

King, and had presented him with a diamond ring, and another of blue sapphires, and a small bracelet of diamonds, rubies, and blue sapphires, he invited me to be seated, and told the attendants to give me a cup of brandy to excite my appetite. This cup held about half a *septier* of PARIS,¹ but I refused the officer who presented it to me; this astonished the King. My brother then asked him to excuse me, saying that I never drank brandy; but that as for Spanish wine I could drink a little of it, upon which the King ordered me to be given some.

Whether because the repast had already lasted a long time, or that the King was impatient to see what I had brought, he did not delay about finishing, and seated himself in a kind of armchair, the woodwork of which was gilt with gold and moulded like the frames of our pictures. His feet and legs were uncovered, and underneath him there was a small Persian carpet of gold and silk. His garment was a piece of calico, a part of which covered the body from the waist to the knees, the remainder being on his back and about his neck like a scarf. He wore as a head-band a kind of handkerchief, having three ends; and his hair, which was very long, was twisted and bound together on the top of his head. In place of slippers he had placed by the side of his chair sandals with leather straps to go over the feet, like those attached to a spur, which were embroidered with gold and small pearls. Two of his officers stood behind him with large fans, the handles of which were 5 or 6 feet long, and at the ends there were bundles of peacocks' plumes, which equalled in

¹ Equal to one-fourth of an English pint. It is apparently the one-seventh of a *litre*, whence the name.



size the bottom of one of our barrels. On his right side there was an old black woman, who held in her hands a small mortar and a pestle of gold, in which she crushed the *betel* leaves, with which she mixed *areca*¹ nuts and dissolved seed pearls. When she saw that the whole was well pounded she placed her hand on the King's back, who at once opened his mouth, and she put the *betel* in with her fingers as women do who give pap to their infants,² because the King had no teeth; for he had eaten so much of these *betel* leaves, and smoked so much tobacco, that his teeth had fallen out.

The palace of the King of BANTAM has not had need of a very skilful architect. It is a square building surrounded by small lacquered pillars of different colours, 2 feet in height, against which one leans when seated. There are at the four corners four large pillars planted in the earth at 40 feet distance from each other, and the floor is covered by a mat woven of the bark of a kind of tree, as if it were a piece of cloth, and neither fleas nor bugs will approach it. The roof is of cocoanut fronds. Close by under another roof, sustained also by four large pillars, there were sixteen elephants, the most courageous of those which the King keeps (for he has a large number of them), which are destined for war and do not fear fireworks. For his guard he has about 2000 men, who were seated in squads under the shade of some trees. They are good soldiers both on sea and

¹ *Araque* in the original.

² I recently saw the famous hairy woman of Mandalay being supplied with *betel* by her Burmese attendant in much the same way; being blind, the packet had to be prepared for her and placed in her mouth.

land, strict Muhammadans who do not fear death. His harem, where his women dwell, must be a small affair, for when he had seen what I had brought he summoned two old black women, to whom he gave some of the jewels in order that they should go to show them. These two old women entered by a miserable door, and it had for enclosure only a kind of palisade, with earth mixed with cow dung between the posts. I observed that nothing was brought back of what he sent by these women, this made me conclude that I should stick to the price. Thus I sold him profitably what he took from me, and I was paid at once. After having drunk a cup of sherbet (while my brother drank spirits with the King) we took leave of him, and he made us promise that, on the following day towards evening, we should return to see him, because he wished to show me a dagger which he was having made after the Turkish fashion, but he had not got sufficient diamonds to cover the handle, and he desired that I should procure enough to finish it. We withdrew then with our money to the dwelling of the English, who were much astonished that the King had disbursed 20,000 rupees, saying that they believed it was the greatest part of his treasure.¹

On the following day my brother and I went to see the King again at the hour which he had fixed for us, and we found him seated in the same place where he had been on the preceding day. A *Mulla* read and interpreted to him something from the *Koran*, which was in Arabic. The reading being finished, the

¹ As the value of the jewels is stated on page 352 to have been only 12,000 to 13,000 rupees, the transaction was a profitable one for Tavernier.



King and the *Mulla* rose to pray, which having been concluded, the King sent for the dagger, the handle and sheath of which were of gold. The upper part of the handle was already covered with diamonds, and in the *plaque* which was at the end there was a large one cut into facettes, which, as far as I could judge, was worth at the least 15,000 or 16,000 *écus*.¹ The King told me that he had received it as a present from the Queen of BORNEO, and that he had sent it to be cut at GOA, but he valued it much higher than what I considered it to be worth. All the handle and likewise all the sheath were covered with *bezels*² applied without order, this proved to me that he did not understand design. The King had no other stones, neither diamonds nor rubies, nor anything to place in these *bezels*, and he wished to induce me to obtain for him some that would fit. I made him understand that that would be impossible, and that he ought not to limit himself to these *bezels*. That when he had acquired the quantity of stones which were required to cover the dagger, other *bezels* of the shapes of the stones should be made, and that in EUROPE when we begin a work of this kind we first arrange all the available stones on wax; this I exemplified to him at the same time, but that was beyond his understanding, and he told me that he did not care to destroy a design which he had himself taken the trouble to arrange, and to have made for his own use. In spite of any reasons which I could give for the purpose of escaping from a commission which I was not able to execute, the King wished positively that I should take the dagger with

¹ £3375 to £3600.

² *Bezels* (*chatons* in the original), mountings for individual stones.



me to BATAVIA. I represented to him then that as I was a stranger he risked much, and that I might go off with the dagger without again returning, but he said to me smiling that he feared nothing on that account, and that he well knew that Frenchmen were incapable of so disgraceful an action. At length, being unable to excuse myself further, I took charge of the dagger, and having taken leave of the King, my brother and I went to bid farewell to the English President, and to thank him for the civilities which we had received from him.



CHAPTER XXIV

The Author returns to BATAVIA, and some days afterwards goes again to visit the King of BANTAM, giving an account, in connection therewith, of the dangerous extravagances of some Fakirs, or pilgrims, on their return from MECCA

My brother and I, after having supped this evening with the English President, went on board a barque between 11 o'clock and midnight, for the land-wind that we required generally blows at night, and on the following day between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning we arrived at BATAVIA. I remained there twenty days, merely to make the King of BANTAM believe that I had not misrepresented the matter, and that during that time I had been looking for what it was impossible to find. As I had nothing to do then, these twenty days appeared very long to me; for at BATAVIA there is scarcely any other amusement but gambling, and all the gain goes in drink; this did not suit me. During the day, on account of the great heat, one cannot even think of taking exercise, this can only be done towards the cool of the evening, and it is moreover necessary to make it very short, because as soon as the sun sets they close the gates, unless the General or Madame or some of the Councillors of INDIA are outside the town



in their gardens. During these twenty days M. CANT, one of the Councillors of INDIA, died, and was buried with great honour. A company of infantry attended and bore a large standard, upon which were the arms of the defunct, although when he first came to INDIA he held the most degraded office in the vessel. A stick, at the end of which there were attached spurs, was borne behind, though, to say the truth, I do not believe he had ever mounted a horse save to go for exercise outside the town. One of the captains carried his sword, another his helmet, and his body was borne by eight military officers. The son-in-law of the defunct followed with the General, after whom walked the gentlemen of the Council; a number of people followed from the fort and town. The four corners of the pall with which the bier was covered were carried by four captains, and all these honours were rendered to him in consideration of the good services which the Company had received from him—as the General and members of the Council proclaimed; but the people used a very different language, and complained bitterly of the great injustice which he had done, both to sailors and soldiers.

Having passed these twenty days at BATAVIA, I resolved to carry back the dagger to the King of BANTAM, without having looked for the diamonds or other stones, for if I had remained years I should not have found any suitable for these *bezels*. My brother accompanied me again, and I took with me some jewels which the King had not yet seen. Having arrived at BANTAM we intended to go first to visit the English President, but, before we had done so, there came to us one of the King's officers, who told us that



he had been instructed that we should be lodged in one of the houses which the King has in the town. These houses are made of bamboos, which are, as I have elsewhere said, hollow canes, and which, though they are as hard as iron, nevertheless split like our osiers, and it is of them that the Indians make nearly everything. We had not spent more than half an hour in this house when the King sent us some *pateches*,¹ which are very sweet water-melons, and are red as scarlet inside. There were also *mangoes*, of which I have elsewhere spoken, and another large fruit called *pompone*,² which is also red inside, and the flesh is soft resembling a sponge, and is very good. He who brought these fruits told us that as soon as we had taken our repast we were to go to see the King; this we did, and we found him again in the same place with the old *betel* pounder, who from time to time made him open his mouth and then gave him some with her fingers in the way I have described. There were five or six captains seated round the room, who were looking at some fireworks which the Chinese had brought, such as grenades, fusees, and other things of that kind to run on the water; for the Chinese surpass all the nations of the world in this respect. As soon as I saw the King in a condition to speak to me, I presented to him his dagger in the same condition as he had given it to me, and told him that BATAVIA was not a place where one could obtain precious stones, and when I did find some

¹ More properly *pateca*, a water-melon, *Citrullus vulgaris* (Schrader). The name is from the Arabic *al-battikh*. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pateca.")

² More properly *pommelo*, *Citrus decumana* (L.), the same as the shaddock of the West Indies. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pommelo.")

they wanted double their value for them. That this commission could not be fulfilled except by some one who went to GOA, and that I could have accomplished it when at GOA, or at GOLCONDA, or, better still, at the diamond mine, where one meets with parcels of stones of all shapes and sizes, which one might cut with but little loss to suit the *bezels*. Upon this the old woman took the dagger and conveyed it into the harem, the King never having spoken to me of it since. I showed him subsequently what jewels I had brought, and I sold a parcel of them as advantageously as on the first journey. As the sun was setting, which is the time when the Muhammadans go to say their prayers, the King told us to return on the following day, and said that he would arrange for our payment being made. On arriving at our lodging we found one of the servants of the English President, who came to invite us to go to have supper with him, and taste some new liquors which had arrived from ENGLAND on the Company's account. For during the twenty days which we had been at BATAVIA two vessels had arrived, which had brought French and Spanish wine, and especially a large quantity of beer. We remained till midnight with the President, who manifested much joy at seeing us again.

On the following day at 10 o'clock A.M., when going to the palace, together with my brother and a Dutch surgeon, who was prescribing for one of the King's wives, we passed along a road where one has the river on one side and on the other a large garden enclosed by a palisade, and there were intervals between each pair of posts. Behind the palisade there was concealed a rascal of a Bantamese who had

returned from MECCA and was running a *muck*,¹ which means in their language, that when some one of the lower class of Muhammadans, who has returned from MECCA, takes it into his head to seize his *crease*² in hand, which is a kind of dagger with generally half of the blade poisoned, he runs through the streets and kills all whom he meets who are not of the Muhammadan faith, until he is himself killed. These enraged persons think they do a service to God and to Muhammad by killing the enemies of his law, and that in consequence they will be saved. As soon as they are killed the Muhammadan mob inter them as though they were saints, and every one contributes to give them splendid tombs. Often some great mendicant who dresses himself as a *Dervish* makes a hut close to the tomb, which he is careful to keep tidy and on which he places flowers. According as donations are given he adds some ornament, because the more beautiful the grave is, so much the more worship and sanctity does it acquire, and by so much the more do the donations increase. I remember that in the year 1642³ there arrived at SUWALI,³ which is the port of SURAT, a vessel of the GREAT MOGUL which returned from

¹ *À Moqua* in the original. The French edition of 1713 has it 'juoit, a Mocca.' This is what is more commonly known as running a *muck*. See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "A Muck," for etymology and examples of the use of the term.

² *Cric* in the original. The term *crease* or *cris*, signifying a dagger, is adopted in the Malay from the Javanese *Kris* or *Kiris*. I have seen an ingenious explanation for the waved form of these blades, it is that it is a survival of the outlines of the knives and spears made of obsidian by flaking, and indeed the resemblance is somewhat striking. (See Romilly, *West Pacific and New Guinea*. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, for examples of the use of the term.

³ Souali in the original (see vol. i, p. 6).



MECCA, where there were a number of these *Fakirs* or *Dervishes*. For every year the GREAT MOGUL sends two large vessels there to carry pilgrims, who thus get a free passage. At the time when these vessels are ready to depart the *Fakirs* come from all parts of INDIA in order to embark. The vessels are laden with good articles of trade, which are disposed of at MECCA, and all the profit which is made is given in charity to the poor pilgrims. The principal only is retained, and it serves for another year, and this principal is, at the least, 600,000 rupees.¹ It is considered a small matter when 30 or 40 per cent only is made on these goods, for some yield cent per cent. Added to which all the principal persons of the GREAT MOGUL's harem, and other private persons, send considerable donations to MECCA. I have mentioned at the end of my account of the seraglio of the GRAND SEIGNEUR the rich and magnificent present which the GREAT MOGUL sent to MECCA in the year 1644, over and above the ordinary presents which he makes annually.

There was one of these *Fakirs* who returned from MECCA in the year 1642, and having landed at SUWALI he forthwith showed signs of diabolical fury. He had no sooner said his prayers than he took his dagger and ran to attack some Dutch sailors, who were on shore discharging goods from four vessels which were in the port. Before they saw him and were able to put themselves on their defence, this maddened *Fakir* wounded seventeen, of whom thirteen died. The *khanjar*² which he had was a kind of dagger, the

¹ £67,500.

² Canjare in the original (see vol. i, pp. 100 and 308). It is not necessary to reproduce the figure here.



upper part of the blade of which was three fingers wide, and as it is a very dangerous weapon I give the figure of it here. At length the Dutch soldier who was on guard at the entrance to the tent where the Commander and the merchants were, gave this madman a shot from a gun through the body, of which he fell dead. Forthwith all the other *Fakirs* who were in the place, and even the other Muhammadans, carried off the body and interred it, and at the end of fifteen days a handsome tomb had been built (over it). It is broken each year by the English and Dutch sailors when their vessels are in port, because they are then strong; but as soon as they have departed the Muhammadans have it rebuilt and place about it many standards. Some also say their prayers at it.

Returning to the *Fakir* of BANTAM. This rascal was concealed, as I have said, behind the palisades, and as my brother and I and the Dutch surgeon went along, all three, side by side, having come opposite to him, he thrust out his spear, thinking to transfix one of the three in the body. By God's grace he was too quick, and the point passed in front of all three of us. The Dutchman being on my left on the river side, and slightly in advance of my brother and me, the point of the spear cut his high hose and immediately he and I caught hold of the handle, the *Fakir* pulling with all his might to recover his spear. My brother, who was on my right on the palisade side, being young and strong, leaped over it, gave him three sword cuts in the body of which he died on the spot. Immediately a number of Chinese and other idolaters who were close by came to kiss my brother's hands and to



thank him for having slain this enraged *Fakir*. From thence we went to see the King, who had already heard of what my brother had done, and testified his approval by making him a present of a waistband. For the Kings and Governors, although they are Muhammadans, are very well contented at some one's slaying these wicked men, knowing well that they are desperadoes of whom it is well to be rid.

The King paid me for what he had purchased on the preceding day; but he was unwilling that my brother should return with me, because of a great rejoicing which he was going to make, and at which he wished him to be present. It was on account of four large vessels which he had had built and intended to launch. Never had any King of BANTAM built such large ones, and for five or six days there was to be nothing but feasts, dances, and fireworks. Thus I took leave of the King, who presented me with a beautiful embroidered waistband, and we went to take supper and sleep at the Dutch surgeon's house.

On the following day I went to bid farewell to the English President, who kept me for dinner. While waiting for it to be served, he showed me two strings of diamonds which had come to him from ENGLAND, and two services of silver, the whole being worth, perhaps, 25,000 *écus*. He wanted to sell me all, but I only bought one of the strings of diamonds for 2600 *reales*, for the stones on the other string were too foul; and as for the vessels of silver, if money had still been coined at BATAVIA I would have certainly been able to buy them. They coined there formerly, but all contained more than ten per cent of alloy. This was done on account of the Chinese, who preferring silver to gold, as I have

elsewhere remarked,¹ because having no silver mines in their own country,² they used to carry into CHINA as much as they could of the silver money which was coined at BATAVIA. These were *reales*, half *reales*, and quarter *reales*, which have no other mark than that of the Company, as is to be seen in the figure which I give here.³ On one side was a vessel, and on the other a V, an O, and a C, interlaced, these three letters signifying in Dutch *Vor Ost Indien Compagnie*, i.e. for the Company of the East Indies.

This lasted for some years; but in the end all the nations of the East, who had trade with the Dutch, commenced to weary of it, especially the people whose sovereigns did not coin silver money; for in fact there are very few who coin after one passes beyond the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and it is still bar silver only which comes from JAPAN. As for gold, there are many Kings who coin it, as the King of PEGU, the King of ACHIN, and the King of MACASSAR; and besides their golden money, they have also copper and tin money. The Chinese—who are careful in all things—in selling their goods calculate according to the standard of the silver; for all that they receive in foreign countries, when they have arrived in their own, they reduce to their own standard, and make it into ingots.

The principal part of the profit derived from these *reales* which are coined at BATAVIA, went into the purses of the General, the Councillors, and the Master of the Mint. The "States-General" having had notice of it, considered it very singular that the gentlemen of

¹ See p. 155.

² It is probable that there are silver mines in China.

³ This figure is not reproduced here.



the Company had assumed authority to coin money without having asked permission, and forbade the Company to continue to do so. They condemned them likewise to a large fine, and to make a careful search for all these *reales*, in order to give an equal number of good ones to those who had received the bad ones. On this voyage which I made to BATAVIA, when in the island of CEYLON, I sold some jewels to a lady of POINT DE GALLE, who paid me with these *reales*. When about to depart, an officer of the Company came on board to ask if I had not received some of these *reales*, and added that if I had he would give me good ones, piece for piece, without my losing anything ; this he did forthwith.



CHAPTER XXV

*Concerning the Dutch war with the Emperor of JAVA*¹

BEFORE leaving the English President, with whom I dined on the day I left BANTAM, he discussed with me the reasons why the General of BATAVIA and his Council had refused me a passage to enable me to return to SURAT or the coast of BENGAL, where they often send vessels. The President, to compensate me for this refusal, kindly offered me a passage to ENGLAND; for the season was then past for returning to INDIA. Being attracted by his offer, I accepted without ceremony; and he told me he would be much gratified at having my company, because he himself intended to go home, the period of his service having expired. But the vessels, whether English or Dutch, could not leave for EUROPE for more than three months; and I thought I should do best to pass that time at BATAVIA, where I should be able to buy something to make my money yield a profit during the voyage. Accordingly, I took leave of the President till the time when the vessels should sail; and he presented me with a large cask of English beer to take with me to BATAVIA, where he said I should find scarcely any, because the General had made it contraband, knowing that it had come to

¹ *Iave* in the original.



the English Company. "But if he only does us this injury," continued the President, "the Company will not trouble itself, and will not be the poorer because its beer remains unsold." It is not really the case that if this prohibition of the Dutch General and his Council had continued it would not have been injurious to the English, for they make a considerable profit on beer, and it yields them a large sum of money annually. I have above said that it is the principal delight of the people of BATAVIA to see new drinks arrive, especially English beer, and that which they call *mom*, which comes from BRUNSWICK. It is thought that they contribute to health; and the majority fear that they will not survive for the remainder of the year if they do not receive these supplies. Accordingly all the people murmured loudly against the General and his Council; and even the publicans risked going to buy the beer from the English, the General closing his eyes, and the wives of the Councillors being very glad to drink it.

As soon as I had landed at BATAVIA one of the guards ran to the entry office to give notice that I had arrived with a cask of beer; which, however, I landed from the barque and placed near the guard. The chief of the office having come to me, said that he could not give permission for the cask to be carried to my lodging; that I must be aware of the order of Council; and that it would be best to reship it on the barque, and send it back to BANTAM. Seeing that there was no favour to be hoped for, and as there are close to the guard-house cannons, in position, for the defence of the port, and an abundance of cannon balls, I took one of these balls and with it stove in one end of the cask. That being done, I cried out to the soldiers



and passers-by :—“ *Children, come to empty this cask, and drink the health of the King of France, my sovereign lord, and that of the Prince of Orange,*” after which I mentioned the General and the members of the Council. As no one refused to drink, the cask was already half emptied when an officer on the part of the General came to tell me that I might carry my cask of beer to my lodging. Immediately I replaced the end (of the cask) and had it carried away, after which I filled a canteen of six bottles, which I sent as a present to the General, knowing well that it would be the first he had to drink that year, and with the rest I regaled my friends.

I had designed, as I have said, to spend at BATAVIA the three months which remained till the departure of the vessels for Christendom, but the life which is led in that place being one of idleness is tiresome, and not having any other amusement than gambling and drinking, I resolved to employ a part of the time in going to see the King of JAPARA,¹ who is otherwise called the Emperor of JAVA. He it is who was formerly King of all the island, before the King of BANTAM, who was only governor of a province, rebelled against him, the Dutch being maintained in this country by the division of these two powers. For whenever the King of JAPARA wished to besiege BATAVIA, the King of BANTAM immediately aided the Dutch, and when they have been attacked by the King of BANTAM, which has happened many times, the King of

¹ *Japar* in the original. Japara is the name of a province of Java, comprehending Juwana, situated in the country of the proper Javanese. Its area is 672 square miles, and the population amounts to 671 per square mile, it being the most thickly inhabited region of Java. (See Crawford, *Dictionary*.)



JAPARA has come to their aid. In the same way, when these two Kings make war upon one another, the Dutch assist whichever of them is the weakest.

The King of JAPARA resides in a town of which he bears the name. It is about 30 leagues distance from BATAVIA, and is only accessible by sea from the coast, but lies nearly 8 leagues inland. From the town you pass down a fine river to the sea, where there is a good port and finer houses than there are in the town. The King would prefer to make his ordinary residence at this place, but thinks he would not be safe there.

On the eve of the day upon which I had intended to start, I went to take leave of one of the Councillors of INDIA, and having mentioned to him that I was going to the King of JAPARA, he was much astonished, because this King and the Dutch were then mortal enemies. He explained the matter to me in this way. The deceased King, he said, father of the King who reigns at present, ever since the Dutch Company had built the fort at BATAVIA in his territories, has never been willing to make peace with it. That during the war the King had taken some Dutchmen prisoners, and the Dutch, on their side, had taken twenty times as many of his subjects, offering to give in exchange ten of his for one of theirs; but he would not give up one, either on that condition, or for money, and on his death-bed he advised his son, who succeeded him, never to give liberty to one of them. This obstinacy troubled the General and all the people of BATAVIA very much, and obliged them to think of some means to bring him to reason. It is the custom that as soon as a Muhamadan King is dead, his successor sends some of the principal nobles of his court to MECCA with presents in



order to make the priests pray for the soul of the deceased, and also to give thanks to God and to MUHAMMAD because the new King has come to the throne without any obstruction, and to pray that he may always be victorious over his enemies. This new King and his Council were in much difficulty as to how they should make this voyage for two reasons, one because the King had only small vessels, and to undertake so long a journey on such vessels was risking much, joined to which the native pilots and sailors are only fit for going along the coasts, sighting from point to point, because they do not understand how to take observations. The other difficulty was that the King of JAPARA could not ignore the fact that the Dutch were always (cruising) about his harbours to capture his subjects if they went outside them. In order, then, to secure that those who went on the pilgrimage should be in safety, he bethought him that it would be best to come to an understanding with the English, believing that the Dutch would not dare to do anything to the pilgrims if they were in English vessels. With this object, an envoy was despatched to BANTAM to the English President and his Council, who promised to give the King one of the largest and best appointed vessels of all those which the Company sent to INDIA. They stipulated as a recompense that on the trade which the English might do in the future in the Kingdom of the King of JAPARA, they should not have to pay more than half the custom dues which they had hitherto paid, and that this privilege should continue to them always. This treaty being made, the English equipped a very fine vessel and placed a larger crew on her and more guns than usual. The King of



JAPARA's Envoy and two English merchants embarked on the vessel in order to ratify the treaty with the King, who at once signed it, being very well satisfied, on seeing so fine a vessel, and concluded that both in going and coming the voyage would be accomplished in all safety. Nine of the principal persons of his court, and the majority of his relatives, with eighty or a hundred servants, and some other private persons, who were delighted to find so good an opportunity of accomplishing their pilgrimage, embarked with much joy on this large vessel. All this was not done without the Dutch being aware of it, as they had their spies everywhere, like the English. As it was necessary to pass in front of BANTAM in order to get out of the Straits, there being no other route but that, the General of BATAVIA, who had notice of the time of departure, kept three large war-vessels ready, on which M. CHEVRES, a Councillor of INDIA, and the Major were placed in command. They met the English vessel off BANTAM, and as it was about to enter the Straits sent a cannon-shot as a signal to her to bring to; this the English were unwilling to do, on seeing which the Dutch commenced to fire their guns from all three vessels. The English, who well knew that if this continued they would be sent to the bottom, lowered sails and prepared to yield; but all the Javanese nobles, and those who accompanied them, cried out to the English that they were traitors, and that the agreement which had been made was merely to sell them and deliver them over to the mercy of the Dutch. The Javanese at length seeing that no hope of safety was left to them, and that the Dutch commenced to board the vessel, seized their *creases*, or poisoned daggers, and began to run



*a muck*¹ against the English, of whom they killed a large number before the latter had time to place themselves on the defence. It is possible that not one would have escaped if the Dutch had not speedily come on board, and some of the Javanese nobles, and twenty or thirty of their servants, and the passengers refused to accept quarter. The combat was bloody, and seven or eight Dutchmen succumbed. The English vessel having been taken to BATAVIA, the General treated the crew with much civility, and sent them back with their vessel, and afterwards gave notice to the King of JAPARA that if he consented to make an exchange of the Dutch prisoners, he would give him all kinds of satisfaction. But the King would not listen to it, and replied that if the General had taken three times as many of his subjects he would not give up the Dutch prisoners whom he had in his power. Thus the poor Dutch always remained as slaves, and the Javanese died of poverty at BATAVIA, although, through policy, they were assisted sometimes stealthily, so that the King of JAPARA coming to know of it, through his spies, it might cause him to treat the Dutch prisoners less harshly.

The Javanese are very good soldiers. While BATAVIA was besieged by the King of BANTAM in the year 1659, a Dutch soldier being in ambuscade in a marsh, a Javanese advanced to see what the enemy were doing, not thinking any of them were so close. The Dutchman thrust a pike into his body, and the Javanese feeling himself wounded, instead of with-

¹ *A Mocca* in the original. The French edition of 1713 has it "to cry *Mocca*." (See p. 362, n.)



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drawing the pike, pushed it into his body up to the hilt, where the Dutchman held it, in order to be able to get near him, and give him two stabs with his dagger in the stomach, of which the Dutchman died.



the ground to rejoice, and as there were eight of them I paid them 20 *écus*. It cost 16 for the place in the cemetery where the body was interred—100 *écus* being asked for interment in the church. Thus the whole funeral cost me 1223 *livres*¹ of French money, and after I had paid this sum it made me resolve, for my own part, not to die in a country where it cost so much to be interred. I praised God that notwithstanding the troubles which I had experienced in BATAVIA, and of which I have only as yet told a part, and the small dissipations which one cannot altogether avoid in this country, I have taken such good care of myself that I have never been inconvenienced by the least headache, nor a bloody flux, which is the ailment that carries away many people. That which in my opinion has contributed most to my health is, that I do not think I have ever suffered from sorrow on account of any misfortune which has happened to me. I have sometimes made great profits, and I have sometimes also experienced severe losses; but when in unpleasant circumstances I have never been more than half an hour in deciding what course I should adopt in the future, without thinking more of the past, having always in my mind the thought of Job, that God gives and takes away as it pleases him, and that one should render thanks for all that happens to us, whether it be good or evil.

Seeing that the two voyages which I had proposed to myself to make, one to JAPARA and the other to the coast of SUMATRA, in order to dispose of some jewels which remained in my hands, had been prevented, I at length resolved to sell the jewels at BATAVIA with

¹ £91:14:6.



the least possible loss, and then seek to invest the money in something which would yield me a profit in HOLLAND. My jewels having been sold, three or four of my friends told me that as I had ready money I could not invest it better than by buying *rekenings* from the Company's servants. These *rekenings*¹ are their accounts of the balance the Company owes them, which are paid when they return to HOLLAND. But as there are many of them who, after their term of service is completed, remain at BATAVIA and become citizens there, or in other places where the Company has settlements, as MALACCA, the island of CEYLON, the coast of COROMANDEL, and other places, each has his account closed with what balance the Company owes him. In order to obtain this money, since they are habituated there, and do not think of ever returning to EUROPE, they sell these statements of account to those who have money and are returning home, and the Company pays them in HOLLAND. Those who buy these accounts get them as cheaply as they can—thus, for 100 *piastres* they generally give but 60 or 70, or at the most 80, being allowed by the notary to sign a declaration that the seller is content, and had received his payment. Whenever these poor people sold their statements of account thus, to reasonable persons, it was a convenience to them; but most frequently they sold them to hotel keepers and publicans, from whom they did not obtain more than 40 or 50 per cent at the most. When the latter had thus purchased up to 2000 or 3000 *écus*, they placed the "statements" in the hands of a notary to resell them

¹ *Requening*s (for *rekenings*) in the original, meaning statements of account or pay certificates.



to the commanders who were returning to HOLLAND, and who generally gave for them 85 or 90 per cent, contenting themselves with being thus able to conceal what they have taken from the Company, while they have been chiefs of the factories.

The Company freely borrows all the money of those who are willing to lend it, and gives them 25 per cent interest, but the commanders and other officers take care not to lend it the full amount which they have amassed, because they may be asked by what means they have gained so much money, and be obliged to render an account; for some of them, as I have said, on their return to HOLLAND take with them from 400,000 up to 500,000 *livres*.¹ I dealt then with one of these notaries of BATAVIA who had about the value of 11,000 *guilders*² of these "statements" at 82 per cent, and on the following day, the transfer having been completed, I paid for them. As I was taking these papers to my lodging I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me what papers they were which my servant carried. I told him they were "statements" which I had just purchased at a certain price, to which he replied that it was a little too dear, and that he knew of some amounting to 6000 *guilders*, at a cheaper rate; these I obtained with his assistance at 79 per cent. I sought to buy more, but more were not to be found, for a ship's captain who was returning had bought

¹ £30,000 to £37,500. (See p. 417).

² *Guldes* in the original. The *florin* or *guilder* of Batavia is given by Kelly as being of the intrinsic value of 1s. 7.77d., and the Dutch coin of the same denomination at 1s. 8.49d. The currency value was about 1s. 8d. and 1s. 9d. respectively in round numbers. Perhaps the true exchange value of the latter was about 1s. 9½d. At 1s. 9d. the 11,000 *guilders* represented a sum of £9625.



for himself alone some to the amount of upwards of 100,000 *guilders*; many other persons had also done so, and the whole amounted in value to more than 400,000 *livres*.

Five or six days afterwards, while I was still seeking for something in which to invest the remainder of my money, I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me if I had bought many of those *rekenings*. I told him that I had not found any more, and that I had only the two parcels of which he knew, amounting to about 17,500 *guilders*; upon which he told me with a great compliment that he was much distressed for those who had bought them, because the General and his Council had ordered him to make them give back all these *rekenings*, as it had been decided that it was not just that a poor man should lose so much of his wages. I told him that I would willingly give them back into the hands of the parties from whom I had purchased them, provided that I was repaid my money at the same time, and that I would get them over from BANTAM, where I had sent them with my baggage, where I intended to return in a few days in order to go to ENGLAND with the English President, who had civilly offered me a passage. At 6 P.M. one of the General's halberdiers came to tell me that the General wished to speak to me. I immediately went to him and he asked me forthwith wherefore I had not given these *rekenings* to the *Avocat Fiscal* when he had asked for them in the names of himself and his Council. I replied to him coldly that I was unable to give him that which I had not got, and that they were in BANTAM. "You intend then," he said, "to go to EUROPE?" "Yes," I replied, "and the President of



the English has done me the honour to give me a passage and the use of his table." I added that it was very true that the long journey which I was about to make in order to reach SURAT, and from thence the diamond mine, where my usual trade was, would cause me much loss, and that if he had so willed it he might have enabled me to save all this time and avoid the dangers inseparable from these long journeys, by allowing me to embark, as I had asked, on one of the vessels which sailed for BENGAL, SURAT, or HORMUZ; that it would have caused no injury to the Company, and that I believed such courtesy was a thing which the General and his Council should not have refused me, since I had only come to BATAVIA in their service. When I had finished speaking all the members of the Council looked at one another, and the General having whispered to M. CARON, told me that as I was resolved to go by sea, their vessels were as good as those of the English, and that I should enjoy equally good treatment, and he offered me a passage by one of them. This offer, which I did not expect, amazed me a little, and I did not at first know whether I ought to accept it or not. But at length I accepted, fearing that by refusing it they might detain me for another year without my having power to leave in any direction, a friend having told me in confidence that the design of the General and his Council was to so manage it, that, whether from BATAVIA or from EUROPE, I should not return to INDIA any more, and that by this means they hoped to prevent the commanders or chiefs of the factories, which they have both in INDIA and PERSIA, from making further use of me to invest for them in diamonds the money of which the Company was de-

447

frauded.¹ It was this which led me to accept the passage, for which I thanked the General and his Council. Subsequently the General told me to select the particular vessel I preferred to go by, and that when I informed him he would order a cabin to be prepared for my own special convenience, but if I would take his advice I should go on the Vice-Admiral,² because of the good company which would be on board, and that I should find old friends whom I had known in PERSIA and in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL. I tendered him my thanks for having placed me in such good company; but after he had made this obliging offer he added that it was absolutely necessary that I should place all the *rekenings* which I had bought, in the hands of the *Avocat Fiscal*, and that without having done so I should not be permitted to leave BATAVIA. He received no further reply from me than that which I had already given, that the *rekenings* were at BANTAM, and that I should have them sent for, provided he returned my money, on which he told me that for what I had disbursed, when I was about to leave, he would give me an order from himself and the Council to be paid in HOLLAND by the Company. Some days passed without the matter being mentioned to me, save that once or twice I met the *Fiscal*, who asked me whether I had not yet obtained the *rekenings* from BANTAM. My last reply was that I had written about them to the English President, who had my box in his house, and that I had asked him to send them to me; but that he

¹ The object of the Dutch was in short to deport Tavernier, whom they regarded as a dangerous interloper.

² The second ship of the fleet.



had replied that I must go for them in person, or at the least should send a man with an order in my own hand, and without that he could not send back my box. The truth was that it would have been difficult for him to send them, for the whole were with me, and I wished to see whether the time would not come when I should be asked no more about them. However, all those who had purchased these *rekenings*, merchants as well as captains and other persons who were returning this year, were put in prison, and the Council took from them, by force, all their papers, deposed them from their offices, and they were sent to HOLLAND as common soldiers.

Four or five days before the fleet left, the *Avocat Fiscal* came to tell me that he had the General's command to arrest me if I was still unwilling to place in his hands the *rekenings* which he had already so often asked me for. Having replied that I had nothing to give him, he said, "*be so good then as to follow me,*" this I did willingly. He conducted me to a beautiful place on one of the bastions, called "sapphire," where there is a pleasant house devoted to the amusement of the officers, and where the majority of the respectable people of the town came to visit me, and sent me presents of the best wines. On the following day two Councillors came to see me, and told me that they knew not to what to attribute the objection which I had to place in their hands that which they asked for, especially as they, with good grace, offered me an order for payment on the Company in HOLLAND. I replied that it was not with a sufficiently good grace, and that when I saw the order I should make it my business to get back the *rekenings*. Two or three days more

469



passed, during which the vessels commenced to set sail, this caused these gentlemen, both those of the Council of INDIA and those of the town, to come to see me, to the number of eight or ten. The Major, a very respectable man, was in their company, and he promised me that as soon as I had got the papers and handed them to the members of the Council to calculate the amount, he would so arrange it that the General would give me the order to be paid in HOLLAND on my arrival there. Seeing that the vessels were about to leave and that I could not do otherwise, I told them that they must allow me to go to BANTAM; this they were unwilling to agree to, preferring to send some one on my behalf to bring them. Having given my word, they told me that I might go out on *parole*, and that they were much distressed by what had happened. I replied that they had reason to be distressed, because that having the honour to belong to a great Prince, who was the late M. LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who did me the honour to love me, he would be able to resent fully the injustice which they had done me, and complain of it to the "States." At length, forced by their unjust pressure, and by the necessity of leaving with the fleet, of which I did not wish to lose the opportunity, I gave them my *rekenings*, and from day to day I went to see if they had counted them, so as to give me the order which they had promised. For the Vice-Admiral on which I was to embark remained more than fifteen days after the other vessels, because it was desired to send news by it, to HOLLAND, of what had been accomplished by a fleet which the General had sent to take possession of the PHILIPPINES by capturing them from the Spanish. The bad



weather experienced by these vessels when going there was the reason that three or four were lost; and they were obliged to return without accomplishing anything.

It is the custom, when the vessels are about returning to HOLLAND, that the General entertains all the principal officers of the fleet with the Council and the most important personages of the town, and he did me the honour to send to invite me also. The repast commenced at 2 P.M., and at four tables there were fully sixty persons of both sexes. I was seated between the Major and the Secretary of the Grand Council; they were both men of worth, whose conversation was agreeable. We had been seven or eight hours at table, and they had already asked the General if it pleased him that the comedy should commence, which the youth of the town were to enact; whereupon I reminded the Major that he had promised me that as soon as I had delivered my papers to the Council they would give me an order to be paid on my arrival in HOLLAND. I told him that the Secretary, to whom I had spoken in the morning, had given me reason to hope that I should have it before dinner; but the same Secretary then said in my ear that I need not expect it, and having finished speaking he rose from the table in order to go to the comedy. I then asked our Vice-Admiral and three or four merchants who were returning to HOLLAND to bear in mind what I should say to the General and his reply to me, to serve me as witnesses before the Directors of the Company when we arrived in HOLLAND. In the *entre-acts* of the comedy every one took a glass and drank healths, and the General having a glass in his hand, and addressing our



Vice-Admiral, "it is to your health," said he, "and that of M. TAVERNIER, whom may God vouchsafe to bless and protect on sea during this journey, as he has done in all the others which he has made by land." I replied that I thanked him, and that I sincerely hoped that God would bless our journey, but that I should not make it without displeasure and without resentment for their failure to keep their promise—neither he nor his Council having kept the promise which they had made me to give an order on my handing them my *rekenings*, which amounted to 17,500 *guilders*. That now, when they had the papers which they asked for, they mocked me; but that I assured them I would publish their proceedings throughout the world. The General replied to this that I should not trouble myself, and that I might be cheerful during the voyage, as the order which he had promised me would be in HOLLAND as soon as myself, and that I should have no cause to complain of them. Though but ill satisfied with the General, I took leave of him, and did not await the remainder of the comedy, being anxious, amongst other things, to prepare for my departure.



CHAPTER XXVII

*The Author embarks on a Dutch Vessel in order to
return to EUROPE*

ON the day following, at a very early hour, I took a small Chinese boat to go on board, where, having arrived, I found one of the General's bodyguards, who came to convey to me once more his good wishes for my voyage, and to tell me that Madame la Générale begged me to accept a cask of RHINE wine, and some pots of fruits preserved in vinegar, which she sent me. There were cucumbers, mangos, citrons, and eggs with their shells, which prevent them from becoming salt. I had taken no provisions with me, because some days before our departure the captain of the vessel told me that if I brought any they would not be received on board, he having been forbidden by the General. It is the custom that the General gives 200 *écus* to each captain of a vessel in order to furnish himself with all kinds of stores, and as I embarked by his advice on the Vice-Admiral, he caused double the sum to be given to the captain on my account, in order to have the honour to cause no expenditure to a stranger to whom he had offered a passage. Madame la Générale, when sending this present, bethought herself, possibly, of that which I had done some days previously for her



daughter. Some friends seeing that I had easy access to the principal ladies of BATAVIA, begged me to intercede for a young man, a native of PARIS, who in consequence of dissipation had come out to INDIA as a soldier, and was in danger of the surgeons cutting off his leg, where he had an ulcer. To accomplish it I made a present to the General's daughter, in order that she might ask the Major and the *Avocat Fiscal* not to appear to see this young man when he was leaving.

We were still three days in the roads before setting sail. On the first day the principal merchant of the fort, who kept a record of all the goods which had been embarked, both for HOLLAND and other places, came to the vessel according to custom to examine the bill of lading, and have it read over by the captain of the vessel and the merchants who came with him, whom he made sign it. This bill of lading was placed in the same box where they shut up all the account books and records of all that had passed in the factories of INDIA, both concerning trade and as regards civil and criminal justice, and the covering over all the goods was then sealed.

On the second day the Major with the *Avocat Fiscal* and the chief surgeon also came, according to custom, to examine all those who were in the vessel returning to HOLLAND—the Major in order to see whether there were any soldiers who were going without leave, for every one must have his passport with him; the *Avocat Fiscal* to ascertain if any of the writers were concealed who wished to escape before their term was accomplished. The Chief Surgeon of the fort comes to see that all the sick persons who are being sent home have ailments which are incurable in the country,



because some soldiers may obtain leave from the Major by means of friends, as he did, whom as I have said, I carried off; for the surgeon is obliged by oath not to allow any one to go unless he considers that he cannot be cured but by going to EUROPE. The Major is bound to give the roll of all the soldiers, both of those who are well and those who are ill, to the *Avocat Fiscal*, who makes them come on the vessel one after the other; and it is then that the sick ones are examined by the surgeon. It was perhaps not impossible that he whom I took might have been healed of his illness in the country; but by the favour of the *Fiscal* he was not called with the others, and escaped in that way.

On the third day the principal persons of the town and many ladies came to bid adieu to their friends who were leaving, and brought with them wine and food to entertain them, music accompanying the good cheer, and at 6 P.M. all of them returned home.

On the following day at daybreak we set sail, and were clear of the Straits sooner than we expected, because generally the wind is contrary, and besides we were leaving twenty-four days after all the others, the season for going to sea being nearly over. As soon as we had left the Straits we saw PRINCE'S ISLAND.¹ From thence our direction was to make for the Cocos ISLANDS,² and when in the latitude of these islands we

¹ Prince's Island is at the western end of the Straits of Sunda.

² There are several groups of islands called Cocos: first, there is one in the Bay of Bengal between the Andamans and the mainland; second, a group of four coral-girt islands, in Lat. 3° N., near Hog (or Sinalu) Island on the W. coast of Sumatra; and third, the Cocos or Keeling Islands, from 700 to 800 miles S.W. of Sumatra, in Lat. 12° 10' S. and Long. 97° E. It was probably the last which Tavernier refers to. They produce cocoanuts in abundance, and have for many



spent two or three days scouring the sea, expecting to sight them, but were unable to do so, this caused us to direct our course straight for the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

On the forty-fifth day after our departure from BATAVIA (for I do not wish to weary the reader with a journal of our voyage), our Vice-Admiral neglected to order the ship's lantern to be lighted, in the belief that the whole fleet had already arrived at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. It happened that a vessel of the same fleet called the "MAESTRICHT" also omitted to light its lantern on the same night, and as it was very dark and the sea was high, it came into collision with our vessel, this threw every one on either side into great consternation. Each one set himself to pray to God, believing that one or other of the vessels would be lost. Ours, which was called "LES PROVINCES," was considered to be the largest and the best of the vessels which sailed to INDIA, this was apparent from this collision, it having received so severe a shock. Every one realising the danger we were in, laboured to disengage the other vessel from ours, and good fortune willed that the yards of the "MAESTRICHT," which were entangled in our rigging, broke away, and in order to help matters we cut some of them with an axe. Thus, with great trouble, the "MAESTRICHT" was disengaged, and drifting all along the length of our vessel, when she was passing the prow she broke off the "beak-head."

years been in the possession of an English family, several of whose members reside there, and there are a few Malays there too. A recent account of this group will be found in *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, by A. D. Forbes.



On the fifty-fifth day of our voyage we came in view of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, where we remained at sea five or six days, because the waves being very high we did not venture to enter the roads to cast anchor. This was not because there was much wind then, but because the south wind had blown so long that it had driven the sea on the coast. The sea having calmed down, we cast anchor, and this is what I have been able to observe there.

Of all the races of men I have seen in my travels I have found none so hideous nor so brutal as the *Comouks*,¹ whom I have mentioned in my account of PERSIA, and as the inhabitants of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, whom they call *Cafres* or *Hottentots*. When the latter speak they make the tongue click (*peter*) in the mouth, and although their voice is scarcely articulate they easily understand one another. They have for sole garments the skins of wild beasts which they kill in the forests, and when it becomes cold in the winter in this place, which is in 35° and some minutes of latitude, they turn the fur inside, and when it is warm they turn it outside. But it is only the more well-to-do among them who are thus clothed, the others having only some miserable scrap of cloth to cover their nakedness. Both men and women are of spare habit and small stature, and as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him

¹ *Comouks* in the original, and *Comouchs* in the *Persian Travels*, Book III, chap. xi, where Tavernier describes them as robbers living at the foot of the mountains of *Comanie* (i.e. the region between the Caucasus and the north-western shores of the Caspian Sea, bounded on the north by the Terek river). He distinguishes them from another people, the *Kalmouchs* (Kalmucks), who, he says, inhabit the coast of the Caspian between Moscovie and Great Tartary.



sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat. They perform this partial castration because it makes them swifter in running, so they say. It is true that there are some of them who can capture roebucks by running them down. I have had the curiosity to examine many of these *Cafres*, and I found they had all been castrated on the right side. They have no knowledge of gold, silver, nor any kind of money, and have not, so to speak, any religion.

On our arrival in this place after we had cast anchor, four women came on board bringing with them four young ostriches, which were cooked for some of our sick men. Subsequently they brought us numerous turtles and ostrich eggs, and another kind of eggs as large as the eggs of a goose. The birds which lay these eggs are a kind of goose, and have so much fat that it is impossible to eat them, they taste rather of fish than of flesh.¹ These women, observing that our cook threw into a wooden bucket the entrails of two fowls and a goose which were for our supper, took them, and having squeezed them from one end to the other in order to express the contents, of which only half was ejected, they eat them in that condition, being much pleased

¹ These birds were in all probability penguins. (See vol. i, p. 216, n., and p. 399.) They are mentioned by Castanheda as occurring at St. Blaze, 60 leagues to the east of the Cape of Good Hope:—"On the rock also there are great numbers of birds as large as ducks, which do not fly, having no feathers in their wings, and which bray like so many asses." *Note*.—Lichfield calls them *stares*, as large as ducks. Osorius says that the natives called them *solitario*, and that they were as big as geese. (See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 309 and 393.) Sir T. Roe says, "They are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird. Confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bipis implume*, which is nearer to a description of this creature." (*Journal*, Calcutta edition, p. 2.)



also because our captain gave each of them two cups of spirits to drink. Neither men nor women have the slightest shame about exposing their nudity, and they live almost like beasts.

When they see vessels arriving they drive cattle to the shore and bring what they have to barter for tobacco, spirits, and beads of crystal and agate, which are cheap at SURAT, and for some hardware. When they are not content with what is offered them they immediately take to flight, and at the sound of a whistle from their mouths all their animals follow them, and you see no more of them. Some persons on one occasion, seeing them fly, fired musket-shots in order to slay the cattle, but since then, for some years, these *Cafres* have not brought their beasts, and there has been much trouble experienced in inducing them to return. It is a great convenience for the vessels which touch there to obtain supplies, and the Dutch have had good reason for building a fort there. There is now a fine village inhabited by people of all nationalities who live with the Dutch, and all kinds of grains which are brought thither, both from EUROPE and ASIA, on being sown, grow much better than in the places from whence they have been brought. It is a very good country which is, as I have said, at the 35th degree and some minutes of latitude, and it is neither the air nor the heat which makes these *Cafres* so black as they are. Desiring to know the explanation of it, and wherefore they smell so strongly, I inquired from a young girl who was taken as soon as her mother had brought her forth, and was nursed and reared in the fort, being as white as one of our European women. She told me that the reason that

the *Cafres* are so black, is that they rub themselves with an ointment which they make of different simples known to them, and that if they do not rub themselves often, and as soon as they are born, they become dropsical like other blacks of AFRICA, and like the Abyssinians, and the inhabitants of SABA, who have one leg twice the size of the other;¹ few of these people ever living more than forty years. It is true that these *Cafres*, brutal as they are, have nevertheless a special knowledge of simples, and know how to apply them to the maladies for which they are specifics; this the Dutch have very often proved. Be it that the *Cafres* are bitten by a venomous animal, or that an ulcer or other disease appears, by means of these simples, which they know how to select, they accomplish the healing in a short time. Of nineteen sick men who were in our vessel, fifteen were placed in the hands of the *Cafres*, the maladies consisted of ulcers in the legs or arose from wounds received in war, and in less than fifteen days all were perfectly cured. Each sick man had two of these *Cafres* to attend upon him, and as soon as they saw what the condition of the wound or ulcer was, they sought for the drugs, and crushing them between two pebbles applied them to the sore. As for the four others they were not given into their hands, being so permeated with the ailments which accompany venereal disease that they could not be cured at BATAVIA. They all four died between the CAPE and the Island of SAINT HELENA.

In the year 1661 there returned from BATAVIA on a vessel named the "WEST FRISLAND," a young BRETON gentleman, who, after having squandered all

¹ The disease known as elephantiasis.



his money in HOLLAND, entered the Company's service. Having arrived at BATAVIA a multitude of mosquitos bit him on one leg during the night, and an ulcer appeared on which all the surgeons of BATAVIA had expended their skill and remedies; and if the General had not given him permission to go home it would have been necessary to amputate his leg. When the ship arrived at the CAPE, the captain having sent the Breton on shore to give him some ease, these *Cafres* began to examine him, and said that if they were allowed to treat him they would cure him in a short time. The captain placed him in their hands, and in less than fifteen days his leg was rendered as sound as the other which had never had anything the matter with it.

As soon as a vessel has anchored at the CAPE, the commander gives some of the soldiers and sailors permission to go on shore to refresh themselves. Those who during the voyage have been most indisposed go first, each in his turn, and they go to the town, where they are fed for 7 or 8 *so/s* a-day, and enjoy good cheer.

It is the custom of the Dutch to send parties from time to time to explore the country, and those who go furthest are best rewarded. A number of soldiers having gone in a party with a sergeant who commanded them, and having advanced far into the country, they made a large fire at midnight, both to protect themselves from lions and for warmth, and they lay round it to rest. Having gone to sleep, a lion seized one of the soldiers by the arm, and immediately the sergeant, firing a shot from his gun, slew the animal. When it was dead its jaws had to be forced open, with great



effort, in order to release the soldier's arm, which was pierced from side to side. It is apparent from this story that it is an error to suppose that lions do not approach a fire.¹ These *Cafres* healed the soldier's arm in twelve days. You see in the fort an abundance of skins of lions and tigers.² Among others there is the skin of a horse which these *Cafres* killed. It is white barred with black stripes pricked out like a leopard, and without a tail.³ At a distance of 2 or 3 leagues from the fort the Dutch found a dead lion which had four porcupine's quills in its body, which had penetrated the flesh three-fourths of their length. It was accordingly concluded that the porcupine had killed the lion. The skin is still kept with the spines sticking in the foot.⁴

At one league's distance from the fort there is a fine village which grows from day to day. When the vessels of the Dutch Company arrive, if any soldier or sailor wishes to remain there he is welcomed. He takes as much land as he can manage,⁵ and, as I have above said, all kinds of vegetables and pulse, and even grapes grow readily, and rice also is cultivated. These people have young ostriches, beef, and sea and fresh

¹ I think some African travellers have been of opinion that a fire attracts lions, and that a substantial fence is requisite for the protection of a camp.

² By tigers here we must understand leopards, as tigers do not occur in Africa any more than lions do in the eastern and southern parts of India, where Tavernier has so often referred to their presence in previous pages.

³ Zebra; it should have had a tail.

⁴ Numerous cases are recorded of tigers having died in India from this cause, and also of occasionally having been found, when shot, to have porcupine quills sticking in them.

⁵ Here we have an early reference to the establishment of the Dutch Boer colony at the Cape.

water fish in abundance. In order to obtain the young ostriches when they wish, as soon as the birds are seven or eight days old they go to the nests, and driving a stake into the ground tie the young birds by one of their feet in the nest, so that they cannot escape, leaving them to be fed by their parents till they are of good size, afterwards they are taken to be sold or eaten.

When the Dutch began to inhabit the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, they took, as I have said, the daughter of one of these *Cafres* as soon as she was born. She is white and beautiful, save that she has a slightly depressed nose, and she serves as interpreter to the Dutch. She had a child by a Frenchman, but the Company would not allow him to marry her. On the contrary, they confiscated 800 *livres* of his wages; this was somewhat severe on him.

There are in this country quantities of lions and tigers, and the Dutch have discovered a contrivance which answers well for killing them. They bind a gun to a stake driven into the ground, and place some meat at the end of the gun, which is bound to a cord attached to the trigger. When the animal comes to take this meat the cord draws the trigger, and the gun discharging the balls lodge in the mouth or body of the animal. The *Cafres* eat a root which resembles our root of *cheriuy*,¹ which they roast, and it serves them as bread. Sometimes they make it into flour, and it tastes like chestnuts. As for flesh, they eat it raw, and fish also in the same condition; and as for the entrails of animals, as I have already said,² they merely squeeze them to exclude the digested matter

¹ This was apparently a kind of yam.

² See p. 393.

and then eat them. The majority of the women bind these entrails, when dried, round their legs, especially those of wild beasts which their husbands slay in the woods, and they wear them as ornaments. They also eat turtles after they have roasted them for a short time, so that the shells can be removed. They are very skilful in hurling the *assegai*, which is a kind of dart, and those who have not got any, use a stick an inch thick, of a very hard wood, and of the same length as the dart. They make a point on it and hurl it to a considerable distance with their hands. They take these sticks with them to the margin of the sea, and as soon as a fish comes to the surface they do not fail to transfix it.

As for those birds which are like our ducks, their eggs contain no yolk; there are a great number in the country, and in a bay which is 18 miles from the CAPE they are killed with blows of a stick.¹

During the time while M. VANDIME was General, the Dutch captured a young *Cafre* boy at the CAPE and sent him to BATAVIA. The General took great pains to have him instructed in languages, so that in seven or eight years he learned Dutch and Portuguese in perfection. He then wished to return to his country, and the General not desiring to constrain him to remain, equipped him with linen and clothes, thinking that when he arrived at the CAPE he would live like the Dutchmen, and would aid them in obtaining supplies for their vessels whenever they arrived. But he was no sooner at the CAPE than he threw his garments into the sea and fled with the other blacks, eating

¹ See vol. i. p. 216, n., and p. 393.

424
424



raw flesh as before, and since then he has remained with them without having any intercourse with the Dutch.¹

When these *Cafres* go to hunt in the forest they assemble in large numbers, and have certain terrific cries and shouts, so that the beasts are all frightened by them, and it is then easy to slaughter large numbers of them when thus terrified. I have even been told that these cries frighten the lion.

¹ Some curious examples of this kind of speedy relapse into savagery, after a long course of education from infancy, have occurred among the inhabitants of the Andaman islands.



CHAPTER XXVIII

*The Dutch fleet arrives at St. HELENA, and the Author
gives a description of that Island*

AFTER having been twenty-two days at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, seeing that the wind was very favourable to us, our Vice-Admiral ordered the anchor to be hoisted, and we directed our course for the Island of ST. HELENA. As soon as the sails were set and prayers had been said, all the sailors and soldiers declared they would go to rest and sleep till they got to ST. HELENA. For one steady wind always prevails and bears you, generally in sixteen or eighteen days, to the anchorage at that island. During the whole course the sails were not touched, because the wind was always astern, and the only trouble which the sailors had was that fourteen days after our departure two of them were sent to the mainmast top to watch, in order to sight the island; for as soon as it is sighted the pilots should take good care to be ready to cast anchor on the side facing northwards, and it is necessary to approach the land in order to cast it, otherwise there is no bottom found. If these precautions are not properly taken, and if the anchors do not find bottom, the currents in the air and ocean quickly carry the vessel past the anchorage and there is then no



hope of returning, because the wind is always contrary and never changes.

As soon as two of our anchors were cast into the sea the soldiers and sailors were summoned, and the crew made the vessel as tight as they could. They also fixed stages outside to scrape the hull and grease it; this was accomplished in two days. Then all the persons on board were divided into two parties, and the Vice-Admiral addressed them from the quarter-deck as follows: "Gentlemen, we shall remain here twenty-two days, arrange which of you desire to go first on shore to refresh yourselves and hunt, and let all return here on the eleventh day so that the others may also go (in turn)." Each of the men who went on shore was given a pair of shoes, and they carried large chaldrons, and supplies of rice, biscuit, spirits, and salt. On reaching land they ascended the mountain, but three or four remained below to collect sorrel, which grows to 2 or 3 feet in height and is very good. When they had collected a load of it they went to find the others, who were in pursuit of wild pigs, which abound in the island. When they had killed some they cooked the flesh with the rice and sorrel, which make a fairly good kind of soup, and purges insensibly without one's knowing it. While on shore they did nothing but sing, drink, and eat, and they had to send some of the pigs to the vessel every day. For each pig an *écu* and a pair of shoes were given them, because, on account of the mountain being high and steep, this chase gave the men much trouble. I have elsewhere spoken of the Persian greyhounds which are taken to St. HELENA for hunting wild pigs, and after having been used they are thrown into the sea,

427

not being carried farther for the reason I have pointed out in the same place.

While those who are on land occupy themselves with this sport, those who remain in the vessel employ the time in fishing; for there is a great abundance of fish around this island, especially mackerel. Each sailor and soldier is given a measure of salt, with which they salt the fish, and then hang them to dry in the wind. They feed themselves upon this dried fish after leaving the island, and generally have sufficient for thirty or forty days, and each receives only a little oil and rice cooked in water; this saves the Company a quantity of food.

All the pigs, sheep, geese, ducks, and hens which were on board were sent on shore, and as soon as these animals had eaten the sorrel, which purges them as well as it does men, in a few days they became so fat that when we approached HOLLAND it was almost impossible to eat them, especially the geese and ducks, on account of the fat.

There are two places off the coast of ST. HELENA where one can anchor. The best of them is the one where we were, because the bottom is very good for anchorage there, and the (drinking) water which comes from the top of the mountain is the best on the island. In this part of the island there is no level ground, the mountain rising from the very shore. There is but a small place close to the sea, where formerly there was a chapel where a Portuguese priest of the sect of ST. FRANCIS lived for fourteen years; but at present this chapel is half ruined. While this priest lived there he made presents to the vessels which touched there, furnishing them with fish, which he caught and dried,



and they gave him in exchange rice, biscuit, and Spanish wine. After he had dwelt there for the time I have said, and had lived a very austere life, he fell ill, and by good fortune it happened that a Portuguese vessel arrived just then. All that could be was done to relieve him, but he died five days after the vessel had anchored, and was interred by people of his own nationality.

The anchorage is less good at the other roads, but on shore there is a beautiful plain where all that is sown arrives at maturity. The orders of the Dutch Company are at present, that, if a vessel takes cabbages, salad, or other vegetables, seeds must be sown for the benefit of those who may come afterwards. There are an abundance of lemon and some orange trees, which the Portuguese formerly planted. For this nationality has that much good about it, that wherever it goes it seeks to do something for the benefit of whoever visits the same place subsequently. The Dutch act altogether otherwise and seek to destroy all, to the end that those who come afterwards shall find nothing. It is true that it is not the superior officers who act in this way, but the majority of the sailors and soldiers, who say to one another, "We shall not return any more," and in order to obtain the fruit from the tree more quickly, they cut it down to the ground instead of plucking (the fruit itself).

A serious disturbance in the fleet was on the point of breaking out. Although our vessel left BATAVIA the last of all, since she was a good sailer, she was the second to arrive at ST. HELENA. One day the Vice-Admiral, the captain, and other officers of the vessel determined to go in the skiff towards this plain, in



order to obtain some vegetables and lemons. When we arrived there (for I was with the party) we were much surprised to find nothing on the trees, and only some remains of cabbages and radishes on the ground. We did not doubt that the crew of the vessel called the *Encuse*, which had arrived some days before us, had done all this damage, and our Vice-Admiral resolved to go on board to inquire into the matter. When we got there we found quantities of lemons and vegetables in the cabins of the captain and pilot, and all the sailors presented lemons, with which they were well provided, to our men. The captain of the vessel offered a present of some to the Vice-Admiral, which he refused to accept, saying that it was treason to all the fleet, and that all these refreshments must be collected and put together in one place until all the vessels had arrived, so that each poor invalid might have some of them. The sailors and soldiers who had filled their chests with them were very unwilling to consent; but the Vice-Admiral, making use of his authority, said that if they did not bring all the lemons which were still remaining, he would hang a number of them, when the Admiral and the remainder of the fleet, which consisted of eleven vessels, arrived. The captain, fearing this threat, used so much compulsion with his crew that the whole were brought into his cabin and properly shut up until the fleet had arrived, so that each vessel had its share of this small refreshment.

When all the fleet had anchored in the roads of St. HELENA, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicing, sometimes on one vessel and sometimes on another; and the English fleet, which consisted of nine vessels,

arrived soon afterwards.¹ There arrived, moreover, two Portuguese vessels laden with slaves of both sexes, which came from the GUINEA coast, and was taking them to the mines of PERU. There were some Dutchmen in our fleet who had dwelt at CASTEL DE MINE, and knew the language of these poor people. They went on board, both to see them, and also to see some Dutch sailors who were in the Portuguese service; and on the following night about 250 of these poor blacks threw themselves into the sea. It was believed that the Dutch, who knew their language, had told them that they would be miserably treated when they reached the mines, and that it was that which had driven them to this action in despair. It is true that it is a very hard and miserable slavery; for frequently, after having mined for some days, there are parts of the ground more movable or softer than others, and this ground collapsing it suddenly buries 400 or 500 of these poor people. As soon as they are put to mine, their faces, eyes, and skin entirely change in colour; this is caused by the vapours of these hollows, and the slaves only exist in these places by the quantity of spirits which both the men and women are given to drink.

Some of these people are no longer slaves, their masters having given them liberty, but they do not cease to work in the mines and earn large wages. But as they leave the mines on Saturday evening to return on Monday morning, during the interval they drink so much spirit, which is very dear, that they spend all they earn during the week,

¹ It may be mentioned here that the first English vessels to visit India were despatched in 1591, the object then in view being rather to attack the Portuguese than to open up trade with the natives.



and thus they are always in a miserable condition of poverty.

While the two fleets were in the roads at ST. HELENA the English and the Dutch entertained each other in turns, and there was continual festivity. The day our Vice-Admiral entertained our Admiral and some of the chiefs of the English fleet, it was not on board our vessel, for as soon as he told me of his intention, I advised him to give his feast on land; this he did with greater credit and more freedom than the others had done. I offered him for the purpose my tent, and the carpet and cushions which I had still with me, and had used in my journeys by land; and I further promised to open, on his account, my cask of RHINE wine, which Madame la Générale had presented me with, and even to contribute to the collation half a dozen bottles of MANTUA wine, and a similar quantity of that of SHIRAZ. He was delighted with the offer I made him, and immediately we went on shore to pitch the tent; this gave us some trouble, because we could not find any level spot even of the size of the tent; but our sailors made one near the river, from whence, while eating, we might contemplate the high mountains and the pointed rocks, where we saw the male and female goats leaping from one side to the other.

On the following day, between 9 and 10 A.M., he had the pleasure of seeing all the guests in their boats, some with trumpets and drums, others with violins and other musical instruments; this could not have been if the Vice-Admiral had given his entertainment in the vessel, where all these different classes of people could not have come. As the feast, then, was on land, the majority of the ladies, both English and Dutch, who



were in the fleet also came, without being invited ; and so instead of one table three were required, and those who expected to eat in the tent, under shade, were obliged to yield their places out of politeness to the ladies. During the repast there was a great noise of trumpets and other musical instruments, and at each health all the guns of the vessels fired a discharge. The first health which was drunk was that of the King of ENGLAND, after which followed those of the States General, of the Prince of ORANGE, and of the Companies, and then came the healths of the chief officers of the fleet and of some private persons. At the close of the repast, when we were ready to return on board, a disaster happened which somewhat marred the enjoyment of the company. The Admiral's trumpeter having drunk a little more than he ought to have done, mounted on a high rock in order to blow his trumpet, and from time to time he rolled down large stones. Although ordered to stop, because it was seen that some injury might happen, he did not cease, however, finding some amusement in it ; and at length he let go a very large one, which, jumping from rock to rock, went through the tent, where it broke a case of wine and killed a small boy born at BATAVIA of Dutch parentage. He was being sent to HOLLAND to learn the language properly, and to be taught to read and write. For these children, though born of parents who have come from HOLLAND, never learn Dutch properly while they remain at BATAVIA, being brought up among servants and slaves, who addict themselves more to the Portuguese language than to Dutch. These children also learn from them a thousand wickednesses, and at the age of nine years they know more lechery than do



youths of twenty years in EUROPE.¹ After having buried the child the company returned on board sooner than they would otherwise have done, and they were distressed that a day which had been so joyful had so sad a termination.

On the two following days we had numerous visits, and there was not a lady who did not come to our vessel ; I believe it was less on our own account than to ascertain if we had still any RHINE wine, which they had found to be excellent at our Vice-Admiral's feast.

After our vessel had been twenty days at anchor (for the others which arrived later had less time to refresh themselves) the Admiral fired three cannon shots, and hoisted a large flag on the poop of his vessel, as a signal to all the captains and pilots to come on board, where, having arrived, they held council in order to settle what route should be taken for HOLLAND. The majority maintained that they should go to the west rather than to the south, because the season for navigation was much advanced, and by sailing towards the WEST INDIES we should find the proper winds for HOLLAND. But it happened altogether otherwise ; for as soon as we had passed the line we found the winds contrary to what our pilots had expected ; this was the reason why we were afterwards obliged to go to the 64th degree in the latitude of ICELAND, and return to HOLLAND from the north.

¹ There is, it is to be feared, some applicability in these remarks to the case of children reared in India at the present time.



CHAPTER XXIX

*The Dutch fleet leaves the Island of ST. HELENA, and
the Author arrives safely with it in HOLLAND*

ON the day after the council had been held, the Admiral ordered the three signal shots for parting, to be fired, and at ten o'clock P.M. all the fleet set sail. The English still remained there and we did not know why, unless it was to try to catch one of their sailors, who, having been ill-treated by his pilot, and having one day gone on shore with him to get water, slew him with two stabs of his dagger, after which he escaped into the mountain. If he remained there he must have passed a bad time, there being no house in the island. Three days after our departure from ST. HELENA the crew commenced to pray every morning and evening, but I remarked that they had not done so during the twenty-two days we spent in the roads; this I thought strange, as if one should not pray to God when out of danger as well as while in danger.

On the eleventh day after our departure we crossed the line with a favourable wind. I know that many have written that the heat is insupportable under the line, and that the water and some of the provisions become decomposed, but we experienced nothing of



the kind; elsewhere in the voyage we felt much greater heat. I am quite ready to admit that if a calm had caught us under the line, instead of the propitious wind which we experienced, we should have felt the heat more than we did.

After some days' sailing we spent three in passing a bank where the sea is full of a plant, the leaf of which resembles the leaves of the olive.¹ This plant has fruits like large white gooseberries, but they contain nothing inside. At length, after many more days' sailing, we sighted the coasts of ICELAND, and afterwards the Island of FERELLE,² where the Dutch fleet already awaited us, constantly firing cannon shots to intimate to us its position. As soon as the two fleets sighted one another, each vessel fired all its guns, and took up position by its patron, that of the Admiral by the Admiral, that of the Vice-Admiral by the Vice-Admiral, and so of all the others. We numbered eleven vessels, there came also eleven other vessels to meet us, and after each had recognised its mate, the first thing that was done was to send on board the vessels from INDIA a quantity of supplies, as casks of beer, smoked meat, butter, cheese, good white biscuit, and for every vessel one cask each of Rhine, French, and Spanish wines. As soon as the supplies were on board our vessel, the soldiers and sailors took three or four of the casks of beer, which they placed on end close to the mainmast, breaking them open with a cannon-ball, and they were then free to whoever wished to drink. It was the same with the food, for both drink

¹ This was the *sargossa* weed, *Fucus natans*, which is found in the Pacific. The so-called fruits are the floats.

² Faroe islands.



and food were at the discretion of the crew during the remainder of the voyage. On the following day each pilot resigned his charge, giving over the direction to the pilots brought by the convoy. There were three of them for each vessel, and for that purpose pilots of from sixty to eighty years of age, who knew these seas perfectly, and how the sand-banks had changed during the current year, were selected.

On the following day the Admiral of the convoy fired three cannon shots, and hoisted his flag on the poop, to give notice to all the officers of both fleets to assemble in council. All the reports and processes which have been made against those who have misbehaved during the voyage are taken to it, and the whole being examined, according as the council adjudicates the accused are brought from each vessel on the following day, and judgment is pronounced. Formerly they took them to HOLLAND, but when it was so, they found friends who obtained their pardon, and they all got off. But at present all are afraid, as there is no longer chance of pardon. This is the reason why the soldiers and sailors are not guilty of insolence and mutiny during the voyage as they were formerly. There were two of our fleet hung for having stabbed officers; many were sentenced to the stocks and whipping before the mainmast, and the wages of others were confiscated.

We passed through a fleet of herring fishers, and they did not fail to bring caskful to each vessel. The captains presented them with rice, pepper, and other spices.

As soon as we had sighted the coasts of HOLLAND, all the soldiers of our fleet who had been with those



who went to besiege the MANILLAS, from joy at beholding their country again, fixed a quantity of large and small wax tapers about the poop and bow of the vessel, where the wind, when they were lit, could not extinguish them. The same was done in five or six of the vessels; this gave out such an extraordinary light that the whole fleet was alarmed. On our vessel alone, there were more than 1700 of these wax tapers, both large and small. The sailors had kept them since they were at the MANILLAS, from whence they had brought a large quantity, as also from POINT DE GALLE in the Island of CEYLON. For when on shore they pillaged and burnt some convents which were in the country, and as wax is cheap throughout INDIA, and is easily bleached, every religious house always has a large supply of wax tapers on account of the festivals, when numbers are lighted before the grand altar and in all the chapels. Thus the least of the Dutch sailors had thirty or forty of these tapers for his share, and some of them had some as thick as the thigh.

The command was, according to custom, that our vessel, as Vice-Admiral, should go to ZEALAND. We were on the coast seven whole days without being able to enter FLUSHING,¹ on account of the sand which frequently changes its position. As soon as we had cast anchor, more than fifty small boats came about our vessel, but keeping a short distance off, being forbidden to come alongside. Each then began to call out and ask the names of persons in order to carry the news of their arrival to their relatives and friends.

On the day following that on which we anchored off FLUSHING, two of the members of the Company

¹ Flessingue in the original.



came on board to give welcome to all, and to tell them to close their chests and place their marks thereon. They were then carried into a hall of the INDIA HOUSE, and the day was fixed upon which each should return to claim what belonged to him. It is the custom that before the chests are given up they are opened in order to be examined, through fear lest they should contain anything contraband.

These two gentlemen summoned the crew on deck between the poop and the mainmast, and taking the captain, whom they placed at their side in front of all, "Gentlemen," they said to all on board, "on behalf of the Directors we order you to tell us whether the captain has ill-treated you during this voyage." The crew, who wanted to be on shore, where the majority saw father or mother, brothers or sisters, or friends who awaited them, began to cry out that the captain was a good man, that he knew how to act for the interests of the Company, and his own also, and that if when leaving BATAVIA God had delivered them from him, they would have been much more happy during the voyage. At once, without another word, they all jumped into the boats and went on shore, where they received many kisses and embraces, and immediately all hastened to the publichouse. It is where most of the soldiers and sailors first go on the occasion of their debarkations, and generally they do not leave it save to claim their baggage or receive their pay, or to join a party. Some of these soldiers and sailors returning from INDIA have been known to expend, in two months' continual debauch, nearly 1000 *écus*, which they had had much trouble in earning in fifteen or twenty years' service to the Company. I have

u39

known a sailor at MIDDELBURG, who in a debauch broke glass to the value of 250 *livres*, when drinking to the health of his friends. But the publicans do not receive all the money of these people, as the women of pleasure get their share of it too.

The two Directors of the Company, who came on board as soon as the anchor was cast, to give permission to the crew to go on shore, and appoint persons for the protection of the vessel, did me the honour to salute me at once, and I received many expressions of kindness from them. They ordered a collation to be served at the same time, and, drinking to my health, asked me if I had anything to complain of with regard to any of the officers of the vessel. I replied that on the contrary I had every reason to praise them, that they had all treated me with great civility, and that I gave thanks to the Vice-Admiral, to the captain, and to all the merchants of the vessel for the good friendship they had shown me during the voyage. For it should be stated that besides the Vice-Admiral we had a captain under him. The Directors told me that they were much pleased that I was satisfied with the treatment I had received, telling me that if I had any chests I had only to place my mark on them, and that they would take care to have them carried to the Company's House at MIDDELBURG, where I might come to claim them in four days. It required fully this time for them to discharge a part of what was in the vessel, which could not reach MIDDELBURG with a full cargo. I thanked them for their goodwill, and, having placed my mark on my chests, left the vessel and went by land to MIDDELBURG.

It was the year that the Chamber General was



held there, for it is held for four years in sequence at AMSTERDAM, and two years at MIDDELBURG. The reason of which is, that AMSTERDAM owns half the Company; MIDDELBURG a quarter; and ROTTERDAM, DELFT, HORNE, and ENCUSE each a sixteenth; the Company not being bound to hold the Chamber in either of these four last, which only make up one-fourth, and have only the right to have a vessel each year between the four, one year at ROTTERDAM, one year at DELFT, and similarly the others. For the same reason AMSTERDAM has eight Directors, MIDDELBURG four, and the other four towns each his own one; this makes the number sixteen, though they always speak of seventeen Directors, because the President has two votes.

On the fourth day of my arrival at MIDDELBURG I went to the INDIA HOUSE, where I found two of the Directors, who were already engaged in delivering the chests to those to whom they belonged, and as soon as they saw me they told me to claim mine; this I did, at the same time handing them the keys of my boxes, so that they might see for themselves whether I carried anything which was contraband. Of these two gentlemen one was from ZEALAND, and the other from HORNE, and the latter took the keys to open my boxes. But the ZEALAND Director, more civil than he of NORTH HOLLAND, told him I was free, that I was not subject to the Company, and that it had afforded me a free passage. My keys were at once returned to me, and one of the people of the store was ordered to summon some sledges, which are used in HOLLAND instead of waggons, in order to convey my chests. I may say in passing, that it is not only on this occasion that I have



remarked that the more one approaches the north the less one meets with civility and honesty among the inhabitants, and that manners follow the harshness and roughness of the climate.

The very same evening the Directors did me the honour to send one of their officers to invite me to dine with them on the following day. Many persons interested in the Company were at the repast, and I believe that they were there less for the good cheer than to hear me talk, thinking that I might know many things in regard to the private trade which the representatives of the Company engage in, in INDIA. They were not mistaken; and I may say that no one could be better informed than I was of the methods which these agents, who have the management of the factories in PERSIA and INDIA, practise in order to enrich themselves. For they never return to HOLLAND empty-handed, and when they take but 100,000 or 150,000 *florins* they count it a poor thing. I have known many of them who have amassed up to 600,000 and 700,000 *florins*; as, for instance, among others the *Sieur* NICOLAS OBRECHIT, who was chief of the Dutch factories both at ISPAHAN and HORMUZ and other places in PERSIA, during the years from 1635 to 1640. Those who were his friends and had done trade with him estimated that he carried away more than 15,000 *tomans*, which are equal to about 690,000 *livres*,¹ without estimating what he had expended on the gout with which he was afflicted, and the other ailments which oftener arise from relationships with the courtesans of PERSIA, than from the trouble expended in packing silk, weighing it, examining its quality, and

¹ Equal to £51,750.



seeing whether it has any bad skeins mixed with the good. The *Sieur* OBRECHIT was well able to spend freely, for his profits were large, but such as are rarely permitted or approved of by honest people. All the spices, sugar, and other goods of the Company are sold wholesale, generally at HORMUZ or GOMBRON, and amount in value, annually, to 15 or 16 *tonnes* of gold, each *tonne* being equal to 100,000 *guilders*, which are equivalent in our money to 120,000 *livres*, and the 16 *tonnes* of gold to 1,920,000 *livres*. The *Sieur* OBRECHIT did not sell all these goods without receiving annually for himself, 80,000 or 100,000 *guilders*,¹ which the Persian merchants presented to him, underhand, through the broker, so that he might allow the goods to be sold at a low price. But he was not the inventor of this fine means of enriching himself, others practised it before him, and since his time others have employed it, especially the *Sieurs* CONSTANT and VAN WÜCK.

Moreover, there is also the profit that these gentry make on silk. It is true that for some years past the Company has not esteemed Persian silk so highly as it did formerly, because it has not so great a sale in JAPAN as it would have had if the trade had continued as it was in the years 1636 and 1637. All the chiefs of the factory who succeeded OBRECHIT could (not?) have made as much as he did; for in the two above-named years silk was dear in JAPAN, because the people of CHINA and TONQUIN being then at war with the Dutch, the latter prevented them from trading with JAPAN; and the

¹ Taking the Dutch *guilder* or *florin* at 1s. 9½d. (see vol. i, p. 413) the value of the *tonne* would be about £9000. Perhaps the *guilder* ought to be a fraction more, but it is important to have here independent testimony that the *livre* as understood by Tavernier was about 1s. 6d. —the proportion being 5 *guilders* = 6 *livres*, or 9s.

223

Chinese and Tonquinese could not obtain silk except through the hands of the Dutch. Whatever it may cost they must have it to clothe themselves with, as they use no other materials for their garments. It was in these two years, 1636 and 1637, that the *Sieur* OBRECHIT filled his purse; for instead of 500 or 600 bales of silk, which is the most they receive from the King of PERSIA, the General of BATAVIA and his Council wrote to him that whatever the price he must send them 2000 loads. I have alluded, in the first volume of my history, to the agreement made between the King of PERSIA and the Dutch Company; and I have also made mention, in connection with this subject, of the small success of the negotiation of the Ambassadors of HOLSTEIN, of which the Secretary of that embassy has without doubt not boasted in the account which he has given to the public. Therefore, for fear of wearying the reader, I shall not repeat it here, and I shall only ask him to remember that the arrival of these Ambassadors, which caused apprehension and jealousy among the Dutch, was the cause that the latter raised the price of silk so much that they removed all desire in other nations to outbid them.

Thus OBRECHIT, having then received an order from BATAVIA for 2000 loads of silk, irrespective of cost, and this quantity being all that PERSIA could supply, as he was shrewd and loved profit beyond all things, he succeeded so well in intriguing with the Armenians and other merchants in PERSIA that he obtained the 2000 loads of silk which had been ordered. It is true that beyond the 500 or 600 loads which the Dutch receive from the King, according to the agreement made between his Majesty and the Company, OBRECHIT was obliged to pay at a high rate for



the others ; and he bought them from the Armenians, who sold them to him at the same rate as those they had sold to ALEPPO and SMYRNA. During these two years there was not a single load of silk for which he did not place 4 *tomans* in his purse, and he said some loads cost him 60 *tomans*. It was represented to him that it would be better not to send so large a quantity of silk, as it was so dear, and that the merchants of the country, both Christians and Muhammadans, were laughing at him ; but he only replied that he must obey the Company's order. One day when I was alone with him we were talking together about my travels, and he told me how astonished he was, seeing that I understood the greater part of the trade of ASIA, that I took so much trouble in my long journeys ; that I should do much better by serving the Company, and that if I wished he would send me to the diamond mines on its account ; but I believe it would have been on his own. When I had thanked him for his goodwill, and told him I had no such intention, he replied that I did not know what I was refusing, that I would derive great profit, and that in his factory, with a scratch of the pen, or by changing a figure, he obtained what he wished. I replied to him that on three or four occasions my horoscope had been cast, and on all occasions it had been agreed that I should live to a good age ; and so, if I was able to acquire wealth, I desired to acquire it honestly and by my labour, as God had ordained for me, in order to be able to possess it with greater security and comfort to my soul for the remainder of my days, and that my heirs might enjoy it peaceably. If we were not to act in this way, replied he, we should be miserable ; for the wages the Company gives us

445



would not suffice to clothe us. On my return from one of my voyages I went to see him at a village bearing his name, situated one league from the HAGUE. I saw him ill in bed, and suffering from several diseases, and I believe that he often then recalled to mind what I had said to him at ISPAHAN.

I must now return to the Directors and the members of the Company with whom I dined at MIDDELBURG. Most of them desired that I should inform them of the manner in which the agents of the Company behaved in PERSIA and INDIA, and the others asked me to speak of my travels. I preferred to satisfy the latter, and avoided all reference to trade. It is true that if I had not had some suspicion of the deception which they played me subsequently, I would possibly have told them many things from which they might have derived benefit. For in the space of the forty years during which I have often visited PERSIA and INDIA, there have been few persons in the service of the Company who have not told me of all the tricks they made use of in order to acquire money. In return for this confidence, when they were about to return home, I endeavoured to furnish them with a good parcel of diamonds, which occupy but little space. If then I had declared to these gentlemen what I knew of this matter, they would have gained much in studying the record I should have given, and by discovering the knavery of their servants, and by doing rightly by me, their conscience would not be charged as it is, concerning the 17,500 *florins* which General VANDERLIN and his Council seized from me at BATAVIA. That which astonishes me most is, as I have elsewhere remarked, that when the General and



his Council took from me the value of these 17,500 *florins*, they made a hundred promises that I should be paid immediately I set foot in HOLLAND, but this was not done in spite of all the steps I could take for its accomplishment. For when leaving the feast that was given at BATAVIA on the departure of the fleet, I took four witnesses of the fact, namely, our Vice-Admiral and three merchants, to whom, when taking leave of the General and Council, I said aloud in their presence that they would be my witnesses if God permitted us to arrive in HOLLAND or ZEALAND, and would remember that the General and his Council did not give me on my departure that which they had promised, namely, an order which I could show to the Directors of the Company, by which they would see that 17,500 *florins* were due and payable to me on my arrival. The General's response was to take a glass of wine and wish me a pleasant journey, assuring me that the order would arrive in HOLLAND before me. The Directors, to justify their refusal to pay me, told me that the General and his Council had written nothing to them concerning the matter, and that when they received an advice of it they would at once pay it. I was at length obliged to bring an action against them which lasted two years, before I was able to find, either at AMSTERDAM or the HAGUE, a notary who would serve a summons, every one fearing them, as they were both judges and parties to the suit. During these two years I often entered their assembly, where they always gave me some hope, but in reality they were laughing at me. I have hardly ever been deceived when looking a man in the face, as I know almost exactly what is in his mind. I remarked that

447



many of these men had the appearance of loving their own interests and caring little for those of others, and among others there was a young man who represented ENCUSE, who gazed earnestly at me. After having looked at me for some time he asked why I had been at BATAVIA, where strangers have no business. I replied to him that all these gentlemen were sufficiently acquainted with it, and that as he was the only one who did not know, his beard was too young to oblige me to explain to him. As their procedure annoyed me, and I was enraged at seeing myself treated so unjustly, I added in speaking to this young man that he would do better at ENCUSE selling his butter and cheese than where he was. The President interrupted me gently, and told me that I must offend no one, to which I replied that I had seen too much to render an account of my doings in this manner, and that what I did at GOA and BATAVIA was at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, and solely for the purpose of rendering a service to the Company. This discourse being finished, the President asked me to go outside for a short time, which I did. Afterwards, having returned, he told me that he still knew nothing about the matter, and that all these gentlemen believed that I would not remain there, but would still make another journey to ASIA, and as I praised the good treatment I had received on their vessels on my return voyage, they again offered me a passage, and would give orders that I should be treated even still better than before; that as soon as I arrived at BATAVIA I should be paid; that they would send an order to that effect to the General and his Council, and that I might embark on the first vessel which left for SURAT or



HORMUZ. I thanked these gentlemen for all their fine offers, and told them that I preferred to make three journeys by land rather than one voyage by sea. In conclusion, at the end of five years the Directors wrote to my brother (for I had then returned to INDIA) that if he was willing to take 10,000 *livres* in satisfaction of my claim, he might come to receive them. This my brother did, and he gave them a receipt in full. I leave the reader to judge of the equity and conscience of these gentry. For either they owed me 17,500 *florins* or they did not. If they did not, why pay me 10,000 *livres*? And if they did owe me, why not pay me fully. I am not the only person to whom they have done injustice of this kind. I know many other more serious cases, the recital of which would not be to their advantage.¹

Such was my return from INDIA in the year 1649, the only time I returned by sea, having made, as I have said, all my Asiatic journeys by land, both when going and returning, counting as nothing the short passage in the MEDITERRANEAN; and my first journey was wholly by land, from PARIS by GERMANY and HUNGARY to CONSTANTINOPLE, where I also went on the return from my last journey in the year 1669. From CONSTANTINOPLE I went to SMYRNA, where I embarked for LEGHORN, and from LEGHORN I travelled by land to GENOA, from GENOA to TURIN, and from TURIN to PARIS, where I took the King that beautiful parcel of diamonds of which I have spoken in the discourse on

¹ As to the merits of this case, without the other side of the question before us, we cannot venture to decide. But, on the whole, Tavernier got off much easier than did the Dutch subjects, who also bought *rekenings* at the same time, for they not only had to give them up but were imprisoned and sent to Holland as common soldiers (see p. 384).



precious stones.¹ His Majesty had the goodness to give me a very favourable reception, which was a glorious conclusion to my long journeys, in which I have always had for my primary object to spare nothing in order to make known to the great monarchs of ASIA, that there is one grander than them all, in EUROPE, and that our King infinitely surpasses them both in power and glory.

My first thoughts on finding myself in PARIS, on the return from my sixth journey, were to return thanks to God for having preserved me, during the space of forty years, among so many perils which I had run, by sea and land, in regions so far distant.

¹ See p. 126.



THE KING'S LICENCE

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to our beloved and liege Councillors, the Members of our Courts of Parliament, Masters of the Requests ordinary of our House, Bailiffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants, and to all others whom it may concern, greeting : our well beloved Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, having informed us that he has written a book which has for title, *Six Voyages made in Turkey, Persia, and India, during the space of forty years, and by all the routes that can be taken*, which he desires to print and sell, if it pleases us to grant our letters, necessary to him who humbly seeks them. For these reasons we have permitted and shall permit the Petitioner to have the said Book printed in such volume, margin, or type, as he may be advised, and to sell and dispose of it throughout our Kingdom and the territories subject to us, during the space of fifteen years, to date from the date on which the said impression may be completed ; during which time we expressly inhibit all Booksellers and Printers from printing, selling, or disposing of the said Book, and also of reprinting it, except with the consent of the Petitioner or of those who hold the right to do so from him, on pain, to those acting otherwise, of a penalty of three thousand *livres* fine, one-third to us, one-third to the Hotel Dieu of our City of Paris, and the remaining third to the said Petitioner ; also of confiscation of the counterfeit copies, and of all expenditure, damages, and interest ; on condition of placing two copies of the said Book in our Public Library, one in that of our Chamber in the Palace of the Louvre, and one in that of our beloved and loyal Chevalier and Chancellor of France, the *Sieur* Daligre, before offering it for sale, on pain of nullifying these presents, which will be registered in the proper place ; and in placing at the beginning and end of them a statement acknowledging that they are bound by the terms agreed upon, and of their willingness to allow the Petitioner to enjoy them quietly and peaceably.

We command in the first place our Usher or Sergeant, on this



requisition, to undertake for the execution of these presents all necessary deeds and actions without further permission, notwithstanding "*Clameur de Haro*," "*Charte Normande*," and all else to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. Given at Versailles the 7th day of October, in the year of Grace one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and of our reign the thirty-third. By the King in Council.

DESVIEUX.

Registered on the Book of the Society of Booksellers and Printers of Paris, the 14th November 1675, according to the resolution of Parliament of the 8th April 1653, and that of the King's Privy Council of the 27th February 1665.

Signed) THIERRY, *Syndic*.

And the said Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, has ceded and transferred his rights to Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, Merchant Booksellers, in accordance with the agreement made between them.

Printed for the first time the 1st of October 1676.