. His answer was, the King was glad to hear that the English were come to his Countrey, and had commanded him to assist us as we should desire, and had sent a Letter to be delivered to none, but to the Captain himself.

We were then some twelve Miles from the Sea-side. Our reply was, That the Captain could not leave his Ship to come so far, but if he pleased to come down to the Sea-side himself, the Captain would immediately wait upon him to receive the Letter. Upon which the Dissauva desired us to stay that day, and on the morrow he would go down with us.

Which being a small request, and we unwilling to dis-please him, consented to.

The same day at Evening, the Dissauva sent two of his chief Captains to the House where we lay to tell us, That he was sending a Present to the Captain, and if we pleased we might send a Letter to him ; that he would send the Present in the Night, ancf himself with us follow the next Morning. At which we began to suspect, and accordingly concluded to write and advise the Captain n^t to adventure himself, nor any other on shore till he saw us. We having writ a Letter to this purpose they took it and went away, but never delivered it.

The next Morning the Present, which was Cattle, Fruit, &c. was brought to the Sea-side, and delivered to the

Captain ; the Messengers telling him withal, that we were upon the way coming down, with the Dissauva; who desired his Company on shore against his coming, having a Letter from the King to deliver into his own hand. Hereupon the Captain mistrusting nothing, came up with his Boat into a small River, and being come ashore, sat down under a Tamarind Tree, waiting for the Dissauva and us. In which time the Native Soldiers privately sur-rounded him and his Men, having no Arms with them; and so he was seized on and seven men with him, yet without any violence or plundering them of any thing : and then

OF THE AUTHOR'S CAPTURE

they brought them up unto us, carrying the Captain in a Hammock upon their Shoulders.

The next day after, the Long-boats Crew, not knowing what had happened, came ashore to cut a Tree to make Cheeks for the Main-mast, and were made Prisoners after the same manner, tho 5 with more violence. For they being rough and making resistance, were bound with Wyths, and so were led away* till they came where the People got Ropes. Which when our Men saw brought to them, they were not a little affrighted. For being already bound, they concluded there could be no other use for those Ropes but to hang them. But the true use of them was to bind them faster, fearing lest the Wyths might break, and so they were brought up farther into the Countrey ; but after-wards being become more tame, they were loosed. They would not adventure to bring them to us, but quartered them in another House, tho in the same Town. Where without leave we could not see one another. The House wherein they kept the Captain and us, was all hanged with white Callico, which is the greatest Honour they can shew to any. But the House wherein the other men were, that were brought up after us, was not. They gave us also as good Entertainment as the Countrey afforded.

Having thus taken both our Boats and Eighteen men of us, their next care was, fearing lest the Ship should be gone, to secure her : Therefore to bring this about, the Dissauva told the Captain that the reason of this their detainment was, that the King intended to send Letters and a Present to the English Nation by him, and therefore that the Ship must not go away, till the King was ready to send his Messenger and Message, and thereupon desired the Captain to send on Board to order her stay ; and it being not safe for her to ride in the Bay, lest the Dutch might come and fire her, that he should take order for her bringing up into the River. Which advice of his, the Captain approved not of. But concealing his dislike of it, replied, that unless he could send two of his own men

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The Long-boat
Men seized.

[P . 1 19.]

The General's
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would not obey him, but speedily would be gone with the Ship. Which he, rather than he would run the hazzard of the Ships departing, granted; imagining that the Captain would order the Ship to be brought up into the River, as he had advised, tho the Captain Intended to make another use of this Message.

The Captain's Upon which the Captain sent two of his men, some ^ntomlfhT ^ nc ^ ans accompanying them in a Canoo to the Ship, the °sBp MU C Captain ordering them when they were aboard not to abuse the Indians, but to entertain them very kindly, and afterwards that setting them ashore, they should keep the Canoo to themselves, instead of our two Boats, which they had gotten from us, and to secure the Ship, and wait till further order.

These two men stayed on Board, and came not back again. This together with the Ships not coming up displeased the Dissauva, and he demanded of the Captain the reason thereof. His answer was, That being detained on Shore, the Men on Board would not obey his Command.
The Captain's Upon this some days after the Dissauva bid the Captain 'T'eio^r SenC ^ ^ on with or< ^ er t0 t ^ 10se aboard that the Ship 'sty ° ' S might be brought into the River, but provided that he would be Security for my return ; which he promised he would. His order to me was, to see the top Chains put upon the Cables, and the Guns Shotted, and to tell Mr. John Burford chief Mate, and all the rest, as they valued

their Lives and Liberties to keep a Watch, and not to suffer any Boat to come near, after it was dark : and charged me upon his Blessing, and as I should answer it at "the great Day, not to leave him in this Condition, but to return to him again. Upon which I solemnly vowed according to my Duty to be his Obedient Son.

[p. 120.] So having seen all done according to his appointment, Tk Ships j wrote a Letter in the Name of the Company to clear

r°efme?o bring Fatller anci m 7 . self > t0 t5lis effect ’ That would up the Ship. S not obey the Captain, nor any other in this matter, but were resolved to stand upon their own defence. To which they all set their hands. Which done according to my

OF THE AUTHOR'S CAPTURE

Promise and Duty I returned again, and delivered the Letter to the Dissauva, who was thereby answered, and afterwards urged the Captain no more in that matter : but gave him leave at his pleasure to write for what he pleased to have brought to him from the Ship : still pretending the King’s order to release us, was not yet, but would suddenly come. And so we remained expecting it about two Months, being efitertained as formerly with the best Diet and Accommodation of the Countrey.

Having continued thus long in suspence, and the time and season of the year spending for the Ship to proceed on her Voyage to some other place, and our condition being, as we feared, and afterwards found to be, the beginning of a sad Captivity, the Captain sent order to Mr. John Burford to take the charge of the Ship upon him, and to set Sail for Porto Nova whence we came, and there to follow the Agent’s order.

If any inquire what became of the Cloth of our Lading, which we brought thither, they only took an account to see what it was, and so left it where and as it was before, and there it remained until both House and Goods rotted, as the People «pf the same Town informed me afterwards.

I impute the main reason of our Surprize to our Neglect, viz. in not sending a Letter and Present to the King at our first coming. Who looking upon himself as a great Monarch, as he is indeed, requires to be treated with sutable State.

Thus were Sixteen of us left to the mercy of those Bar-barians, the Names of which are as follow. The Captain, Mr. Joh. Loveland, John Gregory, Charles Beard, Roger Gold, Stephen Rutland, Nicolas Mullins, Francis Crutch, John Berry, Ralph Knight, Peter Winn, William Hubbard, Arthur Emery, Richard Varnham, George Smith, and my

Self. Tho our hearts were very heavy, seeing our selves betrayed into so sad a Condition, to be forced to dwell among those that knew not God nor his Laws ; yet so great was the mercy of our gracious God, that he gave us favour in the sight of this People. Insomuch that we lived far
k.c. 193 N

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The Captain orders the ship to depart.

The Lading of Cloth remained untouched .

The probable reason of our Surprize .

The number of those that were left on the Island .

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I 659-60.

The Dissdirja departs.

[p. 12!.]

They intend to attempt an Escape, but are prevented .

Their condition

commiserated
by the People .

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

better than we could have expected, being Prisoner*, or rather Captives in the hands of the Heathen ; from whom we could have looked tor nothing but very severe usage.

The Ship being gone, the King sent to call the Dissauva speedily to him, who upon this order immediately marched away with his Army, leaving us where we were. But concerning us was no order at all.

Chap. II.

How we were carried up into the Countrey, and disposed of there, and of the sickness, sorrow and death of the Captain.

He Dissauva with his men being gone, the people of the Town were appointed to guard and secure us until further order. But they carryed us some six miles higher into the Countrey, and would not yet adventure to bring the Long boats-crew unto us, but kept them by themselves in another Town, fearing lest we might make an escape, as certainly we would have attempted it, had they not removed us. There was a small Moors Vessel, which lay in the River, which they had seized on about this time, as we supposed they would have done by our Ship if they could have catched her there. This Vessel had some forty men belonging to her, who were not made Prisoners as we were, but yet lay in the same Town : with those we had con-cluded, that they should furnish us with Arms, and in the night altogether to march down, and get on board of their Vessel, and so make our escape. But being prevented in this design by our departure, we were fain to lay at their mercy.

In our new quarters our entertainment proved as good as formerly. And indeed there was this to mitigate our misery, that the People were courteous to us and seemed to pity us. For there is a great difference between the People inhabiting the high-lands, or the mountains of

OF THE AUTHOR’S CAPTURE

Cande, and those of the low-lands where we now are placed,

who are of a kinder nature by far than the other. For these Countreys beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection unto the Portugueze. Whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian People. Which pleasing them far better than their own have begot gnd bred in them a kind of love and affection towards Strangers, being apt to shew Pity and Compassion on them in their distress. And you shall hear them oftentimes upbraiding the High-landers for their insolent and rude behavior.

It was a very sad Condition whilst we were all together, yet hitherto each others company lessened our sufferings, and was some comfort that we might condole one another. But now it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a Village, where we could have none to confer withall or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies, and not understand one word of their Language neither, this wgs a great addition to our grief. Yet God was so merciful to us, as not to suffer them to part my Father and I.

For it was Some sixteen days after our last remove, the King was pleased to send a Captain with Soldiers to bring us up into the Country. Who brought us and the other men taken in the Long-boat together : Which was an heavy meeting ; Being then, as we well saw, to be carried Captives into the mountains. That night we supped together, and the next morning changed our condition into real Captivity. Howbeit they gave us many comfortable promises, which we believed not ; as, that the Kings intent was not to keep us any longer, than till another Ship came to carry us away. Altho we had but very little to carry, God knows, yet they appointed men to carry the cloths that belonged to the Captain and Officers.

We still expected they would plunder us of our cloths, having nothing else to be plundered of : but the Chingulay Captain told us, that the King had given order that none should take the value of a thread from us : Which indeed

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A.D.

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They are
distributed
into divers
Towns,

An Order

comes from the
King to bring
them up into
the Countrey .

[P . 122.]

How they
were Treated
on the way in
the Woods ,

A,D»

i659»60.

And in the
Toms among
the

Inhabitants .

The) are
brought near
Cande, ana
there
sepeiated \

they did not. As they brought us up they were very

tender of us, as not to tyre us with Travelling, bidding

us go no faster than we would our selves. This kindness

did'' somewhat comfort us. The way was plain and easie

to Travail through great Woods, so that we walked as in

an Arbour, but desolate of Inhabitants. So that for four

or five nights we lay on the Ground,, with Boughs of Trees

only over our heads. And of Victuals twice a Day they

gave us as much as we could eat, that is, of Rice, Salt-

fish, dryed Flesh : And sometimes they would shoot Deer

and find Hony in the Trees, good part of which they

always brought unto us. And drink we could not want,

there being Rivers and Puddles full of Water as we
0

Travelled along.

But when we came out of the Woods among Inhabitants
and were led into their Towns, they brought us Victuals
ready dressed after their fashion, viz. Rice boiled in Water,
and three other sorts of Food, whereof one Flesh, and the
other two Herbs or such r like things that grow in their
Countrey, and all kinds of ripe Fruit, which we liked very
well and fed heartily upon. Our entertainment all along
was at the Charge of the Countrey : So we fed like Soldiers
upon free Quarter. Yet I think we gave them good con-
tent for all the Charge we put them to. Which was to
have the satisfaction of seeing us eat, sitting on Mats upon
the Ground in their yards to the Publick view of all
Beholders. Who greatly admired us, having never seen,
nor scarce heard of, English-men before. It was also great
entertainment to them to observe our manner of eating
with Spoons, which some of us had, and that we could not
take the Rice up in our hands, and put it to our mouths
without spilling, as they do, nor gaped and powred the
Water into our Mouths out of Pots according to their
Countreys custom. Thus at every Town where we came
they used both young and old in great Companies to stare
upon us.

Being thus brought up all together somewhat near to
the City of Cande. Now came an Order from the King

OF THE CAPTAIN'S QUARTERS a.d.

l660.

to separate us, and to place us one in a Town. Which
then seemed to us to be very hard, but it was for the con-
venience of getting Food, being quartered upon the
Countrey at their Charge.

The Captain, Mr. John Loveland, my self and John The Captain
Gregory were parted from the rest, and brought nearer to an ^ hu Son
the City, to be ready^ when the King should send for us. ^ u J^° ie] ore
All the Rest were placed one in a Town according to the together.
aforesaid Order. Special Command also was given from
the King, that we all should be well entertained, and
according to the Countrey fare we had no cause to com-

plain. We four were thus kept together some two Months, faring well all the while. But the King minding Parted. us not. Order came from the great Men in Court to place us in Towns, as the rest were ; only my father and I were still permitted to be together, and a great Charge given to use us well. And indeed twice a Day we had brought How they unto us as good fare as the Countrey afforded. All the f are ^ rest had not their Provisions brought to them, as we had, I2 ^ but went to eat from house to Louse, each house taking its turn.

On the Sixteenth of September, 1660. My Father and ^ Captain I were placed in a Town called Bonder Coos-wat the m f ac ^^ n situation was very pleasing and commodious, lying about Cmwat. Thirty Miles to the Northward of the City of Cande, in the Countrey called Hotcurly and distant from the rest of our People a full days journey. We were removed hither from another Town nearer to the City where the Nobles at Court supposing that the King would call for us, had placed us to have us ready. Being thus brought to Bonder Cooswat, the People put it to our choice which House we would have to reside in. The Countrey being hot and their Houses dark and dirty, my Father chose an open House, having only a Roof but no Walls. Wherein they placed a Cot, or Bedstead only with a Mat upon it for him, which in their Account is an extraordinary Lodging ; and for me a Mat upon the Ground. Moneys scarce

Moneys at that time were very low with us. For with them.

A.D.

l660*

But they had
good Provisions
without It *

The Tozui
where they
were, Sickly ,

How they
passed their
time .

They both
fall Sick.

although we wanted not for opportunity to send for what we would have brought unto us from the Ship, yet fearing we should be plundered of it, sent not tor any thing only a Pillow for my Father. For we held it a point without dispute, that they that made Prisoners of our Bodies would not spare to take our Goods ; my Father also alledging, that he had rather his Children at home should enjoy them.

But to make amends for that, we had our Provisions brought us without money, and that twice a Day, so much as we could eat, and as good as their Countrey yielded ; to wit, a Pot of good Rice, and three Dishes of such things as with them is accounted good Cheer ; one always either Flesh, Fish or Eggs ; but riot over much of this Dish, the other Dishes, Herbs, Pumkins or such like, one ot which is always made sower.

The first year that we were brought into this Town, this part of the Land was extraordinary Sickly by Agues and Feavours, whereof many People dyed ; insomuch that many times we were forced to remain an hungry, there being none well enough either to boil or bring Victuals unto us.

We had with us a Practice of Piety, and Mr. Rogers seven Treatises, called the Practice of Christianity. With which companions we did frequently discourse ; and in the cool of the Evening walk abroad in the Fields for a refreshing, tyred with being all day in our House or Prison.

This Course lasted until God was pleased to visit us both with the Countrey sickness, Ague and Feavour. The sight of my Fathers misery was far more grievous unto me than the sence of my own, that I must be a Spectator of his Affliction, and not any ways able to help him. And the sight of me so far augmented his grief, that he would often say, What have I done when I charged you to come ashore to me again, your dutifulness to me hath brought you to be a Captive. I am old and cannot long hold out, but you may live to see many days of Sorrow, if the mercy of God do not prevent it. But my prayers to God for you

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OF THE CAPTAIN’S SICKNESS

shall not be wanting, that for this cause he would visit you with his Mercy., and bestow on you a Blessing.

My Father's Ague lasted not long, but deep grief daily more and more increased upon him, which so over-whelmed even his very heart, that with many a bitter sigh he used to utter these words, These many years even from my youth have I used the Seas, in which time the Lord God hath delivered me from a multitude of Dangers ; rehearsing to me what great Dangers he had been in, in the Straits by the Turks and by other Enemies, and also in many other places, too large here to insert, and always how merciful God was to him in delivering him out of them all, So that he never knew what it was to be in the hand of an Enemy ; But now in his old Age, when his head was grown grey, to be a Captive to the Heathen, and to leave his Bones in the Eastern Parts of the World, when it was his hopes and intention, if God permitted him to finish this Voyage, to spend and end the residue of his days at home with his Children in his Native Countrey, and to settle me in the Ship in his stead ; the thoughts of these things did even break his heart.

Upwards <sf three Months my Father lay in this manner upon his Bed, having only under him a Mat and the Carpet he sat upon in the Boat when he came ashore, and a small Quilt I had to cover him withall. And I had only a Mat upon the Ground and a Pillow to lay on, and nothing to cover me but the Cloths on my back : but when I was cold, or that my Ague came upon me, I used to make a Fire, Wood costing nothing, but the fetching.

We had a black Boy my Father brought from Porto Novo to attend upon him, who seeing his Master to be a Prisoner in the hands of the People of his own Complexion, would not now obey his Command, further than what agreed unto his own humour, neither was it then as we thought in our Power to compel or make him ; but it was our ignorance. As for me, my Ague now^came to a settled course ; that is, once in three days, and so continued for Sixteen Months time.

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A.D.

l 660 .

[p. 12f]

Deep Qrief seizes the Captain .

Their Sickness

continues.

Their Boy's
disobedience
adds to their
trouble .

A.D,

1660,

Hts excessive
sot me.

His Discourse
and charge to
his Son before
his Death .

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

There appearing now to us no probability, whereupon to build any hopes of Liberty, the sence of it struck my Father into such an Agony and strong Passion of Grief, that once I well remember in Nine days time nothing came into his mouth, but cold water ; neither did he in three Months together ever rise up out of his Bed, but when the course of Nature required it : always groaning and sighing in a most piteous manner : which for me to hear and see come from my dear Father, my self also in the same Condition, did almost break my heart. But then 1 felt that Doctrine most true, which I had read out of Mr. Roger's Book, That God is most sweet, when the world is most bitter.

In this manner my Father lay until the Ninth of February 1 6 B x ■ By which time he was consumed to an Anatomy, having nothing left but Skin to cover his Bones ; yet he often would say, That the very sound of Liberty would so revive him, that it would put strength into his Limbs. But it was not the will of him, to whom we say, Thy will be done, to have it so.

The evening before his Death, he called me to come near his Bed side, and to sit down by him, at which time also I had a strong Feavor upon me. This done, he told me, That he sensibly felt his life departing from him ; and was assured that this Night God would deliver him out

of this Captivity, and that he never thought in all his Lifetime that Death could be so easie and welcom to any Man, as God had made it to be to him, and the joyes he now felt in himself he wanted utterance to express to me. He told me, These were the last words, that ever he should speak to me, and bid me well regard and be sure to remember them, and tell them to my Brother and Sister, if it pleased God, as he hoped it would, to bring us together in England ; where I should find all things settled to my contentation, relating to me after what '"manner he had settled his Estate by Letters which he sent from Cotiar.

In the first place and above all, He charged me to serve God, and with a circumspect care to walk in his ways, and

2CO

OF THE CAPTAIN’S DEATH

A.a

1660.

then, he said, God would bless me and prosper me. And next, he bad me have a care of my Brother and Sister. And lastly. He gave me a special charge to beware of strong Drink, and lewd Company, which as by Experience many had found, would change me into another man, so that I should not be my self. It deeply grieved him, he said, to see me in Captivity in the prime of my years, and so much the more because I had chosen rather to suffer Captivity with him than to disobey his Command. Which now he was heartily sorry for, that he had so commanded me, but bad me not repent of obeying the command of my Father ; seeing for this very thing, he said, God would bless me, and bid me be assured of it, which he doubted not of, viz. That God Almighty would deliver me ; which at that time I could not tell how to conceive, seeing but little sign of any such Matter. But blessed be the Name of my most gracious God, who hath so bountifully sustained me ever since in the Land of my Captivity, and preserved me alive to see my Deceased Father’s word fulfilled ! And truly I was so far from repenting, that I had obeyed the Command of my Father, and performed the Oath and Promise I made unto him upon it, that it rather rejoyced me to see that God had given me so much Grace.

But tho it was a trouble to him, that by his means I was thus made a Captive ; yet it was a great Comfort to him, he said, to have his own Son sit by him on his Death-bed, and by his hands to be Buried, whereas otherwise he could expect no other but to be eaten by Dogs or wild

Beasts. Then he gave me order concerning his Burial, That having no winding sheet, I should pull his Shirt over his head, and slip his Breeches over his feet, and so wrap him up in the Mat he layd upon : and then ceased speaking, and fell into a Slumber. This was about Eight or Nine a Clock in the Evening, and about Two or Three in the Morning he gave up the Ghost, Feb. the Ninth, 1660, being very sensible unto the very instant of his Departure.

According to his own appointment with my own hands I wrapped him up ready for the Grave ; my self being

His Death.

And Burial.

A.D.

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[p. T 26 j

The Place when he lyes ,

Upon the Captain's death, a Message sent his Son from Court .

very sick and weak, and as 1 thought ready to follow after him. Having none but the black Boy w ifh me, i bad him ask the People of the Town for help to carry my Father to the Grave, because I could not understand their Lan- guage. Who immediately brought forth a great Rope they used to tye their Cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the Neck into the Woods, saying, They could afford me no other help, unless I would pay for it. This Insolency of the Heathen grieved me much to see, neither could I with the Boy alone do what was necessary for his Burial, though we had been able to carry the Corps, having not wherewithal to dig a Grace, and the ground \ cry dry and hard. Yet it was some comfort to me that l had so much Ability as to hire one to help; which at first I would not

have spared to have done, had I known their meaning.

By this means I thank God, in so decent a manner as our present condition would permit, I laid my Father's Body in the Grave. Most of which 1 digged with my own hands ; the place being in a Wood, on the North-side of a Corn Field, where heretofore we had used often to walk, going up to Handapoul : that Dhision, as I have said, being called Bonder Cooswat, because formerly it had belonged to the Revenues or Jointure of the Queen, Bonder implying something relating to the King. It lyes towards the Northwest of the middle of the Island in the County of Hotcurly.

Thus was I left Desolate, Sick, and in Captivity, having no earthly Comforter, none but only He who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the Prisoners, and to shew himself a Father of the Fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

The News of my Father's Death being carried to Court, presently two Messengers were sent from thence to see me, and to know of me, How and in what manner my Father died, and what he had left. Which was a Gold Ring, a Pagoda, and some two or three Dollars and a few old Cloths ; God knows but a very little, yet it scared me not a little, fearing they would take it away from me, and

my want being so great ; but they had no such order nor intent. But the chief occasion of their coming was to renew the former order unto the People of that Town, that they should be kind to me and give me good Victuals, lest I might dye also as my Father had done. So for a while I had better entertainment than formerly.

∗ Chap. HI.

How 1 lived after my Father's Death. And of the Condition of the rest of the English : and how it fared with them. And of our Interview.

Still remained where I was before, having none but the black Boy, and my Ague to bear me Company. Never found I more pleasure in Reading, Meditating and Pray-ing than now. For there was nothing else could administer to me any Comfort, neither had I any other Business to be occupied about. I had read my two Books so often over, that I had them almost by heart. For my custom was after Dinner to take a Book and go into the Fields and sit under a Tree, reading and meditating until Evening ;

excepting the Day when my Ague came, for then I could scarce hold up my head. Often have I prayed as Elijah under the Juniper Tree, that God would take away my life, for it was a burthen to me.

At length it pleased God my Ague began to be a little moderate ; and so by degrees it wore away, after it had held me sixteen Months.

Provisions falling short with me, tho Rice I thank God, I never wanted, and Monies also growing low ; as well to help out a Meal as for Recreation, sometimes I went with an xYngle to catch small Fish in the Brooks, the afore-said Boy being with me. It chanced as I was Fishing, an old Man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my Boy, If I could read in a Book. He answered, Yes. The reason I ask, said the old Man, is because I have one I

A.U.

1661-64.

Hu chef employment is Reading .

He loses his Ague .

[P- I2 7-] How he met with an English Bible in that Countrey,

got when the Portugueze lost Columbu, and if your Master please to buy it, I will sell it him. Which when I heard of, I bad my Boy go to his House with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me to see it, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portu-gueze Book.

The Boy having formerly served the English, knew the Book, and as soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it, calling out to me, It is a Bible. It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible. For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my Angle and went to meet him.
The first place the Book opened in after I took it in my hand, was the Sixteenth Chapter of the Acts, and the first place my eye pitched on, was the Thirtieth and one and Thirtieth Verses, where the Jailor asked S. Paul, What must I do to be saved? And he answered saying, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt he saved and thine house.

Struck into a The sight of this Book so rejoiced me, and affrighted glut Passion me together, that I cannot say, which Passion was greater, fkBwi ** j°y> f° r f tat I h a d got sight of a Bible, or the fear, that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one Pagoda in the World, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my Boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alledging my Necessity for Money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the Book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old Man. This counsel after I considered I approved of, my urgent Necessities earnestly craving, and my Ability being but very small to relieve the same : and however, I thought, I could give my piece of Gold at the last cast, if other means should fail

I hope the Readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage, For it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if

an Angel had spoke to me from Heaven. To see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary Blessing for me ; which I did, and ever shall look upon as miraculous, to bring unto me a Bible in my own Native Language, and that in such a remote part of the World, where his Name was not so much as known, and where any English Man was never known to have been before.

I looked upon it, as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given the Israelites out of Heaven ; it being the thing for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay and shed tears too ; and than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the

world to me.

Upon the sight of it I left off Fishing, God having brought a Fish to me, that my Soul had longed for ; and now how to get it and enjoy the same, all the Powers of my Soul were employed. I gave God hearty thanks that he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on^me. Now, it being well towards Evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home, telling the old Man, that in the Morning# I would send my Boy to buy it of him.

All that Night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the Morning as soon as it was day, I sent the Boy with a knit Cap he had made for me to buy the Book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant : For that Cap purchased it, and the Boy brought it to me to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my Afflictions.

Having said all this concerning my Father and my Self, it will be time now to think of the rest of our poor Countreymen, and to see what is become of them. They were carried into the County of Hotteracourly, Westward from the City of Cande, and placed singly according to the King’s Order aforesaid, some four, some six Miles distant one from the other. It was the King’s Command con-cerning them that the People should give them Victuals,

He casts with himself how to get it.

[P . 128.]

Where the rest of the English were bestowed.

‘\.D.

1661-64*

Kept pern ate another a good wink, hut after permitted

to see each
other ,

No manner of
work laid
upon them .

They begin
to pluck up
their karts.

and look after them. So the} carried e.kh man from house to house to eat, as their turns came to gue them Victuals, and where they Supped there they Lodged that Night. Their Bedding was only a Mat upon the Ground.

They knew not they were so near to one another a great while; till at length Almighty God wim pleased by their grief and heaviness to move those Heathen to Pity anti take Compassion on them : So that they did bring some of them to one another. Which joy was but Abortive, for no sooner did they begin to feel the Comfort of one anothers Company, but immediately their Keepers called upon them to go from whence the) came: fearing they might consult and run away, altho Columho the nearest Port they could fly to was above two days Journey from them. But as it is with wild Beasts beginning to grow tame, their Liberty encreaseth : So it happened to our Men ; so that at length they might go and see one another at their pleasures, and were less and less watched and regarded. And seeing they did not attempt to run away, they made no matter of it, if they stayed two or three days one with the other.

They all wondered much to see themselves in this Con-dition, to be kept only to eat, and the People of the Countrey giving it unto them, daily expecting when they would put them to work, which they never did, nor dared to do. For the King’s order was to feed them well only, and to look after them until he pleased to send for them. This after some time made them to change their minds, and not to think themselves Slaves any more, but the Inhabitants of the Land to be their Servants, in that they laboured to sustain them.

Which made them to begin to Domineer, and would not be content unless they had such Victuals as pleased them, and oftentimes used to throw the Pots, Victuals and all at their heads that brought them, which they patiently would bear.

And as they lived here longer, they knew better what Privileges they had in belonging unto the King, and being

maintained by virtue of his Command. And their Privileges they made use of to purpose, as I shall relate an instance or two by and by; and shewed their English Metal.

Victuals was the only thing allowed them, but no Cloths, [p. 1 29.]

By this time the Cloths they had were almost worn out.

This put them to a study what course to take to procure 01

more, when those on their backs were gone. The readiest

way that they could devise was this, that whereas they

used to take their Victuals brought to them ready dressed,

they should now take them raw ; and so to pinch somewhat

out of their Bellies, to save to buy Cloths for their Backs.

x\nd so accordingly they concluded to do : and by the

favour that God gave them in the sight of the People, by

alledging the Innocency of their Cause, and the Extremity

of their present Condition, having not the least ability to

help or relieve themselves, they consented to give them

two Measures of Rice a day each man. One of which is

as much as any man can eat in a day, so that the other was

to serve for advance towards tloths. For besides Rice, Their fare.

they gave them to eat with it Salt, Pepper, Limes, Herbs,

Pumpkins, Goker-Nuts, Flesh a little. These and such like things were their constant fare.

And thus they made a shift to live for some years, until WhatEmphy some of them had an insight in knitting Caps, by whom mem they all afterwards learned, and it proved to be the chief means a f, c ? rm J^ s and help we all had to relieve our wants. The ordinary ° u price we sold these Caps for, was Nine pence a piece in value English Money, the Thread standing us in about three pence. But at length, we plying hard our new Learned Trade, Caps began to abound, and Trading grew dead, so that we could not sell them at the former price : which brought several of our Nation to great want.

The English began now to pluck up their hearts, and How the tho they were entred into a new Condition, they kept their English old Spirits, especially considering they were the King's domineered. Men, and quartered by his special order upon the People.

When they had obtained to have their Allowance raw, if

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A.D.

1661-64.

What Satisfaction one of them received ft cm a Potter .

A scuffle between the English and Natives .

[P- 1 3°-]

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

any brought them not their lull due. they would go in and Plunder their Houses of such Goods as they found there, and keep them until they came and brought them their compleat allowance to redeem their Goods hack again.

Some of our English men have proceeded further yet. One for example went to buy Pots of a Potter. Who because he would not let him have them at his own price fell to quarrel, in which the English man met with some blows. Which he complained of to the Magistrate, as being a Person that belonged unto the King, and therefore

claimed better usage. And the Magistrate condemned the Potter as guilty in lifting up his hand against him, and sent some of his Soldiers to hind him, and then bad the English man go and content himself by paying him in the same Coin again, as he had served our Countreyman ; which he did until he was satisfied, and moreover, ordered him to take the Pots he came to buy and pay nothing. But the Law was not so satisfied neither, for the Soldiers laid on many blows besides.

Another time at a certain Feast, as they were drinking and wanting Wine, they sent Money to buy more ; but the Seller refused to give it them for their Money. Which they took so hainously, that they unanimously concluded to go and take it by force. Away they went each man with his Staff in his hand, and entred the House and began to Drink ; which the People not liking of, gathered their Forces together, and by blows began to resist them. But the English men bravely behaved themselves, and broke several of their Pates. Who with the Blood about their Ears went to the City to complain to the great Men. They demanded of them, If they had ever' sold them Wine before. They answered, Yes. They asked them again, Why then did they refuse to sell them now? AndAhat they were well served by the English for denying them drink for their Money : and so sent them away laughing at them. Our Men got two or three black and blew Blows, but they came home with their Bellies full of Drink for their pains.

OF THE AUTHOR’S VISITS

But to return unto my self. It was a full year after my Father died, before I had sight of any of my Countrey-men and Fellow Prisoners. Then John Gregory with much ado obtained leave to come and see me : which did exceedingly rejoyce me. For a great Satisfaction it was, both to see a Countreyman, and also to hear of the welfare of the rest. But he could not be permitted to stay with me above one day. Until then, I knew not punctually where the rest of my Countreymen were, but having heard that they were within a days Journey of me, I never ceased importuning the People of the Town where I dwelt, to let me go and see them. Which tho very loath, yet at last they granted. Being arrived at the nearest English man’s House, I was joyfully received, and the next day he went and called some of the rest of our Countreymen that were near. So that there were some seven or eight of us met together.

We gave God thanks for his great Mercies towards us, being then, as we did confess, f in a far better Condition than we could have expected. They were now no more like the Prisoners I left them, but were become House-

keepers, and Knitters of Caps, and had changed their Habit from Breeches to Clouts like the Chingulays. They entertained me with very good chear in their Houses beyond what I did expect.

My Money at the same time almost gone, and Cloaths in the same condition, it was high time for me now to take some course in hand to get more. Therefore I took some advice with them about Knitting, my Boy having Skill therein. Likewise they advised me to take my Victuals raw, wherein they found great Profit. For all this while here being no signs of releasing us, it concerned me now to bethink my self how I should live for the future. For neither had I, any more than my Countreymen, any allowance for Cloths, but Victuals only.

Having stayed here some two or three days, we did take leave of one another, hoping to see one another oftner,

K*C. 209 0

A.D.

1661-64.
The Author
after a year
sees his
Countreymen .

Their
Conference
and Entertainment,

He consults
with his
Countreymen
for a future
lively hood.

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A.a

1661-64.

The difficulty
he met rt ith

of having ?aw
Rke.

Cp- 1 3 1.]

He reasons
with the
People about
Ms allowance.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CFWLOX

since now wc knew each others- Habitation. : and I departed

to my House, having a Keeper with me.

By this time 1 began to speak the Language of the Countrey. Whereby I was mabled the better to speak my mind unto the People that brought me my Victuals, Which was henceforward not to boil my Rice, but to bring it raw according to the quantity that the other English men had. This occasioned a great deal ot disputing and reasoning between us. They alledged, 1 hat 1 w as not as they, being the Captain's Son, and they but his Servants, and therefore that it was ordered In the great Men at Court, that my Victuals should be daily brought unto me, whereas they went always from house to house for theirs: Neither was it fitting for me, they said, to intpluy my self in such an Inferior Office as to dress my own Meat, being a Man that the King had notice of by Name, and very suddenly before I should be aware of it, would send for me into his Presence, where I should be highly promoted to some Place of Honour., In the mean time, they told me, as pretending to give me good counsel, That it was more for my credit and repute to have my Provisions brought unto me ready Dressed as they were before.

Altho I was yet but a Novice in the Countrey, and knew not much of the People, yet plain reason told me, that it was not so much for my good and credit that they pleaded, as for their own benefit. Wherefore I returned them this answer, That if as they said I was greater in quality than the rest, and so held in their Estimation, it would be but reason to demand a greater allowance, w T hereas I desired no more than the other English men had. And as for the toyl and trouble in dressing of it, that would be none to me, for my Boy had nothing else to do. And then I alledged several inconveniencies in bringing my Victuals ready boiled ; as first, that it was not dressed according to my Diet ; and many times not brought in due Season, so that I could not eat when I w r as an hungry. And the last and chief reason of all was, that I might save a little to serve my Necessity of Clothing: and rather than want

OF THE AUTHOR'S HOUSE

Cloths for my Back, I must pinch a little out of my Belly, and so both go share and share like. And so at length, thanks be to God, I obtained, tho with much ado, to get two Measures of Rice per day for my self, and one for my Boy ; also Coker-nuts, Pumpkins, Herbs, Limes, and such like enough, besides Pepper and Salt ; and sometimes Hens, Eggs, or Flesh : Rice being the main thing they stand upon, for other things they refuse not to give what they have.

Now having settled all Business about my allowance, my next concern was to look after an House more convenient, for my present one was too small to dress my Victuals in, and to sleep in too. Thereabouts was a Garden of Coker-nut Trees, belonging unto the King, a pleasant situation ; this place I made choice of to build me a House in. And discovering my desire to the People, they consented, and came and built it for me : but before it was finished, their occasions called them away, but my Boy and I made an end of it, and whitened the Walls with Lime, according to my own Countrey fashion. But in doing this I committed a Capital Offence : for none may white their Houses «with Lime, that being peculiar to Royal Houses and Temples. But being a Stranger nothing was made of it, because I did it in ignorance : had it been a Native that had so done, it is most probable it would have cost him his Head, or at the least a great Fine.

Being settled in my new House, I began to keep Hogs and Hens ; which by God's Blessing thrived very well with me, and were a great help unto me. I had also a great benefit by living in this Garden. For all the Coker-nuts that fell down they gave me, which afforded me Oyl to burn in the Lamp, and also to fry my meat in. Which Oyl being new is but little inferior to this Countrey Butter. Now I learned to knit Caps, which Skill I quickly attained unto, and by God's Blessing upon the same, I obtained great help and relief thereby.

In this manner we all lived, seeing but very little sign that we might build upon, to look for Liberty. The chief

A.D.

1661-64.

He builds him
an House.

He follows
business and
thrkes

[P . 132.]
Some

attempted
running away,
but were
catched \

A.D.

1661-64.

Little

incouragement
for those that
hi ing hack
Runnaways.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

of our hopes of it was, that in process of time when we were better acquainted, we might run away. _ Which some of our People attempted to do too soon, before they knew well which way to go, and were taken by the Inhabitants. For it is the custom of the Chinguiavs to suspect all white People, they meet travailing in the Countrey, to be Runaways ; and to examine them : and if they cannot give satisfactory answers, they will lay hold of them and carry them back unto the City. Where they will keep them Prisoners under a guard of Soldiers in an open House like a Barn with a little Victuals sometimes, and sometimes with none at all. Where they have no other remedy to help themselves but Begging. And in this Condition they may lye perhaps for their Lifetime, being so kept for a Spectacle unto the People.

Tho the common way whereby the King gratifies such as catch Runawayes and bring them up, is not over acceptable. For they are appointed to feed and watch them until he calls for them to be brought before him. At which time his promise is bountifully to reward them

But these Promises I never knew performed. Neither doth he perhaps ever think of it after. For when the King is made acquainted with the matter, the men that have brought up the Prisoner are in a manner as bad Prisoners themselves, not daring to go home to their Houses without his leave, but there they must remain. After some years stay, the common manner is, for them to give a Fee unto the Governor of the Countrey, and he will licence them to go home, which they must be contented with instead of the promised reward.

OF OTHER ENGLISH CAPTIVES

A.D.

1661-64.

Chap. IV.

Concerning some other English men detained in that Countrey.

N the same Captivity with our selves on The Pei s', a this Island, was another Company of Merchant's English Men, who were taken about a men Captives year and an half before us, viz. in the year ^ 0,e us ‘ MDCLVIII. They were Thirteen in number, whose names were as follow, Viz.

Mr. William Vassal, John Merginson,

Thomas March, Thomas Kirby, Richard Jelf, Gamaliel ■ Gardiner, William Day, Thomas Stapleton, Henry Man,

Hugh Smart, Daniel Holstein an Hamburger, James Gony, and Henry Bingham. The occasion of their Seizure was thus. The Ship these Men belonged unto was the Persia Merchant, Capt. Francis Johnson Commander, which was lost upon the Maldives Islands. But they escaped in their Boats, and passing along by this Land went on shore, to recruit and buy Provisions, and so were taken. The Chingulays that took them Plundered them Pkndredby of what they had, except their Cloths. Yet one of them, tke Natives. John Merginson by name, having cunningly hid his Money about him, saved it from the Heathen, but from his own [p. 133,] Countrymen he could not, some of whom knowing of it set upon him and robbed him of it. But it did them little good, for the King hearing of it sent and robbed the Robbers.

These men thus seized were carried up before the King. Brought up
Of whom he demanded, whether the English had Wars to the King.
with the Hollanders. They answered, No. Or, if the
English could beat them. They answered, They could
and had done it lately. Then he gave order to give them
all some Cloths, and to Mr. William Vassal, being the chief
of them, a double Portion. And out of them made choice
of two Lads ; whom afterwards he sent and took into his

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A.D.

1 6b i -04*

They hoped
to obtain
Liberty, but
were
mistake r.

A ridiculous
action of these
Men.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF C FA' LON

Court. Their honours and their ends wc shall see by and
by. They were all placed in the City of Cande, and each
of them had a new Mat given them to sleep on, and their
Diet was Victuals dressed and brought them twice a day
from the King's own Palace. They had Cloths also dis-
tributed to them another time.

So that these men had the ad\ antage ot us. For we
neither had Mats nor Cloths, nor had the honour of being
ever brought into the King's Presence.

This civil Reception upon their first coming up into the
City, put these Persia Merchant-men in hope, that the
King would give them their Liberty. There was at that
time an old Portugueze Father, Padre Vergonse by name,
living in the City. With him they discoursed concerning
the probability of their Liberty, and that the favours the
King had shewn them seemed to be good signs of it : but
he told them the plain truth, that it was not customary

there to release white Men. For saying which, they railed at him, calling him Popish Dog, and Jesuitical Rogue, supposing he spoke as he wished it might be. But afterward to their grief they found it to be true as he told them.

Their entertainment was excellently good according to the poor condition of the Countrey, but they thought it otherwise, very mean and not according to the King's order. Therefore that the Kins; might be informed how they were abused, each man took the Limb of an Hen in his hand, and marched rank and file in order thro the Streets with it in their hands to the Court, as a sign to the great Men, whereby they might see, how illy they were served ; thinking hereby the King might come to hear of their misusage, and so they might have order to be fed better afterwards. But this proved Sport to the Noblemen who well knew the fare of the Countrey, laughing at their ignorance, to complain where they had so little cause. And indeed afterwards they themselves laughed at this action of theirs, and were half ashamed of it, when they came to a better understanding of the Nature of the Countreys Diet.

OF OTHER ENGLISH CAPTIVES

Yet notwithstanding being not used to such short Commons of Flesh, tho they had Rice in abundance, and having no Money to buy more, they had a desire to kill some Cows, that they might eat their Bellies full of Beef, but made it somewhat a point of Conscience, whether it might be lawful or not, to take them without leave. Upon which they apply themselves to the old Father abovesaid, desiring him to solve this Case of Conscience. Who was very ready to give them a Dispensation. And told them, That forasmuch as the Chingulayes were their Enemies and had taken their Bodies, it was very lawful for them to satisfie their Bodies with their Goods. And the better to animate them in this design, bid them bring him a piece, that he might partake with them. So being encouraged by the old Father, they went on boldly in their intended Business.

Now if you would have an account of the Metal and Manfulness of these men, as you have already had a tast of ours, take this passage. The Jack Fruit the Kings Officers often gather wheresoever it grows, and give to the Kings Elephants, and they may gather it in any mans grounds without the Owners leave, being for the Kings use. Now fchese English men were appointed to dwell in an house, that formerly belonged unto a Noble man, whom the King had cut off, and seized upon it. In the ground belonging to this House stood a Jack Tree full

of Fruit. Some of the Kings men came thither to gather some of them to feed the Elephants. But altho the English had free liberty to gather what they could eat or desire, yet they would permit none but themselves to meddle with them, but took the Officers by the shoulders and turned them out of the Garden, altho there were more a great many than they could tell what to do with. The Great men were so Civil, that notwithstanding this Affront, they laid no Punishment upon them. But the Event of this was, that a few days after they were removed from this house to another, where was a Garden but no Trees in it. And because they would not allow the King a few, they lost all themselves.

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A.D.

1661-64.
They had a
mind to Beef j
and how they
got it.

[P- I 34'l

J Passage of
the Courage
of the Men .

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

A.D,

1661-64,
T:vo of his
Comp ms
taken into
Court .

The one out
of Farcin ,
i/7 end.

The other out
of Favour ,
lamentable
Death.

[P- J 35-]

1 mentioned before two Lads of this Company, whom the King chose out for his own sen ice, their Names were Hugh Smart and Henry Man. 'I hese being taken into his Court, obtained great Inn our and Honour from him, as, to be nlwavs in his presence, and very often he would kindly and familiarly talk with them concerning their Country, what it afforded; and of their King and his Strength for War. Thus they lived in his favour for some time.

Till at length Hugh Smart, hav ing a desire to hear news concerning England, privatiy got to the Speech of a Dutch Embassadour. Of which the King had notice, but would not believe it, supposing the information was given him out of Envy to his favorite, but commanded privately to watch him, and if he went again, to catch him there. Which he not being aware of, went again, and was catehcd. At which the King was very angry. For he allows none to come to the speech of Ambassodours, much less one that served in his presence, and heard and saw all that passed in Court. But yet the King dealt very favourably with him. For had it been a Chingtilay, there is nothing more sure, than that he should have dyed for It. But this English mans Punishment was only to be sent away and kept a Prisoner in the Mountains without Chains, and ordered him to be well used there. Where indeed he lived better content than in the Kings Palace. Pie took a Wife here and had one Son by her, and afterw arils dyed by a mischance, which was thus. As he was gathering a jack from the Tree by a Crook, it fell down upon his side, and bruised him so that it killed him.

Henry Man the other, yet remained in Fav our, and was promoted to be Chief over all the Kings Servants that attended on him in his Palace. It happened one Day, that he broke one of the Kings China Dishes. Which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for Sanctuary into a Vehar, a Temple where the Chief Priests always dvvel, and hold their consultations. This did not a little displease the King ; this Act of his supposing him to be of Opinion

OF OTHER ENGLISH CAPTIVES

A.D.

1661-64.

that those Priests were able to secure him against the Kings

displeasure. However he shewing Reverence to their Order would not violently fetch him from thence ; but sent a kind Message to the English man, bidding him not to be afraid for so small a matter as a Dish (And it is probable had he not added this fault he might have escaped without Punishment) and that he should come and Act in his place as formerly. At which Message he came forth, and im- mediatly, as the King had given order, they took hold of him and bound his Arms above the Elbows behind, which is their fashion of binding men. In which manner he lay all that Night, being bound so hard that his Arms swelled, and the Ropes cut throw the Flesh into the Bones. The next day the King Commanded a Noble-man to loose the Ropes off his Arms, and put Chains on his Legs, and keep him in his House, and there feed him and cure him.

Thus he lay some Six Months, and was cured, but had no Strength in his Armes, and then was taken into his Office again, and had as much Favour from the King as before. Who seemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruine.

Not long softer he again offended the King. Which as it is reported was thus. A Portugueze had been sent for to the City to be employed in the Kings Service ; to which Service he had no Stomach at all, and was greatly afraid of, as he justly might be. For the avoiding therefore of it he sends a Letter to this English Courtier, wherein he entreated him to use his interest to excuse him to the King.

The English man could not read the Letter being writ in the Portugueze Tongue, but gave it to another to read.

Which when he knew the contents of thought it not safe for him to meddle in that business, and so concealed the Letter. The person to whom the English man had given it to read, some time after informed the King thereof. Whereupon both the Portugueze that sent the Letter, and the English man to whom it was sent, and the Third Person that read it, because he informed no sooner, were all three at one time and in one place torn in pieces by Elephants.

A.D.

1661-64.

Tie King After this Execution the King supposing that we might sends special either discontented in our selves, or discountenanced In^tktr*’ 11 ' ky People of the Land, sent special order to all parts

good usage, where we dwelt, that we should be of good cheer, and not be discouraged, neither abused by the Nath ev

Thus jealous is the King of Letters, and allows none to come or go. We have seen how dear it cost poor Henry Man. Mr. William Vassal, another ot the Persia- Merchant men, was therefore more war} of some Letters he had, and came off better.

Mr. Vassals This man had received sereral Letters, and it was known prudence upon abroad that he had. Which he fearing lest the King should ^ ear it most coincident and safe to go to the

Court and present them himself ; that so he might plead

in his own Defence to the King. Which he did. He acknowledged to him that he had rcceh ed Letters, and that they came to his hands a pretty while ago: hut w'ithall pretended excuses and reasons to clear himself. As first, that when he received them, he knew not that it was against the Law' and manner of the Countrey ; and when he did [p. 136.] know, he took Council of a Portugueze Priest, (who was now dead) being old, andias he thought well experienced in the Countrey. But he advised him to defer a while the carrying them unto the King until a more convenient season. After this he did attempt, he said, to bring them unto the King, but could not be permitted to have entrance thro the Watches: so that until now, he could not have opportunity to present them.

The King The King at the hearing hereof, seemed not to be dis-

iif ' Letters^ P^ ease< ^ ^ east i but bid him read them. Which he

,s ' did in the English Language, as they were writ ; and the King sat very attentive as if he had understood every word. After they were read, the King gave Vassal a Letter he had intercepted, sent to us from Sir Edward Winter, then Agent at Fort St. George ; and asked the News and Con- tents thereof. Which Mr. Vassal informed him at large of. It was concerning the Victory we had gained over the Dutch when Obdam Admiral of Holland was slain,

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OF OTHER ENGLISH CAPTIVES

A.D.

1661-64.

and concerning the number of our Ships in that Fight, being there specified to be an Hundred and Fifty Sail.

The King inquired much after the number of Guns and
Men they carried. The number of Men he computed to
be one Ship with another about Three Hundred per Ship.

At that rate, the King demanded of him, how many that
was in all. Which Mr. Vassal went about to cast up in
the Sand with his finger. But before he had made his
Figures, the King had done it by Head, and bid him desist,
saying it was 45000.

This News of the Hollanders overthrow, and the The King
English Victory much delighted the King : and he inquired Phased to hear
into it very particularly. Then the King pretended he 0 y^f m J s er
would send a Letter to the English Nation, and bad Mr. Holland.
Vassal inform him of a Trusty Bearer. Which he was
very forward to do, and named one of the best which he
had made trial of. One of the Great men there present,
objected against him, saying, he was insufficient, and asked
him, if he knew no other. At which Vassal suspected their
Design, which was to learn who had brought those Letters
to him ; and so framed his answer accordingly, which was
that he knew no other.

There was much other discourse passed between the Private
King and him at this time in the Portugueze Tongue, discourse
Which what it was I could never get out of him, the King
having commanded him to keep it secret. And he saith, y a f m i
he hath sworn to himself not to divulge it, till he is out
of the Kings hands. At parting, the King told him, for
Secrecy he would send him home privatly, or otherwise he
would have dismist him with Drums and Honour. But
after this the King never sent for him again. And the
man, that he named as fit and able to carry the Kings Letter,
was sent away Prisoner to be kept in Chains in the
Countrey. It is supposed, that they concluded him to have
been the man that brought Vassal his Letters. And thus
much of the Captivity and Condition of the Persia-
Merchant men.

Jo ; out
Liberty.

Upon whuk
tke\ all met
at the City ,

Word sent
them from the
Com t, that
they had their
Ltbeity.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

Chap. V.

Concerning the means that were used tor our Deliverance. And what happened to us in the Rebellion. .And how we were setled afterwards.

|L1 of us in this manner remained until the year MDCLXIY. At w hich time arrived a Letter on our behalf to the King from the Right Worshipful Hr Edward Winter, Governour of Fort St. George, and Agent there. The Dutch Embassadour also at that time by a Commission from the Governour of Columba treated with the King for us. With Sir Edward's Message the King was much pleased, and with the Dutch's mediation so prevailed with, that he promised he -would send us away.

Upon this he commanded us all to be brought to the City. Whither when we game, we were very joyful not only upon the hopes of our Liberty, but also upon the sight of one another. For several of us had not seen the others since we were first parted. Here alsowe met with the Persia Merchant men, whom until this time we had not seen. So that we were nine and twenty English in all.

Some few days after our Arrival at the City , we were all called to the Court. At which time standing all of us in one of the Palace Court-yards, the Nobles by" command from the King came forth and told us, that it was his Majesties Pleasure to grant unto us our Liberty, and to send us home to our Countrey, and that we should not any more look upon our selves as Prisoners or detained men. At which we bowed our heads and thanked his Majesty. They told us moreover, that the King was intended to

send us either with the Dutch Embassadour, or by the Boat which Sir Edward Winter had sent ; and that it was his Majesties good will to grant us our choice. We humbly referred it to his Majesties pleasure. They answered, his

Majesty could and would do his pleasure, but his will was to know our minds. After a short consultation we answered, since it was his Majesties pleasure to grant us our choice, with many Thanks and Obeisance we chose to go with the Dutch Embassadour, fearing the Boats insufficiency, she having, as we were well sensible, laid there a great while : .and if we had chosen the Boat, the danger of going that way might have served them for a Put off to us, and a Plea to detain us still, out of care of us. And again, had we refused the Embassadours kind- ness at this time, for the future, if these things succeeded not with us now, we could never have expected any more aid or friendship from that Nation.

In the next place they told us. It was the Kings pleasure Alim genet d to let us understand, that all those that were willing to stay ,e f use t/,e _ and serve his Majesty, should have very great rewards, Kin &' ssenics - as Towns, Monies, Slaves and places of Honour conferred upon them. Which all in general refused.

Then we were bidden to absent, while they returned our answers to the King. By andVy there came Order to call us in one at a time, where the former promises were repeated to every one & f us of great Favours, Honours and Rewards from the King to those that were willing to stay with him.

And after each one had given his answer, he was sent into a corner in the Court, and then another called, and so all [p. 13$.] round one after another, they inquiring particularly con- cerning each mans trade and office ; Handycrafts-men and Trumpetters being most desired by the King. We being thus particularly examined again, there was not one of us was tempted by the Kings rewards, but all in general refused the Kings honourable employment, choosing rather to go to our Native Countrey. By which we purchased the Kings Displeasure.

After this they told us, we must wait at the Palace gate Commanded dayly, it being the Kings pleasure, that we should make our personal appearance before him. in this manner we

waited many days. At length happened a thing which he a Rebellion least suspected, viz. a general Rebellion of bis People breaks out.

A.D.

l66.|.

They are in the midst of it, and in great dangei .

The Rebels take the English with them.

against him. Who assaulted his 1'al.ke in the Night : but their hearts tailed them, daring nut to enter into the Apartment where his Person was. For if they had had courage enough, they might have taken him there, For he stayed in his Palace until the Morning ; and then tied into the Mountains, and escaped their hands, but more thro their cowardliness than his valour. This Rebellion 1 have related at large in the second Part, whither he that desires to know more of it may have recourse. Only I shall mention here a few things concerning our selves, who were gotten into the midst of these Broils and Combustions, being all of us now waiting upon the King in the City.

It was a great and marvellous mercy of Almighty God to bring us safe thro these dangers, for it so happened all along that we were in the very midst. Before they gave the Assault on the Kings Palace, they were consulting to lay hands on us, fearing lest we might be prejudicial to their Business, in joyning to the help and assistance of the King against them. For tho we were but few in comparison, yet the Name of White men was somewhat dreadful to them. Whereupon at first their Counsels were to cut us off. But others among them advised that it would be better to let us alone ; For that we being ignorant of their Designs, as indeed we were, and at quiet in our several Lodgings, could not be provided to hurt or indanger them. But otherwise if they should lay hands on us', it would certainly come to the Kings Ears, and Allarm him, and then all would be frustrated and overthrown. This some of their own Party have related to us since. These Counsels were not given out of any secret good will any of them bore to us (as I believe) but proceeded from the

over-ruling hand of God, who put those things into their hearts for our safety and preservation. The People of the City whence the King fled, ran away also leaving their Houses and Goods behind them. Where we found good Prey and Plunder ; being permitted to Ransack the Houses of all such as were fled away with the King.

The Rebels having driven away the King, and marching

OF THE REBELLION AGAINST THE KING

to the City of Cande to the Prince, carried us along with them ; the Chief of their Party telling us that we should now be of good cheer ; for what they had done upon very good advisement they had done, the Kings ill Government having given an occasion to it. Who went about to destroy both them & their Countrey ; and particularly insisted upon such things as might be most plausible to Strangers, such as, keeping Embassadours, discouraging Trade, detaining of Forainers that come upon his Land, besides his cruelties towards themselves that were his natural People. All which they told us, They had been informed was contrary to the Government of other Countries ; and now so soon as their business was settled, they assured us, They would detain none that were minded to go to their own Countreys.

Being now at Cande, on Christmas-Day of all the days in the year, they sent, to call us to the Court, and gave us some Money and Cloths first, to make us the more willing to take Arms, which they intqided then to deliver unto us, and to go with them upon a Design to fall upon the old King in the place whither he was fled. But in the very interim of time, God being merciful unto us, the Prince with his Aunt fled. Which so amazed and discouraged them, that the Money and Cloths which they were dis-tributing to us and other Strangers to gain us over to them, they scattered about the Court and fled themselves. And now followed nothing but cutting one anothers Throats to make themselves appear the more Loyal Subjects, and make amends for their former Rebellion.

We for our parts little thinking in what danger we were, fell in to scramble among the rest to get what we could of the Monies that were strewed about, being then in great necessity and want. For the allowance which formerly we had was in this Disturbance lost, and so we remained with-out it for some three Months, the want of which, this Money did help to supply. Having gotten what we could at the Court, we made way to get out of the hurly burly to our Lodgings; intending as we were Strangers and

A.D,

1664,

[p- 1 39-]

They design
to ingage the
English mth
them.

They resolve
neithei to
meddle 0?
make .

A,D.

1664*

The dn\
being tm
tkyfm the
Kmg,

But he jw fifes
*km.

[P . 140.]

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

Prisoners, neither to meddle nor nuke on the one side or the other, being well satisfied, if Loo would but permit us quietly to sit", and eat Midi a ChrFtmas Dinner together, as he had prepared tor us.

For our parts we had no other dealings with the Rebels, than to desire them to permit us to go to our Native Countrey, which Liberty they promised we should not want long. But being sent for by them to the Court, we durst nofbut go, and "they giving us such things as we wanted, we could not refuse to take them. But the day being turned put us into great fear, doubting how the King would take it at our hands, from whom we knew this could not be hid.

Into our Houses we got safely. But no sooner were we there, but immediately we were called .main by a great Man, who had drawn out his Men, and stood in the Field. This Man we thought had been one of the Rebels, who to secure himself upon this change, had intended to run away down to Columbo tq. the Dutch. Which made us repair to him the more cheerfully, leaving our Meat a roasting on the Spit. But it proved otherwise. For no sooner had he gotten us unto him, but he Proclaimed himself tor the old King, and forthwith he and his Company taking us with him marched away to Fight or seize the Rebels, but meeting none went into the City, and there dismissed us, saying, He would acquaint the King, how willing and ready we were to fight for him, if need had required ;\ihho, God knows, it was the least of our thoughts and intents, yet God brought it to pass for our good." For when the King was informed of what we had received of the Rebels, this piece of good Service that we had done, or rather supposed to have done, was also told unto him. At the hearing of which himself justified us to be innocent ; saying, Since my absence, who was there that would give them Victuals*? And, It was mere want that made them to take what they did. Thus the words of the King's own mouth acquitted us. And when the Sword devoured on every side, yet by the Providence of God not one hair of our heads perished.

OF THE KING'S CLEMENCY

The Tumults being appeased, and the Rebellion vanished, the King was settled in his Throne again. And all this happened in five days time. We were now greatly necessitated for food, and wanted some fresh Orders from the King's mouth for our future subsistence. So that having no other remedy, we were fain to go and lay in the High way that leads to the Qity a begging ; for the People would not let us go any nearer towards the King, as we would have done. There therefore we lay, that the King might come to the knowledge of us, and give Command for our allowance again. By which means we obtained our purpose. For having laid there some two Months, the King was pleased to appoint our Quarters in the Countrey as formerly, not mentioning a word of sending us away, as he had made us believe before the Rebellion.

Now we were all sent away indeed, but not into our own Countrey, but into new Quarters. Which being God would have to be no better, we were glad it was so well, being sore a weary of laying in this manner. For for some three Months time we had no manner of allowance. We were all now placed one in a Town as formerly, together with the Persia Merchant men also, who hitherto had lived in the City of Cande, and had their Provisions brought them out of the King's Palace ready dressed. These were now sent away with us into the Countrey. And as strict

a charge was given for our good entertainment as before.

We were thus dispersed about the Towns here one and there another, for the more convenient receiving our allowance, and for the greater ease of the People. And now we were far better to pass than heretofore, having the Language, and being acquainted with the Manners and Customs of the People, and had the same proportion of Victuals, and the like respect as formerly. And now they fall into employments as they please, either Husbandry or Merchandizing, or knitting Caps, being altogether free to do what they will themselves, and to go where they will, excepting running away : and for that end, we are not permitted to go down to the Sea, but we may travel all about

K.C. " 225 P

A.D.

1664-66.
They ate
driven to beg
in the
Highways .

Sent into new
quarters there ,
and their
Pensions
settled again.

Fall to

Trading, and
have more
freedom.

A.!).

1664-66.

[p. I41.]

The Jut/m
at hts nezt
patters builds
him another
House .

The People
counsel him
to Marry

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

the Countrey, and no man regards E> •: tho the People
some of the first years of our Captivity, would scarcely
let us go any whither, and had an eye upon uy afterwards,
yet in-process of time all their Su'-pitions of our going
away wore off ; especially when several of the English had
built them Houses, and others had taken them Wives, by
whom they had Children, to the number of eighteen living
when I came away.

Having said all this in general of the English People
there, l will now continue a further account of my self.

Chap. VI.

A Continuation of the Author's particular Condi-
tion after the Rebellion. Purchascth a piece
of Land.

Y hap was to be quartered in a Countrey
called Handapondown, lying to the West-
ward of tjie City of CanJe. Which place
liked me very well, being much nearer to
the Sea than where I dwelt before, which
gave me some probable hopes, that in time
■ I might chance to make an escape. But
in the mean time to free my self from the Suspitton of
the People, who watched me by Night, and by Day had
an eye to all my actions, I went to work with the help of
some of my Neighbors to Build me another Blouse upon
the Bank of a River, and intrenched it round with a Ditch,
and Planted an Hedge : and so began to settle my self ;
and followed my business in Knitting and going about the
Countries a Trading ; seeming to be very well contented
in this Condition.

Lying so long at the City without allowance, I had spent
all to some Seven shillings, which served me for a stock
to set up again in these new Quarters. And by the Blessing
of my most gracious God, which never failed me in all
my Undertakings, I soon came to be well furnished with
what that Countrey afforded : insomuch that mv Neigh-

OF THE AUTHOR'S CONDITION

hours and Townsmen no more suspected my running away ; but earnestly advised me to marry, saying, It would be an ease and help to me, knowing that I then dressed my Victuals my self : having turned my Boy to seek his Fortune when we were at the City: They urged also, That it was not convenient for a young man as I was to live so solitarily alone in a house : and if it should so come to pass that the King should send me hereafter to my Countrey, their manner of Marriage, they said, was not like ours, and I might without any Offence discharge my Wife, and go away.

I seemed not altogether to slight their counsel, that they might the less suspect I had any thoughts of mine own Countrey, but told them, That as yet I was not sufficiently stocked, and also, That I would look for one that I could love : tho in my heart I never purposed any such matter ; but on the contrary, did heartily abhor all thoughts tending that way ;

In this place I lived two years ; and all that time could not get one likely occasion of running for it. For I thought it better to forbear running too great a hazard by being over-hasty to escape, than to deprive my self of all hopes for the future, when time and experience would be a great help to me.

In the year MDCLXVI. the Hollanders came up and built a Fort just below me, there being but a ridge of Mountains between them and me. But tho so near, I could not come to them, a Watch being kept at every passage. The King sent down against them two great Commanders with their Armies, but being not strong enough to expel them, they lay in these Watches to stop them from coming up higher. The name of this Fort was called Arrandery. Which altho they could not prevent the Dutch from building at that time. Yet some years after when they were not aware, they fell upon it and took it, and brought all the People of it up to Cande, where those that remained alive of them were, when I came from thence.

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A.n.

1666.

Which he seemed to listen to ,

Here he lived
two yews.

A Forthuili
near him, but
afterward
taken by the
King.

[P . 142.]

A, IX

1666-69.
He mid three
mae mewed
thence.

Settled in a
dismal place.

A comfortable
Message from
the King
concerning us.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

In this Countrey of Hotteracourly, where the Dutch had built this Fort, were four English men placed, whereof I was one. All whom the King immediately, upon the News of the Dutche's Invasion, sent order to bring up out of the danger of the War into Conde Uda, fearing that which we were" indeed intended to do, viz. to run away.

This Invasion happening so unexpectedly and our remove so sudden, I was forced to leave behind me that little Estate which God had given me, lying scattered abroad in Betel-nuts, the great Commodity of that Countrey, which I was then parting from : and much ado I had to get my Cloths brought along with me, the Enemies, as they called them, but my Friends being so near. And thus was I carried out of this Countrey as poor as I came into it, leaving all the fruits of my Labour and Industry' behind me. Which called to my remembrance the words of Job. Naked came I into this world, and naked shall I return : God gave and God hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord. ,

We all four were brought up together into a Town on the top of a Mountain called Laggendenny. Where I and my dear Friend and fellow Prisoner, and fellow Batchelor Mr. John Loveland lived together in one House. For by this time not many of our People were as we, that is, single men ; but seeing so little hopes, despaired of their Liberty, and had taken Wives or Bedfellows.

At our first coming into this Town, we were very much dismayed, it being one of the most dismal places that I have seen upon that Land. It stands alone upon the top of a Mountain, and no other Town near it, and not above four or five Houses in it. And oftentimes into this Town did the King use to send such Malefactors as he was minded suddenly to cut off. Upon these accounts our being brought to this place could not but scare us, and the more, because it was the King's special Order and Command to place us in this very Town.

But this our trouble and dejection (thanks be to God) lasted but a day. For the King seemed to apprehend into

OF THE KING'S MESSAGE

what a fit of Fear and Sorrow this our Remove would cast us, and to be sensible, how sadly we must needs take it to change a sweet and pleasant Countrey, such as Han-dapondown and the Countrey adjacent was, for this most sad and dismal Mountain. And therefore the next day came a comfortable Message from the King's own mouth, sent by no less Man than he, who had the chief Power and Command over those' People who were appointed to give us our Victuals, where we were. This Message, which as he said himself, he was ordered by the King to deliver to the People in our hearing, was this, That they should not think that we were Malefactors, that is, such who having incurred the King's displeasure were sent to be kept Prisoners there, but men whom his Majesty did highly esteem, and meant to promote to great Honour in his Service, and that they should respect us as such, and enter-tain us accordingly. And if their ability would not reach thereunto, it was the King's Order, he said, to bid them sell their Cattel and Goods, and when that was done their Wives and Children, rather tf?an we should want of our due allowance : which he ordered, should be as formerly we used to have : and if we had not Houses thatched, and sufficient for us to dwell in, he said, We should change, and take theirs.

This kind Order from the King coming so suddenly, did not a little comfort and encourage us. For then we did perceive the King's purpose and intent in placing us in those remote Parts, was not to punish us, but them : that we might be his Instruments to Plague and take

revenge of that People ; who it seems had Plundred the King's Palace in the time of the late Rebellion, when he left it and fled ; for this Town lies near unto the same : and their Office lying about the Court they had the fairer opportunity of Plundering it. For the Service they are to perform to the King, is to carry his Pallenkine when he pleaseth to ride therein, and also to bring Milk every Morning to the Court, being Keepers of the King's Cattel.

In this Town we remained some three years ; by which
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A.n.

1666-69.

[P- H3-]

Placed then
to punish the
People for a
Cnme.

Weary of
this place .

A.D.

1666-69.

By a fiM of
Cuift he gets
down to hts
old Quarters,

Began the
world anew
the third time.
Plots to
remove
himself

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

time we were grown quite wearv of the place, and the place and People also grown weary of us, who were but trouble-som Guests to them ; for having such great Authority

given us over them, we would not lose it ; and being tour of us in call one of another, we would not permit or suffer them to domineer over us. Being thus tired with one anothers Company, and the King's Order being of an old Date, we used all means we could to clear our selves of one another: often repairing unto the Court to seek to obtain a Licence that we might be removed and placed any-where else. But there was none that durst grant it, because it was the King's peculiar Command, and special Appoint-ment that we must abide in that very Town.

During the time of our stay here, we had our Victuals brought us in good order and due season : the Inhabitants having such a charge given them by their Gmernour and he from the King, durst not do otherwise, bo that we had but little to do, only to dress and eat, and sit down to knit.

I had used the utmost of my skill and etuleac our to get a Licence to go down to my former Quarters, all things being now pretty well settled, hoping that 1 might recover some of my old Debts : but by no means could I obtain it. The denial of so reasonable a desire, put me upon taking leave. I was well acquainted with the way, but yet I hired a man to go with me, without which I could not get thro the Watches. For altho I was the Master and he the Man, yet when we came into the Watches, he w*as the Keeper and I the Prisoner. And by this means we passed without being suspected.

Being come into my old Quarters, by pretending that this man was sent down from the Magistrate to see that my Debts and Demands might be duely paid and dis-charged, I chanced to recover some of them, and the rest gave over for lost; for I never more looked after them. And so I began the world anew, and by the Blessing of God was again pretty well recruited before I left this Town.

In the time of my residence here, I chanced to hear of a small piece of Land that was to be sold. ' About which

OF THE AUTHOR'S PURCHASE OF LAND

I made very diligent inquiry. For altho I was sore a weary of living in this Town, yet 1 could not get out of it, not having other new Quarters appointed me, unless I could provide a place tor my self to remove to : which now God had put into my hand. As for the King's Command I dreaded it not much, having found by observation, that the King's Orders wear away by time, and the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded. However I was resolved to put it to a hazard, come what will.

Altho I had been now some seven or eight years in this Land, and by this time came to know pretty well the Customs and Constitutions of the Nation, yet I would not trust my own knowledge, but to prevent the worst, I went to the Governor of that same Countrey where the Land lay, to desire his advice, whether or no I might lawfully buy that small piece of Land. He inquired, Whose and what Land it was, I informed him, That it had been formerly dedicated to a Priest, and he at his death had left it to his Grandson : who for want was forced to sell it. Understanding this, the Governor approved of the busi- ness, and encouraged me to buy it : saying, That such kind of Lands only were lawful here to be bought and sold ; and that this was not in the least litigious.

Having gotten both his consent and advice, I went on chearfully with my purchase. The place also liked me wondrous well ; it being a point of Laud, standing into a Corn Field, so that Corn Fields were on three sides of it, and just before my Door a little Corn ground belonging thereto, and very well watered. In the Ground besides eight Coker-nut Trees, there were all sorts of Fruit Trees the Countrey afforded. But it had been so long desolate, that it was all o\ ergrown with Bushes, and no sign of a House therein.

The price of this Land was five and twenty Larees, that is five Dollars, a great Sum of Money in the account of this Countrey ; yet thanks be to God, who had so far inabled me after my late and great loss, that I was strong enough to lay this down. The terms of Purchase being concluded

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A.D.

I666-69.

[p. I44.]

Is incomagd to buy a piece of Land.

The Situation and condition of it.

Buys it

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l669»/ I,

Builds an
House m it.

Leaves

Laggendenuy.

[P- H5-]
Setkd at Ms
new pm chase,
with three
mote living
with him.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

on between us, a Writing was made upon a leaf after that Countrey manner, witnessed by seven or eight Men ot the best Quality in the Town : w hich was delivered^ me, and 1 paid the Money, and then took Possession of the Land. It lyes some ten Miles to the Southward of the City of Cande in the County of Oudaneur, in the Town of Elledat.

Now I went about Building an House upon my Land, and was assisted by three of my Cuuntreymen that dwelt near by, Roger Gold, Ralph Kmght, and btephen Rutland, and in short time we tinishcd it. The Countrey People were all well pleased to see us thus bu.sie our selves about buying of Land and Building of Houses, thinking it would ty our Minds the faster to their Countrey, and make us think the less upon our own.

Tho I had built my new House, yet durst I not yet leave my old Quarters in Laggendennv, hut wait until a more convenient time fell out for that purpose. 1 went away therefore to my old home, and left my aforesaid three English Neighbours to inhabit in it in my absence. Not long after I found a ht season to be gone to my Estate at Elledat. And upon my going, the rest left the Town also, and went and dwelt elsewhere, each one where, he best liked. But by this means we all lost a Privilege which we had before : which was that our Victuals were brought unto us, and now we were forced to go and fetch them our selves ; the People alledging (true enough) that they were not bound to carry our Provisions about the Countrey after us.

Being settled in my new House, 1 began to plant my

ground full of all sorts of Fruit Trees ; and by the Blessing of God all grew and prospered, and yielded me great Plenty, and good increase, sufficient both for me. and tor those that dwelt with me. For the three English men 1 left at my House when I departed back to Laggendennv, still lived with me. We were all single men ; and we agreed very well together, and were helpful to one another And for their help and assistance of me, I freely granted them Liberty to use and enjoy whatsoever the ground afforded, as much as my self. And with a joynt consent it was

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OF THE AUTHOR'S COMPANIONS

concluded amongst us, That only single Men and Batchellors should dwell there, and such as would not be conformable to this present agreement, should depart and absent him sel f from our Society, and also forfeit his right and claim to the forementioned Privilege, that is, to be cut off from all benefit ot whatsoever the Trees and Ground afforded.

I thought fit to make such a Covenant, to exclude women from coming in among us, to prevent all strife and dissen- tion, and to make all possible Provision for the keeping up love and quietness among our selves.

In this manner we four lived together some two years very lovingly and contentedly, not an ill word passing between us. We used to take turns in keeping at home, while the rest went forth about their Business. For our house stood alone and no Neighbour near it. Therefore we always left one within. The rest of the English men lived round about us, some four or five miles distant, some more. So that we were, as it were, within reach one of another ; which made us like our present Situation the more.

Thus we lived upon the Mountains, being round about us beset with watches, most of our People being now married : so that now ail talk and suspition of our running away was kid aside. Neither indeed was it scarce possible. The effect of which was, that now we could walk from one to the other, or where we would upon the Mountains, no man molesting or disturbing us in the least. So that we began to go about a Pedling, and Trading in the Country farther towards the Northward, carrying our Caps about to sell.

By this time two of our Company seeing but little hopes of Liberty, thought it too hard a task thus to lead a single life, and married. Which when they had done according to the former agreement departed from us. So that our Company was now reduced to two, viz. my Self and Stephen

Rutland ; whose inclination and resolution was as stedfast as mine against Marriage. And we parted not to the last, but came away together. [Chap. VII.

A.D.

1669-71.

Their freedom and Trade .

His Family t educed to two.

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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

A,D.

1669-71.
[p. 146.]

Confer

together about the lawfulness of Mat tying with the Native Women .

He resolves upon a single life .

Chap. VII.

A return to the rest of the English, with some further accounts of them. And some further discourse of the Authors course ot life.

it us now make a Visit to the rest of our Country-men, and see how^they do. They reckoning themselves in for their Lives,

in order to their future settlement, were generally disposed to Marry. Concerning which we have had many and sundry disputes among our selves; as particularly concerning the lawfulness of matching with Heathens and Idolaters, and whether the Chingulays Marriages were any better than living in Whoredome : there being no Christian Priests to join them together, and it being allowed by their Laws to change their Wives and take others as often as they pleased. But these ,cases we solved for our own advantage after this manner, That we were but Flesh and Blood, and that it is said, It is better to Marry than to burn, and that as far as we could see, we were cut off from all Marriages any where else, even for our Life time, and therefore that we must marry with these or with none at all. And when the People in Scripture were forbidden to take Wives of Strangers, it was then when they might intermarry with their own People, and so no necessity lay upon them. And that when they could not, there are examples in the Old Testament upon Record, that they took Wives of the Daughters of the Lands, wherein they dw elt. These reasons being urged, there was none among us, that could object ought against them, especially if those that were minded to marry Women here, did take them for their Wives during their lives, as some of them say, they do : and most of the Women they marry are such as do profess themselves to be Christians.

As for mine own part, however lawful these Marriages might be, yet I judged it far more convenient for me to

abstain, and that it more redounded to my good, having always a reviving hope in me, that my God had not forsaken me, but according to his gracious promise to the Jews in the xxx Chapter of Deuteronomy, and the beginning, would turn my Captivity and bring me into the Land of my Fathers. These and such like meditations, together with my Prayers to God, kept me from that unequal Yoke of Unbeleivers, which several of my Countrey men and fellow Prisoners put themselves under.

By this time our People having plyed their Business what hard, had almost knit themselves out of work ; and now employments Caps were become a very dead Commodity, which was the t!te pM K,! - chief stay they had heretofore to trust to. So that now most of them betook themselves to other employments ;

some to Plusbandry, Plowing Ground, and sowing Rice,
and keeping Cattle, others stilled Rack to sell, others went
about the Countrey a Trading. For that which one part
of the Land affords is a good Commodity to carry to another
that wants it. And thus with t^e help of a little allowance,
they make a shift to subsist. Most of their Wives spin
Cotton yarn, which is a great help to them for doathing,
and at spare times also knit.

After this manner by the blessing of God our Nation The respect
hath lived and still doth, in as good fashion as any other tend credit.
People or Nation whatsoever, that are Strangers here, or as ^
any of the Natives themselves, only the Grandees and p ‘ +/ '-*
Courtiers excepted. This I speak to the Praise and Glory
of our God ; who loves the Stranger in giving him Food
and Raiment ; and that hath been pleased to give us Favour
and a good Repute in the sight of our Enemies. We
cannot complain for want of justice in any wrongs we have
sustained by the People ; or that our cause hath been dis-
countenanced ; but rather we have been favoured above
the Natives themselves.

One of our men happened to be beaten by his Neighbour. A CKmguky
At which we were all very much concerned, taking it as a punished for
reproach to our Nation, and fearing it might embolden
others to do the like by the rest of us. Therefore with

joint consent we all concluded to go to the Court to com-
plain, and to desire satisfaction from the Adigar. Which
we did. Upon this the man who had beat the English
man was summoned in to appear before him. Who seeing
so many of us there, and tearing the cause will go very
hard with him, to make the Judg his friend, gave him a
bribe. He having received it would have shifted off the
Punishment of tne Malefactor. But we day after day
followed him from house to Court, and from place to place,
whereever he went, demanding Justice and Satisfaction for
the wrong we received, shewing the black and blew blows
upon the English mans shoulders to all the rest of the Noble
men at Court. He tearing therefore lest the King might
be made acquainted herewith was forced the much against
his will to clap the Chingulay in Chains. In which con-
dition after he got him, he released him not till besides the
former fee he had given him another.

An English Lately was Richard Varnham taken into the Kings
man fnf a red service, and held as Honourable an employment as ever
at Court. an y Christian had in my time, being Commander of Nine
Hundred and Seventy Soldiers, and set over all the great
Guns, and besides this, several Towns were under him.

A place of no less Profit than Honour. The King gave him an excellent Silver Sword and Halberd, the Tike to which the King never gave to any White man in my time. But he had the good luck to die a natural Death. For had not that prevented, in all probability he should have followed the two English men that served him, spoken of before.

The English serve the . Some years since some of our Nation took up Arms under the King. Which happened upon this occasion.

The Hollanders had a small Fort in the Kings Countrey, called Bibligom Fort. This the King minded to take and demolish, sent his Army to beseige Tt. But being pretty strong ; for there were about Ninety Dutch men in it, besides a good number of Black Soldiers, and four Guns on each point one, being in this condition it held out. Some of the great men informed the King of several Dutch

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OF THE ENGLISH SERVING THE KING a.d.

1669-71.

ruunaways in his Land, that might be trusted, not daring to turn again tor fear of the Gallows, who might help to reduce the Fort. And that also there were white men of other Nations that had Wives and Children, from whom they would not run : and these might do him good service.

Unto this advice the King inclined.

Whereupon the King made a Declaration to invite the forrain Nations into his Service against Bibligom Fort, that he would compel none, but such as were willing of their own free accord, the King would take it kindly, and they should be well rewarded. Now there entred into the [p. 148.] Kings Service upon this Expedition some of all Nations ; both Portuguese, Dutch and English, about the number of Thirty. To all that took Arms he gave to the value of Twenty shillings in money, and three pieces of Callico for Cloaths, and commanded them to wear Breeches, Hats and Doublets, a great honour there. The King intended a Dutch-man, who had been an old Servant to him, to be Captain over them all. But jhe Portugueze not caring to be under the Command of a Dutch-man, desired a Captain of their own Nation, which the King granted, studying to please them at this time. But the English being but six, were too few to have a Captain over them, and so were forced some to serve under the Dutch, and some under the Portugueze Captain. There were no more of the English, because being left at their liberty they thought it safest to dwell at home, and cared not much

to take Arms under a Heathen against Christians.

They were all ready to go, their Arms and Ammunition Wk now live ready with Guns prepared to send down, but before they misera fy- went, Tvdings came that the Fort yeilded at the Kings Mercy. After this the Whites thought they had got an advantage of the King in having these gifts for nothing, but the'" King did not" intend to part with them so ; but kept them to watch at his Gate. And now they are reduced to great Poverty and Necessity. For since the Kings first Gift they have never received any Pay or Allowance ; tho they have often made their Addresses to

him to supply their wants, signifying their forwardness to serve him faithfully. He speaks thern fair, and tells them he will consider them, but does not in the least regard them. Many of them since, after three or four years service, have been glad to get other Poor run away Dutch men to serve in their steads, giving them as. much inony and cloths as they received ot the King before ; that so they might get free to come home to their Wives and Children.

The Dutch Captain would afterwards have forced the rest of the English to have come under him, and called them Traytors because they would not, and threatned them. But they scorned him, and bid him do his worst, but would never be persuaded to be Soldiers under him, saying, that it was not so much his zeal to the Kings service as his own Pride to make himself greater by having more men under him.

He returns to I will now turn to the Progress of my own Story. It speak of was now about the year MDCLXXII. I related before, 'plots and t ^ iat m 7 fam % was educed to two, my self and one honest Consults about man more, we lived solitarily and contentedly being well an Estate. setled in a good House of my own. New we fell to breeding up Goats : we began with two, but by the blessing of God they soon came to a good many ; and their Flesh served us instead of Mutton. We kept Hens and Hogs also : And seeing no sudden likelihood of Liberty, we went about to make all things handsome and convenient about us : which might be serviceable to us, while we lived there, and might farther our Liberty whensoever we should see an occasion to attempt it : which it did, in taking awav

all suspition from the People concerning us: who not having Wives as the others had, they might well think, lay the readier to take any advantage to make an escape. Which indeed we two did Plot and Consult about, between our selves with all imaginable Privacy, long before we got away : and therefore f we laboured by all means to hide our designs ; and to free them from so much as suspition.

OF THE AUTHOR’S NEW TRADE

1672.

We had now brought our House and Ground to such [p. 149.] a perfection that few Noble mens Seats in the Land did A Option excel us. On each side was a great Thorn-Gate for °f huEme — entrance, which is the manner in that Countrey : the Gates of the City are of the same. We built also another House in the Yard all open for Air, for our selves to sit in, or any Neighbours that .came to talk with us. For seldome should we be alone," our Neighbours oftner frequenting our House than we desired ; out of whom to be sure we could pick no Profit. For their coming is always either to beg or borrow. For altho we were Strangers and Prisoners in their Land, yet they would confess that Almighty God had dealt far more bountifully with us than with them, in that we had a far greater plenty of all things than they.

I now began to set up a new Trade. For the Trade He takes up of Knitting was grown dead, and Husbandry I could not a new Trade follow, not having a Wife to help and assist me therein, a ∗ d —J hnm a great part of Husbandry properly belonging to the woman to manage. Whereupon I perceived a Trade in use among them, which was to lend out Corn. The benefit of which is fifty per cent, per annum. This I saw to be the easiest and most profitable way of Living, whereupon I took in hand to follow it : and what stock I had, I con- verted into Corn or Rice in the Husk. And now as customers came for Corn, I let them have it, to receive their next Harvest, when their own Corn was ripe, the same quantity I lent them, and half as much more. But as the Profit is great, so is the trouble of getting it in also. For he that useth this Trade must watch when the Debtors Field is ripe, and claim his due in time, otherwise other Creditors coming before will seize all upon the account of their Debts, and leave no Com at all for those that came later. For these that come thus a borrowing, generally carry none of their Corn home when it is ripe, for their Creditors ease them of that Labour by coming into their Fields and taking it, and commonly they have

not half enough to pay what they ow. So that they that

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A.D.

1672.

His Allowance
paid Mm out
of the King's
Store-houses \

[P . 150.]

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

miss getting their Debts this year must stay till the next when"' it will be double, two measures for one: but the Interest never runs up higher, tho the Debt lye set en years unpaid. By means hereof I was put to a great deal of trouble, and was forced to watch early and late to get my Debts, and many times miss of them after all my Pains. Howbeit when my Stock did encrease that I had dealings with many, I mattered not if I lost in some places, the profit of the rest was sufficient to bear that out.

And thus by the Blessing of God my little was encreased to a great deal. For he had blessed me so, that l was able to lend to my Enemies, and had no need to borrow of them. So that I might use the words of Jacob, not out of Pride of my self, but thankfulness to God, That he brought me hither with my Staff and blessed me so here, that I became two Bands.

For some years together after I removed to my own House from Laggendenny, the People from whence I came continued my allowance that I had when 1 lived among them. But now in plain Terms they told me they could give it me no more, and that I was better able to live without it than they to give it me. "Which tho I knew to be true, yet I thought not fit to loose that Portion of Allowance, which the King was pleased to allot me. Therefore I went to Court and appealed to the Adigar to whom such matters did belong. Who upon consideration of the Peoples poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the Kings Palace for a Ticket to receive my Allowance out of the King’s Store-houses.

Hereby I was brought into a great danger, out of which I had much ado to escape, and that with the loss of my

Allowance for ever after. I shall relate the manner of i’f
in the next Chapter.

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OF THE AUTHOR & THE KING

A.D.

1672.

Chap. VIII.

How the Author had like to have been received
into the Kings Service, and what means he
used to avoid it. He meditates and attempts
an escape, but ns often prevented.

iis frequent Appearance at the Court, and He
waiting there for my Tickets, brought me v ° luntm b
to be taken notice of by the Great men : u

insomuch that they wondered I had been r
all this while forgotten, and never been
brought before the King, being so fit, as
they would suppose me, for his use and
service, saying, That from henceforward I should fare
better than that Allowance amounted to, as soon as the
King was made acquainted with me. Which words of
theirs served instead of a Ticket. Whereupon fearing I
should suddainly be brought in to the King, which thing
I most of all feared, and least desired, and hoping that out
of sight might prove out of mind, I resolved to forsake
the Court, and never more to ask for Tickets, especially
seeing God had dealt so bountifully with me as to give me
ability to live well enough without them. As when Israel
had eaten of the Corn of the Land of Canaan, the Manna
ceased ; so when I was driven to forego my Allowance that
had all this while sustained me in this wilderness, God
otherways provided for me.

From this time forward to the time of my Flight out Summoned
of the Land, which was five years. I neither had nor before the
demanded any more Allowance, and glad I was that I could Ktg Z'
escape so. But I must have more trouble first. For some
four or five days after my last coming from Court, there
came a Soldier to me, sent from the Adigar, with an Order
in writing under his hand, that upon sight thereof I should
immediatly dispatch and come to the Court to make my
personal appearance before the King, and in case of any

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A.D.

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Informed that
he is to be
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Court .

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But resolves
to refuse if.

delay, the Officers of the Countrey, were thcrehj Author–
ized and Commanded to assist the Bearer, and to see the
same Order speedily performed.

The chief occasion of this had been a Person, not long
before my near Neighbour and Acquaintance, Oua Matters]
by name, who knew my manner of Life, and had often
been at my House ; but now was taken in and employed
at Court and he out of friendship and good will to me
was one of the chief Actors in this business, that he might
bring me to Preferment at Court.

Upon the abovesaid summons there was no Remedy,
but to Court I must go. Where I first applyed my self
to my said old Neighbour, Oua Motteral, who was the
occasion of sending for me. I signified to him that I was
come in obedience to the Warrant, and I desired to know
the reason why I was sent for? To which he answered,
Here is good news for you ; you are to appear in the
Kings Presence, where you will find great Favour, and
Honourable entertainment, far more than any of your
Countrey men yet have found. Which the great man
thought would be a strong Inducement to persuade me
joyfully to accept of the Kings Employments. But this
was the thing I always most dreaded, and endeavoured to
shun, knowing that being taken into Court would be a
means to cut of all hopes of Liberty from me, which was
the thing I esteemed equal unto life it self.

Seeing my self brought unto this pass, wherein I had

no earthly helper, I recommended my cause to God, desir-
ing him in whose hands are the hearts of Kings and Princes
to divert the business. And my cause being just and
right I was resolved to persist in a denial. My case
seemed to me to be like that of the four Lepers at the
Gate of Samaria. No avoiding of Death for me If out
of Ambition and Honour, I should have embraced the
Kings Service, besides the depriving my self of all hopes
of Liberty, in the end I must be put to death, as happens
to all that serve him ; and to deny his service could be but
Death. And it seemed to me to be the better Death of

the two. For if I should be put to Death only because
I refused his service, I should be pitied as one that dyed
innocently; but if I should be executed in his Service,
however innocent I was, I should be certainly reckon'd a
Rebel and a Tray tor, as they all are whom he commands
to be cut off.

Upon these considerations having thus set my resolu- The answer
tions, as God enabled me, I returned him this answer : ^ mtlkes *
First, That the English Nation to whom I belonged had * ^ ,ea/
never done any violence or wrong to their King either in
word or deed. Secondly, That the causes of my coming
on their Land was not like to that of other Nations, who
were either Enemies taken in War, or such as by reason
of poverty or distress, were driven to sue for relief out of
the Kings bountiful liberality, or such as fled for the fear
of deserved punishment ; Whereas, as they all well knew,

I came not upon any of these causes, but upon account of
Trade, and came ashore to receive the Kings Orders, which
by notice we understood were come concerning us, and to
render an account to the Dissauva of the Reasons and
Occasions of our coming into the Kings Port. And that
by the grief asid sorrow I had undergone by being so long
detained from my Native Countrey, (but, for which I
thanked the Kings Majesty, without want of any thing) I
scarcely enjoyed my self. For my heart was alwayes
absent from my body. Hereunto adding my insufficiency
and inability for such honourable Employment, being
subject to many Infirmities and Diseases of Body.

To this he replied, Cannot you read and write English?

Servile Labour the King requireth not of you. I answered,

When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew, now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper ever since I came ashore. I urged moreover, That it was contrary to the Custome and Practice of all Kings and Princes upon the Earth to keep and detain men that came into their Countreys upon such peaceable accounts as we did ; much less to compel them to serve them beyond their power and ability.

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A. IX
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He h sent to
another gnat
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He stays in
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expecting Ms
Doom ,

He goes home
hut is sent fit
again.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

At my first coming before him he looked very pleasingly, and spake with a smiling countenance to me : but no\v his smiles were turned into frowns, and his pleasing looks into bended brows, and in rough Language, he bad me be gone and tell my tale to the Adigar. Which immediatly I did ; but he being busie did not much regard me, and I was glad of it, that I might absent the _ Court. But. I durst not go out of the City. Sore afraid I was that evil would befall me, and the best I could expect was to be put in Chains. All my refuge was Prayer to God, whose hand was not shortned thaUt could not save, and would make all things work together for good to them that trust in him. From him only did I expect help and deliverance in this time of need.

In this manner I lodged in an English mans house that dwelt in the City about ten days, maintaining my self at

my own charge, waiting with a sorrowful heart, and daily expecting to^hear my Doom. In the mean time my Countrey men and Acquaintance, some of them blamed me for refusing so fair a Profer ; whereby I might not only have lived w r ell my self, but also have been helpful unto my Poor Countrey-men and friends : others af them pitty-ing me, expecting, as I did, nothing but a wrathful sentence from so cruel a Tyrant, if God did not prevent. And Richard Varnham, who was at this time a great man about the King, was not a little scared to see me run the hazard of what might ensue, rather than be Partaker with him in the felicities of the Court.

It being chargable thus to lye at the City, and hearing nothing more of my business, I took leave w ithout asking, and went home to my House ; which was but a Days dis-tance, to get some Victuals to carry with me and to return again. But soon after I came home I was sent for again. So I took my load of Victuals with me, and arrived at the City, but went not to the Court, but to my former Lodging, where I staid as formerly, until I had 'spent all my "Pro-visions : and by the good hand of my God upon me, I never heard any more of that matter. Neither came I any

more into the Presence of the Great-men at Court, but dwelt in my own Plantation, upon what God provided for me by my Labour and Industry.

For now I returned to my former course of life, dressing Having my Victuals daily with mine own hands, fetching both escaped the. Wood and Water upon mine own back. And this, for ought 1 could see to the contrary, I was like to continue for j ot . s m ° r c ‘‘ me my life time. This I could do for the Present, but I began of life, to consider how helpless I should be, if it should please God I should live till I grew old and feeble. So I entred upon a Consultation with my self for the providing against this.

One way was the getting of me a Wife, but that I was resolved never to do. Then I began to enquire for some poor body to live with me, to dress my Victuals for me, that I might live at a little more ease, but could not find any to my mind. "Whereupon I considered, that there was no better way, than to take one of my poor Country-mens Children, whom I might bring up to learn both my own Language and Religion. An t d this might be not only Charity to the Child, but a kindness to my self also after-wards. And several there were that would be glad so to be eased of theit charge, having more than they could well [p. 153.]

maintain, a Child therefore I took, by whose aptness, ingenuity and company as I was much delighted at present, so afterwards I hoped to be served.

It was now about the year M DC LXXIII. Altho I had now lived many years in this Land, and God be praised,

I wanted for nothing the Land afforded, yet could I not forget my native Countrey England, and lamented under the Famine of Gods Word and Sacraments, the want whereof I found greater than all earthly wants : and my dayly and fervent Prayers to God were, in his good time to restore me to the enjoyment of them.

I and my Companion were still meditating upon our 'Their peilhg escape and the means to compass it. Which our pedling fir^mdei about the Countrey did greatly forward and promote. For the r esca ^' speaking well the Language and going with our Com- modities from place to place, we used often to entertain

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A.I).

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The most probable tout sc to take , a as Northwards.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEVLOX

discourse with the Countrey people ; \ iz. concerning the ways and the Countreys, and where there were most and fewest inhabitants, and where and how the A at dies laid from one Countrey to another; and what Commodities were proper to carry from one part to the other, pretending we would from time to time go from one place to another, to furnish our selves with ware that the respecthe places afforded. None doubted but we had made these inquiries tor the sake of our Trade, but our selves had other designs in them. Neither was there the least suspition ot us for these our questions : all supposing I would ne\ er run away and leave such an estate as in their accounts and esteem 1 had.

By diligent inquiry I had come to understand, that the easiest and most probable way to make an escape was by travailing to the Northward, that part of the Land being least inhabited. Therefore we furnished our sches with

such wares as were vendible in those parts, as Tobacco, Pepper, Garlick, Combs, a,ll sorts of Iron Ware, <Mc. and being laden with these things, we two set forth, bending our course towards the Northern Parts of the Island, know- ing very little of the way ; and the ways of “rhis Countrey generally are intricate and difficult : here being no great High-ways that run thro the Land, but a multitude of little Paths, some from one Town to another, some into the Fields, and some into the Woods where they sow their Corn ; and the whole Countrey covered with Woods, that a man cannot see any thing but just before him. And that which makes them most difficult of all, is, that the ways shift and alter, new ways often made and old ways stopped up. For they cut down Woods, and sow the ground, and having got one Crop off from it, they leave i£ and Wood soon grows over it again: and in case a Road went thro those Woods, they stop it, and contrive another way; neither do they regard tho it goes two or three miles about : and to ask and inquire the way for us white men is very dangerous, it occasioning the People to suspect us. And the Chingulays themselves never Travail in Countreys

where they are not experienced in the ways without a guide, it being so difficult. And there was no getting a guide to conduct us down to the Sea.

But we made a shift to travail from Conde Uda down- wards towards the North from Town to Town ; happening at a place at last which I knew before, having been brought up formerly from Cooswat that way, to descend the Hill called Bocaul, where there is no Watch, but in time of great disturbance. Thus by the Providence of God we passed all difficulties until we came into the County of Neurecalava, which are the lowest parts that belong to this King ; and some three days Journey from the place whence we came.

We were not a little glad that we were gotten so far onwards in our way, but yet at this time we could go no farther ; for our ware was all sold, and we could pretend no more excuses ; and also we had been out so long, that it might cause our Towns-men to come and look after us, it being the first time that we had been so long absent from home.

In this manner we went into these Northern Parts eight or ten times, and once got as far as Hourly a Town in the extremities of the Kings Dominions, but yet we could not attain our purpose. For this Northern Countrey being much subject to dry weather, and having no springs, we were fain to drink of Ponds of Rain water, wherein the

Cattel lie and tumble, which would be so thick and muddy, that the very filth would hang in our Beards when we drank. This did not agree with our Bodies, being used to drink pure Spring water only. By which means when we first used those parts we used often to be Sick of violent Feavors and Agues, when we came home. Which Diseases happened not only to us, but to all other People that dwelt upon the Mountains, as we did, whensoever they went down into those places ; and commonly the major part of those that fall sick, dyes. At which the Chingulays are so scared, that it is very seldom they do adventure their bodies down thither : neither truly would I have done it, were it not for those future hopes, which God of his mercy did at

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A.D.

1673-79.

The y get
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A.D.

1673-79.

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an Antidote
against it

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of their Way.

Meets mth
Ms black Boy
in these parts ,
who teas to
guide him to
the Dutch *

[P- >55-]

length accomplish. For both of us smarted sufficiently by those severe Feavors we got, when we should both lay Sick together, and one not able to help the other. Insomuch that our Countrymen and Neighbours used to ask us, if we went thither purposing to destroy our selves, they little thinking, and we not daring to fell them our intent and design.

At length we learned an Antidote and Counter-Poyson against the filthy venomous water, which so operated by the blessing of God, that after the use thereof v, e had no more Sickness. It is only a dry leaf ; they call it in Portu-gueze Banga, beaten to Powder with some of the Countrey Jaggory : and this we eat Morning and Evening upon an empty Stomach. It intoxicates the Brain, and makes one giddy, without any other operation either by Stool or Vomit.

Thus every Voyage we gathered more experience, and got lower down, for this is a large and spacious Countrey. We travailed to and fro where the ways led us, according to their own Proverb, The Beggar and the Merchant is never out of his way ; because the one begs and the other trades wherever they go. Thus we used to rumble until we had sold all our ware, and then went home for more. And by these means we grew acquainted both with the People and the Paths.

In these parts I met with my black Boy, whom l had divers years before turned away, who had now Wife and Children. He proved a great help to me in directing me in the ways ; for he had lived many years in these parts. Perceiving him to be able, and also in a very poor and sad condition, not able to maintain his Family, I adventured once to ask him if a good reward would not be welcome to him, for guiding us two down to the Dutch. Which having done he might return again and no Body the wiser. At which Proposition he seemed to be very joyful, and

promised to undertake the same: only at this time for reasons he alledged, which to me seemed probable, as that it was Harvest time and many People about, it could not

so safely and conveniently be done now, as it might be

some tiso Months after.

The business was concluded upon, and the time appointed between us. But it so fell out, that at the very precise time, all things being ready to depart on the morrow, it pleased God, whose time was not yet come, to strike me with a most grievous pain in the hollow on my right side, that for five days together I was not able to stir from the fire side, but by warming it, and fomenting and chafing it I got a little ease.

Afterward so soon as I was recovered, and got strength, we went down and carried one English man more with us for company, lor our better security, seeing we must travail in the Night upon our Flight : but tho we took him with us, we dared not tell him of our design, because he had a Wife, intending not to acquaint him with it, till the Business was just ready to be put into action. But when we came expecting to meet with our guide, he was gone into another Countrey ; and we knew not where to find him, and we knew not how to run away without him. Thus we were disapointed that time.

But as formerly, we went to and fro until we had sold our ware ; and so returned home again and delivered the man to his wife ; but never told him any thing of our intended design, fearing lest, if he knew it, he might acquaint her with it, and so all our purposes coming to be revealed might be overthrown for ever afterwards. For we were resolved by Gods help still to persevere in our design.

Some eight or nine years one after another we followed this Trade, going down into this Countrey on purpose to seek to get beyond the Inhabitants, and so to run away thro the Woods to the Hollanders. Three or Four years together the dry weather prevented us ; when the Countrey was almost starved for want of Rain ; all which time they never tilled the Ground. The Wells also were almost all dry ; so that in the Towns we could scarcely get Water to drink, or Victuals to eat. Which affrighted us at those times from running into the Woods, lest we might perish

A.D.

1673-79.

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An extraordi-
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HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

for Thirst. All this while upon the Mountains, v. here our dwelling was, there was no want ot Rain.

We tound it an inconvenience when we came three of us down together, reckoning it might gi\ e occasion to the people to suspect our design, and so prevent us from going thither again. Some of the English that followed such a Trade as we, had been down that way with their Commodities, but having felt the smart of that Countries Sickness, would go there no more, finding as much profit in nearer and easier Journeys. But we still persisted in our courses this way, having some greater matter to do here than to sell Wares, viz. to find out this Northern Discovery ; which in Gods good time we did effect .

Chap, IX.

How the Author began his Escape, anti got onward
of his Way about an Hundred miles.

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A\ ing often gone this Way to s:ek for
Liberty, but could not yet find it ; we
again set forth to try whaf Success God
Almighty would now give us, in the Year
MDCLXXIX, on the Two and twentieth
of September, furnished with such Arms
as we could well carry with safety and
secrecy, which were Knives and small Axes ; we carried also
several sorts of Ware to sell as formerly : the Moon being
seven and twenty dayes old. Which we had so contrived,
that we might have a light Moon, to see the better to run
away by : having left an Old Man at home, whom 1 had
hired to live with me, to look after my House and Goats
We went down at the Hill Bocawl, where there was
now no Watch, and but seldom any. From thence down
to the Town of Bonder Cooswat, —where my Father dyed ;
and by the Town of Nicavar, which is the last Town
belonging to Hotcurly in that Road. From thence for-
ward the Towns stand thin. For it was sixteen miles to

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the next I own called Parroah, which lay in the Country
of Neure-Caw Lt\ a, and all the way thro a Wilderness called
Parroah Mocolane, full of wild Elephants, Tigres and

Bears.

Now we set our design for Anarodgburro, which is the They design
lowest place inhabited belonging to the King of Cande : f or 4* moig -
where there is a Watch alwayes kept: and nearer than !>um ■
twelve or fourteen miles of this Town as yet we never had
been.

When we came into the midst of this Countrey, we They tun out
heard that the Governor thereof had sent Officers from the if the way to
Court to dispatch away the Kings Revenues and Duties a ^ td , tk
to the City, and that they were now come into the Country,

Which put us into no small fear, lest if they saw us they
should send us back again. Wherefore we edged away
into the Westernmost Parts of Ecpoulpot, being a remote

part of that Countrey wherein we now were. And there we sate to knitting until we heard they were gone. But this caused us to overshoot ou^ time, the Moon spending so fast. But as soon as we heard they were departed out of the Countrey, we went onwards of our Journey, having kept most of bur Ware for a pretence to have an occasion to go further. And having bought a good parcel of Cotton Yarn to knit Caps withal, the rest of our Ware we gave out, was to buy dryed flesh with, which only in those lower Parts is to be sold.

Our Way now lay necessarily thro the chief Governors Forced to Yard at Colliwilla. Who dwells there purposely to s zepwthnthe and examine all that go and come. This greatly distressed w!T~ us. First, because he was a stranger to us, and one whom } we had never seen. And secondly, because there was no other way to escape him : and plain reason would tell him, that we being prisoners were without our bounds. Where- upon we concluded, that our best way would be to go boldly and resolutely to his house, and not to seem daunted in the least, or to look as if we did distrust him to disallow of our Journey, but to shew such a behaviour, as if we had authority to travail where we would.

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The Method
they used to
prevent Ms
susp'ifm ff
them.

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So we went forward, and were forced to enquire and ask the way to his house, having never been . so tar this way before. I brought from home with me Knives with fine carved handles, and a red Tunis Cap purpose])' to sell or give him, if occasion required, knowing before, that we must pass by him. And all along as we went, that we might be the less suspected, we sold Caps and other Ware, to be paid for at our return homewards. There were many cross Paths to and fro to his house, yet by Gods Providence we happened in the right Road. And having reached his house, according to the Countrey manner we went and sate down in the open house ; which kind of Houses are built on purpose for the reception of Strangers. Whither not long after the Great Man himself came and sate down by us. To whom we presented a

small parcel of Tobacco, and some Betel. And before he asked us the cause of our coming, we shewed him the Ware we brought for him, and the Cotton Yarn which we had trucked about the Country : telling him withall how the case stood w r ith us : viz. That we had a Charge greater than the Kings allowance would maintain ; and that because dryed Flesh was the chief Commodity of' that Part, we told him, That missing of the Lading which we used to carry back, we were glad to come thither to see, if we could make it up with dryed Flesh. And therefore if he would please to supply us either for such Ware as wc had brought, or else for our Money, it would be a great favour, the which would oblige us for the future to bring him any necessaries that he should name unto us, when we should come again unto those Parts, as we used to do very often : and that we could furnish him, having dealings and being acquainted with the best Artificers in Cande.

At which he replyed, That he was sorry we were come at such a dry time, wherein they could not catch Deer, but if some Rain fell, he would soon dispatch us with our Ladings of Flesh. But however, he bade us go about the Towns, and see whether there might be an}' or no, tho he thought there was none. This answer of his pleased us

wondrous well, both because by this we saw he suspected us not, and because he told us there was no dryed Flesh to be got. For it was one of our greatest fears that we should get our Lading too^soon: for then, we could not have had an excuse to go further. And as yet we could not possibly fly : having still six miles further to the North-ward to go before we could attempt it, that is, to Anarodg-burro.

From Anarodgburro it is two dayes Journey further thro a desolate Wilderness before there is any more Inhabitants. And these Inhabitants are neither under this King nor the Dutch, but are Malabars, and are under a Prince of their own. This People we were sorely afraid of, lest they might seize us and send us back, there being a correspondence between this Prince and the King of Cande ; wherefore it was our endeavour by all means to shun them; lest according to the old Proverb, We might leap out of the Frying-pan into the Fire.

But we must take care of that as well as we could when we came among them, for as yet our care was to get to Anarodgburro. W'here altho it was our desire to get, yet we would not^eem to be too hasty, lest it might occasion suspition : but lay where we were two or three dayes : and

one stay'd at the Governors House a knitting, whilst the other went about among the Towns to see for Flesh. The Ponds in the Country being now dry, there was Fish every where in abundance, which they dry like red Herrings over a fire. They offered to sell us store of them, but they, we told them, would not turn to so good profit as Flesh. The which, we said, we would have, tho we stayed ten dayes longer for it. For here we could live as cheap, and earn as much as if we were at home, by our knitting. So we seemed to them as if we were not in any hast.

In the mean time happened an Accident which put us to a great fright. For the King having newly clapped up several Persons of Quality, whereof my old Neighbour Ova Motteral, that sent for me to Court, was one, sent down Souldiers to this High Sheriff or Governor, at whose

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Their danger by reaeon of the ways they were to pass ,

They still remain at the Govemours , to prevent suspition ,

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An accident that now created them great f can

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house we now were, to give him order to set a secure

Guard at the Watches, tfiat no suspitious persons^ might pass. This he did to prevent the Relations of these imprisoned persons from making an Escape, who thro fear of the King might attempt it. " This always L the Kings custome to\io. ^ But it put us into an exceeding fear, lest it might beget an admiration in these Soldiers to see W hite men so low down : which indeed is not customary nor allowed of : and so they might send us up again. Which doubtless they would have done, had it not been of God by this means and after this manner to deliver us. Especi- ally considering that the King's Command came just at that time and so expresly to keep a secure Guard at the Watches, and that in that ven Way that alwayes we purposed to go in : so that it seemed scarcely possible for us to pass afterwards, tho we should get off fairly at present with the Soldiers.

But get fa'.' 1-$ Which we did. For they having delivered their Mes-

udeju. sa ge, departed, shewing themselves very kind and civil unto us. And we seemecf to lament for our hard fortune, that we were not ready to go upwards with them in their good company : for we were Neighbours dwelling in one and the same County. However we bid them carry our commendations to our Countrymen the English, with whom they were acquainted at the City, and so had them farewel. And glad we were when they were gone from us. And the next day in the morning we resolved, God willing, to set forward. But we thought not fit to tell our Host, the Governor, of it, till the very instant of our departing, that he might not have any time to deliberate concerning us.

That Night he being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and shew tricks, to come to his house to entertain him with their Sports. The beholding them spent most part of the Night. Which we merrily called our Old Host's Civility to us at our last parting : as it proved indeed, tho he, honest man, then little dreamed of any such thing.

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I he morning netng some, we first took care to fill our Tkygetamy

Bellies ; then we packed up those things which were neces- firlj from tie sarv for our Journey to carry with us)" and the rest of our Gm,nmr - Goods, Cotton Yarn, and Cloth and other things, that we would not incumber our selves withall, we bound up in

a Bundle, intending to leave them behind us. This being done, I went _tn the Governor, and carried him four or five charges of GunpoVder, a thing somewhat scarce with them, intreating him rather than we should be disappointed of Flesh, to make u<e of that and shoot some Deer ; which he was very willing to accept of, and to us it could be no waves profitable, not having a Gun. While we, we told him, would make a step to Anarodghurro to see what Flesh we could procure there. In the mean time, according as [p. 1 59.] we had before layd the business, came Stephen with the Bundle of Goods, desiring to leave them in his house, till we came back. Which he was very ready to grant us leave to do. And seeing us leave such a parcel of Goods, tho,

God knowe\ but of little account in themselves, yet of considerable value in that Laftd, he could not suppose otherwise but that we were intended to return again.

Thus we tool* our leaves, and immediately departed, not giving him time to consider with himself, or consult with others about us. And he like a good natured man bid us heartily farewel.

Altho we knew not the way to this Town, having never been there in all our lives, and durst not ask, lest it might breed suspition ; yet we went on confidently thro a desolate Wood : and happened to go very right, and came out

directly at the place.

But' in our way before we arrived hither, we came up In Mr my with a small River, which ran thro the Woods, called by the Chingulayes Malwat oyah : the which we viewed well, wh(h 1ieJ and judged it might be a probable guide to carry us down found for to the Sea, if a better did not present. Howbeit we Mr purpose. thought good to try first the way we were taking, and to go onward towards Anarodghurro, that being the shortest and easiest way to get to the Coast : and this River being

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They come safely to Ana- rodghmro .

This Place described.

The People stand amazed at them.

They cue
examined by
the Governour
of the Place .

as under our Lee, ready to serve and assist us, it other means failed.

To Anarodgburro therefore we came, culled also Neur Waui». Which is not so much a particular single Town, as a Territory. It is' a vast great Plain, the like 1 never saw in all that Island: in the midst whereof a Lake, which may be a mile over, not natural, hut made by art, as other Ponds in the Country, to serve them to water their Com Grounds. This Plain is encompassed round with Woods, and small Towns among them on every side, inhabited by Malabars, a distinct People from the Chingu-Iayes. But these Towns we could not see till we came in among them. Being come out thro the Woods into this Plain, we stood looking and staring round about us, but knew not where nor which way to go. At length we heard a Cock crow, which was a sure sign to us that there was a Town hard by ; into which w T e were resolved to enter. For standing thus amazed, was the ready way to he taken up for suspitious persons, especially because White men never come down so low.

Being entred into this Town, we sate our selves under a Tree, and proclaimed our Wares, for we feared to rush into their Yards, as we used to do in other places, lest we should scare them. The People stood amazed as soon as they saw us, being originally Malabars, tho >uhjects of Cande. Nor could they understand the Chingulay Lan-guage in which we spake to them. And we stood looking one upon another until there came one that could speak the Chingulay Tongue : Who asked us, from whence we came? We told him, From Conde Uda. But they believed us not, supposing that we came up from the Dutch from Manaar. So they brought us before their Governor. He not speaking Chingulais, spake to us by an Interpreter. And to know the truth, whether we came from the place we pretended, he inquired about News at Court; demanded, Who were Governors of such and such Countrevs? and what was become of some certain Noble-men, whom the King had lately cut off? and also What the common people

were employed about at Court, for it is seldom that they are idle. To all which we gave satisfactory answers. Then he enquired of us. Who gave us leave to come down so low? We told him, That priviledg was given to us by the King himself full Fifteen Years since at his Palace at Nellemby, when he caused it to be declared unto us, that we were no longer prisoners, and (which indeed was our own addition) that we were free to enjoy the benefit of Trade in all his Dominions,

To prove and confirm the truth of which, we alledged. the distance of the Way that we were now come from home, being near an hundred miles, passing thro several Counties, where we met with several Governors and Officers in their respective Jurisdictions; who had they not been well sensible of these Priviledges granted us, would not have allowed us to pass thro their Countries. All which Officers we described to him by name ; and also that now we came from the High Sheriff's House at Colliwilla, where we had been these three dayes, and there heard of the Order that was come to secure the Watches ; which was not for fear of the running away of White men, but of the Chingulayes. These Reasons gave him full satisfaction, that we were innocent Traders, seeing also the Commodities that w r e had brought with us : this further confirmed his opinion concerning us.

The People were very glad of our coming, and gave us an end of an open house to ly in : but at present they had no dryed Flesh, but desired us to stay two or three days and we should not fail: which we were very ready to consent to, hoping by that time to come to the knowledg of the way, and to learn where about the watch was placed. To prevent the least surmise that we were Plotting to run away, we agreed, that Stephen should stay in the house by the things, while I with some few went abroad ; pre-
tending to enquire for dryed Flesh to carry back with us to Cande, but intending to make discoveries of the way, and provide necessaries for our Flight, as Rice, a Brass Pot to boil our Rice in, a little dryed Flesh to eat, and a Deers-

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Provide things
necessary for
their flight.

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They f.nd it
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this way.

[p. 161.]

skin to make us Shooes of. And by the Providence of my gracious God, all these things l happened upon and bought. But as our good hap was, Deers-h iesh we could meet with none. So that we had time enough to tit our selves; all People thinking that we stayed only to lm\ Flesh.

Here we stayed three days ; during which we had found, the great Road that runs down towards Jatnapatan, one of tlie Northern Ports belonging to the Dutch, which Road we judged led also towards Manaar a Dutch Northern Port also, which was the Place that we endeavoured to get to, lying above two or three days Journey distant from us. But in this Road there was a Watch lay, which must he passed. Where this Watch was placed, it was neces'-arj for us punctually to know, and to endear our to get a sight of it. And if we could do this, our intent was to go unseen by Night, the people being then afraid to tnn ayl, and being come up to the Watch, to slip aside into the Woods, and so go on untill we were past it ; and then strike into the Road again. But this Project came to nothing, because I could not without suspition and danger go and \ iew this Watch ; which layd some four or five miles below this Plain ; and so far I could not frame any business to <?o.

But several inconveniences we saw here, insomuch that we found it would not be safe for us to go down in this Road. For if we should have slipt away from them by Night, in the Morning we should be missed, and then most surely they would go that way to chace us, and ten to one overtake us, being but one Night before them. Also we knew not whether or no, it might lead us into the Countrey of the Malabar Prince, of w hom we « ere much afraid.

Then resolving to let the great Road alone, we thought of going right down thro the Woods, and steer our course by the Sun and Moon : but the Ground being so dry we feared we should not meet with Water. So we declined that Counsel also. Thus being in doubt, we prayed God

to direct us, and to put it into our hearts which way to

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take. Then after a Consultation between our selves, all things considered, we concluded it the best course to go back to Malwat oyah, the River we had well viewed that lay in our way as we came hither. And back thither we resolved to repair.

Chap. X.

The Author's Progress in his Flight from Anarodg-burro, into the Woods, unto their arrival in the Malabars Countrey.

Ow God of his Mercy having prospered our Design hitherto, for which we blessed his Holy Name, our next care was how to come off clear from the People of Anarodg-burro, that they might not presently miss us, and so pursue after us. Which if they should do, there would have been no escaping them. For from this»Town to Colliwilla, where the Sheriff lived, with whom we left our Goods, they are as well acquainted in the Woods as in the Paths. And when we came away we must tell the People, that we were going thither, because there is no other way but that. Now our fear was, lest upon some occasion or other any Men might chance to Travel that way soon after we were gone, and not finding us at Colliwilla, might conclude, as they could do no otherwise, that we were run into the Woods. Therefore to avoid this Danger, we stayed in the Town till it was so late, that we knew none durst venture to Travel afterwards for fear of wild Beasts. By which means we were sure to gain a Nights Travel at least, if they should chance to pursue us.

So we took our leaves of the Governor, who kindly gave us a Pot of Milk to drink for a farewel ; we telling him, We were returning back to the Sheriff at Colliwilla, to whom we had given some Gunpowder when we came from him to shoot us some Deer, and we doubted not but by that time we should get to him, he would have provided

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1679.
Resolve to go

back to the
River they
lately passed.

They depat t
back again
tow aids the
River.

But Jit st take
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the Governor
here .

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ibyq.

They begin
their flight,

[p. 162.]

They come to
the River
along zihick
they resolved
to go.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

flesh enough for our lading home. I hus bidding him and the rest of the Neighbours threw el, we departed, they giving us the Civility of their accustomed Prayers, Diabat, that is, God bless, or keep you.

It was now the Twelfth day of October on a Sunday, the Moon eighteen days old.' We were well furnished with all things needful, which we could get, Viz. Ten days Provision, Rice, Flesh, Fish, Pepper, Salt, a Bason to boil our Victuals in, two Calabasses to fetch Water, ttvo great Tallipats for Tents, big enough to sleep under it it should rain, Jaggory and Sweet-meats, which we brought from home with us, Tobacco also and Betel, Finder-Boxes two or three for failing, and a Deers Skin to make us Shooes, to prevent any Thorns running into our feet as we travelled through the Woods ; for our greatest Trust under God was to our feet. Our Weapons were, each man a small Axe fastned to a long Staff in our hands, and a good Knife

by our sides. Which were sufficient with God's help to defend us from the Assaults of either Tiger or Bear ; and as for Elephants there is no standing against them, but the best defence is to flee from them. t

In this Posture and Equipage we marched forward. When we were come within a Mile of this River, it being about Four in the Evening, we began to fear, lest any of the People of Anarodgburro from whence we came, should follow us to Colliwella. Which place we never intended to come at more : the River along which we intended to go, laying on this side of it. That we might be secure therefore that no People came after us, we sat down upon a Rock by a hole that was full of water in the High-way ; until it was so late, that we were sure no People durst Travel. In case any had come after us, and seen us sitting there and gotten no further, we intended to tell them, That one of us was taken Sick by the way, and therefore not able to go. But it was our happy chance there came none. So about Sundown we took up our Sacks of Pro- visions, and marched forward for the River, which under God we had pitched upon to be our guide down to the Sea.

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Being come at the River, we left the Road, and struck Which they into the Woods by the River side. We were exceeding tnve } a / m i careful not to tread on the Sand or soft Ground, lest our u aai footsteps should be seen ; and where it could not be avoided, we went backwards, so that by the print of our feet, it seemed as if we had gone the contrary way. We were now gotten a good way into the Wood; when it grew dark and began to Rain, so that we thought it best to pitch our Tents, and get Wood for Firing before it was all wet, and too dark to find it. Which we did, and kindled a fire.

Then we began to fit our selves for our Journey against Now they fit the Moon arose. All our Sale-wares which we had left themelm fin we cast away, (for we took care not to sell too much) keep- thnr ing only Provisions and what was very necessary for our Journey. About our Feet we tied pieces of Deers-hide to prevent Thorns and Stumps annoying our feet. We always used to Travel bare-foot, but now being to travel by Night and in the Woods, we feared so to do. For if our feet should fail us now, we*were quite undone. And by the time we had well-fitted our selves, and were refreshed

with a Mors$l of Portuguez Sweet-meats, the Moon began to shine. So having commended our selves into the hands of the Almighty, we took up our Provisions upon our shoulders, and set forward, and travelled some three or four hours, but with a great deal of difficulty ; for the Trees being thick, the Moon gave but little light thro, but our resolution was to keep going. Meeting with

Now it was our chance to meet with an Elephant in a ", our way just before us: which we tryed, but could not fir that night. scare away: so he forced us to stay. We kindled a Fire [p. 163.] and sate down, and took a Pipe of Tobacco, waiting till Morning. Then we looked round about us, and it appeared all like a Wilderness, and no sign that People ever had been there ; which put us in great hopes that we had gained our Passage, and were past all the Inhabitants. Whereupon we concluded that we were now in no danger of being seen, and might Travel in the Day securely.

A,D*

l6 79-

They fall in among Towns befit a they an aware.

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There was only one great Road in our way, which led to Portaloon from the Towns which by and by we tell into ; this Road therefore we were shy of, lest when ve passed it over, some Passengers travelling in it, might see us ; and this Road we were in expectance about this time to meet withal, secure, as I said before, of all other danger of People. But the River winding about to the Northward brought us into the midst of" a parcel of Towns called Tissea Wava, before we were aware. For the Countrej being all Woods, we could not discern where there were Towns, until we came within the hearing of them. That which betrayed us into this danger was, that mu-ting with a Path, which only led from one Town to another, we concluded it to be that great Road above mentioned ; and so having past it over, we supposed the Danger we might encounter in being seen, was also past o\ er with it ; but w e were mistaken ; for going further w e still met with other Paths, which we crossed over, still hoping one or other of them was that great Road ; but at last w e perceived our Error ; viz. That they'toere only Paths that went from one Town to another.

And so while w-e were avoiding Men and 'downs, we ran into the midst of them. This was a great trouble to us, hearing the Noise of People round about us, and knew not how- to avoid them ; into whose hands we knew if we had fallen, they would have carried us up to the King, besides Beating and Plundring us to boot.

We knew before that these Towns were here away, bur had we known that this River turned and run in among them, we should never have undertaken the Enterprize. But now to go back, after we had newly passed so many Paths, and Fields and places where People did resort, we thought not advisable, and that the danger in so doing might be greater than in going forward^ And had we knowm so much then, as afterwards did appear to us, it had been safer for us to have gone on, than to have hid there as we did ; which we then thought was the best course we could take for the present extremity: viz. To

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secure our selves in secret until Night, and then to run thro in the dark. All that we now wanted was a hole to creep in to lye close, tor the Woods thereabouts were thin, and no shrubs or bushes, under which we might be con- cealed.

We heard the noise ot People on every side, and expected Their flight evert' moment to see some of them to our great terror.

And it is not easie to say in what Danger, and in what shm eseeu ' apprehension of it we were ; it was not safe for us to stir backwards or forwards for fear of running among People, and it was as unsafe to stand still where we were, lest some body might spy us : and where to find Covert we could not tell. Looking about us in these straits we spyed a Euitkem- great Tree by us, which for the bigness thereof 5 tis probable s f™ s ma might be hollow. To which we went, and found it so. It 10 m ue ' was like a Tub, some three foot high. Into it immediately we both crept, and made a shift to sit there for several [p. 164.] hours, tho very uneasily, and all in mud and wet. But however it did greatly comfort us in the fright and amaze- ment we were in. »

So soon as it began to grow dark, we came creeping out They get of our hollow^Tree, and put for it as fast as our Legs could r

carry us. And then we crossed that great Road, which 1 g all the day before we did expect to come up with, keeping dose by the River side, and going so long till dark Night stopped us. We kept going the longer, because we heard

the Voice of Men hollowing towards Evening: which created us a fresh disturbance, thinking them to be People that were coming to chace us. But at length we heard Elephants behind us, between us and the Voice, which we knew by the noise of cracking the Boughs and small Trees, which they break down and eat. These Elephants were a very good Guard behind us, and were methought like the Darkness that came between Israel and the Egyptians.

For the People we knew would not dare to go forwards hearing Elephants before them. _ _ 7^ dress

In this Security we pitched our Tents by the River side, Meat and lay and boiled Rice and roasted flesh for our Supper, for we dean to deep.

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A.B.

IO79.

They fear wild Men, winch these Woods abound with,

77m meet tilth many of then Tents,

Veiy near falling upon the wild People \

What kind of travelling they had .

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

were very hungry, and so commending our selves to God's keeping laid down to sleep. The \oiee which we heard still continued, which lasting so long we knew what it meant; it was nothing but the hollowing ot People that lay to watch the Corn Fields, to scare away the wild Beasts out of their Corn. Thus we past Monday.

But nevertheless next Morning so soon as the Moors shone out bright, to prevent the worst we took up our Packs, and were gone : being past all the tame Inhabitants with w T hom we had no more trouble. But the next day we feared we should come among the wild ones ; for these Woods are full of them. Of these we were as much afraid as of the other. For they would have carried us back to the King, where we should be kept Prisoners, but these we feared would have shot us, not standing to hear us plead for our selves.

And indeed all along as we went, in the sides of the River till we came to the Malabar Inhabitants, had been the Tents of wild Men, made only of Boughs of Trees. But God be praised, they w#rc all gone, tho but \ en lately - before we came: as we perceived by the Bones of Cattle, and shells of Fruit, which lay scattered about. We sup- posed that want of waiter had driven them out of the Countrey down to the River side, but since it had rained a shower or tw r o they w r ere gone aqain. Once about Noon sitting down upon a Rock by the River side to take a Pipe of Tobacco and rest our selves ; we had almost been discovered by the Women of these wild People, coming down, as I suppose, to wash themselves in the River. Who being many of them, came talking and laughing together. At the first hearing of the noise bcincr a'qood distance, w f e marvailed what it was: sitting still and listning, it came nearer a little above where we sat; and at last we could plainly distinguish it to be the Voices of Women and Children. Whereupon w r e thought it no boot to sit longer, since we could escape undiscovered, and so took up our Bags and fled as fast as we could.

Thus w r e kept travelling every day from Morning till
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t . ^679.

Night, >til! along bv the River side, which turned and winded very crooked. In some places it would be pretty [p , 165.] good ’1 ravelling, and but few Bushes and Thorns, and in others a great many. So that our Shoulders and Arms were all or a (.tore, being grievously torn and scratched.

For we had nothing on us but a clout about our Middles, and our \ ictuaK on our Shoulders, and in our hands a i'nlhpat and an Ax.

Ihe lower we came down this River, the less Water, Some account so that sometimes we could go a Mile or two upon the of this four. Sand, and in some places three or four Rivers would all meet together. When it happened so, and was Noon, the

Sun over our head, and the Water not running, we could not tell which to follow, but were forced to stay till the Sun was fallen, thereby to judge of our course. We often met with Bears, Hogs, Deer, and wild Buffaloes, but all ran so soon as they saw us. But Elephants we met with no more than that 1 mentioned before. The River is exceeding full of Ahgators all a long as we went ; the upper part of it nothing but Rocks. U ere and there by the side of this River is a world of hewn Stone Pillars, standing Ruins. upright, and other heaps of hewn Stones, which I suppose formerly were 'Buildings. And in three or four places are the ruins of Bridges built of Stone ; some Remains of them yet standing upon Stone Pillars. In many places are Points built out into the River like Wharfs, all of hewn Stone ; which I suppose have been built for Kings to sit upon for Pleasure. For I cannot think they ever were employed for Traffick by Water; the River being so foil of Rock'- that Boats could never come up into it.

The Woods in all these Northern Parts are short and The Woods shrubbed, and so they are by the River side, and the lower hereabouts. the worse ; and the Grounds so also.

In the Evenings we used to pitch our Tent, and make Hon they a great Fire both before and behind us, that the wild Beasts might have notice where we lay ; and we used to hear the Voices of all sorts of them, but, thanks be to God, none Beasts. ever came near to hurt us. Yet we were the more wary

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A.D.

1679.

They pass the River that divides the Kinds Coun- trey from the Malabar s .

[P . . 66 .]

After four or Jive dap travel they come among Inhabitants,

of them, because once a Tiger shewed us a cheat, hor having bought a Deer, and having nothing to salt it up in, we packed it up in the Hide thereof salted, and laid it under a Bench in an open House, on which 1 lay that Night, and Stephen layd just by it on the Ground, and some three People more lay then in the same I louse ; and in the said House a great Fire, and another in the Yard. Yet a Tiger came in the Night, and carried Deer and Hide and all away. But we missing it, concluded it was a Thief . We called up the People that lay by us, and told them what had happened. Who informed us that it was a Tiger, and with a Torch they went to see which way he had gone, and presently found some of it, which he let drop by the way. When it was day we went further, and piekt up more which was scattered, till we came to the 1 lide it self, which remained uneaten.

W T e had now Travelled till Thursday Afternoon, when we crossed the River called Coronda oyah, which was then quite dry ; this parts the King's Countrey from the Malu- bars. We saw no sign of«Inhabitants here. The Woods began to be very full of Thorns, and shrubby Bushes with Clifts and broken Land ; so that we could not possibly go in the Woods ; but now' the River grew better being clear of Rocks, and dry, water only standing in holes. So we marched along in the River upon the Sand. Hereabouts are far more Elephants than higher up : by i)ay we saw none, but by Night the River is full of them.

Friday about Nine or Ten in the Morning we came among the Inhabitants. For then we saw the footing of People on the Sand, and tame Cattel with Bells about their Necks. Yet w r e kept on our way right down the River, knowing no other course to take to shun the People. And as we went still forwards we saw Coracan Corn, sowed in the Woods, but neither Towns nor People : nor so much as the Voice of Man. But yet we were somewhat dis- mayed, knowing that we were now in a Countrey inhabited by Malabars. The Wanniounay or Prince of this People for fear pay Tribute to the Dutch, but stands far more

affected towards the King of Cande. ^ Which made our Butdozekat cure the greater to keep our selves out of his hands ; fearing % cm lest if he did nut keep us himself, he might send us up miitkn - to our old Master. >o that great was our terror again, lest meeting v. ith People we might be discovered. Yet

there was no means now left us how to avoid the Danger
of being ■>een. > "1 he Woods were so bad, that we could
not possibly Tru\ el in them for Thorns : and to Travel
by Night _yu> impossible, it being a dark Moon, and the
River a Nights so full of Elephants and other wild Beasts
coming to drink ; as we did both hear and see laying upon
the Bank- w ith a Eire by us. They came in such Numbers
because there was \\ ater tor them no where else to be had,
the PomJs and holes ot Water, nay the River it self in
many places being dry.

1'here was therefore no other way to be taken but to As yet
Travel on in the River. So down we went into the Sand, w&werei.
and put on as last as we could set our Legs to the ground,
seeing no People (nor I think no body us) only Buffaloes
in abundance in the Water. *

Chap. XI.

Being in the Malabar Territories, how they en-
countred two Men, and what passed between
them. And of their getting safe unto the
Dutch Fort. And their Reception there, and
at the Island Mannar, until their Embarking
for Columho.

II us we went on till about three of the They met
Clock afternoon. At which time coming
about a Point, we came up with two TowImt ^y
Bramins on a sudden, who were sitting relate Mr
under a Tree boyling Rice. We were Condition.
within forty paces of them ; when they
saw us they were amazed at us, and as
much afraid of us as we were of them. Now we thought
it better Policy to treat with them than to flee from them ;

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A.-U.

i6?9.

[p. 167.]

They are
courteous to
them ,

But hath to
conduct them

to the
Hollands.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

fearing they might have Bows and Arrows, whereas we were armed only with Axes in our hands, and Knives by our sides; or else that they might raise the Countrey and pursue us. So we made a stand, and in the Chingulay Language asked their lea\e to come near to treat with them, but they did not understand it. But being risen up spake to us in the Malabar Tongue, which we could not understand. Then still standing at a distance we intimated our minds to them by signs, beckoning with our hand : which they answered in the same Language. 'I hen offering to go towards them, and seeing them to be naked men and no Arms near them, we laid our Axes upon the ground with our Bags, lest we might scare them, if we had come up to them with those weapons in our hands, and so went towards them with only our Knives by our sides : by signs with our hands shewing them our bloody Backs we made them understand whence we came, and whither we were going. Which when they perceived they seemed to commiserate our condition, and greatly to admire at such a Miracle which God had brought to pass : and as they talked one to another they lifted up their hands and faces towards Heaven, often repeating Tombrane which is God in the Malabar Tongue.

And by their signs we understood they would have us bring our Bags and Axes nearer ; which we had no sooner done, but they brought the Rice and Herbs which they had boiled for themselves to us, and bad us eat ; which we were not fitted to do, having not long before eaten a hearty Dinner of better fare ; yet could not but thankfully accept of their compassion and kindness, and eat as much as wc could ; and in requital of their courtesie, we gave them some of our Tobacco. Which after much entreating they did receive, and it pleased them exceedingly.

After these civilities passed on either side, we began by signs to desire them to go with us and shew us the way to the Dutch Fort : which they were very unwilling to do, saying, as by signs and some few words which we could understand, that our greatest danger was past, and that by

26s"

OF THE A ('THOR'S ESCAPE

Night we might get int.i the Hollanders Dominions. Yet we being weary with our tedious journey, and desirous to have a guide, 'hewed them Money to the value of five

Shilling's be-in- all I had ; and offered it them to go with us. Which together with our great importunity so pre- vailed, that one of them took it; and leaving his fellow to carry their Baggage he went with us about one Mile, and then began to take his leave of us, and to return. Which we Hippu-ed was to get more from us. Having therefore no more Money, we gave him a red Tunis Cap and a Knife, for which he went a Mile farther, and then as before would leave us signifying to us, that we were out of danger, and he could go no further.

Now we had no more left to give him, but began to perceive, that what we had parted withall to him, was but flung away ; and altho we might have taken all from him again being alone in the Wood, yet we feared to do it, lest thereby we might exasperate him, and so he might give notice of u> to the People* but bad him farewel, after he had conducted us about four or five Miles. And we kept on our journey down the River as before, until it was Night, and lodged upon a Bank under a Tree: but were in the way of the Elephants; for in the Night they came and had like to have disturbed us, so that for our preser- vation we were forced to fling Fire brands at them to scare them away.

The next Morning being Saturday as soon as it was light, hav ing eaten to strengthen us, as Horses do Oats before they Travail, we set forth going still down the River; the Sand was dry and loose, and so very tedious to go upon : hv the side we could not go, being all over- grown w ith Bushes. The Land hereabouts was as smooth as a bowling-green, but the Grass clean burnt up for want of Rain.

Having Trav ailed about two hours, we saw a Man walk- ing in the River before us, whom we would gladly have shunned, but well could not, for he walked down the River as we did, but at a very slow rate, which much hindred us.

26 i)

A.D.

1679.

In danger of
Elephants,

Ip* i68 *1

They overtake
another man ,
who tells them

they were in
the Dutch
Dominions ,

A.D.

I(>79.

They An he
at Ai r efa
Fcrt .

But we considering upon the distance vve had mine, mikc
we left the Bramin, and comparing it with what he told us,
we concluded we were in the I lollnnders jurisdiction : and
so amended our pace to overtake the Man before us.
Whom we perceiving to be free from tintcrouMiess at the
sight of us, concluded he had used to see \\ hitc-men.
Whereupon we asked him, to whom he belonged. He
speaking the Chingulay Language answered, To the Dutch;
and also that all the Country was under their Command,
and that we were out of all danger, and that the Fort of
Arrepa was but some sis miles oft, \\ hich did not ,1 little
rejovee us, we told him, we were of that Nation, and had
made our escape from Cande, where we had been mans
years kept in Captivity ; and having nothing to give him
our selves, we told him, that it was not to he doubted, but
the Chief Commander at the Fort would bountifully reward
him, if he would go with us and direct thither. But
whether he doubted of that or no, or whether he expected,
something in hand, he exeysed himself pretending earnest
and urgent occasions that he could not defer : but advised
us to leave the River, because it winds so much about,
and turn up without fear to the Towns, wh?re the People
would direct us the way to the Fort.

Upon his advice we struck up a Path that came down
to the River, intending to go to a Town, but could find
none ; and there were so many cross Paths that we could
not tell which way to go : and the Land here so exceedingly
low and level, that we could see no other thing but Trees.
For altho I got up a Tree to look if I could see the Dutch
Fort, or discern any Houses, yet I could not ; and the Sun
being right over our heads neither could that direct us :
insomuch that we wished our selves again in our old friend,
the River. So after so much wandring up and down we
sat down under a Tree waiting until the Sun was fallen,
or some People came by. Which not long after three or
four Malabars did. One of w r hich could speak a little
Portugueze. We told these Men, we were Hollanders,

supposing they would be the more willing to go with us,

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OF THE AUTHOR'S ESCAPE

, . , . 1679.

out they proves! ot the same temper with the rest before

mentioned, 1 or until I pave one of them a small Knife
to cut Betel -nuts he would not go with us: but for the
lucre of that he o'm'.uited us to a Town, From whence
they sent a Man with u> to the next, and so we were
passed from 1 own to Town, until we arrived at the Fort
called Arrcpu : it being about four of the Clock on Saturday
aftenu ion . October the eighteenth MDCLXXIX. Which
day Gob. grant u< grace that we may never forget, when
he was pluwd to gi\e us so great a deliverance from such
a long Captivity , of nineteen years, and six Months, and
odd bat n being taken Prisoner when I was nineteen years
old, and continued upon the Mountains among the
Heathen till I attained to Eight and Thirty.

In this my Flight thro the Woods, I cannot but take He Travailed
notice with some wonder and great thankfulness, that this a Mghisin
fratellma in Night in a desolate Wilderness was little or
nothing dreadful to me, whereas formerly the very thoughts
of it would seem to dread me t and in the Night when I secutely.
laid down to rest with wild Beasts round me, I slept as [p- i6 9']
soundly and securely, as ever I did at home in my own
House. Which courage and peace I look upon to be the
immediate gift of God to me upon my earnest Prayers,
which at that time he poured into my heart in great measure
and fervency. After which I found my self freed from
those frights and fears, which usually possessed my heart
at other times.

In short, I look upon the whole Business as a miraculous
Prm idence, ami that the hand of God did eminently appear
to me, as it did of old to his People Israel in the like
circutt'.-twRCes, in leading and conducting me thro this
dreadful Wilderness, atkfnot to suffer any evil to approach
nigh unto me.

' The Hollanders much wondered at our Arrival, it being Mertami
so strange that any should escape from Cande ; and enter-
rained us very kindly that Night: and the next Morning
beincr Sunday, sent a Corporal with us to Manaar, and a

Black Man to carry our few things.

A.D.

i679-
S«r/ O
Mana&r,
Ranted by
the Captain of
the Castle .

$%■ intended
them to Sail
the next day
to JcfuipaLn.

Here they
meet zdth a
Scotch and
lush man.

The People
Jock to w
them.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

At Manaar we wete brought before the kapunpof the Castle, the Cheif Go\ ernor being* absent. Wjiu when we came in was just risen from Dinner; he reached us with a great deal of kindness and bad us set down to eat. li seemed not a tittle strange to us, who had owe It so tong in Straw Cottages among the Black Heat hem uni Used to sk on the Ground and eat our Meat on Len\e\ now to sit on Chairs and eat out of China Dishes at a Table. Where were great Varieties, and a fair ami sumptuous House inhabited by White and Christian People ; we being then in such Habit and Guize, our Natural colour excepted, that we seemed not fit to eat with his >erunts no nor his Slaves.

After Dinner the Captain inquired concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey, and the condition of their Ambassadors and People there. To all which we ga\ e them true and satisfactory Answers. Then he told u\ That to Morrow* there was a Sloop to sail to Jafnapatan, in which he would send us Jo the Commander or (hnernnr, from whence we might have passage to Fort St. George, or any other place on that Coast, according to our desire. After this, he gave us some Money, bidding us gu to the Castle, to drink and be merry with our Country-men there. For all which kindness giving him many thanks in the Portugueze Language, we took our leaves of him.

When we came to the Court of Guard at the Castle, we asked the Soldiers if there were no English men among them. Immediatly there came forth two men to us, the one a Scotchman named Andrew Brown; the other an Irishman whose name w r as Francis Hodges, Who after very kind salutes carried us unto their Lodgings in the Castle, and entertained us \ cry nobly, according to their Ability, with Rack and Tobacco.

The News of our Arrival being spread in the Town, the People came flocking to see us, a strange and wonderful sight! and some to enquire about their Husbands Sons, and Relations, which w r ere Prisoners in Candc.

In the Evening a Gentleman of the Town sent to invite
– 7 2

us to his House, where we were gallantly entertained both with Victuals and Lodging.

The next day being Munday, ready to Embark for Jafnapatan, came Order from the Captain and Council, that we must stay until the Commander of Jafnapatan, who was daily expected, came thither. Which we could not deny to do : and order was given to the Victualers of the Soldiers, to provide for us. The Scotch and Irish man were very glad of this Order, that they might have our company longer ; and would not suffer us to spend the Captains benevolence in their company, but spent freely upon us at their own charges. Thanks be to God we both continued in health all the time of our Escape : but within three days after we came to Manaar, my Companion fell very Sick, that I thought I should have lost him.

Thus we remained some ten days ; at which time the expected Commander arrived, and was received with great ceremonies of State. The next day we went before him to receive his orders concerning us. Which were, to be ready to go with him on the niorrow to Columbo, there being a Ship that had long waited in that Road to carry him. In which we embarked with him for Columbo. At our coming on board to go to Sea, we could not expect but to be Sea-sick, being now as Fresh men, having so long disused the Sea, but it proved otherwise, and we were not in the least stirred.

[Chap. XII.
s

A,D,

1679.

[p. I 70 .J
They are
ordered a
longer stay.

They embark
for Columbo .

K.C.

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a.d. HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

1679.

They are
wondied at
at Columbo

Ordered to
appear
before the
Goveinotp.

[P . 1 71.]
Treated by
English the'e.

Chap. XII.

Their Arrival at Columbo, and entertainment there. Their departure thence to Batavia. And from thence to Bantam : Whence they set Sail for England.

arrived safely at Columbo, before the
came to an Anchor, there came a
re on board to carry the Commander
re. But being late in the evening,
my Consort sick of an Ague and
Dr, we thought it better for us to stay
l Morning, to have a day before us.

The next morning we bid the Skipper farewel, and went ashore in the first Boat, going strait to the Court of Guard : where all the Soldiers came staring upon us, wondring to see White-men in Chingulay Habit. We asked them if there were no English-men among them ; they told us, There were none, but that in the City there were several. A Trumpetter being hard by, who had formerly sailed in English Ships, hearing of us came and invited us to his Chamber, and entertained my Consort being sick of his Ague, in his own Bed.

This strange news of our arrival from Cande, was presently spread all about the City, and all the English men that were there immediatly come to bid us welcome out of our long Captivity. With whom we consulted how to come to speech of the Governour. Upon which one of them went and acquainted the Captain of the Guard of our being on shore. Which the Captain understanding went and informed the Governour thereof. Who sent us answer that to morrow we should come before him.

After my Consort's Fit was over, our Countreymen and their Friends invited us abroad, to walk and see the City. We being barefoot and in the Chingulay Habit, with great long Beards, the People much wondred at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were ; so that we had a

great Train of People about us as we walked in the Streets, After we had walked to and fro, and had seen the City, they carried us to their Land-Ladies House, where we were kindly treated both with Victuals and Drink ; and returned to the Trumpetter's Chamber, as he had desired us, when we went out. In the Evening came a Boy from the Governor's House to tell us, that the Governor invited us to come to Supper at his House. But we having Dined late with our Countreymen and their Friends, had no room to receive the Governor's Kindness : and so Lodged that Night at the Trumpetters.

The next Morning the Governor, whose Name was Ricklof Van Gons, Son of Ricklof Van Gons General of Batavia, sent for us to his House. Whom we found standing in a large and stately Room, paved with black and white Stones ; and only the Commander, who brought us from Manaar, standing by him : who was to succeed him in the Government of that place. On the further side of the Room stood three of the chief Captains bare-headed. First, He bid us Relcom out of our long Captivity, and told us, That we were free men, and that

he should have been glad if he could have been an Instrument to redeem us sooner, having endeavoured as much for us as for his own People. For all which we thanked him heartily, telling him, We knew it to be true.

The Governor perceiving I could speak the Portugueze Tongue, began to inquire concerning the Affairs of the King and Countrey very particularly, and oftentimes asked about such Matters as he himself knew better than I. To all his Questions my too much Experience inabled me to give a satisfactory Reply. Some of the most remarkable matters he demanded of me were these.

First, They inquired much about the reason and intent of our coming to Cuttiar. To which I answered them at large. Then they asked, If the King of Cande had any Issue ? I told them, As report went, he had none. And, Who were the greatest in the Realm next to him? I answered, There were none of Renown left, the King had

A.D.

1679.

They come into the Governor's presence. Hts state

Matters the Governor enquired of

destroyed them all. How the hearts of the People stood affected? I answered, Much against their King* He being so cruel. If we had never been brought into his presence ? I told them, No, nor had ever had a near sight of him. What strength he had for War. I answered, Not well able to assault them, by reason the hearts of his People were not true to him. But that the strength of his Countrey consisted in Mountains and Woods, as much as in the People.

What Army he could raise upon occasion ? I answered, I knew not well, but as I thought about Thirty Thousand men.

Why he would not make Peace with them, they so much sueing for it, and sending Presents to please him? I answered, I was not one of his Council, and knew not his meaning.

But they demanded of me, What I thought might be the reason or occasion of it ? I answered, Living securely in the Mountains he feareth none ; and for Traffick he regardeth it not. *

[p. 172.] Which way was best and most secure to send Spyes or Intelligence to Cande ? I told them, By the way that goeth to Jafniputtan, and by some of that Countrey People, who have great correspondence with the People of Neure-caulava, one of the King's Countries.

What I thought would become of that Land after this King's Decease ? I told them, I thought, He having no Issue, it might fall into their hands.

How many English men had served the King, and what became of them ? which I gave them an account of.

Whether I had any Acquaintance or Discourse with the great Men at Court ? I answered, That I was too small to have any Friendship or Intimacy, or hold Discourse with them.

How the common People used to talk concerning them ?

I answered, They used much to commend their Justice and good Government in the Territories, and over the People belonging unto them.

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OP THE AUTHOR'S ENTERTAINMENT

Whether the King did take Counsel of any, or rule and act only by his own will and pleasure? I answered, I was a Stranger at Court, and how could I know that ?

But, they asked further, What was my Opinion? I replied, He is so great, that there is none great enough to give him counsel.

Concerning the French, If the King knew not of their coming before they came? I answered, I thought, not, because their coming seemed strange and wonderful unto

the People.

How they had proceeded in treating with the King ? I answered, as shall be related hereafter ; when I come to speak of the French detained in this Land.

If I knew any way or means to be used whereby the Prisoners in Cande might be set free ? I told them, Means I knew none, unless they could do it by W T ar.

Also they enquired about the manner of Executing those whom the King commands to be put to Death. They enquired also very curiously concerning the manner of our Surprizal, and Entertainment or Usage among them. And in what parts of the Land we had our Residence. And particularly, concerning my self : in what Parts of the Land, and how long in each I had dwelt, and after what manner I lived there, and of my Age ; and in what Part or Place when God sends me home, I should take up my abode. To all which I gave answers.

They desired to know also, how many English men there were yet remaining behind. I gave them an account of Sixteen Men, and also of Eighteen Children born there. They much enquired concerning their Embassadors de-tained there, and of their behaviour and manner of living ; also what the King allowed them for Maintenance ; and concerning several Officers of Quality Prisoners there, and in general about all the rest of their Nation. And what Countenance the King shewed to those Dutch men that came running away to him? I answered, The Dutch Runnawayes the King looks upon as Rogues. And con-cerning the Portugueze they enquired also. I told them,

A,D.

1679.

[P- >73-]

The Governor desires him to go to Batavia .

Cloths them .

Sends them Money,

And a

Chlrurgeon .

jTi* Author
writes a Letter
to the English
at Cande.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

The Portugueze were about some fifty or threescore persons, and six or seven of those, Europe men born.

They asked me moreover, How we had made our Escape, and which way, and by what Towns we passed, and how long we were in our Journey? To all which I answered at large.

Then the Governor asked me, What was my intent and desire? I told him, To have Passage to our own Nation at Fort S. GEORGE. To which he answered, That suddenly there would be no convenient opportunity. But his desire was that we would go with him to Batavia, where the General his Father would be very glad to see us. Which was not in our power to deny. Then he commanded to call a Dutch Captain, who was over the Countreys adjacent, subject to their jurisdiction. To him he gave Order to take us home to his House, and there well to entertain us, and also to send for a Tailor to make us Cloths. Upon which I told him, his Kindness shewn us already was more than vje could have desired ; it would be a sufficient favour now to supply us with a little Money upon a Bill to be paid at Fort S. George, that we might therewith Cloth our selves. To which he answered, That he would not deny me any Sum I should demand, and Cloth us upon his own account besides. For which we humbly thanked his Lordship : and so took our leaves of him ; and went home with the aforesaid Captain.

The Governor presently sent me Money by his Steward for Expences when we walked abroad in the City. We were nobly entertained without lack of any thing all the time we stayed at Columbo. My Consort’s Ague increased, and grew very bad ; but the chief Chirurgeon by order daily came to see him, and gave him such Potions of Physick, that by God’s Blessing he soon after recovered.

During my being here, I writ a Letter to my fellow Prisoners I left behind me in Cande. Wherein I described at large the way we went, so that they might plainly understand the same. Which I finding to be safe and secure, advised them, when God permitted, to steer the same

course. This Letter I left with the new Governor and desired him when opportunity presented, to send it to them. Who said he would have it Copied out into Dutch for the benefit of their Prisoners there, and promised to send both together.

The Governor seemed to be pleased with my aforesaid Relations, and Replies to his Demands, insomuch that he afterwards appointed one that well understood Portugueze to write down all the former particulars. Which being done, for further satisfaction they brought me Pen and Paper, desiring me to write the same that I had related to them in English, and sign it with my hand, which I was not unwilling to do.

Upon the Governor’s departure there were great and royal Feasts made. To which he always sent for me. Here were exceeding great Varieties of Food, Wine, and sweet Meats, and Musick. Some two and twenty days after our Arrival at Columbo, the Governor went on board ship to sail to Batavia, and took us with him. At which time there were many Scores of Ordnance fired. We Sailed all the way with Flag and Penant under it, being out both Day and Night, in a Ship of about Eight hundred Tuns Burthen ; and a Soldier standing armed Sentinel at the Cabin door both Night and Day. He so far favoured me, that I was in his own Mess, and eat at his Table. Where every Meal we had Ten or Twelve Dishes of Meat with variety of Wine. We set Sail from Columbo the Four and twentieth of November, and the Fifth of January anchored in Batavia Road.

As we came to greater Men so we found greater Kind-ness ; for the General of Batavia’s Reception of us, and favours to us exceeded (if possible) those of the Governor his Son. As soon as we came before him, seeming to be very glad, he took me by the hand and bad us heartily welcom, thanking God on our behalf that had appeared so miraculously in our deliverance ; telling us withal, That he had omitted no means for our Redemption, and that if it had layd in his Power, we should long before have

A.D.

1679.

The forme ?
Demands and
Answers
penned dozen
in Portugueze

by the
Governor's
aider.

They Embaik
for Batavia.

[P . 174.]

His friendly
Reception at
Batavia with
the Governor .

A.D.

1679.

Furnishes
them with
the Cloths
and Money,

Offer him
passage in
their Ships .

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

had our Liberty. I humbly thanked his Excellency, and said, That I knew it to be true; and that tho it missed of an effect, yet his good will was not the less, neither were our Obligations, being ever bound to thank and pray for him.

Then his own Tailor was ordered to take measure of us, and furnish us with two Sutes of Apparel. He gave us also Moneys for Tobacco and Betel, and to spend in the City. All the time we stayed there, our Quarters were in the Captain of the Castle’s House. And oftentimes the General would send for me to his own Table, at which sat only himself and Lady ; who was all bespangled with Diamonds and Pearls. Sometimes his Sons and Daughters-in-Law, with some other Strangers did eat with him ; the Trumpet sounding all the while. We finding our selves thus kindly entertained, and our Habits changed, saw, that we were no more Captives in Cande, nor yet Prisoners elsewhere ; therefore cut off our Beards which we had brought with us out of our Captivity ; for until then we cut them not ; God having rolled away the reproach of

Cande from us.

Here also they did examine me again concerning the passages of Cande, causing all to be writ down which I said, and requiring my hand to the same. Which 1 refused, as I had done before, and upon the same account, because I understood not the Dutch Language. Where-upon they persuaded me to write a Certificate upon another Paper under my Hand, that what I had informed them of, was true. Which I did. This Examination was taken by two Secretaries, who were appointed to demand Answers of me concerning the King of Ceilon and his Countrey : which they committed to Writing from my mouth.

The General's youngest Son being to go home Admiral of the Ships this year, the General kindly offered us passage upon their Ships, promising me Entertainment at his Son's own Table, as the Governor of Columbo had given me in my Voyage hither. Which offer he made me, he said, That I might better satisfie their Company in Holland

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concerning the Affairs of Ceilon, which they would be very glad to know.

At this time came two English Merchants hither from Bantam, with whom the General was pleased to permit us to go. But when we came to Bantam, the English Agent very kindly entertained us, and being not willing, that we should go to the Dutch for Passage, since God had brought us to our own Nation, ordered our Passage in the good Ship Caesar lying then in the Road, bound for England, the Land of our Nativity, and our long wished for Port. Where by the good Providence of God we arrived safe in the Month of September.

Chap. XIII.

Concerning some other Nations, and chiefly Euro-peans, that now live in this Island. Portugueze, Dutch.

Aving said all this concerning the English People, it may*not be unacceptable to give some account of other Whites, who either voluntarily or by constraint Inhabit there. And they are, besides the English already spoken of, Portugueze, Dutch, and French. But before I enter upon Dis-course of any of these, I shall detain my Readers a little with another Nation inhabiting in this Land, I mean, the

Malabars; both because they are Strangers and derive themselves from another Countrey, and also because I have had occasion to mention them sometimes in this Book.

These Malabars then are voluntary Inhabitants in this Island, and have a Countrey here ; tho the Limits of it are but small : it lyes to the Northward of the King’s Coasts betwixt him and the Hollander. Corunda Wy River parts it from the King’s Territories. Thro this Countrey we passed, when we made our Escape. The Language they speak is peculiar to themselves, so that a Chingulays cannot understand them, nor they a Chingulays.

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Come home from Bantam in the Ctfsar.

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Concerning Malabars that inhabit in this Island.

Their

Territories.

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Their Prince .

The People how governed*

Their

Commodities and Trade.

Concerning

the

Portugueze.
[p. 176.]
Their Power
and Interest
in this Island
formerly.

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They have a Prince over them, called Coilat wannea, that is independent either upon the King of Cande on one hand, or the Dutch on the other, only that he pays an acknowledgment to the Hollanders. Who have endeavoured to subdue him by Wars, but they cannot yet do it : yet they have brought him to be a Tributary to them, viz. To pay a certain rate of Elephants per annum. The King and this Prince maintain a Friendship and Correspondence together. And when the King lately sent an Army against the Hollanders, this Prince let them pass thro his Countrey ; and went himself in Person to direct the King's People, when they took one or two Forts from them.

The People are in great subjection under him: they pay him rather greater Taxes than the Chingulays do to their King, But he is nothing so cruel. He Victualleth his Soldiers during the time they are upon the Guard, either about the Palace or abroad in the Wars : they are now fed at his Charge : whereas 5 tis contrary in the King's Countrey; for the Chingmlay Soldiers bear their own Expences. He hath a certain rate out of every Land that is sown, which is to maintain his Charge.

The Commodities of this Countrey are, Elephants, Hony, Butter, Milk, Wax, Cows, wild Cattel : of the three last great abundance. As for Corn it is more scarce than in the Chingulays Countrey ; neither have they any Cotton. But they come up into Neure Caulava yearly with great droves of Cattel, and lade both Corn and Cotton. And to buy these they bring up Cloth made of the same Cotton, which they can make better than the Chingulays : also they bring Salt and Salt Fish, and brass Basons, and other Commodities, which they get of the Hollander : because the King permits not his People to have any manner of Trade with the Hollander: so they receive the Dutch Commodities at the second hand.

We now proceed unto the European Nations. And we begin with the Portugueze, who deserve the first place, being the oldest Standers there.

The Sea-Coasts round about the Island were formerly
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under their Power and Government, and so held for many years. In which time many of the Natives became Christians, and learned the Portugueze Tongue. Which to this day is much spoken in that Land: for even the King himself understands and speaks it excellently well.

The Portugueze have often made Invasions throughout the whole Land, even to Cande the Metropolis of the Island. Which they have burnt more than once, with the Palace and the Temples : and so formidable have they been, that the King hath been forced to turn Tributary to them, paying them three Elephants per Annum. However the middle of this Island, viz. Cond' Uda, standing upon Mountains, and so strongly fortified by Nature, could never be brought into subjection by them, much less by any other, but hath always been under the Power of their own Kings.

There were great and long Wars between the King of The great
Ceilon and the Portugueze: and many of the brave
Portugal Generals are still in memory among them: of thtm,peT'
whom I shall relate some passages presently. Great vexa- him to send k
tion they gave the King by their irruptions into his fir the
Dominions, and great Mischiefs they did him, tho often- Hollmdtrs.
times with great loss on their side. Great Battels have been lost and won between them, with great destruction of Men on both parts. But being greatly distressed at last, he sent and called in the Hollander to his aid. By whose season- able assistance together with his own Arms, the King totally dispossessed the Portugueze, and routed them out of the Land. Whose rooms the Dutch now occupy, paying themselves for their pains.

At the Surrender of Columbo, which was the last place The King
the Portugueze held, the King made Proclamation, That tnmte> t!ie
all Portugueze, which would come unto him, should be *

well entertained. Which accordingly many did, with their Country.
whole Families, Wives, Children, and Servants, choosing rather to be under him than the Dutch, and divers of them are alive to this day, living in Conde Uda; and others are born there. To all whom he alloweth monthly main- Their tenance; yea also, and Provisions for their Slaves and Privileges.

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Their

Generali,

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Constantine

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Servants, which they brought up with them. This People are privileged to Travel the Countreys above all other Whites, as knowing they will not run away. Also when there was a Trade at the Sea Ports, they were permitted to go down with Commodities, clear from all Customs and Duties. Besides these who came voluntarily to live under the King, there are others whom he took Prisoners. The Portugueze of the best Quality the King took into his Service, who are most of them since cut off according to his kind Custom towards his Courtiers. The rest of them have allowance from that King, and follow Husbandry, Trading about the Countrey, Stilling Rack, keeping Taverns; the Women sew Womens Wastcoats, the Men sew Mens Doublets for Sale.

I shall now mention some of the last Portugueze Generals, all within this present King's Reign, with some passages concerning them.

Constantine Sa, General of the Portugals Army in Ceilon, when the Portugueze had footing in this Land, was very successful against this present King. He run quite thro the Island unto the Royal City it self, which he set on Fire with the Temples therein. Insomuch that the King sent a Message to him signifying, that he was willing to become his Tributary. But he proudly sent him word back again, That that would not serve his turn ; He should not only be Tributary, but Slave to his Master the King of Portugal. This the King of Cande could not brook, being of an high Stomach, and said, He would fight to the last drop of Blood, rather than stoop to that. There were at this time many Commanders in the Generals Army who were natural Chingulays ; with these the King dealt secretly, assuring them that if they would turn on his side, he would gratifie them with very ample Rewards. The King's Promises took effect ; and they all revolted from the General. The King now daring not to trust the Revolted, to make tryal of their Truth and Fidelity, put

them in the forefront of his Battel, and commanded them to give the first Onset. The King at that time might have

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OF THE PORTUGUESE IN CEYLON

Twenty or Thirty thousand Men in the Field. Who taking their opportunity 5 set upon the Portugueze Army, and gave them such a total overthrow, that as they report in that Countrey not one of them escaped. The General seeing this Defeat, and himself like to be taken, called his Black Boy to give him water to drink, and snatching the Knife that stuck by his Boy's side, stabbed himself with it.

Another General after him was Lewis Tissera. He swore he would make the King eat Coracan Tallipa, that is a kind of hasty Pudding, made of Water and the Coracan Flower ; which is reckoned the worst fare of that Island. The King afterwards took this Lewis Tissera, and put him in Chains in the Common Goal, and made him eat of the same fare. And there is a Ballad of this Man and this passage, Sung much among the common People there to this day.

Their next General was Simon Caree, a Natural Chingu- lays, but Baptized, He is said to be a great Commander, When he had got any Victory over the Chingulays, he did exercise great Cruelty. H^ would make the Women beat their own Children in their Mortars, wherein they used to beat thfiv Corn.

Gaspar Figari, had a Portugueze Father and Chingulays Mother. He was the last General they had in this Countrey. And a brave Soldier: but degenerated not from his Predecessors in Cruelty. He would hang up the People by the heels, and split them down the middle. He had his Axe wrapped in a white Cloth, which he carried with him into the Field to execute those he suspected to be false to him, or that ran away. Smaller Malefactors he was merciful to, cutting off only their right hands. Several whom he hath so served, are yet living, whom I have seen.

This Gaspar came up one day to fight against the King, and the King resolved to fight him. The General fixed his Camp at Motaupul in Hotteracourly. And in order to the King's coming down to meet the Portugueze, Preparation was made for him at a place called Cota coppul, which might be Ten or Twelve miles distant from the

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He loses a
Victory and
stabs himself.

Lewis Ttsseia
served as he
intended to
serve the
King.

Simon Caree ,
of a cruel
Mind.

Gaspar Figari
Splits Men in
the middle,

His Policy .

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Gives the
King a great
overthrozv.

Looses
Columhoj
and taken
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Portugueze Army. Gaspar knew of the place by some Spies; but of the time of the Kings coming he was informed, that it was a day sooner than really it happened. According to this information he resolved privatly to march thither, and come upon him in the night unawares. And because he knew the King was a Polititian, and would have his Spies abroad to watch the Generals motion, the General sent for all the Drummers and Pipers to Play and Dance

in his Camp, that thereby the Kings Spies might not suspect that he was upon the March, but merry and secure in his Camp. In the mean time, having set his People all to their Dancing and Drumming, he left a small party there to secure the Baggage, and away he goes in the night with his Army, and arrives to Catta coppul, intending to fall upon the King. But when he came thither, he found the King was not yet come : but into the Kings Tents he went, and sits him down in the seat appointed for the King. Here he heard where the King was with his Camp : which being not far off, he marched thither in the morning and fell upon him : and gave “him one of the greatest Routs that ever he had. The King himself made a narrow escape ; for had it not been for a Dutch Company, wjiich the Dutch had sent a little before for his Guard, who after his own Army fled, turned head and stopped the Portugueze for a while, he had been seized. The Portugueze General was so near the King, that he called after him, Houre, that is Brother, stay, I would speak with you, but the King being got a top of the Hills ; was safe. And so Gaspar retyred to his Quarters.

This Gallant expert Commander, that had so often vanquished the Chingulays, could not cope with another European Nation. For when the Hollanders came to beseige Columbo, he was sent against them with his Army. They told him before he went, that now he must look to himself, for he was not now to Fight against Chingulays, but against Soldiers, that would look him in the Face. But he made nothing of them, and said, he would serve them as he had served the Chingulays. The Hollanders

met him, and they fought: but had before contrived a Stratagem, which he was not aware of : they had placed some Field-pieces in the Rear of their Army. And after a small skirmish they retreated as if they had been worsted ; which was only to draw the Portugueze nearer upon their Guns. Which when they had brought them in shot of, they opened on a suddain to the right and left, and fired upon them, and so routed them, and drove them into Columbo. This Gaspar was in the City when it was taken, and himself taken Prisoner. Who was afterwards sent to Goa, where he died. And so much of the Portugueze.

The Dutch succeeded the Portugueze. The first occa- sion of whose coming into this Land was, that the present King being wearied and overmatched with the Portugueze, sent for them into his aid long ago from Batavia. And they did him good service, but they feathered their own nests by the means, and are now possessed of all the Sea-

Coasts, and considerable Territories thereunto adjoyning.

The King of the Countrey keeps up an irreconcileable War against them. The occasion of which is said to be this. Upon the beseiging of Columbo, which was about the year MD # CLY. it was concluded upon between the King and the Dutch, that their Enemies the Portugueze being expelled thence, the City was to be delivered up by the Dutch into the Kings hands. Whereupon the King himself in person with all his Power went down to this War to assist and joyn with the Hollanders, without whose help, as it is generally reported, the Dutch could not have taken the City. But being surrendred to them, and they gotten into it, the King lay looking, when they would come according to their former Articles, and put him into posses- sion of it. Mean while they turned on a suddain & fell upon him, contrary to his expectation (whether the King had first broke word with them,) and took Bag and Baggage from him : Which provoked him in so high a manner, that he maintains a constant hostility against them, detains their Ambassadours, and forbids his People upon pain of Death to hold Commerce with them.

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The Dutch
the occasion
of their
coming in.

The King
their implac-
able enemy,
and why !

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vj>. HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON
1 68°.

The dammagt So that the Dutch have enough to do to maintain those
the King places which they have. Oftentimes the King at unawares

oe s ihenu f a jj s U p 0n them and does them great spoil, sometimes

giving no quarter, but cutting off the Heads of whomso-

ever he catches, which are brought up, and hung upon Trees near the City, many of which I have seen. Sometimes he brings up his Prisoners alive, and keeps them by the Highway sides, a spectacle to the People in memory of his Victories over them : many of these are now living there in a most miserable condition, having but a very small Allowance from him ; so that they are forced to beg, and it is a favour when they can get leave to go abroad and do it.

The mem The Dutch therefore not being able to deal with him Obtain Vac ^ Sword, being unacquainted with the Woods and the °withhim CC Chingulays manner of fighting, do endeavour tor Peace with him all they can, dispatching divers Embassadours to him, and sending great Presents, by carrying Letters to him in great State wrapped up in Silks wrought with Gold and Silver, bearing them all the way upon their Heads in token of great Honour, honouring him with great and high Titles, subscribing themselves his Subjects and Servants, telling him the Forts they build are out of Loyalty to him, to secure his Majesties Country from Forraign Enemies ; and that when they come up into his Countrey, tis to seek maintenance. And by these Flatteries and submissions they sometimes obtain to keep what they have gotten from him, and sometimes nothing will prevail, he neither regarding their Embassadours nor receiving the Presents, but taking his opportunities on a suddain of setting on them by his Forces.

How k mk His Craft and Success in taking Bibligom Fort in the Bibhgom Fo?t. County of Habberagon, may deserve to be mentioned. The Chingulays had beseiged the Fort : and knowing the Dutch had no Water there ; but all they had was conveyed thro a Trench wrought under Ground from a River near by, they beseiged them so close, and planted so many Guns towards the mouth of this Trench, that thev could not mm**

out to fetch Water. They cut down Wood also* and made bundles of Faggots therewith, which they piled up round about their Fort at some distance, and every night removed them nearer and nearer. So that their works became higher than the Fort. Their main intent by these Faggot-works, was to have brought them just under the Fort, and then to have set it on Fire, the Walls of the Fort being for the most part of Wood. There was also a Bo-gahah Tree growing just by the Fort : on which they planted Guns and shot right down into them. The houses in the Fort being Thatched, they shot also Fire- Arrows among [p. 180.]

them : So that the beseiged were forced to pull off the Straw from their Houses, which proved a great inconvenience to them being a Rainy Season: so that they lay open to the weather and cold. The Dutch finding themselves in this extremity desired quarter which was granted them at the Kings mercy. They came out and laid down their Arms, all but the Officers, who still wore theirs.

None were plundered of any thing they had about them.

The Fort they demolished to tffe Ground, and brought up the Four Guns to the Kings Palace; where they among others stand mounted in very brave Carriages before his Gate.

The Dutch were brought two or three days journey from the Fort into the Countrey they call Owvah: and there were placed with a Guard about them, having but a small allowance appointed them ; insomuch that afterwards having spent what they had, they perished for Hunger. So that of about ninety Hollanders taken Prisoners, there were not above five and twenty living when 1 came away.

There are several white Embassadours, besides other Several Chingulay People, by whom the Dutch have sent Letters Ewbassadors and presents to the King, whom he keeps from returning back again. They are all bestowed in several houses with Soldiers to Guard them : And tho they are not in Chains, yet none is permitted to come to them or speak with them ;

It not being the custom of that Land for any to come to the speech of Embassadours. Their allowance is brought

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The first
Embassador
there detained
since the
Authors
remembrance .

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them ready dressed out of the Kings Palace, being all sorts

of Varieties, that the Land affords- After they have remained in this condition some years, the Guards are somewhat slackned, and the Soldiers that are to watch them grow remiss in their Duty ; so that now the Ambassadours walk about the Streets, and any body goes to their houses and talks with them : that is, after they have been so long in the Countrey, that all their news is stale and grown out of date. But this liberty is only wincked at, not allowed. When they have been there a great while, the King usually gives them Slaves, both men and women, the more to alienate their minds from their own Country, and that they may stay with him with the more willingness and content. For his design is, to make them, if he can, inclinable to serve him. As he prevailed with one of these Embassadours to do for the love of a woman. The manner of it I shall relate immediatly.

There are five Embassadors whom he hath thus detained since my coming there ; of each of whom I shall speak a little, besides two, whom he sent away voluntarily.

The first of these was sent up by the Hollanders some time before the Rebellion against the Kirig; W T ho had detained him in the City. After the Rebellion the King sent for him to him to the Mountain of Gauluda whither he had retreated from the Rebels. The King not long after removed to Digligy, where he now keeps his Court, but left the Embassador at Gauluda remaining by himself, with a Guard of Soldiers. In this uncomfortable condition, upon a dismal Mountain void of all society, he continued many days. During which time a Chingulay and his Wife falls out, and she being discontented with her Husband to escape from him flies to this Embassadors house for shelter. The woman being somewhat beautiful, he fell greatly in love with her. And to obtain her he sent to the King, and profered him his service, if he would permit him to enjoy her company. Which the King was very willing and glad to do, having now obtained that which he had long aimed at, to get him into his service.

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Hereupon the King sent him word that he granted his Hh prefer∗ desire, and withall sent to both of them rich Apparel., and mnt ∗ to her many Jewels and Bracelets of Gold and Silver.

Suddainly after there was a great House prepared from them in the City, furnished with all kind of furniture out

of the Kings Treasure and at his proper cost and charges.

Which being finished he was brought away from his Mountain into it. But from thence forward never saw his Wife more, according to the custom of Court. And he was entertained in the Kings Service, and made Courtalbad, which is cheif over all the Smiths and Carpenters in Condc Uda. Some short time after the King about to send his Forces against a Fort of the Hollanders, called Arundery built by them in the year MDCLXVL He tho in the Kings service, yet being a well wisher to his Countrey, had privatly sent a Letter of advice to the Dutch concern- ing the Kings intention and purpose, an Answer to which was intercepted and brought to the King, wherein thanks was returned him from the Dytch for his Loyalty to his own Nation, and that they would accordingly prepare for the Kings assault. The King having this Letter, sent for him, and bad <him read it, which he excused pretending it was so written, that he could not. Whereupon immediatly another Dutchman was sent for, who read it before the King, and told him the Contents of it. At which it is reported the King should say, Beia pas mettandi hitta pas ettandi, That is, He serves me for fear, and them for love ; or his fear is here and his love is there ; And forth with commanded to carry him forth to Execution : which was accordingly done upon him. Tis generally said, that this Letter was framed by some body on purpose to ruine him.

The next Ambassador after him was Hendrick Draak ; a The next fine Gentleman, and good friend of the English. This was Tmhmndor ^ he who was Commissioned in the year MDCLXIY. to intercede with the King on the behalf of the English, j QWn t0 that they might have liberty to go home, and with him Cokmkk they were made to beleive they should return : which hap- & reat State > pened at the same time that Sir Edward Winter $Wit his

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The third
Embassador.
Gets away by
hit resolution.

[p. 182.]

The fourth
was of a
milder Nature.

Letters to the King for us* Which I ha\e already spoke of in the fifth Chapter of this Part, This Embassador was much in the Kings favour, with whom he was detained till he died. And then the King sent his Body down to Columbo carried in a Pallcnkine with great State and Lamention, and accompanied with his great Commanders, and many Soldiers.

Sometime after the loss of the Fort of Arrundery which was about the year MDCLXX. the Dutch sent up another Embassador to see if he could obtain a Peace, which was the first time their Embassadors began to bring up Letters upon their heads in token of extraordinary reverence. This man was much favoured by the King, and was entertained with great Ceremony and Honour, cloathing him in Chingulay Elabit, Which I never knew done before nor since. But being weary of his long stay, and of the delays that were made ; having often made motions to go down, and still he was deferred from day to day, at length he made a resolution, that if he had not leave by such a day, he would go without it; saying that the former Embassador who died there, died like a Woman, but it should be seen that he —would die like a •man. At the appointed day, he girt on his Sword, and repaired to the Gates of the Kings Palace, pulling off his Hat, and making his obeysance as if the King were present before him, and thanking him for the Favours and Honours he had done him, and so took his leave. And there being some Englishmen present, he generously gave them some money to drink his Health ; and in this resolute manner departed, with some two or three Black-servants that attended on him. The upshot of which was, that the King, not being willing to prevent his resolution by Violence, sent one of his Noblemen to conduct him down ; and so he had the good fortune to get home safely to Columbo.

The next Ambassador after him was John Baptists. A Man of a milder Spirit than the former, endeavouring to please and shew compliance with the King. He obtained many Favours of the King, and several Slaves both Men

and Women. And living well with Servants about him, ib the more patient in waiting the King’s leisure till he

pleaseth to send him home.

The last Embassador that came up while I was there, The fifth brought up a Lion : which the Dutch thought would be the most acceptable Present that they could send to the a p^ eseni f ^ King, as indeed did all others. It was but a Whelp. But the King did never receive it, supposing it not so famous as he had heard by Report Lions were. This Man with his Lion was brought up and kept in the County of Ouda-pollat, near Twenty Miles from the King's Court. Where he remained about a year, in which time the Lion died.

The Embassador being weary of living thus like a Prisoner with a Guard always upon him, often attempted to go back, seeing the King would not permit him Audience.

But the Guards would not let him. Having divers times made disturbances in this manner to get away home, the King commanded to bring him up into the City to an House that was prepared for him, standing some distance from the Court. Where having waited many days, and seeing no sign of Audience, he resolved to make his Appearance before the King by force, which he attempted to do, when the King was abroad taking his Pleasure. The Soldiers of his Guard immediately ran, and acquainted the Noblemen at Court of his coming, who delayed not to acquaint the King thereof. Whereupon the King gave Order forthwith to meet him, and where they met him, in that same place to stop him till further order. And there they kept him, not letting him go either forward or back-ward. In this manner and place he remained for three days, till the King sent Order that he might return to his House whence he came. This the King did to tame him.

But afterwards he was pleased to call him before him. And there he remained when I left the Co untrey, maintained with Plenty of Provisions at the King's charge.

The number of Dutch now living there may be about The number Fifty or Sixty. Some whereof are Ambassadors, some Prisoners of War, some Runaways, and Malefactors that ere '

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l680.

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They follow
theh Vice of
Drinking.

The

Chingulays
prejudiced
against the
Dutch, and
why.

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have escaped the hand of Justice and got away from the Dutch Quarters. To ail whom are allotted respective allowances, but the Runaways have the least, the King not loving such, tho giving them entertainment.

The Dutch here love Drink, and practise their proper Vice in this Countrey. One who was a great Man in the Court, would sometimes come into the King's Presence hall disguised with Drink, which the King often past over ; but once asked him, Why do you thus disorder your self, that when I send for you about my Business, you are not in a capacity to serve me? He boldly replied, That as soon as his Mother took away her Milk from him, she supplied it with Wine, and ever since, saith he, I have used my self to it. With this answer the King seemed to be pleased. And indeed the rest of the white Men are generally of the same temper : insomuch that the Chingulays have a saying, That Wine is as natural to white Men, as Milk to Children.

All differences of Ranks and Qualities are disregarded among those Chingulay People that are under the Dutch. Neither do the Dutch make any distinction between the Hondrews, and the low and Inferior Casts of Men : and permit them to go in the same Habit, and sk upon Stools, as well as the best Hondrews ; and the lower Ranks may eat and intermarry with the higher without any Punish-ment, or any Cognizance taken of it. Which is a matter that the Chingulays in Cond' Uda are much offended with the Dutch for ; and makes them think, that they themselves are sprung from some mean Rank and Extract. And this prejudiceth this People against them, that they have not such an Esteem for them. For to a Chingulay his Rank and Honour is as dear as his life. And thus much of the Dutch.

OF THE FRENCH IN CEYLON

A.D.

l68o.

Chap. XIV.

Concerning the French. With some Enquiries what should make the King detain white Men as he does. And how the Christian Religion is maintained among the Christians there.

Bout the year MDCLXXII, or LXXIII, The French there came Fourteen Sail 0 f great Ships cm [from the King of France to settle a Trade w ' l£l a ut ' here. Monsieur De la Hay Admiral, put in with this Fleet, into the Port of Cottiar.

From whence he sent up Three men by way of Embassy to the King of Cande.

Whom he entertained very Nobly, and gave every one of them a Chain of Gold about their Necks, and a Sword all inlay'd with Silver, and a Gun. And afterwards sent one of them down to the Admiral with his Answer. Which encouraged him to send up others : that is, an Ambassador and six more. Who were to reside there till the return of the Fleet back again, being about to Sail to the Coast.

To the Fleet the King sent all manner of Provision, whom the as much as his Ability could afford : and not only permitted but assisted them to build a Fort in the Bay. Which they aiu i heft them manned partly with their own People, and partly with to build a Fort. Chingulays, whom the King sent and lent the French.

But the Admiral finding that the King's Provisions, and what else could be bought in the Island would not suffice for so great a Fleet, was forced to depart for the Coast of Coromandel ; promising the King, by the Ambassador [p. 184.] afore-mentioned, speedily to return again. So leaving some of his Men with the King's Supplies to keep the Fort till his return, he weighed Anchor, and set sail. But never came back again. Some reported they were destroyed by a Storm, others by the Dutch. The Admiral had sent up to the King great Presents, but he would not presently receive them, that it might not seem as if he wanted any

2 y 5

a.d,

1680.

The French Ambassador offends the

King,

K e refuses to
zvatt longer for
Audience .

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

thing, or were greedy of things. brought him: hut since the French returned not according to their promise, he scorned ever after to receive them. At first he neglected the Present out of State, and ever since out ot Anger and Indignation. This French Fort at Cotiar was a little after easily taken by the Dutch.

But to return to the Embassador and his Retinue. Hi rode up from Cotiar on Horseback, which was very Grand in that Countrey. And being with his Company gotten somewhat short of the City, was appointed there to sta\ , until an House should be prepared in the City for their Entertainment. When it was signified to him that their House was ready for their Reception, they were conducted forward by certain Noblemen sent by the King, carrying with them a Present for his Majesty. The Ambassador came riding on Horse-back into the City. Which the Noblemen observing, dissuaded him from, and advised him to walk on foot ; telling him, It was not allowable, nor the Custom. But he regarding them not, rode by the Palace Gate. It offended the King, but he took not much notice of it for the present.

The Ambassador alighted at his Lodging^. Where he and his Companions were nobly Entertained, Provisions sent them ready Dressed out of the King’s Palace three time a day, great Plenty they had of all things the Countrey afforded. After some time the King sent to him to come to his Audience. In great State he was Conducted to the Court, accompanied with several of the Nobles that were sent to him. Coming thus to the Court in the Night, as it is the King’s usual manner at that Season to send for foreign Ministers, and give them Audience, he waited there some small time, about two hours or less, the King not yet admitting him. Which he took in such great disdain, and for such an affront, that he was made to stay at all, much more so long, that he would tarry no longer but went towards his Lodging. Some about the Court observing this, would have stopped him by Elephants that stood in the Court, turning them before the Gate thro which he

2 Cj6

A.D.

l680.

OF THE FRENCH IN CEYLON

was to pass. But he would not so be stopped, but laid his hand upon his Sword, as if he meant to make his way by the Elephants ; the People seeing his resolution, called away the Elephants and let him pass.

As soon as the King heard of it, he was highly dis- mukrnte pleased ; insomuch that he commanded some of his Officers the

that they should go and beat them, and clap them in . Chains : which was immediately done to all excepting the chmi ' 1 two Gentlemen, that were first sent up by the Admiral : for these were not touched, the King reckoning they did not belong unto this Ambassador ; neither were they now in his Company ; excepting that one of them in the "Com- bustion got a few Blows. They were likewise disarmed and so have continued ever since. Upon this the Gentle- men, Attendants upon the Embassador, made their Com- [p. 1S5.] plaints to the Captain of their Guards, excusing themselves and laying all the blame upon their Ambassador ; urging,

That they were his Attendants, and a Soldier must 'obey his Commander and go where he appoints him. Which sayings being told the King,*he approved thereof and commanded them out of Chains, the Ambassador still remaining in tftem, and so continued for six Months. After which he was released of his Chains by means of the Intreaties his own men made to the great Men in his behalf.

The rest of the Frenchmen, seeing how the Embassador's The rat of imprudent carriage had brought them to this misery, thl refused any longer to dwell with him. And each of them T f m f t0 by the King's Permission dwells by himself in the City; being maintained at the King's charge. Three of these whose Names were Monsieur Du Plessy, Son to a Gentle- man of note in Prance, and Jean Bloom, the third whose Name I cannot tell, but was the Ambassador's Boy, the King appointed to look to his best Horse, kept in the Palace. This Horse sometime after died, as it is supposed of old Age. Which extremely troubled the King ; and imagining they had been instrumental to his Death by their carelessness, he commanded two of them, Monsieur Du

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a.d. HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON
1 680.

Plessy and Jean Bloom to be carried away into the Mountains, and kept Prisoners in Chains, where they remained when I came thence.

The rest of them follow Employments ; somewhereof Still Rack, and keep the greatest Taverns in the City. ^

The King Lately, a little before I came from the Island ; the King urn mem to understanding the disagreements and differences that were 7 micL%r stbl ke P t 011 '" foot betwixt tbe Ambassador and the rest of Ambassador, his Company, disliked it and used these means to make them Friends. He sent for them all, the Ambassador and the rest, and told them, That it was not seemly for Persons as they were at such a distance from their own Countrey, to quarrel and fall out ; and that if they had any love for God, or the King of France, or himself, that they should go home with the Ambassador and agree and live together. They went back together, not daring to disobey the King. And as soon as they were at home, the King sent a Banquet after them of Sweetmeats and Fruits to eat together. They did eat the King's Banquet, but it would not make the Reconcilement. For after they had done, each man went home and dwelt in their own Houses as they did before. It was thought that this carriage»would offend the King, and that he would at least take away their Allowance. And it is probable before this time the King hath taken Vengeance on them. But the Ambassador's carriage is so imperious, that they would rather venture whatsoever might follow than be subject to him. And in this case I left them.

The Author Since my return to England, I presumed by a Letter to French**^ ^ orm tbe b ' rencb Ambassador then in London of the Ambassador abovesa id Matters, thinking my self bound in Conscience in London , a »d Christian Charity to do my endeavour, that their with the Friends knowing their Condition, may use means for their

condition of Deliverance. The Letter ran thus, these Men.

[p. 186.] THHese may acquaint your Excellency, That having X been a_ Prisoner in the Island of Ceilon, under the King of that Countrey near Twenty years ; bv

means of this my long detainment there, I became acquainted with the French Ambassador, and the other Gentlemen his Retinue ; being in all Eight Persons ; who was sent to Treat with the said King in the Year MDCLXXII. by Monsieur De la Hay, who came with a Fleet to the Port of Cotiar or Trinkemalay, from

whence he sent these Gentlemen. And knowing that from thence it is scarce possible to send any Letters or Notice to other Parts, for in all the time of my Captivity I could never send one word, whereby my Friends here might come to hear of my Condition, until with one more I made an Escape, leaving Sixteen English men yet there ; The Kindness I have received from those French Gentlemen, as also my Compassion for them, being detained in the same place with me, hath obliged and constrained me, to presume to trouble your Lordship with this Paper ; not knowing any other means whereby I might convey Notice to their Friends and Relations, which is all the Sendee I am able to perform for them. The Ambassador's Name I know not ; there is a Kinsman of his called Monsieur le Serle, and a yong Gentleman called Monsieur du Plessey, and another named Monsieur la Roche. The rest by Name I know not. And then an account of them is given according to what I have mentioned above. I shall not presume to be farther tedious to your Honour ; craving Pardon for my boldness, which my Affection to those Gentlemen being detained in the same Land with me hath occasioned. Concerning whom if your Lordship be pleased farther to be informed, I shall be both willing and ready to be,

Yours, &c.

The Ambassador upon the receipt of this, desired to speak with me. Upon whom I waited, and he after some Speech with me told me he would send word into France of it, and gave me Thanks for this my Kindness to his Countreymen.

It may be worth some inquiry, what the reason might be, that the King detains the European People as he does,

A.D.

l680.

An inquiry into the reason of this Kings detaining Europeans.

A.D.

l680.

The Kings
gentleness
towards his
white So/diets.

Lp– lB "–l

They watch
at his

Magazine.

How craftily
the King cor–
rected their
Negligence.

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

It cannot be out of hope of Profit or Advantage ; for they are so far from bringing him any, that they are a very great Charge, being all maintained either by hint or his People. Neither is it in the power of Money to redeem any one, for that he neither needs nor values. \\ hich makes me conclude, it is not out of Profit, nur Envy or ill will, but out of Love and Favour, that he keeps them, delighting in their Company, and to have them ready at his Command. For he is very ambitious of the Service of these Men, and winks at many of their failings, more than he uses to do towards his Natural Subjects. As mav appear from a Company of White Soldiers he hath, who upon their Watch used to be very negligent, one lying Drunk here and another there. Which remisness in his own Soldiers he would scarce have indured, but it would have cost them their lives. But with these he useth more Craft than Severity to make them more watchful.

These Soldiers are under two Captains, the one a Dutch man and the other a Portugueze. They are appointed to Guard one of the King’s Magazines, where they always keep Sentinel both by Day and Night. This is a pretty good distance from the Court, and here it. was the King contrived their Station, that they might swear and swagger out of his hearing, and that no body might disturb them, nor they no body. The Dutch Captain lyes at one side of the Gate, and the Portugueze at the other.

Once the King to employ these his white Soldiers, and to honour them by letting them see what an assurance he reposed in them, sent one of his Boys thither to be kept Prisoner, which they were very Proud of. They kept him two years, in which time he had learnt both the Dutch and Portugueze Language. Afterwards the King retook the

Boy into his Service, and within a short time after Executed him. But the King's reason in sending this Boy to be kept by these Soldiers was, probably not as they supposed, and as the King himself outwardly pretended, viz. To shew how much he confided in them, but out of Design to make them look the better to their Watch, which their

3 00

OF THE KING'S WHITE SOLDIERS

Debauchery made them very remiss in- For the Prisoners Hands only were in Chains, and not his Legs ; so that his possibility of running away, having his Legs at liberty, concerned them to be circumspect and wakeful. And they knew if he had escaped it were as much as their lives vrere worth. By this crafty and kind way did the King correct the negligence of his white Soldiers.

Indeed his inclinations are much towards the Europeans; making them his great Officers, accounting them more faithful and trusty than his own People. With these he often discourses concerning the Affairs of their Countreys, and promotes them to places far above their Ability, and sometimes their Degree or Desert. And indeed all over the Land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to White Men, in as much as Black, they hold to be inferior to White. And they say, the Gods are White, and that the Souls of the Blessed after the Resurrec- tion shall be White ; and therefore, that Black is a rejected and accursed colour.

And as further signs of the King's favour to them, there are many Privileges, which White Men have and enjoy, as tolerated on allowed them from the King ; which I sup- pose may proceed from the aforesaid Consideration; as, to wear any manner of Apparel, either Gold, Silver, or Silk, Shoes and Stockings, a shoulder Belt and Sword ; their Houses may be whitened with Lime, and many such like things, all which the Chingulayes are not permitted to do.

Pie will also sometimes send for them into his Presence, and discourse familiarly with them, and entertain them with great Civilities, especially white Ambassadors. They are greatly chargeable unto his Countrey, but he regards it not in the least. So that the People are more like Slaves unto us than we unto the King. In as much as they are inforced by his Command to brine: us maintenance. Whose Poverty is so great oftentimes, that for want of what they supply us with, themselves, their Wives, and Children, are forced to suffer hunger, this being as a due Tax imposed

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A.D,

1680.

The Kings Inclinations aie Mem is white Men .

The colour oj white honoured in this Land.

Their Privi- lege above the Natives .

The King loves to send and talk with them .

[P . 188.]

A.D.

i68a

How the y maintain Christianity among them.

In some things they comply with the worship of the Heathen.

upon them to pay unto us. Neither can they by any Power or Authority refuse the Payment hereof to us. for in my own hearing the People once complaining of their

Poverty and Inability to give us any longer our Allowance, the Magistrate or Governor replied, It was the King's special Command, and who durst disannul And if otherwise they could not supply us with our maintenance, he bad them sell their Wives and Children, rather than we should want of our due. Such is the favour that Almighty God hath given Christian People in the right of this Heathen King; whose entertainment and usage of them is thus favourable.

If any enquire into the Religious exercise and Worship practised among the Christians here, I am sorry I must say it, I can give but a slender account. For they have no Churches nor no Priests, and so no meetings together on the Lord’s Dayes for Divine Worship, but each one Reads or Prays at his own House as he is disposed. They Sanctifie the Day chiefly b j refraining work, and meeting together at Drinking-houses, They continue the practice of Baptism ; and there being no Priests, they Baptize their Children themselves with Water, and use *the words, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and give them Christian Names. They have their Friends about them at such a time, and make a small Feast according to their Ability : and some teach their Children to say their Prayers, and to Read, and some do not.

Indeed their Religion at the best is but Negative, that is, they are not Heathen, they do not comply with the Idolatry here practised; and they profess themselves Christians in a general manner, which appears by their Names, and by their Beads and Crosses that some of them wear about their Necks. Nor indeed can I wholly clear them from complyance with the Religion of the Coimtrey. For some of them when they are Sick do use the Cere-monies which the Heathen do in the like case, as in making Idols ^ of clay, and setting them up in their Houses, and Offering Rice to them, and having Weavers to Dance

before them. But they are ashamed to be known to do

this ; and I have known none to do it, but such as are

Indians born. Yet I never knew any of them, that do

inwardly in Heart and Conscience incline to the ways of

the Heathen, but perfectly abhor them: nor have there

been any, I ever heard of, that came to their Temples upon any Religious account, but only would stand by and look on ; without it were one old Priest named Padre Vergonce, An old Priest a Genoez born, and of the Jesuits Order, who would go Md toeat to the Temples, and eat with the Weavers and other ordinary People of the Sacrifices offered to the Idols : but with this Apology for himself, that he eat it as common Meat, and as God's Creature, and that it was never the worse for their Superstition that had past upon it. But however this may reflect upon the Father, another thing may be related for his Honour. There happened two Priests to fall into the hands of the King ; on whom he conferred great Honours; for having laid aside their Habits they kept about his Person, and were the greatest [p- 189*] Favourites at Court. The King one day sent for Vergonse, and asked him, if it would not be better for him to lay aside his old Coat and Cap, and to do as the other two Priests had done, and receive Honour from him. He replied to the King, That he boasted more in that old habit and in the Name of Jesus, than in all the honour that he could do him. And so refused the King's Honour. The King valued the Father for this saying. He had a pretty Library about him, and died in his Bed of old Age : whereas the two other Priests in the King's Service died miserably, one of a Canker, and the other was slain. The old Priest had about Thirty or Forty Books, which the King, they say, seized on after his Death, and keeps.

These Priests, and more lived there, but all deceased, The King excepting Vergonse, before my time. The King allowed P^ mttedfhe

them to build a Church ; which they did, and the Portu-
gueze assembled there, but they made no better than a chunk
Bawdy-house of it ; for which cause the King commanded
to pull it down.

3<>3

HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON

A, IX
l680.

Although here be Protestants and Papists, yet here are
no differences kept up among them, but they are as good
Friends, as if there were no such Parties, And there is
no other Distinctions of Religion there, but only Heathens
and Christians ; and we usually say, We Christians,

FINIS.

3°4

Concerning

Severall Remarkable Passages
of my Life that hath hapned
since my Deliverance out
of my* Captivity

B}

ROBERT KNOX

3°5

Concerning Severall Remarkable Passages of my
Life that hath hapned since my Deliverance
out of my Captivity. By Robert Knox.

From the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Pressmark Fol. A. 623

;er I came out of my Captivity one the

Hand of Zelone I arived at England in
Anno 1680 haveing bin then 23 years
abroad, for I went out in Anno 1657
& had not bin in England ever since.

The first place I landed at was Erith ;
haveing noe mony I had borrowed 5
shillings of Cap* John Bromaell, he then was Boaswaine of
the Ceaser the Ship I came whome in, but before I landed
one Mr Short a Druggtor came one board & seeing me
with an old fashion beard (longe whiskers) asked the
captaine who I was : he telling him I was Cap* Knoxs
son come from Zelone he came & discoursed mee, & told
me he knew my Brother, & that my Sister was Married
to a second husband & had severall Children, & gave
me directions in writing whare each of them dwelt in
London ; this I looked one as a providence, for tell then
1 knew not wheather they weare Dead or Living, nor whare
to Inquire after them.

The same day evening that I left the ship wee landed at
the Hermitage, Stephen Rutland my fellow Captive being
with me ; that night we lodged thare in an Alehouse, &
spent with Boatehire good part of my 5 shillings ; next

Folio 1.
The Author
at rives at
England.

And lands at
Erith.

1680.

morning with my Consort Stephen I went up into the Cutty,
& althoughe the Citty had bin burned, without inquiry, by
my memory I came to the Royail Exchange, which by the
magnificece thare of beyound what it was formerly appeared
to me very strange, & I inquired in threadneedie Strecte for
Mr Lascelles my sisters husband and soone found his house ;
thare being onelv an Apprentice in the Warehouse, I in-
quired of him for Mrs Lascelles, he told mee she was at
theire Country house at Beadnall Greene ; without dis-
covering myselfe I asked him if he knew her Maiden name,
he said yes, it was Knox, then I blessed God in my heart
He fads hs that had directed me to find my fathers daughters house.
nsirrs house . \ sa ; c] noe m0 re, onely told the younge man I would call
againe, by & by, for he had told me shee would be there

anon. As I was goeing away he desired to aske me one
Folio 2. question which was if 1 ware not his Mistresses Brother ;

I asked him why he put that question to me, he said
because he had heard that his mistreese had a Brother
longe Absent in the Eastindies, & my speeche was so
like to hers. I told him ∗1 was the same & would goe
& see for my Brother, which he gave me further direc-
tions to doe ; he was a lodger in St Maries' Churchyard ;
when I came to the house I inquired for Mr Knox who
He discovers soone came to me. I knew him onely by the unhappie
hts brother, m arke I had given him in his eye, but my Brother knew
not mee, I told him I came from the place whare his
father & Brother ware taken, & knew them boath, &
began to talke aboute them, tell I could noe longer refrain e
weeping for Joy, like Joseph one the same occation, &
as he did I fell one my Brothers necke & kissed him,
blessing God that had brought me to see my Brother, my
4nd hts sisteu owne Mothers Sonn againe. After Congratulations we
went togeather to my Sister, who was then come whome
with her eldest sonn John ; truly we knew not one the
other by sight for she asked me if I had not a pockehole
by my left & puting my haire away she saw it which
I knew not of ; after Congratulations I told her 1 had
thought never to have seene her, but now God had dealt

\ 3q8

by me as by old Jacob, had showed me her seede also, at
which I greatly rejoyced.

Soone after my owne Brother, and Brother Lascelles & He is WeU
friends went with me to the Eastindia house to make
my appearance in person before the Comitty of said
Company, for I had advised them in a letter from the
Downs that I was come so far. At my appearing before
them, they all bid me welcome to England, & told me
they would not detaine me with discours of inquires to
keepe me from my Relations, but defered that to heere-
after, & the next time I appeared before them they ordered
twenty pounds to be paid to me, & ten pounds to Stephen
Rutland which we received accordingly ; but Sir Jeremy Folio 3.
Sambrooke called a little one side & put two Gunieas into
my hand, who then I knew not, but afterward I went to
his owne house to thanke him againe for that Great
faviour.

After Congratulations, & discourses with all my He thinks km
Relations, most of which I /ound alive to my great he sforid get
Joy & Consolation, I began to thinke how I should now ∗ ∗∗

gitt a living in this new world, which I was as new borne into, & all very abilities in kniting & pedling &c that I lived by, as I may say in the world that I came from now stood me in noe steed, & my fortune that my father left me was but small & none of my Relations, ware in such Stations that they could imploy & prefer me to any buisnesse that I was Capable to performe. At length God brought me to one Capt John Brookehaven, an old East India. Commander, who was one of my fathers acquaint-ance, but longe had left the seas, & in discoursing with him he, pittving my forlorn Condition, asked me what way & means I thought one to gitt a living. I told him I thought it best to follow the Seas againe, hoping to meete with better fortune then heather too I had had, telling him that my best abillityes as well as inclination led me that way ; he liked well my resolution, & told me he would advise me as if 1 ware his so nn, viz 1 to put myselfe to a mathematical! Schoole, & offered to goe

A.D.

l68o.

Hi r £0# to a
Mathemati-
cal! Schools,

Folio 4.

Sir Jonah

Chili's

Kindness.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

with me to John Colson one of the best in England in that science ; his advice liked me so well that I resolved to follow it & without delay ; before we parted a time was appointed to goe theather, & accordingly he did goe with me to Mr Colson, & presently all things ware agreed one & I became his Scholer, for I was loath to loose any time. Tell then I had lodged with my Sister but now, to make the best use of my time, I tooke a lodgeing over against Mr Colsons house, & in short time 1 had run throught all, for I plyed my studes with dilligence early & late, knowing it was my intrest so to doe.

Mean While S' Josiah Child being then Govenor, 1
went with my Cousen Strype to him at his house to
intreat his faviour & offer my service; he received me
very kindly & told me I neede not take further care,
he would provide to imploy me, & advised me to leave
the Sea, which 1 had found so unsuccesfull & live one
shore a factor at Bantam.

I told him I was noe wayes Capable of such imployment,
but was with a mathematition to improove myselfe to be
fitt to serve him at sea, of which 1 had some small know-
ledge, & doubted not but in some time to make a
sufficient progresse tharein. He perswaded me to live
one shore, as being an easer life & more profett &c,
but said, since I was so bent for the seas, he would pro-
vide for me that way ; I thanked him & we tooke leave.

Afterward as I was directed 1 presented my petition to
the Company, & they gave me a promise of their excep-
tance, so I weighted some times on Court dayes at the
East india house. After this S r Josiah Child called me
into the parlour, & told me he had this day bought a
small ship, building at Blackewall, to put me in Commander
& wished me good successe in her, & bid me goe &
looke after the finishing & fitting of her & told me
further, that as I behaved myselfe in this, it woud be an
introduction to a bigger. I hearty thanked him & told
him, what I wanted in skill & experience I would indea-
vour to make up in care, & good husbandry that he
310

SAILS FOR THE EAST INDIES

A.D.

l68l-82.

might have noe cause to repent of this great faviour he
had bestowed one me.

This ship was named the Tonqueene Marchant because The Author
the first voiage she was sent theather. It is a province sai kfirthe
one the West part of China, She was but 130 tuns bur- ^ ast ^' USt
then; I went out in her in Anno 1681 & sailed from
the Downs in Sept. We ware in all 25 men in her, &
went in Company with 5 others, all small ships bound for
the Eastindies.

It being a bad season of the yeare it was May before I
came to Bantam, which was the first port I was bound to ;
being arived thare, in the Rode Contrary to our expecta-
tions we found the Hollanders had taken the place, &

the English ware expelled thence & gone to the City of
Batavia: they had left 2 engl: factors one board the Duch
men of warr that ware then riding in the Rode, to advise
all english that came theather to repare to Batavia to the
English Agent & Councill. Upon this notice the next
day I sailed from Bantam & found all our factors at
Batavia. Soone after they sen 1 !: me to Tonqueene whare Folio 5.
by Gods Blessing I safely arived, though I had never a The
man in the Ship that had ever bin thare before. Acording ^uhnt
to Custome, a China Pilott came one board of me, whare animat
I rode without ye Barre, with a letter from our English Tonqueene.
Factors resident one that place to welcome me to the port :

& advise me to Intrust the Barer who was the Companies
Pilott to bring the Ship over the Barre into the River,

& according to order next morning I Set Saile & stered as
my Pilott directed ; he onely pointed with his hand to
goe this way or that way as he saw by his marks one the
land.

Soone after we ware under Saile we came upon the The ship
pitch of the Barr, & the Ship struck one the ground ^ikesonthe
so that she beat : her Rudderhead came up into the Great groun *
Cabbin that we could not steere, but it pleased God the
next sea hove her of quite over the barr & the water
deepned gaine. The Ship being new & stronge gott
noe harme & we drew the rudder downe againe into its

3 ”

A.D.

l68l»82,

Note.
Folio 6.

Sir Jonah
Child's
designs to
lengthen the
Skp.

KNOX’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

place* & it was as well as before. The Ship went aboute
20 miles up into the river whare I buried aboute 8 of
my men, most principall officers, as Chitfe mate, Carpenter
& Boatswaine,

In the January following 1682, the Ship being laden
with very rich goods, as wrought silks & Muskc, &
filled up with lackered wares, I was sent backe to Batavia,
and haveing lost so many men out of my small number,
was faint to hire some Chineses to helpe saile the Ship :
neverthelesse by Gods Blessing I gott safe to Batavia
againe. Mine being a small ship and the goods I had
brought very rich, the Agent & Councell, according
to orders out of england, tooke out all the silk & Muske
& loded them one board a large ship Called the Surratt
Marchant who lay the same time in Batavia rode; & the
English haveing lost theire trade at Bantam they had noe
pepper to lade me, but put in some few parcel! of Cassa
lignum (for they had not goods to fill the ship) & sent me
whome, for England.

Heere at Batavia I had f gott a recrute of men for those
that I had buried, & by Gods Blessing goeing alonge with
mee I safely arived with my small ship to England
againe. But note this hy-the-by : that the small ship
which they Distrusted to bring theire rich goods whome
but sent almost empty away, came whome & Arived very
safely, without any losse or hazard, & the Great Ship,
the Surratt Marchant, which was intrusted with all the
rich goods I had brought from Tonqueene, Perrished
by the way whome with all her men, and was never since
heard of.

Thus Gods Providence Guided & Guarded me this
my first voiage.

The Ship being safely come whome, and sailing but
very slowly, S 1 Josiah Child who was owner of fa part
would have her cutt in the middle & lengthned 12 foot,
which the other owners disagreed to : however he ordered
me that it should be done, & bad mee bring a builder
to him to Contract with aboute the same; which I did,

3x2

DISPUTES WITH OWNERS

& the ship was cut in the middle and lengthned accord-
ingly. This highly displeased severall of my owners
& their anger grew hot against me for following S r
Josiah's orders onely, without their Concurrance; for
he would not lett the profett of the voiage be devided
amounge the owners, but laid it out in lengthning &
fitting out the ship againe.

Upon this 2 of the owners arested boath the ship &
mee, in 2 Severall actions for theire part of the mony, which
I could not helpe them two neither had it ever bin in
my heade, but S r Josiah appointed Baile to boath :

however I had a great deall of trouble & vexation &
ill will into the bargan from many of my owners, for
who can serve 2 masters that are of severall minds as my
owners ware ; indeede I stucke to S r Josiah Child's
commands as being my Chiefe Master, thoughe some of
the rest thareby became my enemies, for S r Josiah whome
they knew was the Chiefe Cause of detaining theire
proportion of the mony was to big for them to Contend
with, therefore fastned their AcSon one me, as they told me
themselves those troubles of Law Continewed two voiages
that when I ^vent to sea I was faint to put in Baile in
the high Court of Admiralty for the valevv of theire 2-
i/i 6 parts & when I returned whome againe submitted
the Ship to the Arest & releeced my baile that I had
given ; but they refusing to fitt out theire parts (for
the Ship was run away with by my owne men, as I
shall decleare hereafter) that I was forced to take up mony
at Bottomary to fitt out theire 2 parts ; howbeit the
profet of the voiage repaided it that I was noe looser
but should have bin a gainer if I had my dew.

The Ship being now lengthined 12 foot in the Midships,
which made her aboute 30 toons bigger then she was
before, the Eastindia Comp* sent me out one my Second
voiage to Eastindies in Anno 1684 & I was Comder
& Supera Cargoe boath. First I was to goe for St.
Laurence or Madagaschar to procure Negrosse to bring
for St. Helena for the Comp t<! Service thare, whare they

A.D.

1684.

Causes trouble
& lexathn.

Folio 7.

The Author
sails againe
Jor the East
Indies,

The

mst? actions
for the voyage.

A.D.

1684.

Folio 8.

Tihtian De
Accunium.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

intended to plant Sugars, tobackco, Indicoe etc. in order to which they had sent from England a Westindia planter ; but in my way to St. Laurence I was to view the Hands of Tristian De Acunum etc. in order to make a settlement one some of them, if I should Judge them sutable with harbours Convenient for the purpose, they laying in and about Lattidude 37 de South; & after this was accomplished & I had landed the Negro wes at St. Helena, thane I had orders from the Company to take 8 bales of Blew Bafts out of any Ship that should come thare whomeward bound from India, & two thousand pound they had sent in Ps § from England which lay thare ready against my Coming to St. Helena, the which 2,000 pound & 8 bales ware a cargoe for me to proceede from thence for Eastindia one a new discovery or a projecting voiage, one which 1 was to proceed first to passe through the Straights of Bally and so into the South Seas ; & thare to serch for a trade amounge those Hands, & thence to Timore & to buy any sort of Comodities that I should Judge would turne r iO the Benefett of the Company, & if could gitt the ships lading then to Signe bills of lading (for such goods as I had so bought), Consigned to the Govenor & Comp e in England, and so make the best of my way whome for England. But in Case in this attempt I should faile of my lading, then I was to goe either to fort St. George or Bengali, which to me should seeme most Convenient, & thare to deliver up what remained of my Cargoe & lade from thence for England. This is a Breviate of the intended voiage that I was to procecute, to performe which I set saile out of the Downs one the 5th May 1684 in Ship Tonqueene. She carring 18 guns & 33 men.

The Ship was well fitted with all nescesary Stores tk provisions. It was Sept 1684 before I gott to the latfcA of the Hands of Tristian De Accunium whare I had very hard gales of wind, a great Sea and thicke weather ; that it was not safe for me to fall in with an unknown land that layeth in so high a lattitude whare the winds are

A GREAT HURRICANE

variable, & my orders ware not possitive but indefferent vizt. if I could doe it Conveniently & without much losse of time (faoath which unavoidablely would follow) & it being so late in the yeare I feared Should want time to procure Negrows at St. Laurence, tharefore I made the Best of my way theather & arived at Augustaine bay in November, one the Hand of St. Laurence.

I stayed heere till January following and had but Small trade, therefore sailed thence to the Northward one that Coast, & the weather began to brew up very thicke & sometimes blew so hard Notherly that put me under a Maine Course. One 6 th Jan. 1 68 4; the wind blew so hard Easterly that I could carry noe saile at all, which was Gods Mercy it began thare I being neere the shore that it blew me out into the Sea, St so vereJ aboute Southerly & to the Westward, whare if the storme had began it had most certainely drew me one Shore. This storme turned into a Hurrycane & by vering round the Compasse & blowing so exceeding hard, made the Sea all in a Breach & so outrageous that the Ship* lay Continuall with her Gunnell under water, & whole Seas would breake over the Ship Continually that the men at the pumps (for the pumps stood one the upper decke) ware Guyed by ropes else could not stand one the Decke to pumpe, and the water increased upon us to 3 foot notwithstanding the low yards ware downe a portlongs by the voiolence of the wind, for all the Ship was very Stile & under masted (for next voiage 1 made them longer & the yards Squarer). She could not right but lay one this manner with her Steridge & forecastle ports in the water all night, faine we would have cut away the Mainemast in the night that the Ship might Right, hut we could not see to cut all the ropes, & if any had bin left they would have hunge the Mast by the Side & indaingereJ Staving the Ship, which forced us to indure it tell day appeared, & so Soone as we could see we Cut away the Mainemast with all tharetoo belonging, & glad we ware so rid of it, for i mediately the Ship righted after the Maine Mast was gone & we sucked

A.D.

1685.

A gmte
sfoime and
Hurrycane.

They tut may
the make-
mast *

Folio 9.

a. D. KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1685.

the putnpe which we could not doe before ; the wind then
was come to North West and decreced apace, that before
noone it was one Calme, but the Sea did not abate so soone
as the wind ; then 1 wished I had my Maine Mast againe.
After the Storme was over I got downe my foretopmast
& set it for a maine Mast & made as good a hight as I
And att we could & gott the Ship into the Shore of St* Laurance, in
sa fi int0 ih * Lattidude 20 degrees & 50 Minuts South ; which Coast is
Lauram daingerous by Sea as well as by land, as will appeare by
the usage I had from the Country people of which I shall
write next.

When I was fast at Anchor I sent my boate one Shore
into a river (for I had one man that spoake a little of that
language) to seeke for people, & they came to a little
towne by the river Side, & my man spekeing the language
to them they came to the boate, & one of them came
with them in the boate one board Ship to mee. I treated
him kindly with Brandy & victuals & adorned him very
Richly with such Beads as hee liked best about his Necke,
armes & legs, & sent him one Shore with my Man that
spoke theire language, to goe with him to the King
Rybassa, which my Man told mee he was very well
acquainted with & desired he might goe for I forced him
not ; but before I goe one with my proceedings in order
to trade I thinke it fitt to give some account Concerning
the Originall extraction of this King Ribassa.

He was one of the younger Sonns of the famous old
King Lightfoot who with his owne hand would shoot
those of his wives that offended him & after bid some cut
open her body to take out the Bullett.

King Lightfoot Old King Lightfoot was but lately dead when I came,

deal & e lde S t Sonn Temanuellerebo dwelt in the pallace &
reigned King, but the 3 younger Sons vizt. Ribassa,
Mammeo & Basseo who ware all men grown ware
Combined togeather against theire elder brother To-
manuellerebo ; & it hapned to be my lott to fall into
that part of Country whare these 3 younge Princes had
set up themselves against the King theire brother*

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ADVENTURES IN MADAGASCAR

1685.

Now 1 ^ shall goe one with my proceedings, in way of Folio 10.
treating for trade since I have given an account of the
Princes with whome I am to treats.

I had sent a man as I said before, with the Negrow The Author
of that place that came one board, to acquaint Prince ac f imU
Ribassa that we ware an English Ship, which nation he
knew used to trade with his father Kinge Lightfoot, & C me to trade.
that I was well stored with Armes & Amunition— Co-
modities fit for his Circomstances — besides Beads, brasse
etc. usefull to Adorne himselfe & Court Ladies, & to
desire permission to buy Slaves, in his Country. At that
time I sent him onely one bottle of good Brandy, for he
was above a dayes Journy up in the Country, but ordered
to tell the Prince I had a Considerable present for him
but could not now convey it to him for want of Barers,

& to desire his Majesty to come downe neerer to the Sea
that I might discourse with him aboute the trade, the
affaire in hand.

Note the Negrow that went with my messenger whome
1 had decked so bravely with Beads & Brasse striped of
all those rich ornaments, and left theme at whome, for he
feared to appe&re in that Dresse before Rybassa.

The Prince received my Messenger with a great deale The
of Joy & gladnesse, he bringing him such welcome newes,
for he was in want of Armes & amunition to carry one m rmm *
his designe against his Brother Temanualareho who was
possessed of all the riches and Stores of war of his father
Kinge Lightfoot ; which I thought w r ould have bin my
advantage to bring my Armes etc. whare they ware in so
great want of them, but I was mistaken in the end. He
soone dranke up the Bottle of Brandy I sent him &
dispatched away my Messenger to mee againe with 6
Slaves (3 men & 3 Women) for a present to me, and
bad him tell me in a day or 2 after he would come downe
himselfe to talke with me

His present was as welcome to mee as my message was
to him, which I looked one as a presage of a succesfull
trade like to insew. Finding the Prince to be of so

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A.D.

1685.

Folio 1 1,
The Juthor
goes on shore
with his
present.

Hozo the King
was adorned*

Their manner
of greeting .

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Generous & Noble a temper put me upon mkrgeing my intended present I had for to give him at his Coming downe to me ; he made noe Delay but soone came to the Sea Side & sent of in a cannow to advise me thareof, & invited me and my great Dog (which he had heard I had) to come one Shore to him. It being late when the advice of the Princes Ariviali came I went not that night, but sent away my boate with a Case of Brandy to give him & to tell him in the morning I & my Dog would come one shore to waight one him.

Next Morning I went one shore with my present vizt. which was Choice foulling peeces, Gunpowder, bullets, flints, beads of all sorts, & Brasse wire which they use for Braselets one theire armes & brandy. When I came one Shore the King was setting one a small stoole aboute one foot high under a tree, & 2 of his Queens seting by him, & aboute 150 men some sitting & some standing in a confused manner aboute him ; most of them had very good fine armes & the rest had lances & darts, theire owne Country weapons.

He was fare more adorned with beads than Rivouena the King of Augustaine from whence 1 came ; his head & haire was drest very full & strangely that I cannot with my pen describe the manner, & his beard was divided into severall parts & beads strung on the haires mixt with divers coullers beads that made him show very Antickely, His armes ware full of silver brasletes, & his legge from the knee downward full of Beads of divers Coullers. He had noe cloath one, onely a dark Couller & durty greasey Cloath aboute his wast (for they all grease themselves boath head & body with beefe fat so thicke that the heat melteth it all aboute them) & the Oueenes ware dressed after the same manner but meaner, onely they had Wascoats with-out Sleaves over their bodies, the backe parts of which was onely beads Strunge one threads & wove with fine figers & flourishes in a square peece, & one his knees acrosse his lap lay a Brasse Barrell Blunderbusse laden.

When we came togeather we shooke hands & rubbed
3*8

ADVENTURES IN MADAGASCAR a.d.

1685*

noses* that is to place the tip of our noses Just one against
the other & so rub them one against the other a little
while, which made my hand & nose very Greasey ; then
I delivered him my present which I saw was very except-
able, also some beads which 1 had apart I presented to
the 2 Queenes, each severall, & they made me a speedy
returne, one of them with her owne hand presented me
two Guinea hens eggs, which I sent into my boate. The
King had noe more seats then that whareone he satt,
therefore 1 sat one my boates Carpet & we began to
drinke Brandy which was the Kings Chiefe delight.

My Great Dog, according as the King desired, I
brought with me ; he was a very large & firce eng 1 :

Mastif ; he was held by me in a Chaine by my own men.

The King much admired the Dog — as the Dog did the Folio 12.
King to see him so full of Coulours as his beads made
him — for the King arose to stroake the Dog one the head
which put the Doge into a fome with rage that I was faint ? he wdmessc
to Catch him aboute the Necke else he would have tasted
what the fine King was made one, which so startled the
King that he Guarded himselfe with his Blunderbusse
Cocked. I wa»s sorry to see the rudenesse of my Doge,

& ordered to Carry him away into the boate to prevent
further dam mage, but the King was so far from dislikeing
the Doge (notwithstanding his rudenesse) that he loved
him the more for his Courage & would not permit! the
Dog to be carried away, but said I must give him to him,

& imediately ordered a very good peece of fat rib beefe
to be rested for the Dog that he might feede him himselfe
to gitt his love and acquaintance. The beefe being
dressed, was brought in a platter with some salt to the
King, who cut it into peeces & fed the Dog whiles I held
him by the Necke, & glad was the King while the dog
was eating to have so much faviour as to Stroake him one
the heade. I perceiving the dog grow dry at his meale
told the King he wanted water; Comand was given
presently to bring him some Milke in the King’s owne
Callabase or drinking vessell which he dranke in himselfe,

3*9

A.D,

i685.

The King
serves the
Dog

The Kings
discourse on
trade.

Folio 13.

The Authoi
mistrusts the
King .

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

which was all addorned with beads* & the King served it to the Dog himselfe, but the Dog disliked it by the smell & would not drmke. 1 told the King I believed water would please him better, so water was brought in the same Royall vessell & the King held it himselfe while the dog drunke. By this manner of treatment the Dog soone knew his benefactour, for he was alwayes kept tied Close by the King that in a few dayes the Dog forsooke me & followed the King wheresoever he went* & thare I left him.

After some time spent aboute the Doge which was the first buisnesse he fell upon, we came to proposalls for trade & the King seemed to be very faine so we setled the prises one men and Women and Children Slaves : & for rice and Cattell, &c (graine & other Comodities heer are none worth mentioning) & was very earnest to have all my wares & Armes brought one shore that he might have the first Choice ; & ordered his people to build a large house for me & my goods : which was soone finished being onely Stick? & rushes, but it would keepe out wind & raine.

I was not willing to Condecend to this proposall in bringing all my goods one Shore, for I had much more then the Ship could carry returned in Slaves, for the East india Company had sent a large Cargoe in case thare should be any other Comodities besides which I had order to buy ; also I was somewhat mistrustful! of the King lest his want of my Armes &c might be greater than his abiliity to buy them, & if they were all one

Shore then they ware in his owne hands to doe with them
as he pleased ; and it is Customary here never to bring
many one Shore even in places whare we are well
acquainted, for the buyer will not Choose one gun tell he
hath looked over all, if thare be 100, which by often
handling spoyleth & disordered! them, & many times we
come by losse for the people are rude & every one will
take up something to looke one & often times goe quite
away with them ; for these reasons I thought not safe to

320

SCARCITY OF SLAVES a.d.

1685,

venture all my guns &c in a house of rushes, as after-
wards I found by those few I had one Shore. But told
the King I would alwayes have a Sufficient number of
Guns one shore to buy all negrows Slaves he or any other
should bring, but could not bring all at once for fear of
Spoyling with weet or Sand in the locks, but told him not
I distrusted his honesty which was the Chiefe reason
though the others weare of weight also.

I usually had aboute 40 guns at a time one Shore
besides Gunpowder &c beads, & Brasse (Armes &

Amunition was what he Cheifely required) — trade came
one very slowly, that I bought not one slave but what I
had of the King & that alwayes by way of present which
came to nere duble the price of what it would if had
bought it ; this gave me a Cleare insight of what I
suspected before — the Kings disability — as after I found
to my Cost.

In few dayes the other two Princes of the Blood came PrkmBassea
down, Bassea & Mammea ; they had not with them &? Mamet , .
above 50 men for theire Reterfew & to each of them I
made a small present of Armes &c besides treated them
highly with Brandy for all 3 ware great drinkers ; but
they have a good quality — they required not of mee to
drink for company but ware satisfied if they could be
drunke themselves.

Their ability could not reach to make returne for my
present in Slaves, but each presented me a fat ox & told
me thare was many Slaves one the rode comeing downe,
the Catching of whome made them stay the longer, &
now all 3 of the Princes gave me their Royall word that Royal! words
they would fill my Ship with Slaves in ten dayes more, & ^ubud.
pressed me hard to send for Gun & powder, flints &
bullets one Shore to have them ready that they might Folio 14.
picke each one the Guns they liked & lay them by tell

the Slaves came before they would carry one away, & this importunity made me the more doubtful!, as if the slaves could not march as fast as they at lest some of them might.

I told them they neede not doubte but that I would

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1685.

soone pay them for theire Slaves, (for the King had sent some of his Nobles one board & had scene I had a great number of guns) for if they pleased they might goe one board with me while I left some of my men one Shore, & thare they should picke & Choose what they liked. In the meane time I had aboute 40 Guns & some powder ready as they saw to buy a few, & the rest of the Guns ware of the same sort. After this a Cuntry man Sc his wife with Child & one boy his Slave, with some Cattle came downe to sell some of his oxen to me; the King tooke them all 3 and gave them to mee, for Slaves. I knew not but they ware his righfull Slaves tell some of my Slaves one board, whome he had given me before, told me : this put me upon a resolve not to adventure any more goods one Shore, but I mistrusted not in the lest that they would offer any voielence to me, since they could not but know theire Father King Lightfoot for many years Carried one a Continuall trade with the English, & by them was suplyed with all the Armes and Amunition which he had, but necessity put them above all Bounds of human Civillity, which otherwise they doe understand, for when they saw they could not by pretences gerswade me to The treachery land my Armes, they tooke the oportunity when my boate of the King. was one Shore, to run downe & Cease one her. The ' Kinge & 2 princes, ran in the head of them & all followed that they ware as many men as could lay a hand one the boate, & so at once they draged her up out of the water, so far as they could for trees; we ware eleven men then one shore & the Ship rode 3 miles distance.

This Sight strangely surprised us all, and left noe roome for any other thoughts, but present death, being prevented from all possibility of an escape, & as much unable to make any resistance for our owne defence & preservation, for our enimies ware at lest twenty to one, neither had we any of our guns laden, as theires all ware. Besides they Folio 15. had draged the boate so far up into the land that it was not in the power of us all for want of Strength, if thev had let us alone, to gitt her into the water.

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ASSAULTED BY THE KING a.d.

i68 S'

ihen the King sent & fetched away all the guns that The King
ware in my house ; thare was a small barrell of gunpowder iakes am y
tilled into Cartheredges fitt for Sale, besides Beads & the ® im '
brasse: those they left. Meane while we all stood like
Sheepe in a little flocke expecting when the Dogs would
be sett one to Worrey us; but none medled with us yet
but let us turmoile in our owne thoughts, which was
torment enought to see ourselves wholy in the hands of
such inraged barbarians, to whome we could not well
expresse our Just defence, but they looked one me as a
high Criminall that had hindered him from Armes, (which
was all the fault they could charge me with) which in his
Circumstances, he was in such great want

In short ejaculations 1 committed my Soule to God, &
thought it best to goe & make my Addresse to the King
who was sitting at a little distance, & Carried my
Engl: man who spoake a little of his Language with mee &
began to tell the King that if I had not intended the Guns
& amunition for him I would not have brought them
heather to his port; but his rage was so great that he His rage
would not heare anything but tooke mee by the hand & " K ' lth iht
pulled mee dow^ie & made mee sett at his feete one the
Sand, & first tooke hold of my Neckecloath & twisted
it aboute my necke as if he intended to Choake mee, but
it soone broake : then he tooke of my hat & laid it with
the Crown downewards on the Sand & stamped it fiat
with boath his feete & Covered it over with Sand : then
he put his hands in my pockets & tooke out my watch
for I had nothing else : that he put in againe saying he
could not keepe it alive. Then he tooke mee by the Wrist
with one hand & twisted my arme which I eased what I
could by winding my body, & with his other hand he
hild a lance & directing it to my brest & often made
a motion as if he intended to strike it into my body: at
that time mee thoughts I was looking present Death in the Who looks fir
face & had this thought strongely one my mind vizt, present Death.
that the hands of Kings as well as the hearts are in the
hand of God, & that he could not Strike without his

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KNOX’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1685.

Folio 16.

The King's
anger abates.

He drags the
boat into the
water a game.

blessed will; which greatly Comforted mee to think thare
was a greater power extended over me then the Kings;
meane while one of his Brothers did by my English inter-
preter as the King did to mee.

The rest of my men stood at a little distance lookeing
when the King would stab me, & some of the people
told them to Comfort them that the King intended
onely to kill mee & they should be slaves. Any man
may safeyly Conjecture the apperehensions we ware under
if he will but imageon himselfe to be one of us under
those forementioned Circumstances. This Continewed
aboute half an hower, then one a sudden he set his lance
betweene his legs & the stafe rested against his Sholder.
He tooke up my hatt & thrust out the Crown & shaked
out the Sand & put it one my head, & pulled me to
him & we rubbed Noses togeather, which is theire highest
Compliment of kindnesse, Calling me Brother & shakeing
me by the hand. This seemed to me a straing Change
& the Stranger because it came so of a sudden, & he
bid mee not to be angry^aying he loved me well.

I tooke hold of his words as Benhadads messengers did
one Ahabs, & called him Brother again# & told him 1
was not Angry with him, but told him if he ware not
angry with mee why did he pull my boate out of the
water; at which he rose up himselfe, & the 2 Princes
& all the rest followed, & they went to the boate &
draged her downe into the water againe saying 4 now
brother thare is your boate', but he would not left my
men be in her onely to moore her fast by the Grapiins,
neither did I much desire they should fearing they would
run one board & come noe more one Shore to me, as
indeede they had Cause enought to be frighted.

After this was done I sent to my house for some
brandy, for they had plundred nothing but the Guns,
and the King with his 2 Brothers & I sat downe to drinke
I taking as much freedome with them as I had done
before & not as if I did resent any thing ill that he had
done, for I thought it my intrest to ConceaJe boath my

A DIFFICULT POSITION a.d.

1 685.

feare & Anger being yet wholy in his power. He would Poison feamL
not now drinke till I had Dranke the first cup of every
bottle for feare of poyson, So we spent some time togeather
& they began to be drunke; then I feared lest somewhat Folia 17.
of my behaviour might give offence. Though I strove
to seeme as friendly & loving as I could, yet my heart
was full of carefull thoughts & fears how to order &
dispose of this great affaire, & told the King I would goe
to my house. He was very free 1 should goe butt bad
me send him some more brandy; so wee parted & I left
them adrinkeing : they Continewed at it tell they had
dranke ove all 1 had one Shore which was aboute 6 Gall:

Some of his nobles dranke with him, & this was nere
by my house, & his men ware all sett to watch round
aboute mee & he himselfe with his 2 wives lay in the
open aire one a bench they made for him against my
doore.

Heere I saw the difference betweene Married men &
Batchelours, the first fare more bemoned & lamented
themselves remembring theire wives & Children then the
latter, for whose losse none could fare the worse, &

Sleepe departed •from our eyes. Now I began to thinke

one what the Divel said of Job : 4 Skin for Skin, all that

a man hath will he give for his life", so those Guns &

powder which noe Argument before could perswade me

to part with, now my disposion was so Changed that 1

wished the King had them all one Condition we all ware

but one board Ship, but the difficulty was great how to The difficulty

transact this matter. First how to come by them, for I to come to the

feared if some of my men went in my boate to fetch

them they would not returne againe; Secondly when the

King had them he would yet keepe us in hope of gitting

more & not be satisfied with all These matters tooke

up my thoughts all night. In the morning I concluded

to goe to my Brother the King and tell him I would send

my boate & some of my men in her to bring her lading

of Guns and powder, which I did when he was asleepe

with his 2 wives by him, & set my selfe downe one the

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KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

/V.D.

i68>

Folio 1 8.

The hate
goes off to the
Ship.

And i slums
with ai rues.

bench & awoke him. He was well pleased with my offer
but Complained of his head; I told him it was by
drinkeing brandy; he soone arose & bad me send
whome I would provided I would stay.

By this I saw God wrought for me by puting a power
in my hand to releece my men which would lay a high
obligation one them in point of honour & Graditude
not to leave me who stayed as a pleadg for them, so
1 ordered all but 2 to go e one board earnestly exhorting
them not to forsake us that ware one Shore which they all
vowed & promised not to doe. I bad them bring a good
quantity of all Sorts but not to overlade the boate & lay
of at a distance & not come one shore. The King sent
one of his Noblemen in the boate with them & so they
departed to goe to the ship. When they came one board
& told my Chiefe Mate what had hapned & what I had
ordered to send in the boate he seemed unwilling to part
with the goods pretending the King would keepe boath
the Goods & us; for he^had then a designe to run away
with the Ship as he did afterwards, as I shall relate in dew
place, but things ware not yet ripe for his purpose, so the

boate according to my order returned with armes etc.,
many of which they had laden with bullets for theire owne
defence in case of an attacke, & came & rode at Anchor
neere the shore in a poster of defence.

The King seeing her came & sat by the Sea Side
expecting the booty he so much boath wanted & desired,
but they keept it out of his reach so that now he was
faint to have recourse to me to know what he should doe.
I told him I beleeved they ware afraid of last nights
Action & therefore came not one Shore as formerly, &
bad him send one of his Cannows to her to know the
matter : so he did, & brought the Kings man one shore to
him, who went one board in the boate, who told the King
they sayed they would not deliver any thing out of the
boate unlesse I myselfe came of to them. This also I
liked very well but it was not pleasing to the King, who
now saw himselfe never the nerer in accomplishing his

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THE AUTHOR RELEASED a.d.

1685.

intended designe to gitt the armes &c. He now fawned
one me & we rubed noses againe, & he said he was not
angry but loved me & told me he would send his 2 wives
of as a pleadge for the Armes tell he did redeeme them by
paying for the Armes with those Slaves he had coming
downe out of the Country.

I did not care that this project should take efect for I Folio 19.
knew he valewed not his 2 wives since he had many more T& ^ m S
& Could have as many as he pleased besides, but told the not !m
King I did beleeve the men in the boate would make
them but as 2 Common Slaves & noe more, neither ware
the armes now in the reach of my power since he Detained
me one shore, but it would posesse them with a greater
feare & would they looke upon him as theire emmy &
soone make another Captaine & goe away with the Ship,
but if I ware thare myselfe then he should have the
Armes. However he sent againe to the boate & offered
the same proposall to send his 2 wives of to them in
pawne for the armes, which they in the boate with
Contempt Rejected & shewed his messingers the Armes,
Amuniticion &c. which they had brought for him but
would deliver #hem one noe other Conditions but for mee.

The boate lay so neere that we could see one the other,
but was out of call. This thaire answer put the King
into a Deepe Consideration that he bowed downe his head
& leaned it one the hilt of my Sword that he had taken
from me, Consulting in himselfe a good while : in Con-

clusion he righted himselfe and required my promise
that when I was in the boate to send the Armes &c. one
shore to him & onely the other 2 men should stay with
him. One these Conditions I was sent of to the boate TheAuthm
& my 2 men I left ware not unwilling 1 should goe one «/*««£
board, for wee all feared if they could not agree in
treating with the King they would be gone with the Ship,

& then our Case would have bin altogeather Desperate
although the King should have released us.

When I came into my boate all my men received me
with embraces of Joy, & acording to my promise I sent

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1685.

He goes one
board the
Shij>.

He retui nes
with aimes.

Folio 20.

And leasons
with the King.

30 guns & 4 whole Barrells of Gunpowder to the King,
for he had a power of force upon me to Comply having
yet 2 of my men one Shore with him. It was one darke
when I came into my boate so we went further of from
the Shore & rode at Anchor all night, for wee could not
find the ship in the night, & next morning I went one
board & Setled my buisnesse thare & armed my boate
with platformes one before & the other abaft, & placed
one each a small quarterdecke Gun & fitted her well
with Small armes &c for defence in case they should
Attache us with theire Canooes, & so I went one towards
the shore whare the King lay to treat with him for my
2 men, & rod at Anchor some Distance for I feared to
venture into his reach againe.

So soone as I was come the King came & sat under a
tree by the Sea Side with all his men aboute him waighing
for my coming one Shore, & seeing I did not he sent of a
Cannooe with one of his nobles to invite me to lande &
come to him ; then I began to reason the Case & show
my resentments of the Kings rudenesse so lately held
upone me without any cause or provocation given; &
althoughe He said he was not angry not ment ill where-
fore yet would he detain 2 of my men & I would first put
it to the proofe wheather he ment as he said, & bad him tell
the King I could not trust him as my friend till he sent
ray 2 men of to me, which done I would come & trade
with him as formerly. His messinger extenuated the
Kings actions by saying he was Drunke then, else he
would never have dealt so by me, & he was sure the King
was very sorry for what he had done; I needed not aske
if he ware sure the King would never be drunke againe
for I knew he would as soone as he could gitt Liquor,
so I dispatched the Messenger to the King with this
message & sent by him a case of Brandy in testemony
of my good will & friendship, & bad him tell the King
I onely staid tell he sent my 2 men & then would goe
one in trade & in the meane time would part with nothing
more.

EXCHANGE OP PRISONERS a.d.

1685.

Upon receipt of my Case of Brandy the King presented The King
me with a Slave & renewed his promises of friendship, & renews Ms
said so soone as I came one Shore I might send my men ? romises '
whare I pleased (for I could see them walking one the
Shore) & one this manner we treated some dayes, I pre-
senting him with Brandy & he alwayes making returnes
to mee in one Slave at a time. When I see I could noe
wayes prevaile I was faint to use a forceable argument, for
they Constantly came of in a Canooe to my boate which
used to come within halfe Musquetts Shott of the Shore,
tor the King was in as great paine fearing lest the Ship
should goe away as I was for my Men, so when they came
in my boate with the old arguements c noe angry & much Old
love' I ordered my men to lay hold one 2 of the Chiefe of Arguements.
the Kings men (the canow or boate with the rest of the
men were one shore) which he himselfe saw done. He Folio 21.
might have fired into the boate, but then we would have
answered his salute with our 2 little guns which ware full
of Musquett Bulletts & all our Small Shott.

When I had my 2 prisoners one board I told them
1 desired nothing but my 2 men, notwithstanding all what

the King hat> taken from me out of my house besides
what I had presented him, & if I could not gitt them I
would carry them boath away for Slaves, & so Chained
them boath fast to prevent theire swiming one shore.

They could say nothing but cry & lament saying the King
was a bad man.

Haveing now Ceased one 2 of the Kings men, one
whareof was a Noble, I could not rationally thinke he
would send any more to treats, therefore now it lay one
me to send my meaning to the King though he might
guise at it ; (to offer an exchange) I proposed to send one The Author
of my Slaves with this message & give him freedome for ^ t0
his paines (at that time I had about 50 in the Ship), & I p\ s ^ e f St
made an offer in generall to any one of them that would
goe ; they all refused, Choosing rather to stay Slaves with
me saying the King was a naughty man, neither was it
Convenient to force any one such an Arrent therefore I

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A.n.

1685.

A present
from the King.

Folio 11.

The

Messenger
treated kindly.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

was faint to send one of my prisoners to tell the King I
offered an exchange, & by him I rote a letter to my men
one shore to Comfort them & bad them to tell the King I
would make an exchange, & when the King understood
my meaning & see my faire intentions, in returne of my
prisoner I sent him he sent of one of my men; then we
were equiall, the King had one of my men & I one of his
Nobles.

All this while I had treated in my boate comeing neere
to the Shore every day, but upon my forbarerance one day
{ had a Canow came one board to me with a message in

the name of King Ribassa, Prince Mammea & Prince
Bessea, & a present of the silver Braslets they wore one
theire armes, 1 judge in valew aboute five pounds Sterling,
to desire me to forgitt & forgive what had bin done unto
me & to come one shore, they all promising Curtious
treatment & a greate trade saying they had now Slaves
come downe out of the Country, & for the dew per-
formance hereof I had theigs Royall word which I valewed
not at the price of one gun, & since I had so lately escaped
a second Captivity though short yet far more dreadfull
then the first one Zelone I could not easely^be perswaded
to lay myselfe at theire mercy againe; but I treated
theire Messenger kindly & gave to himselfe a pistoll &
some powder besides Beads & Brasse, & sent to each of
the Princes a gun & some Brandy, & showed him great
quantities of Guns & powder that I had to buy slaves
with, & bad him tell the King &c. that if they would
send the slaves one board they should have ready pay-
ment, or else I would send my goods in my boate
neere the shore & trade with them thare, or else if the
King would send such of his Nobles, as I named, one board
to stay as hostages I would come one shore & trade with
them, for now I reckoned myselfe secure as to my man
one shore since I had got t a Considerable man that they
valewed prisoner one board, & if they would not comply
with these proposalls it seemed cleare to me it was not
trade but Treachery that they intended, for they found

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THE EXCHANGE EFFECTED

they got well by my Ransome & like to gitt nothing by any
other.

And thus we Continewed treating some dayes, they press-
ing me to come one shore & I standing fast to my former
proposals, & so made noe further progresse in trade. At
length we came to treat aboute exchange of Prisoners.
The point in hand was how to trust each other & how
should release his prisoner first for we ware boath afraid
of a trapan.

After a longe debate we came to a conclusion that 1
was to send my prisoner in my boate neere the Shore
& they ware to bring of theire prisoner in a canooe, & so
they ware each to leap into the Sea & Swime to each
others boate. When we came to the point we could not
agree whose prisoner should leap first into the Sea; I
would have my man & they would have theires. At length
1 was faint to let my prisoner leap first, for we held him
like a Dog in a slip rope, & my man was in a canooe not
20 yards of, that we could t^Ske to him, & he told us he
was loose, & we had all our armes ready that if they had

deceived us we would have shot our prisoner in the water & also the nften in the Canooe, besides the King & all his nobles ware within our reach one the Shore ; but they dealt fairely, for so soone as theire blacke man was in the water they lett goe ours & he swame to the boate.

I stayed yet a day or 2 more that they might Consider for I was loath to loose my voiage & goe with so few negrows. They came of to the Ship afterwards but would not come one board but lay at a little distance to perswade me to come one Shore, & 1 perswaded them to bring of theire Slaves to the Ship ; but we could not prevaile with each other so I sett Saile & being without a maine mast & late in the yeare could not proceede to Matuledge, but made the best of my way for St. Helena whare I was to Carry the Negrows, haveing shifted the Misson mast & placed it for a Maine mast, whare by Gods Blessing tho with much difficulty 1 safely arived.

This that I have wrote is a true Relation of Gods
33 1

A.D.

1685.

This treat y
teas carried
one in hoates :
my boate went
& lay mu
the shore fef
they came off
in Cannow £5
lay at a little
distance.

The

Conclusion of
the whole
matter .

Folio 23.

A.D.

1685.

Sea Scurvie .

Folio 24.
Proverbs
Chap, 23.
verse 5,

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Mercifull dealing with mee heather too in this my Second voiage & how marvelously he did preserve & deliver mee out of 2 great & extraordinary daingers hoath which pointed at my very life : I may say 3, for in my passage from St. Laurence to St. Helena the Sea Scurvie fell upon me, which I never had before nor since ; it had seased me so voiolently that when I came to land one St. Helena my breath was gone & was faint to be carried, but this by Gods Blessing soone wore off. 1 shall heare same them up togeather for my own better rememherance : First the Hurry Cane in which I thought the sea would have swallowed us Ship & all : Secondly King Rybassa whome I feared God had appointed to be my Executioner: Thirdly the Disease called the Scurvie which had I bin longer at Sea would Certainely have prooved the Messen-ger of death.

But after God by his Speciall providence had saved & preserved me from perrishing by these 3 threatning Judgements thare was yet ^another neere attending & greater then any of the former, which Stript me at once of all my worldly riches & Injoyments & exposed me to poverty & Contempt that I thinke I may sfty never any man saw that Scripture (Proverbs 23 & verse 5) plainelier fulfilled then myselfe, vizt i Wilt thou set thine eyes upon that which is not, for riches Certainely make them-selves wings & flie away as an eagle towards heaven.' This mine eyes beheld, all my Worldly Substance & worldly Dignities vanished, togeather in a moment & left me with onely the Cloaths one my backe. This made me say with Job ' naked came I into this world & naked shall 1 returne,' for what I had God had lately given mee (for I came from Zelone with nothing), & one a sudden he tooke all away again e, & how all this came to passe even when I lest suspected, for all Gods wayes are uncearchable, I shall now relate.

The Ship as I said before was arived safely from Mada-gascar or St. Laurence to St. Helena without a mainemast & all tbaretoo belonging, which put me into a great many

THE SHIP RUN AWAY WITH

troublesome cares how to provid & refitt againe to proceede one my intended voiage for the unknown South parts of India, as well as great expences to the owners of whome I was one myselfe. After all this was over & I had refitted the ship & was all ready to saile thence ; the next day one the 29 day of May Anno 1685 while I was Standing one the Sea side ashore in the evening calling the boate to come one Shore for to carry me one board, the men in the Ship cut the Cables & loosed the Sailes & so run away with the Ship : so soone as I could gitt a boate I went & followed her, but could not overtake her so returned one Shore againe haveing visiblely seen Riches make themselves wings & fly away.

I continewed one St. Helena aboute one Month & had my diet free at the Companies table, & was faint to bor-row many of the Companies to pay for provision, that I had taken for the Ships use before she was carried away, one bills of Exchange one the owners to pay in England. Then came a Ship from India one which I got passage & the Capt seeing me an object of Charity, haveing onely the Cloath one my backe, gave me a suply of Cloaths to Shift me. Xhus God brought me safe in bodily health againe to my native Country of England, but poorer in wealth then when I came out of my Zelone Captivity, haveing then some little patrimony thare but now I had carried all with me & left nothing in England.

The first porte we came into was Plimouth, from whence I wrote to London to advice to Company & owners of my Sad Condition, &; according to the old custome the measure of actions is by the successe so I found it blame instead of pitty ; but we staid not thare longe enough to have an Answer ; in the Meane while we staid as the Capt of the Ship & I ware standing lookeing out into the Sound we saw a Ship comeing in which to my eyes appeared very much like my Ship the Tonqueen which was carried away from me at St. Helena, in-so-much that I said to him ware it not but that I knew it to be impossible I should affairme it was my Ship I had lost, as

m

A. D.

1685.

The Ship run
away with.

The Author
an object of

C harit\\

Folio 25.

He an ms in
Plimouth.

And secs the
Tonqueen.

A.D.

1685.

But the men
run away
with theire
plunder .

And Invent
lies .

Folio 26.

The manner
of the mens
proceeding
when the Ship
was run azvay
with.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

indeede it was the same as I hard afterwards, but it was my misfortune as she was thus coming in to the Sound a fishing boate came one board to offer theire Service as Pilot, by whome upon inquiry they ware informed that thare was an East india Ship newly arived which they Concluded came from St. Helena since they had run away from thence & feared lest I should be one board her ; whareupon imediately they stood out againe into the Sea (had she came in thare I had catched her with good part of my mony one board, which the men had divided amounge themselves) & went into the Hand of white to the port of Cowes thare, & all run away with theire

plunder leaving the Ship at Anchor with oneiy some boyes in her.

But some of them went to the East India house to tell the Company whare they had left the Ship, & to clear themselves Charged me with all the Scandelous crimes they could invent, which forced them thus to doe, but the highest Crime they Charged me with was Short allowance ; but before I came one Shdre in the Downs, by a boate that came of from thence I was told my Ship the Ton-queene was at the Port of Cowes, which was^he first news I had heard of her since she was carried away from St. Helena, & that thare lay a letter at Mr. Lodges at deale for me which without delay I went & received.

It was from S r Josiah Child himselfe wharein he advised me that the Tonqueene was come & severall had made intercession for my place to Command her, but bad me not be discouraged for none should displace me, & make Speede to come to him. This letter was as Comfortable to me as the saying of Boas to Ruth, & gave me Cause to blesse God that had inclined his heart to take compation one me.

Heere at Deale I mett one of the men that was in her when She was run away with from St. Helena, & he gave me a full account of all theire manner of proceeding, & that thare ware many that ware against that Action, but those that ware for it ware more & overpowred the others,

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CONTENTION AMONG THE CREW

& that theire intent was to goe into the Red Seas thare to take & rob the Indians Ships & vesselles & devide the Spoile ; but upon the Debate they found the Season of the yeare was to late that before they could come into the Red Seas all the Ships & vessals would be gone & so that designe was frustrated, neither could they propose any designe to goe through with but some would start objec-tions of some inconvenience attending that would Con-found it, for the Ship they had Sailed very bad that they durst not thinke to goe whare any sailing ships might meete for feare of being taken.

The first thing they went upon after they ware gotten Cleare from St Helena was to devide all the mony, first each man had his whole wages then dew & the rest was equially & alike divided amounge them all. But

afterwards they fell into a Confusion, Severall men being of a Severall minde, that they could come to noe Resolution whare to goe nor what to doe with the Ship they had now gott posession of This brought them to contend aboute the Supreeme Command & came to a dispute who should be Chiefe Captaine, thare being Severall pretenders to that office yho said they had as much right & done as much to gitt the Ship as any other, & ware as equiall & alike in dainger of hanging if taken as any of the rest.

In the meane time they who before ware officers expected more Command, & tooke upon them to locke up the wine & Brandy & alow the Common men onely one bottle p. Messe p. Meale while they dranke at will & pleasure themselves. This put the Common Seamen into a great heate of anger to see the officers excersise such an Arbitrary power over them as deprived them of theire rights in drinkeing at pleasure as the officers did, & resolved not to suffer such an Imposition to be laid upon them since they could say that without theire assistance or at lest permition the officers could never have carried away the Ship, but broake open the doore & brake it all to peeces that it could not be set up againe, & so they brought all to lay in common & every one would be draunke at pleasure.

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They divide
the money.

But contend
about the
Supreme
Command.

And break
up the door .

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1685.

The Chiefe
Mate's offer.

Sh John

Pf'ybourne's

Suspicion.

Folio 28.

This brought them into small parties & each party grew jeallous & Suspicious of the others, that at length it was taken as a Crime for any 2 to whisper togeather & began to looke one each other as an enimy. The Chiefe mate who was the Chiefe Contriver in this Barretry, seeing he could not keepe the men at his Command & Carry the Ship & them whare he pleased, made an offer that they should put him & 5 men his party with what they could carry in the long boate one Shore & they would acquitt the Ship & all belonging to her ; this was agreed one.

The next thing to Consider one was whare this could most safely be done that they might have oportunity to escape with what they had gotten from the hands of the hangman. Many places ware proposed in the West indies, or in Virginia, or Mareland, whare they might sell Ship & all & devide it amounge them, but theire Animosities ware grown so high that they could not come to any agreement but lay driving with the Ship two & frow in the Sea. Some of them phanssied they Saw my ghoast walking up & down in the Ship by which they Conjectured that I was dead, greife having broake/ny heart.

At length they came to a resolution vizt. to goe to St. Augoe & thare to Consider further what to doe, which they did, & offered to sell the whole ship to the govener for 2 thousand Boilers which made him mistrust they ware Rogues by offering the Ship so cheipe. Meanetime came in thare S r John Wybourne with 2 of the Eng 1 Comp 1 ships bound for East India ; he rode aboute one league from them & the people telling him they suspected the Ship, he sent his boate on board to know who & what they ware. They Carried all things so Subtilly, haveing broake of all her carved worke & galleries, that they passed examiniation undiscovered & pretended they ware a Ship Called the Greyhown belonging to Bristoll that had bin at St. Laurence & thare had lost theire mainemast, & had bin at St. Helena whare by the assistance of the whomeward bound Ships that came in while they ware

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THE MATE'S PARTY LANDED a.d.

1685.

thare they ware Suplyed with what they wanted, & by
nameing boath Ships & Cap 4 names togeather with Circum-
stances of the Hand, the boate returned to S r John with-
out suspition.

However to prevent further dainger that night they
weyed anchor & set saile from thence, & went one the
Weather side of the Hand & lay plying too & frow in the
Sea for Some time tell he was gone, & then came into
the Rode againe & desired the Govenors leave for the
Chiefe mate & 5 of his party to Stay one Shore, but he
refuseing it they Sailed thence to the Hand of Hogoe
whare the Govener thare Received them & gave them
leave to stay, so they tooke out as much as the longe The Chiefe
boate could Carry — 4 Bales of the Comp 65 Callicoes, the
Chyrurgery Chest, all sorts of armes & amunition, & all
my Cloaths, Chest & Beading with what else they cared
for — & left the Ship to the rest of the men to doe with her
as they should please.

Note. The tow thousand pound in PS~— ware one
Shore at St. Helena for I had not taken them one board
before the ship run away.

After, they tfoone Agreed (not knowing what to doe The other
with the Ship) to come with her to England, but so & $ emen carr y
to such places that they might have oportumty to save
themselves & theire mony &c. that they had for theire
Shares, which they did at the Isle of White, but some
of them haveing more then they could well carry left
some of my old Cloaths in the Ship, which I had againe.

This Relation Concerning theire Transactions in the
Ship after they had carried her away is a Digression that
hath led mee beside my purpose, yet I thought nessesary to
incert it but now I shall returne to my owne affaires whare
I left of.

According as S r Josiah Child had directed me in his SirJosiah
letter I received at Deale, I went to him at Wansted whare
he welcomed me with Expressions of greate Kindnesse &
Compassion, & bid me Comfort myselfe saying he would
Continew to be my friend & 1 must now begin againe. Folio 29.
kx 337 v

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

l686.
And Ms
kdfs.

TheEastindia

Company's

reception.

The question
of ike Author’s
discharge .

My Good Lady his wife did also exceedingly Commiserate my Condition & speake Comfort to my very heart, for which ''kindnesses I blessed God in my heart who had not left rhe Destitute of all Comforts, but gave me faviour in the flight of a man great in worldly power. He bad me loos p noe time, but goe imediately to the Isle of white & bririig the Ship thence to London, that She might be fitted & got ready to goe againe to India.

When I came & appeared to the East india Company I hail another Kind of reception then what I found from S r Josiah, Imputed to be the most unfortunate man like Jo*nah that for my Cause all this evill had hapned, & that a bate attended me, Denoting I was as Coniah a man that should not prosper in his dayes; in fine I was as much blanked as if I had run away with the Ship myselfe, when their) e whole losse was but 4 bailes of Course Callacoes, neither did the owners loose above 500 PS.—™, of which part was mine, but the greatest looser by far was myse*lfe, neither could they themselves Charge me any furth er then onely giveing Scant allowance of provisions whuth was the same according to Custome as in all theire *' ships. *

Notwithstanding all the Contumelious reports that the men had raised one me to Justifie themselves & make theire Barratry an act of necessity, Some carried it so far as to say that I had bin brought up in Slavery & could live upon turnep tops, & tharefore thought other men could faire as myselfe; nay it came to this point, that Cap 4 Knox was so unfortunnate a man not fit to be imployed in theire Service, & it was put to the question in theire Court of committies wheather they should— giveing me a small gratuety — discharge me from theire Service, whilest at the same time they that made the motion said they did beleeve him to be a very honest man: which as I was informed had Certainely bin Carried

had not S r Josiah Child then Govener opposed it, saying
the Company needed honest men to serve them, & to
turne me out of theire Service ware to cut my throat ; &

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PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE SEAMEN a.d.

1686.

as for misfortunes who could tell what another man might
have that should be put in my Steady & although the
motion went noe further yet it showed me how they stood
affected towards mee.

After this by S r Josiahs Directions I began to put the The Seamen
Seamens Bonds in suit & arrested severall of theire t uf ' tn $ u ' tL
Securites upon Breach of Bonds which stood good in Folio 30.
Law against them (for the Seamen ware all fled). These
men which ware Securites whome I had arrested, finding
they could not stand it out in Law petitioned the
Committy of the East India Company for redresse,
desiring they would restraine & forbid me to put The
theire bonds in Suite ; at which I was called in to the
parlour to the Committes & some of them deswaded mul *
me earnestly to rorbeare procecuting ror this Reason, Author.
that the Company had a very bad name already & that
this would make theire name so bad that they should
have noe Seamen to serve them hereafter, but would have
me refer the matters to them & # they would ajust it. I
could easely Gusse what Judgement they would give, since
they feared the Law of the land would be so faviourable
to me & before ^vere for discharging me theire Service.

I told them I desired nothing more then my Right as a
free borne Subject of England according to law, which I
doubted not but would faviour my righteous Cause since
it was so evident that I had bin grieviously Wronged.

However if S r Josiah Child would please to take the
matter in hand I would wholy Acqueise in his determina-
tion. I perceived they had rather I should have Chose some
other, so they went & acquainted S r Josiah who was not
pleased with theire proposal!, saying why should not I
have what right the law would give me, & bad me pro- But he
ceede with Viger & said he would assist me tharein. fmeeia with
None stood a tryall but all Complied & paid me a little, Vt & T '
not | part of the penalty of the bonds, what I could gitt
some more some lesse : & 1 gave them a Releese for time,
not to Cancell the bond lest hereafter I might git the
men themselves.

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KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1686.

1 686.

Folio 31.
The Author
■proceeded fa
Bombay with
the Kings
Commission.

Conti my
winds delay
them.

They take a
prize.

By this meanes I got a little mony to Suply my wants
& was faint to sell my ^ part of the Ship at a low
rate for want of mony to fitt out, & so I went to sea one
my third voiage for the East indies with what little stocke
I could gitt togeather, bound now for Bumbay with the
Kings Commission under the great Seale of England to
make War against the Grand Mogoll & his subjects, &
to take all Ships & vessalls belonging to them as I should
meete in my passage theather, & the Company added to
my number 30 soldiers so that 1 carried out 63 men &
had 24 guns.

This designe pleased me very well being very sutable
to my present Circumstances, haveing but little Stocke to
trade with, & this in all appearence seemed a ready way
to raise my decayed fortune haveing a full power by the
Kings, as well as the Companies Authority, to take booty
from the Indians which I knew ware not able to make
any Considerable resistance tho my force ware small, &
would not suffer my thoughts to wade far into the Equity
& Justnesse of such Actions since my Commission accord-
ing to human law would beare me out.

In my passage I was much obstructed by Contrary
winds, as Balam when the Angeli stoped his Asse, that

made my voiage longe & tedious that 1 could not reach Bombay the port that I was first bound to, but forced upon the Coast of Arabia whare I persued severall ships but they escaped from me by sailing faster then we, but camming into the Gulph of Percia I chased a ship one shore & all the men run away from her in theire boate to the land.

This ship we soone gottof againe without any dammage & brought her with us into Percia; She came from Cindy & was full laden with Callicoes, but upon examination the Eng 1 Agent ordered me to deliver the ship to the Percians which I did with all her goods ; however when 1 came whome to England the Company made me pay Considerablely for goods said to be plundered by my men out o£ 4 ier, whareas I thinke wee deserved a reward for

savelng her when she was one the shore, for it was my duty to examine all Ships & they should have staid in her to have given an account to whome she did belonge, & in truth I doe beleeve that the ship did belonge to the subjects of the Mogoll although they was willing that 1 should deliver her.

The war then being broake out all tradeing ceased, onely one the Mallabar Coast which is not under the Mogoll, & haveing spent aboute one yeare Crusing I was sent whome laden with Coffie & pepper. As Concerning Circumstances relating to this war & the reasons to give the Comp ie a right to Sease the Ships & goods of the Indians & Convert them to theire own use is beside what I intend, which is not to write what hapned in the world in my time, but onely wright passages that Concerne myselfe & to shew how Gods providence hath led me too & frow in the world.

In my passage whome being aboute the Lattitude 21 North & in the month of December the Ship sprange a leake & it increased that we feared the Ship would not swime to carriue us to England. Therefore I went backe to Berbados wh^re I unladed the whole Ship & Carreened her & stoped the leake. Meanetime War broake out with france, this was Anno 1688, but by Gods good providence I came safely whome to England & made a good voiage boath for my owners & myselfe ; thus God shewed me a token for good that made my enemies asshamed for I came home alone. The Ship being come whome S 1 Josiah Child ordered me to acquaint the owners that the Ship must be sold, which was that he might have her wholy in his owns hands, for severall of the owners being great

& rich men would oppose him in many projects of his designes : they see the meaning that he intended to have the Ship wholy in his owne hands & buy them out which was the thing intended : some that ware my friends advised me utterly to forsake goeing in ship Tonqueene & build a great new Ship & they would Continew owners with me & said they could bring in severall others to hold parts.

Am.

1688.

Bad trade caused by the Wat.

Folio 32.

Wat broake out tilth France.

The

Tonqueene to be sold .

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1688-9.

And is bought h Sir Josiah Child.

Folio 33, Who Jits her for a mage to Sumatra.

Instructions for the mage.

I thanked them & told them 1 was very willing so to doe but was loath to leave S r Josiahs service, & they went with me to S r Josiahs house to discourse him one this matter & advised him to sell away the ship Tonqueene in which I could not gitt monies for the owners nor Creditt to myselfe. S 1 Josiah would not Consent, but said he would wholy buy the Tonqueene & I should goe in her & fitt her to my owne mind, & that he did per-forme as I did the other though Contrary to my owne intrest & benefitt, because i would not be ungrateful! to my former Benefactour.

The ship being now very well fitted the Company had occation for slaves at Bencoolen one the West Coast of Sumatra, & 2 of their Capts Refused to goe one such a voiage although they offered to pay at the rate of 20 pounds p. head, therefore the voiage was put upone me as being a man brought up under hardships with misfortunes as if nothing worse Could befall me then what I had scene & gone through before. The ship being now wholy S r Josiahs & his family, although the voiage was hazardous in sundry respects yet since it seemed to be advantageous to him I willingly undertooke it, tho to me thare seemed but little profet to be made & I should a found it so had not providence wrought better for me abroad then was intended heere at whome.

For I was to saile directly for St. Laurence & carry what negros I could gitt thare to Bencoolen & thare to lade whome with pepper. At St. Laurence now thare was a dubble dainger, before onely the Negros but now that Coast was much hanted with sea pirates & Bencoolen the most sickely place in the known world that it is diffi-cult to gitt seamen to goe such a voiage, & this S r Josiah appointed for my Lott & had thare bin pepper to a loaded the Ship whome from Bencoolen my voiage would have bin little better then bare wages, but thare being noe pepper I was sent to Bengali & from thence laded for England ; this turned the Dice to run one my side.

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VOYAGE TO SUMATRA

A.D.

. 1690.

There was so many Difficulties attended this intended The projen a voiage that S r Josiah Child himselfe did somewhat doubt doubtefulhtte. of Good Successe, but his great Zeale for the Compaines

good made him forgitt the Hazard of his owne many,

& after he had given me all the Cautions & Instructions
he could he left me to make use of them so far as to
myselfe should seeme Convenient ; thus I tooke my leave
of S r Josiah haveing not one line in writing but onely
verball instructions, & bad mee delay not but procuted
my voiage. Then I went to S r Joseph Hearne being
Govener of the Comp e to acquaint him that S r Josiah had
dispatched me & I came to receive his orders. (Note
the Company had not one peniworth of goods in the
Ship). He onely wished me a good voiage & said the
Compaines letters should meete me in the Downs, & bad
me not to delay so tooke leave thare & that night I
lodged one board Ship at Gravesend.

By Contrary winds & other occations it was 5 or 6 dayes
before I gott into the Downes whare 1 stayed 4 dayes Folio 34 .
longer but noe letters from the*Company came. Meane-
time the wind came Easterly which is a faire wind for my The Author
purpose, & thgre ware 4 Guinie ships bound out who all starts with a
resolved to take that opertunity of wind for thare was fa re
noe Convoy intended for us. Upon this I considered
with myselfe & Consulted with my men if they ware
willing to saile with these guiniea Ships; they all well
approoved so to doe. This put me upon a resolve to
saile since S r Josiah Child, who was principally Concerned
& acted for the whole owners, had left all to my Dis-
cression & the Company who had nothing in the Ship
could loose nothing if any Accident should happen, there-
for Concluded it not worth staying & loose such good
Company, which was next to a Convoy, onely for letters,

& we sayled from the Downs the 7 day of January 1690
with a prosperous gaile that Continewed to Carry us
beyound any dainger of the French Crusers.

Had I missed this oportunity I had wholy lost my The dainger
St. Laurence Voiage which was the most profitable part of

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§

A.D.

1690.

St. Laurence
infested with
Pirates.

Folio 35.

King Toman –
uallarebo.

Who slew
Ryhassa.

KNOTS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

the whole, for the season of the yeare would have bin to far spent. Thare was one East India ship that should have sailed with me at gravesend, but by missing this oportunity she sayled not till May following & by her they sent the letters for India that I left

In our passage out we fell in with 2 setts of french priviateteeres ; they came neere & viewed us & departed from us againe. I tooke in some wine for my voiage at the Hand of Teneriefe, & thence proceeded directly for St. Laurence haveing had seasonable weather all the way heere. I found this Coast had bin infested with English pirates which sailed 4 or 5 dayes before I came in, & 3 ware one shore lost : many of theire men ware buried heere & some few ware living. Thanks be to God all my men Continewed in health thought I lay 3 month one this Coast. Whilst I rode at Anchor heere one Pirate ship sailed by me to another port 5 leagues distance, from whence he sent a message to tell me he would come to buy some stores etc. that he wanted, but I found I had bought all the slaves as that port afforded so sayled away not staying to suply his wants, for if his strength had bin more then mine I knew he would make his owne prise & perhaps exchange Ships into the bargan.

From hence I went to King Tomanuallarebo, Son of old King lightfoot & Elder Brother to Rybassa that so persecuted & plundred me in a former voiage. I sent up a man to tell him who I was & for what I came, & upon hearing my Name he saied his eares had seene me before when I came to his Brothers, & he would come downe to see me with his eyes. When he came & we mett we rubed noses & shaked hands in testemony of friendship & welcome & he seemed to bemoone me for suffering so much from the hand of his Brother, saying for that very Cause he slew him himselfe with his owne hand. 1 beleeve it was truth for I heard the same boath before & after from the Common people thare. In the end it prooved better to me that was the sufferer of wronge then to him that was the Dooer, & better also

that I did forbeare to take revenge when 1 could have done it by firing small shott amoungst them after 1 had exchanged my men, as they sat t in a heape one the sand & perhaps that might have bread 111 blood in some whose relations might have bin shott whareas my patience & forbarence breead good & produced pitty & Compation from all, in so much that the Kinge himselfe revenged my quarrel!.

He told me he had 23 Wives; he brought with him Els wives y aboute one Dozen & a halfe, they ware very much ihe mnn [r °f adorned with beads of divers Coullers, far more then hls Zoning* the Queens of Rivovena King of Augustaine, but the King himselfe was in a plaine dresse but few beads, but had a great Retinew well armed ; his grandure appeared by the power of his word & Absolute Authority he had over his people who wholy devoted themselves to his Command, for none durst buy nor sell but with his leave & at his price, but this is Relating to trade.

I had cut a large peece of timber in the woods which I His Absolute had not Strength to gitt out therefore desired the Kings fry-

assistance, which he willingly granted saying ‘now you shall see ho\^ great a King I am \ & Commanded all the men to deliver theire armes to his wives & Daughters, Folio 36.

& then he ordered his Eldest So nn Chemaniena to take all the men with him & Carry downe the tree that I had cut & lay it in my faoate. So soone as the King had done speakeing the Prince Chemaniena & all arose & ran hollowing to the place, & tooke up the Timber upone theire sholders, the prince himselfe being at the foremost end, & ran it downe into my boate.

The King & I walked hand in hand after them ; with one hand he led me & in the other hand he held a bottle of Brandy saying unto me as we walked £ see how all obey my word’, & when the worke was done Prince Chemaniena His Smn’s came & licked his fathers knees in testimony of his °^ mcL obedience, & helped us to drinke our bottle of Brandy & the Queenes & Kings Daughters & Court ladies delivered the armes againe to the Noblemen & Guards.

A.D.

1690.

His power
cruwell
Justice .

Folio 37.

He Kills a
boy thief e.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I shall give one instance more of his power & Justice. My Cooke hapned to Catch a lad stealeing a puter plate one shore in the very act & brought him to me ; thare ware many eye witnesses so that he could not denie it. I bad put him in Irons to hold him that he should not run away tel I could send him to the King who was aboute 3 miles distance from me. The Same day I sent him to the King with my Doctor to require Justice of the King, but longe before I sent my prisoner the King had notice of all what had hapned & expected when I should send or bring the prisoner : thare went with my Doctor a youne man, sonn to a person of quallity, that was my interpreter to whose Charge I delivered the prisoner out of Irons. When they came neere to the Court they heard that the King was drunke, & my interpreter presumed to fun depending I supose upon his quality to delay bringing the boy to the King so longe that the King heard that 1 had sent him; for it was intended not to bring the prisoner before the King till next morning that he had sleept himselfe sober. At this tfte King was inraged against my interpreter & sent out his guards to Catch him but he dead, & they found the boy in his fathers ijouse who was a man of good note that towne, & brought him to the King who was laying alonge one his bed against the Doore. He examined the boy who confessed the fact; at which the King rose up from his bed & tooke downe a Lance that stucke in the Thatch over his head, then the boy fell downe at the Kings feete beging mercy, & all aboute the King ran away. As my Doctor was runing away with the rest the King Called him to stay, saying he must see the Cap' should have Justice. Then the King tooke the boy by his left hand & lifted him up & led him out of the house, & directing his Lance against the boyes left side strucke it into his heart, & after the boy was fallen downe wallowing in his blood he strucke his lance twice throught his body, & then the King went & sett

downe one his bed againe, haveing stucke up his lance in
the Thatch, & his people came & stood aboute him & he

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CRUELTY AND JUSTICE

A.D.

1690.

began a discourse tending to the necessity of that Cruwell
Justice which he had done from an Action of mine at my
first Comming which he breifely rehersed,

A younge lad that came passenger from England had
gott a small lance & was throughing it onely for sport &
exersice : it hapned as he throughe the lance alongth by
the house side, not seeing anybody in the way, as the
lance was flying alonge a negrow hapned to come crosse
from the end of the house, & the lance strucke him one A young lad's
the ribs that the blood just came out & the lance fell mschance '
downe. At this the people laid holde one the lad &
brought him to me saying he had killed a blacke man. I
went with my Doctor to see the wound which was so little
that he could not put a tent in : however the man groned
as if he ware mortally wounded & they sayed the blood
all went inward : I thought it not fitt to make light of a
wound done by a weapon of war lest heereafter it might
hapen to be done to my side, but bad my Doctor dresse
it thought dresseing was needlesse to so slight a wound &
they carried the wounded mafi whome, who lay by it some
dayes & I dayly sent my Doctor to dresse him till he Folio 38.
could not any signe of the wound. Meanetime I sent
the younge lad one board & told them if the man should
dye I would make satisfaction to the Kings Contentation :
this the King hard of as he was comming on the rode, &
sent to me for the price of a slave although thare was
onely a man pricked & he now well recovered againe.

I did not extenuate the fault because it was don with a
weapon of war but told the Kings messengers I would
prevent any such like action thareafter for the boy should
not come any more one shore, & was willing to give the
King what he required. They told me a gun would Con- The Author
tent the King ; that being but of a small valew Contented Contents the
me as well to give it: however this the King tooke so ^ w ' u ^ a
well & as a high peece of justice in me, that he bore it in
mind & now tooke this opertunity to make me retaliation
by killing the theife. Had 1 known his severity &

Cruelty I would have lett the theife goe, but I was in

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A.D.

1690.

Folio 39.
They Chase
ike Enemies
C&nows.

And set sails
for Benccokn.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

hopes he would have given me the boy. His friends
soone buried him neere the place whare he was executed
& at my comming to the King he shewed me the blood
dryed one the ground. I fared the better for this execution
for before I had severall things stole away, but now I
found myselfe safer.

1 continewed trading heere till September & then I had
notice that 2 Pirates ware riding at Augustaine ; soone after
we saw 3 Canooes sayling in the offing standing away to the
Southward, at the same time some of this King Tomanua-
larebos noblemen ware one board who told me these
Cannoos belonged to Rivovena King of Augustaine, who
ware Rogues & enimies to King Toman uelarebo &
earnestly pressed me to send my boate to Catch them.
This brought me to thinke that they might be sent one
purpose to Discover whare I lay, & to make report to the
2 ships that they might know whare to find me & so come
& take me, therefore concluded it to be my Intrest to take
them & Imediately I sent my boate well maned & armed
& 2 of the Kings Noblemen®in her to Chase those Canows,
but before they could come up with them they got one
shore & left theire Canows & ran away into the woods.
One of the Canows my boate brought one board with
them, in which was onely fishing gaire & some small Iron
Minion shott to sinke theire hookes I presented the
Canow to the King who sent Imediately to seeke in the
woods to Catch the men but found them not.

By this time I had got all the slaves that ware heere
for they would scarce bring one in a weeke, & the season
of the yeare was late & my Demerage began not till 4
months after my ariviall at Bencoolen, & I had cause to
feare that those men whome I had Chased one shore would
gitt to Augustaine & discover me to the Pirates : these

reasons well Considered mooved me not to stay any longer.
I tooke noe leave of the King fearing my Deniall one his
unreasonable & important askeing might offend his
majesty, but got all I had one shore into the boate in the
night & brought it one board & set saile for Bencoolen

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ARRIVAL IN SUMATRA

A#D.

1690.

whare in Decemr following I safely arived haveing buried
but very few slaves in my passage. Heere according to
agreement betweene the Compy & my owners I landed all
the slaves I had brought for which I had Bills of exchange
drawn on the Company by theire Chiefe dew at 40 dayes
sight & payable to the owners in London.

At my first landing one this place the Second came as
is Customary to meete me & welcome me one shore &
goeing with me up the steps into the fort he fell downe &
lay as dead one the steeps : this somewhat startled mee,
haveing heard before of the outrageing sickenesse that
reigned in this place & when I came up into the fort the
Guard, which Consisted of aboute 20 men all looking like
GhoastSj put me into mallonchoIy thoughts at the first
sight, but falling into discourse of Buisnesse with the
Chiefe soone diverted me, & in some dayes the Gentle-
man that fell on the steps recovered againe for a little
while & then died in earnest. I continewed one this West Folio 40.
Coast of Sumatra aboute 4 months & was some what dilli-
gent in observing the Country & products thareof, it
haveing ever since my Memory bin imputed to be the
most sickelynCountry in the known world. This coast all The Country
alonge is full of woods, & the land up in the Country is °f Bmookn
very high & mountainous & that by the sea side is not bribed.
very low, for generally it falleth downe to the sea in Clifts.

Joyning to our fort in Bencoolen is a plaine above 2 miles
every way of dry hard ground full of longe grasse, which
in dry weather they set one fire & it will run all over the
plaine & Cleare the ground. The Country seemeth very
pleasant & greene, the earth or soyle exceeding rich &
firtile which I conclude from the growth of plants that 1
know well in other Countries, which heere I see grow
much better & larger ; heere are of most sorts of rootes
& plants & fruits that grow in India, all which florisheth Tk fruits
& groweth so well that I am perswaded to believe the wd plants.
ground will bears any plant that can grow in hot
Countries, for I take it for granted that all people beleeve

that Could is naturall to some sorts & heats to others.

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KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1690.
Full of Fine
Rivers.

Raines.

Timber .

Folio 41.
Great plenty
ofDammer.

Feu

provisions and
fezoet people .

This Country also is full of fine rivers navigable for greate boates to goe many miles up in to the Country ; but generally Barrd at the sea ; also the land is full of Cleare springs which sendeth forth running streemes ot pure water many of which I have Dranke ot that I might make report of them, & to my paliate they tast altogcather as well as other Country waters.

Neither is the weather heere extraordinary hot! although! it be so nee re the equinoctiall ; the reason I judge because the land is so greene & moissoned with runing rivers & streames, & the mountaines are at a great Distance. I have bin upon this Coast from December till June.

The raines, Thunder. & Lightning one this Coast 1 confesse are very severe, that it powreth downe streemes instead of drops, yet sometimes it will hold faire as I have seene aboute Aprill & May one month togeather.

The timber that groweth in this Country is large enough for Masts for any ship, but generally soft & spungie & when dry exceeding light & not very strange ; I beleeve growing in moist ground makes the wood so soft.

The rice heere is as good as in other parts of India, & they have severall sorts of rice heere. •

Dammer is plenty in this Country, which is a gum that runneth out from a wild tree & falleth one the ground, & when great fiudes come it washeth it downe into the rivers & casteth it one the Shores whare people picke it up. It is like Rossen, & being boyled with oyle be∗ commeth soft as pitch ; which they use for all theirc Ships in India as we doe pitch.

Provisions of noe Sort are very plenty, neither is the Country poppolous ; the towns small & but few people in them & they lay a great distance assunder, & those few people which are heere appeare to be but a' feeble leane small sort of people. These things I take to proceede as Consequencies from the Sickelinesse of the Country, for during my being one this Coast many of the Country people died & many lay Sicke. As for my owne part, notwithstanding I tooke all the care of myseite

CAUSES OF THE SICKLY CLIMATE

possible yet I should frequently be feaviourish, & then I would lay downe & cover myselfe hott & swett it out.

Thus much may serve for a Briefe account of Ben coolen & Coast Ajacent from nothing whareof I can infire any naturall Cause why this Country should be Sickely. I have heard some say it is much subject to fogs & ill scuts, but I found it not so at my being thare more then in other Countryes, but that which I thinke causeth Sickenesse is a contagious Aire which proceedeth from no other Cause but the will of the Almighty Creatour, who turneth a fruitfull land into Barrennesse for the wickednesse of them that Dwell tharein.

Yet I see some Concurrant Causes that doth add to the Sickelinesse of the place, as first theire houses are leake & weet that a dampe steeme ariseth in them, with an earthy sent as in a Vault ; that the wales are moist & sweat like Marbles. Secondly the Dyett that is dressed for the Companies table (in itselfe is good) is so nasty, as also the Dishes in which it is brought, that I beleeve it doth fowle the Stomacke & infect the body, & theire butter, bread, flower, etc., provision being brought so far, are spoiled or very bad before they have them, & thirdly the soldiers Dyat is Commonly Rice boyled in water, & so let stand tell it grows sower & hath a Sent & tast, for rice as it is new boyled hath noe more then Bread.

This rotted rice they eate so for want of fleesh or fish to reliish it, & it is so far become a Costome that noe perswadeing can make them leave it without giving them

better victuals. For in the beginning of every month
they are paid wages vizt 5 Dollers p. man p. month,
& the stattude price of Punch is 1 Doller p. Bowl, so
they buy rice enough to keepe them from sterveing &
the rest they Drinke in Punch, & the Punch house is
keept for the Govener & generally the soldiers are trusted
to drinke one the Score, so that many of them that are
good fellowes have not above one Doller dew at pay day
to buy rice, for which he must make the aforesaid sause
or eate it with nothing.

A.D.

1690.

The Cause of
the Suklenesse
of the Country,

Damp Houses .

And nasty
Dyett.

Folio 42.
The soldiers
provision.

35 1

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1690-92.

Reformed by
the Author .

The Ship tieai
oveiset up the
fiver of
Ganges.

Folio 43.

Danger from
the French .

At my being thare 1 did moove, so far as became one in my Station, to have those inconveniences reformed, but thare was not wharewkh to doe it. The houses ware Covered with plaster which the Guns firing had Shaken, k sometimes earthquakes happen & they wanted men of skill to mend them k make them tight, & for cookes they had only theire Common Slaves which knew noe better.

But as to the Soldiers diet, I carried it a great way that I found those who would undertake to victuall a man at 3 Dollers p. Month with 3 meales p. day, & at 2 Dollars p. Month with 2 meales p. day, k at 1 Doller p, Month for 1 meale p. day, to be dieted with very good & white rice with sauses of stewed hens or stewed fish, with hearbs, pumpkins, roots, &c, & most of the Soldiers put them-selves to these quarters.

Laying so longe one this Coast had infected us that after I came to sea in my passage to fort St. George most of my men fell sicke, some of feaviours & some of fluxes & many died. I was faint to put into Trigombar to gitt refreshing for my men whare I was plentifully suplyed, & being late when I came to forte St. George I was soone Dispatched away with silver & satenage for Bengali, whare I arived in September Anno 1692, & gott up with my Ship very well into the river as far as Calcutta, which is aboute 200 miles up the river of Ganges. Heere I lay waighting for my lading of goods for England till Febrewa^y following but in coming downe the river the pilot run the Ship one a Sand, & She was neere overseting with a rich lading in her, but the tide washed away the sand from under the Ship & hove it up one the leeward side that the Ship leaned thareone, k lay so tell the flood tide came which lifted her of againe without any harme; thus God saved me from that dainger & brought me safe out into the wide sea whare the Pilot left me and returned one Shore.

I knew at the same time thare ware 4 french men of Warr in the Indian Seas, & we at warre with trance

3S2

CALL AT BARBADOES

Att).

, , ^ 93 –

therefore my Care was to shun meeting of them ; therefor

directed my Course Wide of the Cape DebonaSprance &
passed it in a high Lattitude, & to shun them I would not
goe into that port but passed away for St. Helena whare it
was so late before I arived that I could not reasonablely
beleeve that the french would lay thare waiting to expect
any whomeward bound Ships. Heatherto the good pro-
vidence of God attended on me & brought me and all my
men in health. I stayed heere some time to refresh our-
selves, but the longer that I might have the better Season
to fall in with the Hand of Barbados when the Sun was not
in theire Zeneth. Heere the same hand of divine pro- They fall Into
vidence brought me in in safety and not one man sicke Shades.
amoungst us, and notwithstanding Sickenesse Raged yet
not one of us ware touched till my men ware taken away
to serve in one of the Kings Ships, whare they got the
infection & brought it one board with them into my Ship
that out of 38 men which 1 brought into this rode l had
remaining but 25 to saile the Ship whome for Engl, when I
departed thence, 3 of which ware Indians.

I rode thare the usuall seasons that Hurricans used to God’s
happen, as August & September, with onely my Doctor & P im ^ nce i0

3 blacks one board with me, all the rest of my men ware ihe uthor '
taken away to serve in the afforesaid man of warr when if

a Hurry Cane had happned as it did the very next yeere
following in that very Season, vizt Sept, the Ship would
have bin my Coffen & we unavoidable^ must have
perished togeather; also the Contagious feaviour, which
destroyes so many & spares but few that it once fals on,
seased one mee with great voiolence, but God suffered it
not to destroy me but restored mee againe to perfect
health; thus dayly doth he renew his mercies & dayly
gives me new Causes to praise his name.

When I sailed from Berbados for England I had Folio 44.

4 smalle Ships, & of lesse strength then my Ship, in
Company to assist each other in case wee should meete
with an enemy, but aboute the Lattitude of Bermudas
arose a storme that parted me from them & left me with-

k–c. 353 2

KNOX’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1693.

Continmes on
the mage.

The Author's
arrival at
Corke.

And at
London.
Folio 4 c;,

out any vissible assistance. This put mee to seecke it elsewhare & to perscribe meanes, for my dayly prayers ware for Darke & tempestious weather & rageing Seas, that if I could not passe undiscovered to an eneminv yet he should not have a safe oportunity to come neere to board me.

But although it was the will of the Almighty God that I should come safe, yet his wisdome thought it unfitt to doe it after my devices, but would shew me that the wayes of the Most high are past mans finding out, & that the Darknesse & the light are boath alike to him ; for when I came into the Soundings, which is the place of greatest Dainger, thare l found the weather Cleare & bright that I could be seene a greate distance, instead of the Darknesse that I prayed for to Cover mee, & the Winds very small & the Sea Calme, but he set an invissible guard aboute me that noe evell came neere my habitation ; thus I came safe & alone into the Harbour of Corke in Ireland one the 23 day of December Anno 1693, & Contrary !o my intended purpose which was to goe into the River of Waterford, in order to which I fell into the Eastward of Corke & was gott within 10 leagues of Waterford tell the wind came Contrary & forced me backe to Corke, which prooved to my great Advantage, whare lay a Kings Ship of 50 guns ready to saile for Plimouth, under whose Convey I went theather, whareas if I had bin at Waterford as I did intend 1 might have layen thare some months for want of Convey. In my passage from Corke to Plimouth we had a sore Storme of Contrary winds at S.E. which Continewed 5 dayes; worser weather I had not mett in my whole voiage. However I lost not Company of the man of warr but came safe with him into Plimouth, & soone after Came safe with the Ship into the river of thames. What Cause have I to give thankes unto the Lord that hath dealt thus bountifully with me whome the other day all men Despised & rejected as the most unfortunate of

men, thus hath his providence lead me (in whose hands

SIR JOSIAH CHILD'S SHIP

m y times are) aboute upon the Earth & Seas in many various Conditions of life & driven me, as Mr. Baxter Sayeth by theratnings of great Callamities & Death to cry to heaven for healp when all earthly meanes failed, & by frequent & wonderfull deliverances hath answered my prayers incourageing me still to Cry to heaven from whence my helps commeth,

I haveing had such Ample experience of the vanity & unsertainety in all Human Courses, I thought it best now to acquit myselfe from the Ship which grew old & defective, as did also myselfe, since God had blessed me with a little, and lie still at whome, for the Ship that I had was so small as to be a prey to every body that mett her, & the Warr with france grow so daingerous that it was very difficult for Marchant Ships to escape, in-so-much that most of the who me ward bound East India Ships ware taken that came after me.

At this time that I came whome S r Josiah Child had a ship a building after his owne new invention to lie so light as possible that her owne weight should not make her swime deepe, therefore she was built of very small timber that wquld not hold boring to drive trunnells, & the plancks ware onely nailed ; these timbers ware also made very thine that the hold should be the wider to Carry the more goods, & all the timbers ware placed very wide assunder for Aire to come betweene that the timbers should not stiffene one the other. This Ship was aboute 350 tunns but however her gun decke & great part of the upper worke was onely fir, in fine she was built so slight to make her light that I thought it would be hazardous in bad weather to be at Sea in her. This Ship (after the intended purpose she was built for fayled) S r Josiah Child offered me to goe Commander & Chief Marchant for Bencoolen & China.

Although I liked not the Ship in no respect yet this was a tempting voiage, but now the Company had taken away all the freedome formerly they gave in their indul-gences to trade in Small things, and for all whatsoever

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A,n.

1694.

A Ship of Sir
Josiah Child's
invention ,

Tis offeied to
the Author,
Folio 46.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1 694.

But he
mhlikes fou

And displeases
Stt Jonah
accordingly.

Folio 47,

goods any man traded In, they must pay the Company a mult or permission ; the Consideration hereof Dampd my intentions that I came to a pause wheather in these daingerous times of war I should goe to Sea with lesse priviledges then ever I did in time of peace, & it stucke the harder upon me because I wase not Necessitated by want, but could live very well & safely one Shore, & tho this new Ship was as big againe as the Tonqueenc which I left, yet she was the worst ship except the Tonqueene that was imployed in the service of the Company, so that I did not thinke myselfe well dealt by after so many yeares sufferings in theire Service, & to bringe theire goods whome twice in the height of war in a small Ship of noe Strength, to have but a bad Ship still, & besides to be musled & wholy Debarred from eating any grapes while 1 worke in the vineyard but what I must pay the East India Comp e permision for, & to this efect I discovered my mind to S r Josiah Child.

He was not pleased that I misliked a Ship of his owne invention, and Secondly, that I thought much to serve the Company one the forementioned termes to pay per-mition for all goods I traded in myselfe. A answered it was more then ever I had done before & desired the same priviledge as I used to have. He told me they

could not allow Indulgences ; I replyed I thought any
man could give that which he could sell, but this seemed
like popish Doctring who will not part with Bulls &
Pardons without mony. At this he grew more dis-
pleased ; I told him I did acknowledge his faviours ware
great as in puting me into a Ship when I came first from
Captivity ; Secondly in Continewing me in her when the
Company would have expelled me from theire Service,
for being an unfortunate man, &c, & ware the Ship to
goe in his owne service and one his account I was so far
from making termes with him of whose generous dealings
I had such large experience that I would leave wages &
all at his discression ; but I had noe reason to rely on
the East India Company who had never showed me any

DISPUTE WITH THE COMPANY

kindnesse or favioure onely a guift of twenty pounds for
20 years Slavery ; this they gave as a deede of Charity &
at my coming whome of my first voiage from Tonqueene
they multed me fourty & five pounds for that which
they owned to be noe transgression, vizt, Trade from
one port to another in India was expressed to be free
notwithstanding the oath in theire Indulgence Anno 1681,
in order to which I bought 600 peeces Silkes to sell at
Batavia which I could not doe, & from thence 1 was
to saile directly for England.

These silkes I offered to the Companies factore thare at
the price they cost me, which they refused to buy not
beleeving they would turne to any account in England,
for the Company had never dealt in that sort of Silkes;
this being good part of my estate I could not leave them
behind, me therefore desired the factors to advise the
Company in the Generali letter that I was necessitated to
carry them whome to England, which they did as fully as
if I had indited it myselfe; but notwithstanding it was the
first penny I had gott to begin the world after my Cap-
tivity, by the law of Mult I could not be pardoned but
Condemned, & paid it, & when in my Second voiage my
Ship was run away with & all that I had in the world was
in her & I left with onely Cloaths one my Backe, in stead
of pitty I was Blamed althoughe my perticular losse was
far greater then the whole Companies, which was but 4
Bales of coarse Cloath & the men that Committed the fact
rather Justified, when as by all the Suggestions that any
of my adversaries could make against me none could
charge me higher then to have starved my men who ware
fed with S l Josiah Childs Beefe, for thare was no other
in the Ship, neither doe I to this day know any Cause
why the Company should be incensed against mee, unlesse
it ware because I did incline to Cleave more to S r Josiahs
side & intrest then any other ; & it is frequently so when
any are angry with another they are displeased with those

whom he loves & that love him, especially when the
party is above theire reach, & when I came whome from

A.D*
1694.
The favours
of the East
India
Company.

The km of
Mult .

Folio 48,

Anger heeds
anger .

a.d. KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1694.

Surratt one my third voiage full laden & without any
Damage they would not lett mee goe unpunished^ & since
they could not bring mee under the law of mult, tor 1 had
bin at Berbados before I came whome & sold what I had in
America, for the prohibition extended only to Europe, yet
they found a way to Catch mee & Charged me /.3S3 tor
damages in bringing a Ship of Sindy in the Percia the
place she was bound to if I had not mett her according to
the Kings Commission, But S r Josiah Child stood my
friend & saved mee.

And one my fourth & last voiage when I had run the
Gantlope in the height of war with france, gone out &
come whome alone without any Convey, & bin at such
places that scarce any would goe, & finished all I unter-
The vaka or tooke efectually & brought whome a very rich Cargoe,
a run Cm goe. so y heere for aboute ninty thousand pounds Ster-

ling, that the Company could object nothing against mee
for any mismanagement, for by Gods assistance ail things
went well even with him who not longe since they would
have rejected for an Unfortunate man ; & as Labans
Countenance was Changed towards Jacob because God
had blessed him, so the Company Dealt by mee, for what
little I had brought whome for my owne use they
favioured me not one peny in theire accustomed per-
mision, saying I might well afford to pay somewhat to
the Company out of my profet I had made at Berbados
where I had sold my goods, althought it was by order that

I went thare, whareas I thought one the Contrary they could doe noe lesse then give me free those few nessesary toho 49. goods I had brought for my owne use since I had made

'cmtcmei so ® 00C ^ a vo ' a § e ^ or t ^ em through so many great perrills

harsh ‘ & f azar(L. And after that the accounts of the whole

Dealings freight & demorage for the voiage ware Adjusted & Signed, they Charged me to pay for 5 peeces of Callicoe they said ware wanting in tale in one of the bales which I never saw neither packed nor opened : I pleaded the unreasonablenesse of the thinge to pay for that which I excepted against in Bill of Lading, vizt ‘ inside & Contents

QUARREL WITH SIR J0S1AH CHILD

unknown \ & the fault might be in the packer, however since the Committy had Adjudged me Guilty I was faint to pay it, which was but £5. 10s. & I thought not well worth Contending for.

After this I had 10 peeces of fine Cosses sent p. ship Sampson from Bengali for a small Debt I left owing thare, & 1 never received but 7 peeces ; those they rated at ^5 p peece in order to deduct 18 p cent for permision. 1 told them I would willingly pay the permission if they would please to take the goods at theire owne price, which they thought was to Deere & then rated them at ^4 pound p. peece & 2 peeces of remolls at ^3 boath which I sold at that very price, but this I note that the Kings Cus- tomes came to but 41 Shillings but my permision paid to the East India Company was five pound nine shillings & ten pence.

The substance of what I have heere incerted I related then to S r Josiah Child as sufficient reasons to direct me not to rely one the Companies faviours & kindnesses which I could never find ; notwithstanding I can say with Jacob as he did to Laban, 1 have served them with my might, & therefore desired to make a firme Bargane & know what I might expect.

These arguments against the Companys hard dealings towards mee, which I offered him to make full proofe of. Displeased him more then all that I had said before, for he knew that all the laws & Custom es that the Company stered by ware of his owne making, & therefore tooke it as Spoken against himselfe though I used the Com- panies name; he could not well Justifie the Company against these Remonstrances that I had alleged & offered to proofe, but burst out in a hot passion saying £ you shall not goe in the ship 1 . I was sorry to see him excercise his passion instead of Acting by reason, & began humbly to

intreat his pardon for what he tooke amisse of my Dis-
course, telling him that tho I did looke one Ancient
Customes as Legall rights made me insest so far, yet since
he disliked treating for tearmes with the Company I would

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A.t>.

1694.

Sir Josiah

Child

displeased.

Folio 50.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1694.

His an get
waxes hot
against the
Author*

The Author's
Answer,

Folio 51.
Mtshapp to
Si? Jostah
Child's new
%>•

renounce all out of Duty towards himselfe, & desired he
would permitt me to proceede in the ship.

His anger was so hott that my Submission Could
not prevaile but said he knew I would serve him to
obliged him, but he scorned to be served so since he could
have five hundred pounds to put one in Commander (I

could not but know all this was but talke although thare hath bin Sumes of mony given to come into greate ships, whareas such as are able to give £500 would Scorne to Command such a Ship as this) as well as I knew that it was for his owne Intrest & not for mine that he would have me goe in her, else he would not have barred me from former priviledges of profett.

My Answer was that 12 yeares now I had bin in his Service & had performed 4 voiages & given him good Content, & never had so much as one unkind word from him. It Chiefely troubled mee that after all when old age was upon laying me by from further imployment in the world then to incur hts displeasure. At this he told me he perceived I designed to have a great Ship & he had done holding parts in new ones, but when those abroad came whome 1 should have a ship to my mind, but they ware all taken & lost coming whome ; however afterwards

1 perceived this was but a tricke to detaine me from goeing in interlopers &c. for not longe after he came in J- part in

2 great Ships.

This ship that was built after S r Josiah Childs invention was not fitt for Sale but lay one the builders hands, in so much that S r Josiah was faint to hold part & offered her to any that could gitt owners without £500, & a younge Pusser with much adoe gott owners for her & was Com- mander. But as she was riding at the Chaine at Depford with most of her provisions & stores one board, by mis- happ she came one shore & her timbers being small & weake they breake all assunder at the ronge heads from one end of the Ship to the other, for she could not bare her owne weight, & so filled with water which dammped all her bread & dry provisions. At length by much

FATE OF SIR J. CHILD'S SHIP

A.D.
1694.

labour they gott the Ship upright, & nailed boards one the broken places to stope out the water that she might swim to gitt her into a docke, & had it not bin that all her stores ware new & would sell at greate losse they would not have thought the ship worth the fitting, which came to aboute sixteene hundred pounds.

Had I bin Master of her most would have said that my old lucke had overtaken mee again e, but now one the

Contrary my happienesse it was that 1 was Cleare of her,
for some that ware owners said they wished She had bin at
my Charge when this damage happend, for I being able
should have made it good. I ought not to overlooke this
but account it a providence of God towards mee whose
Blessings are so great that want cannot drive mee to run
myselfe into a visible & apparrent Dainger, & after a great
expence occationed by her longe stay to be repared with
all her men one board in vittuals & full pay, she went to She sales for
Sea bound for Bengali & thankes be to god 1 am safe at
whome without want.

After this the Company would have mee goe Chiefe
either to St. Helena or Bencoolen, boath which are but
inconsiderable ^places either for profett or esteeme & the
latter the most Sickely part of the known world to either
of which places none but Such as are under the want of
foode & raiment would goe. I refused these theire
faviours telling them the true reason vizt. that Gods
Blessings to mee ware such that I could live at whome
in my Native Country far more Comfortablely then in
either.

Whitest I lay at whome Idle the Scotch had made an The Scotch
act of Parliament for an east India Company in that King- %f si
dome with great priviledges & Custome free for 21 om P an ^
years. This was so well approoved of in London that many Foho 52.
became Subscribers in-so-much that in one weeke they had
three hundred thousand pounds Subscribed & \ part paid
in in Ready mony, & I also subscribed one thousand
pound & also offered myselfe to goe in theire Service to
India. This the English East india Company tooke as an

361

A.D.

1694.
The Author
nprem&nded
for subscribing
to the Scotch
East India
Company.

He is offend
to be Chiefs
F acton? at
Spaahazvn .

But Exam
himself e zuth

reasons .

Folio 53.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

ill action, & I was sharply Repremandcd by Severall of theire members Saying I was turned Rebell &r had broaken my oath of allegence, which oath was onely to restraine all tread from Europe to India, & India to Europe, except what they permitted during theire joynt Stocke, which Joynt Stocke was lost & divided, for in Anno 1693 thare was a new Subscribtion to carry one the trade, the old Stocke being insufficient, also they had a new Charter wharein it was expressed that the old was forfited by not paying the Dew tax in due time ; therefore I concluded my oath did not Bar me from any other imphment, neither thareby had I sold myselfe to the Company to doe with me as to them should seeme good : but when the English parliament came to sitt they over-through all the Scots proceedings, & Charged the Directors guilty of high Crimes & misdemeanours for raising mony & administring oath in this Kingdome of England, so everyone with drew theire Subscribtion & it was as if it had never bin.

Some time after this*S r? Josiah Child offered mee to be Chiefe factour for the Company at Spawhawn in the Kingdome of Percia, which was a high & honorable Station fitt onely for a Marchant, & so exscused myselfe alledgeing my unfitness, but S r Josiah would not admitt of that excuse saying he knew my abillity. I could not reasonablely except against such an imployment, but it did not sute with my Disposition in regard of my age now to leave my native Country & live abroad ; & I did likewise mistrust he was willing to Send me out of the way lest I should be imployed by the Companies Adversaries, for if they once had me thare I could not safely gitt whome againe & then they could easely punish me by saying I was become a Rouge & lay what they please to my Charge, whilst by my far distance I am debarred to Speak'e for myselfe, therefore 1 resolved to prevent this seemeing dainger, which me thought was the more likely since they would have me to stay one shore to serve them one the land, in which I had not so much skill nor experience

REFUSES FACTORY AT ISPAHAN

as one the Seas, & therefore could the sooner picke a hole in my Coate.

I was Careful! not to ofend S 1 Josiah in refusing this

offer therefore said but little then onely alleging my Dis-
ability, but thought it better with Consideration to give
him my Answer in a letter wharein I Signified how dis-
agreeable it would be to my Age to live so remote,
& that now I was to old to learn e a new trade, & that it
was in expectation of Serving him at Sea that I was yet at
whome, & his Service I should alwayes account my greatest
happienesse ; & I heard noe more of this matter, & one
of theire Clearks who belonged to the Accountants office
was sent theather, for I never prest forward as to moove
or petition the Company for imployment Considering the
great Difficulties & Daingers one the seas in this war
with france, for 5 of theire best ships ware taken in one
yeare, & those that went one ware so Delayed by want
of Convey & Cloged by other impedements, as scarcety
of men &c., that made the voiage very unprofitable to
owners as the restraining of privi^te trade did to seamen.
These things Considered since God had Blessed mee with
somewhat to giaintaine mee, I thought it not amisse to
rest myselfe at whome in my native Country.

The sume of this that I have writen of passages of my
owne life is a history of Providence, which when I looke
over & Consider how many Daingers Almighty God hath
led mee through & strangely preserved mee, it causeth
mee to remember an accident that hapned in my youth
when I was aboute 14 years of age vizt. I fell from a
horse & pitched one my head, which so stunned mee that
I was carried whome sencelesse, but it pleased God that I
soone recovered & was well. This I must owne to be a
great Mercy, but to my Mother it was such that in her
last letter that ever she wrote to mee, which was some
time after I was at sea, she stricktly Injoyned mee never
to forgitt that great mercy which to the others that God
hath since showed mee was but a small one.

I goe not to Deminish Gods Mercies, but to Magnifie
3^3

A.2X

1694.

Too old to
leame a ne%
iuide.

God ’s

pi evidence m
his youth.

Folio 54.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1694.

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to him.

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permitted to
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ziorldh rides .

The JuthoTs
fain inaease
in Zeloite.

Folio 5$.

them, & from hence I infer that if my good Mother had lived to see the strainge & wonderful Diliverances (since) that God hath wrought for mee, which excelled the former like as Isralls Diltverance out of Babilon did theire redemption out of Egypt, what a strickt Command would she then Injovned mee by, &r how vehement would her exhortation have bin to serve my redeemer faithfully all the dayes of my life ; & notwithstanding since I have lived to receive & injoy so many wonderful! Diliverances ought I to be the lesse thankefull, God forbid.

From all Gods Mercifull Dispensations to mee all m\ life longe I make this observation, that although he sett his Providence to watch over mee for good yet he would not permitt me to increase in worldly riches &c., but continually, & from time to time, fed mee with foode Convenient for mee, as he did the Isralites with manna in the wildernesse which they gathered day by day & could not lay up in store, for when by a Dilligent Sc industerous struggling in the world I had gott a little togeather, 5 times he stript me naked & tooke all away, but still leaveing me food & raiment with which St. Pauli saith we ought to be Content.

The first time was when he tooke me from Liberty be Delivered me up into the hands of heathens, when I lost all that I had scraped togeather in the world which was

somewhat Considerable for a younge beginner according
to my Minority ; but however noe man can loose more
then (All), & heere one Zelone I began with nothing
againe haveing onely food given mee by those that keept
mee onely to eate it, & by a Dilligent hand I had againe
gott somewhat togeather Chiefely By Kneeting See., & then
by a Rebellion that hapned as I have related in fo. (60)
for want of the Kings subsistance my necessities Consumed
all I had gotten.

Then I began againe in my New quarters whare by the
Kings orders I was placed as I have mentioned in fo.
(141), & no sooner was I settled & gott a little in hand,
but the Hollanders Armie coming neere mee, I was carried

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VICISSITUDES OF FORTUNE a.d.

26 94 *

away into the mountaines. By this meanes I was quite Isbmkt.

undone & Broake againe : this was the third time. Then

1 dwelt one the top of a high Mountaine whare I could

find noe wayes or meanes to gitt a penny but onely out of

my fingars ends & I plyed Kniting Dilligently, & in time

God Blessed me with a small stocke againe with which 1

bought a peece of ground & Dwelt thare one & had a

full trade by lending corne one Intrest, that I left of

knitting for my substance increased to so much as 1 could His Substance

manage that I forbore to receive Maintainance from the z ? a & a ' me

King : this God put into my heart to forsake vollontarily

when I flead for my Native Country leaving all that I was zolkntanly

possessor of behind, & came out of that Country, whare

I had dwelt neere 20 years, as poore as I came into it.

This was the 4 time that providence stript me of this
worlds injoyments.

Then being returned from my Captivity one Zelone to
my native Country of England, by Gods good providence

I went out Master of a ship for China & his providence
brought me safe whome, & so*bltssed me in my baskett The Author
& my store that I had more worldly substance then ever Messed in Ms
I was master qf before in my whole life ; but it was his store '
blessed will to shew me againe the uncertainety of all
earthly things in the next voiage, haveing all I had in the
world with me in the ship my owne men run away with
her, & devided all that I had, even cloaths also, amounge
themselves as free plunder ; the manner with the Circum-
stances I have related in fo. 24 of Manscript. Then I
came to England poorer & more Destitute then when I
came out of my Zelone Captivity, for then I had some
small patrimony to receive & pittied by all, or at least not
hatted by any, but now these two Comforts failed me for
my patrimony was received & lost, & I was Despised &
hated by more then pittied, even as if I myselfe had Com-
mitted the fact especially by the members of the East Folio 56.
India Company ; but since I have observed it is the
Common fate of men in Distresse & in low Circumstances,
to be despised & scorned as it is to applaud & magnifie

3^5

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A*D.

1694,

The Generali
rule to
measure
Actions by
Success?.

God's zeayes
15 workes
uncerclmblc.

the rich & prosperous, as the Generali rule is to measure
Actions by the Successe, & this was the 5 time God tooke
all from me. However God forsooke me not but his
providence so ordered & Disposed matters that 1 went to
seaagaine, & made 2 successful! voiages in which he dealt
by me as by job & gave me more than ever 1 had before.

This I speake to the praise of his glory who hath bin
with me in all estates, for his mercy indureth for ever &
shewed me tokens for good that they that hate nice doe
see it & are ashamed.

This that I have writen is a true account of many remarkable passages or providences that have befallen me to the yeare 1694, which I would not have forgotten fay myselfe especially (nor my Relations) wharein i observe how uncerchable are Gods wayes & his workes past finding out, for his providence hath raised me up, & lest I should take to much Contentment in earthly things, the same hand of Providence hath pulled me downe & taken all from mee, & then strangely like Jonahs Gourd he hath made them grow again® fo my admiration beyound what my reason could Deserve ; & thus hath he dealt with mee time after time that I might be senceablc, that my healp cometh onely from the lord, which I could not so plainely have perceived if he had led me in a plaine & even way, which would have tempted me to sett my heart too much one these transitorie things from which I have scene Causes enough, besides God Commands to weane my mind from them & not to expect for the time that I have got to live any more Certainety of the Continuance of these earthly things that now his providence hath intrusted in my hand then of those that he hath taken from mee.

Grant I besweetch thee that I may have my portion in heaven, & quietly with Confidence relye one thy promise, Hebrews the 13 Chapt. ver. 5 & 6, ‘ I will never lea\e thee nor forsake the/ Amen. Augfc. 8 th , 1696, Roht Knox.

In fol 142 I have wrote that my Choice & Chiefe friend Mr. John Loveland & 1 dwealt togeather In one

Folio 57.

DEATH OF JOHN LOVELAND

house at Laggendenny, which when I left & went to my owne house in Elledat, he also remooved from Laggen- denny into his owne quarters at Gompola whare he had his allowance or maintainance by the Kings order when he dwealt in Lagendeny, which was an ease boath to himselfe & the people that before used to Carry it to Laggendenny to him. In the same towne of Gompola I had my allow- ance which I fetched & carried myselfe one my backe to my house at Elledatt which was aboute 4 miles distance. Some years after Mr. Loveland began to fall sickely, & had a mind to come & be with mee at my house in Elledat, we being 4 Englishmen togeather, for tho he had then with him a blacke Boy to dresse his victualls &c service yet he wanted mee & English Company, which I as willingly assented to knowing we Could bee more helpfull & Comfortable in a heathen Country.

After his comming to my house his disease increased
to runing paine from one part of his Boddy to another
exceeding voiolent (which kind of paines are usuall
in this Country) that made hiTruroare out, some little
intermission now & then betweene fits as the paines
shifted from ojie part of his body to the other, which
commondly kill those that are so seased, as it did him.
His last fit t being very voiolent I tooke him up in my
armes & his head lay on my left sholder. He was in his
perfet sences & earnestly prayed to God either to ease him
or remoove him hence by death, repeating a sentence in the
practice of Piety (which book he had with him when taken
prisoner here) vizt. that his Saviour had endured far more
for him & why should not he meekely submitt to his
blessed will, & bad me equially to devide that small
substance God had given him which was about 50 shillings
to the 3 Englishmen, vizt. Stephen Rutland, Ralph Knigh
& Rodger Gold that dwelt with mee, giving me onely a
silver tobacko pipe saying God had blessed mee to have
no want & they ware poore, but his Cioaths & what I
though fitt more he bad me to give to his boy who had
served him well These 3 men ware then all absent (the

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A«D,

167O.

Mr. John
Loveland the
Author's
Chiefs Friend.

Begins to fall
sickely at
Gompla.

His substance
divided to the
Englishmen.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.0.

167°.

2 former since escaped & died heerc in England). He

added no more but grones & earnest prayers to _ God, tell
he gave up the Ghost, which was one the 22 of October,
Folio 58. Anno. 1 670, in my armes. In all my life I never had
He dam the suc h an intire intimate friend as he ; I may Compare us
Jill' !s-n like Jonathan & David. He hath oiten told me that this
Captivity was the greatest of mercies that ever God had
bestowed one him, haveing so longe absented the Church
that he was affraid to looke into it at last, & Concluded
that if God had then sknatched him away by Death he
had perished. He was in the whole course of h : s Capti-
vity an exceeding pious & devoute man, & injoved the
sweete stock of it at his departure as not daunted at Death
but in full assurance of Gods mercy to him in Christ
Jesus.

Hu Bund We 4 Buried him as Decently as our Circumstances
would permitt Just behind my house, & 1 doe from my
heart affairme, God & my Conscience being Witnesse, I
did performe his will punctually & was better pleased he
had so Charatably disposed his (all) Estate then if he had
given it to myselfe, which 1 know he did not for want of
Love but to releeve the Needy.

I have added this because I have heard some of Mr.
Lovelands Relations have wished to heare more of him.
Rob 1 Knox,

Folio 59. . In Anno. 1697 it hapned that by Gods great mercy the
The war with l on g e & Wasting war with france was ended, & a firme
ram m e . Q onc j U(j e ^ ; n w [1 j c } 1 English East india Com-
pany had lost 8 Considerable ships. By this & other
troubles they ware brought to such low Circumstances
that they ware faint to borrow mony at Bottomary at 17
p. Cent to Continew theire trade, & gave notice that they
had occation to hire ships one fraight.

I haveing now for 4 years bin at home grew wary of an
Idle droneish life. God Continuing to me health &
strength, thare was an overture made to me of a new ship
above 500 tuns to goe Commander if could gitt her into
the East India Comp" service, which proposal! I liked so

KNOX'S OFFER TO SIR J. CHILD

well that without delay I went to Wansted to S r Josiah
Child my old Master & made a tender of her with my
service to goe for India, the exceptance whareof I little
Doubted he haveing formerly promised me the first
vacancy, but Contrary to my expectation God showed my
thare was no trust in man.

I mett with such a repulse by his expressions that

strangely amased me, & the more because it was so
Contrary to what he had often said of me boath before my
face & behind my backe, Commending me boath for
honesty, good husbandry & industery & this not onely to
one or two but to all, although he knew as much of me
while I was 12 years in his service as after I had bin 4
years out of it one shore, as appeared by his excepting my
accounts, to all which I had a full discharge under his
hand &c ; but now after some hums & haws he began
to make himselfe angry telling me hee had not forgott
how I had charged wages for 2 slaves that I had bought in
India which served in the ship when 1 wanted men, for
out of 38 men that I carried out of England I brought
home but 25 with them 2 slaves, althought before (for I
concealed them not, it being Costomary for all Com-
manders so to doe, for I had but one Engl, apprentice
in the ship) when I asked his advice how to keepe them
from the Presse which was hott, being a time of war, he
Directed his daughter Howland to assist me by her
intrest with Admirall Russells Lady, which was great by
the Marrage of her Daughter to the Marquesse of Tavi-
stocke who was of that family ; which Madam Howland
did, & procured me a protection for them from the
presse under the Admiralls owne hand, who was then one
of the Lords of the Admiralty, but althought it was no
fault then, yet now it would serve for a stone to fling at a
Dog.

Secondly, he upbraided me of being a subscriber to the
Stoch East India Company, which at that time when I
told him thareof he so far approoved by the large prive-
ledges & imunities granted them in theire Act of Parlia-

K.C. 369 2 A

A.D.

1697.

The Author
tenders his
services to Sir
Josiah Child.

But is

repulsed with
angry words.

Folio 60.

The Scotch

East India
Company an
ofence .

\J\

1697.

Another fault
to lefase a
nm ship.

Folio 61.

Sir Josiah

Child's

favorites.

KNOX'S AUTORIOGR A PHY

ment, that he said to me that if he ware a younger man
& had not such great Anchors downe, meaning, he said,
his daughter & Grand Daughter married into two great
families, before May next he would have a house in Kdin-
burge, for he beleeved it would be the greatest thing in
the World, but now that which before he Approoved of
& Magnified now to serve a turne was Charged one me
as a crime.

Thirdly, he ripped up another fault, that I had had the
Honour to Refuse a new ship that was proffered me, but
now I should find how difficult a thing it would be to
gitt a ship into the Companies service, although at the
same time the Company gave publick notice that they
Wanted ships to hire, & interfaced in theire impioyment
three straing ships & Commanders that had never bin in
theire service nor in India, & told me further that it was
worth one Thousand pound to gitt a ship in theire service.
This discourse of his gave me sufficient cause to heleeve
that his former proposalls to me to goe Chiefe either to
Bencoolen, St. Helena on»Sj?awhawn in Percia was hut a trape
to Catch me in, & keepe out of the way & prevent me
from becoming an Interloper.

I tooke this discourse as a full discovery of his mind &
intentions towards mee, & Concluded it vaine to make
any further addresses to him seeing how Implacable his
disposition is towards his Eldest Son & youngest Daughter

who, notwithstanding all manner of Addresses & applica-
tions, he will not admitt into his presence ; & this hath
bin theire case for many years as also all the Rest of those
that ever I knew that ware his favorites (onelv Capt.
Heath excepted), of which number I was one all the time
I served him which was 12 yeares ; to proovc this point I
will incert the names of those that I knew in the time I
served. First Mr. Samuel Griffith, Marcht, John Sewell,
Cash keeper, Tho. Baker, Bucher, Robt. Holding, Dep"
Govenor of St. Helena, Tho. Robins Baley, & Tho. King,
Overseer of his house of Wansted & Mr. Edward
Snelgrove Bilder, all these for many years he highly

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SIB JOSIAH CHILD'S INFLUENCE a.d.

. , . . . ^ 97 *

praised for theire fidellity as he did me, but now are all
Rejected as Rogues & villans, so that I have but neigh-
bours fain In this thought not in taking wages for 2
slaves I bought in India, which was never before Charged
as a Crime one any Commander although frequently
practised by all & not alwayes out of necessity for want
of men as mine was.

Notwithstanding this repulse I had a mind to know
what opinion the East India Comp e had of me, & went
first to Mr. Rob Blackebourne, Secretary, & Discoursed
him Concerning presenting the aforesaid Ship & my
service to the Company, & by the incouragement he gave
me I went to Mr. Gorge Boone then Govenor who I
found boath very Willing & ready to except Me & the
Ship; by this I saw playnely the Stope lay onely in S 1 hr Jonah
Josiah Child, whose Intrest & Influence I knew to be ^
so great by plasing & Displaseing whome he pleased, or j n j ume ,
at least it could not would bare me such a grudge as
in the end would be fatall to # My designe. I thought it
my Intrest to desist rather theif thrust myselfe in £t a
backe doore, to prevent coming of with Disgrace & made
no further pragresse in that affaire, and the Ship was not
Imployed.

In a short time after thare was a new ship of 500 tuns Folio 62.
built by Mr. Samuell Shepherd, Designed for East India The Autkr
as an Interloper or free ship, whare by my friends Con- i nter fop eft
cerned tharein I had an invitation & without Delay I
made a tender of my Service & found an Unanimous
reception, which I was Joyfull at to see that God had not
left me destitute of friends & gave me a better imploy-
ment then in the Companies service.

This I thought fitt to leave upon Record under my dnd the

owne hand that the world may see the Cause that I went Cam ‘

In an Interloper, & not in the East India Comp e service wharein I had bin in Actuall service 15 years, & in Bond-age taken in theire service 19 yeares & a halfe, whare I lost my father & the prime time of my life vizt, my youthfull dayes from the Age of 20 to 40 yeares, for the

37i

A.D,

1697.

Ungraiefull
Mastefs as
Servants.

Folio 63.

The Authou
circumstances
frustrated by
Captivity .

KNOX’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

losse of which time they gave me as gratuety twenty pound after my escape when I came to England, which was by the onely Mercy & providence of God & not by any meanes or Charge of theires ; & yet I am Charged as ungratfull to my Benefactors in whose service I have got-ten an estate, for which indcede I have great Cause to Blesse God more then them who by high Mults &c., indeavered to prevent it, & now envie mee for it as Laban did Jacob after his longe service performed & great hard-ship tharein.

But I presume thare may as well be ungratefull Masters as Servants in prefering men boath younger in service & Command, as well as age, into theire great ships, as also Interloping Capts. & Straingers who had never bin in theire service & some that never had bin in India, & rejecting me who now had bore Command longer then any of theire Capts., & as boath for my abillity & fidillity I never yet heard anything Charged against me by any of the Company, but would have me serve them in a bauble of a ship which I would fiave excepted of had they not then taken away the Indulgence, as they call it, which is leave to bringe whome toyes & small things «of little valew

free of mults, which the same yeare that S' Josiah Child
Rejected me was granted to all theire ships & Commanders,
which I beleeve was not out of love more to them then
mee, but of feare to prevent some ill Consequences which
they thought would attend it. Whare as they never Reckon
what I have lost by theire service in the 20 years I was in
Captivity, in which time by Gods Blessing it is very
probable I might have acquired a far greater worldly
estate, standing faire to have bin Commander of my
fathers ship the next voiage, for he intended to goe no
more to Sea if God had brought him well home.

I beleeve further waying & Considering the Circum-
stances I stood in in Anno 1660, the yeare I was taken
Captive in theire service, I stood as faire in human proba-
bility to advance my selfe in the world as many if not
most of the now present East india adventurers (excepting
37 2

those who ware borne to fortune) who have since attained
to dignities & Riches, Sure I am many of those that now
Charge me with Ingratitude cannot deny this, & yet
upbraid mee with the little estate God hath given mee
after many hazards & hardships I have gone throught to
serve the Company. Some Charge mee with breach of
my oath of fidellity to the Company : they knew best
wheather theire meaning is Gods Glory & the Good of my
Soule, or theire wordly Intrest, fearing the Consequence
of my goeing to India in an Interloper.

I doe not in the lest make light of an oath, but one the
Contrary account it a very Sacred thing, but my oath never
bound mee to serve onely them & no other, no, not when
they would not imploy mee to my Contentation & prefer
Juniors in Command over my head before me ; heerein
they Act like the Dog at the Mainger who hinders the
horse & eate no hay himselfe, & why is that unlawful! to
me which the Parliament of England, who are the ex-
plainers as well as the makers of our English Laws, have
voted in January anno 1693, Vi# trade to the East Indies Trade to the
equially free to all the Subjects of England unlesse pro- Tast Indies
hibetted by a^t of Parliament ; from hence I infer that the i0 s ^ nL
Companies pretended power to Monoplise the East India
trade is not onely without law but against it, & further,
theire old Charter being forfited, as is said in the new one
which this King granted one that account with a new
Subscription, doth undeniably in my Sence make the
former voide, & in truth I beleeve they will not say them-

selves but the old East India Stocke was wholy devided or otherwise Consumed.

And since they cannot Deny (for I challeng theire Folio 61/64, answer) but that I was faithfull to all trusts they Imposed one mee allthe time I served them ; I cannot see whare in I have made a breach of trust when I am discharged from theire service, unlesse it be to follow my Lawful!

Cauling, & another part of the oath is not to trade in such things they have & shall prohibitt during the Joynt Stocke.

One part I have a Answered before, that a new Subscription

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a.d.

1697.

Another objection to the Autho 1 .

Folio 62/65. He sails in the ship Mary,

And finds an old fellow tapilie.

KNOX'S A UTOBIOGK AFH V

when no Stocke was left is a new Stocke, & for theire prohibition they have made it free to all theire ships that pay them 18 p. Cent, like the Pope who cannot Dispose of his pardons to eate flesh in Lent &c., without Mony. But I take the bottome of all in that they in vie my happe-nesse to see that I have another & better Imployment then 1 had in theire Service.

Thare is another objection made against mv goeing for India which is that I am not necessitated by want ; 1 thanke God thare is some truth in this, but it is an impertinent question in them to aske & to Frivolous for mee to answer.

This I thought fitt to leave upon Record to posterity

for my owne vindication under my owne hand, this 15
day of Febrewary 1697, Robt. Knox.

Anno 1698 one the 3 day of May 1 set saile out of the
Downs in the ship Mary bound first for Cadix thare to
take in silver, & from thence for Suratt in the Hast hides
one a priviate account, Alias Interloper, & 1 8th. Instant,
by Gods good Blessing we f safely arived at Cadix, & set
saile from thence 12th June, bound directly for Suratt,
onely watered at St. Augoe, & the first layd made after
was the Hand of Zelone one the 30 day of Octobr, but
delayed so much time one the Coast of Mailabar for
pepper that it was the 1st, Feby 169!; before we came
to Suratt.

At my being at the Citty of Cocheene I found thare an
old fellow prisoner, Captain Blickeland, who was Captive
with me one the Hand of Zelone under King Raja Singa &
was set free after his Death ; he Confirmed that his" son
who, as it was beleeved thare by all people was dead, as I
have written in Fo. 46, then Reigned King, with Whome
the Duch made a treaty of peace & all prisoners of theire
nation upon the same ware sent downe to the City of
Colomba, but no other prisoners whatsoever ware releesed.
His name is Cornelius Blickeland ; he was taken being
Comdr in Cheife of Bibligom fort as I have mentioned in
Fo. 179. This man was much Courted by the King to

except of an honorable post in his service (but he refused
it to the Last), & gave him many estimable guifts, as a
fine Sword, Halbard, Cabanet &c., things they valew, all
which he brought away & had by him at Cocheene whare
he was Capt. of the Soldiers living well & splendidly,
whare he intertained mee noblely at his house in the Citty,
& gave to me in Remembrance of him a large Curious
wrought knife that King Raja Singa had given him, which
1 brought home with me to England & is now by me in
memory of my old fellow prisoner.

I inquired of him Concerning the state & Condition of
the English remaining thare, but he could give me no
account being keept all the time nee re the Kings Pallace
under a guard, & at my request he promised to use his
intrest with the govenor to send a letter from me to the
English that remained yet one Zelone Detained by the
King, the Copie of which here followeth,

To all my fellow prisoners & Lo: Country-men one
Zelone Mr. John Merginson, Mr. William
Vassall, & Mr. Tho? Inarch, &c.,

Loving Bretheren

I am Sencible you heard of my safe arriviall
with Stephen Rutland to the Duch whose kind recep-
tion boath in victualls & Clothing of us was far
beyound what we found from our owne Nation.
We had passage in theire ships to Batavia & came
in an English Ship from Bantam to London. After-
wards came Wm. Day & Tho. Kirby, & Ralph
Knight; Charles Beard Dyed by the way at St.
Helena ; Day & Knight are both living one shore
at London being Superanuated & past goeing to Sea.
The English Company put me in Comander of a
small ship of 200 tunes presently, & Stephen went
with mee the first voiage, but he followed his old
Course of Drinkeing that we parted when came home,
& since he is dead at Bangall. I was 4 voiages
Commander to India in the ship Called the Tonqueen,
& then I left her God haveing blessed me with Sue-
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A.D.

1698.

Folio 63/66,

His letter
to the Captives
on Zelone .

Escaped
Prisoners .

A.D.

1698.

Sad news fir
the Captives.

Folio 64/67.

Change of
Governments
m England.

cesse & being a time of Warr with trance for 9 veares. 4 yeares I stayed one shore till the wars was ended, & came out Commander of this ship Called the Mary 500 tuns with above 100 men, in May last 1698, bound for Suratt. Mr. Merginson's Wife was Maried to a Capt. of a man of warr but dead before I came to England. Mr. Marches Wife was longe living after my first ariviall but now is dead ; his son hath bin Commander of an East india Ship of 600 tuns but foundered by leakes coming home, & since he died Chiefe Mate, but his sister is yet alive as is Mr, Merginsons sister. Mr. Vassell's Brother 1 saw at my first arriviall, but since hee & his father are dead. I know little of the Relations of the rest. In anno 1692 I saw a letter from Zelone at tort St. George mentioning that you are but 1 1 living. I have often mentioned your Case to the English East India Company but without effectt, therefore I advise you to rely onely upon God who worketh all things after the Councell of his. cfw ne will, & Consider the difficulty of aged persons to gitt a living as the 2 now in England doe find it. I double you wilj take this not well, but I assure you if you ware within my reach you should not have cause to say I have forgott my fellow Captives. The Circumstances of which Captivity during my time I have published in print : & Remember that tho Israills Captivity in Egypt & Babilon was longe yet God visetted them at last : I find a man in his Native Country amounge his Relations is not free from trouble, many of which I was free from whilst one Zelone, in so much that I still Continew a single man. I have heere with sent my picture to the Girll I brought up, Lucea, and you know I loved the Child & since have no cause to hate her. We have had Strainge Change of goverments in England since you left it, as King Charles the 2 d , James the 2 d who is now living in france & Head from his throne, & now happie under King William the 3 d ;

LETTER TO FELLOW CAPTIVES

A.D.

1698.

Prince of Orange, and at present all Chrisendom is at peace. Capt Blickeland who was taken in my time in Bibligom fort now heere hath promised mee to indeavior to Convey this to you, which I wish may

come to any of your hands, praying God to Comfort
& Suport you all, Committ you to his protection &

Rest.

I am & shall be your most

affectionate & true friend R. K.

Cocheen Rode
one board Ship Mary
the 12 th Decenf 1698.

This letter I sent open to avoide suspition & Directed
thus. This is desired to be sent to the English prisoners in
Candy one Zelone by & from theire fellow Captive, Robt.

Knox.

In Anno 1706 armed the ship Mary from East India the same Folio 65/68.
ship that I was Commander of the former voiage, who had
Wintered at Zelone ; the present Capt.^Christopher Loyall, shewed
me a letter he had received from Colomba whilest he lay at Point
De Gall which advised that in Anno 1704 2 Englishmen had
escaped from Ca^dy & were come theather. One his name was William
William Hubbeard who was one of my fathers seamen, he sayed Hubberd's
he had bin thare 44 yeares, which is true, haveing bin taken in Escape.
Anno 1660 with me. The other who came with him was borne
one Candy in my time thare, k aboute 30 yeares of age : his
name Fetter Wilson, son to one of the same Name k one of my
fathers men who died thare before I escaped thence. William
Hubberd reported that all the old race of Europe borne Englishmen
were dead, onely John Berry living at his departure thence who
was one of my fathers sea men : the Dutch Cloathed k provided
victuals for the above mentioned men, but the letter added nothing
more one that affaire, which might be the cause I never had any
answer to my letter Mentioned one the other side, nor now can
never expect any.

This voiage in the ship Mary to East India, which Folio 66/69.
seemed so much to my satisfaction before I went to Sea,
prooved otherwise, as often & most times I have found
that thare is more Joy & Content in the hopes & expec-

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A.0.

1698.

The voyage hi
the Mary

ruined.

By the Proud
Superacatgoe.

His means to
prolong time.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

tation of things then in the actual! haveing & posessing
of them, so this voiage prooved to me, & sure I am
to all others Concerned, for although by Gods good
providence we went well out & Came as well home, yet
could not make our first mony we sent out in the ship ;
for in things of this nature those who are intrusted as
mannagers, haveing an opertunity, use it to their par-
ticular advantages & not to the publick ; so many instances
heereof I have seen hoath in the outsett of the ship 5c also
at her returne, for which reason I did advise myselfe for
hereafter never to be Concerned in a Joy 11 1 Stocke for
trade with any that are so much as one Inch higher then
myselfe, I means to rule or govern without a mutual!
Concent & advising with the rest & nothing to be carried
one in priviate, for whare it is so thare is selfe Inf rest at
the bottome as in this voiage I have found all alonge.

But that which Chiefely ruened our voiage was we had
an extraordinary proud superacargoe who, to main wine his
grand are & honour, spent al on higher rate then a Com-
panies factory; that as be'did exceede them in pride, so He
would in magnificence boath in State & Diett, & all out
of one Single Ships Stocke which Diminished much of our
mony. This Gentlemans name was Tho. Lucas, he for-
merly had bin a factor in India for the old Eng: East
India Company & for some Action he had Committed
thare was by them turned out of their service. He came
home as is suposed with some estate, but being unfortunate
in the late warrs with france by insuring &x\, brought
himselfe to such Circumstances that he was faint to follow
his old trade, & since his old masters the old Company
would not intertain him longer, to enter himselfe to serve
a Supra Cargoe in an interloper, the Mary.

Notwithstanding he delayed in England & at Caies h
what he could to have the more time to Injoy his pleasure in
State & grandure out of our Stocke, that we arived in
India 13th, Nob r that we might safely, if he had so pleased,
procured our lading to Come home the next yeare, it being
safe for Ships to stay at Surratt tell May, but neverthciesse

VOYAGE AS AN INTERLOPER

we must be sent with a fraight to Persia (which would not tieere Defray our great Charges) to prolonge time while he rode up in the Country in State, thare to buy goods whare appearing so great raised the price of goods 10 p* Cent : had we bought our goods at first at Surratt & made speede home, as his orders ware to doe, in all proba- bility Comming before the New Duties of 15 p. Cent &c., tooke place, had made a profitable voiage which now prooved a Loosing one, & he being my Superior & I to follow his orders, which in many things ware to the owners damage of whome I was one of the greatest, put me at such times to dispute the point with him, as first to sign bill Lading at Cadis fraight free for silver & Coche- nell, it began a difference that for him to oblige his friends I must give away my part of fraight, & after to loose time to stay to speake with vessalls in the Sea hindred the expedition of our voiage, so that by large promises to the Mates to make them all Commanders of Ships he brought them all over to be for him & against mee, for a reward whareof they had punch at pleasire ; but the saylours ware wholy of my Side, & the more because I was the onely Check to JCirb the Mates severe Domineereing over them, which otherwise would have bin intolerable, being uphilde by so imperious a Superacargoe that expected I should stand bare before him which I thought scorne to doe being a bigger owner of the Ship & Cargoe then him- selfe & put in by a generall Consent of ail the Adven- turers, Commander as he was Supracargoe.

He used all meanes to breake of the sailours affections to me, as to forbid the Steward to give any sort of provision or Liquor out by my order, so that if the saylours had a Cause of Complaint as when homeward bound 2 messe peeces of beefe with the bone wayed but 1^ pound & I bad the Steward make up the weight with other beefe, Mr. Lucas forbad it in wrighting, which the men seeing was Contrary to my will rather then make theire addresses to him suffered, as they did by brandy most part of a butt being dranke in the voiage by him & his faviourets the Mates &c.

A.D.

1698.

Folio 67/70.

His promises
to the Mates.

Beefe &

Brandy.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A.D.

1698.

His

unsuitable
equippage
begets envte.

Folio 69/71.

The Authoi
teturnes well
in health.

When we came neere England he ordered the Steward
to give the saylours drams which they refused & would
not drinke any haveing not had some before, but these &
many such like practises more had no eteet, that the
Saylours & I ware intimely friend all the voiage else truly
it would not have bin safe for me to Continewe alone
home in the Ship lest might have bin destroyed by the
way. Also he had severall Idle passengers that he carried
out & brought who eate at the table which was some
addition of Chares on our voiage, but this great & haughty
Supera Cargoe Mr. Lucas, brought not one with him an
equippage suiteable to his proud heart (his Circumstances
not permitting it), he brought onely 5 Silver Spoones &
2 small Silver Servers whare as utensels for a table he
ought to have had of his owne, neither had he more then
2 iron hilt Swords nor anything more either for eating or
drinking but what was lay in at the owners Charge, in all
which respects I was well furnished at my owne Cost, so
that while he eate with a home handle knife he iron forke
mine was silver, which? begatt invey but indeede I had noe
neede of his faviour & so valeued it accordingly, notwith-
standing he did all he could against me bpt my behaviour
was such that he could not hirt race.

Mr. Shepheards wife, speakeing of our loosing voiage,
saved she pittied Mr. Lucas far more then me he haveing
Wife & Children which I had not. I told her he deserved
it lest haveing bin the onely actor that ruened the
voiage, but thanked God 1 had lest neede of pittv.

But in Conclusion I coming home well in health have great Cause to returne thankes to Almighty God that still Contineweth to show me tokens for good that my Emmies (which are not a few) are ashamed to see that I have yett whare with to live plentifully without goeing any more to Sea, but doe Confese it was my unhappinesse to leave the old East India Companyes Service (since I would goe to Sea) in expectation of better masters which I found to be ten times worse.

In fine this voiage in Ship Mary, the subscription
3S0

FATE OF THE SHIP MARY

amounting to fifty nine thousand pound, by our wise & honest manigers was overthrown, that we could not make our first mony after a 29 months voiage although t we had no damage in any respect either outward or home. Some part of our good Management very visabley appered to the World, for 3 Months after we ware unladen the Ship Mary was sett up for sale by the Candle ; but what fraud was heerein I pass by but he that bought her either could not or would not pay the Mony, which was but —£1815 not halfe her worth, so she lay in a dry docke at £5 a Spring Charge Months tell she was spoyled,

to the admiration of all men that passed up or downe the river of thames.

In Conclusion nothing in the Whole affaire was managed for the generall good but for particular intrests, and I was bound by orders to obey & see our Stocke, in which I had a good share devoured boath at home & abrouad, but I have learned to make some advantage by it to manage my Mony myselfe & not to trust it in high hands as it is a Crime to speak aboute it; & now God haveing blessed me with a Competencie & I come to the evening of my age, intend to sett dpwne & injoy it in my Native Country of England & thare to end my dayes if God permitt Being now in the 60 yeare of Age, Whare of aboute 20 years was my Childhood being under the tuishon of my father, tell was taken Captive one Zelone & thare spent neere 20 years more of my Life whare, although God provided plentifully for me boath in Sperituall & temporall things, yet when he Delivered me thence I had nothing more then a peece of Cloath to Cover my Naked body with me, which mooved the Dutch to extend theire bounty in Charity towards me ; & since my escape I have bin toyle-ing too & frow at Sea aboute the world for a Subsistance (which when gotten I find is very uncertaine to keepe) 20 yeares more ; & how great a cause have I, with David, to Blesse the Lord with the Soule that he redeemed &

Delivered from so many adversities whilest many thousands round aboute me have bin Destroyed by Death, & teach

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A.D.

1699.

The end of
the ship Mary.

Folio 70/72,

The

uncertainty
of riches.

A.D.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOG K A PH V

1701.

Ann Cohan
Dead.

Toby Bonnell
Dead.

Folio 71/73.
Dr. Robei t
Hooke 1 s End.

me 0 Lord so to number my Dayes that During the short time I have to remaine here I may be an instrument to thy glory, Amen. Sept. i8'\ 1701.

Every 20 yeares hath produced notable Changes in the Circumstances of my life, which when I looke backe upon Causes me to admire Gods goodnesse in extending his providence Continually over me & Blessing mee thus with plenty to live at home in my Native Country now in my

old Age.

MEMOIORS

June the 14 th , 1701, This day Ann Colman, my owne Mothers Sister, Died being aboute 86 yeares old. Her husband left her a poore widdow that Cosen James Bonnell & I ware faint to Maintaine her several! yeares. I buried her whare she had desired of me by her husband in Algate Churchyard. The whole Charges came to

£* 4/-

December the 22 Anno 1701. Toby Bonnell, my Mothers owne Brother," Died ; he was Aged 83 yeares. He was in low Circumstances that I & Cosen James Bonnell ware faint to Maintaine him many yeares after my Sisters Death, who gave him his diett severall yeares tell she died. He had formerly made his old friend Mr. Mountage to be executor (who accordingly seased one all he had) & buried him handsomely in St. Hellens Church-yard in London, 23* Debr. 1701. He was the last of my Mothers family. She died at Wimbleton in the County of Surry Anno 1656, & was buried in the Chancell of that Church whare (if it may be) 1 desire to be buried by her.

The 2* March, 170^. This Night aboute 1 1 or 12 of the Clocke my Esteemed friend Dr. Robert Hooke Pro-fessor of Gomitry & Natural! Philosophy in Gresham Colledge Died thare, onely present a Girle that way ted one him who by his order (just before he died) came to my Lodging & Called mee. I went with her to the Col-ledge whare, with Mr. Hunt the Repository Keeper, we

DISPUTE ABOUT WIMBLEDON LAND

A.D.

I 7 0 3 .

layed out his body in his Deaths, Goune & Shooes as he Died, & sealed up all the Doores of his appartment with my Seale & so left them.

He died without a Will, but his Executors or Heires at Law buried him the 6 th March in St. Hellens Church, & made a Noble finerall giving Rings & gloves & Wine to all his friends thare, which ware a great Number for he left a very Considerable Estate all in Mony besides some Lands, yet notwithstanding he lived Miserably as if he had not sufficient to afford him foode & Rayment.

The 12 th April, 1703. My father had bought a Rude of Land in
land of Heugh Stedman laying in Biggery Meede in the ^ m ^ etQn
Manner of Wimbleton, 24 th Aprill Anno 1654, which had mm '
remained in the quiet possession of the Knoxs aboute 46
yeares, & the Lord of the Manner had his quit rent duely
paid in Court ; tell one Thexton reported that the family
of the Knoxs was quite Extinct ; I, being then at Sea,
coming home & hearing of it that the Duke of Leege,
then Lord of that Manner, had seased my bitt of land, I
went to the last yeares Court wfticii was hild at Putny to
put in a Claime for my land, but for want of a Coppie of
the Court Rowles was denied it by Mr. Varnon the Lord Forfeited to
of the Manners*Steward. I had a receipt for the purchase i 0 J he Lordo f
mony (vizt. £11) of Stedman, & also a Receite of
Claxton the Steward of the Lord Lambert then Lord
of Wimbleton Manner, but he sayed that was not sufficient ;
then I desired to see the Court Rowles from which Coppies
are taken, but Could not (since I have heard thare is none,
they being burnt) so all ceased tell last March past, I being
informed by severall that notwithstanding I had not a
Coppie yet my land could not be forfited to the Lord of
the Manner, but the valew was so small, vizt., 3 s Rent
p. Annum that I thought it not worth the wasting of Folio 72/74.
time to looke after it.

But upon second thoughts I considered that to be a The Author
tennent of such a manner might be of use to some after ' tts
mee, if not to myselfe in Case of a purchase, heereupon I n urn *
went to the Duke of Leedge the present Lord of the

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AJ>.

I7O3.

BuUsu fused.

Pleads in the

Manner

Court

Folio 73/7;.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

manner ; his Steward Mr. Varnon had preposessed him

with the Dammage that might accrcw to himselfe in case I was admitted as a tennent of that manner hy losse of his accostomed fine in Case I should become a pur- chaser of land, in so much that his Lordship told me the writings I had shewed him (mt. : Receipts one from Stedaman who sold the land to my father & was for the mony received of him for the land, & the other Receipt of Claxton, the Lord Lamberts (then lord of the Manner) Stewart, for the fine sett in Court vi?t., 50 paid downs & Seven pound ten shill, more to pay at such time as more land should be purchased in said Manner (the whole fine sett in Court being ten pound,) ware not sufficient to proove my title & that neither himselfe nor mee he beleeved, did valew a Rude of land ; hut my meaning was to have the priviledge of a tennant to make a larger purchase hereafter free of fine which he would not shew himselfe Such a foole & Idiott as to Concent to; however he would doe no injustice, but bad me if could to proove my title, at whfch I desired of his Grace to see the Court Rowles of the yeare 1654 which he ordered Mr. Varnon his Steward, (then present) to shew mee ; upone which I went this day with my 2 Nephew's Kd: Lascelles & Jo: Ward to Putny whare the Manner Court was held, whare was present Sr. Edward Northe Atturny Generali : before whome & the Jury I declared & shewed in Writings my Case.

Thare ware no Court Rowles to be found oncly a small abscract in a little paper booke which shewed thare was a Court hild the very day my Receipt mentioned, but Knoxs name was not tharein, but it was sufficiently prooved in Court that for all the time past the quit rent which was two pence p. Annum had bin alwayes paid in the name of & for Knoxs Land, which Mr. Varnnon himselfe owned, & that Knoxs name Stood in the Rentall.

The next question was wheather I was the read & next heire to that Knox who bought this land now in dispute in Anno 1654; besides the evidence of my 2 Nephews

KNOX WINS HIS LAND SUIT

with me, it was soone Cleared by severall old men of Wimbleton that ware my Cotemperaies to the Juries &c., hill satisfaction, I told them if further proofe ware required I could bring a man (now in England) who lived with me all the time one Zelone, but they sayd it was needlesse, at which the whole Jury gave theire varditt & presented mee as haveing Right next after my father, so I Received the Rent of John Ffenton the tennant, 5 s , for the Duke had raised it, & gave him my Receipt in full forbidding him to pay to any else, but I gave him the

Crown againe to drinke my health withall.

Note my Nephew Ward made a tender of the quit
rent to Mr. Varnnon the Lord of the Manners Steward in
the presence of the whole Court which he refused to take.
The Writings I have given to my Nephew Lascelles
intending to resigne over to him the whole right of me
Robt. Knox.

Note Sr. Edward Northy then Steward of the Court for
the Duke of Leege the present Lord of the Manner of
Wimbleton hath since given me® a Coppie which Con-
firmed! my title to the above land.

November 57, 1703. Att aboute one this morning
began a very voiolent Storme of wind aboute W.S.W &
SW. It so frighted many people that they durst not lay
in theire beds but came downe, & many Chumnies ware
blown downe which by the fall Broake through the roofes
& killed some people; it blew the tiles of from many
houses which after they Covered with Boards, & nere
20 saile of the Queenes Ships ware lost, 4 one the
Goodwind Sands besides many Marchant Ships & thou-
sands of men. In the latter end of December the Arch
Ducke Charles of Austra came over heere to goe to be
made King of Spaine, & all the time he tarried heere I
saw not any Sun Shine, but one Day it was the Darkest
that ever I saw in my life; he sayled hence in a second
Rate vizt., the Katterine with Sr. George Rooke, 5 th Jan
with a faire Easterly wind & was gott some 30 leagues to
the Westward of Silly whare the wind turned Contrary

K C. 385 2 B

A.D.

1703.

And wins
bach the
Land .

A violent
storme
Ann. 1703 .

A/D.

1703.

Folio 74 ; 76.

Another
violent
Storm
Anno 1705.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

into a voiolent Storme that scattered & shattered the fleete
& forced them all backe some to one port \ some to
another. The Kinge of Spaine Arived i~ ! '' Jan. i;c : '
with part of his fleete into Turhay, thus at thiv time our
great undertakeing to land the King of Spaine at Disbond
in order to March into Spaine was stoped.

But Queene Ann ordered the fleete, tec., to he refitted
with speede for a second attempt.

The wind Continewed Contrary (that is Westerly) tell
the 13 Feb iycrj & then came Easterly that he styled
from Porchmouth, as our gazett sayeth, with aboute 400
Sayle of all sorts, Marchant Ships included, Sr. George
Rooke, Admirall ; with him went 14 Kngl. <» Dutch
men of war.

This fleete with severall other ships as transports with
land Soldiers & Store Ships with provisions Baggage, tsc c.,
safely arived at Lisbone 24 th Instant Feb ipoj*, whare
the King of Portugall himselfe in person came one board
the ship Royall Katturne to Welcome the Arch-Duke
Charles of Austra (to Ivs port) as King of Spaine.

August 1705 one Satterdav 11 th at aboute one in the
Morning began a voiolent Storme betw^ene S & SW,
the extremity lasted but tell daylight in which aboute
30 saile of ships ware lost at Porchmouth who attended
thare for Conveves to saile, & at Plimouth was Just
arived a large fleete from Barbados &c., of which 8 weare
lost & many other Cut theire Masts ; Likewise at New-
castle many Ships ware lost; methinks this lookes like
some Speciall providence more then a hap or chance to fall
at this Season of the ycare, for the leaves of the trees one
the weather side were blasted as if Scorched with fire, that
they would Crumble in your hand.

This same yeare Dreadfull Stormes hapned upon a
Jameca fleete with 3 men of War for Conveies, most of
whome with the 3 men of w r ar were faint to put into
Newyorke to repaire theire Dameges & after when they
were coming home againe another Storme fell one them
that they were scatred from the Conveies.

AFFAIRS ON THE CONTINENT a.d.

1706.

Our Grand fleet under Command of Sr. Cloudsly The English
Shovell & Earle of Peterburg haveing taken one board f ut
Charles the 3 King of Spaine from Lisbone, sayled for Barce,ma -
Barcelotxia which was soone taken, & most parte of the
province of Catalonia revolted to him, but after some of
the great Ships were come home to Porthmouth coming
from thence for Chatham another great Storme hapned Folio 75/77.
after they were past the Downes, that the Britania & Royall
Soveraigne had like to have bin lost but suffered much
damage loosing Masts etc.

In Anno 1706 another Grand fleet under the Command Another fleet
of Sr. Cloudsley Shovell with the Earle of Rivers for for Lisbon.
Generali of the land forces, with whome were a great
Number in transport ships as also victulers who lay so
longe wind bound in Tarbay (14 weeks wind Westerly)
that the summer was so far spent that 6 of the first &

Second Rate Ships were ordered to come backe for Porch-
mouth in the Month of , but mett with a

violent storme by the Way that the Triumph was forced
to come through (at the Needles) & the Ryall Soveraine
& Britania, with loosing of masts & damage, with much
difficulty gott i$to Porchmouth ; afterwards the fleet with
Sr. Cloudsley Shovell in the ship association proceeded
one theire voiage for Lisbon, but were encountred with
Stormes & Contrary winds that scattered & seperated
the fleet that after a most tedious passage they came
seperated into Lisbone, where they lay a longe time to
refreesh & repare in order to Saile for Spaine.

December the 31 th Anno 1706 Tewsday. this day the
Queene in great State Rode in a Ryall Coach attended by
boath houses of Parliament, the house of Lords boath
Spirituall & Temporall being in theire Parliament Robes,
to the Cathederall of St. Paules, it being a general thankes- Tlmkes-
giving day through England, where Dr. Burnett, Bishop giving fir the
of Salsbury preached ; all Ceremonies were performed as ^ clor 'J at
firing guns ; Ringing Bells : & bonefires for the great mt m '
late victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough &c., at
Ramelies in Sanders.

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A,D.

1707 .

The Battel!
of Almanza.

Folio 7 6/7 8.

Siege of
Tholon ,

Sir Cloudily

Shovell

Drozcnded.

A gieate
disaster to the
fleete.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

In Aprill the 14, 1707 thare was a very great Battle fought in Spaine by the Duke of Barwicke with French & Spanish forces against the Earle of Callaway a frenchman & Generali of the English & Duch & the Marques Das Minas the Generali of the Portuguese forces, the latter fought for Charles the 3 of Austra who were intirely beaten with a very great Slaughter. This Battell was fought in the plain of Almanza & 29: principal! officers were Carried away of the Engl: & kept in seperate townes, prisoners in france.

Anno 1707 the Duke of Savoy A prince Kugen with a great land Army Marched from Savoy by land to take City & port of Tholon, & the English be Dutch flectes under the Command of Sr. Cloudsly Shovell (who sailed hence in Anno 1706) lay against it by Sea, so that they lay against it boath by land & sea to batter & Rumbard the place, but the Martiall Thesse with his army lay by it to defend it & had taken 2 of the out forts & done much more Dammage by batteryes & Bonnies, but the ffrench had so many forces Marching to the Releife thareof that one the 21 of August the Duke of Savoy & Prince Eugen raised theire Siedge & Marched back that night, & with much difficulty gott backe againe but could not take the towne. Thare were then in the harbour 46 Capital! Ships, besides small ships.

Sr. Cloudsly Shovell, with part of the afforesaid fleete,

in the ship Association returned for England last from
Gibrialter & one the 22 October Anno 1707 aboute 8 at
night he fell in one the Rocks of Siiley where himselfe &
whole ships Company ware drownded & not one man
escaped ; besides, the Eagle a third rate & the Rumney a
forth rate & 2 fire Ships were lost also, & many others of
the said fleete were in great dainger of being lost also, &
thus ended the great intended expedition of that fleete
which was sent to take Tolone.

Anno 1707 a great fleete with transports with horses
for the King of Portugall & store ships went out from
England in October under Convoy of 5 ships of warr, vizt,

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THE WAR WITH FRANCE

A.D.

1708.

3 third rates the Royall oake, the Comberland, the Devon-
shire, & the Ruby & the Chester 4 th rates who one the
10 October fell in with 14 french men of warr one the
Soundings* The Royall oake escaped & brought the
newse that the Devonshire was blown up, the Cumberland,

Ruby & Chester were taken, & after we heard that
aboute 30 saile of the other ships taken.

Anno 1708 in the month of July Sr. George Bing in
ship Ryall Ann Admirall of the Blew & Lord Durzley
Vice Admirall of the same sailed with a fleet of men of
Warr & Transport, Caring (as was said) aboute 7000 land
forces boath horse & foot, to make a decent one the A Decent
french Cost ; went first to Bollone Bay & so plyed one the at ^ m P te ^ 6n
shore to Lahoge but found the Coast so well guarded t Q 0 J t m
boath with horse & foot so that but once they Attempted
to land with 1200 men, but imediately they reimbarked
theire men againe & so spent away time tell the later end
of August, & returned haveing spent theire provisions
boath for men & horses & brought many sicke men with
them ; what numbers died &c.,t>c£urrances was not talked
one. But in the meane time a french man of war of 60
guns fell in with an English fleete of Westindia marchant Folio 77/79.
Ships, with onely one small Ship of war, out of which fleet
he tooke 5 Ships & carried them into france.

At the same time Monsere Du Casse came from the
West Indies with a fleete of french men of War &
severall Spanish Marchant Ships, who in theire passage
whome fell in with our Jameca fleete & tooke 6 of them

& came safe to Spaine with his whole fleete in Augt.

1708*

1708 November 22 th this day we had newes brought in
an open boate from ostend, that the Duke of Malborough
& prince Eugen &c., past the Sceld & raised the Seidge Note.
of Brussells, which was neere taken by the Duke of
Bavaria, & taken prisoners of the french 17 Batalions
& 70 peeces of Cannon besides what were killed, at which
the flage at the Tower was hoisted, & the guns thare fired,

& bone fiers. Some dayes after by the Holland Males

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A.D,

1708.
The Seidge
(if Brussels
raised.

An Exceeding
Cold.

Folio 78/80.

Victories of
the Allies in
Flanders.

KNOX'S ACTOBIOGKAPHY

had news of onelv the Seidge of Brussel Is raise,!. 4 c tho
had passed the Sceld, yet tooke no prisoners nor Cannon
but killed 800 men of' the french be they retreated to the
maine Armey & of our side onelv aboute 30 or 40 men
killed & wonded; thus uncertaine is our torraine news.

Anno. 1 70S one the 26 Deb. it beganc to freese which
Continued tell the latter end of January, that people
walked over the Thames one greate Calces ot Ise that
stoped at the Bridge in the Ebb tide, be drave up againe
with the flude; it was not fastned to the sides of the river,
however no boates could passe for a great while, whith
much snow, & the streets of London were full, which
made it difficult for Carts A Coaches, A exceeding Cold,
the like hath not bin since the yeare 1683. This was
generall in all parts of europe. In the beginning of

February it began to freese againe, when the streets & Thames were but Just Cleared of the Ice t\: Snow, as hard as the former frost that London streets were filled with Ice as before, the wind generally N.K. ; it Continewed tell aboute the 18 Feb. & then Thawed, but in this frost the Thames was so full of great flakes of Ice, as made it difficult for boates to passe. .

And the 27 Feb. it freesed againe very hard that the water pipes in most houses in London were frosen & the streets tulle of Ice, but this lasted not longe, with exceeding Cold.

June 27 th : 1709 this day in the forenoone we had an exceeding hard Gust of wind at SW that blew downe above 20 trees of old & young in Moorefiekls : it soone ceased, but the most part of the month was darke & rainey.

Anno 1710 this yeare the Allies tooke 4 townes, after longe siedges, from the french in Sanders, & Charles King of Spaine, wone a (glorious) battell over King Aniou & his army at Saragoso in Spaine, tor which here in England was exceeding great Joy, & a solemn day of thankesgiving ordered to be keept, which was performed accordingly; but after in the month of December, King Charles with
• 39 °

THE WAR IN SPAIN a.d.

1711.

his Army haveing bin at Madrid, (which Anion had left for feare of his comming & had now gott a reinforcement trom France) Charles for feare thare of returned with 1000 horse to gitt to Barselonia, & left his Army under Count Starenburg, Lieutennant Generali Stanhop Carpenter,

&c to follow, which Aniou pursued ; the reare of the army gott into a fenced towne, which was soone taken by Anious party, & they all submitted to be prisoners at War amounge which was 4 or 5 principall Generali offecers ; & Starenburge comeing to theire Releife was routed, & fled with what men he could, so that in this batell King Aniou tooke 9000 prisoners beside the slaine & wounded ; this losse put the people here into great uneasenesse of mind,

& made them quite forgitt the many great victories God had given them since the Begining of this War in 1702, as if they would Monopolise Gods victories onely to themselves of which they had had so greate a share, even

5 this last yeare & enviously repined that God should give theire enimies any successe.

This is the second great over through the Allies have Overthrows
received in Spaine by assisting Charles Duke of Austra to tn ^ mne>
make him King of Spaine, the first was in Anno 1707 at
Almanza & this last was at the towne of Brihuega which
was stormed by Aniou, & the fight with Count Starein-
burg was at Villaviciosa, & the names of the 4 townes taken
this yeare were Doway, Bethard, St. Menanant, & Aire.

In March 31 New Stile 1711 6 Gallones from the West
indies arived at Cadix very rich in plate &c., Conveyed
by 6 french men of War, & soone after hapned what was
lest expected viz., 14 th April 1711 Dyed the Dauphen of The Dauphen
trance of the Small pox aged 50, & one the 17 ditto died °{jJ r ^p e ^ r
the Emperor of Garmany of the Small pox also, in the 0 fQ arman y
33 yeare of his Age, by which I observe that the greatest die of
of Mortalls, who by some are estemed as Gods vice smallpox .
Gerents, & have the sole power over Nations, are afflicted

6 cut of by the most odious desease that falles one the
meanest of theire subjects; wheare is now theire pretended
power to Cure deseases with a touch of theire fingers.

AJX

I7XI.

Folio 79/S 1.

A pet tv
Conquer
Canady .

The Skip
Edgar blown
up.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Anno 1 71 1 in the month of Scp ! . Bouchain was taken
& all made prisoners of Warr ; this towne was so vigor-
ously defended by the french, that our news papers told
we lost Sixteene thousand men by Kild, Wounded £c
disertion so that our Army proceeded no further, but
went into Winter quarters be the Compigne was Finished,

This same yeare was sent a fleet from England of 1 7
men of War, & 40 transports be store ships, under the
Command of Sr. Hovendcn Walker Admirall, A Generali
Hill Commander of the land forces for Canady to Conquer
& posesse that Country being in the hand of the french.

They went first to New England, to raise forces thare who were to march overland to Joyne our fleet e See., at Quebeck. At new England they made up their fleet to 75 Saiie with aboute 7000 land forces one board besides an army that was to march overland under the Command of Col. Nicholson. One the 1 1 Augt, this fleet was gott up the river St. Laurence that leadeth up to Ouibcck 30 leagues, when thare arose a great storme of wind & thicke foggs that the fleet wag greatly disetressed that ten of theire transports were drave one the rocks haveing one board 26 Companies of soldiers who were all lost (what became of Coll. Nickholson &c., as yet we know not) ; thus ended this great expedition be Walker with his ships returned to England, & arived here the 6 of October 1711.

One the 15 Instant the Ship Edgar of 70 gunes being new rebuilt, was by accedent blown up at Portmouth with 500 men & women one board & not one escaped onely one man that was in the boate at her sterne but so wounded that it is beleeved he cannot recover ; this was the same ship that S r Hovenden Walker & Generali Hill went in one the Cennada or Quebeck expedition, but they boath were one Shore when the ship blow up. One the 20 NovenP 1 1711 the ship Restauration was drave one shore one the Matora at Leghorne, she carried 70 gunes & 446 men who were all saved.

Coll. Nickholson before mentioned had advice from New Engl d of Walker being returned backe & he retreated

to New Engl d & got theather in safty. But after this a fire hapned at Bosturn in New England & burnt the principall houses in that towne, in all 1 1 1 houses.

Somewhat more I thinke fitt to Add & leave upon Recorde under my owne hand, how I lived & passed the time of my Captivity whilest one Zelone. First as to habitt & apparell ; after the few Cloaths I had with me when taken were worn out (Mony I had very little to buy more) I was put to my shifts how to Cover my Carkas. My hat outlasted all the rest, then I tore of the flaps of my Shirts & learned to make Briches of them, which did very well for a while, & after they were wore out, for the upper Cloathing wore not out so fast, then I cut of the sleeves of my shirts which were some what large that 2 sleeves would make one scant pare of Briches, which with the body of my shirt without sleeves made me a whole suite, & in this babbitt, without stockings or shooes 1 walked up & downe with a hat one.

At length my haire grew so longe that it reached to the
Wastband of my breeches & dowered my backe, (which
was not as yet seasoned to endure the Scorching Sun) that
then I left of upper garments & turned them into Briches,
& from the wast upward I was naked, & I used to goe to
a small runing Brooke, in a priviate place, & thare wash
my cloaths, which I laid to dry one the grasse whilest I
washed my naked body in the brooke, which by that time
would be dry, fitt to put one againe. For at last I had
noe more then what 1 wore one my body, & amounge all
my Carefull thoughts for Cloath (for the King allowed me
none onely victualls) I came to a resolution vizt, to fitt
large pockets in my breeches, & in harviste time, which is
twice in the yeare, to walke through the rice fields, &
stripe the eares of corne, & fill my pockets, & empty them
at home, & so returne againe to the fields & fill them
againe after the former manner tell I had gott a quantity to
sell, which I doubt if known would not bin allowed me to
doe ; but aboute the time I was come to my last shift,
Gods providence better provided for me, as p. Fo. 130 , 1

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A.D.

1711 –

Folio 80/82.

The Authors
habitt &
Apparell
whilest one
Zelone.

Naked from
the wast
upward.

A.a

Folio 81/83.

Convenient]
to goe ban
Joot,

Faskiones

troublesome.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

fell into the way to Knit Caps See,, k so desisted from my former designe of plundering the Corne holds, which supplyed all my wants fare better, k then i gott a Cloute & wore the Country hahbett, which served me for a cover- ing at night, & is far more Convenient, heere where wee often are faint to wade through deepe waters be mud naked, that we cannot well gilt one breeches our feet being all muddy, which is no inconvenient) when we weare a Clout aboute our bodies.

It may be thought very hard to goe bare toot, which indeede is not so, onely a little at the first, tor the soles of the feete soone grow hard, as the hands due of men that labour, that instead of difficulty I found a great Convenience to be bare foot, for here is no possibility to travidl in shooes for weet & durty waves, neither are we ever troubled with cornes, & also sooner dressed k onely thornes doe perce or hurt our feete which seldome lay in the path wayes, & when doe perce the thick? skin, unlesse they breake in the flesh, which is not often, it is almost as soone well againe as puPecl out ; he it is most certain? that most part of the inhabitance of the earth (onely Cold Countries excepted) doe goe bare foot more out of Choice then want as I have found by my owne experience, after I had escaped & were with the Dutch, who gave me boath □oaths & shooes boath which at first were to me very troublesome & uneasey like as a Coller to a Jog, or yoake to a hog, tell by time they are habituated to weare them.

So I did some dayes goe with shooes be some dayes without tell the fashion & use had brought me to it, so that to me it plainely appeares that Almighty God hath enabled man to goe in a natural! dresse, as the rest of his Creatures ; for we see it is more the fashion? of Countries, then Could or health of body that puts people to the troublesome way of apparrelling k dressing theire Car- kasses, for I was never better in health & ease of body then when I went in the Indian dresse, bare foot, with a Clout wrapt aboute my body. In this above mentioned Indian Dresse I continued all the time of my Captivity tell

KNOX'S LIFE IN CEYLON a.d.

1711.

my escape to the Dutch at Columba (where they at theire
owne Charge Cloathed me) onely with an addition of a
Beard aboute a span longe, as Customary in that Country.

Haveing finished what I intend aboute my babbitt & Folio 82/84.
dresse I wore the next is Concerning my dyett as in £0.122 The Authms
somewhat is mentioned, & i have not much more to add, ^¥ ttm
for it was sutable to all my other Circumstances poore & 6 m '
meane. Here they eate not for Luxury, but necessity to
suport & repairs decaying Nature. The principal! part
of my foode, & of all the people, was rice boyled in water,
to rellish which they boyle herbs : — pumkins, rootes &
other things that grew here plenty seasoned with pepper,
salt, butter or Cocornutt ground small, which they call
Mall-oping which manner of diett to me at first coming
eate very savery which afterwards when I dressed my selfe
could please my pallatt better. Then I had a living stocke
of Goates, hogs, & hens (other poultry they have not) so
that thankes be to God for holsome food I never had want,
onely flesh some times was scarce with me ; but when at
the worst I certainely know no trSntlemen in the Country
fared better, for if they at any time have either a hog,
hens, or eggs tjiey used to sell them to me rather than to
eate them themselves, & would either send or come to
tell me they had such things to sell.

I used to fetch my wood & water one my backe & How he lived.
commonly used to have a good stocke of the former by
me against rainy weather, (tho in the latter part of my
time I keept an old man to ease me) & beat my rice out
of the huske, kindled my fire, & after dressing my
victualls I washed all my potts & pans, in which I grew
very expert, for thare is a great arte to wash the rice from
the stones, which generally our rice is full of, which doth
very much anoy the teeth unlesse dean washed out.

When I dwelt in my owne purchased estate at Eledatt in
the County of Endy Nane as p. fo.144, being in the midst
of my Country men, & God had increased my substance,
my usuall custome was at the Generali feastivalls, as
Christmas, Easter, etc., to invite all the English men &

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A.D*

I7II.

His drink.
Folio 83/85,

Punch not

used.

Racke made
0/ Toddy.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

theire wives & Children to my house where I feasted them
for 2 or 3 dayes together with goates, hogs, & hens, &
the reason I invited theire wives was to dresse the vSctualls,
when I thanke God we had every meale Rost, boyled &
baked ; the latter I did in an earthen pan, made for my
purpose) with fire one the top be bottome, be flower 1 made
myselfe of rice beaten in a Morter, which made a very
good pie, & we sett the oven or pan in the Middle be so
eate out of it,

Our drinke was onely Racke, which I stilled my selfe, &
I thinke excells any in other parts of India, — as doth all
the Racke stilled in that Country being disetilled from a
browne sort of sugar, called by the Chingulayes Hockoray,
made from the liquor of a tree peculier to the I land, la 1 5
tho in the Country of Tonqueene, 1 have scene of the
same trees, but they understand not to draw the liquor
from them, but never saw none noc wharc else.

This Hockoray being as good to sweeten as sugar, &
limes very plenty it may be wondered at why we did not
make the so much Celebrated drinke we use heere, called
Punch. I can onely say it was not our ignorance, for we
knew it before we were taken heere, but ;t was not the
drinke in fashion, but onely naked Racke, that none cared
for Punch & indeede I thinke I never saw any made all
the time of my being thare, but after the escape of several!
of my fellow Captives thare they returned be fell in to
drinkeing of punch with liking even as much as theire
fellow Drunken sailours doe.

Thus by this I have written Concerning Punch with
that which I shall write next one it will playnely appeare
that the fashion & Coustome of the place more leades
people then theire natural inclinenation, for as we say
Costome is a second nature.

Note the Racke made of Toddy that is a liquor that
comes out of the Cocornut tree is made in the lowlands
whare the Cocor nut trees are in aboundance, but in the
highlands Cocor nut trees are not in such plenty, that they
draw not the Toddy but eate all the nuts, & m the low-

lands is but few trees that afford the Hockoray, but we esteeme the Toddy Racke the best.

This is the leafe Beetle mentioned in fo. 99, 100 & may also be comprehended under this head, for all sorts boath young & old of boath sexts are Continually Chawing of it, although the tast is onely bitter & bad, nay, when they cannot gitt the Beetle leafe, which in some places is scarce, theire saying is, Ricka-inda Berry they cannot get ; still they will alwayes be Chewing a wild sort of leafe they Call Tollacoll, with the nutt & lyme, & also old men or women that have lost theire teeth, & cannot Chew it, alwayes carry a toole somewhat like a pare of Cisers, with which they pinch & bruse the leafe & nut* & then keepe it in theire mouths sucking tell it is drye & Huskey, which no sooner spitt out, but they put in more, The Chaing of Beetle is in freequent use all over India, in so much that most Europians people of boath sexts use it after haveing lived some time thare, & as for my selfe, I used it as frequently as Tobackio, & since my escape from Zelone when I came to India I used, (butmot so much as formerly) to eate it with delight, which as tobackio, is onely attained to by Costom$ & the fashion. This is all I intend Concerning food or diett, the next is the manner of our lodging one Zelone,

My house in Eledatt had 2 Close roomes Joyning one to the other, one a ground floore & thatched first with Reed & over that Rice straw : the eves stretched out about 4 foot without the Wall which was as an entery or galery to goe drye in time of raine from one Roome to another of an equiall height with the floore of the house which I keept as smooth & Cleane, which served also to sett one & lodge strangers, the Country being hott, & besides these 2 roomes I had another house in the Changulay Language Called a Mandua or as a Hall to intertaine Stranges in that came to visitt, for I brought them not into my lodging roome.

It stood right against the other house some 4 yards distance ; it was halfe way walled up & the other or

A.D.

17X1.

The leafe
(. Beetle ,

Folio 84/86.
The Author b
house in
Eledatt .

He builds him
a Hall.

A.D,

IJU.

Hoto they
lodge in
Zi done.

The Author
buys him a
Bedstead .

Folio 85/87.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

upper part was open for light k aire, hut than* ware shelters made of Talkpatt leaves which opened like shop windows which when let tall made it a l lose roome. In the upper end thareof was a broad bench nude of lathes the whole breadth of the house, which served to set one or lay be sleepe one.

The comon way of lodging in this Country is to lay Matts one the ground k sleepe thare one, but at my feasti vails times I used to put all my Countrymens Wives & Children into one of the Close roomes k the men tooke theire lodging one Mats whare it liked them, tor we give no other beding then Matts, tor sheets k Cover-letts theire owne Clouts they ware must suph\ & Jacobs pillow a stone or billitt with a Cap one it makes a very good lodging, & thus I thanke God he enabled me to sleep many yeares on the hard ground with onely a matt under me as well as ever I have done eather before or since my Captivity in sheets one a feather bed ; k when I traviled either a pedling or one other occation I used to looke for a house tbaf had a Mandua or hall, which many houses have, k willingly give strainges intertable-ment which is pots to dresse victuals in Of a mat to lav one the ground to sleep on, which did as well refresh my weary body after hard traviling with a load one my

backe as if I had laine one the softest bed with Curtaines round about me.

But after I came to my last settlement in Kledatt & God had blessed me with abillity I bought me a Bedstead to sleepe one which was onely a frame Cased with Canes, as a Caine Chare one 4 legs, but large & stronge with noe Curtaines & one it i lay a matt ; then 1 had made me a pillow of a sort of wild Cotton which is so fine & short that it cannot be twisted into thread but the wind blowes it away when ripe as the Down of thistles, & is indeed almost equiall to feathers ; k a small quilt 1 had with me when taken I covered with a Course Clonth made in that Country so that I had as good lodging as any Gentleman in the Country & my house as well fournished which was

with Matts, Earthen pots & some Brasse potts & basons to eate rice out of & 2 Cane worke stooles & a small table (which latter the Chengulayes never use,) also such Iron tooles as I used & Commonly 2 or 3 spare Clouts, but the best part of all my furniture was a plentiful! stocke of Rice in the huske which the most part even of the better sort of people want, that they are faint to borrow Rice to eate tell theire corn is ripe which was my trade as Joseph in Egypt did, as mentioned in Fo 149.

Tis not the Custome heere to invite friends to feastes, when strangers or Kings officers who alwayes goeing one publicke businesse have theire victualls free & ready dressed at the Gommoyes or Kings farmers houses & noe other houses. They eate one plantaine leaves which are very large & will hold liquor & as often as they Change Carrees, that is other sorts of food, they take & flinge away the first or fowle used leafe & lay a freesh or cleane leafe with freesh rice to eate the other sort in, & so continew doeing for every sort of food they eate, which great men of quallity Commonly have seven, & althought the Gommoy or farmer have sundry Brasse basons in his house it is an affront to lay them for straingers to eate in who alwayes must have greene plantaine leaves, but to neere kindred they give theire basons to eate in, but before anyone setts downe to eate (which commonly is one a matt one the ground) they alwayes give a water pott to wash theire right hand (& mouth being foule with Bettle) with which they take up theire rice or what else they eate & put it into theire mouths (Note, they never use spoones). But people of the best quallity sett one a low stoole & theire rice is laid after the former manner one a higher stoole & so eate, & when done (napkins they 4ise none) wash boath theire hand & mouth rubing theire

teeth with theire finger in which they are very Cleanly &
then next they Chew Bettle againe.

I could add many more such like trifling things Con-
cerning Appariell Diett & lodging, but I thinke this I
have wrote on these 3 heads are scarce worth the paper

399

A.D.

I7II.

Friends not
invited to
feasts.

Row the men
of quality
eate .

■A.D.

ijn.

Folio 86/88.

Poore lodging
better than
sumptious
eippauill

How the
Author
imphyd
himself c.

No worldly
aires.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I have scribled them one. I perceive by ^ 1 have

intermixed one thing with another which nuketh them
not the lesse true (in which I am Chietcly Carefull) hut
sheweth my disability to write histories not following the

Method.

In the foregoing Folios I have finished 3 parts ot my Circumstances during the time of my Captivity one Zelone. as what food raiment & lodging Gods providence provided for me which althought poore & meant* yet answered the end God intended them for, keept my body (generally) in good health & strength & I thinke better then sumptious Apparreill: Voluptious faire; he delicate tsr soft lodging would have done of which some small experience I have had boath before & since my escape out of Captivity.

The next thing to mention is how I implnyed myself & generally spent away the time, Conversation being the least part of my imployment, for 1 generally lived alone that those I had to Converse with were onely Indians that for severall yeares at my first coming I could neither speake too nor understand them. Being in this solitary Condition it gave mee the fairer opertunitv for a heavenly Converse with my 2 bookes, vizt. the old practice of Piety & Mr. Rodgers booke as p. fo. 123: & soone after God by an unheard of providence as p. fo. 127 gave mee the Holy Bible, which I did & doe thinke was lodged thare for mee against my Coming.

Worldly affaires I had none nor Worldly estate neither, God haveing taken me from it, not it from mee, which was the same thing. Rayment tho but little vet enought for a hott Country God had left me & for food Gods providence sent it to me twice a day by the hand & at the Charge of the Pagan Indians who neither knew nor could love me, even the food that they wanted themselves for theire wives & Children ; could this be any lesse then an overruleing providence as Commanded the Ravens to feede the Prophett Elijah or as gave the Israieiiites faviour with the Egyptians to lend them theire jewells, whome not longe before they hated so mortally as to destroy theire

KNOX'S LIFE IN CEYLON a.d.

1711.

Male infants, tor I knew not neither whence my food came nor how longe they would continew to bring it. t confesse I doe beg pardon for these comparisons but since my intention is to record Gods Mercyfull dealings to my- selfe in the whole course of my life this ought not to be omitted.

Being thus provided for by his bountifull hand I had nothing to doe but to Read & Meditate & pray in which l spent most of my time, some time in my house & then in the fields which were very pleasant being richly adorned ^

alwayes with the Wonderous workes of the Great Creatour
even as England is in the midst of Summer ; & whereas it
may be saved I must be fed or starved was it not mervelous
Mercy that we all should eate the labour of the people &
not as Slaves in all Countries be putt to labour as we dayly
expected to be, neither can I forbeare to mention one
particular promise in the 30 Chap 4 , of Duteronomy to the
5 verse which I often rouled over in my Meditations &
used in my prayers to my great Comfort tho made to the Folio 87/89.
Israilitts, vizt. if when in Captivity they sought the Lord
God with all theire heart & with all theire soule the Lord
God would turne theire Captivity & have Compasion
upon them & if any of them were driven out unto the
utmost parts of heaven from thence will the Lord thy God
gather thee & from thence will he fetch thee ; which I did
not take to be a peculiar promise onely to that nation but
generall to all that sought him in times to come, &
especially now are Confirmed since I have lived to see it
fulfilled upon myselfe, whose providence made all Circum-
stances concur to that purpose when I made my escape
for tho thare be many devices in the heart of man yet
the Councell of the Lord that shall stand Pro. 19 th &

21 verse.

After I had lived some yeares in this Country (this was
Bonder Cosswatt whare my father died) & began to
understand & speake a little of the language & my Agew
to leave me as in fo. 126 & living in a little durty house
Joyning to a Fermers which I grew weary of & a Curious

K.C. 401 2C

A.D*

17XI.

The Authots
house like to
hive bin
destroyed by a
wild

Elephant .

How he built
his net house

Folio 88/90,

Hm he made
4 Benches .

KNOX'S Al'TOMOGK VPHV

pleasant garden of Gxornuts belonging m the Ki"<* las mg neere in the same towne, as in fo. 131, v.lure Hud a great desire to dwell, 1 mooted it to tne officers of the towne with whome at last 1 prevailed A the\ agisted me a little to build a house, but soonc left of. _

After it was began I spared no pames to finish it tv did at last but before it was finished it had like to have bin destroyed by a wild Elephant who fell fouie of a hog house I had built neere it of the Kettule wood v.lr.h thev love to eate (for this garden was one the outside a little remote from the towne) It was in the night tv so soone as I heard of it by the noise the Elephat made m breakeing it, my boy & I each with a lighted torch in our hands run thcather Sr scared him away before he had done much damage (for generally they run from fire eKe the townes 6r Cornefields would be destroyed) to prevent which after-wards we lodged in it & keept a good fire tv was no more assalted.

I was at no Charge in building onely labour, which 1 thought my time well„spent in haveing nothing else to doe. I made 2 roomes of it, one niv boy lay in & that w'as my ketchen & the other 1 lodged in myselfe. The wales was onely Sticks set up right tv crosse stickes tied to them & so daubed over one boath sides with tempered Clay which at first as it dried would cracke but after 2 or 3 times daubing over againe it did not cracke & was very Smooth. Note, they have no trowells in the Country but doe all this plastering worke with theire hands & to smooth the wales they wett theire hand in water & so smooth it, but to make tm lodging roome more hansome (knowing no better) 1 daubed it with fine lime that it was very white ; it was covered with thatch of rice straw as all the houses in the Country are.

Then I made 3 guales, as they call them, or benches, for myselfe & friends when they come to sett one or sleepe one, one at each end & the other against the Wall opo-site to the doore. Boards here are very scarce for tho they want not Timber yet they have no saws, but when

40 ^

KNOX'S LIFE IN CEYLON

they make a board Doore, which is onely for great mens houses, they make but 2 be the tree never so big, for they

cut the tree through with axes into 2 sides or peeces & then with an ax & adds they chop it thine into a board ; which was to much worke for me to doe therefore my benches was made of small straight sticks tyed with rattans split small to Crosse sticks & layed one 6 forks stucke into the ground on which with a matt or 2 laid thare one i could sleepe very well, for I was not able to buy me a bedstead wove with canes as I did afterwards ; & my doore was made of cocornut leaves wove like a matt & strengthned with small sticks tied crosse so that in my whole house I had not one naile or bitt of iron, for every thing instead of nailing was tied with split rattans of which heere wee have great plenty in the woods.

All the houses, even Pallaces, are built in the same manner without any iron worke, & the eves or rafters of my house were longe without the wall so that under it I had a banke of durt aboutc foot higher then the earth & very smooth to sett one witlioat doores in the code aire ; & thus as I have described my whole house was finished, which standing in a pleasant place alone by my- selfe much delighted me that after I made more of the before mentioned guales or benches under the trees to sett one & thus I passed a good deale of my time to make my life the more easey, not omitting the use of my 3 bookes & care for eternity & being now settled as well as could be in my circumstances I lived with much more Content then before & continewed in this place aboute some 2 yeares after & then was sent for by the King to the City of Nellemby, as is mentioned in fo. 137, which was the finall end of all the labours I had taken & the Delight I tooke tharein.

Notwithstanding 1 was exceedingly well pleased in hopes to obtaine my former liberty & see my native Country againe, for tho 1 wanted nothing (superflueties excepted) vet my mind was not fully at ease. At this time our whole nation were togeather at the City of Nellemby &

A.D.

1711.

No iron mih
in the houses*

\«n.

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KNOX’S AITOHIOOKAPHV

Great greate rejoveeii 4 we made, hv^’u .mother &

£r>)'o'" v secondly ’heleeving .n ue were told h old be -cnt away to

iwisng i .< our owne Count!". bn! h 'w t'v h ipocd tv vie v. ere dis-

^ r ‘> u< ' apointed 1 !u\ c already ul’.te ‘ I hi»e > v h>s to .u:J that
in our Merry ttiake tiveatmr v.e it* 1 ail we had
gotten betor * were a*- jM.ire as . nr, t‘;.i’ Ja.i we wears
to be sepperatcd \ v ent r"- t\ t t. *:v pvvv as we
were a few month 15 after.

Folio 89 91. Thare was no pertiatl.tr apporn'me:'; to which place
each or any ot us should be 'C".t, but ;r.v let: or thance
hapned in such a p!.k\ as I i” 's; DiM-ad. v n, neercst the
Sea, as being most pnibf.fe i , mV. 'tuvv* t ! t:> an escape
from : I was placed in a towne C tilc.i A.w ec.iuull in the
The Count) ef County of Handapondov r.e belt’, erne wh eh tv the Hol-
HtmdapK- landers Dominions was nneh o* r Co’.niv Called Beigal!
**"' Courly.

This Country was far mr*v Judith full t nrn Bonder Cosse
Watt where 1 lived before \ bn It my Lai houn\ hut
nothing necre so pleasant, whuh vis a Cinmus dry &
smooth Country 5 c this all mm n lan.i onely hills &
dales wett 5 c durtv* hcny full nf Springs v \ rivers, which
tho much more profitable to huskuutn A n which I had
no share) yet worse to me to wasku in \\h\h was all my
buisnesse 5 c besides much mfeMxvi with land horse leaches
as is mentioned in to, 25, nhkh tho holdo mm to the body
by drawing away Blond, jet vm trrubknome to the
traviler, of which where I dacir *mfb’** re are never

Hotter a
Courk.

any.

Here they put me into one of the: re m\\ik* durty &
darke houses ii brought me my viitunlF raw \ in good
order which I dressed nnscltl* (h.ivuv turned away my
Boy at the Citty). In this County Called 1 lottera Courly
were 3 English men more quartered abou’e some 4 or 5
miles distance from me & we could goe & visett one the
other at pleasure, which made my life mure easev, but
heere I wanted Cotten yarne to Follow mv trade ot knit-
ting Caps, for as I have mentioned before I had spent one
all I had while at the Citty, & this Countv haveing great

plenty of Beetlenuts with which they buy Cloathing they neither plant nor spin Gotten as they are faint to doe in other parts where they have no bettlenut trees, vizt, as at Cose Watt ; & haveing now bin in this Country of Ceylone aboute 5 yeares could speake somewhat of the language, I desired of my Neighbours leave to goe to my former quarters to buy Gotten yarne where it was plenty (Note, these people had as much Charge to keepe my body in safe Custody as to feede it) & also that part layeth higher up in the Country then heere where I dwelt, so that with a small hessetation they granted it, telling me they tooke me for a man of honour as if upon my Paroll & this was the first begining of my Pedling trade. And my good friend Mr. John Loveland went alonge with me, so I had the pleasure to see my former habitation & the variety of my labours in building a house, which now was become a store house to keep the Kings Cocorn uts in & not admitted to dwell in it againe.

After my returne the people never more questioned my goeing againe as I did sevemll times to trade for Gotten thread, which taught me the art of pedling. The people of Bonder Cosse watt my old neighbours I beleeve were glader to see mee now then when I was quartered upone them & fed at theire Charge, & kindly intertained mee for the people in the lowlands are naturally of a kind & friendly disposition.

After I had continewed some time in these my new quarters & well acquainted with the people, not knowing how longe my stay amounge them might be, for now my quarters were very large & so no greate charge to the people to feede me (as it was before in one towne) & I began to thrive in the World, I fell to build me another house one a fine situation on the bank of a fine fresh water river, (forgitting how I was served with my former house in Bonder Cosse Watt) & some of my Neighbours assisted me very friendly that I made this house larger & better then the former, & intrenched it with a ditch & hedge & made 2 doores boath fore & backe Doore, & planted my

A.D*

I7II.

The Author
begins his

Pedling.

Folio 90/92,

The Author
builds him
another house .

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But has to
leave it,

M ana toll
grasse.

Folio 9 1/93.

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

garden with fruitc trees, sparing no labour, & began to take delight in this habitation, but not such as altered my inclination to make an escape when god gave^mee an opertumty> who to shew mee the vanity in seeckeing Con- tent in things one earth, when I had but jtH finished this house 6 c lodged in it but some tew nights the Dutch came with an army 6 c tooke pase^escion of the next County called Belgall Courly as \\ to. f ;f , that so frighted the people' where I was that the} ail remooved into the woods, driving theire Cattle before them k buriing theire cornc in the ground, k my^elte k the other 3 English men that were neere were all earned up into Mountaines leaving most that 1 navi gotten (being in trade) behind me 6 c thus 1 lost all my labours a second time, yet God continewed my dayly brc.ul for the Manna ceased not, I meane the Kings allowance.

The place where 1 was carried to was Lugendeny, as mentioned in fo. 142, being a small tow ne one the top of a hill invironed with mountaines one which were hut few trees, but all overgrown 'with a ionge sort of grasst* they call Manacoll, in some places up to the Knees, in others up to the Middle, that heere was noe walking but m the paths the Cattle made & the ground Stony be uneven.
In the dry seasons, which is about January, they sett one fire & burne this longe grasse, which will run over whole

mountaines tell some small runing brooke of water inter-
pose, of which here are many, k then they will fire it
againe one the other side : this the) doe for food for theire
cattell, who care not to eate the old ripe grasse but love
to feede one the joung new Sprung grasse, & also that they
may the better passe to & trow, which they cannot well doe
in the longe grasse.

Here I could take no manner of delight, onely think
how to gitt out of it, & therefore contented niyselfe with
the house the people gave me, indeed 1 had a very pleasant
prospect of the great river Called Manella Gonga, neere
as broad as the Thames, just below me & of the Beautiful!
& pleasant Countryes of Endy Nune & Yattenune (in the

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KNOX'S LIFE IN CEYLON

A.D.
I7II.

former I after dwelt) & townes situated one that river side,
but this added to my vexation to see such a fine Country so
nee re &: 1 must dwell on the top of a dismall mountaine
often covered with Clouds.

However I had one advantage by it, not haveing any
divertion for pleasure I sett myselfe the more dilligently to
knitting Caps, by which with Gods Blessing I retreeved
my former losses & was enabled to buy a small freehold Author
Estate, as mentioned in fo. 144, so that now I thought 1 ^^ man
had nailed some of my mony fast to the earth to prevent
it from flying away againe as it had done before twice from
mee, but Almight God out of great mercy to me frustrated
these vaine & foolish thoughts I had to grow rich, as in
the 49 Psalrae, in not suffering me to naile myselfe with
my mony to this Earth, as I have mentioned in the 9, 10
& 1 1 Chapt. of the 4 part of this booke, for mans goeings
are of the Lord ; how can a man then understand his owne
way, Pro. the 20 & 24 verse, but how buisely I imployed
myselfe to seeke rest & Content in this my new purchase
I have already related in fo. 144 k fo. 84 in manscript.

Concerning the house I built thare that I have but little
to add, but this jiouse standing one my owne ground I built
it with better stufe or wood & bigger than either of my
former 2 houses : here my doores to each of the Close houses
were of planke with Staples & padlocks to hange thare one,
as indeede here was more neede, being many Theives of CMngukys
outlandish people that are either slaves to great men or
inhabitances, whareas the naturall borne Chingulay so much ?
abhors Theivere that I never knew any practice it.

The ground one which my house stood was sloping that
required much labour to levell it by bringing the earth
from the higher part & raising the lower that I might
have a levell to walke on which at length with much paines
I did efect & made thorne gates (as great men have) boath
before my house downe into my rice field & behind it allso
to goe out that way, to boath which I had barrs that none
could come in when they were shett.

The field I had lay joyning to my ground all in one
' 407

A/D.
I/I I-

Folio 92/94.

Ato the
Authot
managed hh
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And met eased
Ms Estate.

A mizcrly
man.

KNOX'S A ITOBIOG R A PH V

peece which was well watered \ a curious riming Spring
of water very neere tor my i'.ouse use. Had 1 tilled this
field mvselfe it would afford rice enough! for mv uwne
eating all the yeare, but I could more profit.aMely Jinploy*
my time in Knitting Caps K afterwards when 1 left Knit-
ting by the trade I was fallen into by lending Corne, as in
fo. 149, 1 had no need, therefore I left the reki to be tilled
& deducting the seed corne sowed one halfe (deducting
some small Costomarv charges) was my owne for the use
of the ground & thus I managed my field ever) yeare, hut
besides I had severall rice fields one Morgages for mony
lent, for the intrest here of mony is dabble for one yeare,
that instead of Intrest 1 had the profet of what the field
produced, which 1 used to lett at halves as 1 did my ownc
field, which was to continew in nn hand tell the lent mony
was repaid, that by this meanes my esteate increased upon
me every yeare Considerable!)', all which I gladly left be-
hind me when God of his infinite mercy delivered me by

an escape, as is before mentioned in fo. 1 56, be came poorer
out of this Country than I came into it, haveing had onely
foode & raymentof all the Labours I had taken under the
Sun (they being vanished like yester nights drearne) all
which I might have had without building be planting &
buying land which my inclination led me to doe, whereas
none of my Countrymen the English were of that mind,
but contented themselves with such houses as the people
gave them & dilligently followed theirc knifing Caps to
gitt mony 6e then fell to drinking of Racke tell it was all
spent & so round from knifing to drinking he from drinke-
ing to knite againe, & thus the most part of them spent
theire time, haveing allowance of victualls given them by
the Kings order.

Thare were aboute 3 or 4 that husbanded theire mony
better to more nesesary uses : Thare was one man
amounge us tho I know he had more mony then any one
of us yet like Sollomons foole in the 6 of Exclesiastes he
injoyed lesse not haveing power to eate thareof (he how a
strainger came to eate it will follow). His first way of

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KNOX'S LIFE IN CEYLON

A.D.

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gittmg mony was by knitting caps & then keeping it when

he had gott it, for he had rather pinch his belly then spend
one penny of his mony either for victualls or Racke & in
deaths none could goe worse, for he had onely one old
durty Clout & a pare of briches. He alwaves dwelt in
the Citty of Candy, where his house & furniture was sut-
able to his diett & apparrell He wrought early & late by
lamp light that no time was lost but for Sleepe & to dresse
his victualls, which he had raw.

Right against him one the other side of the Street dwelt And his
a Portuguse that had a Wife & family who often would
crossc the way & come & sett & talke with this man, ° ur '

which had it hindred his knitting he would not allowed
of; at length by frequent conversation they grew intimate
& the Portuguse pitting he should loose so much time to Mo 93/95-
boyl his rice, which often he would eate with onely a little
salt & a lyme, offered to send his daughter to boyle his vic-
tualls thare in his house, saying the Girle had nothing at
home to doe.

This was not presently excepted tell after being sent by Horn he got
her father the Girle in a neete cleane dresse came herselfe h ^f^ n f end
& used such importunity & Arguments (he being about u
Age 42) as convinced him to be for his intrest to save his
time, & every day she used to come & dresse what he
bad her, which done she stept home tell he had done
eating (for her Company to dinner would be chargeable)

& then she came againe to wash the potts & sweepe
the house, & sometimes the Girle would bring a small
dish from her fathers house when she saw his dinner very
scant, & the Portuguise continewed this kind & Neigh-
bourly assistance & sometimes inviting him over to dine
at his house, that at last the Girle gott a Rich husband &
probabely his family will yearely increase. This was done
but a short time before I left the Country so that I know
not what followed (Hony Moone) onely I know he had
gott one to helpe to spend his mony which he grudged to
spend one himselfe.

Thus I have shewn how some spent all & some keept
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U). KNOX'S Ar TOHKKiKAPH V

1711.

all & I myselfe after 1 was well settled \ h.ni^'U some
'Ine substance Run away A left all, yet 1 flunke . s u union that

umrninet) hath written in Kccleastes so nnuh of the unity <>t all
j Rides. {jarthly things saw not more of thc:ro uncu knty then
myselfe. First when 1 was taken one /el me from all t\
all my expectation of auvaiising myselfe m tf-.i* Wmld in
the prime of my y cares. Sccon,i<\ w.'k u renioovej from
my settlement at Bonder c»vwe watt. 1 ivrdiy when
remooved from Accraueagull. Fourth!) when l run
away from Eledatt be Fiftly since nn e^ape when 1 had
but Just began to build my fourtune againc*, .!•> :n fo. 24
of Maniscript, the ship was run away with all 1 had gotten
againe in the World.

C , . , , ,

From all these premisses 1 make ini', inkiv.ee that
God of his infinite mercy onely pruned ot my superfluous
branches which tended oneiy to Pi hie, Ann turn A love
of this world, for in all the Straights A d maihies that
his providence brought me into he aluajcs led me
through & provided for me a plentiful! suport of
nesesaries, as in the 45c Chap, of Jeremiah to Baruch,
' & seeketh thou great things for thyselfe «eeke them
not saith the Lord ' ; but mv life hath lie given me for a
prey in all places whare his providence hath led nice, so

that in the Course of my life I made 7 cubages to the East Indies, 2 with my Father, who was Commander of the ship.

The Authu The first voiage I went out A came home well A' in the metges. second was taken one Zelone after the ship had bin 2

Folio 94/96. yeares trading in India & since mv escape from thence 1 made 5 voiages more all to the East Indes, being myselfe Commander, all which time his good providence preserved me that I was never neither cast away nor taken although I went out & came home in the height of King Williams Wars e with france & sometimes alone without either Company or Convoy, therefore as in Deutro. the 8 & 5 verse, I ought to Consider in my heart that as a man Chasteneth his son, so the Lord my God hath Chastened me & not given me over unto death, and 1 thinke I may

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A.D.

ON PUBLIC WORSHIP

say at Madagascar, fo. 14 Manscript, had he not restrained the King I had bin slaine by his hand.

Since my eomeing out of Captivity I have heard many discourses as if it were scarce possible to retaine any sence of Religion where thare is not a publicke Worship as in Churches & preaching, but I thanke God I have not found it so, for the place & the Company I take to be the lest part of Divine Worship, as our Saviour told the Woman of Samaria ; for God is a Spiritt & they that Worship him must Worship him in Spiritt & in truth for the Father seeketh such to Worship him, which spiritual! Worship may be as sincere in a wilderness as in a crowded Congregation, tor 1 cannot thinke that neither the sanctity of the place nor numbers of the people present can make me an exceptable worshipper to God, but it must be my owne hearty & sincere Devotion which cannot be the lesse excepted to the omnipresent God because I am in a remote part of the earth & alone when offered to him.

In the wholy Scriptures are recorded many holy mens single private devotions wh'fth, we have no reason to doubte but were accepted of God as well as if they had bin in publicke Churches, vizt., as Abraham when he interceded for Sodom & Isaacke when he went out into the fields 8c Jacob had divided his family into 1 bands before he prayed, therefore is probable he was alone when he prayed : also Job, & our Saviour in the 6 of Matthew bids us goe into the Closet & shutt the doore when we

pray & likewise not to appeare to men to fast, but to our father which is in secret, to which I can add my owne experience, boath by sea & land that to be seperated from publicke preaching & Church worship doth not seperate from Communion with God.

In these solitary states of life we are free trom many temtations as Drinking ; Sports for divertion ; & play houses & commonly in publicke Conversations few come better out then they were when they entred into them.

This that I have here writen is not in the lest against publicke worshiping of God which I have & doe & hope

1 71 1.

He disco uues
on publicke
Worship .

Private
devotions
molded in
Scrip tut e.

A.O.

1 7 1 1 .

Folio 95 97.

The Author s
Garden in
London .

His hooke of
Ceylone all
bought up *

KNOX'S ArTOBHKJKAPHY

ahvayes shall use, but to '■hew tnat a mm may leage a Godly and pious life where it is not to be iircyed ; & thus I conclude the many signail prut idences that I have scene & gone throught in the Cour-e of my life neathortoo, being now in the" 65 \eare of my age. (I'd haveing Blessed me with a small Competency 1 which ouelv he

knowes how longe it shall Cnntinew'' tor my l omtorttable
suport in my old Age tor I have often scene, as heere
is mentioned the uneertainety ot all earth' v things, yet
notwithstanding after 1 had letf my trade bv unpin men t
at sea & was setled onely in a lodging Chamber I could
not leave my former inclination be genuine to make my
uncertaine habitation neate be pleasant, tor with Concent
of the Landlord I inclosed a corner of a Court with
a bricke wail to make me a small garden in the City of
London & planted trees tharein, which gave me great
content which 1 thinke no other but nnselfe would ever
have done.

These few leaves I wrote in Anno. i~co, in which 1 see
i have not followed methdd, but sure 1 am 1 have truth,
which was the Chiefe thing I regarded, which 1 doc Attest
under my owne hand, Rotsr. Knox.

Anno. 1708. Since my hooke of Ceylone hath found
such acceptance of this present generation that all the
bookes that were printed are bought up & many more
would have bin bought if were to be had, be also that it
hath bin translated into Dutch be french gives me cause to
thinke that hereafter some may inquire or wish to know
what became ot the Author after his escape from Ceylone
& how that hand of Divine Providence that was so signally
extended over him thare did afterwards provide for
& preserve him to his lives end ; for all I brought home
to England was onely the Cloaths one my backe which
the Duch out of Charity had bestowed upon me, which
1 thinke is as worth of remarkc as the former wildest one
Ceylone, as by the before writen papers doth appeare, for
he hath raised me up & throwne me downe, brought mee
into faviour & Cast mee into disgrace, made mee to be

4 '=

THE VALUE OF THE COCOANUT

pkfied & after to be envied & also loved & hated, which
treatment I have found in my passage through the world ;
but in all these various dispensations of his providence he
hath (according to his gracious promise) never left nor
forsaken me, but alwayes shewed me tokens for good that
they that hated me did see it & were ashamed, which hath
inclined mee to write this Narrative of my life for those
(if there may be any such) that may thinke it worth the
reading. R. Knox.

When I looke backe (in my Solatory Meditations) upon
the Wonderfull things that Gods hands hath wrought &
mine eyes have scene, the Cocornute tree tooke up much
of my thoughts, especially since in all bookes that have fell
into my hands thare is not one half described of what that

tree affordeth & must beleeve because the authors knew it
no better, k without vaine glory to myselfe it is no wonder
for a man that lived '*20 years amoung those trees & planted
severall of them, to have a more perfett knowledge then
those who now & then happen to see them.

These trees grow plentifully i*i most parts of the East
Indies & the usefullnesse well known to all the inhabitance
that by Ropes, Racke or spirits & oyle they have a great
traficke & suport. OneZelone where they have great plenty
it is accounted a high Crime for any man to cut downe one
of his owne trees thought one his owne ground, unlesse it
be superanuated & past baring. I have often known the
people leave theire Cocornut plantations upon soposition
of the divell banting them or sickenesse with the trees all
standing tell the Wild Elephant come & throw them downe
to eatet These trees afford so many nesesaries that I
thinke were people to dwell where thare were no other
sustenance they might live to dye of old age.

And now I shall describe the tree & the produce thareof,
onely what my owne Ample experience hath taught me
& shall be nothing but the very truth.

First the nut is the seede which they gather before it is
over drye or ripe & fling it amounge the greene weeds, now
& then throughing water (if dry weather) thareone ; &

A.D,

T7II.

Folio 96/98.
The Wonders
of the

Coco? nut f?ee.

Cocomuts
plentiful i in
the East
Indies.

How the tree
grows.

A.P.

IJIi.

It* Pi nit

Folio 97/99.

fk:v tie
Chtngukp
CL mb the
tree*.

Another –:tay
to Climb,

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

first the rootes grow through the thkke rime A strike nun
the ground ix after the hud which priViureth t'ic tree
comes out upwards, it is aboute f or_n months hetore
thare is any apperance of grouth. Note, as the iiitle
grows outwardly the imvard Cavetv (which is lull of v,\ ecte
water) fills with a pulpy substance A as that subs* mce
increased) & iilleth the Cavity the n:eate that groweth
round one inside ot the shell rot's A Consume'' as doth
also the liquor to make roome for th s pulp} Substance
tell it hath filled the whole Shell, which rot's quite away
A this becomes the route of the tree. Ties pulp when
it hath aboute halfe filled the shell is very good f i eate,
tasting sweetish, hut afterward it 'trout :h srrii'jey A
lesse savory.

This tree bareth sooner or later, according as it liketh
the ground it groweth in ; sometimes it will bare Nuts in 4
or 5 yeares, but most Commonly in 10 or 1 a \ cares after it
is planted that one may reach the nuts standing on the
ground from the time it begines to Bare. It tontmeweth
baring without interm tsievi at all seasons alike tell it grows
superanuited, which the Chingulayes or inhah'.tauce of
Zelone say is ico yeares. When it is at its/uli growth it
is 50 or 60 foot high & straight (so difficult to Clime up)
but generally by the great length A weighte of the head it
groweth bending.

These people are very exquisite in Climing these freest*
notwithstanding theire length A straitenesse : the}' make
a strap by knoting boath ends of a rope togeather, in
which they put in theire 2 feete (being al waves barefoot 'i
so wide as will just Clasp the tree A grasping the tree
with theire armes they draw up theire feete, whim being
in this strap hold the tree fast without Sliping that they
raise theire body to reach higher with theire armes A so
gaine at each time about 2 foote higher up the tree A so
Continew tell they come to the top" A Come t.nwne after

the same manner, for if they had not the strap theire
feete would be apt to slide.

This way they use onely when they goe up to gather

40

THE VALUE OF THE COCO AN UT a.d.

I7II.

the Nuts, but when they draw the liquor from the bud LaiienwouU
which produceth the nuts, Called toddy they must asend not doe so mil
twice every day, therefore they have an easer way by
binding a small sticke (somewhat Crooket) that they may to raise'
graspe with theire hand to the Cocornut tree & every Cff remoove
binding serves as a step to sett theire feete on, & the tk ladders
small sticke so bound as a handle to hold by, which is f imireet °
the fitter being somewhat Crooket to put theire fingers / f Q
betweene that & the tree then if it were directly straite onotmscat
& laide close to the tree for Laders they have none. some distance

1 shall forbare to write a description of the forme of m fi m ^
this tree since that & many other Indian trees & plants ° tm '
are so excelently done in prints in India by the life by
order of the famous Dutch Generali Matt-Sucar in a
booke I have scene at Dr. Rob: Hooke called Ortus
Mallibaricus, that I thinke it cannot be done more
Lively.

Haveing shewn the Manerr of planting this tree &
brought it to bare, next 1 shall shew the many excellent
& usefull things it produces fer^the service of mankind
which to many i thinke will seeme incredible, but I write
nothing (by hearesay) but what 1 have known by my
owne Ample experience.

Ti$ an old & common saying, the Cocornut tree What the tue
affordeth meat, Drinke & Cloath, true, but far short to
my owne knowledge, besides I shall add Corne, toddy,

Wine, Vinegar, oyle, Milke & home, all eateables : but
besides it affordeth othes nessesaries as Mats, Broomes,
bottles, dishes & Ropes. The body is the lest usefull of
all, being as a great Reede full of pith, but the top of
this pith next the head of the tree I shall make an ex- Folio
celent use of hereafter in its place. 98/100.

I shall write of each particular produce of this tree in
the order I have here set them downe. The tree naturally
bareth the nuts, which grow in bunches, some more &
some fewer. I have seene 40 nuts in a bunch all hange The Nuts,
one one stake from the head of the tree & some bunches
more. These large bunches they cut of & lower downe

415

KNOX'S Al'TOliKHJK.U'H Y

i;n.

Meat e kS
drink?.

Cloath from
the Commit .

with a rope (else in the fall they will hreaM of from the hunch, but the Nut hath no hurt' Mope op t w nrrun- trance of theire Temples at times ot ere, it m.KnvlN to theire Gods, but generally each bunch Umuiwe t or i : Nuts, It is as the tree thrives so that thare N alvuyc< at all seasons of the veare buds, Blossnmes, unr uut% one

CISC under the other, & tul! ripe nut^ all at one time upon the tree,

First I begine with meate 8c drhikm tor that is the naturall province of the tree wdunuf any hum;n heK\ The nut is so well known heere that 1 neede not further describe the Manner how these : thirds doe gnn\ in the nut; hut when we use these nuts for meate Cv. dnnke we gather them when they are young (not sn ripe as t non* brought to England) then the meate one the indue of the shell is as soft as the white of a poeht or soft boyled eggi\ that we scrape it out with our linger, which t^fs very pleasant 8c the end of the nut being Cut of it a cup to drink the liquor out of, which is so pleasing to all pallates that 1 never kpicw any that disliked it, & 1 beieeve so holsome even to sick bodies beyouml what 1 will pretend to discribe. Some of these nuts Continue aboute a quart of this liquor, some lesse, but as the nut grows older the meate grows thicker, 8c by Conceqoence the water lesse 8c heath lesse savory to the pallate,

Tis Customary for travilours or others to stay theire stomake betweene meales to cate 8c drinke these nuts, which very well answers theire expectation in boath degrees.

Secondly Cloath, which may be made tout of the rind or outward huske that grows over the outside of the nut i the Staple is aboute one span loncje, which r.uv be spune

into thread 8c wove into Cloath which would cover the
naked body & fence it against Cold, hut would be very
ruggett & scrach the body. This might be done whare
thare is no other Goat hi ng tho 1 Con t esse I never see
any Cloath made thareof, but ropes of all cises (as I shall
come to here after) I have scene great quantiles.

416

AJX

THE MAKING OF TODDY

17x1.

Thirdly Corne, by this I meane' the pith in the upper Com.
end of tree (for the rest in the body is all stringes) which
they beat in morters into flower, & bake Cakes of in
potshread & truly is very like Cakes so made of wheat Folio
flower, onelv it hath a little sweetish tast ; but this sort 99/ 101 -
of foode is to precious for common eating, which they
never doe, but when an Elephant hath frown downe a tree
& they scare him away suddenly else he will eate it him-
selte, which is his purpose in throwing downe the tree.

Fourthly, 4 very usefull things I must put togeather Hew they
because they all proceede from & are made from one tnahe Toddy.
Natural! Liquor which this tree yeldeth in great plenty,

Namely, Toddy, generally so Called by the English, but in
the Changulay Language Called Raw, of which they make
Wine, Vinegar & hony or Sugar. To take them in theire
order, the Toddy they draw from the Bud which bareth
the nuts ; this bud is as thick & longe as a mans Arme,
which they for severall dayes togeather Morning &
evening knock & bruise with a small Club to keepe it from
bursting (else it will produce tl?e„Cocornut) & every day
they Cut of a thine slice from the tip end which in time
will drop & then they hange one the end an earthen pott
with a narrow mouth to receive the same, which is sweete
& pleasant to drinke, & I thinke as holsome & after it
hath bin keept some howers is as stronge as Beere or Ale,
that men are frequently Drunke tharewith. They take
this downe from the tree every Morning & evening &
when they meane to make Wine (or Racke so called in
India) they keepe this Toddy Liquor 4 or 5 dayes & it
will ferment like Brewers Wort, which when they perceive
to be Ripe, which they see by the frawgh falling, they still
& draw the Spiritt or racke (which in the Portuguise Citty
of Goa they make such quantities as they sell to most
parts of India & I think is the chiefe Manifactory that
place affoardeth.

Then to make vinegar is onely by keepeing the Toddy And vinegar.
in the Sun some dayes & it becomes good vinegar, with
which vinegar all theire pickells as Mangoos, Bambows,

A.l>.

ijll,

Hm\

Folio

100/102,

How they
make oyle
from ike
Coconut ttee.

And milk.

KNOX'S .-UTOBlOGRAPtlY

&c., are made k is little infer;- nir to oui Wine vinegar
Europe.

I have explained. 5 excelcnt produces <n':h:*. tree, vizt.
Toddv, Wine or Rack A vinegar; now next of bony or
sweetning, tis onelv to wash the pots tint nwve the
Toddy from the tree that it doth not s -wer the hqunr a«
the pots soone will doe for the Liquor. naturally sweet
& presently hovle it to a surrup, or ifliovle ;t longer it
will come to a Consistuncie as Sugar * : s a> sweete, good
& I thinke as holsome.

At Zelone they doe not frequently hovle theire Toddv
to make Sweetning, because they have such plenty out of
the Kittule Tree as 1 have menfiond in this Book in fo.

1 y, hut boyle it onelv as they have occafion tor medicianall
uses, for which they say it is excelcnt good, hut imploy it
better to drinke or Still Racke or vinegar.

The next produce of this tree is oyle, which thev make
in great quantities especially one the Mailalur Coast ; then
the Riper the nut is the better, as when the water within
is all quite drivn away cyirof the Nut & the meats' so dry
that it is separated from the shell & will rattle as a Curnell
in a nut, then they breake of the shell & i.uie small

vessells with the meate or kirnell as a comodity from one port to another where they have Mills, worked with Cattle, to grind this meate to powder & then squeese the oyle out, which they use for lamps or other uses as we doe traine oyle.

But when they make milke of the Cocorn ut they take the nut just when it is Ripe, as they may see by the out-ward huske begining to Change the Couller from greens to a redish or dry Couller & splitt it in 2 parts, as it will easely doe by a Chop or 2 in the Midie, k with an iron grater fastned one a sticke roundish, filed with notches one it as a saw, they grate the meate that groweth one the inside of the shell all small & put it into'* water & so nip & squeese out the Juce, which lookes as white as milke k tasts much like the same, which often they put into theire Carres or stews & it gives it an cxelent saviour.

4lS

A.D,

OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE COCOANUT

This milk they boyle tell all' the waterey liquor is evaporated & onely the oyle remaine, then thare will remaine in the bottom of the pan a pulpy Substance they call Talecaup, which is sweet & pleasant to eate, but very greesie. This way they make oyle of it to use to fry any-thing or to oyle theire haire, for then it is sweete & holsome, but will soone become ranke by keeping that they make but little at a time, onely for present use, but the other before mentioned way of making oyle is onely for common use & not eateble being very ranke.

I have carried these Cocornuts to sea & made milke of it after the before mentioned manner & mixed it with rice boyled in water & it eate even as well as Rice boyled in Milke, onely a little sweeter, but if should boyle rice in this Cocornut milke it would turne to oyle before the rice could be boyled it being fatter then Cows milke. Thus 1 have explained the eateables that the Cocornut tree pro-duced, besides it afforded severall other nesesaries for the use of man, as I shall now explaine.

I shall begin with mats, which §re made of the leaves of this tree. These leaves or the bough as the Chingulayes call them are aljoute 7 or 8 foot longe, in forme somewhat like a feather, with sprigs one each side.

These sprigs are more then 2 fingers broad & aboute 2 foot long & to keepe them out straite in the Middle is a sticke like a Wire which reaches to the end & groweth all

alonge tapering like an Angle or fishing rod. The leafe
one each side of this sticke they stripe of, which is a large
fingers breadth & tough like parchment which they weave
into Mats, larger or smaller as they please ; & also with
the same they make basketts to put Corne, &c., into (&
then the stickes so striped from the leafe & tied togeather
in Bundles is a very good broome, with which we alwayes
sweepe our houses).

Also with these Cocornut leaves they make whole
houses, boath sides & Covering, which fenceth them from
all weet Winds & weather, in many of which I have dwelt
my selfe before I fell to building me a house, which when

419

17x1.

Folio

101/103.

How they
make Mats,

Houses made
from Cocornut
haves.

a.d.

ijiu

Broomes,

Bottles.
Cups ,

Ropes.

Folio

102/104.

OCX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

they use the leaves for houses they doc not stripe it as they

doe for Matts, oncly splitt the whole leafe nr Bough into
2 parts, each part making one matt ahonte one tv haltc
foote broad & 5 or 6 foot lunge & tu* these leaves one
faying over the other to the frame of the house, which is
made of wood, boath one the top & sales, hut then* leave
houses will not last above one ye, ire & must be new
Covered againc be also are very duingerous for if once one
fire hardly possable to quinch it.

The bough one which the Nuts grow one when they
are gathered or fallen of is naturally a very good broom e
which they use to sweepe theire yards with, it having
a short handle growing to it, ix when they me, me to
make a bottle of the nutt they make but a little hole in one
end & keepe it tell all the meate in the inside is rotted
out & then it is like a bottle without a t'.ecke. in which
they keep Racke or oyle or any other liquor: some will
hold a quart. The cups or dishes is oncly to split
the nut in the Middle as it will doe easear then
any other way & thenrtnare is a Cups made of one
nutt.

Now we come to Ropes, which are nude from the
produce of the Cocornut tree in greate quantifes for trade
& marchandise, as the Racke & oyle is. Most of the
Indian ships are rigged with these ropes & theire Cables
of the same, 8 c it is Common for our Europe ships when
by longe stay in India that theire Stores are expended to
suply theire wants with this sort of Cordage, which wareth
very well, but not so durable as hemp ropes, as 1 have
known by my owne experience.

These ropes are made of the outward huske that
groweth one the Cocornutt. Thare is a great deale of
difference between ropes made of the huskes of the full
ripe nuts & those that are made of the huskes of nuts
gathered before they be full ripe : the latter are the best
by farr & neere duble the price, but then they loose the
benefit of the oyle & the nut onely fitt to eate raw or put
into theire vittualls, as they alwayes doe, but this will not

420

OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE COCOANUT

devour a great quantity so that the nut is in a manner lost
though tharebv the ropes is the better.

They have a very ready way to take of this huske with
«t sticks of aboute 2 or 3 foot longe, sharp at one end &
the other stucke fast into the ground & so they Job or
sticke the nut one the sharps end of the sticke & then
prise downe the nut & the huske rips open & so sticke it
one againe tell it is all ript of.

I have seene many of our Europe men very much
pusled to gitt the nutt out of the shell by curing the
huske with knives, which when they have seene done is
as easey as to make Columbos egge stand one the end.

Then they take these huske & lay them in a weet place
some time to rott, or rather to soften, & then with a Club
they knocke or bruse these huskes as we doe hemp & so
prepare & fitt it to spin into yarne to make ropes. To
these ropes they use no tarr : they are far lighter then
hempe ropes & will swime when new tell they are Water
soked, but after not.

I shall set them all in order fq? the plainer view

First Meate.

alv Drinke of 2 sorts, vizt. the Liquor in the Nutt &
Toddy naturall.

3IV Corne.

4ly Wine.

ylv oyle.

6 Vinegar.

7 Milke.

8 hony or sweetning.

these 8 things are all usefull for food.

qiy Cloath.

10 Matts.

I I Broomes.

12 Bottles.

13 Cups & dishes.

14 Cordage & Match to fire guns, etc.

These 6 latter are usefull in theire kind tho not eateble.

Althought this tree affordeth all these usefull things the
421

A.D.

1711.

How they take
of the huske.

What the
Coconut tree
affordeth in
order.

A Ah
IJ 1 1.
The JFirJ
meins.

folio

I0 3 a0 $

Tk Pkntiin
tree.

How they
grow.

KNOX'S A l ' T(Hi 1 00 K A V ' 1 1 V

body or Wood thareof is useless not so ri Ik∗. A 4^ f 't 111 CWjJ J
sometimes they .split it for Miles Or feints. tec, but
generally it laycth is rots one the gw'umi .n of that vine.

I never heard any man sett any tut whatsoever m
Competition with the Cocoi nur tiee hut onily t. qua; tie
Dampire, who affairmes the plantatne tret to go bey< end
it, therefore 1 bemg as well .nquamud w:'h the latter as
with the former sY have planted many < t them, I shall
give as lull a description t.'urent a> 1 H ivv ot f! . Cu rent
tree, which far excelleth all the tiei.se t ! ∗ 0 1 !, ave ever
known.

This Plantain tree : s but an Anuull ^:o vth for it lureth
but one hunch of fruit & then thev Cut downo the ;t
will die. It is oneiy a large Rush so mg as a mans thye
& aboute 10 or 1; foot longc, Compond .dl nt finkes one
growing over the other as an onion tv m the Middle is a
soft pith as thicke as a mans wrist. These trees oneiy
usefull to feede Eliphants who lovt- to cate shun, which
other Cattle doth not. The fruite when np.' is sweete &
eateth much like a mea}y'pare, tlm tin Cnaiuiulayes use
them greene 6c hoyle them to cate with the: re rice, but

acount them but a Coarse food. The leaves are large,
aboute 4 or 5 foot longc N. a foot broad, lit <Y' used oneiy
to lay rice one to cate (for liquor will not got* througt
them) for one time be after fling them away for thev will
split or tare easer then paper one way, hut not the other.

When they plant them they Commonh sett them in a
deepe hole in the ground, for the jinn a plant groweth
out from the old root one the upper side <\ o mes out 4,
5 or 6 younge ones at a time which is the 'in lease, for the
fruit will not grow, so that in a few yeans tluv grow up
above the surface of the earth, be then tin y deuy be grow
no more, so that in a few yeares than* d an end of the
whole plantation.

When they make a new plantation, Commonly they
plant these Plantaine trees (though it is no more propper
to call them trees then it is to Call a Cubage a tree) & sett
Cocornuts betweene them, for before the Cocornut tree is

PLANTAIN AND COCOA NUT COMPARED aj>.

17 n.

grow n up the plantaines are decaid & gone, whare as the
Cocornut tree Contineweth flourishing aboute 100 yeares.

Now to what Capt. Dampire sayeth the plantine tree The plantain
produced!, vizt. beside to eate the fruite ripe, they dry Cocornut
them in the sun & after beate it to powder & make Cakes com f arel
thare of, which I grant may be done, & that of the rushey
body they maj pull it into threads, & spin it & make
Cloath thareof, which I grant also, but it will be but like
the Cloath made of the Cocornut rine, onely fitt where else
they must gee naked. Thirdly they may spread the ripe fruit
one bread as Butter which is but as if they should spreed a
Codied Apple one bread onely that is sweeter then the apple.

Farther 1 never heard him say & indeede I thinke is all Folio
the improovements can be made thare of. But indeede the 104/106.
Elephant may make the Comparison more equiall for
indeede he eates with delight the whole plantine tree
whare as he eates onely the tender part of the head &
buds of the Cocornut tree, for the boddy tho all pithey he
will not eate as I have often seene. I would not have
added this onely to doe the Cocornut tree Justice, which
affordeth 14 very usefull things as I have described, whare
as this affbards but 3 besides food for Elephants.

Tis my opinion that the Kittule tree & the Jacke tree The Kittule
comes nerer in Compaction with the Cocornut tree, but and Jacke
far short, yet excells the plantine tree. t,ees '

It is my opinion that if thare were any trees in the

world (that I know of) to Compare or stand in Compati-
tion with the Cocornut tree it would be the Kittule &

Jacke trees, of which I have wrote to breifely in fo. 14
& 1 5, for indeed they boath doe deserve a larger Expli-
cation, however, would not be neere a match for the
Cocornut tree tho all the Art of Rhetoricke & Logicke
weare used.

As I have bin writing this it hath made a deepe Anmpmnm
impression one my mind against Atheism (which I blesse
God was alwayes abominable to me) that trees that grow
naturally intermixed one with another out of the same earth
& soyle from which they all have theire nourishment

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u;-.

iyih

170;.

Folio
106 107.

M. Da Gsm

Tallin's

Design?.

Folio

1 10/108,
1709.

KNOX'S Al'TOBiOOK Al*H Y

should so differ in theirc v.u it c* 0! wh.it can

this proceed from but that ^re-ste Cum r.a.i.i m the l ot
Genesis 'the earth to bring forth .ir.ow <a the lice Gelding
fruite after his kind' tv tens we -a ini liivi .in the world,
over,

McmoranJunis r n ,

June <t' M* Hu Guay Trum <\su[J -m k \nr!l one a
secret design*? with 7 Men of W.irr In n * * V i*
gunes & 6 friggotts from 3c tn 47 *,u\^ v\ tun* bomb

vessall 6c ecoo souliiers <\ arivu! at R;a l»c»u:.*r\ one the
Coast of Brazil the 1: Sept, about noune v \ mu* tutelv
entral the harbour, notwitMtanmnj: all toe Cmmm ilure
fired upon them, 6. got into the lurnout voure Li\ 4 ot the
King of Portugal! ships of 6;\ 70 K 5^ uuns who ail soon
run one shore 6c set themselves one n re *n pr; ver.t being
taken by the french, besides aboutc 40 imoxht ships &
one small outward bound Kngi.sh E.M India siv;\ some
they burnt & some were ranst med.

The Portuguese had tfcure then an urnn of J jOCO
men who soone fled up Into the Country that the towns
was left to the mercy of the french who sent to the
Portuguese govener to know if he would rr.nsome it
or else they would burn it tn ashes ; which he agreed to
doe & paid a ransome to the french. Content they staved
thare tell iy 1 ’ November following cv carried away all the
plunder & cannon & amunition & arived at Brest the 6
February following.

February a' 11. The Doupheues, daughter m the Duke
of Savoy died of the meazels, age 26 ye, ires.

And the iS th ditto, the Dauphin died, aged go yearcs.
of the same disease.

Being now' come to the evening of my Age \ free from
all manner of buisnesse & tired with fruiticsse Conversa-
tion, which seldome leads to edification or to any purpose
onely wasts precious time when men have not buisnesse
togeather, I began to spend my time in reading & my
owne Solitary Contemplations for all worldly pleasures are

4*4

OF RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES a.d.

1711.

now to me very insipid & vair.e as the wise King
Solomon in the 1 2 Chap of Ecclesi Sc 1 verse sayeth
after all his pompious glory & worldly injoyments he

found no pleasure in them.

It fell into my thoughts the great heats & difference Difference
umoungst men of the same Religion in essentially aboute
Cerimonious Circumstances used tharein, which are Chiefely Cerimn ' m
maintained by such men as our Saviour noteth in the SgXT"
j 5 Chap of Matthew & 8 verse: from the 29 Chap of
Isaiah & the 13 ver: vizt. ‘this people draw nigh unto
me with thcirc mouth & honoreth me with theire lipes, but
theire heart is far from me ’ (Note) ‘ But in vaine doe they
Worship me, teaching for Doctrings the Commandements

of men,' which I take to be the Priest habits & Cerimonies
used in publicke worship onely because Commanded by
man, but never (that I can find) prooved to be of Gods
appointment in the holy Scriptures, but Culloured over
with the name of Decency as much as to say to mend
or make our Religion more perfett & pure then God
himselte hath appointed, is not' this to be righteous over
much as in Eccle: the 9 Chap & 16 ver., but this is
further urged finder the name of Religion as by Law
established which to me seemes to be no Confirmation
at all, for if the Lawes of Countries can make a Religion
for theire ovvne people then why not King Jeroboam &
after King Nebuchadnezzer, & what if we should (as it
hath bin) againe have popery by Law established, butas-"
to myselfe my Conscience is fully satisfied that thare is no
other acceptable maner of worshiping God, then what he
hath prescribed in the holy Scriptures, which we are
straightly Commanded to obey as the rule of life under a
Curse neither to Add nor Diminish ough from it as
witnessed Duter: the 4 Chap and 2 verse : & Josuah
the 1 Chap & 7 verse : Proverbs the 30 Chap & 6 ver:

& Revelations the 22 Chap & 18, 19 verses.

I am further Confirmed In this faith (beyound opinion)
by the 14 Chap: Romans, & perticularly the 14 & 23
verses; (verse 14 : ' But to him that esteemeth any thing to

425

KNOX'S AU TO BIOG K APH Y

\,U*

i;il.

Folio

1 i 1/109.

Matty vclma
aboute
Divinity yet
oar Saz kur
comprised
Religion in a
few lines .

The Prophet
Micah.

be unclcanc to him it 'is lindane/ & the 2/ verse the
latter part: For whatsoever is not of faith is Sin,') what
human power can either bind or tleanc a nuns t or.cer.ee
against these Cleare & pregnant pt notes in the holy
Scriptures, which all Christians agree to he the onely word
& Commandments of Almighty (jo d i am not yet wise
enough to know.

What a numerous number ot volumes have wv printed
in every Age by the learned men tiwreof, aboute Divinity
each asserting his cnvne opinion be so tall into Controversies
one against each other to mainetainc the same, Wlure.h
our Saviour him suite Compriseth the whole ot Religion in
a few lines : Matt: the 22 Chap & the _'y\ 30, 40 verses,
'Jesus said unto him, thou shall love the Lord thy Clod
with all thy heart and with all thy Soule, N. w ,th ail thy
mind: this is the first & great ComnianJement, and the
Second is like unto it, Thou Shalt love thy Neighbour
as thy selfe, one these two Commandements lunge all the
law & the Prophets,' also Luke the* 10 Chap N 2" verse &
James the 1 Chap & 2t ferse, * Pure Religion * undetiled
before God & the Father (is this) to vise, the widows &
fatherlesse in thetre afflictions, ix to keepe hum selfe unspoted
from the world.'

And the Prophet Micah, Chap 6 , & 6 , ", ix 8 verses ' he
hath shewed thee 0 man what is good, and what Doth the
Lord require of thee, but to doe Justly X to love mercy
& to walke humbly with thy God,' & St Panic makes the
wordes of our Savioure the whole Same of the Doctring
which he taught as in the 13 Chap of the 1 to the Corinth:
& particularly the 3 ver, 'and though 1 bestow all my
goods to feede the poore, and though I give my body to
be burned, & have not (Charity)' which M'r. Baxter
explaines to be a predominant love to God <X to Saints
& to men it would Signifie nothing, ik in the 14 Chap &
5 ver to the Romans it is St Paules precept : * one man
esteemeth one day above a nother : Another esteemeth
every day alike: Lett every man be fully perswaded in
his owne mind ' & in verse the 22 of the same Chap he

OF TRUE RELIGION

saith ' hath thou faith, have it to 'thyselfe : Happie is he I7U '
that Condemned! not himselfe in that thing which he

allowed!.' 3

, B J' which J^mes to mee, that neither Tradition of Gods holy
Churches nor Commands nor opinions of men which are word to be our
mutable and various according to times & Circumstances mel H^de.
have no power over conscience in matters of Religion, but

Gods holy word is to be our onely guide, which is immut-
able to the worlds end, Romans the 1 5 Chap & 4 ver: 1 for Folio
whatsoever things were written afforetime were written for ni/no.
our learning,' & also 2 Thimo: the 3 Chap: 16 ver, how
perticul arly doth the Scripture declare & shew as a narrative
of the Prophets be Apostles whole lives, not onely theire
Ooctrings be miracles they wrought, but also the hard-
ships & Contempt they endured, also theire poverty (for
none were rich) & theire food & aparrell which was as
meane as all the rest of theire Circumstances.

The great Prophet Elijah ' a hairy man & girt with
a girdle of leather aboute his loynes & a mantle,' 2 Kings
1 Chap be 8 ver: And 1 Kings* 17 Chap 6 ver, fed by
the Ravens 6c dranke of the brooke & after sent to
a pcore starving widow to be fed, & in the 19 Chap:
when he lay under the jumper-gree in the wildernesse,
the Angel! brought him onely bread & water meane
fare for so holy a Servant of God that had so great
a Journey to goe. And when he was taken up to heaven,
we read of nothing he left his Successor in worldly goods,
but his mantle, & tho Elishas Circumstances before his
call to be a Prophett seemed to be good yet he left all &
became a poore Servant to a poore Prophett, & 2 Kings, The promise
i Chap when riches were offered to him he refused them,
be severely punished his Servant for taking it. The like m tnchs,
we find recorded ot the Prophett Jerimiah in the 45 Chap
Baruch was reprooved by God for seekeing great things for
himselfe, vizt 1 Seeke them not for behold I will bring evell
upon all flesh, saith the Lord, but thy life will I give unto
the for a prey in all places wheather thou goeth, the same
promise God made to Ebedmeiech (& giveth a reason)

4*7

„u>.

i ;n.

Jtf/for Baptist.

Folio

1 13/111.

Noe dayes set
apart in
Scripture to
be kept in
memory oj
holy men .

KNOX'S ACTOBIOGK APliY

•Because thou hath put thy trust in »uv M;th the Lord.'

The promise to both these ho!v men was mu'ly life, that theire whole depcndancc should be one Gods providence without Riches.

And John Baptist∗ who sprang from the tine of the Priesthood of Aarons order, & a prime minister of Jesus Christ & none greater ever borne ot womni j : Mat i 1 M

1 1 had his dwelling in the wilderness, ' iro raiment of Camells haire ce a leatheren girdle abuuu∗ ivs Hynes, i\ his meate was locust he wild honey' : Mat 3 : .} ver: K' Peter & John in the 3 Acts had neither slyer ror g< hi but that which was better- -faith to Cure the Cripple : through out boath old ix new testament i note ; that the Choiseth of Gods servants as the Prophets iv Apostles all the daves they were one earth lived in poverty iv want : Hebrews the 1 1 Chap 38 ver: ∗ of whonie the world was not worthy': if any had worldly injoyments it was the Captive Slaves in the Babilonish Captivity who had also sharp tv severe Chastisements to imbittrr'iheire worldly Joycs : as St Fault∗ saith in the 2 Timothy 3 Chap £c 12 verse ' \ ea ix all that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall sgffer persecution as a proofe that they are not Bastards hutSonns,' Heb: the

1 2 Chap 8 verse.

From whence 1 make this application to myselfe that Worldly prosperity (tho' most thirst after it) is no marke of Gods faviour ; he bestowing it one goods∗ iv Bad, as in Psalme the 73 & 7 'theire eyes stand out with fatnesse, they have more then heart could wish ' <Mc.

And tho (which none will deny) these were all holy Saints, yit I never found in Scripture a day set apart to be keept in memory for any one of them, onelv we read in the 11 Chap Judges & 39 ik 40 verse: That it was a Custome (not out of Religion) in Israeli to lament the daughter of Jeptha 4 dayes in a yeare, Matt 23 Chap & 29 & 30 verses: 'Woe unto you Scribes & pharises hypocrits Because you build the Tombs of the prophets, & garnish the Sepulchers of the righteous ' ike. which may

A.D.

I7II.

TREATMENT of holy men

he su post'd they did to keepe up theire memory as we

doc theire da yes,

Our famous Reformers in those late times as Calvin, Calm,
Luther, John Knox ivc found so much of the very Luther, John
same treatment <as poverty, scandall & persecution) whilst W
they were in this world as the holy men did in the primitive
times, as our Saviour (tad foretold they should, in the
to Matt: in his instructions to his 12 disciples when
he sent them out to preach: ver 22, 'And ye shall be hated
of all men for my namesake,' seemes to me as an addition
to the Confirmation of theire Docfring.

Wharcas one the Contrary who was like Ahithophel
for politicks, ; Sami 16 &' 23 ver. as if a man had
enquired at the oracle of God : or like Ahab: 1 Kings 22
Chap, 30 ver : in his Ivory house, or like Ahasuerus in
Esther for largeness of Dominans & sumptious feastings,

(it seemes Loyalty did not consiste in drinking of healths, Examples of
for they had a Law none did Compel) or like Haman the ^ptious
darling favorite of so great a King, or like Nebuchadnezzar
in his pallaee: Daniel 4: 30 ver f £ *s not this great Babylon
that 1 have built for the house of the Kingdome by the
might of my pywer & for the honour of my majesty,' or
who could goe beyouml the Rich man Luke 16 & 19 ver
which was Clothed in purple & fared sumptiously (every
day) or have more Ipplaude of people then Herod: Acts
12 \ 12 ver Saying ' it is the voice of a god & not of a
man ' of whome nothing is writen that he said, yet as I
thinker for his gracious accepting: And not Rejecting such
applause the Angel smott him Imediately for gloring in his
owne heart, And all those notwithstanding theire worldly
prosperity, are noted for wicked men, tho I know not
wheather Nebuchaunczzer was not a true penitent, as in
Daniel! 4 Chap be particularly the 34, 35, 36 & 37 ver
' Now I Nebuchadnezzer praise and Extol and Honour the
King of heaven: all whose workes are truth & his wayes
judgment & those that walke in pride he is able to abase.'

I further take notice if Riches & Worldly prosperity is Folio
no peculiar marke that God sets upon his Chosen ones, 114/m.

4 ! 9

KNOX'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1711.

but often one the Contrary, then when he takes them
away, tis but the fulfilling' of his worn, as in Pro.

& 5 ‘for Riches Cert.unelv make themselves Wings iv the
away (& none can Stop them) as an Ragle towards
heaven’ the truth ot whtch 1 Have often found, then
neither is it any tnarke of Gods Displeasure, But rather
we ought to take it as a meuncs he u c eth for our good to
weane our minds from over loving this wine world which
all doe more in fiorishing Circumstances then in meant∗.
Tie Duty of Thareisnoone Duty Commanded us by God tv) pertorme
charity I thinke so frequently repeated boath in the old Cc new

frequently testament as Charity, to releeve the poore, Anil who those

‘ to∗ perform e'!' P oore are dhat meanes, we find in the no Chap Luke,
the object was a strainger I soposc to the Samaritan who
our Saviour bids us imitate not the Priest nor Levite)
1 goe & doe thou likewise,’ ix in Scripture Phraise Com-
monly the Strainger is joyned to the Fatherlesse Sc Widow,
Which I take to meane all that are in want, Ami to
what duty hath God made greater promises, Pro. 19 <k
17 ‘he that hath pitty npon the poore, iendeth unto the
Lord, & that which he hath given he will repay him
againe,’ & 28 Chap. 27 ‘he that giyeth unto the
poore shall not lacke ’ ; the Scriptures are fulle of these
promises, Whareas I heare dayly that men strive to find
Excuses excuses against releeveing the poore, vizi, some they say

against^ make begmg theire trade (as if one day beging would

Ifolmre serve ^ or a ^ wa >' es)' 0{ bers are Hypocrite, <x doc not want;

‘ tho some may be such ought not others who are true

objects be releeved, as the Lame, Blind, Sicke, ix Aged,
those they say the parish are bound to take care of ; the
most poore are in the poorest parishes that theire releefe
can be but very small & what they can gitt by beging
besides 1 doubt will but keepe life & soule togeather,
especially in a could winter ; others count it the greatest
Charity to set poore people to worke (more then to re-
leave them that cant) but this is not according to Luke 6
& 35 ‘ d° e good & lend hopeing for nothing againe,’ I
doe beleeve that most people Chiefeiy intend, when they

impiov the poore, to have theire worke done more then I7 "’
Charity to the paore, el∗e Nebuchadnezzar may passe for Muckd-
un exu'tv. 1.4 C heritable man, for doubtlesse he imployed nezzar tmly
multitudes 111 building his great Pallace of Babilone, which chmtaile?
uas oneh from the pride of his heart, tho the’ poore
pcrurOui v.'.yces which did releave them, Could this be

called Cnar.tv: The Charity in imploying the poore I Folio
fake ijH’tv .mother w.tv ; where we see a man who through II 5 / II 3 -
shkene^tV poverty &c„ cannot plow his ground or True charity.
reape hi- Come or thatch his name, or mend his hedges,
he that shall send Lthorours & pay them at his owne Cost
\ Charge \ doe all or the like worke for any poore
imi.cent tanuh [hopeing for no recompence againe), this
i take to he tfte true Charitable way of imploying the
poore, But the other is to have the poore mans labour for
theire :n wy, wh.ch is indeede to serve themselves, And I
thinkc no more Chanty then to feed the horse that they
Ride one.

Others thare are that leave great sumes to Hospitalls Sum left to
or Aimes houses at theire death Vsen they can keepe it no Hospitals tr
longer, (ta;s is very good) especially if any can shew the
Coats A. Garments, as Dorca made whilst she was alive,

Acts <) & y.) ver. eke I think this is but like a death bed
Repentance, or Composition with God for misimploying
the taliant he had intrusted them with in theire life time;
for 1 rind m the 25 Matt, the questions that will be asked
at the -.‘.ay of Judgement is not what we left to Charitable
uses at >nir death, But how we imployed the Talant God
intrusted us with in our life time, vizt. to feede the
hungry, Cloath the naked, visit the sicke, take in the
Strainger, Arc.

Some are so vaine as to call voluptious house keeping h vokptm
of rch men Chanty, as in feeding theire poore Servants, h ^f t T g
which according to*the English proverb, is breeding them
up fi om young serving men to become old beggars, for
then theire masters Charity in feeding of them ceaseth,

(when the poore servants have most neede) when the
strength of theire youth is gone; this way of Charity I

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A,D,

1711 .

Job's answer

Folio

116/114.
Releasing of
the poore in
Ceylon.

KNOX’S ArTOBlOGKAPlIY

take rather to be to shew theire tmgniftci’nr pomj'f & greatnesse, & mav we not Conclude that Dives or the Rich man in Luke did the same Ch.tr.ty, tor doubtlcsse he had many servants to weight one him at h;s v∗ ihipiicniv table &c.

And we find that Job in his urHictnnyr'kv i Kukv one the Charity he had done in times p.r–t, for comfort, not in what he intended to doe at or after Death Chao. :u ' the Blessing of him that was ready to peri–h came up ;n me, A I caused the Widows heart to sing for Joy' Ac., And Chap. 31 1 he eate not his morsel! alone but flic hatherlesse eate thareof, & the poore were CRtheb w :h the fleece of his sheepe,’ A' tnanvsuch like cond works of h ∗– are noted in Scripture Certainely for our inst–uction A invt.ition, 1 doe not remember any Charity Recorded in the holy Scriptures done at or after death, unlessc Davids provision for the building of the Temple, wlfch he was forbid by God to build in his life time, else he would have lur.lt it.

The Heathen Pagans one Cc\ lone account re leaving of the poore so well pleasing '0 God, that tho thev have none of theire owne nation that begg t hare (onely those that are Condemned in former Reignes so to doe a$ in fo. 70, 71) for all releave those of theire owne families, tharc are strangers that come from beyound the Seas one purpose to begg A theire argument they use to ohtuine Charity from the people is (Pin poroond) that is to give them the happie opertunity to be Charitable which the people never refuse to doe ; But I have often scene the beggar will scarce stay tell they come out to give them, A then they will follow him with theire Charity as if it were the beggers just due, which they dare not Detaine.

_They have a Custome (sometimes used) that the friends of the Dececed will invite a Terinancie, that is a Priest of the highest order, to theire houses & all rrght he sings & prayes matters of Religion A in the morning they give him all sorts of nesesaries for this life, Beleeving" (they say) that according to theire liberality to the Preist theire Dececed friend shall receive in the other world fo. 74 :

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A.D.

Ipl.

TUK DARK HEMISPHERE

,'SC ht.st her. lire very Compationate to indigent people of
i.it nation or Religion soever & theire Common or
mill –.lying in such a case is (Omnia gea Durria) he was

Mothers Child,

These mv thoughts or notions I have writen for my
’lie use that they may make the deeper impression in
• «>ind. Ro. Knox.

I thinke titt to incert this following Clause, vizt. that
urn 1 sold the Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich.
liswelC Senr., 1 gave him my Bond that neither my selfe
r anv tor me should ever reprint the same.

Row. Knox.

What a vuine sort of thing would this world appeare if
man should in imagination transport himselfe one a
nude to have a view of the darke Hemisphere when the
n hath left shining one the earth, & so to follow in view
the darke side of the earth, to see how all nations lay
■ipt of theire Bravery sleeping, & as truly dead for that
ne as to the use of theire 5 sondes, as when dead in theire
aves. King Saul tho with his guards aboute him, had
it the lest power left him, But David could as well have
ten away his head as the skirt of his robe, & after that
s speare 5c waterpott, and thus it is with all the Nations
the earth throughout all Ages, that our fraile bodies
nnot subsist one Natural! day in the greatest flourishing
•ingth without laying as dead after this manner for
r.ost as longe time as we are waking ; & ail that while
e Prince or Nobleman (Generaly) doth not injoy that
eete fc quiett repose, tho in a silken Bed (which repre-
ss hut his Coffin; being full of turmileing thoughts &
tres, which prevents his quiett sleepe, as the poore man
joyes, tho he byes perhaps but one the ground ;

My owns experience hath taught mee this, in my pas-
ge through the Course of my life by the Vicistitude of
nes that have gone over mee ; And the earth one which
: Walke & lay one at length swalloweth us all up as it
th all nations that have bin before us, & shall doe all
k.t 433 ZE

Folio

117/115.

A viezv of the
datk

Hemisphere.

A.D,

1711.

And of the
light sunshine.

Folio
1 18/116.

Senti a's
•seise saying.

KNOX'S Al'TOBIOtJUArm

that comes after. These ContcmpktvrA ple.i-e.. me.
when l thinkc my time heerc can he :mt short. \ this
World so vaine, that all the time 1 have "pent net re when
1 review it is hut like vestem-cmt" drettne, Cv. the rest
hereafter can he no better for the smile came trum God
& mustgoe to God K nothing can sttis'k* it Inn God.

Let a man from the same imaginary Station take a view
of the light sunshine Hemisphere uhare all the mhahitance
are wakeing & in action it would appeare more vaine then
the other "to see the nations turmodcnig tnenAclves to
little or noe purpose, \ commnnlv before thev have
finished thelre intended project An ircsisuble messinger
from Death snatcheth them away, as we see d.tylv \ at
length none escapes ; neither doth Death make .mv differ-
ence or exception hetweene the degrees <>t quality &.
dignity that men make, from the King one the Throne to
the Beggar that layeth at his doorc, hut as they were made
of the same Dust of the earth to the same thev shall
returne, Children like the other vounge irrational! creatures
skiping & playing to nge "purpose, when grown bigger
must follow painefull or industerous labours to gitt a living
of which thare is no end tell Death, except those who are
borne to spend what theire Ancestors had gotten, K: how
vaine 8c foole like (too often) doe they Consume boath it
& precious time Riding in troopes with packs of dogs to
Catch a poore fox or hare iv wasting the rest in voluptious
gluttony & drinking to out vie each other, & impaire
theire owne health, or else in gameing, X thus is time
Consumed, the only thing, Seneca sayeth, of which wee
ought to be Covetuous.

And the highest ranke of Human Mortalk are so
swelled with pride Sc Ambition that they envie all above
themselves & contemn & despise all that are below them,
& for this cause the inhahitance of the world are con-

tinually ingaged in Bloody warres, all sides pretending
equity 8c justice or at best to keepe the Ballance betweene
nations even, 8c thus mankind destroy one the other, &
come to untimely ends, which is not done by the beasts,

A.D.

ryu.

OF GOD'S GLORY

who omh devour the other for food as God hath
appointed ; ,\ in all places you mav behold & heare the
tear-, \ groanes or such as are opressed by men In power,
as Soloman notes, be they have no Comforter.

brom hence 1 in tire tnat this is a more vaine & dismall Vanity of
prospect then the other darke side of the earth, whare
all lay quiet a sleeps. Sc therefore lesse sinn Committed.

1 shad add one thought more, that if a poore mortall
ware •'.inr.tted thus to have a full view of the whole
globe of the earth he could not wish himselfe upone it,
but one the Contrary, thinke it the happinesse of the
inhabitancy that theirc time of stay thare is so short & not
for everlasting.

In the Chap; of Exodus Moses Beseeched God Folio
to shew him his glory, & was answered that God would u 9l n 7-
make all hs> goodnesse passe before him & proclaime the
name of the Lord, which was all that Mortalle breathing
Dust was capable to know of God for no man can see him
l\ live.

In the next Chapter the Lord descended in the Clouds An argument
ix the Lor.! passed by before him, Sc Proclaimed, vizt., hm Gcd dis :
1 the Lord, the; Lord God Mercifull & gracious, longe
suffering tsr aboundant in goodnesse & truth, keeping
mercy for thousands, forgiveing iniquity & transgression
& sin ie that will by no meanes Cleare the guilty, visiting
the iniquity of the fathers upon the Children, & upon the
Children Children, unto the third & to the fourth genera-
tion,' whare the great God declares & proclaimes himselfe
in so pathetic, dl expressions to his Creatures as Containes
all that is titt for mortalls to know of theire Creator ; &
the whole Scriptures are full of proclaiming his mercy,

Isaiah the Chap. I & 2 ver. 'thus sayeth the Lord
heaven is my throne & the earth is my foot stoole, whare
is the house that yee build unto me, & whare is the place
of my rest ... but to this man will I looke, even to him
that is poore & of a Contrite spiritt, & trembleth at my
word,' & in the IC 2 psalme & 19, 'he hath looked downe

from the height nf his Sanctuary, from heaven did the

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A.n. knoxs u'ToimHiH.u'in

i'll.

Lord behold the earth mote to uhsi r ; ∗n heart∗

the pruning ot the tT'. '–''IK∗ r–, to 1‘Mv t hf ■>∗»» that arc appointed to death ' ; v\ i: t;u <" K.i .n i ; ∗ fnis Mw–th the high & lofty one. that itn.t ∗ :c”i etcr f v, wh'"–! 1 name is holy, 1 dwell in the high X ir’v pla.c ∗.∗ ∗:h non also that is of a Contrite X humble ∗>p:ntr ‘ \ . , x :ti Me i ;r» psalme lh times it is ∗a\i thr •∗■> mum. emu; ret it for ever.

Bv these and nunv more tests of X∗ r "’t ore ", hviiu’s to my poore he d.irke understandii;.,: t:ut the plainefh Disscovery the Almight trod hath given us small Crttmhs of breathing dust X Ashes of hmiselfe .t m.inetestatinn of his good nose ; X that esvelent honke tie oil practice of Pietv which God cave to he with me 'with the holy bible) in my Ceylonc Captivity, Condi:, is what he had writen of God, vizt., That units in Trttr.tv tv trinity in unity is a holy Mistery rather to he Adored, by faith then Curiously searched by reason.

Folio And who those are that arc excepted m this Proclamaion

120 i is. v ; zti) that will by no ∗neanes Cleans the guilty. Xc., which in the 2nd. Commandment he calles ‘them that hate me,’ to my meant & poore Capassity, js July explained in these places of the holy Scripture following Detitro. the 29 Chap. &c 19, 20, 21 ver. ‘when he heard h the words of this Curse, that he blesse himselfe in his heart saying, 1 shall have peace, though 1 walke in the imagination of my heart, to add drunkenness: to thirst, the Lord will not spare him, but then the \nger of the Lord, X his jealousie shall smoake against that nun, it ail the Curses that are writen in this booke shall lay upon him, X the Lord shall blott out his name from under heaven – Note a most dreadfull sentence.

Ezekiell the 18 Chap, read all– the last verse, ‘ I have no pleasure in the death of him that diet h sayeth the Lord God Wherefore turne yourselves X live,’ X in the 33 Chap. & 1 1 verse, how doth the Lord the most high God posesser of heaven & earth, Condesend, if 1 may with reverence say to poore mortalls, to Confirms his owue free

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I7II.

OF

GOD'S MERCY TO SINNERS

prwr.iK- in h-.s Oath, vi«„ ‘Say unto them As I live

(ini ' no P^re in the death of Gcdknsm
tfie V\ iciCCu, but t!ut the \\ icked turne from his way & pkamreinthe
hit, turns let, tuna. tee troni your eviell waves for why of ths

will yet die 0 house vt Israeli’; which Mr. Baxter noteth, wkiel -
that turne \ Lvt, is as true as turne or die, & in his
family ho. ike to. \r, nothing can make us reasonably
heart wheat her 0. .1 will save or damn our Soules, but
unp.trdoucd xn, t\ the Mercy of God is so greate & his
prc.mix- y-o ‘•ure. that nothing can reasonably make us
doubt ot pardon, hut that which makes us doubt of the
Sincerity of < ur repentance & faith in Christ, for true
rcpentame hath the promise of forgivenesse & appears in
the foihnv:r, g Scriptures, which I write for my owne Con-
solation, Judges the 10 when Israeli had forsaken theire
God, v\ ware ;si great d’.stresse, they cryed unto the Lord
theire God fur helpe, he '■endeth them to the Gods they
had served saying ‘ Wherefore I will deliver you no more,’

Note the i '■ \ efsc, they no sooner repented & served the
Lord, but his Soule was grieved for the misery of Israeli,-
i\ gave them a full deliverance, with great advantage over
theire enimics.

! further note in the a I Chap of the 1 Kings. After Resume
God had pronounced his sentence against Ahab, who had Cl ' erkth
sold himsdle to workc wikednesse in the sight of the lu gment '
Lord, yet notwithstanding, in the 27 ver. upon the out-
ward. stgne of repentance, for feare of the punishments
marke the :<) ver. (because) ‘he humbled himselfe before
me 1 will wit bring the eviell in his dayes,’ may we not
from hence in tire," had he bin a true and unfaigned
pemiitent, God would not onely Defered the Judgment
but quite turned it away,

As Vi e read in Jonah, where the sentence of a totall Folio
destruction was denounced against Nineveh, & the time 121/11
sett 40 duu*% yet upon theire unfeigned repentance, as
appeurcs in the 3 Chap. N 10 ver. & ‘God saw theire
workes, vut., that they turned from theire eviell wayes,

/ n 9-

A.D.

*7n-

A polish
fashion ,

Glory
escribed to
second causes.

But someth
cnely ft cm
God.

Folio

1 22 j I 20,

KNOX'S ArTOimX.KAPIJY

unto them, and he did it not'; in so much that jomtn up-
braided God with his mercy which made him lice to
Tarshish ' for I knew thou art a gracious God iv Merciful!,
slow to anger, & of great Kindnesse, he repentest the or the
eviell' ; this is according to his owne proclamation of
himselfe in the 34 Exodus, wharcas the gods the heathen
worship, are dreadful! & terrible to them as mine eyes have
scene in as much that they account us huppie that have
the Lord for our God, he suffereth not theire gods to hurt
or have power over us.

Tis now the fashion to call all our victories & Cam-
panes glorious, & Getieralls for theire Conduct, he souldiers
for their Courage, glorious, & all the addresses presented
to the Queene, are fulsomely full of glorious expressions
or flatteries. I well remember in one (from the Lieu-
tenancy of London) after our total! defeate in the battel!
at Almansa in Spaine, vizt, Since divine providence seemes
to give a Checke to the glory of your Majesties under-
takings (they) desire her to dubble her eforts he not
to give over tell King Charles is settled one the throne of
Spaine. In the pulpets when they proclaime our glorious
victories, asscribe it to second Causes as Conduct of
Getieralls, & Courage of souldiers, & since 1 know no
word higher then Glory to be used in that sence makes

mee thinke Glory is too high he great to be given to
Creatures, or humane Actions, but is an Attribute due
onely to God himselfe, from whome we poore Mortalls
receive our breath & being.

I find nothing like this in the old Testament, but all
victoryes & glory is asscribed to God alone, Psalmc 44 &
3 Note, ‘they gott not the land in posession by theire owne
sword neither did theire owne arme save them, but thy
right hand & thine arme’ & no mention made of humane
Conduct nor Courage, & in the 9 Chapt. jerimiah 23, 24,
ver. gloring is forbidden, ‘ thus sayeth the Lord, lett not
the wise man glory in his wisedome, nor the mighty man
glory in his might nor the Rich man glory in his Riches,
But let him that glorieth glory in this that he under-

U.ORY AN ATTRIBUTE OF GOD a.d.

1711.

<!an.:c:h tV ki'owcth nwe. that i am the Lord ’ &c. And
1 note hi the tc Isaiah, where the King of Assiria
IviHingiv slid ‘bv the strength of my hand have I done
,\ by my wiH'dome tor I am prudent,' &c., I note the

1 { ver. ' shall the Ax boast itselfe against him that heweth
th.irewith, or the saw magnifie itselfe against him that
shaketh :f, as if the Rod should shake itselfe against them
that !:tt it up, or as if the stafe should lift up itselfe
ay it it were no wood,’ read the whole Chap. The saying

of the Reverent Mr. Baxter Noted in his finerall sermone Mr. Baxter’s
to. :,s vcr . v cxelent to this purpose, when a friend txekntsqhg.
mentioned to Comfort him) the good many had received
by his preaching & writing, he answered, I was but a pen
itt (sods hand H what praise is due to a pen.

The dilligcnt Consideration of the 7 Chap, of Judges,

& the if! Chap, of 2 Kings Confirmeth my opinion, that
no glory is due to Second Causes, as human Conduct,
tv Courage, which God doth not alwayes use in deliver-
ances, for it was an Angel God sent to save Hezekiah,
tv slew in one night a hundred & eighty five thousand ;
tx in the Conciution of that prayer our Saviour Christ
hath taught us, Vizt., that the Ringdome & the power, &
the Glory belongcth onely to God for ever Amen.

1 find "God did not allow his people the Jews, in time of Jm not
Warr, to make Alliances with theire Neighbour nations,

2 Chron, 17 Chap. Asa was sharply reprooved by the jfl iaKces .

prophet Hannans for takeing aid of Benhadad verse the 7
calling it a relying one him, & forsakeing the Lord his

God, & in the 8 ver, upbraideth him with the late victory
God had given him (when he had no Allies) over the
Ethiopians &c.. Because he relied onely one the Lord
he delivered them into his hand.

And how neere was King Jehoshapat to have bin King
destroyed by Joyning in Alliance with Ahab, 2 Chro.

18 & 31 ver. that he was faint to Cry to heaven, & the
Lord helped him (not his Allie) & god mooved them
to depart from him, & in the 19 Chap. 2 ver. marke
the Prophets salutation to him at his returne home, vizt.

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A.D.

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King

JtJmh&pkcd
end King
AhazkL

King

Jmeziah.

Ami Jehu the sonn of H.mui the wre we ; w out '." recal
him, & said to King Jeho^h ij'.xt, ^hinsKis thou help the
ungodly, and love tnem t.ut hate the Lin'd,.,: oarer ‘re) is
wrath upon the from before the Lmd.' <\ m the
20 Chap, he made no alliances, when toe Ann mites,
Moabites, & Mount heire earn m Co;.ft\ief,u\ against
him,

(Note) Jehoshaphat feared and set ftim*. ite to sccke the
Lord, he proclaimed a fast throughout ali Jod.m, ver. 4 * tv
Judah gathered themselves togeather to a-ke helps, -of the

Lord, even out of all the Cities of Hidah, they same to seeke the Lord,' and ver. 12 they confessed thee i;a.: no might against that great Army, that came agam-t them, neither knew what to doe, hut theire hope for help was irndy one the Lord, (they had lately found the vanity of humane Alliances in Ahabs time).

Note neither Conduct nor Courage was made use of ver. 22. 23 but God hroake the Alliance of theire enimics, & made them destroy one the other, N saved his people who trusted onely one hits ; yet after this jehoshaphat did make an Alliance againe in trade, with Aha/, tan who did very wickedly; but marke the event, ver. r, (rod by his prophet told him, 'Because thou hafh jnyued thy-selfe with Aha/iah, the Lord hath broken thy workes ' (lest he should have thought it was but a Chance) Ni the ships were Cast away.

Chroni. the 2 be 25 this Chap, hath taken up many of my thoughts, King Aniaziah notwithstanding he had an Array of three hundred thousand, Choice Vittcra troopes thought tit to augment his Army, not by alliances, but by hireing forreigne Souldiers, be those not of his heathen Neighbours, but of theire bretheren the Israelites; & hired one hundred thousand mighty men of valour, which shewed that his chiefe dependance was in a numer-ous Army of well disciplined troopes (forgitting what God had said in Psalme 33 he 16 ' thare is no King saved by the multitude of an host, & a mighty man is not delivered by much strength 1 (how then) ver. 18 ' Behold the eye of

she I.oj.i is upon them that fears him, upon them that

hope ip. his Merc}

At tvs tioii sent a prophet to admonish the King, that the army he had Hired s tho mighty men of valour) Gods Blessing ; o' eoe.ng With them, would bring a Curse into Vs army, vr Gn (; hath power to helpe & to Cast downe, ver. \nu/uh followed the prophets advice tho he Amaziah lost '"s mom, yet God gave him victory, with out his triumph mcK.-urv Miukitcrs. But did he not beleeve or at lest . gift;!*;?,:, wneathcr his emmies gods had not a helping hand fhare in, eKc he would not have worshiped them, which so provoked the Almighty God for the vindication of his owne (dory, afterwards to disstroy this Conquerer, as we see in the same Chapter,

It these precepts was onely a Law or Rule, binding to Folio
the Jewish nation then all other nations are at liberty in > h/ 122 -
case <if War or daingcr, to seeke for & confide in human
assistance, \ not be called a forsakeing of the Lord, as to
them it was imputed to be; & if so how doth this agree
with Rom. i j & 4 ver, « whatsoever things were written
a fibre time were written for our learning.' & i Corin. io
& 1 1 ver. ∗ now all these things hapued unto them for
unsamples, & tliev are written Tor our admonition upon
whome the ends of the World are come.'

But to give praise & Glory to tooles or Second Causes
which how great soever, which are but as the Ax or saw
in his hands, is like those in Habakkuk who ' sacrafice to
their nett & burne Licence to theire Drag because by them
theire portion is fatt & theire meate plentious.'

1 observe that often times when the neighboring The Israelites
nations made war with the Israelites, they offered them
Conditions of peace, which the Israelites dislikeing re-
jeeted Choosing rather a defencive war, & leave the
Jesition to the Justice of God, who did maintaine theire
Just cause. In the II Chap, of Judges the Amonites
made war against Israelle, & it seemed to be one a Just
cause, by theire Demands, which was to restore those lands
peaceably Israelle had taken from them 300 yeares before

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Jcphth&k

A akash the
Amonitt

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Sim A hat/
offered
Benhadad
his Ifnes b
Chtlinn b
his uk cr if
his gold /
haze asled
a learned Je\

id at Ber-
haiad could
demand nme
then A hah had
granted, he
told me it zun
the 5 Books
of Moses,

KNOX'S AfTOBlOGRAmn

when they came out of h'wpt .it tms JepHt ! uth whome
they had then Choseni to Ik he.ui X (tptainc', began to
Cearch theire title, which was not In Conquest. hut they
derived it from the guieft of the land of .ill the uitn, as
appeared by Jephthaths answer, ur : ; X \ 1 *n -mw the
Lord god of Israel! hath epspeMssed tin \r<n.us Pom
before his people Israeli, X shouldest fh n. ponsesse it
so whomesoever the Lord our Go,; stall v . nut from
before us, them will we pewes-e,' toi < u\' bard'ud the
hearts of Sihon X Og to begin the war w to Knell pUrth
made theires a defensive war) that he my hr debut tiuni
into theire hands ver. 2 " e\ appealed to t m,t t ., ' Lord the
Judge be Judge this dav hetweene Uracil X \n;r.on ' X
God gave his people Israeli vntorv — : Cue* mine.

The next was I Sam. n Chip wr.au \ abash tne
Amonite began War with Israeli, w home the e offer cM to
serve one reasonable terme*. but his demands was exorbi-
tant, to put out all the right eves of t n Isf.ul.tis, as a
reproach one them ; here also Israelis v>. is a ucfer.uve
war, of which God nude;? uses, first to a twice >aul, the
new King, & the other to deliver the Amomtes into the
hand of Israeli, boath which he brought to jra**e effectually,
& tho Saul had an Armv of three hundred thousand men,
yet in the 13 ver. he attributes nothing ether to t unduet
(tho he used a Stratagem) nor courage, But -as cth the
Lord hath wrought Salvation 111 Isiaell

Then in 1 Kings 20 Chap Benh.ui.nt King of hunt
with an Alliance of 3- Kings, began Was with Israeli X
besieged Samaria, X sent a preliminary \rt.cle to Ahab
vizt. to demand his silver X his gold, X h s vvr.es X his
Children, which Ahab granted. 1 sopose he Considered
the greatnesse of the emmies strength, witn his Miiance
of 32 Kings, X the small force he had to ic-sist him,
as we see afterwards; next followed the ma.ne Article to
which he must submitt, or no peace, to which the former
was but preliminary, ver. 6 1 1 will send my servants to
thee tomorrow aboute this time X they shall search thine
house, & the houses of thy servants, X whatsoever is

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H.rc 1 pWivc that .■ » .knl K∗'j- ∗ , , . ?\ m R
Bmhadad a nun uimnu God ha i o:,:» u,, m ».'M "∗
DcMriut <nt u-r. 4;- - \ Adah∗, jv «g» : 1 Uup. \
ver which (ini H'll hin:∗>clfr fu workr wikr.mesn∗ ;n the
sight of the l/ird, yet G»d suit .1 pruphett to A;uh, with
a promise of v.itnrv sue mg. ‘hath them scene th s great
Multitude, Behold i will deliver ;S into dime ham; this
.:.n , is thou shall know that I am the Lord,’ whuh God
performed, yet we read this signal! deliverance Old not
reclaim# A hah from his Uolhtrv, by the follow, ng Chap
whitest Henhadad ver.] saw it was tne hand of Cod,
ondy believed he was God of the hills K not of the iLn
plaints, therefore he would try another battel! tiure, w bare '∗4

God manifested his Glory & power, & grooved himselfe
Lord of the whole earth, & gave A hah a greater victory
(with a small Arms like 2 little flocks of Kids) then before,
for Israeli slew of the Syrians one hundred thousand men.

Yet these 2 Miraculous victories which God gave
Ahab & shewed the greatnessc of his power £c Glory
(which Convinced Benhadad) did not Convert him to
leave of his Idolitry, by what we read m the 2 following

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A. I).

1 7 1 1.

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Chapters, where by advfce of his Council. he enired info
an ofencive War one pretence of a Just cause : 4 know vc
that Ramouth in Gilead is ours, & we be Mill, N take
it not out of the hand of the King of Syria" ; fjits heart
was putt up with his former victories) N touke King
Jehoshapat as an Alive which God used as the meanes
of his destruction, by puting a lying spirit into the
mouths of four hundred of his fake prophets ;jet God
was so merciful to this Idolitrous King, as to forewarn?
him of his destruction, by his prophet Mie.iiah, which
neither he, nor King Jehoshapat heleeved, eke surely
they would not have proceeded in that war, which had

like to have destroyed Jehoshapat for joyning with him, as well as Ahab, Note how the prophet of the Lord was used by Ahab when he adjured him in the name ot the Lord to tel him nothing but the truth, ver. 4 put this fellow in prison be feed him with bread of affliction, & water of affliction, tell I come in peace.'

Skmhem. To these I must Joyne the blasphemous boaster binna- cherib King i, 2 N igjCfiap. the Scriptures sheweth m fower great haughty Boasters, who trusted* in theire great humane strength, all overthrown by those they despised, according to proverbs 16 Chap. 18 ver. * pride goeth before Destruction, be a haughty Spirit! before a fall/ ix 1 8 Chap. 12 ver. 'before destruction the heart of man is haughty/

Tk Jutk'Ss These Notions be Contemplations f ha\o sin Med one indlffmr.ee, my owne paper, for my owne use, be to please mnelfe, be wheather hereafter they arc ever or never read by any one it is equially the same to me, as to a dead beast what use his skine is put to, wheather to make a MmTe or a Ruffe for Ladyes necks or made into shunt's or a pare of Bellows, or a cover for a Bible ; for when the Soule k departed hence into the everlasting state, what matters it what the inhabitant? of the earth, who are but small Crumbs of breathing dust, say or thinkc of him, as in some Countries those are CannonistM for saints & Martyers, who were hanged, quartered, or burnt for

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A.D,

THE PUNISHMENT OF NATIONS

heritirks A traytors in other Countreys, as my eyes have scene, which can no more Reach them then the smoake ot our Chimnies can the Starry firemement.

In my Reading the old Testament I observe that many Folio severe Judgements befell the whole Nation of the Israelites 127/12;. for the particular sins of theire owne Rings, in which I doe Nations not find that the people were in any wise guilty. punished fir

First 1 begine with King Saul: 2 Samll 21 Chap: Km &

(where Saul in his zeale slew the Gibeonites, to whome s j Josuah & the Princes of Israeli had sworn by the Lord God of Israeli to let them live). Josuah 9 Chap: which tho this League was obtained by fraud, yet God was Angry for breakeing it (as he was with King Zedekiah.

Ezekiel 17 Chap (read the whole Chap) & 3 yeares

famine fell upon the whole nation of Israel, And nothing lesse could expiate Gods anger & remoove the Judgment but hanging 7 of the Royall family which King David granted : & was done accordingly ver 14 & after that God was intreated for the Land.

The next was 2 Samll 24 €hap & 1 Chro: 21 Chap.

King David numbring the people which in boath the fore- David.
mentioned places David owned to be his owne sin, &

Cleared the people viz'. 'I have sinned, & I have done wickedly, but these sheepe what have they done,' & againe 1 Chro: 21 Chap & 17 ver: he repeateth it againe, 'is it not I that Commanded the people to be numbred, even 1 it is that have sinned, & done eviell in deede ; but as for these Sheepe, what have they done,' we find thare that Joab told the King it would be a cause of trespasse to Israel, & that it was abominable to him, that he left out 2 tribes.

Levi & Benjamen in numbring, notwithstanding the Kings word prevailed against Joab & against the Captaines of the host that they went unwillingly when they could not deswade the King from it, & upon this we read followed a pestilence that carried away twenty thousand

men. „ „

Next is King Manaseh : 2 King 21 Chap: & 2 Chro: MtmO. 33 Chap he seduced Israeli to doe more eviell then did

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the nation whome the 'Lord destroyed before _ them, \ made Judah to sin in doeing that which was cviell in the sight of the Lord, moreover he shed inocent Blood very much tell he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other, these were his owne Acts & not the peoples tor lie forced them.

May we not Justly sopose that this Inocent blood he

shed was of those that Desented & would not conforme
to his Idolitrious worship, which he either did or would
have made the National! religion bi established it by Law
& whose soules lay under the Alter: Revel: b be to * Cry-
ing with a loud voice how longe 0 lord holy A true doth
thou not Judge & avenge our blood one them that dwell
one the earth ' & note Gods Answer in the 1 1 ver that thev
should rest for a little season untill theire fellow servants
also & theire Bretheren that should he killed as they were
should be fulfilled, let us marke the Severe Judgements
that God brought upon the whole land for Manasch's sins,
tho in the reigne of King Jehoiakim neere 100 yeares after.
2 Kings 24 Chap 3 & *4 "vers surely at the Command-
ment of the Lord came this upon Judah to remoovc them
out of his sight for the sins of Manaseh ijfcording to all
that he did And for the inocent blood that he shed for
he filled Jerusalem with inocent blood which the Lord
would not pardon, & the whole land was destroyed N led
into Captivity.

The next I must mention the good King jo-fab.
2 Kings 23 & 2 Chro: 35 Chap that turned to the Lord
with all his heart N with alle his souie & with all his nnjht
neither after him arose thare any like him: notwithstand-
ing the Lord turned not from the fercenesse of his great
wrath, be cause of all the provocations that Mu.onsseth had
provoked him withall, 2 Kings 23 Chap- 25- 2b ver:
2 Chro: 35 & 20 : & after King Josiah had prepared the
Temple; yet for his ingageing in an unjust K ofencive
War against the King of Egypt ver 21 : 2 Z be hearkened
not to the words of Necho (wheather he bdeeved him
not) from the mouth of God he was slaine in the hattdl,

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CONCLUSION

A,D.

i? n *

O-v whole land lavde under Contribution, tell King
rink wdiuv/er made a total! conquest of the whole
•aim, \ Captivated the people.

W hareas I unnot find in the Scriptures that any of the Kings not
■ mi!" of Israeli or Judah suffered onely for the sins of
tree people wherein they themselves were not guilty
nle-H- I'.h who was a Prince as well as a priest, who tho '
v d:.i admonish M Deswade his sonns yet because he
>ir,r.r.ed them not therefore Gods Judgement fell one
mi t.*r we read of no other sin in Eli, i Sami 2 & 3

'hap

l "hall Conclude with those Sacred Poems of the
leverenf George Herbert fo. 140 which are so agreeable
) me hoath in heart tv soule, vi/C :■ –

Them hath granted my Request,

Thou hath heard me,

T.'wu didst note my Workeing breast,

Thou hath spard me.

Wherefore with my utmost art
I will sing thee, *

And the Crown of all my heart
I will bring thee,

Though my sins against me Cryed,

Thou didst Cieare me,

And alone when they replyed,

Thou didst heare me,

>evcn whole days, not one in seven,

1 will praise thee,

In mv heart, though not in heaven,

1 can raise thee,

Herbert fo: 140 –

Anno r'oq. Robt: Knox

Ccrtame Passages I would Keepe in Memory.

Anno 1 66c April! 4'– 1 came one Shore at Cattior one Folio

/.clone when & whare I was Detained Captive – !2 9 l2 ~–

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Ditto the i o lk ‘Mr father came one Shore thau
& was detained- -Ditto n’* the I.onj boat a came
one Shore & was detained also.

The 2'” 1 Febrowary my father died i
1 664 Sept 1 6 tn I received letters from England, \ never
more.

1670 October 22 th mv true friend John Loveland died,
1679 Sept the 22 1 ' 1 I sett out from my house in order
to make escape & the I2 :i Octobr 1 entred the
uninhabited woods & the iti Ditto A rived, safe
with the Duch at Arepa fort, the 1 <f October
Came from Arepa to Mannar \ the 2 Not
Departed thence (by Sea) for Coiomha A the 4'
Ditto Arived there, the 24' Ditto say Us i thence
for Batavia in ship Middleburgh \ Arived thare
the 5 lh January. The 4 Feb I came from Batavia
to Bantam, & the 24 th Ditto say led thence for
England, i6J|J

October the 2 !il 4 1 * 10 1672: Janua: the :h 1 ' Anno
167^: May the 13" Anno 1679.

By the Church booke in Nacton in the County of
Suffolke neere Ipswich, I find that my Grandfather
was borne thare, in Anno 15K1, & my father was
borne thare also, &r Baptised the 15 th March ibo'i

By Mee

Roi. k\u.\

rIN'IS

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XOTL. — M.S. «= Modem Sinhalese

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A NEW MAP
of the Kingdom of
CANDYUDA.
in the Iland of
CEYLON.
Note, all the Land included in the large printed line, is under the Jurisdiction of the King of Candy. Also that Land except Ceylon, Manaar Country mentioned in the Map in which the Maldive's lye, belong to the Dutch.
Places where the Watches are kept.
The way of the Authors Voyage.
COTIARUM REGNUM.
PANDOYA REGNUM.
CLANDIA
JAELE PROVIN
PAUNOA
CIA.
VELLAS.
MATU
BINTANA.
OUVAH.
RA
HABARAGOM
TEISEWARA
PRIN: COMITAT.
CEYLOT
WANEES
CONTREY
NOURE CALAVA.
COTE MUL
CIFAT COMITATUS
HOTTERA COURLE
TUNCQUELY
MAUCOS COURLY
Manaar
Calpentyn
London Printed for Richard Chiswell at ye Rose & Crown in St Pauls



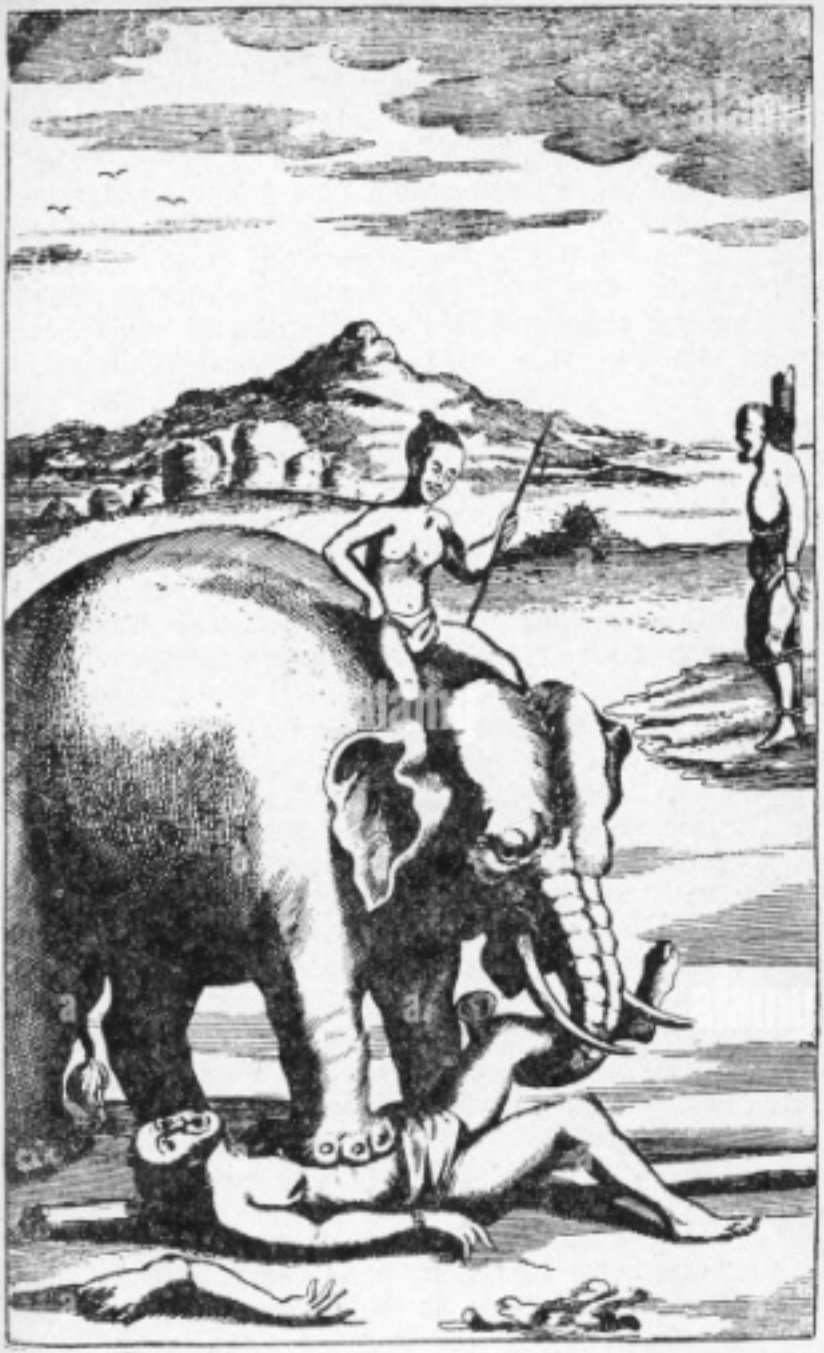




A Tirinanxy or Cheif Preist

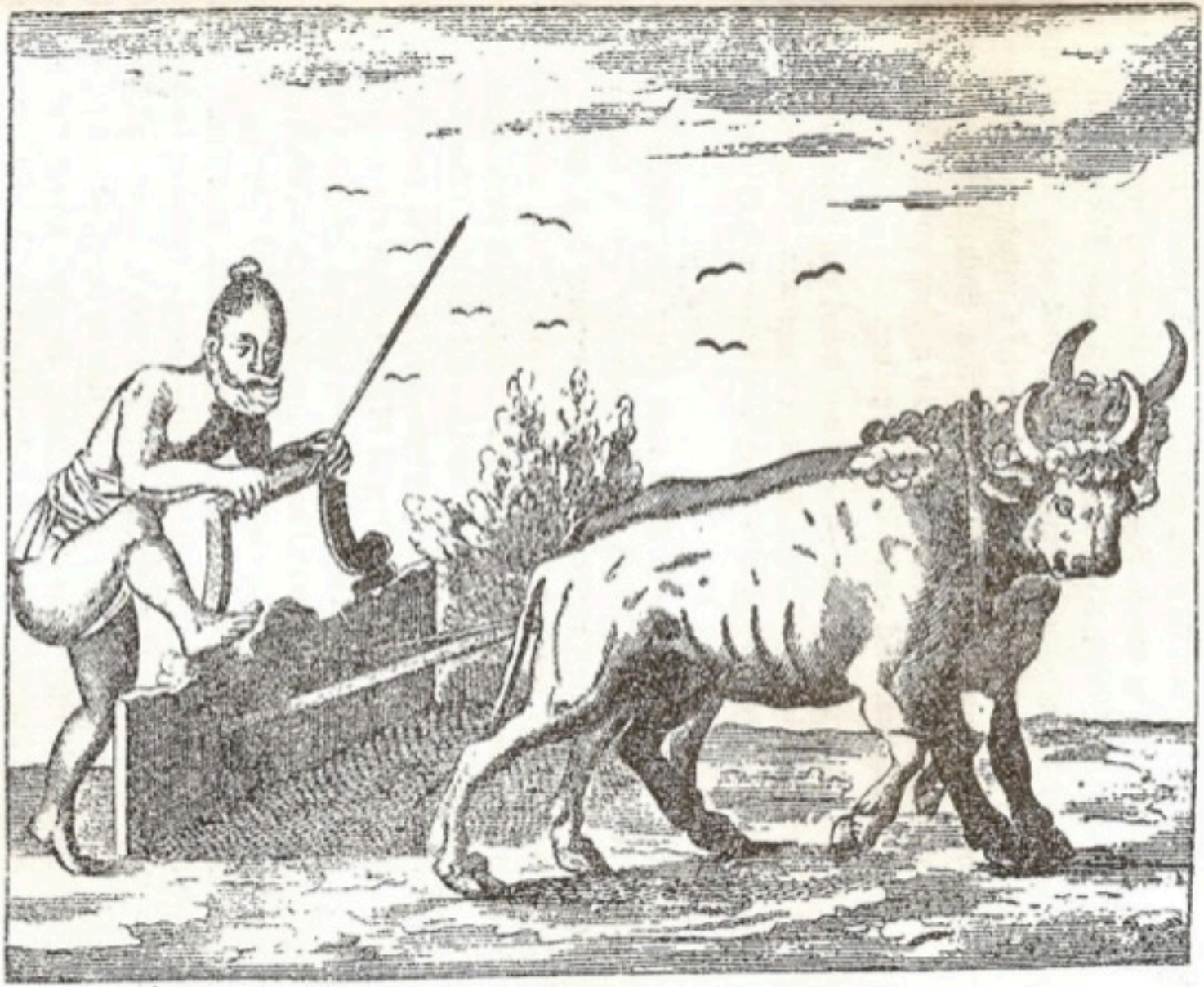


A Vadda or Wild Man.



An Execution by an Eliphant.





The Manner of Smoothing their Feilds.



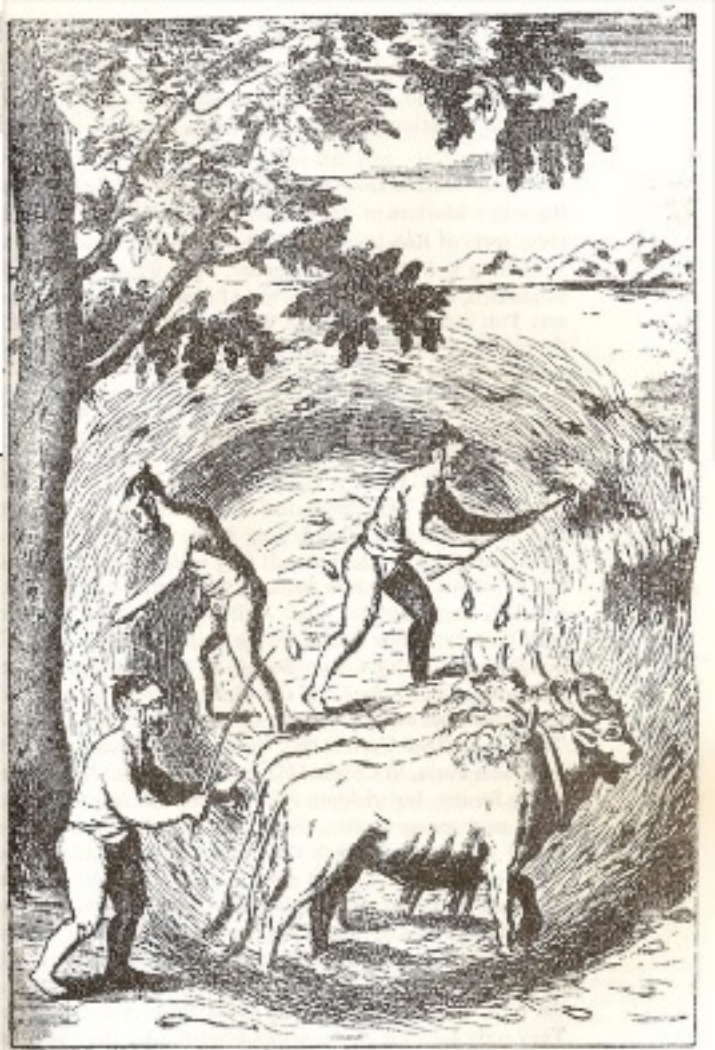
The Manner of their Eating and Drinking



The Manner of their Ploughing



The manner of their sheltring themselves from the Raine by the Tolipat leafe



The Manner of treading out their Rice



Their manner of Fishing.



Rajah Singah the King of Ceylon