

the Italians, is attributable the artful means by which the Turks endeavoured to use the agency of the pope, in accomplishing their objects, before they appealed to arms.

The sultan accounted for his warlike preparations by publicly avowing that his intentions were, in revenge for the outrages offered to the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, to destroy the temple and holy places of Jerusalem. The mediation of the pope was obtained, but by presents well applied by the Portuguese monarch, and by ardent professions of devotion to the holy see, and zeal for the propagation of the faith, he disarmed all hostility on the part of the pontiff. The sultan, deprived of all hopes in that quarter, urged on his other preparations, and entered into correspondence with the Indian Mohammedan princes. With the connivance of these and of his Christian confederates, a large fleet was built and equipped, and dispatched, under the command of Meer Hozem, to the western shores of the Indian peninsula, with commands to pursue and extirpate the foreign infidels who were spreading terror and devastation in their path eastward. This fleet made its appearance as the younger Almeida was steering his course to Choule. The father forwarded immediate instructions to attack the fleet before it could reach the coast, and be reinforced by the natives. The young admiral, who had cast anchor, was attending to pushing on the preparations to execute his father's commands when the Egyptian squadron was seen in sight, and, favoured by wind and tide, was approaching the harbour. The ships succeeded in entering the river, and drew up in order of battle. For two days the engagement was maintained with equal vigour and courage. Hozem was confident of victory, having succeeded in surprising his enemy, and professed his resolution to board the Portuguese admiral, and gave orders to the rest of his ships to board the others. The gallant Almeida, though partially surprised, was not in the least disheartened, and when his adversary neared to the attack, he poured in such a shower of ball, arrows, grenades, and other dangerous missiles, that the Turkish vessel shrunk from the encounter, though far larger than its adversary. Lorenzo now became the assailant, and attempted to board the enemy. Two of his galleys were more successful than their gallant chief, and took two of their opponents and put their crews to the sword. The victory inclined to the Europeans, when the dismayed Mohammedans were relieved by the arrival of Melique Az, the governor of Diu, with a number of small vessels well manned. This unequal conflict was injurious to the men and ships, but it was maintained

till the second night separated them. Lorenzo then, under favour of the darkness, held a council of his chief officers, when it was decided that they should endeavour to escape to the open sea, where the fight could be renewed with greater advantage, and with greater facilities for retreat, should circumstances render the latter advisable. In endeavouring to accomplish this manœuvre, the attention of the enemy was attracted, and Lorenzo's ship, running foul of some fishing stakes, made so much water, that her destruction became inevitable. Her consort was drifted out to sea, and the admiral was left exposed to the united attack directed against him. He neglected nothing which became a brave and a skilful commander; and when his thigh was shattered by a ball, he ordered himself to be placed against the mast, where he stood encouraging his men till another shot broke his back. His body was placed under deck, and the vessel was not surrendered. The Turks boarded it, and found Lorenzo's faithful page by the body of his master, bewailing his loss with tears of blood as well as water, having received an arrow in his eye. Mutilated as he was, he rose to defend the corpee, and, having killed as many as covered his master, he then fell upon the heap of slain. Such devotion should leave an imperishable name; his lives—Laurence Freyre Gato. Of one hundred men that were with Lorenzo, only nineteen escaped. Six hundred of the enemy fell. Melique Az, a prince to whose bravery and humanity his enemies testified, prevailed on the survivors to surrender, and paid them every attention, and wrote a letter to Almeida, condoling with him on the death of a son so eminently distinguished. This was the first occasion in which the Portuguese cannon was heard on the shores of the Maharashtra.* Choule then belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Although the viceroy received the intelligence of his son's death with apparent submission to the will of the Supreme, and declared that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished name, and felt in the realization of that aspiration that he had no cause for mourning, as he was now enjoying the rewards of his conduct, he, however, did not exhibit this commendable resignation in his acts. With all the expedition possible he fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships, and embodied an army composed of Portuguese and natives, when his arrangements were interrupted by the arrival of Alphonso Albuquerque with the title of viceroy, and with peremptory orders from the king to Don Francisco de Almeida to resign the government into his hands, and

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 76.

return home in one of the trading vessels. He refused to surrender the dignity until he had concluded the expedition which he was preparing. Albuquerque pressed him to compliance; he pleaded as an excuse that the ship in which he was to return had already departed, and that he should remain to inflict condign punishment on the Turks. To further pressing remonstrances, accompanied with an assurance that ample satisfaction would be exacted for the death of his son, he replied, "That he had taken up the sword, and would never resign it to another to avenge his wrongs." Finding all argument ineffectual, Albuquerque proceeded to Cochin. This refusal to comply with the commands of the sovereign, established a precedent which led afterwards to bad results, and set the royal authority at open defiance.

Almeida, on the departure of Albuquerque, proceeded with his armament—confidence in its strength, and the attachment of his officers and forces, induced him to act so independently—as has been just related above. He sailed for Dabul, one of the greatest and most splendid towns on that coast, and which had given its zealous support to the Egyptians. The Portuguese entered the river on the 30th of December, 1508. Francisco de Almeida, who personally commanded, landed his men, and took, plundered, and burnt the town. According to Oasorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by the viceroy himself, as the only effectual means left him of putting an end to the plundering.

The combined fleets of the enemy were in the Gulf of Cambay; hither he determined to direct his course. When he entered he found them strongly posted in the harbour of Diu. Though covered by strong batteries, and a sloping network of strong rope, the Portuguese did not hesitate, but advanced to the attack. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive: all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the rest, defeated and shattered, sought protection in shallow water. The captured vessels, stored with plunder, amply rewarded the toiling victors. All the European captives were restored unconditionally. This victory was sullied by a disgraceful and unprovoked massacre of his prisoners. On his return to Cochin, Albuquerque was placed under arrest. This Almeida soon regretted, and shortly afterwards he was persuaded to resign his appointment into the hands of his successor, and then set sail for Portugal, which he never reached, being killed in an affray with some naked and contemptible Caffres on the coast of Africa.

Albuquerque being now at the head of the government, hurried his preparations for the

reduction of Calicut, the capital of the earliest and most powerful enemy of the Portuguese. With a body of eighteen hundred men, in thirty vessels, and some boats of Malays, who were led by the hope of plunder to accompany the expedition, he set sail, and arrived there on the 2nd of January, 1510. Albuquerque was also accompanied by Coutinho, who had recently arrived with a fleet of fifteen sail, having been sent out by King Manuel, to whom intelligence had been communicated of the preparations made by the Sultan of Egypt, and also of the apprehended refusal of Almeida to surrender his office. This nobleman was entrusted with great powers; and the duties committed to him having been duly executed, he was on the eve of departure for Europe when this armament was ready to sail. Ambitious of fresh laurels, he insisted on being permitted to take a prominent part upon this occasion. The honourable post he sought was conceded by his friend. The difficulties to their landing they found very great. The town was surrounded with jungle, and could be approached by narrow avenues only, which left the troops no space for their files and evolutions. The army was therefore divided, and it was agreed that the two commanders should advance with separate divisions. To Coutinho was assigned eight hundred men, and some fieldpieces. Albuquerque led an equal number, and a supplementary body of eight hundred Malays. They remained under arms all night, through their eagerness to land, but the sound of the signal to march and the discharge of cannon drowned all their fatigue in the military ardour they evolved. They marched with great confusion, as both parties were emulous of performing the most distinguished feat. The followers of Albuquerque first reached the defences, and charged the six hundred men who were posted at their point of attack, who, though they vigorously received the assault, were compelled to succumb to their intrepid assailants, and in a few minutes the Portuguese were in possession. Coutinho, whose progress had been retarded, did not arrive until the banner of Portugal was planted on the wall of the captured fortress, and was chagrined that he had had no part in the matter. He indulged in the bitterest reproaches, and charged his friend Albuquerque with having by his contrivances robbed him of his share of the glory. He insultingly added, "Were you ambitious that you the rabble of Lisbon should trumpet your renown as the conqueror of Calicut, and that our sovereign should yield you all the credit? Were that your vain-glorious object, you will be disappointed. On my arrival I shall tell the king I could

have entered the town with only this cane in my hand; and since I find nobody to fight with, I will not rest satisfied till I enter the palace of the zamorin, and dine in his halls." Haughtily disdaining to await any explanation, he commanded his troops to march to that quarter. His progress was disputed as he impetuously and successfully cut his way for the space of five leagues, encumbered with a continuous grove of palms that lined the way. When he reached the palace, he found it formed a little town, strongly walled in, and, in fact, the only fortification in Calicut. The main strength of the army also was posted there. The brave Portuguese was not disheartened by these discoveries. For him the difficulties sweetened the labour, and enhanced the prospective rewards. Giving a short respite to the soldiers, he made a fierce assault on the gates. His impetuosity was irresistible; the enemy fled to the mountains, and the royal residence was at the mercy of the victors, who were soon engrossed in appropriating the wealth with which they were profusely surrounded. They were blinded by their cupidity to the fearful consequences of their disorganization and recklessness, and acted with as little precaution as if the enemy had been destroyed as well as defeated. They were soon called to a sense of their folly. The foe had been expelled, but not crushed. Animated by the paucity of their number, and their present imprudent behaviour, a body of thirty thousand well-armed men returned to renew the contest. Several of the Portuguese, encumbered with spoil, were killed. During the progress of Coutinho, and the occupation of the palace, Albuquerque had entered the city, and set fire to the houses, and then resolved to ascertain what Coutinho had done, who had foolishly neglected to keep open the communications with the rear. Having followed in his track, and arrived at the scene of action, he found him and his companions surrounded by an armed and resolute host, in the most imminent danger. He discovered means of communicating the fact of his presence to Coutinho, and in the meantime endeavoured to prevent the pressure on him of the enemy on the outside. After some considerable delay, and in reply to a third message, Albuquerque was informed that he might proceed towards the fleet, and that Coutinho, then engaged in collecting his men, who had dispersed in all directions, would follow. On his march Albuquerque learned that his colleague's life was in danger; he attempted, but in vain, to cut his way back to his relief. It was too late. The Indians in multitudes thronged the intervening street. The tops of the houses

were crowded with armed assailants, and from windows, turrets, and every covert he was assailed with clouds of darts. The bravest of his men fell around him: entangled in the narrow streets, lanes, and avenues, he could neither advance nor retreat; his own fate hung trembling in the balance. The flames of the burning houses at last gleamed upon his path, and forced his scorched assailants to clear his way. The gallant Albuquerque escaped almost by a miracle; he was wounded in the throat with a dart, in the head with a stone, and was so faint that he was borne senseless to the shore. Coutinho, when sensible of his imminent danger, placed himself at the head of his men, and fought like a lion. Though the palace around him was in flames, and he surrounded by an infuriated host, he bravely endeavoured to cut a passage through them; he at length fell, and in endeavouring to defend him officers of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. Eighty of the Portuguese were slain, and three hundred wounded. In so severe an encounter, and taken so by surprise, it is scarcely credible their loss was so small. Their own historians are the only accessible authorities, and it is to be suspected that truth has been frequently sacrificed to national vanity.

The ardour of the viceroy was not moderated by this disaster. He had no sooner recovered from his wounds than he directed his attention to the extension of his conquests. His intended enterprise was not directed against the capital of the zamorin, but on the acquisition of some town on the sea-coast, which might be established as a capital for the Portuguese colonists. The island of Ormuz appeared to him the best selection, and thither he steered, about the end of January, 1510, with seventeen hundred men in twenty-one vessels, of all sorts and sizes. Timora, an Indian pirate, who visited him on his way, drew his attention to Goa, a town on the sea-coast of the Deccan, in the district called Canara, which has since become famous as the military, civil, commercial, and religious capital of the Portuguese empire in the East.

Timora had been originally an Indian chief. He had been dispossessed of his inheritance by his relatives, and harshly treated by his neighbours. He became a pirate, and the captain of a numerous and daring body of Indian adventurers. He attached himself to the Portuguese, and proved himself a trusty friend. In all probability he was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Europeans in the hope, with their aid, of being able to avenge his injuries, and to re-

cover his lost power. On this memorable occasion he pointed out the superiority of Goa to Ormuz. Goa had been only recently conquered by the Moguls, and annexed to Delhi. The convulsions by which that power was shaken in the commencement of the seventh century, have been already detailed, and the capture of Goa glanced at. Amid the disruption of the cumbrous and unwieldy components of that empire, the severance of the Deccan, and the growth of the three states, which from vice-royalties grew into independent kingdoms, an opportunity was afforded for the assertion of similar pretensions in the south, and amongst other kingdoms, first rose that of Narsinga, with its capital, Bisnagor. But the most powerful of these at this time was Goa, whose sovereign bore the title of zabaim. Timora informed Albuquerque that this prince was involved in war with several states of the interior, that he was now absent in some distant campaign, that his resources were absorbed, and his capital left unprotected, an easy prey to the first powerful invader. As an assurance of his confidence in the propriety of his recommendation and the issue, he proffered the co-operation of his own force, amounting to twelve ships.

No time was lost, on the 25th of February the combined fleets of these freebooters—Hindoo and Christian—cast anchor in the harbour of Goa. The forts for its protection were captured without delay, and the ships drawn up close to the walls. The inhabitants, who were chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits, alarmed by the threatened storming of their city, and the treatment to be expected from their unscrupulous and exacting enemies, reluctantly presented themselves to the Portuguese to make an offer of surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates should be secured. The offer was accepted. Albuquerque entered the city, and was received with as much homage as could have been paid to the legitimate sovereign. He applied himself to the restoration of order and public confidence, and the measures he pursued to accomplish these ends were hailed with public approval. He dispatched embassies to the neighbouring courts, proffering friendship and soliciting alliances. The towns dependant on Goa awaited no advances; as soon as they learned the fall of the metropolis they immediately proffered their submission, and were, as might be presumed, kindly received. It must be confessed, however unjustifiable his designs on Goa were, when in possession he faithfully fulfilled every stipulation, and with great prudence endeavoured to establish his power

on the attachment of the people. The command of the fort was conferred on one of his principal officers, Don Antonio de Noronah; the government of the natives on Timojee, and the officers of the late administration were continued in their posts. This pleasant state of things was not fated to continue. The zabaim, as soon as he heard of the sudden reverse of fortune and the loss of his capital, suddenly concluded peace with his adversaries, and turned his attention to home. He induced several of them to make common cause with him, and to assist in driving from their vicinity an enemy whose object was to crush them all in turn. An army of forty thousand men were quickly under his command, all breathing vengeance against the hated foreign invaders. The natives properly held everything as secondary to the necessity of their immediate overthrow. The zabaim had, as might be expected, a great number of adherents in the city on whose loyalty he might reckon. They had assured him of their fealty and assistance. He had been four months in possession when the expected foe appeared at the gates. Albuquerque rested his hopes on defending the approaches. He fortified all the strong points of defence, and stationed chosen troops at them, covering them with walls and intrenchments. A danger now manifested itself which had not been anticipated, and one which was calculated to frustrate his best efforts and genius. Amongst his army there arose a numerous party, who looked upon the attempt to retain the town as insanity. They argued, and not without plausibility, that it was imprudent in the highest degree to expect to be able, in the midst of a hostile population, with no possibility of succour from home or elsewhere, to offer resistance to the numerous army by which they were beset. The towering ambition of the viceroy was too lofty to look down upon those common-place calculations. To his all-grasping spirit nothing seemed impossible. With him, as with Napoleon le Grand, there was no such word as *impossibility* in his vocabulary. He indignantly scouted the craven fears that suggested the idea of abandoning a prize so magnificent. His displeasure did not convince the dissentients, who protested against sacrificing to the temerity of one the whole army, and the future prospects of the Indo-Portuguese. Nine hundred of them conspired to strip him of his power, and consult as best they could for the common safety. Their machinations were not conducted with such privacy as to escape his observation. Having timely notice he surprised them in secret conclave, imprisoned the leaders, and pardoned the rest.

A conspiracy of the natives being detected in the city four hundred of them were cut to pieces with the sword. Baffled in every attempt, the enemy at length decided on a nocturnal attack. On the 17th of May, in the darkness of night and storm, the Indians advanced in two bodies, and succeeded, in spite of every opposition, to force their way into the island, being assisted by some outburst in the city; the Portuguese were obliged to retire to the fort, and this from necessity was soon evacuated. This hazardous feat was accomplished with characteristic resolution. Albuquerque privately sent on board his guns, ammunition, and provisions, and having seen his troops embarked, he was the last who entered the flag-ship. His escape might have been effected without the cognizance of the enemy, had not the explosion of a magazine aroused them. This accident led to an encounter, in which Albuquerque had his horse killed under him. The siege had lasted twenty days.

It was resolved to pass the winter in some convenient harbour on that coast. It was not the intention of the viceroy to waste even that season in inglorious inactivity. His proud spirit burned to atone for the late ill-fortune, and he was also anxious to revive the spirit and confidence of his men. A portion of the native confederate troops were encamped at Pangin, near Goa, and strongly intrenched. From this post ships were frequently dispatched to annoy the Portuguese. The guns of the fort also seriously incommoded them. This Albuquerque determined to surprise. Three hundred men were appointed on this expedition. They approached the shore in deep silence, and suddenly landed at the break of dawn; and then with drums and trumpets sounding, and with shouts which echoed through the quiet morn, they rushed on the slumbering enemy. The Indians, startled from their sleep by the unusual din, fled without striking a blow in defence of their tents and baggage. A great quantity of cannon, stores, and provisions, were left behind. Shortly after, a successful attack was made upon a squadron sailing to attack them, and some of the Portuguese having exhibited a daring proof of bravery—it is a pleasing duty to have to record an instance of chivalrous courtesy where it was least to be expected—the zabaim, having witnessed it, sent one of his officers to express his admiration of the heroism displayed; a polite answer was returned, and this exchange of civilities led to negotiations for peace, which led to no satisfactory results.

After these exploits, the Portuguese sailed to Cannanore, and there refitted their fleet and

planned new conquests. Albuquerque did not yet resign his pretensions to Goa. He resolved on a second attempt on it. He had been reinforced by the arrival of thirteen ships which Manuel had dispatched to strengthen his Indian squadron.

Albuquerque sailed from Cannanore with a fleet of twenty-three vessels and fifteen hundred fighting men. On his way he was joined by three ships, which were sent to his aid by his confederate Timojee, who promised to join him at Goa with six thousand men. His strongest assurance of success was the impolitic absence of the zabaim, who was again engaged in prosecuting some quarrel with the sovereign of Narsinga. On the 22nd of November the Portuguese cast anchor a second time before the devoted city. Although it had been recently strongly fortified, and was defended by nine thousand men, before the arrival of the promised contingent from Timojee he commenced operations, and soon drove the enemy within the walls. As the latter were in the act of shutting the gate, Fernandoo Melos thrust in a long spear, which prevented it from closing; his soldiers made a desperate effort to turn this to their advantage, and eventually succeeded in entering the town with the fugitives, and though a fierce conflict hand to hand was maintained from the gate to the distant palace, the Portuguese flag again waved triumphantly from the captured battlements. Six thousand of the enemy had fallen, and only fifty of the victors. The glory of this achievement was tarnished by uncalled-for cruelty. The dead and wounded were cast a prey to the crocodiles, and not one Mohammedan was left alive in the island. An immense booty fell into the viceroy's hand, which enabled him to prosecute effectively the grand conceptions of his ambition.

To the natives, inoffensive agriculturists, he behaved with moderation; to them he restored their lands. Ambassadors from the princes of that country came to congratulate him on his success.

To consolidate his power was his next undertaking. He laid the foundation of a fort, which he named Emanuel after his sovereign; other useful works were also erected, and nothing was neglected which it was thought would contribute to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire, and it actually became the bulwark of the Portuguese power in India. The viceroy perceived how essential to the stability of his power would be an incorporation of the conquerors and conquered; he endeavoured to effect this politic and desirable result. Several females, some belonging to the best families in the land, had fallen

into his hands in the capture of the town; these he treated with the highest respect and consideration, and having induced them to profess Christianity, he portioned them with lands, houses, or employments, he gave them in marriage to his European followers, and bestowed on the husbands some of his best appointments. The principal native families, finding the advantages of these connexions, availed themselves of the opportunity of further extending them.

Matters being thus far satisfactorily adjusted, Albuquerque now proposed to himself the accomplishment of projects which had been postponed as secondary to what had been just achieved. These were the conquest of Ormuz, the magnificent emporium of the Persian Gulf, on which he had made an attempt on his voyage to India, and which was snatched from his grasp almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, considered then as the key of the remotest regions and islands of the East. To lull all suspicion of his immediate purpose he promulgated a report that Ormuz was his destination, and actually sent some ships there. He first sailed to Cochin, and thence set out for Malacca, on the 2nd of May, with nineteen sail and fourteen hundred fighting men, eight hundred of whom were Europeans, the rest natives.

The Portuguese entered the harbour of Malacca on the 1st of July, and found it crowded with vessels from all parts of maritime Asia, and the islands. The trade of the East and West had added to the wealth and population. Mohammed, who then reigned there, had greatly added to his power and popularity by the defeat of an army of forty thousand men, sent against him by the King of Siam. On this occasion he had recourse to those treacherous practices of which the Portuguese had frequently cause to complain, and the punishment of which he had now serious cause to apprehend. On this occasion he had recourse to the King of Siam, who placed a large contingent at his disposal, and by this his army was increased to thirty thousand men, and his artillery consisted of eight thousand pieces of cannon; but as De Faria remarks,* his fear was far greater than his preparations. With this force, and aid also from some neighbouring princes, Mohammed, the King of Malacca, made a vigorous defence, and availed himself of several appliances, movable wooden turrets, cannon, poisoned arrows, and thorns, and floats of wild-fire drifted down the river, to burn the ships; but the intrepidity of the Portuguese, inspired by their fearless chief, overcame all opposition; the enemy were compelled to fly, and Albuquer-

que was left master of the city. A fort was erected, which was called Famosa, from its beauty; and a church, which was dedicated to the visitation of the Virgin. With his characteristic discretion he settled the government on a conciliatory basis; established friendly relations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; interchanged embassies with them; dispatched a party to discover the Molucca Islands and Banda, and offered to all nations in the habit of trading with Malacca, more liberal terms than they had previously enjoyed. He left De Brito Patalim to command the fort, with above three hundred men, and the like number to command the sea in ten ships, under Perez de Andrade. Albuquerque had returned home with four vessels.*

During this successful expedition, encouraged by his partizans within the city, the zabaim made a powerful effort to recover his lost capital. His commander succeeded in forcing his way into the island, in erecting a strong fort called Benaster, and reduced the Europeans to great straits. By the arrival of the viceroy the aspect of things was altered, his supremacy effectively re-established, and the complete expulsion of the enemy effected. His projected expedition for the subjugation of Ormuz—a conquest of great consequence to the maintenance of the supremacy of the Portuguese in the East—now had indisputable possession of his thoughts. Two attempts were frustrated. Defeat but strengthened his resolution. With a formidable armament—his troops numbering fifteen hundred Europeans and six hundred Asiatics—he made his final attempt. The king did not dare resist this force; he readily conceded permission to erect a fort, and when this was completed, confident of his power to enforce his demands, Albuquerque suggested to the prince the propriety of transporting all the cannon which frowned from the bulwarks of his capital to this station. The unfortunate king had no alternative, and thus the celebrated Ormuz became a Portuguese establishment.

In a declining state of health Albuquerque longed to return to India, and had some hopes that the change of climate would facilitate his recovery. But a blow impended which wounded his pride and aggravated his disorders. As he coasted along the shores

* A marvellous tale is told by De Faria: "A Malay, though pierced with several mortal wounds by the Portuguese, to the general astonishment of all shed not one drop of blood, but when a bracelet of bone had been removed from his arm, the blood gushed out. The Indians discovered the secret, saying it was the bone of an animal of Java, which has that virtue. The bracelet was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque."—*De Faria y Sousa*.

* *De Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 176.

of Cambay, information met him that a squadron had arrived in India commanded by Lope Soarez, the man whom he most detested, and that he was appointed his successor. Hearing this he cried out, "It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure."* He was seized with profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul almost in the arms of death. Upon the bar of Goa, which he called his land of promise, he expired on the 16th of December, in the sixty-third year of his age. "He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, twice before Malacca; three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia over which he gloriously triumphed."†

Portuguese historians have not recorded the cause of his disgrace; nor does it appear that his sovereign softened in any way the harshness of his conduct in his recall, and the appointment of his avowed enemy to the chief command in the East.

Under his successful administration the Portuguese empire in the East attained nearly its greatest limits, only a few places on the remoter coast of Africa were added to it, and two or three minor settlements on the coast of Coromandel. This splendid empire, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century.

The chief duty imposed on Lope Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, was the destruction of the fleet which had been equipped by the Sultan of Egypt, and was stationed in the Red Sea. As soon as he was formally settled in his new government, he began to make preparations for the performance of that task, and with a formidable armament sailed from Goa and anchored at Aden. This important town was then threatened by Soliman, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet; the inhabitants sought the protection of the Portuguese, and proffered the surrender of it to Soarez. Though it was the most valuable station the Europeans could have in the Indian seas, and its value appreciated not only by Albuquerque but also by each of his predecessors, Lope declined the offer, as he had no instructions in relation to it.‡ This expedition was a

miserable failure, and Aden, which recently invited his rule and protection, insulted him with impunity on his return. During his absence Goa was nearly lost, and was saved through the valour of two captains who volunteered their services, and by some concessions to the enemy. Some factories about this time were established on the coast of Bengal, on the coast of China below Canton, and in the Molucca Islands. The violence of the Portuguese soon incurred the wrath of the Celestials, and also of the authorities of Bengal. From both nations they were expelled, and in the Moluccas their tenure was very insecure indeed.

In 1518 this weak imbecile, Soarez, was recalled, and Sequiera was nominated his successor. To him fortune was equally unfriendly. Malacca was disturbed with new troubles, which were but imperfectly quelled. A squadron sent to avenge the late failure in the Red Sea returned ingloriously; in Cannanore the fort was attacked by the natives, and defended with severe loss to the Europeans. The affairs of the Portuguese were never in a more perilous condition.

At the close of the year 1521 Manuel died, after one of the most glorious reigns on record. He was, in every respect, a great monarch. His fame extended as far as the wings of commerce could waft it; and his little kingdom, under his enlightened administration, grew wealthy and powerful. His ambassadors visited the courts of all the potentates of his time. They were dispatched to the King of England and to the sovereign of Abyssinia, to the monarch of Congo and the Sultan of Egypt, to the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of China, and all of them were distinguished by a magnificence suitable to the lord of so many regions, and whose sway was acknowledged on every continent of the globe.

When his son and successor Joam ascended the throne, Don Duarte de Meneses was viceroy of India. Incited by Xaref, the minister of the King of Ormuz, an attack was made on the Portuguese fort, several of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest besieged in the citadel, to which they retired for safety. Coutinho, the governor, sent to Goa for reinforcements, but before they could have arrived the Portuguese had retrieved their reverse, and the minister and king were compelled to fly to a neighbouring fort. Here the unfortunate prince was assassinated, because he advised an accommodation with the Europeans, and to the disgrace of the avaricious viceroy, the murderer, Xaref, instructions, would soon cease to acknowledge the authority of the small parent state.

* "Tempo es de acogerme a la Iglesia; Vassi quedo yo mal con el Rey."—*Faria y Sousa*.

† "Dois vezes se mostrò a Ormuz, doo a Goa, y a Malacca dos. Tres ilhas y coronas celebres en Asia."—*Ibid.*

‡ This strange conduct on the part of Lope seems to be inexplicable, particularly when it is remembered what an effort, and ineffectual, his predecessor made to gain it. Perhaps a clue to its explanation is to be found in the dismissal of Albuquerque, and that his offence was the prosecution of conquests for which he had no authority from home. Fears may have been entertained that an empire so extensive and remote, acquired independent of

instead of punishment, had conferred upon him, on payment of a large sum of money, the government of Ormuz. This Portuguese wretch was no exception to the others, on whom had now devolved the government of the various Asiatic settlements. The same rapacity and venality are laid to the charge of the governors of Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, the Moluccas, and of every place cursed with their degenerate and detestable rule. To remedy this disgraceful abuse of power, and to restore, if possible, the national honour, the now venerable Vasco da Gama, the celebrated discoverer of the Indian peninsula, was dispatched by the court of Lisbon. What services he might have rendered to humanity and his sovereign are not left to the historian to recapitulate, for his new career, commenced with a vigorous repression of crimes and abuses, was cut short by death at Cochin.

His successor was Henrique de Meneses, brother of Duarte. This nobleman possessed the qualifications to realize the reformation which Vasco had commenced. His virtues made him the terror of both the licentious Portuguese and hostile natives. He gained a splendid victory over the Rajah of Calicut, an inveterate enemy. He did not live to reap all the fruits of it, nor to eradicate those evils he knew so well how to correct. He breathed his last at Cannanore. The proceeds of all his goods did not defray the expenses of his funeral. His short experience convinced him of the great risks to be run in maintaining in Calicut a fortress already exposed to the attacks of the zamorin. A few months before his death, he decided on transferring the settlement to Diu, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, in the kingdom of Gujerat. His successor, Pedro Mascarenhas, impressed with the sound policy of this removal, prepared to effect it. To obtain possession of Diu by arms was no easy matter. It was strongly fortified by art as well as by nature, and the sovereign of Cambay, one of the most powerful princes of western India, was sure to come to its defence. It was resolved to obtain possession of it by negotiation, and a liberal expenditure of money. These negotiations, however, were suspended by the substitution of a new viceroy, Sampeyo, which led to some serious differences, which proved detrimental to the interests of the empire.

In 1529 Nuno da Cunha was sent out to take the command and supersede Sampeyo. He commenced his government auspiciously; on his way out, he called at Ormuz, recovered that island, and sent the blood-stained traitor, Xaref, to Lisbon in chains. On his arrival at Goa he, too, was convinced of the importance of removing to Diu, and pronounced

it essential to the security of the Portuguese possessions and commerce. He commenced his preparations for besieging it. He collected such a formidable force, that when he presented himself before its walls it was surrendered without the discharge of a shot; and, when in his possession, every effort made by the king for its recovery was defeated.

The Sultan of Egypt, though he had suspended operations in the Indian waters, had not relinquished his hopes in that quarter. He now entered into a treaty with the Mohammedan King of Cambay, and in the fulfilment of his part of the conditions sent a fleet under the command of Soliman Pasha, admiral of the Sublime Porte, to co-operate in the expulsion of the odious Christians from the Eastern seas. Diu was assaulted, but the small garrison, only seven hundred—fighting forty to one—bravely kept their own. Enraged as well as disappointed by this heroic defence, the Egyptians sought the aid of the King of Calicut to exterminate the “infidel dogs,” proffering in return the protection of the sultan. The proud zamorin spurned the idea of protection, “Tell thy master,” was the reply, “that the sovereigns of Calicut need no protection, but are the protectors of other kings; and never receive presents, they always bestow them.” This siege is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese rule in Asia, and thus justifies a more general notice. Exploits of the most daring valour were performed, nor was the honour of them and the labour shared by the men alone. The fairer sex were their rivals in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled all the women in the forts, and, in glowing terms, depicted to them the incessant toil imposed upon the men, in their uninterrupted efforts to repel the incessant attacks of an army, that numbered twenty-seven thousand strong. She induced her audience to undertake the reparation of the breaches. Another heroine, Ann Fernandez, the wife of a physician, ran from post to post fearless of the missiles which fell around her, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and seeing her son fall in one of the attacks, she rescued his body, bore it to a place of safety, and having performed a mother’s duty, she rushed to her post, and there stopt till the day’s deadly work had ended, then she performed the obsequies of her gallant boy. Such examples kindled an enthusiasm superior to all obstacles. For weeks was this conflict thus heroically maintained. At length the enemy, wearied and exasperated, resolved on a final and general assault. To lull all suspicion they began to withdraw their galleys, as if preparing for raising the

siege. At midnight they suddenly returned, and, applying their scaling-ladders to the seawall, they made the assault. The garrison were soon aroused. They rushed to the defences; hand to hand they grappled with the foe; deeds of superhuman valour were in that encounter performed; fifteen hundred of the assailants met a warrior's death; the enemy had made their last effort, and the liberated garrison of heroes were rewarded when morning lit the landscape, by seeing the canvas of the Egyptian fleet filled with the auspicious gale that bore them to their distant homes. On reviewing his gallant band, Sylveira found that not more than forty of them were fit for duty.

The next nobleman who was appointed to the viceroyalty, by Joam, was Estevan da Gama, the son of the celebrated Vasco. He was a man of consummate ability, and, what seldom happens, proved himself to be as able a man as his father. He established a college in Goa for the education of the higher classes of Hindoos; and when the Turks attacked the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia, he chivalrously defended him. He also waged a war of extermination against the corsairs who frequented the Indian seas, and succeeded in their expulsion.

This able man was succeeded, in 1542, by Alphonso de Sousa, who was accompanied by Xavier, as previously stated. In the year of his arrival the Europeans first reached the islands of Japan.

The power of the Portuguese was felt and feared along the shores of eastern, southern, and south-western India, and in the numerous islands clustered in the Indian Ocean; Ceylon bent to their yoke, and many of its inhabitants embraced its religion. Their domination might have been co-extensive with that of Great Britain at a subsequent period, were it not for their gross abuse of their opportunities. To sordid purposes they sacrificed honour and religion; for greedy lucre they violated every moral obligation. The rapid extension of the power which culminated to its height before the grave closed over the remains of its first Portuguese visitor, was equalled by its more rapid declension, the effect of the abuse of its mission. The visit to Japan would have been a source of wealth to Europe, and of salvation to thousands, had not the heinous enormities of these professing Christians outraged humanity. The Japanese, who were in close communication with the natives of the Moluccas, were horrified by the excesses perpetrated there. The Portuguese had gained possession of two princes, sons of the late King of Ternate. These they liberated, in the hope of being enabled, under

the semblance of the authority of a nominal king, to rule absolutely over his dominions. The eldest, with this object, was placed upon the throne; but, not being found a pliant or effective tool, he was degraded by Fonseca, the Portuguese governor, and his younger brother substituted. A new governor was shortly after sent from Europe, who, on some paltry pretext, arrested the king and sent him to Goa. No offence could be proved against him, and he was consequently honourably discharged, but he died on his return. There was still remaining of these puppets of royalty a bastard brother. The Portuguese raised him to the throne. His mother, a Javanese and Mohammedan, aware of the dangers which surrounded his elevation, endeavoured to dissuade him from its acceptance. Ataide, the European governor, was informed of her interference, and, incensed at the discovery, had the mother, in the sight of her son, thrown from a high window, and she was killed by the fall. This outrage was generally resented; the natives retaliated, and massacred all the Portuguese they could lay hands upon. The summary of their proceedings is not exaggerated in the following quotation:—"Under the pretence of commerce, obtaining from the incautious natives permission to build a citadel, they uniformly perpetrated atrocities. Their odious domination was founded in hypocrisy; was cemented by violence and blood; was crowned with rapacity and insolence."

Sousa was succeeded by Castro, under whom the garrison of Diu again obtained immortal fame.

Passing over the intermediate events, till the year 1570, we then arrive at a period, the most critical in which the Portuguese colonists were ever placed. Don Louis de Ataide was then governor. The zamorin, who had still preserved his independence, had entered into negotiations with the court of Delhi, and Adil Khan and Nizam-ool-Moolk were commanded to give him all the aid he could. An alliance was formed for the expulsion of the Europeans. The capture of Goa, the seat of their power, was the first object of the confederation. Adil Khan, with an army amounting to one hundred thousand men, marched upon it. The Portuguese had only seven hundred men and some armed slaves, and were encumbered with thirteen hundred monks. A reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from the Moluccas was afterwards received. With this small force, after a siege of several months, the enemy was obliged to retire, with the loss of twelve thousand men. At Choule, near Bombay, Nizam-ool-Moolk was vigorously

conducting his operations. The prospect of defence was less hopeful here than at Goa. Choule was situated on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort only a very little superior to a simple private dwelling. In a short time the wall was demolished, a battery of seventy cannon being incessantly played upon it. Every house was garrisoned in the path of the assailants, and defended with intrepid valour; various assaults were successfully repelled, and the Moguls eventually were obliged to withdraw, having formed a league offensive and defensive. The zamorin did not act faithfully by his allies during the progress of the war; he made repeated efforts to come to terms with the Portuguese; every advance was haughtily rejected by the proud and confident chief.

By such daring confidence and valorous acts, the little kingdom of Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained its supremacy in the East; and even when in their decadence, the prestige attached to their name awed into submission and cowardice those states which had previously felt the edge of their swords.

The opening of the seventeenth century introduced into India a new European element. The enterprising mariners of the lowlands had defeated Alva, thrown off the yoke of Philip of Spain, adventured from the dykes to the broad waters, coasted Africa, and reached the wealth-yielding realms of the East, there to dispute, with the all but effete Portuguese, the monopoly of Asiatic commerce. The history of the Dutch in India is reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ADVENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA—BRITISH EASTERN EXPEDITIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Mohammedan conquerors of India entered the land for the avowed purposes of plundering the people or subjugating the territory. The Portuguese and Dutch merely contemplated the opening up of commercial intercourse, and the maintenance of a trading monopoly. After a short interval of trade each of those nations became desirous of acquiring land, and the first-named formed ultimately the ambitious design of ruling "the Indies." The English were actuated by no greed of territory. The idea of conquest in such a region never entered the head of the most ambitious Englishman. The conception formed in England of "the Great Mogul" was that of a potentate very mighty, perhaps the most powerful in the world. It was supposed that his court was the most splendid, not only in the East, but on the earth; that his throne was gold, ivory, and pearl, glittering with the rarest jewels, and diamonds of the purest water. The jewelled turban of the emperor, or the jewelled hilt of his sword, was supposed to equal in value European cities or provinces. Hosts of cavalry, numbered by the million, and war-elephants, counted by hundreds of thousands, were believed to be at the command of that all-powerful monarch. The extent of the regions submitting to his sway was exaggerated in an extraordinary degree, vast as these realms really were. Rich as the soil of India

was, its fertility was, if possible, magnified. Mines of diamonds and precious stones in the remoter provinces, sufficient to adorn all the courts in the world, were, in English opinion, part of the monarch's exhaustless wealth. It was thought certain that the vigilant Portuguese, and persevering Dutch, were likely to possess a lucrative traffic in the costly spices and gems of the East, and it was deemed unworthy of British spirit to permit it. To share with the adventurous Lusitanians and Hollanders in the rich rewards of such a trade was the only ambition of the English people when they first sought the shores of India. If another ambition ruled them, it was to prove their naval and commercial superiority to the rival maritime countries of Europe, then successfully engaged in Indian commerce. To force out the Spaniards and Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, from monopoly, or even ascendancy, in the trade of the East, was the only employment of arms which the British thought of; indeed, the prevailing feeling upon the subject among all enlightened Englishmen, political and commercial, was, that all exercise of force, or even display of it, towards the natives of India, was impolitic and perilous. The conquest of any of the princes of India—even the smallest tributary to the Great Mogul—would have been regarded as a wild dream of folly and ambition, not only to be denounced

but to be laughed at. There was no objection to combat with the ships of European states, so as to inconvenience them in their commerce, and open up a prospect of securing with less opposition the chief trade of the Eastern seas; but towards the Indians there was rather a disposition to act submissively than boldly, and to win them to trade by enduring some indignities, and avoiding all demonstration of power. Had any one in those days affirmed that the time would come when the British flag would float in undisputed supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, from the Straits of Babelmandel and the Persian Gulf to the Yellow Sea, and on shore, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Kurrachee to Malacca, he would have been set down as insane, or as ridiculing the genius and enterprise of the English people. Even for commercial purposes it was not easy to awaken English enterprise in connection with India. After Stevens, Fitch, and Leedes, very early British adventurers in that land of fable and romance, had detailed to the English public the realities they had witnessed, and although the jealousy entertained of the Portuguese could not fail to stir the spirit of a people of such maritime enterprise, it was difficult to obtain subscriptions to a company for trading with the East Indies. But even when the trading spirit of the London merchants was thoroughly roused, and the English were already of importance in the Eastern seas, nothing could be farther from their thoughts than military occupation of Indian territory, or warlike undertakings of any kind against the natives. Sir Thomas Roe, mentioned in a former chapter as the ambassador of James I. to the Great Mogul in the year 1615, in a letter to the company, declared that war and trade were incompatible; that the emperor, in refusing the English a fort, did them service rather than injury; and that if his imperial majesty offered any number of fortified places, he would, in the interest of England, refuse them. This was the spirit maintained both by English merchants and English governments, until events in India, which had not their origin in British policy, were not promoted by British purpose, and could not be controlled by either the company or the English government, led to territorial conquest. The Spanish proverb, "Give me a seat, and I will make myself room to lie down," may be aptly applied to the energy and tenacity of the English, whether as traders, colonists, or conquerors, and their peculiar characteristics may account for the early commencement of a career of territorial acquisition, but they neither desired, intended, nor hoped for the like. Miss Mar-

teau has pertinently asked, "How was it possible that our first lodgment in such an empire should appear otherwise than small and unpretending? The imputation is, no doubt, that there was craft under this humility; but there is very clear evidence that the charge is simply slanderous. The English wanted to buy and to sell, and they wanted nothing else." The remarks of the same distinguished authoress are equally pertinent when she says, "At sea there must be warfare; and the general success of the British in their sea-fights with European rivals advanced their reputation on land; but those conflicts were only heard of; and for a course of years the native impression of an Englishman was of an energetic personage, always buying and selling, loading and unloading ships, emptying and filling warehouses, paying his way and demanding his dues, becoming irritable when the Dutch and Portuguese and the Spice Islands were mentioned, and always victorious at sea over the Dutch and Portuguese, and in the question of spice. Such was the beginning of our connection with India. It was, as we see, purely commercial. A change took place in 1624, which excited no particular notice or marked expectation at the time, but which is now regarded as introducing a new period in our relations with India."

The commercial connection between the East and West has been fully set forth on earlier pages of this work. In the nineteenth chapter* the earliest commercial intercourse between the East and West was related; and in the twentieth† an account was given of the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations from the invasion of Alexander the Great to the settlement of the British. At the close of that chapter it was observed that so mingled did the commercial and political become in the History of the East India Company, that it was necessary to trace their development together. In this and successive chapters the accomplishment of the task will be attempted. The great difficulty in tracing the early history of the English in India arises from the confusion of apparent cause and effect. The designs of the English trading company, and the results of their efforts, seldom corresponded. Their best concerted measures were baffled and defeated by agencies and instrumentalities trivial or unexpected. When they naturally expected profit from transactions from which large advantages might be reasonably inferred, there was loss; where they meditated peace they found war. The long-established power of the Portuguese melted away before the

* See p. 360.

† See p. 371.

commercial fleets of the London merchants, and the sturdy and hardy Dutch were defeated alike in the competition of industry and arms; while the petty rajahs and their tributaries were able to offer effectual opposition, and the wisdom and negotiation of sensible and earnest men were set aside by the intrigues of a courtesan, a courtier, or a slave not adequately feed. Yet the most extraordinary fortunes opened up where least expected and desired, and from sources and by means altogether beyond the calculations of human foresight. The London Company seemed to struggle with some great destiny, of which it was unconscious, and for which it was not prepared. From whatever course the company selected for itself, it was turned aside into other paths, intricate as they were devious. With an object simple, and a pursuit of that object sincere, it was involved in complicated transactions of a totally different nature, from which a heroic daring and skilful address did not always suffice to extricate it; but these, when called forth by one difficulty, created others, to be encountered by new forms of daring and self-possession, which, however, issuing in renown or gain, led to results wholly different from those to accomplish which they were put forth. The progress of the English in India is one of the most entangled threads of history. Who can refrain from seeing a superintending Providence, overruling the aims of commerce and the policy of man, for purposes of magnitude and importance connected with his own glory and the moral government of the world? Transactions, great and small, the advent of a genius, or the discovery of some minute article of commerce, bore alike in their relations and upon the grand destination to which all events were constrained to hasten. They were instruments alike in his hands, who

"Sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

Miss Martineau truly says, "Nothing could be more unlike what men designed and anticipated than the issues of the early schemes of the East India Company. The members themselves, their supporters and their opponents, were alike surprised at finding, from period to period, that they accomplished scarcely anything they designed, and that all manner of unlooked-for things came to pass—as if the whole affair was some mighty sport, in which grave and earnest men were made the agents of some transcendent levity, or were bewildered pupils in some new school which they had entered unawares. The merchants, who began the whole business, meant to trade, and obtain large profits, and,

above all else, to avoid everything but trade. With the magnificent shows of life in India they had no concern whatever, beyond valuing, buying and selling, the commodities in use before their eyes. They knew nothing, and cared nothing, about politics—Mogul or Mahratta; and, as for war, it was only too fearful even to witness it. All they desired was to be let alone to make their fortunes, without any thought of law, government, negotiation, or war, except as far as any of these might affect their commerce—a handful of strangers as they were on a foreign coast. No men could be more sincere than these men were; and yet, in the course of the next century, a mocking destiny seemed to make teetotoms of them, their plans, and their fortunes. . . . Their trade was never very successful; their balance-sheet pleased their enemies better than their friends. They exchanged commodities no doubt, and made profits; but their concerns were puny in comparison with their pretensions, and did not expand at all in proportion to their scope. While their direct object succeeded no better than this, they found themselves passing laws, ruling settlements, and making war and negotiating treaties, in alliance or opposition, with the princes of the country. They found themselves touching many points of Indian territory and Indian polity, and fastening wherever they touched, till the necessity was ripe which made them a great administrative and military power."

When the English gained mastery their progress was still a reluctant one in the direction of annexation. It was not by a desire to aggrandize territory that they gained it. The display or exercise of military power formed no part of their designs, the company denounced aggression, and an increase of territory by military force was regarded by its officers as the worst policy that could be pursued. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly*, in 1858, justly represented the spirit of the English throughout the greater part of their career, when he thus wrote:—"Our ascendancy in India has been hitherto due to our moral rather than our physical superiority; to the higher qualities which enable us to utilize with the best effect slender resources, rather than to the amplitude of the resources themselves—still less of that portion of them actually derived from home. But from the time of Clive onwards, the foundations of our power were securely laid in the moral prestige which he established, and others amply sustained. The spell of a master-mind was laid in succession upon each of the enervated and half savage tribes with which we came into contact. And not only did they own subjec-

tion to British constancy, British valour, British faith, but they became the willing, for a time the enthusiastic, instruments for extending the British sway. At such a season as this it is encouraging and profitable to look back into the past; and while the world is ringing with the fame of present heroic achievements and endurance on the part of our countrymen, to trace the resemblance, the identity, between the qualities that have won *them* renown, and rescued India from a demoniac *Raj*, and those that of old, under Providence, conferred glory and honour on the British, *vixere forts ante Agamemona*. The Lawrences, the Neills, the Havelocks, have had their worthy, if, now at least, less conspicuous predecessors; the fruits of whose exertions we have long been enjoying, the memory of whose excellences we should not willingly let die."

It is in this spirit that the English reader must approach the history of his countrymen in India, if he will do justice to them, or comprehend the strange and mighty events which fill up that glorious and gorgeous story.

It has been explained in the chapter on the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations after the conquest by Alexander the Great, that the English derived their oriental commodities by way of the Mediterranean. An intense desire for a sea-passage, by which their own ships could go direct to China, pervaded the commercial public, especially of London and Bristol, and various romantic stories were circulated of the riches of Cathay, and the possibility of discovering a way thither.

A trade in Indian commodities was, at a very early period, instigated by Sir William Monson, who witnessed the wreck of a Venetian carrac, laden with spices and other Indian commodities, on the Isle of Wight. The views of Sir William only contemplated the opening of a trade with the Levant in British ships, so as to rival the Venetians, instead of being obliged to deal with them as the merchants and carriers of Indian commodities. His appeals were successful, and the Turkey merchants, as they were called, imported Indian goods for the English markets.* In the latter half of the sixteenth century an English merchant named Thom took up his residence at Seville, and being an attentive observer, and an inquisitive person, he acquired a great deal of useful information about the Spanish and Portuguese Eastern commerce. He communicated this information to the ministers of Henry VIII., and convinced them of the advantages that would result from opening up a trade directly with

the Indies. He suggested that a new passage might be discovered either by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Ocean, so as to avoid the tedious and dangerous passage round the Cape, by which the Spaniards and Portuguese carried their trade. The idea of Thom, that the Indian seas might be reached by way of a northern passage, was probably derived from the Dutch, who were at that period so extensively engaged in the carrying trade; for the mariners of that nation had prevented the English in the hardy enterprise, but of course without success. The first expedition, undertaken with the hope of reaching India by an arctic voyage, was fitted out by some independent merchants who combined for that purpose. The object was a north-east passage round the coast of Asia. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, and he set sail with three ships upon his perilous, and, as it proved, disastrous mission. Driven upon the bleak shores of Lapland, he and many of his crew perished by famine and cold. Richard Chancellor, in command of one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and, disembarking, travelled to Moscow, and opened up communications with the court of the czar. This resulted in various schemes for an overland route through his dominions, and those of the Shah of Persia. Several British agents crossed the Caspian Sea, and travelled to Bokhara, then the chief city of Independent Tartary. Efforts to establish any profitable intercourse with India through the territories of Russia and Persia were soon discontinued, the route having been found too expensive, as well as unhealthy and dangerous. When the hope of gaining access to India by a north-east voyage or an overland route *via* Russia and Persia grew faint, the adventurous spirit of the age sought to achieve the object by a north-west voyage round the Cape land, in which it was believed the continent of America terminated to the north. This result has often been attempted since, but all adventurers, from the days of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, to the recent accomplishment of what has been called a north-west passage, proved the impracticability of ever finding a way to India by that course. When the idea was presented to the English public it produced a great sensation in London, both in the court and in the counting-house, and some London merchants combined to reap the golden harvests which such a discovery, it was supposed, was sure to produce. They fitted out two ships, and placed them under the command of a Captain Frobisher. This courageous man attempted the perilous exploit; undauntedly he again and again renewed his

* See chap. xx. p. 376.

efforts, and failed to accomplish what so many skilful navigators, with more resources at command, have since in vain essayed, although for a time such enterprises were discouraged by the opinion of Sir Francis Drake, who, when he returned from his voyage round the world, declared the passage by either north-east or north-west impossible.* The English were at last constrained to direct their attention to the route by the Cape of Good Hope, as the only one by which any certainty of communication might be obtained. Philip II. was at that time King of Portugal, and claimed what was called "the right of discovery." The Portuguese having found out that by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope they could reach the Eastern seas, argued that, therefore, the ships of no other nation was entitled to take the same direction. For a considerable time this argument had weight with the English themselves, and the British court was very unwilling to offend the court of Spain and Portugal, by allowing any proceeding that appeared to be against the wishes and interests of the latter. Besides, there was a general admission in Europe, vague and undefined but still real, that this "right of discovery," was a thing to be recognised and allowed. Along with these considerations there were others to deter the English court and people from entering into a direct rivalry with the Portuguese in what was regarded as their own high road upon the waters. Philip was at once the proudest, most bigoted, and most powerful monarch of the times, and it was a matter of most serious consideration to the statesmen of England how far it was politic to offend him. The English nation was too brave and high-spirited to shrink from a war with him if occasion imperatively called for it, but it was very unwilling to provoke one; and the court, and the statesmen which surrounded the British throne, were still more reluctant to bring on a quarrel with so powerful a prince. British vessels, unless under convoy or heavily armed, would be exposed to great peril, as they must pass near the European and Asiatic ports of his Iberian majesty, whose fleets were numerous and well equipped, and whose armed merchant ships were formidable, and prepared to

attack any rivals of their commerce. Such was the energy and enterprize of the British that none of these considerations prevailed, and the nation gradually resolved to assert the right to travel the high road of nations on sea, whithersoever traffic might require, in spite of the combined forces of the nations of the Iberian peninsula. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch have received the credit of having anticipated the English in their oriental enterprise. They certainly antedated them in the acquisition of oriental empire, but the Portuguese alone preceded the British in purely trading transactions, unless the overland intercourse of the Russians with China may give them a similar claim. Both Portuguese and Dutch entered upon their Eastern designs with consecutive and persistent efforts from the first, while the proceedings of the English were for a long time desultory; although, when at last the East India Company was formed, their brilliant career went on with accelerated motion until all competitors were driven from the great theatre of exploit and profit. So early were the English in their first designs that five months before Vasco da Gama left Lisbon for India, several vessels were sent out by the Bristol merchants for the same destination. Henry VII. added two ships to the squadron, and the whole were placed under the guidance of the celebrated Venetian, Giovanni Cavatta, better known as John Cabot. When Cabot reached 67° 30' north latitude, he was compelled by mutiny on board his ships to turn in a southerly direction; and ultimately he touched Newfoundland and the American continent.

Captain Francis Drake had the honour of opening up British commerce in the East, and of defying the haughty exclusiveness of the courtiers of the Spanish peninsula. Drake had won for himself a great name by his services in America and the West Indies, and he ardently took up the purpose of penetrating into the South Sea. In 1577 he fitted out an expedition at his own expense. The ships were five in number, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons, the smallest was of as low a burthen as twelve tons. No nation has had the art and courage to employ such small vessels on great enterprizes as the British; and while the French and Spaniards have surpassed the English in the architecture of large ships, and the Italians have excelled them in beauty of construction, none have equalled the English in building ships of small tonnage so well adapted to arduous and difficult undertakings in peace or war.

Drake fitted up his ships with the greatest

* "The discovery of the East Indies and Brazil by the Portuguese, and of the West-Indies, Mexico, Peru, and America by the Spaniards, all nearly at the close of the fifteenth, or at the commencement of the sixteenth century, conduced to the extension of European commerce; and the unsuccessful attempts of England, as well as of the Dutch and the Danes, to discover north-west and north-east passages to China, opened new and considerable sources of traffic, and led to the general increase of navigation."—AUBER.

care, and took on board very remarkable cargoes of rich furniture, and the best specimens of English manufacture. He also employed a band of musicians. His object was to startle and delight the natives of the countries he hoped to visit, by a display of novel and dazzling objects, so as to leave a deep impression in their minds of the riches, ingenuity, diversified resources, genius, and glory of England. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt a return homeward by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the discovery, and called it New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any port of the Asiatic continent. He took in supplies at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by his countrymen, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest the naval glory of the realm.*

The merchants of London hastened to do him honour, and the people at large treated him with the greatest respect and admiration. The court was silent, and the government of the day has been generally blamed by historians for their tardiness to reward the bold and successful mariner who had rendered his country such services. The political considerations which influenced the queen and her ministers were, however, reasonable and just. Captain Drake's ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were not of the sort which governments could ostensibly acknowledge. He was not particular to what nation the vessels belonged of which he made prizes, and Elizabeth, although

* Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

one of the most likely persons in all her dominions to appreciate the captain's spirit and daring, without being too discriminative as to the nationality of his captures, yet could not forget that policy demanded some caution before she ostensibly rewarded such peculiar services. At length her majesty overcame all scruples, visited him on board his vessel in a manner characteristic of the queen, the age, and the commander, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, highly prized in those days.

The commodities brought home by Captain, then Sir Francis Drake, excited much curiosity and pleasure among both traders and citizens, and his account of his adventures charmed all hearts. While at Ternate he found the sovereign of that country at war with the ruler of Tidore, and the assistance rendered by the British captain to the former decided the fate of the war. For this succour the grateful monarch offered to supply the English with all the cloves exported from his country. Captain Drake laid in a valuable cargo, which was much prized in England, more especially when the circumstances under which it was obtained were understood. Thus Sir Francis Drake not only acquired the great reputation of being the first navigator who sailed round the world, and conferred upon his country the glory of that exploit, but he opened up a direct commercial connection between England and the East.

The success of this voyager confirmed the practicability of accomplishing a trade by direct sea communication, but the capital required, and the risk involved, appeared to be too great for any private merchant to incur. What had been achieved was by naval squadrons or expeditions of privateers, rather than by peaceful merchantmen transporting their "venture beyond seas;" and this circumstance discouraged English traders. Still the ingenuity of the mercantile and seafaring community was thoroughly stimulated, and various projects were discussed, and some actually set on foot. A number of merchants united to open up a commerce by way of the Persian Gulf. They proposed to land their agents on the Syrian coast, who were to proceed to the Persian Gulf by way of Aleppo and Bagdad, and sail down the Persian Gulf by Ormuz to the coast of Malabar. They were influenced in this determination by the representations of a Mr. Stevens. Dr. Cooke Taylor describes "Captain Stevens as having sailed from England to India by the Cape, which would convey the idea that he was engaged in a British commercial undertaking; but Mr. Stevens had gone out in a Portuguese ship to Goa, and attached himself to the

Jesuits there, as Miss Martineau affirms, or took service under the Archbishop of Goa, as other writers state. He had been a student of New College, Oxford, was a man of classical acquirements, and was mainly influenced by religious feelings in seeking the far-famed Jesuit establishment of Goa. From thence he wrote to England, giving a long account of the place, describing his voyage thither, and showing his interest in commerce, and in that of his countrymen more particularly. He afforded intelligence and aid afterwards to agents engaged in the promotion of the English oriental trade. The account given by Stevens tended very much to fan the flame of Eastern enterprise which had been so long kindling. Miss Martineau flings off in her rapid but interesting way her views of the man, his motives, his book, its effects, the first English travellers who were influenced by it, and the result, in the following brief passage:—"When Stevens, who had joined a party of Portuguese to reach Goa, saw what he could from thence, he probably formed a most just estimate of the great peninsula than we have hitherto done; but now, stern events are awakening the interest which has slumbered too long. What made Stevens go to Goa? One of the agents of the Russian trading company to India was a man of English birth, who had seven times gone down the Volga, and by the Caspian and Persia to Hindostan; what he saw of the wealth of India, and of the scope for commercial adventure there, became known to Stevens, who found enough that was wonderful and tempting to make a most stimulating narrative as soon as he got home. Everybody read his book, and the nation became extremely eager to obtain a commercial footing under the shadow of the Moguls. News from other wanderers began to come in. Of a party of four travellers who had gone to see what they could see, one, named Storey, remained as a monk among the Portuguese at Goa; another, Newberry, died on his way back; a third, Leedes, accepted service under the Emperor Akbar; and only the fourth, Fitch, came home. . . . Queen Elizabeth might be proud of her correspondents if she chanced to write to Henri Quatre and to Akbar on the same day. Leedes and his comrades carried a letter from her to the emperor at Delhi: and it is probable that Akbar was as eager to hear from his English follower all details of our queen's good government, as the English certainly were to learn from Stevens and Fitch whatever they could tell on their return of the empire and rule of Akbar, the great Mogul."

The letter of Queen Elizabeth was not en-

trusted to Leedes, as the above extract alleges. She wrote two letters, one to the Mogul, and the other to the King of China, and they were entrusted to the two principal men of the party of four, who were commissioned to make trial of the way by the Persian Gulf—Newberry and Fitch. That to the Mogul, or Emperor Akbar, was oddly addressed, as "To Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaya." It solicited his kindness towards her subjects, and expressed a promise of reciprocating such kindness to any of his majesty's people who came within the queen's dominion—a very unlikely eventuality.

Thus accredited, the travellers left England early in 1583, followed by the good wishes of the nation. Newberry wrote from Aleppo and Bagdad as much about business as the most practical merchant could desire. At Bagdad he could sell with difficulty, and not with advantage even then; but had he been furnished with money for the purpose, he assured his principals that spices could be obtained in abundance at prices that would prove remunerative. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bussora, without reaping any peculiar advantage. Thence he went to Ormuz, and found it practicable to conduct business transactions advantageously. This favourable state of matters continued only a week, when a rival in trade—an Italian, named Michael Stropene—brought an imputation against both Newberry and Fitch, who were consigned to prison. Newberry, writing from his prison, says, "It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison. God's will be done!" They were not detained long, but were sent to Goa, where they were still held in custody. There the charges were brought out openly and formally against them. Nothing personal was imputed, except in reference to their trading; but they were held responsible for certain acts alleged against Captain Drake, especially his having fired some shots at a Portuguese galleon near Malacca. No doubt Drake had fired a great many shots at all sorts of galleons there and wherever he met them. Newberry disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction, and doubted its occurrence, and forcibly remonstrated against the hostile feeling shown to his country in his person, while men of every Asiatic nation and of all other European nations were allowed to trade there. Stevens, in his book, had dwelt in terms most laudatory upon the liberality of the Portuguese. This threw the English off their guard as to the intense religious animosity which prevailed in the Portuguese and Spanish nations towards them. Stevens, however, befriended Newberry in his perils

and difficulties, as did also a Dutch captain, John Linschoten. The English traders were, after a short incarceration at Goa, liberated, on giving heavy pecuniary security that they would not leave Goa without permission. They were still badly treated, their merchandize purloined, and large presents extorted by the officials. Stevens, from his connexion with the Jesuits, being himself secure, could afford them some aid, but it was of short duration. The Englishmen found out that fresh accusations were concocting against them, and that the governor was himself eager to bring them into trouble. Accordingly, all hope of justice having vanished, they made their escape from Goa on the 5th of April, 1585. They found their way into the interior, passed through Belgaum, where, they relate, there was a great market for diamonds and jewels, and reached the royal city of Bejapore. At this place the narratives of Newberry terminate, and Ralph Fitch becomes the relator. Three things seem to have struck his imagination—the abundance of the precious metals, the war elephants, and the idols. Concerning the last-named, he queerly and quaintly said, “Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil.” Fitch proceeded to Golconda, and refers in his correspondence to the diamond mines. He then penetrated through the Deccan, and reached Agra, which he thought superior to London. The emperor was at Futtehpore, to which place our traveller proceeded, and describes the country *en route* to be as populous as a European city. He describes the social character of the people, and represents the Brahmins to be “a crafty people, worse than the Jews.” Fitch was accompanied in his journeys by the rest of the party; for although Newberry and himself are chiefly made mention of, there were others of their company. It is a curious circumstance that Fitch in his narrative omits all mention of any interview or negotiation with the Emperor Akbar, but relates that when they departed from Agra, William Leedes (called erroneously by some writers Leader), who was a jeweller, remained in that capacity at the court of the Mogul, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. Fitch relates his subsequent journeyings to Prage (Prayaga), now called Allahabad, and his descent of the Ganges to Benares, the idolatry of which city filled him with wonder, and baffled his attempts to describe it. How far were these travellers from thinking of the possibility of the nation they represented being at any future period the masters of those vast and populous realms! Fitch went next to Patna,

then to Tanda, in Bengal, and to Conche, in the neighbourhood of the Bhotan Mountains. He then traversed the banks of the Hoogly, returned again to the Ganges, penetrated to Tipperah, travelled back to the Ganges again, and visited Serampore, with which city he was much pleased. He took ship from Serampore to Pegu, and thence to Malacca. He returned to Bengal to ship himself for Cochin, but first went to Ceylon. So adventurous was this brave man, that he once more touched at Goa, and this time with impunity. Thence our adventurer went to Choule, where he found ship for Ormuz, which he visited, notwithstanding his former misadventure there. Thence he found means to return home, passing overland to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, and arrived in safety A.D. 1591. Seldom was travel more bravely sustained than by this Englishman; and the accounts he furnished on his return added another impulse to the ambition and enterprise of his countrymen. While Fitch and his companions were thus engaged in the overland undertaking, another expedition was attempting fresh successes by sea.

The triumphant voyage of Sir Francis Drake inspired Captain Cavendish with the desire to follow up his enterprise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents him as a young gentleman of fortune, who, having wasted his substance by riotous living, resolved on an Eastern voyage to repair it. Other writers describe him as actuated by purely patriotic motives, and a love of adventure by sea, such as was then very prevalent in England. Mr. Murray describes him as selling an estate to embark in naval adventure; and that author gives at once the most succinct and probable account in these terms:—“Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586, he reached, early next year, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific, he touched at Guahan, one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrões. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly correspondence with

some of the princes of Java, and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September, 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope.* Thus, although Newberry and Fitch and their comrades preceded Cavendish in their Eastern enterprise, and information from them arrived from time to time before Cavendish set out, and during his absence, he arrived in England, bringing with him the results of his successful voyage, several years before the return of Fitch. It is likely that the letters of Newberry from Aleppo, Damascus, Brasso, Ormuz, and Goa, as well as the narrative of Stevens, written in the last-named city, influenced Cavendish very much in undertaking the voyage he so bravely accomplished, but it was from Drake he derived the first spark of ambition with which he was animated to become a naval commander, perform on his own account a voyage round the world, and bring to his country, direct from the places of production, cargoes of the costly spices then so highly valued in England.

The merchants of London, Bristol, and other English cities, became gradually convinced before Fitch returned—through his letters, and more particularly through those of Newberry—that there was no hope of prosecuting a profitable Eastern trade but by direct voyages *via* the Cape, and that it should be an armed traffic, in the face of the malignant enmity of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The successful voyage of Cavendish, and the representations which he made, confirmed these convictions; and accordingly, the year after his return, and within less than twelve months of that event, a merchants' association was formed, for the purpose of oriental trade by way of the Cape, and a petition was presented to the government for permission to send three ships and three pinnaces to India. Queen Elizabeth was in all probability favourable to these measures; but the government, although then at war with Spain, was unwilling to shut out all prospects of peace by the irritation and injury which a commercial rivalry in the East would create in the minds of both Spaniards and Portuguese. Discouragements were therefore offered, and nothing immediately resulted from the petition. When Fitch returned the project was renewed. In 1591 three ships were sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster. This expedition has been confounded by several modern historians with another undertaken by Captain Lancaster, and especially called Lancaster's expedition, but which was not sent out until rather more than ten years afterwards. Lancaster was not the senior officer of the expedition in 1591, but Ray-

* *History of British India.*

mond, who was the admiral or commodore of the little squadron. Never perhaps was a naval expedition more successful or more unfortunate. In spite of every variety of obstacle, great success was obtained, and yet all that good fortune was at the last hour frustrated. The squadron sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April. Sickness seems to have befallen the crews as soon as they left the British Channel. They reached the Cape of Good Hope in August, by which time the number of invalids had so increased, that Captain Kendal was ordered by Captain Raymond to take them home. Kendal himself appears to have been far from well, but, nevertheless, willing to prosecute the arduous enterprise in which his colleagues persevered. The remaining vessels, when off Cape Corientes, were smitten with a fearful hurricane. The ships were separated, and Captain Raymond's, named after its commander, was never again heard of. Lancaster, having cruised about for several days, in the hope of meeting with Raymond, encountered a still more formidable tempest than that which had separated them. The heavens were darkened—the sea rose to such a height, as to threaten the destruction of the vessel every moment—the lightnings flashed with appalling vividness—and the ship was damaged severely; and had she not been extremely well built, and commanded by a man of intrepidity and presence of mind, she must have been lost: as it was, four men were killed; several more were struck blind—some temporarily, and others permanently; several lay "stretched out as on a rack;" and no man escaped without bruises or wounds. The heroic Lancaster, undeterred by even this new disaster, set about repairing his vessel, and recruiting the strength of his crew. He proceeded to the Island of Comoro, where he took in a supply of water, then much required by his men. Here a new, and, if possible, more terrible disaster than the storm awaited him. The natives, who were at first friendly, or, at all events, not inimical, indicated some restlessness at their presence, but no disposition to do injury. Suddenly, when two unarmed parties of the crew, numbering sixteen each, were engaged on shore in some necessary work connected with the ship, the natives fell upon them, and massacred them nearly all, in view of the ship's captain, and when it was impossible for him to afford any succour. A few escaped by various stratagems, but wounded severely. Still this dauntless man did not despair. With the courage of an old Norse sea-king, he prepared for such exploits upon the wave as chance might afford him opportunity to perform. He next touched at

Zanzibar, and repaired his ship. Here he discovered, by private information, that the Portuguese, who were rude and surly, had formed a scheme to attack his boat. He opportunely departed, and was borne by unwelcome winds out of his course to the Island of Socotaro. Thence he departed with a favourable breeze for Cape Comorin. This he doubled in May, 1592, and, passing wide of the Nicobar Isles, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to Penang, where he remained during the stormy season. Here he determined upon attacking all Spanish and Portuguese vessels which came in his way, where the slightest hope might be entertained that, even in a very unequal combat, victory was possible. He soon fell in with three vessels of from seventy to eighty tons burthen off the Malacca coast. The first struck upon the appearance of his boat, although she was "bravely armed." This was a ship and cargo belonging to the Jesuits of Goa, and Lancaster seems to have been much delighted on that account to make it a prize. Subsequently, by a series of daring attacks, he captured a number of large Portuguese ships laden with spices and other valuable mercantile commodities. In these encounters his own sailors were brave like himself, but so disorderly, as greatly to embarrass his proceedings. After striking terror in the Portuguese captains, sailing through the Straits of Malacca, he hastened to Ceylon, and cruised off Point de Galle, in order to intercept ships belonging to what the Portuguese and Spaniards called the Bengal and Pegu fleets. The sailors, however, enriched by the prizes they had made, were satisfied, and longed for home. They were insubordinate and resolute, so that Lancaster, much against his will, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached early in 1593. His projected voyage by the African coast was frustrated. He met with tempestuous weather at the Cape, and adverse winds after he had doubled it. Provisions became scarce, and he was obliged to make for Trinidad. He was driven into the Gulf of Paria, and thence made an irregular and confused voyage to the Bermudas. A storm once more wrecked his fortunes, and he was driven upon some desolate island. Having disembarked with most of his crew, the vessel was driven out to sea, and lost with all its precious freight. Lancaster and his hardy mariners must have perished had not a French vessel answered their signals of distress, and taken them on board. They were landed at Dieppe, after very kind treatment, on the 19th of May, 1594.

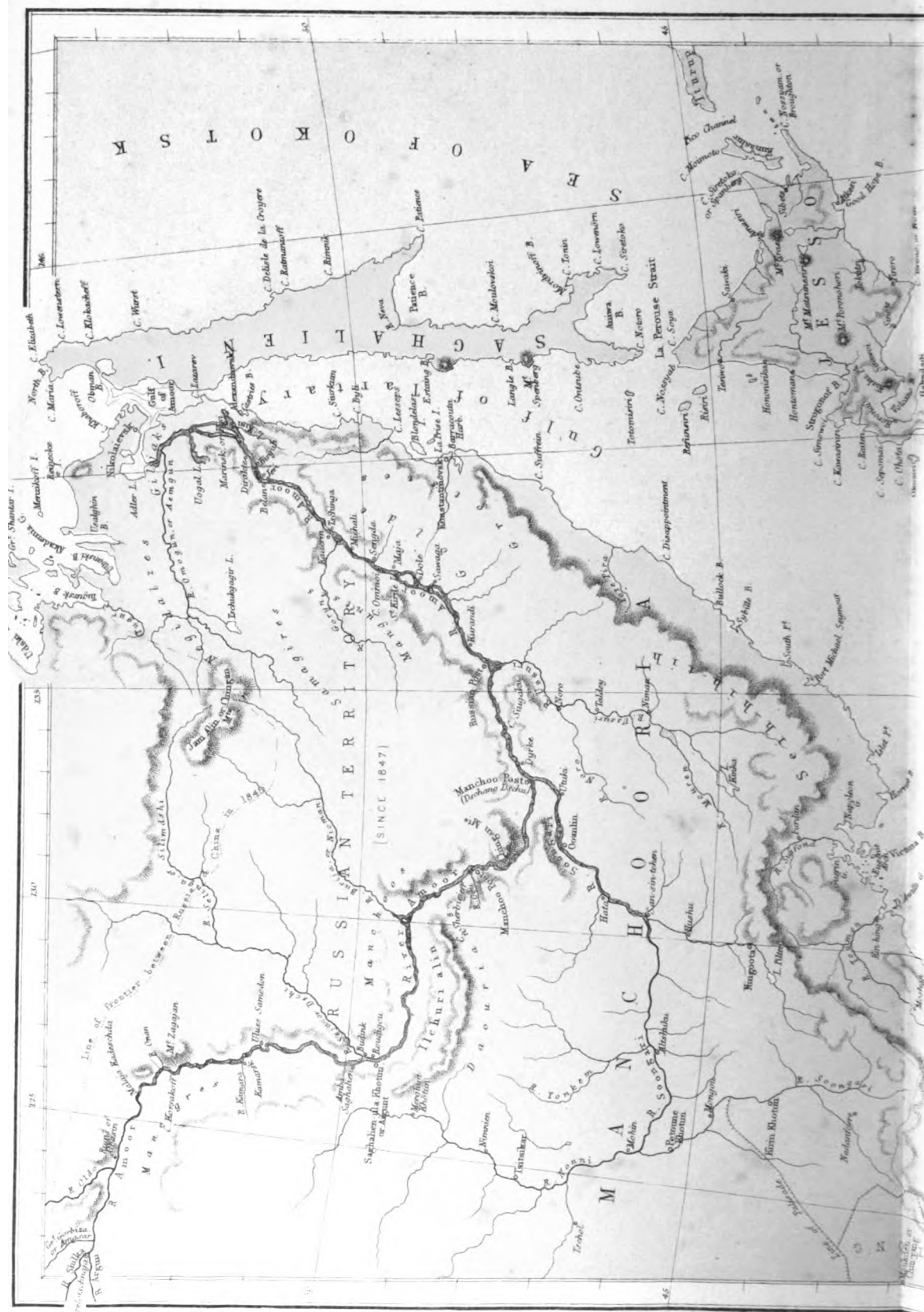
In 1596 an attempt was made by Sir Robert Dudley, which produced no important effect.

Immediately after the return of Lancaster a Dutch expedition of four ships was fitted out; and in 1598 another, more especially directed to Japan, set sail from the coast of Holland. The departure of these fleets stimulated the competition of the English merchants, and exercised the crowning influence in the formation of the first East India Company. It so happened that the pilot of the last Dutch fleet was an Englishman, named William Adams. Mr. Pratt of the India-house drew up, from original documents, a narrative of his adventures for Mr. Auber, who, in 1834, published it in the appendix to his work on China.* From these documents it appears that Adams was a native of Jellingham, in Kent. He served the long apprenticeship of nearly twelve years—from the age of twelve to twenty-four—to a pilot at Limehouse. He then became master in one of the queen's ships. He left the service of her majesty for that of "the Barbary merchants," in which he remained for nearly twelve years. In the year 1598 he engaged himself as pilot-major to the Dutch fleet of five sail, which was sent out by the Dutch India Company—"Peter Vandershay and Hanneevander-Veeck." The "general and admiral" of the fleet was a merchant named Jaques Maihore. Adams was on board his ship.†

Although the project was to send out this squadron very early in the year, it was not until the 24th of June that it set sail. Being so late in the season, they found the passage of the line stormy. In the middle of September, the squadron being damaged and the crews sick, the admiral sought shelter at Cape Gonsalves, on the coast of Guinea. The sickness increased, and many of the mariners died. After various trials and vicissitudes of fortune, they assembled at their appointed rendezvous on the coast of Chili, in latitude 46°. Departing thence, still severer fortunes awaited them: hunger, sickness, unsuccessful conflicts with savages, storms, and various misadventures. The admiral's ship lost the general, the master, and all the officers were massacred on shore at the Island of St. Maria, on the coast of Chili, latitude 37° 12' south. Other ships suffered in a similar manner. Two ships alone now remained together, that on board of which Adams

* *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy; and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with, that Empire.* By Peter Auber, Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

† *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By William Adams, an Englishman, as pilot of a Dutch fleet in 1598. The narrative is partly given here rather than reserved for the chapter on the Dutch in the East, as an Englishman is the subject of the relation.



served, and another. They were both weakly manned, and were in much fear of the Spanish cruisers. On the 27th of November, 1599, they left the Island of St. Maria, and stood for Japan. After passing the line they kept company until the 23rd of February, 1600, when the two ships were separated by a furious storm. "On the 19th of April, 1600, the ship in which Adams was made the coast of Japan in latitude $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$." Only six sailors, along with the hardy English pilot, were "able to keep their feet." About a league from Bevingo the ship anchored. They were hospitably treated by the king, but a Portuguese Jesuit came from Nangasacki, and he, with some Japanese converts, under the plea of acting as interpreter, endeavoured to stir up the king for the destruction of his guests, but their efforts were unavailing, as the king of that part of the island was intelligent and humane. The authority of the king was only local, the emperor exacted obedience from all, and at his court the Portuguese Jesuits renewed their intrigues for the destruction of Adams and the Dutch: the result was, that the adventurers were brought before the emperor, interrogated, and imprisoned, but not treated with severity. All the efforts of the Jesuits to secure the execution of the strangers were as unavailing with the emperor as they had been with the prince. The emperor refused with horror to take away the lives of inoffensive persons who offered him no wrong, and whose object was to trade. By the instigation of these bigoted enemies, the Japanese robbed the crews, and Adams lost all his money, apparel, books, nautical and mathematical instruments, &c. This enraged the emperor, who compelled restitution, whenever the culprits could be found. After the ship, officers, and crew were detained two years, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, who demanded from the admiral the right to go wherever they pleased. They were all detained in Japan, but hospitably provided for by his imperial majesty. "In the course of four or five years the emperor called Adams before him, as he had divers times before done, and desired him to build a small ship. Adams replied that he was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof. 'Well! do your endeavours,' said he; 'if it be not good, it is no matter.' Adams accordingly built a ship of eighty tons, in all respects on the English plan, which gave the emperor great satisfaction, and raised Adams so high in his favour that his majesty would have him always come into his presence, giving him from time to time many marks of his grace and bounty. Besides which he assigned him

a stipend equal to seventy ducats yearly, with a daily allowance of two pounds of rice. Adams recommended himself still further to the Japanese monarch by teaching him some points of geometry and elements of the mathematics, with other things that attracted his understanding. Hence the emperor acquired a habit of assenting to what Adams proposed; and his former enemies, wondering at his influence, entreated him to do them a friendship. Adams accordingly did good offices both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, recompensing good for evil. At the end of five years Adams supplicated the emperor for leave to depart from Japan, desiring to see his wife and children in England. With this request the emperor was not well pleased, refusing to let him go. In process of time, being in high favour at court, and hearing that the Hollanders had vessels at Siam and Patania, he renewed his prayer for permission to quit Japan, speaking directly to the emperor. His majesty at first gave no answer. Adams then told him, that to let him go for Europe would be a means of bringing the English and Dutch nations to traffic at Japan, of which his majesty was very desirous; but the emperor would not suffer him to go. Adams then asked leave for the Dutch captain to depart, which the emperor presently granted, and the captain sailed in a junk to Patania. No Hollanders coming thither in the space of a year he went from Patania to Jehore, and there found a fleet of nine sail under General Madlidf. The late provisional captain in Japan, to whom Adams had entrusted letters, was appointed master of this fleet, and was soon after slain at Malacca. Hence Adams is apprehensive that no news of himself has yet reached England; he therefore adjures the worshipful court to make his being alive in Japan known to his poor wife and two children. Adams had made a voyage or two in the ship which he built for the emperor; and, by his majesty's command, he had since built another, in which he made another voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Land's-end in England. At the date of Adam's letter, October, 1611, the emperor, in reward for his services, had given him a manor, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his slaves or servants. In 1609 the emperor of Japan lent the larger ship which Adams built and eighty of his men to the governor of Manilla to sail to Acapulco."

In a future chapter the influence of Adam's residence at Japan will be seen in the enterprises of the English there. The letters which he sent to Bantam and to Europe had much effect upon the trade, and the manner

in which the company and its agents proceeded. In this chapter the narrative has been brought as far as the point when the existence of Adams in the Japanese empire became known to the English, for the Dutch, to whom he rendered the greatest service and obtained for them permission to settle in Japan, repaid him with ingratitude, concealing from the English his existence, and hiding from him the fact that the English had begun a systematic Eastern trade on a scheme of some magnitude. So well did the Dutch act in concert, and keep both secrets, that no suspicion existed in England that an Englishman lived in the Japanese capital, and had signal influence over the emperor, nor had Mr. Adams, during the many years of his detention, any knowledge of the proceedings of his countrymen in reference to the East.

The adventure of the English pilot occurred too near its close, to influence the proceedings of his countrymen within the sixteenth century. They were already intensely stimulated by curiosity; the spirit of commerce, hardihood of enterprise, rivalry with the Portuguese and Dutch, and the heroic attempts of their own captains and traders who had preceded the Dutch, to do something on a large scale to open up a regular commerce with the East.

In 1599 an association was formed, and nominal subscriptions to the amount of £30,133 obtained, for the fitting out of three ships for the Indian trade. There were a hundred and one shares in this subscription, but some of the holders never paid up, and others who did deplored their simplicity, declaring that they believed their money was lost in a fruitless and romantic undertaking. All this coldness and hesitation existed, notwithstanding the favour bestowed upon the project by one of the most popular sovereigns that had ever sat upon the English throne. Elizabeth gave every encouragement to the association, and sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the great Mogul to negotiate the privilege of trading within his territory. Before, however, the ambassador could effect anything, the will of a small but determined band of merchants had put forth the project, and the great enterprise was entered upon from which no losses, wars, dangers, difficulties, or sufferings were ever sufficient to make England recoil. It was nearly the close of the year when the association was formed, much eloquence was expended by those most active in framing it, and their arguments were taking and plausible. They pointed out the quality of the cargoes brought home by Drake and Cavendish, and of certain Portu-

guese prizes brought into English ports. It required all this diligence and persuasiveness to form the association, and even then it was destined to have but a short existence as then constituted, for it became necessary soon after to form a subordinate association, the existence of which of course modified the former. A charter was, however, obtained: the first charter of a British East India Company. It was on the last day of the sixteenth century that Queen Elizabeth signed it on behalf of about two hundred and twenty gentlemen and merchants, constituting them one body, "corporate and politique," by the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, revocable at any time on two years' notice. Those persons upon whom this royal favour was bestowed were endowed with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies by sea, were permitted to use a common seal, and were empowered to make bye-laws, inflict punishment, both pecuniary and corporeal, and to export bullion and goods duty free the first four voyages. They were also invested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The new association which was formed in 1600 as subsidiary, became virtually the East India Company. George, Earl of Cumberland, was at its head, and there were many knights and squires enrolled among its members. As many members of the old, and some of the new association, did not pay up their subscription, or were not zealous enough in the matter to take a very active part, the whole management fell into a few active hands. The measures taken were to raise and expend £75,373; of which £38,771 was invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in goods. The court was anxious to give the command of the first expedition to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, but the merchants resolutely refused to accept him, for a reason which appeared as sound to themselves as it seemed audacious and presumptuous to the court. They declared that they had no mind to employ *gentlemen* who did not understand commercial affairs, but preferred "to sort their business with men of their own quality." The favourite of the merchants was the indomitable Lancaster. He who, in 1591, attempted so well and suffered so much, but whose losses and adversity augmented his popularity, as the way in which he bore his reverses exalted the fame of his fortitude and perseverance. The choice of the merchants was judicious, for Mitchelbourne afterwards proved himself more of a pirate than a trader

or a warrior, and more bent upon enriching himself than promoting his own honour or that of his country. Thus, in the very beginning of the East India Company, it adopted the policy of "appointing the right man to the right place;" a policy in which

it persevered more pertinaciously than any other commercial or political body that ever existed.

Thus ended the sixteenth century in reference to the relations of England with the far East.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE SETTLEMENT OF FACTORIES UNDER TREATIES OF COMMERCE IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the English, as has been seen, were full of commercial enterprise, partly stimulated by the Portuguese and Dutch, in a greater measure by the boldness of the nation, and the love of trade which characterized it. In this state of mind the seventeenth century dawned upon them. The formation of the East India Company inspired the government and the people with the hope of great things, notwithstanding the fears of many and the despondency of others. When the first expedition was ready to depart, the eyes of the whole nation were turned towards it, and every heart desired its success. There were, it is true, a few who wished their own prophecies of disaster to be fulfilled, and some envious spirits, who were disappointed of official advantage in connection with the expedition, were of course among them.

It has been stated that the queen sent out one John Mildenhall, as ambassador to the great Mogul, but the new company did not wait for his return or for tidings of his success, but prosecuted their purpose until the little squadron of Captain Lancaster was sent forth. It was well that they adopted such a course, for the mission of Mildenhall was a failure. The court of Akbar was not one with which he was likely to succeed, however sure of a friendly reception from that eccentric, able, and liberal prince. Mildenhall died in Persia on his way home, and no satisfactory result, nor even a clear and connected account of his proceedings was ever known to the company.

The expedition of Captain Lancaster consisted of five ships, which, according to Sir William Monson, were the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 260 tons; the *Susan*, 240 tons; and the *Guest*, 100 tons. They were freighted with bullion, and a comparatively small proportion of goods, such as iron and tin, wrought and unwrought

lead, broadcloth of all colours, Devonshire kerseys, Norwich stuffs, glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The queen gave the captain-general letters commending him to the princes and governors of the countries which he might visit. Thus furnished and equipped Lancaster set sail early in the first year of the seventeenth century.* Various accounts are given of the date of this expedition, which circumstance is explicable from the accident of some dating from the period when the company completed its cargo, some from Captain Lancaster's departure from London, and others from the departure of the squadron from Torbay.

Lancaster proceeded at once for Acheen, on the north-west coast of Sumatra,—5°36' north latitude, 95°28' east longitude,—which place he reached after a prosperous voyage; even the dreaded "Cape of Storms" proved propitious to him. He touched at Madagascar and the Nicobees, for the purpose of taking in fresh provisions and water, and arrived at his destination June 5, 1602. The objects of the expedition did not contemplate any trade with the great Asiatic continent; the design was to obtain certain productions which were known to be abundant in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Sumatra, Java, the Molucca and Banda Islands, were supposed to produce great abundance of spices, for which at that time there was an extraordinary demand in Europe. This demand subsequently died out when the objects of it became plentiful. The spices—to obtain which so sanguinary a rivalry was maintained by the trading nations, and which were consumed in such extraordinary quantities in Europe compared with the custom of modern times—were the commodities of which Lancaster was in quest, and he sought

* Miss Martineau says in February, 1601; Mr. Capper makes the same statement; Mr. H. Murray says on the 2nd April, 1601; Mr. Martin, on April 22, 1601.

a port famous for their merchandize. On his arrival at Acheen, the captain delivered his credentials from her Britannic majesty, and he was consequently received with every mark of distinction which that court could confer. The king also gave permission to establish a factory, free trade, protection to the traders, power of bequeathing property by will, and, to some extent, permission to hold and cultivate land. The company began well in its diplomacy before its trade had time to realize any direct profit. Unfortunately the crop of pepper had failed in that neighbourhood the previous season, and Lancaster was unable to obtain a sufficient cargo. Under these circumstances he formed a sort of offensive convention with the Dutch against the Portuguese. This was the first meeting of the company's ships with those of Holland, and it was not only amicable but one of active alliance against a common foe. Scarcely was this treaty of the seas formed, than a magnificent Portuguese carrac of nine hundred tons became a prize. She was loaded with commodities from continental India, especially the finest fabrics of Calicut. The allies plundered her, divided the spoil equitably, and inflicted no violence upon the Portuguese, leaving to them the possession of their empty ship. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where he laid in a full cargo of spices, and, after selling a portion of his goods, left the remainder with agents to be sold after his departure.

As at Sumatra, he delivered the letters of his queen, was well received by the chief, permitted to trade, and treated with hospitality. He left Bantam much encouraged, prosecuting his voyage homewards with assiduity. He, however, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas to provide a cargo of spices for future trade, so as to be exempt from the delays which attended him on this occasion. The commercial treaty which he concluded with the chief of Bantam, although not so favourable as that which he formed at Acheen, was very advantageous, and he and his crew arrived in England full of expectation as to the triumphant reception he should meet. He was not disappointed, for his arrival created an extraordinary sensation, not only among the members of the company, but among the merchants generally. The proceedings of Captain Lancaster were not, however, of a strictly commercial character, but those which were more of a political nature, gave as much satisfaction as his cargoes of rich spices. He made treaties commercial and naval, made maritime war on account of the company, and on his way home took possession of the Island of St. Helena.

His attack upon the Portuguese, in concert with the Dutch, was in keeping with the spirit of the age, and the state of the nation. Every English mariner and citizen, from the time of the Armada, had taken upon himself, as far as in him lay, to avenge that outrage, and the coasts of the Spanish peninsula as well as of the Azores, were ravaged by the expeditions of Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, and other hardy adventurers. The queen and the general public expected that the company would have fitted out a second expedition before the arrival of Lancaster, but they were too timid, and notwithstanding that Elizabeth urged more enterprise, they awaited the results of Lancaster's trial.

When Lancaster arrived he found the city of London in great gloom, much in need of any good tidings to cheer them, which he or others might bring. London had been stricken by the plague, so that many had fled to the country, and those remaining were daily, in considerable numbers, falling victims to the pestilence. These calamities did not prevent demonstrations of rejoicing at the arrival of the successful mariner. A very short time after Lancaster's arrival the queen died. This event took place scarcely two months after the company's squadron delivered its valuable cargo. Probably in no country could the death of a sovereign have been viewed as a greater affliction. The nation loved her for her greatness as a queen, and, whatever might be her faults as a woman, they loved her as a heroine and a patriot. She was proud of her countrymen, and they were proud of their queen. The death of her majesty, and the prevailing sickness, cast a damp over the enterprise of the merchants; but the public spirit rose eventually over every disaster and difficulty, and the active temper of the people asserted itself alike in peace and war, in discovery and commerce. The prince who ascended the English throne was not regarded as a likely person to encourage commerce, nor supposed to possess that love of country which had characterized his predecessor; still he was by many considered learned, although too much of a pedant, and it was believed by them that he would comprehend the crisis to which British commerce had arrived, and be able to adopt sagacious methods of placing England on a footing of hopeful competition with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Dutch, it was believed by most, would rather side with England in her oriental undertakings, but this illusion was very soon dispelled. Only one year was allowed to elapse before the company was prepared for a fresh undertaking. Elizabeth, before the return of Lan-

caster, taunted the company with breach of charter for not sending out an expedition twelve months after Lancaster had set sail, and before the company could have been apprised of the result of his voyage. James repeated the taunts of Elizabeth; the monarchs were anxious for glory, which could be only obtained through the great risk of their subjects. The desires of the court were unreasonable, especially when James ascended the throne, for among his earliest acts were some which were violations of the company's charter. Very soon after the return of Lancaster, he granted a licence to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne to trade with China and the East Indies. This was the Sir Edward Mitchelbourne that the company refused to accept from Elizabeth as commander of the fleet which afterwards sailed under Lancaster. James not only broke faith with the company in his case, but gave licences to several adventurers to trade on their own account in the East. This was not done by the monarch from antipathy to monopolies, for he professed afterwards to consider that the perils which beset the Eastern trade was so great, and its transactions of such magnitude, that no private trader could engage in it, and that it was only likely to be of service to the nation by being carried on through the medium of a joint-stock undertaking by a chartered company. Sir Edward went out with a ship called the *Tiger*, and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp*, and made havoc of Chinese junks and lorchas cruising among the islands of the Eastern archipelago. He returned with some gain and no glory. The company in vain remonstrated with the king, whose answers were not straightforward, and whose actions, in the company's opinion, were not just.

In 1604 an expedition of four ships, freighted with goods similar in kind and quality to those which had been sent out in 1601, was entrusted to Captain Middleton, afterwards so well and so favourably known as Sir Henry Middleton. This expedition sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of March. Captain Middleton had a prosperous voyage, and at the end of the same year arrived at Bantam. It suited Middleton's object to divide his squadron; two tarried at Bantam to load with pepper, one was sent to Banda, and the commander himself proceeded to the Moluccas. On his arrival he found a fierce war raging; the Dutch and the King of Ternate, being in conflict with the Portuguese allied with the King of Tidore. Here first the English experienced that opposition and enmity with which afterwards the Dutch assailed them in the Eastern seas. The hostile feeling which now sprung up be-

tween the English and the Dutch led to many fierce encounters, and various discreditable stratagems of war in the East. The English intrigued with the native princes against the Dutch settlements in Java, and with such success that the annihilation of Dutch power in that quarter was all but effected. The conduct of Captain Middleton gave no occasion for the bad feeling displayed towards him, which seems to have originated in that greed of gold which so strongly marked the character of the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They were successful in persuading the King of Ternate that the English were pirates, and the conduct of Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, about the same time in these seas, justified the appellation, and other English adventurers unfortunately supported the bad reputation. Middleton was entirely shut out from commerce at Ternate, by the representations and threats which the Dutch made to the king. Before he left the neighbourhood, however, the king sent him a secret letter invoking the aid of the King of England against the tyranny of the Dutch.

The conduct of the Portuguese at Tidore was, as might have been expected, equally, if not more hostile, so that the English captain did not find it possible to transact any business whatever. Indeed, the Portuguese became from that time much exasperated against the English, and the exasperation broke out into open violence. Soon after, four English vessels were attacked in the harbour of Surat by a superior force of Portuguese, but the English fought so well that they triumphed over their enemies, inflicting upon them the most serious injury.* For this attack the English exacted ample vengeance subsequently, for in the year 1617, their ships encountered a Portuguese squadron near the Cape, and compelled the commander to pay an indemnity.†

Captain Colthurst was more fortunate at Banda than his superior, Captain Middleton, was at Ternate and Tidore. Finally, the squadron was laden with spices, and returned to England.

Another expedition of three ships, under the commands of Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and David Middleton, was sent out in 1607. David Middleton sailed on the 12th of March, "direct to the Spice Islands;" his colleagues sailed in April, and proceeded at once for the same destination, but never succeeded in forming a junction with Middleton. This expedition does not seem to have met with any note-worthy occurrence at "the Spice Islands," but found the Dutch and Portuguese as much opposed to the English as they were to one another, and the efforts of

* See chapter on the Dutch in India.

† Ibid.

all the British captains to form a profitable trade with the Spice Islands failed from these oppositions. The British factory at Bantam was found most useful, and by its means chiefly spice cargoes were obtained by the ships which went out. Captain Hawkins proceeded in the *Hector* to Surat, and having letters from King James to the Mogul, he proceeded with them to Agra. The result of his mission must be reserved for another page, while we return to the narrative of Adams, begun in the chapter on the advent of the English in the East.

Adams, the reader will recollect, accompanied the last expedition of the Dutch in the sixteenth century as pilot-major, was detained in Japan, was the means of procuring for the Dutch liberty to trade, and ultimately was the means of the English settling in Firando, which was made by them a *point d'appui* in their commercial enterprises with China. In a previous chapter the narrative of Adams was brought to the year 1609; he was still detained by the emperor, and still anxious to return home, and that not being permitted, to serve his countrymen as best he could in their Eastern commerce. The perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Dutch in concealing from Adams the Eastern settlements of his countrymen, and concealing from the British nation that an Englishman was detained in Japan, was referred to in the previous chapter where the adventures of Adams were related. He eventually became aware of the existence of the English factory planted by Lancaster at Bantam, in Java, and corresponded with the English East India Company through its agent there. In 1609, according to a letter which Adams contrived subsequently to send home, two Dutch ships arrived to trade; in 1611 a small Dutch ship traded at Firando. In 1612 he wrote to the following effect to the British agent then settled at Bantam:—"The Hollanders are now settled in Japan, and I have got them that privilege, which the Spaniards never could obtain during the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan." In the remainder of this remarkable letter, Adams advises the English agent at Bantam to chose a seat for a factory in Japan, and points out the proper neighbourhood. In another part of the letter Adams wrote:—"And comes there a ship here, I hope the worshipful company shall find me to be a servant of their servants, in such a manner as that they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan, let them inquire for me I am called in the Japan tongue Augin Samma; by that name am I known all the

sea-coast along. Nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will." He then thanks Spalding (of the Bantam factory) for the present of a Bible and three other books; and desires Spalding to offer his humble salutations to Sir Thomas Smyth (the chairman of the company), and thank him for lending his wife twenty pounds. This, his first letter addressed to the English factory at Bantam, thus concludes:—"Had I known that our English ships had trade in the Indies, I had long ago troubled you with writing, but the Hollanders kept it most secret from me 'till the year 1611, which was the first news I had of the trading of our ships in the Indies."

When, in 1613, Captain Saris arrived with Mr. Cock at Firando, as agent of the English, Adams rendered great service in enabling them to establish a factory. Captain Saris reached Firando on the 12th of June, and Adams immediately hastened from the eastern part of the island to meet him, which he effected on the 29th of July, and after a conference they agreed to go up to the emperor with King James's letter. They left Firando on the 7th of August, and began their "journey up to court, having the privilege of post horses to any number they had need of." The emperor having entered the hall of audience, and the general coming before him, the secretary took the king's letter from his hands and delivered it to the emperor, who, receiving it into his own hand, with all kindness bade the general welcome. The general having finished delivering his presents, returned to his lodgings. The emperor then called Mr. Adams, who read and interpreted the King of England's letter. The emperor having understood it, bade Mr. Adams to tell the general to state to the secretary, or to Mr. Adams, what he desired, and it should be granted or answer thereto. General Saris was sent for to receive this intimation, and then retired. After his departure the emperor "reasoned with Mr. Adams of many things." Adams having been thus consulted by the emperor, took his leave, and rejoined the general at his lodging.* After this, it appears that the emperor suggested to Adams the propriety of the English establishing a factory at "Yedso," the southern part of the Island of Jesso. Orders were given to his council to promote the arrangements for the thorough establishment of the contemplated English factory at Firando; and either as originating with himself from his

* *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By W. Adams, an Englishman, collected from documents at the India-house by Mr. Pratt.

favour to the Englishmen, or suggested by Adams, orders were also issued to promote the settlement of the English in various other parts of Japan. It appears also that the home-sick Briton made the very placable mood in which the emperor was at that juncture, the occasion of presenting a petition for his own liberty, which was successful. Yet from what can be gathered from the documents at the India-house, Adams overcame his desire to return home, and remained, of his own accord, in the service of the emperor to his death. According to the Dutch accounts, the emperor revoked his grant of freedom and detained his favourite, continuing to treat him with every possible kindness until death severed the bond.

Notwithstanding the influence of Adams at court, the English had some difficulties at the very outset. These arose chiefly from the prejudice excited by the Spaniards, whom the Japanese detested for their treachery and cruelty. Among the papers found by Mr. Pratt occur the following:—"At this date it was reported that all the Spanish padries were to quit Japan, as it should seem the name of a Christian had become odious: for on the 6th of March, 1613-14, being Sunday, the factory at Firando had put out the company's flag, as their custom was; but in the afternoon Foyné Samma sent agent Cock word to take it in, because it had a cross on it. The agent did not comply on the instant; but after two messages Mr. Cock went to Foyné Samma himself, and excused the matter as well as he could, telling him that this cross was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but was rather used for a badge or token, whereby the English nation was known from all others, as the Dutch were by their colours of orange, white, and blue. Yet all would not serve, but down it must come; Foyné telling the agent it was the emperor's will that it be discontinued, only the factory might put out any other mark they would, a cross excepted; and that their ships might bear a cross upon the water, but not the factory house on land." The emperor's objection was founded upon the idea that it was the symbol of force, for it was known in all the Eastern seas that the Spaniards and Portuguese, wherever they had power, compelled all persons, whatever their religion and however against their conscience and will, to pay acts of reverence to that symbol.

Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which connection with Japan was thus opened, the factory did not continue a prosperous career. While Adams lived all went well but after his death the

removal of the agency was soon determined. While he lived various enterprises were attempted from Firando. The following papers briefly sketch these, and the withdrawal of the company's servants.

"In December, 1613, agent Cock, accompanied by Messrs. Adams and Sayer, went from Firando to Nangasaque, intending to purchase a junk to be sent on a voyage to Siam. But finding all the vessels there engaged for other destinations, they hired freight on a junk for a cargo to Cochin China. Nangasaque* seems to have been a port to which Firando occasionally consigned goods, and sent factors, as more convenient to embark at than Firando, when the destination of the ship or junk was to places in Japan or neighbouring countries, lying so as to require a passage between the Japanese islands to the north and east. Vessels seem also to have been sometimes consigned thither from Firando to take in part of their lading: for example, some articles of native produce, manufacture, or import more easily procurable at Nangasaque. The emperor's factor also resided there, being no less a personage than the governor of the place. In August of this year the company's factors in Japan commenced a negotiation for opening a trade into China, in which they employed as agents two Chinese merchants usually resident in Japan, but trading periodically to their own country and visiting the interior. The one was chief of the Chinese at Firando, as the other was of their countrymen at Nangasaque. In this attempt the factory expended large sums of the company's money in presents to persons in power at the Chinese court, and in cash supplied to the intermediate envoys. This negotiation was continued until the party was withdrawn from Firando in 1623, at which time it had not succeeded: and the prospect of success 'which various adverse interests obscured, was becoming evanescent.' An attempt had likewise been made in 1615 to open a trade with the islands of Loochoo. It is recorded on the consultations of the English factory of Firando in December, 1623, that it was considered ineligible to leave any person of the factory there behind, as the president's order empowered them to do. In lieu thereof it was resolved to leave a power with Captain Cornelius Newrode, chief of the Dutch factory, to recover the outstanding debts due to the English company. And with respect to the company's houses and godowns, the council agreed to deliver them, as Batavia had ordered, into the King of Firando's custody, to be preserved for the company, and in case the factory return, re-

* Generally written *Nangasaki*.

stored : and for greater security a writing to that effect was to be taken from him or one of his *bonjews* (secretary). The company's agent at Firando wrote the court, under date 13th and 14th December, 1620 :—"Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers : giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England, and the other half to a son and daughter he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was : he having been in such favour with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son, which the other emperor gave to the father."

"The following notice is also entered upon the agent's journal, viz. '1620-21, February 20th, a child of the late Captain William Adams was brought by its mother to agent Cock, who presented it with a *tais*, offering at the same time to pay for its support and education, provided the mother would give it up to the protection of the English nation.' Various attempts were made to resume the trade with Japan until 1672, when the project was finally abandoned."

The history of the factory at Firando and of the early efforts to form a commerce with Japan, are so intimately connected with the establishment of the factory at Bantam, as to make it appropriate that the narrative should be given in connection with the establishment of the latter.

Hawkins and Keeling speedily accomplished whatever business they were charged with in the Eastern seas. The former separated from his colleague at Socotra, and arrived at Surat 1608. He put himself in immediate communication with the governor, who refused to allow him to land any cargo until the viceroy, who resided at Cambay, was apprised of his coming. An answer arrived after twenty days ; it was favourable as to the disposal of the present cargo, but no factory could be established, or permanent trade otherwise carried on without the express permission of the emperor, which, the viceroy suggested, that Captain Hawkins would do well to apply for in person. Hawkins landed his goods, which began rapidly to be disposed of, when a fierce opposition was made by native merchants instigated by a Portuguese Jesuit. The Portuguese seized two of Hawkins' boats, and refused reparation for

the injury, sneering at King James as a monarch of a poor little island of fishermen. Hawkins was further informed that the Eastern seas belonged to the King of Portugal, and "none were entitled to trade in them without his licence." The English captain challenged the chief of the Portuguese factory to single combat, which was declined. The captured boats, with their crews and cargoes, were meantime sent to Goa. The native authorities were evidently in league with the Portuguese, not that they loved them, but, believing them to be invincible, thought it politic to be on their side. Various attempts were made to break into the house of the English captain, and he was in constant peril of assassination. The viceroy at length arrived, but took no notice of the Englishman's complaints, and helped himself to the best articles of the ships' cargo at whatever price he thought proper to pay, which was always inadequate, and never directly or completely paid. Hawkins at last resolved to travel to Agra, and, if possible, state his grievances and those of his countrymen before the emperor. The viceroy furnished an insufficient escort, with the intention, it was reported, of having it intercepted on the road. Hawkins hired soldiers himself, and afterwards, on application to the viceroy of the Deccan, was furnished with a competent escort of Afghan horse. His coachman had been hired to assassinate him, as in a drunken fit he confessed during the journey. The interpreter was as deep in this conspiracy as the coachman. The former was arrested, and Hawkins proceeded on his journey to the residence of the Deccan viceroy, who received him hospitably, and sent him on to Agra under a faithful guard ; at which place he arrived on the 16th of April, 1609. The picture which the treatment of this Englishman at Surat, and on the journey (except so far as the good offices of the viceroy of the Deccan were concerned), presented of the manners and government of India during the palmy days of the Mohammedan period, ought to silence such Englishmen as of late years have delighted to draw comparisons between the Mohammedan and British dominions, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Jehanghire, son of Akbar, then reigned in the metropolis of India, and he at once sent for the Englishman upon his arrival, who presented the emperor with the letter of his own sovereign. Jehanghire viewed it and the seal with great attention and interest. He then commanded a Jesuit, who understood many languages, to read it, who, upon perusal, assured his majesty that it was basely penned. While the Jesuit was silently

scanning the letter, Hawkins continued to address the emperor in Turkish, which his majesty well understood, and a conversation ensued which afforded pleasure to the sovereign, and caused him to take no notice of the unfavourable report made by the Jesuit, of King James's letter. Hawkins had for some time afterwards daily interviews with the emperor, who declared that the English had been scandalously used at Surat, more especially by the viceroy; but his majesty, nevertheless, issued no orders for redress. After many further conversations with the captain, chiefly as to the geographical situation, resources, and government of various countries, his majesty sent positive orders to the viceroy "to supply the English with everything necessary for their trade." He invited Hawkins to remain in India as a commander of cavalry! and governor of a district, with an income of £3000 a year, until he should himself send an embassy to the English monarch. Hawkins, both in his own interest and that of his employers, consented. He was further pressed to marry in the country, which he in vain protested did not suit his inclination; and that he could not conscientiously marry any one but a Christian. The emperor found an Armenian damsel, thus silencing the Englishman's objection. The marriage took place, the officer became extremely attached to his bride, and honourably adhered to his vows, although assured in England that it was not a legal marriage. The captain's enemy, the viceroy of Surat, was summoned to the emperor's presence, in consequence of the various complaints brought against him by aggrieved persons. The emperor ordered the confiscation of his property. When his effects came into review, Captain Hawkins pointed out to the emperor various valuable articles brought by him from England as presents to his majesty, which the viceroy had appropriated to himself.

Tidings having reached the English captain that another ship, the *Ascension*, was coming out to Surat, he solicited from the emperor liberty of commerce for his countrymen, and obtained an imperial edict, "under the great seal with golden letters," giving authority to the English to trade.

After this the high favour in which the British officer stood began sensibly to diminish. Mocrib, the unprincipled viceroy, having been stripped of his property, was pardoned and restored to his government, with stern exhortations to conduct himself in future as became a good governor and a faithful liege of the emperor. The first act of this vindictive tyrant was to put into re-

quisition all the influence of his restored office to avenge himself upon Hawkins and the English in general. His intrigues were somewhat cleverly seconded by the Jesuits. It was represented to the emperor that the Portuguese were a far more powerful people than the British, and that they would retire in disgust if such traders were allowed the same privileges as they had. The Portuguese at the same moment presented the emperor with a balass ruby of uncommon size and beauty. The wayward Jehanghire, than whom no child was more easily bought by a gift, exclaimed, "Let the English come no more." Mocrib was not slow to execute this order, and he departed to his government, resolved that the English should transact no business at Surat. Hawkins wisely offered no opposition, but when the fury of the tempest had passed away, he presented himself before the emperor, and besought him to accept what Hawkins himself afterwards called "a splendid toy;" urging at this opportune moment every argument he could devise to prove that the British trade would be of supreme advantage to the empire. The gift and the persuasion led his majesty to reverse his late decree, and the English once more triumphed. The Jesuits heard the tidings with consternation, and sent horsemen off to Mocrib to announce it; the old machinery was set at work, with the old result. For some time this battle went on—the emperor issuing contrary decrees under the influence of new gifts. The Jesuits had more to offer, and understood the Mogul better; they and their native ally Mocrib at last prevailed, for Hawkins had no longer the means of competing with them in costly presents. The emperor acted as if he played one off against the other in order to extort gifts, or as the women of an Eastern harem, who dispense their smiles and exert their court influence under the influence of some gaudy piece of apparel or pretty instrument of pastime. It is probable that Hawkins—such was his address, so considerable were his resources, and so entire his devotion to his object—would have distanced all his competitors in the race for royal favour, had not the prince minister, Abdul Hassau, been his mortal foe. This officer of state had the power to regulate the place occupied by the notables at court; those only were admitted within the red rails who were the objects of especial favour, such as Hawkins had been before Mocrib regained influence at court. After that period the premier carefully excluded the British captain, who by that circumstance was debarred the opportunity of speaking on court days to the emperor.

Hassau also adopted a cunning method of curtailing the income which Jehanghire had attached to Captain Hawkins. He could not, indeed, refuse to assign territory of the nominal value, but he designated a portion of country that was lawless and disturbed, and where the revenue could only be collected at an expense which made the estate of little value. Thus matters went on for two years and a half, and Hawkins perceived that his residence at Agra could no longer be useful to the company or his country. On the 2nd of November, 1611, he withdrew, not only without attaining his object, but under stinging insults; Jehanghire informing him, through the minister, that it did not become the dignity of the great Mogul to send any communication to a prince of such mean estate as the King of England. Hawkins returned to his country dispirited, but his address and zeal were appreciated.

The last expedition had not been long out before the company dispatched two ships, the *Ascension* and the *Union*, with an invested capital of £33,000. The command was given to Captain Alexander Sharpey. Cambay, and more especially Surat, was the object of this little squadron; the year of its departure was 1607. After encountering tremendous storms while doubling the Cape, the two ships were separated. The *Ascension* never met her consort again, but made her own way along the eastern coast of Africa on to Pemba. During her way thither she was twice attacked by the Moors, and lost several of her men. The sufferings of her crew from bad weather and insufficient food had nearly exhausted them, when fortunately they met with a group of uninhabited islands,* where there were delightful water and abundance of cocoa-nuts and turtle. They then proceeded to the Red Sea, and at Mocha and Aden were well received. They went up to Socotra, where they again took in provisions. At last they arrived at Diu, and were about to cross the Gulf of Cambay for Surat, but were reminded of the dangers of the gulf, and recommended to take in a pilot, which the master obstinately refused to do, and the result was that the vessel, striking repeatedly, was wrecked. The crew was saved by the boats, and, making for the river of Surat, were intercepted by various obstacles, and compelled to enter the Godavery. This change of purpose saved their lives, for the Portuguese at Surat had made ready for their destruction. It will be recollected that Hawkins, in expectation of this ship,—of the dispatch of which the agents of the company

* These islands are supposed by some geographers to have been the Schellies.

had contrived to apprise him,—redoubled his exertions at the court of Jehanghire to obtain a firman for free trade. By this means the Portuguese of Surat became aware of its intended enterprise, and resolved to defeat it by the destruction of the crew and the capture of the ship and cargo. The crew, however, all escaped, some made their way to Goa, whence they were deported without mischief being done to them; the rest arrived after perilous travel at Agra, where, under the protection of Hawkins, they were secure, and were by him sent home through Persia.

The consort of the *Ascension*—the *Union*—was not lost, as the crew of the former reported at Agra to Hawkins. The mainmast had sprung, but the diligence and skill of the sailors repaired the disaster, and the ship reached St. Augustine, on the Island of Madagascar. Thence she reached Zanzibar, but was attacked by the natives, and some of the crew were slain. She again made for Madagascar, where sickness weakened the crew, and the natives attacking slew several of them. They then proceeded to Arabia, but so uncertain were the purposes of the captain, and so little his nautical skill, that he feared "to tread the mazes of the Arabian Sea," and steered for the long voyage to Sumatra. Acheen and Priaman were reached in safety, and a cargo of pepper was taken up on excellent terms. The voyage home was as unskilfully conducted as the voyage out, and after a long time unprofitably and foolishly spent, the ship arrived in safety in the British Channel. Even there its ill-fortune pursued it, for it was so badly navigated that it ran on shore upon the coast of Brittany, where the people plundered it. The ship was a wreck; the crew, seventy-five in number, had all perished except nine, but the company saved the ordnance, fittings, tackle, anchors, boats, and two hundred tons of pepper.

In 1609 Captain David Middleton again sailed in command of a single ship, the *Expedition*, which, with its cargo, was worth £13,700. He sailed direct for the Spice Islands, where the Dutch opposed him, claiming the sovereignty of those seas. The captain conciliated the natives, and obtained a fine cargo of spices, disposing of all his own goods profitably. This enraged the Dutch, who determined upon his destruction; and so secure were they of their prize, and so hopeless the escape of the Englishman, that when he made his way through the net spread out for him by his pursuers, and arrived at the English settlement of Bantam in safety, their rage was unbounded.

The company at this juncture were very sensible of the perils to which their servants

and their property were exposed from the enmity of the Portuguese, and the commercial selfishness and jealousy of the Dutch, they therefore resolved to build a larger class of ship for themselves than they could charter, and to arm their vessels with heavy cannon; also to send them out strongly manned with able seamen. They formed a dockyard in Deptford, at which many fine vessels were built, superior to those possessed by the English merchants. Early in the year 1609 a vessel of eleven hundred tons—a mighty ship for those days, at all events in English waters—was launched, and received the name of the *Trade's Increase*. King James and his son, afterwards Charles I., presided at the launch, and named the ship. A sumptuous banquet served on China, a rare commodity in those days, honoured the occasion. The construction of so large a ship caused great excitement, for it appears to have been considered a model of strength, and skilful naval architecture. Sir William Monson described it as "the goodliest and greatest ship that was ever framed in this kingdom."

The formation of so great a ship seems to have stimulated the nation, and a great rage for Leviathans sprung up. The company constructed another dockyard at Blackwall, and many vessels of from six hundred to one thousand tons burdens were erected during the thirty years which ensued. The *Royal James* exceeded them all, for it was twelve hundred tons. The government caught the spirited infection of building big ships diffused by the launch of the *Trade's Increase*, and a man-of-war was framed called the *Prince*, of fourteen hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four guns. So great was the stimulus given to ship building by the enterprise of the company, that in about thirty years from that date private builders were able to compete with them, and undersell the company, so as to render it no longer profitable to build any ships, except such as were intended for peculiar traffic.

Soon after Captain David Middleton was sent out, preparation was made for an expedition on a larger scale; and in order that the *Trade's Increase* might take part in it, her construction was hurried on. Early in 1610 the expedition set sail; indeed, before 1609 had terminated the ships and crews were all prepared for the enterprise. There were only three ships in this fleet; but the comparatively enormous size of the newly-launched ship invested the expedition with considerable *éclat*. The command was offered to Captain, now Sir Henry, Middleton, before referred to as having commanded a squadron on an adventure to the Eastern seas. The

popularity of the commander gave the public additional interest in the undertaking, and by that time a great confidence had sprung up in the public mind that the company would act independently of the court, and appoint no royal or ministerial nominees to commands, but only known and tried mariners of skill, prudence, courage, and energy. Such was Sir Henry Middleton, and his departure in the *Trade's Increase* was considered "a great day for England." The Portuguese and the Hollanders were deemed likely to meet their match at last, should they obstruct such ships and such a commander. The Spice Islands had hitherto been the source of Eastern trade to English ships. Sir Henry determined to seek in the Red Sea and at Surat a profitable commerce. He doubled the Cape successfully, and sailed without interruption direct to the Red Sea and the port of Mocha, and at first found a most friendly reception. He was invited on shore with every display of hospitality, when he and a number of his officers and men were seized and bound, and sent as prisoners to Suza, the capital of Yemen. The number of the British being seventy-one, and very imperfectly guarded, they made their escape, and once more regained their ships. Sir Henry then sailed down the Red Sea and crossed to Surat. He arrived on the coast of Cambay in 1611, and, on approaching the river of Surat, found its entrance barred by a Portuguese fleet. Captain Sharpey was then in that city, and contrived to communicate with Sir Henry, informing him that Hawkins from Agra, and Fitch then at Lahore, advised that no attempt should be made to transact business on that coast, but to court fortune elsewhere, as the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and the native merchants, were all combined in hostility to the Dutch and English, especially to the latter. Middleton, however, determined not to leave Surat without some attempt to accomplish his mission. While preparing to enter the harbour, he received a letter from the Portuguese admiral, asking him if he brought any letter or credentials from the King of Spain and Portugal; if so, the admiral was prepared to facilitate his objects, otherwise it would be his duty to prevent his entering the port. Sir Henry replied, "That he had no letters but from his own sovereign; that he owed no ill-will to the Spanish or Portuguese nations; that he refused to recognise their exclusive claims, and desired to treat with the Mogul and trade with his people; he would therefore meet force with force." By this time Sir Henry had four ships under his command, but the principal one, the *Trade's Increase*

was too large to enter the harbour. The smaller ones proceeded in, supported by the guns of the large one. The Portuguese, who are represented by historians as having twenty sail, drew up in order of battle between the British ships and the shore, with drums beating, colours flying, and the crews uttering loud and defiant shouts, still no shot was fired. The English had, ever since the destruction of the Armada, acquired a high reputation for exploits by sea; and the fearlessness with which Drake and his companions ravaged the coasts of the whole Iberian peninsula, after that event, inspired the Spaniards and Portuguese with a timidity which prevented them combating the English on the waters, except very great superiority afforded some prospect of success. This fear was shown on the present occasion, and was observed with wonder by the Suratians. Middleton's three ships went on nearing the shore, the *Trade's Increase* bearing on as near as it could get, its cannon of large calibre ready to give forth from their yawning throats the dreaded thunder of a British cannonade. The English having gone as far towards the shore as was deemed prudent, one of their vessels let down a boat well armed, which pulled directly for shore. Several of the Portuguese let down their boats, and formed, to intercept and capture it. They were received by a galling fire of musketry, the English sailors firing only at a proximity which gave certainty to their aim, and then with a coolness and steadiness, which not only excited the astonishment of their enemies and of the natives, but the admiration of the latter and of Sir Henry himself. The crews of the Portuguese boats pulled off, and were pursued by the British; other Portuguese boats coming to their assistance were beaten off in like manner, and one of the ships was attacked by the English boat's crew; the frightened Portuguese leaped into the sea, and swam to shore or perished. This vessel was heavily laden with the richest Indian commodities, and proved a welcome prize. The whole of the English squadron then opened fire upon the terrified fleet of the enemy, which sought safety in flight, leaving the approach to the shore clear for the conquerors. The exultation of the natives was openly expressed. Always ready to side with power and with success, they fawned upon the English commander, and freely offered to trade with him. It is not to the honour of Sir Henry that his conduct as a trader was as disreputable as his wisdom and gallantry as a commander were famous. He insisted that such of his stores as were unsuited to the market of Surat should be purchased as well

as his more marketable commodities. He all but forced sales with some of the principal native merchants, who, repenting of their bargains, were about, according to the law or custom of Surat, to give him twenty-four hours' notice of the revocation of their purchases, when Sir Henry, inviting the viceroy and his council on board to an entertainment, detained them as prisoners until the payments which the native merchants had stipulated were made. In this way he accomplished his purpose, but his outrageous violence and overbearing demeanour so enraged the viceroy (the enemy of Hawkins), the native authorities, and the native merchants, that a universal indisposition to have anything to do with the English sprung up. The cowardly Portuguese, who cringed and dared not to move a tongue before, now came forth, declaring that the English had proved themselves the pirates and tyrants which they had represented them, and the Jesuits circulated many stories of their own invention, of the piracy and plunder of the English in Europe and in the Spice Islands. The Portuguese fleet, emboldened by the public feeling of the natives, made several attempts to cut off the two vessels near the shore, from the two larger ones, which were anchored at some distance, but they on each occasion "received such entertainment as induced them quickly to retire." The heroic courage of the English, which at first pleased the natives, at last alarmed them, and their rough and unprincipled behaviour as traders disgusted the smooth and deceitful native merchants. A peremptory order from the viceroy reached Sir Henry that he must depart, and that he might announce to his countrymen they would never again be received in Surat. Sir Henry considered himself unjustly treated and "put to great expenses," and vowed that he would have reparation even from the great Mogul.

He sailed along the coast until he arrived at Dabul, where he was well received, but circumstances soon disclosed that fear of his power alone prompted the forms of courtesy; the governor secretly interdicted all trade with him.

He departed from India to the Red Sea. There coming before Mocha he gave such proof of his force and his ability to use it, that the citizens were glad to pay a heavy compensation for the wrongs inflicted upon him when he last visited that coast.

His next exploits were against the ships of the great Mogul. These he stopped, and told their commanders that, "as they would not trade with him by fair means, they must do so by foul." He took what goods pleased him, giving others in exchange to the full

value, but he himself dictated the terms of barter; and it is creditable that he did not place too high a value on the goods of others, nor make too low an estimate of the worth of those of the company. One magnificent ship of fifteen hundred tons burden, which the emperor built for the purpose of conveying pilgrims to Arabia, Middleton captured, appropriating all the valuables it contained to the account of the company.

Having thus severely chastised "Portugals," "Gentoos," and "Turks," by sea and land, the captain considered his mission ended in those parts, and directing his course across the Indian Ocean, arrived at the Spice Islands. Here having, unopposed, transacted such business as was open to him, he repaired to Bantam, and took up his abode at the English factory; his fine ship, the *Trade's Increase*, having struck upon a rock, and suffered such damage that she was almost a wreck. From Bantam he sent home one of his ships, the *Peppercorn*, heavily laden with a very rich cargo, under the command of Downton, with the message to the company, that he would follow as soon as he had effected repairs in his ship. He was soon after seized with illness, and died; some writers affirm in consequence of the damage sustained by his noble ship, which was a heavy drawback upon the profit and glory of the expedition. The profit that accrued to the company was, however, estimated by it at 131 per cent. The objectionable portion of Sir Henry's proceedings was not too closely canvassed in England, and his bold exploits were hailed with as much triumph as the tidings of his decease caused deep regret.

During the year 1609, so eventful to the company in building and sending out ships, the favour of King James I. was bestowed in a manner calculated, morally and financially, to strengthen the company. On the 31st of May in that year, by further charter or letters patent, the powers or privileges granted in 1599 for fifteen years, and all privileges, whether renewed or those (in 1609) first granted, were to be for ever. Such a circumstance was well calculated to give a fresh impulse to the ardour of the company, and will account for the extensive operations of that year, and the growing magnitude of the company's designs.

In 1611 the *Globe* was sent out under Captain Hippon, and one Floris, a Dutchman, sailed with him as "a factor." They left England in the first month of the year, and soon after midsummer reached the Island of Ceylon. They ran along the coast from Point de Galle to Nega-

patam. Not finding that place inviting, they proceeded to Pulicat, where Van Wervicke, president of the Dutch settlements, waited upon the captain, announcing that the king of the territory had given exclusive privilege of trade there to Holland. The captain replied that the patent of the King of England was sufficient anywhere. A quarrel would have ensued but for the interposition of the native authorities, and the English commander, finding that the Dutch possessed complete influence in the native councils, wisely departed. He thence sailed to Patapoli, where he instituted a small factory. From that place he proceeded to Masulipatam, the market for the beautiful cloths known by that designation. The governor there entered into a treaty, which he violated "before the ink was dry," and conducted himself with such falsehood and fraud, that the Englishman charged him with his baseness and duplicity. He replied that a true believer—a descendant of Mohammed—was to be believed before a Christian dog. By menaces chiefly Hippon accomplished an accommodation, and then departed to the British factory at Bantam. Having concerted with the company's officials there, Captain Hippon proceeded to Patane, where he landed in June, 1612, with imposing pomp, "minstrels playing, and flags flying, and bearing the king's letter in a golden box on the back of an elephant." This the commander presented to the queen, who received it graciously, and granted permission to erect a factory, and establish agents there. The captain died at that place, and the officer next in command took the vessel to Siam. Floris, the Dutch factor, had proved himself an able tactician, as he had previously visited those parts in connection with the Dutch East India Company. He declared that at Siam the demand for goods was so great when he had visited it, as the whole world could not be able to satisfy; the English, however, found a great glut of goods, which the activity of the Dutch had created. From Siam the English ship was steered to Masulipatam, where a hospitable reception was given, but a great unwillingness to trade evinced.

In 1611 an expedition was sent out, consisting of three ships, under the command of Captain Saris. Saris sailed at once to the Red Sea, where he found Middleton after his return thither from Surat. The two squadrons formed a junction, and scoured that sea together, capturing or sinking enemy's ships, and forcing trade upon the reluctant. Captain Saris, as well as his predecessor, justified the character given of the English captains to the Great Mogul—that they were sea-rob-

bers, who came to plunder as well as to trade. It must be admitted, however, that but for the injustice and opposition which they met with as traders, they would not have made themselves terrible as rovers. Captain Saris proceeded to Bantam, as did all the English voyagers; thence to the Moluccas, where he found the islands nearly desolated by violence, the native princes carrying on sanguinary feuds in the interest of the rival Dutch and Portuguese, while both had spread the wildest reports about the English, and were ready 'by all means to circumvent or to destroy them. The proceedings of the captain at Japan, under the auspices of Adams, were given on a former page. This expedition returned home in great triumph, laden with the "spicy treasures of the East," fine calicoes, various drugs, and other commodities which then entered into the trade of Asia with Europe.

The various modes of approaching the centres of Eastern trade having all now become well known to the European nations, especially to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, the trade henceforth assumed a more regular form. Voyages ceased to be so much of the nature of expeditions. The defence of the commerce of each nation did not depend altogether upon mercantile armaments, nor was it affected so much by mere privateering. The governments of the respective countries guarded their commerce more effectually by royal navies, and made the commerce of the East more a matter of state policy. From these circumstances the accounts of particular voyages become less exciting; the novelty disappears; the commanders cease to be mere rovers, not certain whither they would direct their course, and always on the look out for spoil; nor were they, as before, part pirates, part traders; they set sail for specific destinations, with specific objects; and although well armed, and not unfrequently obliged to use their weapons against professional pirates, or against the ships of rival nations in open war, their intent was more strictly commercial. Mr. Murray, writing of the expeditions of the company's captains, and of the general mode of doing business at home up to this time, observes:—"They had derived an average profit of not less than 171 per cent. Mr. Mill hence draws the natural inference that these had been conducted in a manner decidedly more judicious than subsequent adventures that yielded a very different return. Yet we cannot forbear observing, that many of the cargoes were made up on such very easy terms as their successors could not expect to command. Independently of the fact that whole fleets were sometimes

laden with captured goods, trade was often carried on by compulsory means, calculated to ensure a profitable return only to the stronger party. These first voyages, in short, exhibit the profits of trade combined with the produce of piracy. The commerce of India, according to the original plan, was to be conducted on the principal of a joint-stock company, in which the transactions were to be managed by a governor and directors, and a dividend made to the subscribers in proportion to the number of shares. But as the paying up of the instalments upon this principle proceeded very slowly, another arrangement was made, by which each individual furnished a certain proportion of the outlay and received the entire profit arising from its investment. Though the affairs of the company prospered under this system, it was necessarily attended with a good deal of confusion and difficulty, which suggested to the governor and company the expediency of returning to the old method of conducting affairs on the regular joint-stock system. This plan was accordingly adopted in 1612, and on those terms a capital of £429,000 was subscribed, with which the directors undertook, during the next four years, to build twenty-nine vessels, at an expense of £272,000, and to employ the rest of the sum in the investment."

Two years after the victory of Middleton at Surat, Captain Best, with a small squadron, appeared off the coast. He had the address to conciliate the governor of Ahmedabad, and through him obtained important concessions from the emperor. The greatest difficulty the captain found was in the prejudices created by the conduct of Sir Henry Middleton in seizing the pilgrim ship. This the captain condemned, declaring that the British nation could not be held answerable for the unwarrantable liberties of an individual. The death of Middleton of course precluded all possibility of any demand for redress so far as he was concerned. In January, 1613, a firman of the emperor authorized the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Gogo, with protection for the property and persons of the traders. A custom duty of three and a half per cent was one of the conditions.

The Portuguese were filled with consternation when those tidings arrived at their factories, and they resolved to frustrate any efforts of the English to take advantage of the firman. They accordingly attacked the two vessels of Captain Best with much more numerous, and, to all appearance, powerful ships, at Sevally, near Surat. This attack was made on the 22nd of October, 1612, and

the plan adopted was to open a fire from four large galleons, and under cover of the cannonade a swarm of smaller vessels to bear down and board the British ships. The fire of the galleons was, however, speedily silenced, and many men on board of them slain. The boarders kept a respectful distance, until they saw their galleons repulsed, when they sheered off. The victory raised the valour of the English in the esteem of the natives, which so exasperated the Portuguese, that they renewed their attacks upon the English, whose force had increased to four vessels. Finally, on the 27th of November, after nearly five weeks' conflict, the English ships obtained so complete a mastery, that the enemy abandoned their assaults. The courage of Captain Best and the English was noised abroad along the coasts and far into the interior, and at last its fame reached the emperor at Agra, who involuntarily uttered terms of contempt towards the Portuguese, and admiration of their conquerors. The prestige of the captain's intrepidity, and that of his crews, did much to favour the settlements of English factories on the coasts. An imperial firman, dated the 11th of January, 1613, empowered them to have a factory at Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goa. They were ultimately extended to Ajmeer and Agra.

This gallant officer had opportunity of rendering other services to his country. In 1615 he visited Acheen, bearing a letter from the English king to the sovereign of that place. The captain obtained permission to establish a factory at Tico, in Sumatra, under a custom duty of seven per cent.

A curious incident is related in connection with Captain Best's visit to Acheen. The king is described as a furious and sanguinary person, but so placable to the English, that he sent a request to the British king to send him an English wife, and he would make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries. No daughter of England took advantage of this royal offer, made in a general way, nor does it appear that the English court gave any encouragement to the idea of an English lady ascending the throne of the peppery regions. In 1623 the fickle and fierce prince, who was disappointed of a *fair* queen, banished the English factor, and, to save the appearance of impartiality, drove away the Dutch factor likewise. He afterwards changed his mind, and admitted them again, but they were the objects of his caprice and that of his successors for a long time.

During the gallant and wise services of Best the English company was much impressed with the importance of securing a

footing on the shores of Western India, that they might be able to conduct a safe and regular trade thence. They expressed to the court of James their anxiety on this subject, and prevailed on him to send Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Great Mogul.* They at the same time directed Mr. Edwards their agent at Agra, since the firman of January, 1613, allowed a factory at Surat, and branches from it, to co-operate.

When discussing the social condition of India, reference was made to the mission of Sir Thomas; also in the last chapter, where his opinions, as adverse to forts as means of

* The following notice of the life of Sir Thomas Roe will interest the reader, as his name holds so peculiar a place in Indian history:—"Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton, in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee, in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the city of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson, Sir Thomas Roe, was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the city: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailors' School; he married a daughter of Sir John Gresham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one, Robert, was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan; but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen he was entered a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and was shortly afterwards appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March, 1604, he was knighted by King James I., and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America. With this object in view, he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to Captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession. Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 24th of February, 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it, having sailed up its course for two hundred miles, and then proceeded above one hundred miles further in boats. From thence he sailed northward and westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers, and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India Islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July, 1611." His commission from the king to the Indian emperor was the next notable incident of his history.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

security to trade, were quoted. The hopes of the English from this embassy were considerable. It was the first instance of an ambassador proceeding directly from the English court to that of the Great Mogul; others, representatives of England,—such as Newberry, Fitch, Hawkins, and Best,—were but the messengers of associations of merchants, bearing letters from the reigning sovereign. Costly presents were placed at the ambassador's disposal, and the English felt assured that the directness of his mission, the value of the gifts he bore, the rank of the ambassador himself, and his address and ability, would combine in producing a decisive effect. "He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, with Captains Peyton and Broughton, in command of the *Lion* and *Peppercorn*."* He landed in great pomp at Surat in September, where, as an ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, none dared to dispute his free passage.† From Surat he proceeded to Ajmeer.

The credentials of Sir Thomas are exceedingly interesting, and show definitely the object of his mission. Modern writers give conflicting accounts of the events of this period. Some attribute to Captain Hawkins the permission obtained for the original settlement at Surat, others to Captain Best, and very many to Sir Thomas Roe. The credentials which Sir Thomas received from his own court give the honour of the first successful negotiation to Captain Best, and

* Murray, with whom is the majority of modern writers.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keeling, Sir Thomas embarked on the *Lion*, Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March, 1615; and after touching at Saldanha, and the Comera Islands, in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui, they reached Socotra on the 24th of August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th of September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

† Murray; Taylor.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keeling, the president and merchants of the factory, and "a court of guard of one hundred shot" (*musketeers*) from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships, in their best equipage, gave him their ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent, prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect, which did not, however, exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the governor, who, by force, searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit. After much controversy, and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started, on the 30th of October, for the padishaw's court, which was then established at Ajmeer.—*Calcutta Review* June, 1857.

show that the ambassador was sent to "handle and treat" of the matters in the firman given to Best. Along with the following letter King James sent a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance for the signature of the emperor, so as to enlarge the firman conceded to Captain Best.

James, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the Illigh and Mightie Monarch, the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir), and Corazon (Khorasan), &c., Greeting:—

We, having notice of your great favour towards us and our subjects, by your great firma to all your capitaines of rivers, and officers of your customes, for the entertainment of our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the ports within your dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., as by the articles concluded by Suc Suff (*Sheikh Suffee*), Governor of the Gazerats, in your name, with our loving subject, Capitaine Thomas Best, appeareth, have thought it meete to send unto you our ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne between us, and which will, without doubt, redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations; in which consideration, and for the furthering of such landable commerce, wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall gentlemen of our court, to whom wee have given commission under our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions, further to treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom we pray you to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall move or propound towards the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward you, we pray you to accept in good part the present which our said ambassadour will deliver unto you; and so doe commit you to the merciful protection of Almighty God.

It was not until the year 1616 had far advanced that Sir Thomas obtained a firman authorizing the English trade, and then it was so expressed as to afford, in a very qualified manner, the advantages ostensibly conceded. Sir Thomas was obliged to depart in 1618, having no reliance on the firmness or consistency of the monarch; and as he was beset by the same enemies of the English as defeated the diplomacy of Hawkins, Sir Thomas left the court of the emperor far from satisfied with the results of his mission. Nevertheless, the padishaw showed him many tokens of honour on his departure, and gave him a commendatory letter to King James. On arriving at Surat, he found the governor unwilling to act upon the new treaty. He even had the insolence to sneer at the orders and firmans of the emperor. Shah Jehan, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of In-

dian princes, was at variance with the officious governor. With him Sir Thomas opened a correspondence. The shah was as adverse to the Portuguese as he was to the governor, their friend, and therefore at once entered into the views of Sir Thomas. After a considerable time spent in negotiation with the prince, a treaty was formed confirming all the benefits of the firmans previously granted to Captain Best and to Sir Thomas, together with especial privileges at the port of Surat, and leave to erect a building for the stores and business transactions of the English factors. Emboldened by these concessions, Sir Thomas further negotiated to have inserted in the treaty clauses conferring on the English the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms. In return for the last concession, Sir Thomas bound the English resident at Surat to assist the emperor in defence of the port.

While at Surat, perceiving that the agents of the company were conducting a profitable trade in the Persian Gulf, Sir Thomas directed negotiations for a treaty with the shah. The English had already established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and even at Ispahan—so active were the company's first agents at Surat. Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, had a profound respect for the Great Mogul; and, understanding that Sir Thomas had been received with great distinction at his court, he readily acquiesced in all the suggestions that came from him. The result was a treaty on terms as favourable as those which established the English at Surat.

At the commencement of the year 1619, this renowned ambassador bid farewell to the scene of his difficulties and triumphs. In the month of May he put into Saldanha Bay, where the renowned Dutch admiral, Hoffman, at that time lay. Sir Thomas was as successful in negotiating with the Dutch as he had been with the Hindoos and Persians, for he and Hoffman agreed to write to the factories and stations in the East, enjoining peace and good-will as alone conformable to the wishes of the two governments. They also corresponded with their governments, and did all in their power to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The influence which Sir Thomas exercised over Hoffman was most extraordinary, for he was a man of stern disposition, strong will, and deep nationality. The clear intellect, and pure love of peace, were so conspicuous in the English envoy that he failed not even with the dogged Dutchman.

The arrival of this distinguished negotiator was hailed by the crown, the company, and the country with acclamation, and many

honours were shown him. He was appointed a member of the privy council, and chancellor of the Order of the Garter. These were his only recompences from the king, who never continued long to appreciate men of real eminence. He was a royalist, but disapproved of the absolute measures of the Stuarts, to whom his warnings and counsels were in vain. He contributed much to the public welfare by his advice to the company, and to commercial men. On all questions of trade he was regarded as the most able and experienced man in the kingdom. His love of commerce was united to an exquisite taste. He made a very extensive collection of articles of *vertu*. He also collected a vast number of medals. His treasures in art and antiquity he bequeathed to the public. His ideas on foreign politics were moderate and liberal, and his counsels were valued by all the statesmen of the day. He was a good orator, but spoke best on commercial subjects, especially in the House of Commons, to which he was elected; his speeches in the house on the currency were much before his age. He published several pamphlets on monetary, commercial, and political subjects, and left behind him various very valuable manuscripts.*

* The following brief narrative of the life of this statesman, *after his return from India*, will complete the sketch of his history before his departure to the Mogul:—"Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. In 1621 he was sent as ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha, and Amurath IV., with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and general advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and oriental manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English ambassador. In 1629 he was sent as ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgement of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of two thousand pounds, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen, and several of the German courts. In October, 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April, 1641, he was sent as ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the late Palatinate. Here he made so favourable an impression upon

Sir Thomas had difficulties to contend with at Ajmeer arising from his own people, independent of those which arose from the personal character of the monarch, the intrigues of the court, and the hostility of native governors, Portuguese merchants, and Jesuits. One of these was the ill-assortment of the presents sent to the Mogul and his court; another arose from the meanness and parsimony which pervaded the arrangements of his own court and the company in reference to his embassy. These things struck the court of Ajmeer, lowered the English king and nation in their estimation, and provoked some of the insults and delays which he experienced. He was also much embarrassed by adventurous Englishmen at that time in India from various causes. One of these he found it necessary to attach to his own suite, in the hope of preventing mischief. Perhaps the ambassador was too sensitive to such matters; but he was certainly exposed to many *mal apropos* incidents at court, which were calculated to try severely a less composed and self-collected man.

Among others, he was embarrassed by the presence of the most eccentric Englishman of that age, named Thomas Coryate. Some notice of this extraordinary man is here desirable. The remarks of an Indian reviewer are very apposite on the subject of the embarrassment caused to Sir Thomas, by "extraordinary Tom," as he was quaintly and aptly termed in his day. "The circumstance which led to their juxta-position is one of specially Indian interest; their having been strangely and unexpectedly thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the durbar of the Great Mogul, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position, and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or 'English fakeer,' were alike incomprehensible to the padishaw, and to those around him."

the emperor that he publicly said, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an ambassador till now;" and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly, "That if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue." After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his royal master and the parliament, which embittered his latter days, and is believed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th of November, 1644, at Woodford, in Essex, where he was buried."—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

In order that the reader may be able to comprehend the inconvenience which the ambassador felt from the presence of that other "extreme variety of English character," the following brief outline of his history is given. He was born at Odcombe, in Somersetshire, in the year 1577, and was son of the rector of that parish, who had been a superior scholar and a Latin poet of some merit. Thomas was educated at Westminster school, from which he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Having pursued his studies there with great success, he became notorious as a scholar and an eccentric person. Partly from his varied and antique scholarship, and partly from personal oddities which seemed strangely associated with so much learning, he was appointed to an office in the household of the Prince of Wales. Fuller says, "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course of all entertainments. Indeed, he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammer as hard knocks as it received; his bluntness repaying their abusiveness." A love of travel seems to have early seized upon him, and neither his interests at court nor any other consideration were sufficient to detain him at home. In 1608 he undertook a journey through the south of Europe. His observations he published in 1611, and called them *Coryate's Crudities gobbled up in five months in France, &c. &c. &c.* After this publication, which made an immense sensation in its way, he issued another, which he queerly titled, *Coryate's Crambe, or his Calwert twice sodden*. A critic describes these books as "crude enough, but not without a quaint originality, curious scholarship, and truthful observation." He speedily undertook another period of foreign travel, "for which he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of Odysseus' wanderings." He set sail from England on the 20th of October, 1612, for the Grecian archipelago, thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and visited the site of Troy, in company with a number of other "roving Englishmen," such as at that time were finding their way everywhere. His companions playfully pretended to make him a knight of Troy, on which occasion he made an oration replete with "out-of-the-way learning and absurdity, which has been preserved among the fragments of his travels and correspondence." He then went to Constantinople, where "he saw every thing, and published what he saw." Thence he travelled to Jerusalem, and the cities of Palestine, with one Henry Allard, another roaming Englishman, whom he picked up on the way. From Jerusalem he travelled into

Egypt and other adjacent countries, and into Persia, generally meeting with no unkindness, but at last robbed of everything by a Turkish soldier. From Persia he travelled to India by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrah, and Greshk to Candahar, and from that by Quetta, and the Bolan Pass to Shirkapore. On this last route he met Sir Robert Shirley and his lady, proceeding from India to Persia, on the embassy projected by the London company, at the same time they influenced the court to send out Sir Thomas Roe to India. Sir John and Lady Shirley had known him before, having met him at court, for every one who visited the court knew Coryate. Lady Theresa Shirley made him a present of forty shillings, a very much larger sum, relatively, in those days than at present. Sir Robert complimented him as an author, and said he would bring his book under the notice of the shah, which gratified him more, probably, than if the knight had bestowed all he had upon him; for Coryate was as vain of authorship and of displaying his learning as he was simple and unostentatious in all things beside. From Shirkapore, he made his way to Agra, and thence to Ajmeer, where he arrived a toilworn man, to the amazement of ten Englishmen all transacting business there for the company, except one or two in the service of the Mogul. He found his books well known to his countrymen, which fed his peculiar weakness, and recompensed all his fatigues. This was in 1615. He immediately began the study of the Urdu and Persian languages, although he had already acquired as many as perhaps any other man of the age. "He remained at Ajmeer until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England, and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chittoor to meet him. Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight-seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably travelling on foot, had excited the attention of the shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the English fakeer. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and, above

all, being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to receive him save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the ambassador's household with his chaplain, and kept as much in the background as practicable. This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the padishaw in spite of the ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the royal durbār, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehanghire, who making inquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England." *

Our space does not permit us to give the oration, or the reader would not need to be told that the emperor and his court remained silent for some time in amazement. The astonishment of his majesty was so great at the man, the manner, the oriental learning, the impulses and motives indicated, that he was bewildered, utterly unable to conceive what should be said or done to the orator. The padishaw's surprise subsided into amusement, and this humour being caught up by the court, poor Coryate afforded them much entertainment, and left a general impression that the English were like no other people; their energy in trade, their bravery in war, the astuteness of their negotiators, the adventurous folly of individuals, and the unaccountable specimen which then stood before his majesty in the durbār, produced the impression upon the court that they were a people whose ways were not as those of other men, and of whose doings, individually or collectively, it would be difficult to predicate anything, except that they would be energetically occupied somehow.

The oration of Coryate was the talk of Ajmeer, and the story spread "far and near," to the disquiet and discomfiture of the dignified ambassador, who had already struggled so hard to maintain the dignity of his sovereign and his country. Coryate knew all this, and was delighted, so that he wrote

* *Calcutta Review.*

home to his mother the address with which he circumvented his ambassadorial friend, and obtained an opportunity of unfolding to the padishaw the greatness of his learning and of his travels, for he had truly told him, "I traced the world into this countrye, that my pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortale man in this world did ever perform to see the blessed face of your maiestie."

The effects which Sir Thomas feared were produced to a far less extent than his cautious temper depicted. The padishaw became intensely pleased with the strange, wild traveller, and gave him one hundred rupees. Several of the courtiers, who persisted in believing him a mad fakeer, also endowed him with presents of rupees. Sir Thomas himself seems to have spared his money, for when Coryate departed on fresh travels he only gave him "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure-and-twentie shillings." He persisted in travelling into Tartary, although the emperor, solicitous for his safety, personally advised him not to do so, because of dangers from the difficulties of the way and the bigotry of the people. He was compelled to return from illness, brought on by privations and fatigue, and died at Surat, according to a presentiment which led him to rejoin the ambassador. The estimate of the man is just which is thus given:—"With all his weaknesses, there was much that was amiable and manly in Coryate's character, and he deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of British enterprise in the East."

While this eccentric wanderer was traversing Asia, other English adventurers were in jeopardy, and their proceedings were constantly reaching the ear of the Great Mogul. One Withington, an agent of the company, and a party of Englishmen, set out from Ahmedabad to reach a port in Scinde named Laribunda, where three English ships had found their way. The third night of the journey, while in company with a caravan, an attack was made by robbers. The next day our traveller met the Mogul's officer "returning with two hundred and fifty heads of them." The journey was five hundred miles, and the account given by Withington and his companions was far less favourable than that of Sir Thomas Roe. Coryate's descriptions tallied with both according to the district in which he travelled. Withington and his party could not have proceeded a day's journey but for hired escorts of cavalry. Notwithstanding escorts, they were attacked, and compelled to pay ransom. A Rajpoot guide delivered them over on another occasion to a party of

marauders, who strangled two native merchants of the party and their five servants. They bound Withington and his attendants, and marched them thirty miles to a mountain fastness. After having been plundered of everything, they begged their way back to Ahmedabad, after an absence of a hundred and eleven days, and innumerable dangers, fatigues, and ill-treatment. The English, when oppressed, urged their complaints upon the emperor, where there were always some courtiers to plead the cause of the wrongdoers, and the ambassador had much to do besides urging the suit for liberty of commerce.

The success of Sir Thomas Roe placed the company's stations on a new footing, altered the relations of the company to the government of India, and materially affected its fortunes. Henceforth all concerned could look forward from a new stand-point, but no idea of territorial conquest crossed the mind of any one whose opinion is recorded, and it is next to impossible that in the settlements they had obtained they had dared to hope for aught but commercial convenience and security. Miss Martineau has well put the fact in connection with this era in the company's fortunes in the following language:—"The English speculators thought of nothing but commerce in settling their Indian plans at home, much more certainly must they have contemplated nothing else when in Hindostan. What they saw there dwarfed everything English in a manner now scarcely to be imagined by us. By degrees the immensity of the territory opened upon them, as they heard of groups of sovereigns, and crowds of chieftains, each with a province, or a district, or a kingdom, or an empire, under his control, and as they found the old Hindoo organization of rulers of ten towns, and a hundred towns, and a thousand towns, commemorated in their traditions. The mere deserted capitals were like the metropolitan cities of Europe fallen asleep. By degrees they learned something of the two deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, where the mere mouths of rivers might constitute fair kingdoms, without including the course of their mighty streams. By degrees their imaginations became able to attain the peaks of the Himalaya, and to comprehend the spaces of the Deccan which were guarded by the Ghauts. The more they learned of Indian magnitudes, the less could they have conceived of having any other than commercial business there. The phenomena of human life and manners were as stupendous in their proportions as the productions of nature. Our first residents at the native courts saw wars made on such a scale

that they hardly dared to tell it at home, for fear of the contempt with which their 'travellers' tales' would be treated."

The chief uneasiness now at home arose from apprehensions of a protracted struggle, neither with Mogul obstinacy nor Portuguese arms, but with the brave, energetic, and persevering Dutch; for all the efforts of Roe and Hoffman, whatever effect they produced upon the courts and companies at home, failed to introduce a spirit of conciliation abroad. The English disclaimed all intention of interfering with the Dutch where the right of prior occupation gave the latter a claim upon their forbearance, but the English had no scruples in placing factories near those of their competitors; and this circumstance inflamed the resentment of the Dutch as much as if England made war upon their Eastern settlements. The contest of the two nations in the Moluccas was an instance of this. The Dutch had early formed settlements there, and the English established agencies in the little islands of Puleroom and Rosengen, which belonged to a group occupied generally by the Dutch, although they had no establishments of any kind on those particular islands. The Hollanders "warned the English off," declaring that the sovereignty of the Spice Islands belonged to them, and attacked the English, but were repulsed. They then seized two English ships, and refused to restore them until England withdrew from those islands.

Among the disastrous results of the ill-feeling between the two nations in the East was the massacre, as it has been called, at Amboyna, of which an account will be given

in another chapter, relating the progress of the Dutch in India and the Eastern seas, rendering it unnecessary here to make further reference to it than to state that the cruelty and injustice perpetrated there upon the English residents, suspected of conspiracy against Dutch power, so exasperated the English both in the East and at home, that a very general desire sprung up to expel the Dutch utterly from India and the great Eastern Archipelago. English privateers attacked and captured rich homeward-bound ships, unless when convoyed by powerful naval squadrons. The Dutch government felt keenly the expense laid upon it by convoy fleets, and the Dutch merchants and East India Company were mortified intensely as well as injured by those captures. The British were, however, to suffer reverses, which followed each other in rapid succession. The revolution of the Portuguese against the throne of Spain so occupied these two powers, that the Dutch were relieved from nearly all armed competition with these nations, and were enabled to concentrate their energies in repressing the commerce and power of England in the Eastern seas.

In order to give explicitness and clearness to the position and conduct of the English in their relations to the traders and government of Holland during succeeding years, it is necessary to devote an entire chapter to the Eastern history of a people who so frequently crossed our path in the competitions of commerce and colonization, and the sanguinary struggles of war.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE history of no country, in modern times, supplies a more extraordinary instance of the rise of a small and insignificant province to independence and greatness than does that of Holland. The successful war she maintained for the lengthened period of eighty years, against the most powerful empire in the world, and which terminated in the recognition of the republic by the union of Utrecht, in 1581, is an event which, in its incidents and results, has not been equalled. It has been well described "as an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire."

From causes, to which are generally due
VOL. I.

the debilitation of states and their utter prostration, arose the greatness of the Netherlands, and its steady progress, until it became a naval and commercial power; and from its insignificant body extended its far-reaching ambition until it grasped and appropriated innumerable possessions on every side—in Asia, America, Africa, and Australia, subjecting to its rule the Brazils, Guiana, the West Indies, New York, the Cape of Good Hope, a large portion of Hindostan, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and New Holland.

A history of India could not be complete which would pass over the enterprising Dutch. Their impress in that quarter, impassive as is

its social contour, indurated by its Hindoo compression, will survive; and though not a vestige remain of its military and naval prowess, of its administrative institutions, the produce of the vineyard, planted by those zealous and self-sacrificing Dutch missionaries, Schwartz and Ziegenbalg, will live in this world, and in the next.*

* To the credit of the United Provinces, or rather of the Dutch East India Company, with all their selfish criminality, they were earnest propagators of the Gospel; and wherever they established a factory they also reared a temple to the Lord. At page 57, it has been noticed that the first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark, and established himself at Tranquebar, then a Dutch settlement, where he founded a church and school. The first Protestant mission was founded in India by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated in the university of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Burmannus, Bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry, he founded a Christian church among the Hindoos, which soon extended its limits. In 1714 he returned to Europe, and to the credit of the first of the Georges, kings of England, he was honoured with an audience by his majesty, who took a great interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The king and the society encouraged him to persevere in his translation of the holy Scriptures into the Tamul language, which they designated "the grand work." In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the translation, having devoted fourteen years to the work. The king did not lose his interest in this primary effort to evangelize the Hindoo after the departure of the missionary. In 1717 his majesty, by letter, assured him that he appreciated "the work undertaken by him, of converting the heathen to the Christian faith," and prays "that he may be endowed with strength and health of body to continue to fulfil his ministry with good success, of which he shall be rejoiced to hear, and ready to succour him in whatever may tend to promote his work and excite his zeal, with an assurance of his continued zeal." After the death of Ziegenbalg, and ten years from the date of the foregoing letter, a second was addressed to the members of the mission by his majesty, in 1725, in which he assures the missionaries that he received with much pleasure the success of their zealous efforts, and requests them to continue to communicate the particulars of their progress (Niecampius's *History Mist.*). The Hindoo converts at Tanjore are also in possession of letters written by Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same reign, who is reported as having supported the mission with unexampled liberality, affection, and zeal. These letters, which are many in number, are all written in the Latin language. He was president of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first is dated, January 7, 1719. After the first missionary, Ziegenbalg, had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number, in the period of a hundred years; among whom Schultz, Jaenicke, Gericke, and Schwartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces. When Dr. Buchanan arrived in Tranquebar, in 1806, he was told by the missionaries that religion had suffered very much there of late years. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion and hostile to the conversion of the Hindoo, and that European example in the large towns was the bane of Christian instruction.—See Buchanan's *Christian Researches respecting the Hindoos*.

In the *Rise of the Dutch Republic** is given an able summary of the war against Spain, and the circumstances which accompanied it. The part which the English took in it is familiar to every one versed in the history of this country. Here it will be sufficient to say, that when France had rejected the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which the states of Brabant, Flanders, Mechlin, Zealand, Holland, and Friesland, had laid at the feet of Henry III., by a solemn embassy, headed by Peter de Melun, Prince d'Espinoy, 1585,† the Protestant patriots turned in disappointment from the Roman Catholic, who had rejected their proposals of absolute submission, to Elizabeth, the Protestant sovereign of England. To her they also dispatched a solemn embassy, of which John Oldenbarnvelt, or Barneveldt, was a member, for the purpose of soliciting her to become the sovereign of the United Provinces.‡ Though the advantages of the offer were described in language little consistent with the phlegmatic character of the dull burghers, and in colours too vivid for the Dutch, and more in harmony with the Italian school, she apprehended, from becoming a principal in the war against Philip, the invasion by him of her hereditary dominions; and that, by declaring herself the protector of rebels, she would have arrayed against her the avowed or concealed hostility of all the monarchs of Europe. She prudently declined to accept the *absolute allegiance* of "an affectionate and devoted people, whose possession would render England mistress of the seas." To Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, the next *absolute* submission was offered with the crown, but he was haughtily forbidden by his royal mistress to accept the tempting gift. Though excluded from the throne, he had been appointed a governor-general of the United Provinces in Elizabeth's name, and six thousand English troops were placed at his command; and as a security for the repayment of the expenses incurred by England, English garrisons were admitted into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and a place given to the English in the councils of the nation; and henceforth, both by the queen and her deputy, the Netherlands were treated as a dependent province of England.||

In an early stage of his government, Leicester forbade, by public edict, the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise

* By John Lothrop Motley. London: Chapman, 1855.

† Davies's *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 162.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 174. § *Ibid.*, p. 175. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic.* This impolitic restriction subjected the Spaniards and Portuguese to no inconveniences. They had free access to the ports of England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns. In fact, Holland lost a profitable trade, and threw it into the hands of other nations. It is only justice to the foresight of the Dutch to state, that they strongly protested against this impolitic procedure.

As a measure of reprisal Philip seized on all the Dutch and English ships found in his waters, and several of both countries were in the ports of Spain and Portugal. With the sanction of the queen a number of English privateers were commissioned, and these did not confine their hostilities to the common foe; the Dutch vessels were equally an object of attack, for since the prohibition they were accustomed to trade with Spain and Portugal under Spanish colours; and so severe were their losses, which averaged one million guilders annually, that they sent ambassadors, in 1589, to remonstrate with the queen on the subject. The navigation of the channel was in such peril, that the Dutch vessels trading to the west, were obliged to venture on the dangerous route by the northern shores of Scotland.

Forced by these measures to stretch out into seas with which they were but imperfectly acquainted, they began, amid the experiences of the northern ocean, to despise the terrors of the unknown deep. About this time Italy, for some years, was subjected to a great scarcity, and the Dutch monopolized a large and lucrative trade by transporting thither the produce of the shores of the Baltic. A return of the usually propitious seasons terminated that branch of commerce, and forced the mariners of Holland and Zealand to explore new channels. The extraordinary success of the Portuguese, and of their allies the English, fired their spirit of enterprise, and incited them to seek in distant adventures emulative successes.

The immediate stimulant, however, was a countryman of their own, Cornelius Houtman. This adventurer had resided for some time in Lisbon, and had witnessed the enriching results of the commerce with the East, and held out the hope of very remunerative profits from a trade with the Spice Islands of India. His representations induced nine merchants of Amsterdam to form a company for the prosecution of a trade with the nations of the East.† Four vessels were constructed

and equipped for the voyage, and, as the exigencies of the occasion required, the vessels were equally fitted for attack and for commerce. The largest of them was about five hundred and sixty tons.

On the 2nd of April, 1595, they departed from the Texel; on the 2nd of August reached the Cape of Good Hope; and after some delays, in June of the next year they arrived at the Island of Java. The reception which they met with here was not calculated to cheer and compensate for the toil and privations of their protracted voyage. The Portuguese, who had settled in the capital of Java, influenced the native chief to reject their intercourse, and to forbid their trading in his territories. Before they relinquished their designs, they were unfortunately involved in an affray with the natives, and lost several of their crews. In consequence of this loss, aggravated by subsequent illness and hardship, the *Amsterdam* was necessarily abandoned at Bali; to which, on their ejection from Java, the Dutch adventurers had directed their course, and where they were more successful. After an absence of nearly three years, the surviving vessels reached home, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace. Their success was celebrated by a general jubilee, though but ninety, out of two hundred and fifty, of their crews were alive.

The beneficial effects of this expedition was felt throughout the provinces. A bold attempt was made to reach China and Japan by a north-east passage, which, though it proved a failure, so far as the original design, resulted in the discovery of Staten Island, and in reaching as far as the Sea of Tartary, the mouth of the river Oby, and some small islands. Through the influence of the court of France at the Grand Porte, they were enabled to form a treaty with the sultan, by which they obtained full liberty to trade with Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the French flag—a liberty which they did not neglect to turn to the best account. Eighty ships of considerable size were dispatched, in 1598,* to

terprises of so much importance in other quarters of the globe, and so much engaged in the contemplation of its splendid empire in the New World, that the acquisitions of the Portuguese, now its subjects, in the East Indies were treated with comparative neglect. The Dutch, accordingly, who entered upon the trade to India with considerable resources and the utmost ardour, were enabled to supplant the Portuguese.—MILL'S *History of India*, vol. i. p. 24.

* Boek, b. xxxii. bl. 21—23.

Faria thus describes the equipment and progress of this squadron:—"It consisted of eight ships, in which were eight hundred men and provisions for three years. Their admiral was Jacob Cornelius Neque, of Amsterdam. They set sail from that port on the 13th of May, 1598;

* Boek, b. xxi. bl. 703.

† At the time that the Dutch commenced their voyages to the East, the crown of Spain was engaged in en-

the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought back large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. The trade with the north of Europe was not, during these enterprises, neglected. Six hundred and forty vessels arrived from the Baltic, early in the following year, in the port of Amsterdam, freighted with one hundred thousand tons of merchandize, consisting of timber, corn, hemp, tar. In 1599 a blow, which threatened the annihilation of their maritime prosperity, was struck by the youthful successor of Philip of Spain—a blow more severe than was ever inflicted by his father. He arrested all the Dutch ships in his ports, and imprisoned the crews. Such of them as he suspected of having been engaged in the destruction of the Armada, he vindictively and unjustifiably put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley slaves. He punished them as traitors, who had assisted the enemy in fighting against their lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were forbidden to trade with Holland and Zealand. These, like most measures suggested by overwrought passion, recoiled on the author; and, as in the former destruction of the fleet, ultimately contributed to the aggrandizement of the Dutch. They, in a very short space of time, fitted out seventy-three vessels of war, manned them with an effective force of eight thousand men, under the command of Van der Duys, and an edict was promulgated, prohibiting the ships, not only of the Dutch but those of foreign powers, from conveying provisions or any other commodity to Spain; and all goods belonging to that realm, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes.

Van der Duys having unsuccessfully attempted to draw from the harbour of Corunna the Spanish fleet, which was there safely moored and protected by artillery, directed his course towards the Canary Islands, and plundered and occupied the largest of them. Gomara shared the same fate. With thirty-six of the fleet he sailed along the coast of Africa, until he arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, which he found occupied by a large body of Portuguese. Pavaosa, the capital, made no resistance. The inhabitants sought refuge in the mountains, and left a rich booty to the victors. Large stores of sugar, ivory, and other wares, fell into their hands. These they conveyed

to their ships, and while so occupied they spent the time till they were overtaken by the summer heats. The deadly pressure of the atmosphere, impregnated with pestilence, avenged the conquered. The Dutch in numbers fell victims to their cupidity and improvidence, and amongst the fallen were the gallant admiral and his brave nephew. Although the fleet hastened its departure, it did not escape the danger. Above one thousand perished on the homeward voyage, and in the space of fifteen days not more than six or seven survived, in some of the crews, able to work the ships. One was entirely deserted; one, unable to defend itself, was captured by the enemy; a few were cast upon the English coast; and when they arrived, at the end of the winter, in their native ports, two captains alone survived of the officers of that rank. However, the fear which it inspired imposed on the Spanish monarch the precaution of providing convoys in future for his fleets from the Indus.

The success of the adventure of the few merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, had raised the hopes of the nation; and the voyage of Van der Duys, disastrous as it was to himself and the crews, in a commercial point was eminently fortunate, and the atmospheric influences, to which all their misfortunes were traceable, could be avoided. Indeed each year added to the importance of the oriental trade, and the public appetite was proportionally increased. By the cautious proceedings of the captains of the Dutch vessels the jealousies which had been created against them by their European predecessors were in a great degree obviated, and alliances had been actually formed with the natives of Banda, and the King of Ternate, and of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon. The sovereign of Acheen, who had exhibited the bitterest animosity, was induced to send ambassadors to the United Provinces, to convince himself that the merchants from that country trading to the Indian coast and islands were not pirates, as the Portuguese and Spaniards had represented them. The consequence was that a league of amity and commerce was formed, and the Indian prince convinced that his new ally was a nation renowned for its wealth, and desirous of the blessings of legitimate commerce. On the return of this embassy the most favourable reports of the Dutch were circulated, and their future intercourse greatly facilitated.

In the various towns of the United Provinces associations of merchants were formed, and several ships dispatched to the East. These desultory efforts, directed by no common object, and seeking private advantage solely, as might be expected, often ended in loss and

arrived at Madeira on the 15th; on the 17th at the Canaries, where they took in wine; on the 23rd at the islands of Cabo Verde; on the 29th they were in the latitude of six degrees, and passed the line on the 8th of June—a wonderful swiftness, and to me incredible.”—Vol. iii. part ii. chap. iii. sect. i.

disappointment. When one vessel arrived, it too frequently found that it had been anticipated, and that all the disposable commodities had been already secured. The competition had also the effect of raising prices to an exorbitant height, and on the other hand the quantity of wares which were brought back at one time had often the effect of glutting the market. On a large scale were produced such ruinous fluctuations as were so recently witnessed, to the ruin of many English speculators, in our colonial markets, where the scarcity and high prices of to-day were succeeded by the over-abundance and nominal prices of the morrow.

This unsatisfactory state of things, which, if left to itself, would have of necessity superinduced its own remedies, determined the provinces to take the oriental trade under their supervision, and they accordingly resolved all the independent companies into one General East India Company, which for a period of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the Cape of Good Hope, and west of the Straits of Magellan. The company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors, taking the oath to the states.*

This arrangement was hailed with general confidence. The large sum of six million six hundred guilders was raised, and a fleet of fourteen armed vessels equipped, and Wybrand Van Warwyk appointed admiral in command. The prosecution of commerce was not the sole advantage anticipated from this armament; it was calculated, and correctly, as the issue proved, that the concentrated force of the company would be sufficiently powerful to oppose the attacks of the Spaniards, who had from the commencement vigorously endeavoured to put a stop to their traffic. Several encounters took place between the merchants of the rival powers, which usually ended in favour of the Dutch. Wybrand remained five years on this service, and in the year 1606 discovered the island on which he bestowed the name of Mauritius.

Wybrand had scarcely ventured on the deep, when another fleet of thirteen ships was placed in commission, and sailed in 1603, under the command of Stephen Van der Hagen, for the coast of Malabar, the principal seat of the Portuguese in India. Their arrival was hailed by the inveterate opponent of the Portuguese, the Zamorin of Calicut, who readily entered into a treaty of commerce and alliance with them against their old enemies. The terms were exceedingly

* *Groot Plakaatb*, deel. i. bl. 529.

favourable to the Dutch. In a very short space of time they became powerful, and the Portuguese historian thus accounts for their success:—"They were well backed by the natives, who, tired out with our insatiable avarice, joined with those rebels to expel us." * Early in the year of his arrival Van der Hagen sailed to the attack of Amboyna. The governor, Gaspar de Melo, commanded there. He was compelled to surrender; and to save his honour, as she rashly thought, which was impeached, his wife poisoned him—"a strange government," remarks the author last quoted, "where notorious malefactors were not punished, and an innocent person was so persecuted, that she who loved him took away his life, lest they should take away his honour, who had none of their own." After the capture of the citadel of Amboyna, the Dutch fleet, having divided, a part of it sailed to Banda, and the remainder, nine in number, proceeded towards Tidore. The Portuguese residing there were greatly alarmed at their approach. They were apprehensive of the fidelity of the king, but finding that he was prepared to assist them, they prepared for their defence.

The rivalry of these peoples was influenced by the most virulent hatred. They looked upon each other as tyrants and rebels; and in their mutual eagerness to come to blows they very often overlooked the difficulties they had to encounter. The two first vessels which reached the coast of Malabar met six Portuguese vessels coming out of the port of Malacca, and bound for India. Indifferent to the inequality of forces, they did not hesitate to engage, and maintained the fight all the afternoon, and part of the night. In the morning they renewed it, and thus held it on for eight days continually. The Hollanders were at length forced to seek refuge in the port of Queda, and were, eventually, cast away on the coast of Pegu. Shortly after this encounter three Dutch vessels, on their way from Europe, captured a richly-laden Portuguese galleon at the Island of St. Helena. The captain and most of the men were taken, and treated, the Spaniards allege, with great cruelty, and abandoned on the island of Ferdinand de Noronna. On his way to Tidore, Van der Hagen fell in with two richly-laden carracs: these he boarded, and mastered with very little loss; and having cleared away the artillery and valuables, he burned them to the water's edge. The Portuguese were safely landed, but all the Spaniards found on board were put to death, which was the general practice.

Although the Kings of Tidore and Ternate

* *Faria*.

were at variance, both so detested the Portuguese, that they entered into an alliance with the Dutch to expel them as a common enemy. Siege was then laid to the citadel of Tidore, in their possession. It was carried by storm, and the Portuguese driven from the island. They were forced to quit the Moluccas, with the exception of one small fort, which they retained. Through the interference of the Dutch, all differences were settled between their allies, and resident factors settled at Tidore, under the protection of the native sovereign. Andrew Furtado was sent to recover these islands, and consumed five years to no purpose in the attempt.

In 1605 a fleet of thirteen ships sailed for India, under the command of Admiral Maatelif, and having arrived at Malay, entered into an alliance with four kings then reigning in Johor, the descendants of princes who had been driven from their territories by the Portuguese; with their aid he undertook the siege of that city. His native allies rendered him little or no assistance. The insufficiency of his troops induced the Dutch admiral to turn the siege into a blockade. In the fourth month the viceroy of India, Don Alphonso de Castro, came to its aid. His fleet consisted of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, carrying three thousand seven hundred men. At his approach the Dutch retired on board their vessels, and prepared to give the enemy battle. Their fleet consisted of eleven, which, Faria states, exceeded the Portuguese ships in strength, swiftness, number, weight of metal, and skillfulness of gunners.* Three ships perished on each side, with a loss, says the Dutch historian Grotius,† of eight men killed, while a considerable number suffered on the other side. Faria says the loss was nearly equal, but admits the damage was greater on his side.‡ He mentions several deeds of daring; the principal one of which is that of De Norronna, who boarded the Dutch admiral's flag ship, and both vessels being in danger of being burnt, they parted with the mutual understanding never again to encounter. In August a second naval engagement took place, in which the Portuguese had the advantage. After eight days' fighting, the Dutch at length fled, and the Portuguese entered Malacca, which had been destroyed during the siege. Contrary to the advice of several, the viceroy here divided his fleet; seven galleons were sent to meet the outward bound fleet, which was expected at the Island of Nicobar; five more were sent to protect

the ships of Java, which had brought provisions to Malacca, through the Strait of Singapore. These having met the Dutch fleet, retired before them into the port. They were attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and the whole squadron was destroyed. The Dutch lost five hundred men killed.* De Castro soon after died, it was reported through grief for this defeat.

The advantage thus gained was overbalanced by the loss of Tidore, from which the Dutch were expelled, and all hopes of ever making a settlement in these islands destroyed. Victorious in this quarter, they hastened to the invasion of Ternate, and drove from his capital the sovereign of that kingdom, who had faithfully adhered to the Dutch. Maatelif lost no time in succouring his ally; he sailed to the Island of Malacca, fortified that town as a stronghold, and having secured the king assured him of his protection. Thence the Dutch admiral sailed to Bantam, whence, having refitted his fleet, he returned to Europe, bringing with him ambassadors and presents from the King of Siam to Prince Maurice, and three vessels richly laden with eastern spices.

The encouraging reports of these successes in the East brought by each arrival, effected a complete revolution in the feelings and hopes of the Dutch. They were no longer content with the cultivation of their commerce and the preservation of their rights; nor with the limited territories which, with laborious and persevering toil, they had rescued from the ocean. In the struggle which they had so nobly sustained against the colossal power of Philip II., they became cognizant of their strength, and in the continued conflict they acquired a greater development and greater confidence, and their schemes of aggrandizement became the practical questions of the day. Nothing less than an extensive and predominant empire by land as well as by sea, could now satisfy their newly-awakened ambition. Wealth, glory, and conquest, lately so irreconcilable to their sober calculations, were now thought of as the only pursuits worthy of their exertions.

The conduct of the King of Spain contributed still further to stimulate these dangerous elements. He promulgated an edict, "forbidding any foreigner to engage in the trade to the East and West Indies, on pain of death." The effect produced by this would-be prohibition was quite the reverse of that intended. A West India Company was projected—England having, shortly before this, furnished a precedent. The objects it proposed to itself were far more extravagant

* Faria, *ibid.*

* *The Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 16.

† *Lib.* xvii. p. 792.

‡ Faria, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 15.

than those embraced by its predecessor, the Dutch East India Company. In addition to the cultivation of a profitable trade, it was seriously proposed to realize a civil and military organization of the natives of the West Indies and America, which, supported by the fleet, would be able to overcome and expel the Spaniards from their acquisitions in the New World; and if this could not be accomplished, to wage war on the detested power in those distant regions, the most vulnerable part of its extensive dominions. The warlike and enterprising spirit of the phlegmatic boor was now far in advance of that of the leaders; and Barneveldt, foreseeing the consequences to a province deeply indebted,—with the ordinary resources exhausted, with a new generation, the inheritors of a war which owed its origin to an age now terminated,—sought earnestly and eagerly for peace. To his proposals were opposed the merchants, East India adventurers, the new projectors, and a party of equal influence with any of them—the reformed clergy, whose worldly interests and convictions were equally involved in the settlement. These had enforced as an axiom, “that a just and equitable peace with Spain was wholly impossible, and that the sole object of all her negotiations was merely to reduce the provinces again under her yoke, and to extirpate the true religion.”* The fact is now transparent, that the best interests of the United Provinces demanded a cessation of this bequeathed war; and that the parties opposed to Barneveldt forgot the country in the consideration of their selfish ends. The Spaniards, wearied by a forty years’ prosecution of the war, were equally sincere in their desire for peace. The archduke, a churchman advanced in years, was entirely opposed to a war which inflicted so much misery on his subjects; and Spain herself was financially reduced to the lowest ebb. Her exhaustion is thus graphically described in a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Spain:—“The public treasury was drained; the revenues and customs mortgaged for former loans; credit annihilated; every device for raising funds, by debasing the coin or other means, come to an end; the nobility poor and overwhelmed with debts; the merchants plundered, impoverished, and discontented; and the people, reduced to the extremity of necessity, and even of starvation, were ready at any moment to break out in revolt.”† It was from the archduke, indeed, the first proposal for an accommodation came, and John Neyen, a Franciscan monk—who, even from the Dutch,

acquired the character of uniting to courteous manners and insinuating address a considerable portion of straightforward simplicity, boldness of speech, eloquence, skill, and long experience in affairs*—was sent as his representative. They were treated in the quality of free provinces and states, over which the archduke had no pretensions. Although this point was graciously conceded, no such facility was exhibited when the right of continuing their commerce with the East came to be considered. The Dutch insisted on its continuance, on the ground, that a thing lawful in its nature, and not declared unlawful by any express act, was of itself free to every one, without permission asked or granted; and they said that the King of Spain could not, even before the war and while they were his subjects, have sought to restrict, with any colour of justice, the exercise of that right. Richardot, on the part of Spain, retorted that the king would neither surrender his sovereignty over the provinces, nor permit any traffic with Spain, if this point were insisted upon. Some of the deputies inclined to the Spanish view of the matter, and thought the Indian trade would be beneficially exchanged for the more accessible trade of Spain; by the great majority it was looked upon as indispensable to the prosperity of the provinces. They pointed, and with considerable effect, to the hundred and ninety ships and above eight thousand men, and the annual return of forty-three millions guilders. Prince Maurice and Barneveldt were equally energetic in the preservation of the Indian commerce. The former, because he calculated that on this point there would be no agreement, and that the rupture of negotiations would promote his private and selfish ends. It was while these discussions were pending that Maatelif returned, as has been related, with shipments of spices; and the reports which circulated of his success rendered the Dutch less disposed to listen to any proposals, having for their aim the loss of such anticipated treasures as were reckoned on from the East. The next stipulation, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, was as obnoxious to a large body as the surrender of the right of navigation to the Indies. The English were not indifferent actors in these proceedings; and to their intrigues was in no small degree due the fact that these negotiations were broken off in high displeasure, and the Spanish ambassadors took their leave of the states with expressions of mingled regret and reproach. Shortly after, through the mediation of France, a truce for twelve years was concluded under

* Davies’ *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 407.

† Wenwood’s *Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 65.

* Davies’ *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 411.

the guarantee of that power and England,* by which the United Provinces were treated as independent and sovereign states, and mutual free trade established between the parties on very liberal terms, so far as the European dominions of Spain were concerned: the provinces were rigidly excluded from trading to any port belonging to that power in any other quarter of the globe without special licence; but by a secret article the King of Spain was bound not to offer any obstruction to the freedom of trade to India; and the guarantees† declared that they should consider any such obstruction an infraction of the treaty. These and the other very favourable terms conceded by their former imperious rulers raised the Dutch to such a status amongst nations that henceforth we shall find their friendship and alliance emulously sought by the greatest powers in Europe. This truce, which extended to Asia, Africa, and America, was settled in 1609. For some years subsequent to this treaty the Dutch and Portuguese seldom came into collision. Faria incidentally mentions that, in 1613, Michael de Sousa Pinintel was in the Chinese waters, having four galleons under his command, and that John Cayado de Gamba, with three others, was sent to join him, to protect the Portuguese trade against the Hollanders, who were very strong in those seas; ‡ that Francis Lopez Calleyros brought into Malacca a Dutch pink that had captured a rich Portuguese ship; that great dissatisfaction prevailed in India towards the close of the year, in consequence of the non-arrival of the ships from Portugal which were expected, in order to oppose the English and Hollanders; and that Hierome d'Almeida, on his return homewards, "encountered four *mighty* Holland ships, with which he ventured a conflict with much equal courage and loss. The Dutch admiral was sunk, and the Portuguese were set on fire." In the following year, through the intrigues of their rivals, the Dutch were expelled from their factory at Vizapore. At this time the fleet, the arrival of which had been delayed, reached Goa. One out of the five ships was lost, and of the three thousand soldiers, who were shipped aboard these vessels, not half the number survived the voyage. This was a great disappointment to the Por-

tuguese, whose increasing difficulties demanded all the aid that could be sent from home. Their homeward-bound vessels were equally unfortunate: one was cast away at the Maldiv Islands; another at the Island of Fayal, with the loss of two hundred men; and the third alone arrived at Lisbon.

These disasters did not dispirit the Portuguese viceroy, Sidrome de Azevedo. With the small unaided force at his command, he sailed to the north to oppose both the Dutch and the English, who were strong in these seas. He landed, and laid waste the lands of Cifundam and Diva. The towns of Baroch and Gogo were plundered and burnt, and six ships which were found in that bay. Patane shortly after consigned them to the flames. This squadron, which carried fourteen hundred Portuguese, and a large artillery force, made an attempt to capture four English vessels in the harbour of Surat. The attempt terminated in their own discomfiture. Three of their vessels were set on fire, and the English escaped with impunity.

In the year 1617 an English fleet, cruising near the Cape of Good Hope, intercepted the Lisbon fleet, and exacted seventy thousand crowns for this attempt, and alleged injuries done to the vessels, and in addition twenty thousand ducats, which were divided by the English admiral among his men. The Portuguese admiral, on his reaching Goa, was secured by the viceroy, and sent home a prisoner.

In consequence of some serious differences which arose about this time between the Dutch and English, which will be treated with due consideration in a future chapter, mutual distrusts were created, which gave occasion to the foundation of Batavia. This town was erected by the Dutch general, John Pieterse Coen, in 1619. It is a large and strongly fortified seaport on the north coast of the Island of Java, and the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. It is situated on the banks of the Jacatra, in a swampy plain, at the bottom of a very spacious and convenient bay, and as a place of commerce enjoyed superior facilities. It laboured under one great disadvantage—its insalubrious situation.* The harbour is rendered perfectly secure at all seasons by fifteen or six-

* In giving this guarantee the English ministers went beyond their instructions; and it was only the wish not to disavow their proceedings, and not to prevent the negotiation being concluded, that prevailed on James to confirm their act.

† *Neg. de Jeannin*, tom. iii. pp. 380, 475, 477; tom. iv. p. 8.

‡ Faria, *Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 11. chap. xi. sect. x.

§ *Ibid*, sect. xv

* This evil has been remedied. The late Baron Capellau, one of the most enlightened governors ever sent out by the Dutch, sensible of the superior advantages which Batavia possessed as a place of trade, adopted effective measures for its improvement. He widened several of the streets, filled up several of the canals, cleansed others, demolished useless fortifications, cut down trees, and adopted other sanitary reforms, and, by the introduction of several judicious regulations, has rendered it as healthy as any town in the island.

teen islands, interspersed in every direction at its mouth, which preserve it, undisturbed by winds or waves. It is resorted to by the various nations of the East, and consists of a very mixed population, of which the Chinese form the most numerous, enterprising, and successful section, amounting to about sixty thousand.

The Javanese, as well as the English, received with jealousy the creation of this stronghold, and both united, and laid siege to the new fort. A treaty was agreed to, by which the Dutch engaged to pay six thousand rix dollars to the King of Jacatra, and abstain from further fortification. This arrangement did effectively terminate the apprehensions entertained in the temporary absence of Coen. Van der Broek, who was left in command of the garrison, was invited by the king to a feast, and was treacherously seized, along with his attendants, and placed in irons. Of this proceeding the English have the credit, and with every appearance of being entitled to it, for they availed themselves of the occasion to coerce the Dutch into a treaty, and to surrender their fortress to the King of Jacatra. The success of the king was but short-lived. The day immediately following the ratification of the treaty the king of the adjoining state, Bantam, either at the instigation of the Dutch, or tempted by the hope of possessing the fortress and wealth of Batavia, invaded Jacatra, and defeated and forced to fly its sovereign. The Dutch captives were treated with as much harshness by their new master as by the former. But the hour of their liberation was at hand. Coen returned at the head of eighteen ships; he swept the English, by his superior numbers, from the Straits of Sunda, attacked the town, and carried it by assault in a few hours. His countrymen were restored, and the town evacuated by the enemy. The fortress now for the first time was called Batavia, the classic name of the mother country, and soon became one of the richest and most magnificent commercial cities in the world. Those who had the direction of the Indian commerce in Holland were greatly pleased when informed of this establishment, as their policy now was to build forts, create magazines, organize a military force, and constitute a regular civil government. Without such arrangements, they knew it would be impossible to enter into successful competition with their European rivals.

To strengthen more firmly the ties between them and the orientals, the Dutch induced the King of Siam to send an ambassador to the Prince of Orange, who received him with great pomp and ceremony. He brought

over five Indian princes to be educated in Europe.

In 1622 the East India Company sought a renewal of their charter, which they with very great difficulty obtained. They were opposed by the public, on the substantial grounds that the monopoly which they enjoyed was detrimental to the subjects of the republic generally; and the proprietors complained that the profits were not justly appropriated; several alleged that by throwing open the trade, far more money would find its way to the exchequer. Very opportunely for the claimants of the charter, in the spring of this year, there returned home two ships richly laden, which conveyed the news that the war was still raging in Java, and also against the Spaniards in the Moluccas, and in the Manillas; that Banda was again recovered, and that the last outward-bound Dutch fleet had arrived at its Indian destination in four months and three days.* A new charter, dated December 22, 1622, was conceded to them for the further term of twenty-one years.

In the year previously, the twelve years' truce with Spain had come to a close, and the archduke thought that the civil dissensions which distracted and weakened the states, had reduced them to such a condition that they would gladly compromise their difference with Austria and Spain; he consequently suggested to the Dutch the advantages likely to result to them from a reconciliation with their natural sovereign, and a pacification which would include the King of Spain as well as themselves. This proposal was indignantly rejected, and vigorous preparations made for the prosecution of the war. A great change had been effected in the political relations of the powers who had taken an active part in the former war. The haughty and cruel conduct of the states, in rejecting the humane remonstrances of the King of France, who had unavailingly interceded to save from an unmerited and ignominious death that able statesman Barneveldt, and his illustrious compatriot Grotius, who would have shared his fate, had he not been rescued by his dauntless and virtuous wife, who was completely devoted to him. The Lutherans of Germany were averse to make any sacrifices in behalf of the Calvinistic provinces. In addition to these grounds of alienation, the reformed princes were terrified by the humiliation of the Count Palatine, and the absorption of his territories in the empire. England, which had hitherto aided the Protestant revolvers, from religious as well as political sympathies and a desire to humble the Catholic powers, was now in close alliance

* Meteren, *Histoire de Pays Bas*, lib. xxxiii.

with Spain. The disputes between the Dutch and English East India Companies* irritated the public mind; and James complained that the Dutch had represented him to the Indian princes as the chief of a petty state, and as the plunderer, butcher, and tyrant of his subjects. The rejection, by the court of Madrid, of the suit of Prince Charles for the hand of the Infanta put an end to these influences, and drove the English king into a defensive treaty with the Dutch for two years, by which the latter were permitted to raise six thousand men in the British Isles at the king's cost, the expenses to be paid at the conclusion of the war.

This treaty had been scarcely concluded, when intelligence was conveyed from the Indies, the earlier communication of which was calculated to interrupt friendly negotiations, and which exasperated the English against their allies. This was the celebrated affair at Amboyna; where, on the pretence of a conspiracy, Gabriel Towerson and other Englishmen were seized, tortured, and put to death.

This act created a great sensation at the time, and destroyed those strong feelings of attachment which bound together the two great Protestant maritime powers—a union which was not severed by the vacillating policy of the wavering Stuart.

Amboyna is the chief of the Molucca Islands. It is between fifty and sixty miles in length, and favoured with two splendid bays, and celebrated for its production of cloves. It was first discovered by the Portuguese, who took possession of it in 1564. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1605; and in 1615 the English made an ineffectual attempt to share the possession of it.† They, however, contrived to preserve a factory there till 1622, when the occurrence just mentioned happened.

The facts of the case, stripped of the inferences which give it a forensic complexion, are simply these. The Dutch authorities had their attention called to one of the Javanese soldiers—a body of whom were in their service—who had been observed making some minute inquiries respecting the citadel. He was arrested, and, on being subjected to an examination, revealed that his countrymen had held a correspondence with Towerson, the chief of the English factory, and some of his countrymen,

* The differences between the Dutch and English were settled by the payment of eight hundred thousand livres by the former.—HARRIS'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 930.

† The Dutch, having thus acquired exclusive possession, retained it till the year 1796, when it was wrested from them by the British, under Admiral Ranier, and restored at the peace of Amiens. It was re-occupied by them in 1810, and restored by the peace of Paris, in 1814.

to gain possession of the citadel, and to put to death the governor. The Javanese were disarmed, and they fully confirmed the statement of the prisoner, as also did a surgeon, Price, who had been arrested for arson. Towerson and twelve other Englishmen were then arrested and put to the torture, and in their anguish admitted their guilt. They were after this put to death. The Dutch, apprehensive of the consequences, endeavoured to conceal the particulars, and merely announced, when the intelligence reached Europe, that there had been some commotions in Amboyna, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished.* When the full particulars reached England, the proceedings were stigmatized in the severest terms, and the exercise of any jurisdiction over the subjects of Great Britain was strenuously condemned, and this summary punishment was pronounced violation of the rules of equity and of the law of nations. The charge of conspiracy was denied, and asserted to be a pure invention of the Dutch, framed with the object of depriving the English of the share of the trade which they possessed. The admissions of guilt were treated as declarations wrung from the victims' agonies to procure a cessation of their intolerable punishment; and this view of the case was corroborated by the testimony of Towerson, who, in an acknowledgment which he gave privately, through his keeper, to a creditor of the company, added:—"Firmed by the form of Gabriel Towerson, now appointed to die, guiltless of anything that can be laid to my charge; God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy."† And also by others of his fellow sufferers, who in their last moments protested their innocence. Three of the prisoners received pardon, and all the details which were published depend on their questionable testimony. A late historian‡ records as his conviction, "that the whole story of the plot was a fabrication, is highly improbable; and there seems no doubt that the Javanese soldiers did, in fact, entertain a design of the nature imputed to them, either in concurrence with, or relying on, the co-operation of the English; but if the latter cannot be exonerated from the accusation of treachery, the conduct of the Dutch was no less disgraced by an excess of vindictiveness and cruelty." However justly indignant the English public felt at the fate of their unfortunate countrymen, the Prince of Orange, the Dutch East India Company, and the states-general, were enabled to

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 309.

† *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 880.

‡ *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 554.

silence the patriots, and to have this outrage condoned.

A well-equipped fleet was fitted out by the joint naval authorities of Amsterdam, Friesland, Zealand, and Holland, consisting of eleven large vessels, having on board upwards of one thousand mariners and six hundred regular troops, and three hundred pieces of cannon. In honour of Prince Maurice it was called the *Nassau fleet*. It was proposed that it should touch on Chili or Peru, for the purpose of making a settlement there, or to strike such a blow as would materially affect the Spanish interests in that quarter; it was then to prosecute its voyage to the East Indies. On the 10th of May it made the port of Lima; the Dutch attacked the town, did it much damage, and took several prisoners; they inflicted similar mischief in other places, and to climax their vengeance they hung up their guiltless captives at the yardarm. At the close of this year the fleet reached its destination, and though the great and splendid results augured for it were not realized, the aid which it brought enabled the Dutch company to overpower the Portuguese, to intercept the communication between their various settlements, and to detach from them several of the native princes.*

A powerful stimulus was given to their Indian commerce, and the directors of the company, aware that the prosperous condition of their affairs in the East was mainly attributable to the abilities and discretion of their admirals and commanders-in-chief, sent out in rapid succession three squadrons, respectively commanded by John Peterson Coen, who sailed in April, 1627; John William Verschoer, and Andrew Block Martsen, who sailed in October of that year.

The attacks frequently made on their homeward-bound vessels, by the privateers of Dunkirk and the English, compelled the Dutch to fit out a strong squadron annually to convoy their merchantmen. The first equipped was commanded by John Dierskisz Lam, and as soon as his flag was seen on the seas, the privateers retired. In October a squadron of eleven ships sailed for India, under the command of James Specks, and with it went Valbeck, an accomplished mathematician. About this time some Dutch adventurers sailed from Batavia, with the intention of passing through the Straits of Baly, but, by encountering some adverse winds, they were driven out of their course, and ran ashore

* It is worthy of remark that at this early period all accidents regarding discoveries were carefully recorded. In after times such was not the case. Probably the number of European peoples who were contending for the trade with Asia deterred the discoverers from communicating the results of their experiences to their rivals.

upon the south side of Australia, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees. In order to get afloat, they were obliged to throw a great portion of their valuable cargo overboard. In their passage they fell in with Block's fleet, which, like themselves, had encountered very boisterous weather. It was at this period that the Dutch so enriched, by their discoveries, the geography of the Pacific islands. Carpentaria—called after General Carpenter—was discovered in 1628; it was subsequently called New Holland, and since it became a possession of the British crown, it is universally known as Australia. The western parts of that island were discovered in the following year, and after its discoverer, named De Witt's Land.

The stability of the Dutch empire was subjected now to a very rude shock, and had it not been for the great exertions made by the company, and the succession of squadrons which with such rapidity followed each other, she would have been compelled to evacuate the seat of power. The rise of Batavia, and the imperious dictation of the Dutch, as soon as they found themselves sufficiently strong to throw off the mask of suppliants, and exercise the authority of masters, had first excited the suspicions and jealousy of the Javanese, and at length induced them to take measures for the destruction or ejection of the strangers. In 1629 the King of Java raised an army of two hundred thousand men, with which he invested Batavia. The siege, or rather blockade, was vigorously maintained for some months, but the town had been so strongly fortified and spiritedly defended, that the enemy, having lost sixteen thousand men, were obliged to desist. The Prince of Madura, a small island adjacent to Java, represented to the King of Java that the failure was attributable to the incapacity of the commander, and that a skilful officer with one-third the force, would be able to capture the town. Influenced by these representations, an army of one hundred and fifty thousand was placed under the command of this prince, and the king in person accompanied him to the siege. From the 22nd of August to the 2nd of October repeated assaults were made to no purpose. Every effort ended in the severe loss of the besiegers, and the army was reduced to almost the skeleton of what it had been. In a fit of fury, excited by disappointments and severe losses, an attack was made by the Javanese on the unsuccessful prince and his contingent, in which both he and eight hundred of his men were slain. The success of the glorious defence was due to John Peterson Coen, the governor-general, who ended his life towards the close of the siege.

With this drawback, nevertheless, the year was a propitious one to the company. Six vessels reached home, under the command of three several commodores, richly laden; and Peter van der Broek, the first introducer of trade upon the Red Sea and the adjacent countries, returned home the next year from the East Indies, where he had been for several years, with seven vessels, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions; and in 1631, Antony Van Dieman returned with seven others, which brought the company an incredible amount of treasure.*

On the death of Coen, James Specks was appointed provisional governor—a good selection. He caused the canals to be cleansed, and expeditiously restored every thing to its proper condition, essentially promoted the interests of the company, and added considerably to his reputation.

The enormous wealth which thus flowed in upon them served but to incite the ambition and cupidity of the Dutch shareholders. They resolved to enlarge their means of aggression, and to aim at the expulsion of their European rivals and a monopoly of the Indian trade. It was with these objects that, in 1641, they resolved to seize on Malacca, the strongest hold which the Portuguese held at that time in India, and which was so advantageously situated as to secure to an energetic people, in possession, the commerce of the kingdoms of Johor, Siam, and Pegu, and the control of their trade with China and Japan. By the mastery of the Straits of Malacca, they calculated that they would be in a position to dictate the law to all the nations that traffic in that part of the world.

It was in this year the Dutch also succeeded in excluding the Portuguese from the entire possession of the commerce of Japan. This they effected by sedulously ingratiating themselves into the favour of the sovereign of that country. They persuaded his ministers that they were a humble, peaceable, and well-disposed people, whose only objects were to open a market for their commodities, and who felt it to be their interest as well as duty to promote the prosperity of any country where they were kindly received. By these amiable pretensions they succeeded in imposing on the Japanese authorities, and were placed in possession of the fort of Firando, and treated with every mark of confidence. By the adoption of similar means, they insinuated themselves into the favour of other Indian princes, and thus obtained permission to establish factories, and to build forts for their protection. Having so far succeeded, they no

longer supplicated; they dictated laws, and those kings whom they had approached with such apparent humility, and sycophancy, courted, found to their cost that their friends were become their new masters.*

The successes which had recently attended them, the great wealth they had acquired, the revenues which their trade yielded, and the terror which their many and well-appointed armaments inspired, removed the difficulties which otherwise would have stood in the way of the renewal of the charter which now, for the third time, they obtained for the period of twenty-one years, commencing from the 1st of January, 1644. Such, indeed, was the importance acquired by the company that, on the conclusion of the general peace, their interests were as much consulted as those of the government, and the court of Spain was compelled to relinquish any right previously claimed of questioning their conquests in India. As a mark of their gratitude the company entered into a project of erecting, at their own expense, a monument to the commercial fame of the city of Amsterdam. This was the Stadthouse, a structure commenced in 1648 and finished in 1655, and for a long time after considered the finest in the world. There was no period at which they were better able to undertake such a work; their commerce was at its height, there was not a potentate from the Cape of Good Hope to the most distant part of the empire of China which had not learnt to respect their power, and which had not experienced the effects of their good will or their enmity.

At first view it appears singular that in this unexampled prosperity, with a trade enlarged by each successive year, the dividends per cent. to the shareholders under the second charter fell considerably short of those derived under the first. The solution of this anomaly is probably to be found in the vast augmentation of their expenditure occasioned by the necessity of building fortresses, raising forces, and the splendour of their establishments in Batavia and elsewhere.

Shortly previous to this period two contemporaneous revolutions had been successfully attempted in Europe, and the contest in each was being vigorously maintained. The discontented Portuguese, spurning the foreign rule of Spain, had bestowed their allegiance on the Duke of Braganza, whom they had placed on the throne with the title of Joam IV., and in several campaigns they nobly maintained their independence. The Portuguese settlers in India did not hesitate to follow the spirited precedent set to them at home, and

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933; *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 317.

* Tavernier, *Voyages des Indes*, p. 2. l. 8. c. 23.

proclaimed their native prince. By this procedure they lost the aid which they sometimes derived from the Spaniards; and from the authorities in the father-land, involved in the struggle against their late masters, they could calculate on no assistance. Of this state of affairs the Dutch, though the allies of Joam, availed themselves, and made use of the exigency to extend their power; taking care at the same time to give the best colour they could to those actions, suggested by their worst passions, avarice and sordid ambition.*

The second revolution referred to, will be recognised as that in which the outraged Commons of England rose against a would-be dominant, and at the same time servile, church,† and faith-breaking sovereign. The civil war absorbed all the attention of the nation, and the interests of the English East India Company were lost sight of in the more important considerations at home. The Dutch improved this opportunity also; and on the most frivolous pretences plundered the English factories, and seized on the English vessels. A brief reference to this subject here is demanded, in order to show by what lucky accidents the Dutch were enabled to grasp the power which they wielded in Asia. In dealing with the English portion of this history the subject shall be treated with the consideration due—enough for the present purpose to say that, on the treaty with the Protector, the English claimed as compensation for their losses the sum of £2,700,000, and a further sum of £3615 to the representatives of the persons that were murdered at Amboyna thirty-two years previously.

One of the most important acquisitions of the Dutch in the East was undoubtedly Ceylon. A description of that interesting island has been already given.‡ A brief summary of its history, from its being possessed by the Portuguese till it fell into the hands of the English, appropriately forms a part of this chapter.

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 336.

† Dominant over the people, and servile to the throne. She was, perhaps, the most subservient to the throne and the most hostile to popular rights of any national church then existing. The repudiation of the Papal supremacy, the confiscation of church property, the entire dependance of the dignitaries on the sovereign, made it, to a great extent, a mere political engine in the hands of the prince. The Church of England was the first to teach these impious doctrines—the divine right of kings, and passive obedience; dogmas which soon roused the noble indignation of the British, called into action the pious and chivalrous Independents—a God-fearing host, who vindicated the immutable rights of the people—and taught kings that they had heads to forfeit for their flagrant violations of honour, duty, and rights.

‡ P. 158.

The first settlement of the Portuguese was made as early as 1517, when Albergaria obtained from the King of Cotta—whose territories close adjoined Colombo—permission to erect a small factory for the purposes of trade. As in every other quarter, they soon contrived to strengthen their position, and extend their intercourse with the natives. Stone walls quickly replaced the unpretending palisades, and a goodly supply of cannon frowned their defiance on those who dared assault it by land or sea. Too late the Cingalese were sensible of the dangerous proximity of their late suppliants. With the aid of the Moors, and other foreign traders who were eager for the destruction of their enterprising and successful rivals, an attack was made on the new settlers. This proved unavailing; and after a long protracted struggle, the Europeans were left in possession of the western coast. The arbitrary, faithless, and cruel conduct of the Portuguese, which had rendered them detested by the Indians, generally characterized them in Ceylon; and when the Dutch, in 1601, under the command of Admiral Spilbergen, arrived on the coast, and sought an alliance with the King of Candy, in the interior of the island, the proposal was heartily embraced, in the hope that, with the co-operation of the new comers, the Portuguese could be expelled or destroyed. It does not appear that any hopeful attempt was made to realize these expectations until the year 1639. In that year a Dutch squadron attacked the forts on the east coast, and razed them to the ground. In the year following they repeated their visit, and landed at Negombo, but did not as yet attempt to make a settlement there. In 1643 they attacked and took possession of this town, and fortified it in 1658. The Dutch, who properly estimated the value of the prize, sent General Heest from Batavia with a good fleet and army to co-operate with the King of Candia, to effect the final expulsion of the Portuguese. Having defeated the latter in the field, they sought the protection of the fortifications of Colombo. Partly by force and partly by famine this fortress was reduced in a few months. The King of Candy led an army of forty thousand men to this siege, and, although according to the terms of the treaty existing between them, every fort wrested from the enemy was to be delivered into his hands, the Dutch peremptorily refused to put him in possession of this. They alleged there was a large debt due to them, and that they had resolved to retain it as a security for its discharge. This breach of the treaty led to a rupture and declaration of war; but so broken and disheartened were the Portuguese that they did not avail them-

selves of the opportunity offered to repair their losses.

The recent conquerors pursued a wiser policy than their European predecessors. They set assiduously to work to develop the resources of the country, and to cultivate a trade with the interior. They acted with their usual discretion, and duly appreciating the advantages to be derived from an extension of trade they, contrary to the example of the Portuguese, treated the natives with kindness, and made no efforts to reap barren military renown. They succeeded in rendering their commerce between this island and Holland very lucrative. Beside the trade in cinnamon, several other branches of industry were developed; public works undertaken on a large scale; and education, if not placed within the reach of all the inhabitants of the maritime provinces,—over all which their sovereignty extended,—was established on a broad and liberal scale, and subjected to government superintendence. For a century and a half they retained unquestioned possession. The enervating effects of the torrid zone must have told upon their descendants, as, indeed, it has hitherto done upon those of all European settlers; for the territory which they had, by their military prowess, secured in 1658, they as rapidly lost, by their imbecility and cowardice, to the British in 1796.

Not content with the successes they had achieved, the general council in Batavia made an enterprising effort to overcome the difficulties which had hitherto impeded their trade with China. In July, 1655, they sent an embassy with very rich presents to the emperor. After a delay of eight or nine months at Pekin, they were honoured with an audience, and from the courtesy with which they were received, they augured favourably of the results; but very shortly after discovered that they had enemies at court, who had sufficient influence to frustrate all their hopes. The Jesuits had, a long time previous to this, been settled in the Celestial Empire, and under the then reigning sovereign were in great credit, and had considerable influence. The chief of these was Father Adam Schaal, a native of Cologne. He had been thirty-five years a resident, and was in special favour with the emperor, who had raised him to the rank of a mandarin of the first class, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians of the empire. He gave a truthful sketch, though highly coloured, of the new comers; who, with assumed "humble mien and bated breath," hoped to accomplish their ends. He represented them as a people belonging to an

insignificant corner of Europe, whose support depended on peddling and piracy, who had, by treachery and cruelty, raised themselves an extensive empire in the Indies: at the expense of the natives, and more especially of those princes who suffered themselves to be imposed upon by their specious pretences, and allowed them settlements in their dominions, and by those means afforded them an opportunity of tyrannizing over them and their subjects.* On being questioned respecting these particulars by order of the emperor, their admissions fully convinced the Chinese authorities of their real character, and the embassy was obliged to return towards the close of the year 1657, frustrated in their objects.

A similar attempt made at the court of Japan was more fortunate. The Dutch, on this occasion, made a felicitous selection of their ambassador. Zachary Waghanaer was a man of polished manners, affable deportment, and very great experience. On his arrival at that court in March, 1659, he succeeded in ingratiating himself into the favour of the emperor, and also what was equally to his advantage, into the good graces of his ministers. By giving an assurance that the Dutch would apprise the authorities of Japan of any designs which might be formed in the Philippines to their prejudice, and that they would forbear from molesting Chinese vessels trading to their coasts, he obtained for his countrymen all that he could reasonably request in their favour.

While these negotiations were pending in the distant empires of China and Japan, some serious complications arose in Java, in which the safety of Batavia was involved. The Island of Java was under the rule of a sovereign, who by the Dutch was sometimes styled the emperor, and at other times the King of Japara. His governor of Bantam† threw off the yoke, and proclaimed his independence. In this revolt he was sustained by the Dutch, who hoped, in the exhausting conflict, to bear away the lion's share. Their policy—that by which they had hitherto sustained their position—was to foster these divisions; and, accordingly, whenever the emperor made any aggressions on the Dutch settlement,

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933.

† Bantam is on the west of Java. The English and Dutch had factories there till 1682, when the Dutch fomented a war between the king and his son, because the father would not come into their measures. With the aid of other rebels they took the old king prisoner, and sent him to Batavia, and placed the son upon the throne. In 1683 they pretended that they were empowered by the new king to expel the Danes and the English, which they did, insolently, according to their custom.—HAMILTON'S *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 127.

the King of Bantam was always ready to take up arms in their favour; and whenever the latter and they had any variance, the interference of the emperor was sought. In consequence of some intestine troubles in Java, in the year 1659, the emperor's entire resources were engaged in their suppression. The King of Bantam considered the crisis favourable to his personal designs, and he accordingly enrolled a very numerous army to attack the Dutch, who, he reasoned, deprived of the aid of the emperor, would become an easy prey. He laid siege to Batavia; but the hopes which he nurtured of success were fated to end in disappointment; the greatness recently attained by their extraordinary successes, and the several squadrons which had arrived from Europe in the Indian waters, enabled the Batavians to baffle every effort made by their enemy, and after various repulses and the great losses which he suffered, the King of Bantam retreated precipitately to his own territories.

Their own immediate necessities and defensive war did not incapacitate the Dutch from extending support to their ally the King of Bengal, whose rule was endangered by the pretensions of his brother to the throne. They supplied him with provisions, military stores, and a body of troops, which enabled him to establish his power on a firm basis. As an acknowledgment of the services so opportunely rendered, he conceded to them permission to erect a factory and build a fort at Hoogly. This position they strongly fortified. The effects produced by this location on the trade of the English in that quarter will be hereafter detailed.

The repulse which attended their efforts to conciliate the Chinese still rankled in the bosoms of the governor and council of Batavia, and they eagerly wished for an opportunity to requite the Jesuit fathers for their interference. To be revenged they fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, which they dispatched to the Island of Macassar, to attack the capital of that name, in the port of which there was a Portuguese fleet richly laden, in which the Jesuits were largely concerned. In June, 1660, Macassar was attacked by sea and land, and though the king of the island defended his allies with all his forces, the Batavians achieved a complete victory, burnt three of the enemy's ships, sank two, and captured one; the cargo of which was so valuable, that it defrayed the expenses of the Chinese embassy, which cost the Dutch a sum of money (the loss of which affected them seriously), and also of this expedition. The King of Macassar, much to the honour and gratification of the victors, sent an embassy

to Batavia, and submitted to such terms as the governor thought proper to impose, though these were stringent and arbitrary. He was bound to expel from his dominions all the Portuguese settlers, and never to admit them, or any other Europeans than the Dutch, to locate themselves there. The fortress and port of Jampandam, with a district of about four leagues in diameter about it, were assigned to the Dutch East India Company; the Jesuits were expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company;* and the king was compelled to send an ambassador with suitable presents to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms. This was the most important and advantageous of all their achievements in the East. But, nevertheless, it was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act of robbery and spoliation, a long time conceived, carefully matured, and treacherously executed. Ten years previously, while they were carrying on a trade with this island, and on terms of amity with the king, they privately encouraged several of their countrymen to settle in different parts of his dominions, who, when they found themselves sufficiently strong, raised a formidable force, and unexpectedly attacked him in his palace, having an assurance from the authorities in Batavia, that a sufficient force was prepared to support them. The latter, through mismanagement, did not arrive

* In a work entitled, *An Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macassar in the East Indies*, in which the above statement is more fully given and quoted from Tavernier, the author observes:—"This is the specious pretence wherewith M. Tavernier excused the Indian Batavians; but this is the truth, which ought to be believed, concerning that affair, upon the testimony that was given to me by persons disinterested, and of known probity, who told me what I am going to say concerning those that had the greatest share in that expedition. 'Tis very true that the Dutch ambassador from Batavia was ill-received at the Chinese court, and that the emperor refused him permission to traffic in his country. But there was no necessity for the Jesuits to advise him to deal so by him; for by several precedents he well knew how dangerous a thing it was for the Indian sovereigns to let the Dutch get footing in their realms, and the experience of their neighbours convinced them too well of the infidelity and ingratitude of those people. But though the Jesuits of China should have had any share in the emperor's refusal, and though they who live at Macassar, because they were of the same society had deserved the blame, yet how many merchants were there at the same port, to whom alone the ships belonged, that were innocent? Nevertheless, they were as little spared as the rest, but were all involved in the same misfortune. 'Tis true, the Jesuits were sensibly concerned at the defeat of the Portuguese; not only for the loss of any merchandise of their own, but because they saw themselves disappointed in all their hopes of settling the Roman Catholic religion in Macassar."—P. 83.

at the time appointed, and in the interval the king, though taken by surprise, mustered his forces, and acted with such vigour that the Dutch insurgents and their allies were in danger of being totally destroyed. Both armies were encamped within sight of each other, and separated by a river. The Dutch, observing that the native soldiers at a certain hour came to drink, poisoned the water, and thus destroyed multitudes of them, and secured themselves till the succours arrived.

The self-congratulations of the Dutch, on the success of this expedition, were shortly after painfully interrupted by the severest reverse they had met with during their Indian experiences. They had at this time one of their most flourishing and fairest settlements in Formosa. This island lies about ninety miles off the coast of China, from which it is separated by the channel of Fo-kien, north lat. 22° and $25^{\circ} 30'$, and east long. $120^{\circ} 30'$ and 122° . It is one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the East. Almost all grains and fruits may be produced on it. Among its articles of trade are—maize, sugar, tobacco, fruits, timber, salt, sulphur, camphor, cotton, hemp, silk, &c. It at present belongs to China, and is familiarly called the granary of the maritime provinces of that empire. It was unknown to the celestials till about the year 1403. About 1643 the Dutch built a fort there, called Fort Zeeland, on a small island, commanding the harbour of the capital Taewan. The Chinese, in the year 1653, laid a deep and well-devised scheme for the destruction of the settlement, which was frustrated by the accidental discovery of it. Their good fortune produced a relaxation of that circumspection characteristic of the Dutch; and, entirely bent on the prosecution of their private speculation, they neglected their public duties and general welfare. The fortifications were neglected, and the magazines exhausted. At the same time the greatest severities were inflicted on the Chinese, who in the island amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand men. These were in communication with their countrymen, who were at that time engaged in resisting the Tartar invasion of the empire. The Dutch governor, Werburgh, in order as he supposed to render himself and the garrison secure, proceeded against such as were either in arms or were suspected of a forbidden correspondence. Many of the former were cut to pieces, and many of the latter exposed to cruel deaths and merciless tortures. These severities made the Chinese to a man determined enemies to the Dutch.

At the time the Tartars made their last conquest of China, there dwelt in Fort Zea-

land a tailor, whose name was Chinchilung, but by the Europeans he was called Iqoon. He was a man of large mind, great resolution, and undaunted courage, devoted to his country, and enraged against its Tartar invaders. So constituted, he could not continue a passive spectator of the dangers that threatened his father-land. He collected some kindred spirits, manned two or three small barks, and with this force proceeded to take an active part. His daring adventures were crowned with success; in a short space of time his power had increased to that degree that he became a terror to the Tartar emperor. To get rid of so formidable an adversary, the emperor entered into negotiations with him, and offered to make him king of the two extensive provinces of Canton and Fo-kien, and invited him to Fo-kien to complete the arrangements, and to give him the investiture of his new dignity; but, instead of keeping his faith, he seized on his guest, and had him poisoned. This aspirant to a throne had a son, whose name was Coxinga, who, upon his father's imprisonment, took the command of his fleet. He at first solicited the aid of the Dutch, promising them in return great advantages in case of success; this was refused. Enraged at the repulse, and well acquainted with the neglected state of the defences and the disaffection of the Chinese, he resolved to turn all his force against Formosa. For this enterprise he assembled a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them small frigates, but nearly one hundred of them stout men-of-war of forty guns and upwards, and before any preparations could be made to receive him, he appeared before the Dutch town, in March, 1661. The Chinese landed forty thousand men; all the outposts in a very short time fell into the hands of Coxinga, and the Dutch forces on the island were crowded into Fort Zeeland. Although a strong squadron of nine ships, commanded by Commodore James Cawen, was sent to re-inforce the garrison, four hundred of his troops were lost in a land attack upon six thousand Chinese. No better success attended an effort by sea; the Dutch lost two of their best men-of-war, one of which came ashore, and the crew, numbering three hundred and eighty, were killed by the Chinese; the other was blown up, a shot having lodged in her powder magazine. Thus baffled, the five remaining vessels sailed for Java, having on board two hundred women and children taken from the fort. The Governor Cojet performed his part like a soldier and man of honour; and when he was urged by promises and threats to surrender, his answer was worthy of a Spartan,—there was nothing, he said, could induce him to

betray his trust, or to give up the place he commanded into the hands of the enemy. Though deprived of the co-operation of the fleet, he made so obstinate a defence, that Souja, the uncle of Coxinga, who was in command of the Chinese fleet, resolved to raise the siege without the knowledge of his nephew, with at least the force under his command. Coxinga, informed of this resolve, had him arrested, and then prosecuted his operations with such skill and vigour, that the Dutch garrison was compelled to surrender, although the succours which they had been expecting were in sight.*

The position of the Dutch was seriously altered by the loss of this settlement. Instead of having the Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese commerce at their mercy, they were no longer able to send their own annual ships to Japan,† but with great difficulty and danger; they, however, reaped one advantage by this disaster—they established a correspondence with the Emperor of China, who consented to aid them in restraining the power of Coxinga, to prevent him from piracy in those seas, and from disturbing the commerce of the empire and Japan.

It was at this period, and by the mediation of Charles II., who had married the Infanta Catharina of Portugal, that a treaty of peace was entered into by the United Provinces and that kingdom, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; for although the Dutch had the advantage over their adversaries in the East, their gains there were balanced by their losses in other quarters. In the West Indies the Portuguese were the victors, and they had also succeeded in wresting the Brazils from the Dutch; they were in a fair way of making still greater conquests; and their privateers were so numerous, that Holland found her trade in the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Africa, in a critical situation.

The Dutch East India Company did not regard the obligations which this treaty imposed. They acted as if they were sovereigns within the bounds of their charter. In the year, 1663, they made an attack on Coulan, on the coast of Malabar, and, having reduced it, they next attacked the important post of Cannanore, and, after a severe struggle, took possession of it. They repaired the fortifications, and made a settlement there. Their next enterprise was the siege of Cochin, a city of greater importance, being a bishop's see, and the centre of a large trade. After a fierce and protracted defence, in which the loss on each side

was very severe, it fell into the hands of the Dutch. The rajah of Porca, a tributary to the Portuguese, next submitted; Cranganore was also taken; and thus in the course of a year, Commodore Goens expelled the Portuguese from all their possessions on the coast of Malabar, and thus acquired a territory one hundred and fifty leagues in length, with all the trade belonging to it, which they had enjoyed without interruption from the time of their first settlement in India. Alliances were now formed with the Zamorin of Calicut, the King of Cochin, and several other Indian princes.

On the ascent of Aurungzebe to the throne, the Dutch sent an embassy, which was graciously received. They paid the same mark of respect to the sovereigns whose dominions bordered the Bay of Bengal, by all of whom they were equally well received.

Some misunderstanding arose between the Dutch, and the King of Siam. They, in consequence, withdrew their factories from his coasts. Alarmed by the injury such proceedings would necessarily inflict, he addressed the council at Batavia in a very respectful letter to know the cause, and then forwarded an ambassador to invite them back, and to assure them of his kind offices and his willingness to redress any grievances of which they had cause to complain, and of any which might arise in the process of time; accordingly the factories were re-established at Siam and Ligor. This satisfactory termination of those differences was followed by an outrage on the part of the Dutch, which to the great credit of the authorities was adequately punished. The crew of a Dutch vessel murdered thirty-five Siamese in cold blood, having first subjected to their libidinous passions their wives and daughters; but before time was allowed for a public complaint, the council caused the offenders to be apprehended. Four of them were broken on the wheel, and five hanged. It may here be also noticed to the credit of the Dutch that they attempted, and by the most feasible means, to introduce amongst their Asiatic allies European literature and civilization, by prevailing on many of the Indian princes and nobles to send their children to Batavia for education, where they were in many instances maintained at the expense of the company; but with this education was mingled their selfish objects—they took all imaginable pains to instil into their minds a high idea of the power and alleged superiority of their nation, and of their capacity to maintain the precedence which they had recently acquired.*

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 935; Basnage's *Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 687.

† Dapper's *Tweede Gezantschap naar Sina*, fol. 91.
VOL. I.

* Neuville's *Hist. Van Holland*, 2 deel lxii. cap. iv.

This policy they borrowed from the Portuguese, who had practised it with considerable success.

The expulsion from Formosa was not forgotten. In conjunction with the Chinese Tartars, they sailed with a large fleet. In their attacks on the forts they were repulsed, but in an engagement at sea, of which their allies continued passive spectators, though Coxinga distinguished himself as a gallant soldier, an experienced seaman, and a great captain, and his men fought as the Dutch had never seen Chinese fight before, the large European ships tore his junks to pieces, and totally defeated his force, and the brave Coxinga, not only forfeited all his conquests, but also his life. The victors became masters of Amoy, and confidently calculated on the re-establishment of their authority in Formosa; but here they were too sanguine, old Souja, who had recovered his liberty, collected the remnants of his nephews land and naval forces, and defeated their project. Coxinga's son* deposed his old relative, and took the command. He proved himself a worthy scion of the stock from which he sprang, and managed his affairs with such consummate skill, that the Dutch admiral was obliged to return to Batavia, leaving unaccomplished the commission he had received.

Shortly after this victory, Tching-king-May died, and left the island to his son, Tching-ke-San, a minor. His guardians neglected his affairs, and when he arrived at man's estate, being of a mild and melancholy disposition, and the Tartars having put to death his friend and ally, the King of Fo-kien, fearing a like fate, he made a voluntary surrender of his territories, and proceeded to Peking, as an abdicated prince, in 1683, and resided there a pensioner till the end of his life. Since that time the island, or at least that part of it which belonged to the Dutch, was re-united to China. This being the last sovereignty in the hands of the Chinese, the conquest of the Tartars was now complete.

The influence exercised over the affairs of India by the war in which the states were involved with England, belongs properly to the history of the British in the East, and is left for that department.

The next war in which the Dutch engaged is the most important, as well as the most vigorous that was waged from the time of their establishment in the East. The kingdom of Macassar, in which, as has been detailed, the Dutch made a settlement after seizing on the Portuguese fleet, and expelling

them, comprehends the best part of the Island of Celebes, inhabited by a brave and numerous people, whose monarchs, as they had never bent to the yoke of the Portuguese, had of course a strong aversion to receive that of the Dutch. The success of their first commercial transaction was so considerable, that the council at Batavia resolved on securing a monopoly, and they prepared to get rid of the Portuguese, who shared the trade. This was no easy task; for the latter people, however odious they may have been in other quarters, were here popular by their honourable dealings, by the high estimation in which the Jesuit fathers were held, and the great success of their mission, which had given them sanguine hopes of converting the entire population; in the words of an English writer, "the king had a great value for them, and the people loved them extremely." Before any hostilities were committed, terms were proposed, and a treaty concluded, by which the king promised to make satisfaction for the alleged injuries which the Dutch made the pretext of their aggressions. These proceedings would appear from the sequel to be initiated to enable them to complete their preparations, and to take the unsuspecting islanders by surprise. A squadron of thirteen men of war was in the interim dispatched from Batavia, under the command of Admiral Speelman; he had eight hundred soldiers aboard, was accompanied by a number of transports, and had orders to see the treaty executed to the letter. With this armament he arrived before Macassar, on the 19th of December, 1666.* The morning after the arrival, the king sent to them the sum of one thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, and one thousand four hundred and thirty rix dollars, in compensation for the injuries inflicted as they said upon them. An amicable settlement was not the object for which this large force had been prepared, consequently new grievances were discovered; and on the pretence that the king had refused to make some concessions inconsistent with his dignity, and that he had sent a fleet to attack the Island of Bouton, the admiral immediately declared war, made two descents upon the coast, destroyed by fire about one hundred vessels in the ports, fifty villages, and carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, the unsuspecting prince not apprehending such a flagrant violation of the law of nations. Speelman then proceeded to destroy the force which was engaged at Bouton, and arrived there on New

* This chief was called by the Chinese, Tching-king-May.

* *Neville's Hist. van Holland*, 2 deel lxii. cap. xix.; Harris, vol. i. p. 937.

Year's Day, 1667. With the small craft he forced his way into the harbour, and succeeded in detaching the allies from the troops of the King of Macassar, and compelling the latter to surrender at discretion; thus the war was ended in the space of four months.* They behaved with as much cruelty to their prisoners as they did with perfidy in provoking the war. The capture of their vessels rendered abortive the attempt of the Portuguese to succour their friend.

The abilities and military capacity of the king, as well as the acknowledged bravery of his subjects, were matters of considerable apprehension to the Dutch, and they doubted the permanence of their authority in Celebes, as long as he retained any power. They now discovered that he had acceded to the late negotiation merely in order to obtain a respite for fresh intrigues; they asserted that he was endeavouring to insure a combination of the neighbouring princes, and representing to them that nothing else could save them from abject subjection to the company; he laboured to make them comprehend, that what was every one's particular interest might be considered and adjusted when they had repelled the immediate danger, and pointed out the impolicy of consulting for their separate interests by special treaties; this he quaintly illustrated by saying, that it was like mice making terms to come within the cat's reach, when they could only be safe by keeping out of it. With a grasp of mind for which Europeans seldom give orientals credit, he perceived, and endeavoured to impress upon those whose co-operation he sought, that there was a probability some one or all of the European powers who were contending for the Indian commerce, would come to their assistance; that any condition was preferable to the humiliations imposed on them. He was eminently successful, as it was felt by all of them that nothing could divert him from his purpose, and that he must be absolutely crushed before he could be brought into a state of dependance or submission. At the head of the confederacy, he was in a very short space of time a more formidable enemy than ever. To meet this storm, the council at Batavia was obliged to call in the aid of all the Dutch settlements in the East, and on the 8th of June, in the same year, Speelman sailed from Amboyna with a fleet of sixteen vessels, great and small, and fourteen shallops. In an attempt to force a passage into the port of Macassar, the Dutch were frustrated.

* *Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macassar*, p. 240; Harris, vol. i. p. 937.

A descent by night on the Castle of Glissor was more successful; they succeeded in storming it, and having placed a strong garrison in it, they repulsed various attempts made for its recovery; taking advantage of its commanding situation, they poured such a multitude of bombs and red-hot bullets into the enemy's camp, which was contiguous, that they produced the greatest consternation and confusion; then a well-directed attack was made, and the enemy dislodged from their post. After having inflicted severe injuries on various parts of the island, and several of the allies were detached from the league, a treaty was again concluded in November, 1677, and the king, the neighbouring princes, and the regents of the island, sent an embassy to John Maet Suichu, at Batavia, to make submission to the company.

Awaiting the result, the Dutch troops and their allies, who in the commencement of the war amounted to twelve thousand men, continued in the island; and the rainy season setting in, there broke out among them such a mortality as inspired the natives with the hope of being able to destroy them: they consequently made an attack upon the afflicted army, and massacred a great number of the dying soldiers. This put a stop to all hopes of an accommodation. The war was renewed, and, after a protracted conflict of two years, the Indians were forced to implore a peace, and to submit to far severer terms than those with which they had been previously oppressed. By this treaty, which dates from the 15th June, 1669, the company engrossed the commerce of the Island of Celebes, which secured to them, what was of far greater consequence, absolute sovereignty over the Moluccas.

This treaty* established on a permanent basis the Dutch East India Company. It terminated all open and avowed opposition from the Indians and Portuguese; and all the opposition, which from these quarters they afterwards encountered, is to be considered

* Of the articles of this treaty, the sixth challenges notice, it begins thus—"All the Portuguese that can be found, without exception, shall be obliged to retire out of Macassar, and all the countries dependant on that crown; and because we are obliged to believe that the English are great makers of mischief, and the authors of the breach of former treaties, the regents of Macassar oblige themselves to take the first occasion to oblige them to retire out of all their territories, without ever permitting any of those two nations, or their creatures, to come and trade, or to transact any business whatever, within the extent of the country of Macassar, or even so much as to continue therein, after a certain day."—*Relation de la Guerre de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales contre le Roi de Macassar*, p. 244. The treaty is also inserted in the *Corps Diplomatique*.

rather as insurrections and rebellions, than wars with independent states.

The period for which their third charter had been granted to the company had expired, and they consequently found themselves under the necessity of obtaining a new one. The republic was now directed by a statesman who was no friend to monopolies, and who had no inclination to sacrifice what he thought was right, to subserve the interest of this body,—this was the celebrated De Witt, who, by his prudence and talents, won the flattering cognomen, "Wisdom of Holland;" who, in 1653, though only twenty-eight years of age, was made pensionary, and as head of the peace party, was in constant opposition to the Prince of Orange and his adherents, who are known in history as the "Louvestein faction." This statesman was of opinion that though companies might be necessary in the infancy of trade, and when new establishments were to be formed, yet when it was matured, it would be prejudicial to the interests of the nation at large, that power and wealth should be suffered to accumulate to an inordinate extent in the hands of the favoured few. His observation had convinced him, and he did not hesitate to promulgate his convictions, that the Dutch employed in the East India settlements were, as he said, the scum of the earth—debauched, necessitous, unprincipled, rapacious, and profligate; all which he attributed to the strict and slavish terms imposed by the company, to which none would submit who could live at home, or could afford to emigrate at his own expense. Notwithstanding his powerful opposition, on the payment of a large sum of money the fourth charter was granted for twenty-one years, dating from the commencement of the year 1666.

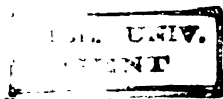
The extent and returns of the commerce of the company were enormous of late years, the directors divided *four hundred and fifty per cent.* upon their capital, which was about forty per cent. more than they had divided from 1622 to 1644.

At this period the Dutch, having carried

on a very lucrative trade for above forty years with Tonquin, were at variance with the authorities in that country. A brief notice of their settlement there may be interesting and instructive. Shortly after their introduction to Japan, they learnt that annually a small squadron from that country sailed to Tonquin; and that also a considerable trade was carried on there with China. One Charles Hartsink proposed to send a vessel thither from Japan, freighted with the usual commodities, and some European in addition, and various curiosities, considered a suitable present for the king. Hartsink with his cargo was well received. He sold at very high prices, and shortly sailed to Batavia with a valuable freight. Van Dieman, who then presided in India, highly commended his conduct and diligence, and resolved on settling a factory there; he wisely placed Hartsink as superintendent, who in a very short time so ingratiated himself into the favour of the king, that he took him into his councils, elevated him to the highest honours, and finally adopted him as his son. Under his management, and that of some succeeding chiefs, the affairs of the company prospered. At length, about 1664, jealousies arose, the trade gradually declined, the factories were withdrawn, but were settled there again, and continued for about forty years, when they were finally withdrawn. The Dutch probably owed to their own cupidity the deterioration of this branch of trade.

Particular attention was bestowed on the enlargement, embellishment, and fortification of Batavia, and augmenting the commercial conveniences of that port, and the names of the successive governors are honourably identified with the improvements.

Henceforth, the history of the Dutch is involved in that of the French and English, who successively became the leading powers amongst the European nations in the East; and in the records of their progress will be found the decline of a power once all powerful, and even still felt, in the East.



END OF VOL. I.



