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The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval

The publications of the Hakluyt Society (founded in 1846) made available edited early accounts of exploration. The first series, which ran from 1847 to 1899, consists of 100 books containing published or previously unpublished works by authors from Christopher Columbus to Sir Francis Drake, and covering voyages to the New World, to China and Japan, to Russia and to Africa and India. Shipwrecked on the Maldives in 1602–7, Pyrard de Laval learnt the local language and studied the culture, flora and fauna of the islands. On his escape to Goa he continued his cultural investigations in Portuguese India, before returning to France by way of Saint Helena and Brazil in 1611. His book, which included practical advice for French traders travelling to Asia and a phrase book for visitors to the Maldives, was an immediate success. This three-volume translation of the 1619 edition appeared in 1887–90.
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The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval

To the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil

Volume 1

Edited by Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell
Works Issued by
The Hakluyt Society.

The Voyage
of
François Pyrard.
THE VOYAGE
OF
FRANÇOIS PYRARD
OF LAVAL
TO THE EAST INDIES, THE MALDIVES, THE
MOLUCCAS AND BRAZIL.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE THIRD FRENCH EDITION OF 1619,
AND EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY ALBERT GRAY,
FORMERLY OF THE CEYLAN CIVIL SERVICE.

ASSISTED
BY H. C. P. BELL,
of the Ceylon Civil Service.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY,
1, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.
MDCCCLXXVIII.
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"Ω χείνοι, γίνει ἐστέ; ποθεν πλείω ἕγρα κέλευθα;\nτι κατὰ προξίν ὃ μαθῶς ἄλλησος ὄληται ὑπείρασιν ἐπείν ἄλλα; τοι τοί’ ἀλλοιμαίς slee ταύτα ψυχᾶς παρθένους, παντὶ ἀλλοδαποῦς φέροντεσ."

Od. ix. 252-5.

"In istâ Indiâ sunt insulae multae, et ut audivi, plus quam decem milia habitâtæ: ubi sunt multa mirabilia mundi."

Friar Jordanus.
INTRODUCTION.

At the end of the fifteenth century, while the Pope was still regarded as standing arbitrator in the disputes of Christendom, Alexander VI had decreed to Portugal the discoveries of the East. The discovery of the Cape route to India was the first-fruits of that dispensation, and, for the greater part of the succeeding century, Portugal was admitted to hold in lawful possession, not only the territories of her conquest in India, but also the ocean ways which led thither. From the first landing of Da Gama at Calicut in 1498, the policy of the Portuguese was to maintain an absolute supremacy in Eastern waters. Their aim was not territorial dominion, but only command of the seas and of trade routes, in pursuance of which they sought positions of advantage, whether ports or islands, some of which they won by force, others by diplomacy. It was a curious feature of the age that the other nations of Europe in some sense acknowledged their right to the possession of the Cape route,\(^1\) without acknow-

\(^1\) The doctrine that the ocean is the common property of the human race was asserted first by Elizabeth and her bold seamen, and afterwards defended on legal principles by Grotius in his
ledging their exclusive right to Eastern trade. So it was that the Dutch and English navigators, believing they had an equal right to Indian trade, if they could only get at it by some other route, spent long and toilsome years of maritime apprenticeship in their search after the North-west Passage.

The French were the first to set at nought the restrictions of the Papal Bull. Paulmier de Gonville is believed to have rounded the Cape in 1503, and to have reached Madagascar. The brothers Parmentier of Dieppe, following the same route, reached

*More Liberum.* Owing to the disputes with the Dutch as to the North Sea fisheries, the doctrines of Elizabeth were abandoned by James, whose legal champion, Selden, replied to Grotius by his treatise, *More Claustrum.* It is hardly necessary to add that time has been on the side of Grotius.

1 He is said to have sailed from Honfleur in June 1503. The evidence upon which his existence and his voyage rest is the statement of the Abbé Binot Paulmier de Gonville, the great-grandson of a female relative of this captain, by her union with a Malagasy named Essomericique, whom de Gonville brought back with him (see Guerin, *Nov. Franç.,* pp. 50-53). M. Estaneclin would make out that de Gonville was the discoverer of Australia (*Nov. Normand.,* p. 165); but when patriotism comes in at the door, facts fly out of the window.

2 The voyage of the brothers Jean and Raoul Parmentier is well authenticated. They left Dieppe 28th March 1529, with two ships, the *Pensée,* of 200 tons, and the *Sacre,* of 120. They touched at the Maldives [see App. A], and reached Ticou, in Sumatra, where Jean died of fever, 3rd December 1529. The journal of the voyage remained in MS. until 1832, when it was lent by M. Tarbé to Estaneclin, and published by the latter in his *Navigators Normands* (pp. 241-312). Jean Parmentier, the gallant leader of this expedition, was born in 1480, or, as some say, in 1491. He was a poet and classicist. Before he started on this voyage, he had translated the *Catiline* of Sallust, and spent
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Sumatra in 1526. These, however, were isolated enterprises, and led to nothing. The same national listlessness, which afterwards proved fatal to the schemes of Dupleix, characterised the French at this period. None of their countrymen followed these early pioneers, and the conquest of the East was left to be wrested from the Portuguese by the Netherlands and the English.

During the last twenty years of the sixteenth century history was made apace. The United Provinces had achieved their independence; Philip II had ascended the throne of Portugal, and the whole conquests of the Eastern and of the Western world were brought under a single sceptre. At this time the distribution of Indian goods throughout Europe was managed by the Dutch merchants, chiefly of Amsterdam, who received them from the Portuguese car-

his leisure on this voyage in working on the Jugurtha. He took with him his friend Pierre Crignon, also a poet, who, in the preface to his own works, speaks thus warmly of the discoverer:—

"Car quant au regard dudit Jan Parmentier, c'estoit ung homme digne d'être estimé de toutes gens savants, et lequel sy les sœurs et déesses fatales luy eussent prolongé le fil de sa vie estoit pour faire honneur au pays pour ses hautes entreprises et belles navigations. C'est le premier Françoys qui a entrepris à estre pilote pour mener navires à la terre Amérique qu'on dit Brésil, et semblablement le premier Françoys qui a dessouvert les Indes jusques à l'isle de Taprobane, et si mort ne l'eust pas prévenu je crois qu'il eust été jusques au Moluques" (see Le Discours de la Navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier de Dieppe, par Ch. Schefer, Paris, Leroux, 1883, Svo.). Estancelin identifies Jean Parmentier with the "gran capitano del mare francese del luogo di Dieppa" of Ramusio; and the allusion of Crignon to previous voyages to America goes far to corroborate the suggestion.
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racks at Lisbon. One of Philip’s first measures, at once revengeful and impolitic, was to prohibit the Dutch from frequenting Lisbon. This was a vital question to a newly emancipated nation of seafaring traders. The Lisbon traffic had given them a knowledge of the products of the East: many Dutchmen were in business houses in Lisbon and Seville. They had ample information at their command, but they hesitated to run the hazards of the navigation of the Cape.

Meantime the English were not idle. The circumnavigation of the globe successively by Drake and Cavendish, and their harrying of the Spanish Main, precipitated a crisis, and the destruction of the Invincible Armada in 1588 was a death-blow to the Spanish and Portuguese theories of property in ocean routes. No longer content with mere fighting and the capture of rich freights, the English were determined to open up a direct trade with the East. The first expedition of three vessels in 1591, under Raymond and Lancaster, was unfortunate.¹ In the year following, however, a fresh spur was given to English enterprise by the capture of the great Portuguese carrack, the Mudre de Dios; and her “Notable Register and Matricola of the whole Government and Trade of the Portuguese in the East Indies”, became in fact the prospectus of our first East India Company.²

¹ Two accounts of this voyage are contained in the Lancaster Voyages (Hak. Soc.), taken from Hakluyt.
² The English voyages incidently referred to in these volumes are as follows:—
INTRODUCTION.

Nearly seven years were allowed to elapse after the defeat of the Armada, ere the Dutch began to take its lessons to heart. They pressed on doggedly in their search for the North-west Passage, but it was not till February 1595 that Cornelius Houtman left the Texel with four vessels to reach India by the Cape route. He was at Sumatra in July 1596, and returned to Amsterdam in August 1597.

During the next few years fleets were despatched from the several Netherland ports as fast as they could be built and equipped. By the summer of 1601, when the story of these volumes begins, they had, in a space of six years and a half, despatched no less than forty-nine ships to India by the Cape route.¹

The first voyage (1600-3) under Lancaster; the Red Dragon, Hector, Ascension, Susan, and Guest.

The second voyage (1604-6) under Middleton; the Dragon, Hector, Ascension, and Susan.

The third voyage (1606-9) under Keeling; the Dragon, Hector, and Consent. Capt. William Hawkins, who commanded the Hector, left his ship at Surat and proceeded to Agra.

The fourth voyage (1608) under Sharpeigh; the Ascension and Union.

¹ These include the fleets of C. Houtman in 1595, of C. Houtman, J. van Neck, W. van Warwyk, S. de Weert, and O. van Noort in 1598; of S. van der Hagen and P. van Caerden in 1599; of J. van Neck in 1600. The expeditions which left Holland in 1601 and following years are incidentally alluded to in the text of these volumes. They left as follows:—April 1601, W. Harmansen, 5 ships; J. van Heemskerk, 9 ships; May 1601, J. van Spilbergen, 3 ships; June 1602, W. van Warwyk, 14 ships; December 1603, S. van der Hagen, 13 ships; May 1605 C. Matalie, 11 ships; April 1606, P. Van Caerden, 8 ships;
INTRODUCTION.

Instigated at length by the successes of the Dutch and English, some citizens of St. Malo, Laval, and Vitré formed a company, and equipped two vessels for the purpose of “sounding the ford”, and showing the French the way to the East Indies. How the merchants of towns so far inland as Laval and Vitré came to take part in the enterprise does not appear. St. Malo was at that time of a commercial importance second only to Dieppe, though its townsman had for ages enjoyed a wider reputation for piracy than for legitimate trade. The vessels fitted out were the Croissant and the Corbin. The general of the expedition, and captain of the Croissant, was Michel Frotet de la Bardelière; the Corbin was under the command of François Grout. Both were men of position at St. Malo. The majority of the crews doubtless hailed from the same town; but the narrative shows that there was a substantial complement from Laval and Vitré; and of the two chroniclers of the expedition, the one, François Pyrard, who sailed in the Corbin, was of Laval; the other, François Martin, who went in the Croissant, was a native of Vitré. Nor were the crews entirely French; for we find frequent mention of Flemings and Hollanders as having been on board the Corbin. Some

December 1607, P. W. Verhoeven, 13 ships. The journals of most of these voyages were published separately soon after their respective terminations, and all, with the exception of the Houtman voyage of 1598 (v. i., p. 30, note 3), are contained in the Dutch collections.

1 As to his book, see below, p. 2, note 2.
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of these received higher pay, in consideration of their skill as gunners or carpenters, or by reason of their having already been to the Indies; and one at least of the crew—viz., the pilot of the Corbin—was an Englishman. The ships were of dimensions similar to those employed by the Dutch, the Croissant being of 400, and the Corbin of 200 tons, the former being less than half the size of a large Portuguese carrack. The plan generally adopted by the Dutch and English, of sending, with the principal ships, a victualler or store-ship, which should supply gaps in the ranks of the ships' companies, and after being emptied of its stores, could be abandoned at the Cape or beyond, was disregarded by the French. This neglect is, at the conclusion of the voyage, remarked by the author as a grievous error.

The ships were officered as follows: each commander had a lieutenant, and each ship carried a pilot and second pilot, a mate and a second mate, a merchant and a second merchant, a clerk, two surgeons, two purser, two cooks, and two chief stewards. In addition to these were a master-gunner and five or six gunners. A notable omission among the "personnes de commandement" was that of a priest, who by his influence, and by the regular performance of divine service, might have done much to moderate the swearing and blasphemies of the sailors, and to assuage the jealousies and quarrels of the officers and men, to which the author chiefly attributes the ill-success of the voyage.
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Let us now turn our attention for a moment to François Pyrard himself, and in the first place to his birthplace.

The chief town of the Département de la Mayenne, situate upon the river of that name, and what is more important, on the direct railway line between Paris and Brest, Laval is at the present day a flourishing commercial town of 27,000 inhabitants. The broad spaces of low-lying ground have given the modern town free room for expansion, and have thus left the old town to itself. The principal feature of the latter is the fine old château, whose machicolated round tower dominates the river, and to whose sides cling a mass of quaint, irregularly built houses, the homes and shops of many generations who lived and died under the shadow and protection of the feudal lord. The streets, with their antique appearance, preserve their antique names, and we find here the Rue du Four, du Pin Doré, des Serruriers, du Jeu du Paume, des Orfèvres, des Chevaux aux Mesles, du Roquet, etc. The château and old town, viewed from the other side of the river, still present a very picturesque appearance; but within the last few years all the old houses on the river have been swept away to give place to a new and elegant embankment. The woodcut which is given opposite the title-page of this volume shows the town as it was before this modern improvement, and probably very much as it was at the close of the sixteenth century. Laval was a very ancient fief
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of France; it is said to take its name from vallum,—vallum Guidonis, as it is called in the old charters, for every Count of Laval was a Guy. These lords, like the Princes of Reuss, are all chronologically numbered. During the youth of Pyrard, Guy XX reigned; and the last of his race, Guy XXV, died in due time before the Revolution, in 1741.

In this old town was born François Pyrard, the author of these volumes. The date of his birth and the quality of his parentage are alike unknown. From his remark at the commencement of the work, that he went the voyage for the purpose of seeing the world, we may assume that he was then, in 1601, a young man between twenty and thirty. His only relative—and, indeed, the only other person of his name—known to fame, is one who was probably his brother, viz., Pierre Pyrard of Laval, who joined the Society of Jesus in the year 1602, being then twenty-one years of age. If François and

1 The following works may be consulted:—Annales et chroniques du pays de Laval, 1480-1537, by Guillaume Le Doyen, with notes by L. la Beaulière, 1859, 8vo.; Documents rel. à l'hist. de Laval, 1860, 8vo.; Études archéologiques sur la Cathédrale de Laval, by L. T. Hamard, 1885, 8vo.; Histoire de Laval, 1818-1855, by St. Couanier de Larnay, 1st edit., 1856, 2nd edit., 1866, 8vo.; Mém. ecclés. conc. la ville de Laval, 789-1802, 1845; Notices hist. sur les hôpitaux de Laval, by Léon Maître, 1868, 12mo.

2 Laval has given birth to one greater man than any of these five-and-twenty Guys, and has done herself the honour of placing in the principal square of the town a statue of Ambroise Paré, the father of French surgery. The pedestal bears for its legend his own words—“Je le pansay, Dieu le guarist.”
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Pierre were brothers, the fact that Pierre was a literary and philosophical Jesuit¹ would seem to indicate that François had received, at least, a fair education. Of his youth or life, however, previous to his departure for India, he himself discloses nothing; nor has the diligence of local antiquaries succeeded in gleaning any facts relating either to him or to any descendants of his family.²

¹ Pierre Pyrard attained considerable eminence in the Society of Jesus as a professor of theology and philosophy. He was a director at various times of the colleges of Pau and Limoges, and on one occasion represented his province at a General Assembly at Rome. He is the author of a single controversial work, Responsum ad Jarnacensem ministerum Calvinianum, Burdigalæ, 1616, 8vo. He died at Pau, 3rd April 1667, aged 87 (Bibliotheca Sotwelliana; Haureau, Hist. Lit. du Maine, i, p. 193).

² Notices of Pyrard, which add nothing to our information, appear in Haureau, Hist. Lit. du Maine, tom. i, p. 193; Steph. Couanier de Lannay, Histoire de Laval, 1856, 8vo.; Bulletin de la Société de l’Industrie de la Mayenne, tom. iii, 1867 (article by Jules Lefezelier); Annuaire de la Mayenne, 1841, p. 36 (article by M. Levêque Bérangerie); Bibliographie du Maine, 1843, by N. Desportes. MM. Lefezelier and Bérangerie have made every search for traces of the family in the neighbourhood of Laval, but without success. The former advert to a strange mistake, to which currency had been given by M. Ferdinand Denis, a writer generally well versed in voyages. It seems that one Baron de Saint-Genois, in his Navigateurs Belges (1846, 2 vols., 12mo.), claimed Pyrard as a Belgian, born at Stemberg, near Verviers, and that his family still existed at the villages near that place. The statement was based upon a supposed claim of descent from Pyrard, made by the Abbé Duval Pyraz, before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Liége. M. Denis fell into the trap, and in the Magasin Pittoresque of March 1866, in an article on “Cauris”, endorsed the Belgian myth. M. Lefezelier, while preparing his paper on Pyrard, wrote to M. Denis, and appealed from Saint-Genois to
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He does not tell us whether he invested any money in the voyage, or merely sailed as one of the crew; nor does he even say in what capacity he shipped. One of his biographers rates him as surgeon,¹ another as supercargo²; and though I am aware of no explicit authority for either assertion, I am inclined to think that a probable conclusion may be arrived at by a negative line of reasoning. Besides the captain, Grout, and the lieutenant, Pepin, and one who succeeded the latter, he makes mention of the mate, the second mate, the pilot (an Englishman), and the second pilot. That he was not an officer connected with the navigation, would also seem probable from the fact that he had not been to sea before, and never seems quite at home with nautical terms. Nor was he ship's clerk, for the man who held this office was his bosom friend. On only one occasion does he mention the performance of any duty or task by himself personally, and this was merely to carry a message, on the evening preceding the wreck, from the captain on his sick-bed to the officers on deck. It is not of itself sufficient to lead to the conclusion that he was one of the surgeons; and his allusions to surgery and medicine throughout the book do not exceed the knowledge of a layman of the time. He

Pyrard himself. M. Denis then re-read our traveller, and seeing his mistake, suggested, what is no doubt the fact, that the person with whom the Abbé claimed relationship was not François Pyrard, but Claude Pyraux, another traveller, who died at Bussorah in 1773!

¹ Sorberiana, p. 195.
mentions the merchant and the second merchant, deploring a lasting quarrel between the former and the captain. That he was not a gunner may be inferred from his mention of certain of his comrades as gunners, at times and places when his own skill in that line would most likely have been remarked. The pursers, of whom there were two on board, are the only officers he does not mention personally; and as I think he was an officer, I am disposed to argue, from the remarkable interest which he takes at all times and in all places in matters of trade, and specially in bazaar commodities and their prices, that he was one of the ship’s pursers.

The ships set sail from St. Malo on the 18th May 1601. The first omen of misfortune was the breaking of the Corbin’s foremast at a distance of only nine or ten leagues out. La Bardelière, owing to the rising insubordination of the crews, refused to return to port, and the mast was repaired by the carpenters as best they could. On the 21st they fell in with nine Dutch ships, which may be identified with the fleet of Heemskerk, who left the Texel on the 23rd April. The Canaries were sighted on the 3rd June, and the Cape Verd Islands on the 12th and 13th. On the 14th July they were off the coast of Sierra Leone, and there they saw for the first time the two ships of Joris van Spilbergen. The line was passed on the 24th August, and on the 30th they made land at Annobon. Here the Frenchmen met with a treacherous reception at the hands of the Portuguese and their negro slaves. Thomas
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Pepin, the lieutenant of the Corbin, was killed, and several others were wounded during the endeavours to obtain fresh provisions and water. Spilberg had been there only a few days before, and had considerable and similar difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

After six weeks spent at this island in fruitless attempts to gain water and fresh food, the French admiral determined to weigh anchor and make sail for Saint Helena, which was reached on the 17th November. The nine days’ sojourn here was of great service to the sick, especially to those stricken with the scurvy.

The voyage was continued on the 26th November; the Abrolhos were passed three days later, and on the 28th December the ships had rounded the Cape. There they again fell in with Spilberg’s ships, and divers courtesies were exchanged. A short acquaintance, however, gave the Dutch captain an insight into the laxity of discipline on board the French vessels, and determined him not to sail in their company.

Small progress was made during the month of January 1602. In the early part of February a violent storm off the Natal coast scattered and shattered the two small fleets, and on the 19th the Corbin found refuge in St. Augustine’s Bay, Madagascar. Here she was joined by the Croissant, and later by the Ram, the Dutch vice-admiral, under Guyon le Fort. This captain, though born in Holland, was the son of a citizen of Vitré, and the three
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crews foregathered on shore and on board in all friendliness. The author remarks, as an indication of better fortune, or better equipment and discipline, that while the French ships had then a large number of scurvy patients, the Ram had not a single man on the sick-list. All three ships required considerable repairs. The Frenchmen remained at St. Augustine’s Bay from the 19th February until the 15th May. During this period six of the sailors, lotus-eating truants, deserted the French encampment, and made their way inland to seek refuge among the natives. Their courage had been broken alike by the storm from which they had lately escaped, and by the alarming increase of sickness. “Utterly consumed with sharp distress,” they no doubt thought:

“Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore
Than labour in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar.”

A few days of jungle wandering, however, disappointed their expectations. The natives showed no inclination to receive them, and at length, exhausted from want of food and water, they returned in penitence to their comrades. Meantime sickness and mortality made dreadful havoc among the crews, and, in order to supply the needful complement of hands, resort was had to a plan of kidnapping natives. This proved abortive, and, further intercourse being now impossible, the ships were forced to pursue their course.

The state of the crews, owing to sickness and mortality, was now such that it was necessary to seek
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some other harbour of refuge before attempting to cross the Indian Ocean. Leaving St. Augustine’s Bay on the 15th May, the ships arrived at Malaili, one of the Comoros, on the 23rd. A stay of fifteen days here vastly improved the health of the men, and the scurvy almost disappeared.

A course was now laid across the ocean: the line was crossed on the 21st June: on the 1st July some islands and reefs were sighted. The Dutch pilot of the Croissant believed them to be those of Diego de Roys, a supposed group of islands placed in the charts of the period near the equator, in about long. 70 E.; but the Englishman of the Corbin more correctly recognised them as the Maldives. During the following night, which by order was to have been passed in beating about, the Corbin was practically left to herself. The captain was ill and below, the mate and second mate were drunk, the lights of the binnacle were allowed to go out, and the watch were asleep. In these circumstances disaster was almost inevitable: and in the early morning of the 2nd July the Corbin struck heavily on the reef of what is now known as Goidú, or Horsburgh Atoll. The scene of hopeless panic which ensued is painted in vivid language by the author. All the ensuing day was spent in arduous efforts to get out the galion, and on the morning of the 3rd the crew were landed at the island of Fuladú.

The survivors numbered about forty men. Many, including the captain, were still sick of the Madagascar fever; others, by drunkenness, had fallen a
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prey to tropical disorders; all were exhausted with fatigue. They were in pressing want of good food and careful treatment. Some, whether from greed or precaution, had, however, supplied themselves liberally with silver money from the ship's chests, which they secreted about their persons or in the sand. The natives raised their prices for the bare necessaries of life, and thus gradually reduced them to the greatest straits. News was carried to Málé of the wreck and of the money landed by the men, and commissioners were despatched to Fuladú to secure the king's rights, the ship with all its contents being, by Maldivian law, a casualty of the crown. The Maldivians, on this occasion, as must be admitted, belied their general character for humanity, though their conduct may partially be excused on the ground of the silver question. We may compare the sufferings of the Frenchmen here with the far greater afflictions of the Spaniards wrecked from the Armada on the coast of Ireland.\footnote{See Froude, *Hist. of Eng.;* and also an interesting article by the Earl of Duree, in the *Nineteenth Century* for September 1885, entitled "An Episode of the Spanish Armada". This story is closely parallel to that of the French at the Maldives.} One little band of twelve men, under the mate, stole a boat, and succeeded in making the mainland at Quilon, where they were consigned to the Portuguese galleys. Whether any of them got back to France is uncertain: Pyrard seems to have heard nothing of them in India. The captain died at Málé six weeks or so after the wreck, being treated
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...to the last with the utmost barbarity by his own men. The little band rapidly diminished by deaths and desertions, and out of the shipwrecked crew of forty who were landed at the Maldives only four survived the captivity.

Almost from the first Pyrard obtained exceptional treatment. This was due to his prudence in setting himself forthwith to the study of the native language, whereby he brought himself under the notice of one of the king’s commissioners. On removal to Málé he thus was able to interest the Sultan and to obtain favour for himself and his comrades. He was lodged with a lord who was the Sultan’s most trusted adviser, and for four years was allowed to go from island to island in company with the islanders, and for his own purposes of trade. With the exception that he was a captive, and deprived of the public exercise of the Christian religion, his term of exile was in most respects tolerable. In February 1607 an expedition arrived at Málé from Chittagong, incited, as Pyrard afterwards heard, by the prospect of obtaining the excellent cannon saved from the Corbin. The Sultan endeavoured to escape to the southern atolls, but was pursued and slain, and Pyrard and his three remaining companions, on being discovered not to be Portuguese, were taken to India by the invaders.

The account of the Maldives occupies the greater part of the present volume (ch. v-xxiii). First, we have the circumstances attending the wreck, the escape of the mate and his party, other attempted
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escapes, and the arrival of the author at Málé (ch. v-ix). Next, a general description of the Maldivian islands, details of the religion, manners, and customs of the people, the government and the court, trade and commerce (ch. x-xvii). Thirdly, traditional and current history of the islands, and memoranda of occurrences during the author’s captivity, closing with the Bengal invasion, which gave him his liberty (ch. xviii-xxiii). As we shall see hereafter, the greater portion of the Maldivian section of the book was not put in writing till long after his return, and four years of varied adventure intervened between his departure from the Maldives and his arrival in France. So vivid, however, was his recollection, so accurate had been his observation, that Mr. Christopher and Mr. Bell, our two modern authorities, writing their accounts of the islands with Pyrard before them, find but little to add and less to amend.

The Bengal ships, laden with booty and carrying Pyrard and his friends, touched first at Minikoy (Maliku) and the Laccadives, and then sailed for Chittagong. Here the Raja endeavoured to induce the Frenchmen to remain with him, but put no obstacles in the way of their departure. After a month’s sojourn, they were offered a passage in a ship bound for Calicut, where they expected to be able to put themselves into the hands of the Dutch.

After a three weeks’ voyage, they were landed, not at Calicut, but at Muṭṭungal, a port of the Malabar pirates between Cananor and Calicut.
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At this and the neighbouring towns, the Frenchmen, as being enemies of the Portuguese, were received with great distinction, and even enthusiasm. His sojourn at the pirate ports enables our author to throw much light upon the relations of the Malabars with the Samorin, and of both with the Portuguese. Although much pressed to remain, Pyrard and his friends proceeded to Calicut by land, arriving there about the end of June 1607.

Their reception at Calicut was no less warm and hearty. An eight months' residence at this famous city gave our author time to observe and admire the conditions of prosperity of a great commercial town under native rule. Unfortunately, they were not the only Europeans at Calicut. Two Jesuits, whom the Samorin found it useful to have at his court for the purposes of his diplomatic intercourse with Goa, induced the Frenchmen to accept their letters of safe conduct to Cochin. One of the party, a Flemish Protestant,¹ who had before found himself in the clutches of the Portuguese, scented treachery, and refused to leave Calicut. Pyrard and his two other friends were kidnapped by a party of Portuguese outside Calicut, and conveyed to Cochin as prisoners.

The description of the Tronco of Cochin, into which our travellers were now thrown, reads as horrible as that of any prison in those dark days of legal cruelty. It may be read, but cannot be para-

¹ Described by Pyrard as a tailor and a trumpeter, and also as a clever carver in wood.
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phrased here. The captives, after an imprisonment of nine or ten days, were well-advised in making an application for intercession to the Jesuits’ College. Finding them to be Frenchmen and Catholics, the fathers interested themselves in their behalf, and obtained their enlargement. They remained six weeks longer at Cochin, and were then shipped for Goa by the armada of the South, which, after a twenty days’ passage, reached the metropolis of Portuguese India in June 1608.

The first volume closes with the author’s arrival at Goa. The remainder of his adventures may be allowed to stand over for the present. Suffice it to say that he was pressed into the Portuguese service on shipboard, and visited Ceylon and the Eastern Islands. On his return from the far East he was again at Goa for the latter part of 1609, and got a passage in a carrack, which set sail in January 1610. After a sojourn in Brazil, where the carrack was abandoned, he made his way to Europe. The ship made land at the Bayonne Islands, on the coast of Galicia. Here Pyrard bade farewell to his two companions, who had thus far shared his fortunes, and, after paying his promised vows at Compostella, took ship for Rochelle, and, after an absence of nearly ten years, arrived at Laval on the 16th February 1611.

After a short stay in his native town, Pyrard seems to have proceeded to Paris, where, in the same year, he brought out the first edition of his book. It is in one volume, 12mo., containing twelve chapters,—a Treatise of Animals, Trees, etc., and an